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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

**Accommodation in ELF communication
among East Asian speakers of English**

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ACCOMMODATION IN ELF COMMUNICATION

AMONG EAST ASIAN SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

BY Kanghee Lee

The global spread of English and its wide-ranging use worldwide have exerted a great influence on the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic situation and led to a substantial change in language use, pedagogy and policy. This changing situation of English use has brought about the new emerging mode of communication, which is English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF). The hybridity and heterogeneity is an inevitable result of frequent and widespread language contact in ELF situations, and this variability and diversity is characterised as the primary nature of ELF communication. This fluid and hybrid nature of ELF communication has resulted from the need for more accommodative and adaptive behaviour in the interaction. Therefore, accommodation has been considered as one of the most influential and effective pragmatic strategies in ELF. The research reported in this thesis aimed to investigate how flexibly and effectively ELF speakers deal with the variability and diversity by employing various accommodative strategies, and the study is particularly focused on pragmatic accommodation among East Asian ELF speakers.

The findings of the study show that East Asian speakers of ELF strategically and dynamically engage in pragmatic processes of co-construction of meaning and accommodation and adopt convergent pragmatic strategies such as repetition, paraphrase, and utterance completion. The high frequency of accommodation strategies for solidarity seems to indicate that East Asian speakers of ELF draw on their own cultural values and communicative behaviours, which emphasise positive politeness and

rapport-oriented relationships in conversation, and the result suggests the need for reconsideration of communicative competence in order to foreground the significance of pragmatic and strategic competence in intercultural communication settings. The study provides pedagogical implications of the need for awareness on sociolinguistic issues in teachers education and suggests a more ELF-oriented and diversity-driven teaching approach.

Contents

ABSTRACT	i
Contents	iii
DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP	vii
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Abbreviations	xi
1. Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Background & context.....	1
1.1.1 English use in East Asia.....	2
1.1.2 ELT in East Asia.....	6
1.2 Pragmatics and accommodation in ELF.....	8
1.3 Research objectives and organisation of the thesis.....	11
2. Chapter 2 The spread of English: World Englishes & ELF.....	13
2.1 The globalisation and the spread of English.....	13
2.2 World Englishes & ELF.....	17
2.3 Conceptualising ELF- definitions of terms	18
2.4 Recent developments in ELF research	22
2.5 Characteristics of ELF- emerging trends in ELF use	26
2.5.1 The issues of intelligibility and ELF phonology.....	26
2.5.2 ELF pragmatics and communication strategies.....	33
2.5.2.1 Clarity and explicitness in ELF pragmatics.....	33
2.5.2.2 Cooperativeness and supportiveness in ELF	37
2.6 Reconceptualising a language variety and speech community: Communities of Practice	43
2.7 Summary	50
3. Chapter 3 Accommodation in communication	53
3.1 Accommodation Theory.....	54
3.1.1 Basic principles of Accommodation Theory	54
3.1.2 Accommodation strategies.....	55
3.1.3 Optimal levels of accommodation.....	58
3.1.4 Social applications of CAT	60
3.1.5 Research on CAT and its limitations	62
3.2 Accommodation and ELF.....	64
3.2.1 The importance of accommodation in ELF communication	64
3.2.2 ELF research on accommodation.....	65

3.2.2.1	Phonological accommodation in ELF	65
3.2.2.2	Accommodation in ELF pragmatics	67
3.2.2.3	Lexical and lexicogrammatical accommodation in ELF	75
3.3	Summary	78
4.	Chapter 4 Methodology	79
4.1	The focus of the study	79
4.1.1	The empirical focus of the research	79
4.1.2	The aim of the research and research questions	82
4.2	Methodological approach	84
4.2.1	Focus group and pilot study	84
4.2.2	Research method	88
4.2.3	The participants	90
4.2.4	Data collection	93
5.	Chapter 5 Findings	97
5.1	Data analysis tools	97
5.1.1	Conversation analysis	97
5.1.2	The frequencies of accommodation strategies	101
5.2	The analysis of Accommodation strategies	104
5.2.1	Repetition for clarification	104
5.2.2	Repetition for solidarity	119
5.2.3	Utterance Completion	128
5.2.4	Code-switching	134
5.3	Summary	143
6.	Chapter 6 Communication in East Asia and its influence on East Asian ELF	145
6.1	Accommodation for clarity	146
6.2	Accommodation for solidarity	150
6.2.1	Repetition	150
6.2.1.1	Repetition in ELF	150
6.2.1.2	Repetition as a backchannel	153
6.2.1.3	Repetition in East Asian conversations	154
6.2.2	Utterance Completion	158
6.2.2.1	Utterance completion in ELF communication	158
6.2.2.2	Utterance completion in East Asian communication	161
6.3	East Asian cultural values and communicative behaviours of East Asian speakers	167
6.3.1	Confucianism	167
6.3.2	Harmony	170

6.3.3	Politeness.....	172
6.4	The role of culture in communication	175
6.5	Summary	182
7.	Chapter 7 Conclusion.....	184
7.1	The summary of the thesis	184
7.2	Limitations of the research.....	186
7.3	Revisiting the concept of ‘Communicative Competence’	187
7.4	Pedagogical implication.....	193
7.4.1	Implications for teacher education	193
7.4.2	Implications for ELT.....	197
7.4.2.1	Teaching accommodation	197
7.5	Contribution	199
7.6	Future research.....	201
	Appendices.....	203
	Appendix 1 The material for the focus group discussion (pilot study)	203
	Appendix 2 The Profile of Participants.....	209
	Appendix 3. Transcription conventions	211
	Appendix 4. Transcribed data	213
	Bibliography	313

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, KANGHEE LEE,

declare that the thesis entitled

ACCOMMODATION IN ELF COMMUNICATION AMONG EAST ASIAN
SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me
as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

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- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
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- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission, or [delete as appropriate] parts of this work have been published as: [please list references]

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Date:.....

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Abbreviations

ACE	the Asian Corpus of English
CA	Conversation Analysis
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
DA	Discourse Analysis
EFL	English as a foreign language
EIL	English as an international language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELFA	English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings
ELT	English Language Teaching
EMI	English-medium instructions
ENL	English as a native language
ESL	English as a second language
L1	First language
L2	Second language
NES	Native English speaker
NS	Native speaker
NNS	Non-native speaker
SLA	Second language acquisition
VOICE	the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English

1. Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background & context

It was during an MA programme in ELT and Applied Linguistics at King's College London in 2008 that I came to know the concepts of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and World Englishes. Before I started a Master at King's College London, I did my BA in English Linguistics and worked as an English teacher for several years in Korea, but I was not familiar with sociolinguistic issues such as English ownership, language variety, and language change etc. As almost all English language textbooks, teacher education or training programmes, teaching materials and syllabus merely tend to pay central attention to ENL (English as a native language) norms in Korea, which is particularly influenced by American English, I used to have a very traditional attitude to ELT, that is I used to think that English language learning and teaching should be aimed to acquire native-like proficiency based on ENL norms. In particular, as my classroom teaching focused on written-text comprehension and reading skills for testing, it might not be so surprising that I believed my role as an English teacher was to help students achieve more native-like correctness and to reduce errors from ENL speakers' perspectives. More frankly speaking, the term sociolinguistics itself was not a familiar notion to me both as an English teacher and a user of English, as pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes in Korea have been only involved in teaching methodology, linguistic knowledge, or teaching skills rather than a wider range of applied linguistic issues such as sociolinguistics, language ideology or language attitude.

In the meantime, in the sociolinguistic class in MA at King's College London I encountered a range of sociolinguistic issues and out of them ELF phenomenon was the most interesting issue which drew my attention. After that, I realised that although I just came to know anew term ELF, the ELF phenomenon itself was not a new one. In other word, I started to be aware of the situation that I had been surrounded since long before by the phenomenon itself and frequently used it in my personal and professional life. Most of my classmates were international students mainly from East Asia including Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan and Korea, just few of European students and very few of native British speakers. Also, most of my flatmates were from diverse L1 backgrounds, and we

communicated each other in ELF. I realised that in my daily life I no longer used English just to communicate with native English speakers but had much more opportunities to use English not as a specific nation-based variety but as a means of intercultural communication. Before I came to London to study in the U.K. academic setting, my main expectation was to learn and use more native-like English with native British speakers. Even in an English-speaking country, however, there were much more opportunities to speak not with native speakers but with other ELF speakers. My growing interest in and enthusiasm for ELF eventually led to applying for a PhD to study ELF in more depth. My particular interest was in ELF pragmatics, that is, how ELF speakers actually use their language for making meanings in communication, and more specifically I became interested in accommodation strategies. As I read more literature on ELF research, however, I uncovered that there is relative lack of empirical study on East Asian ELF communication comparing to European ELF. The situation is understandable, because it was in the academia in Europe that ELF began to gain attention as an emerging phenomenon and ELF has been actively and vigorously used among European countries because of their close political and economic relationship such as European Union (EU) or European Parliament. Also, as an ELF speaker myself and particularly as an East Asian speaker, I anticipated that it would be more beneficial to work for East Asian ELF than exploring European or other region-based ELF communications. For these reasons, I decided to choose to focus on East Asian ELF for my context of research. Before I move on to addressing my research objectives, some demonstrations on the regional context of my study will be presented, by reviewing the current situation of English use and English language teaching (ELT) in East Asia in order to better understand East Asian ELF.

1.1.1 English use in East Asia

The role and function of English in East Asian countries have been growing faster than any other parts of the world, and the global trend of the increasing English use has met the unique linguistic, cultural and educational nature of East Asia and formulated a significantly distinguishable culture in this region. According to the stratification of Kachru's three circle model, most East Asia countries belong to the expanding circle (Kachru 1992), except Hong Kong, which has the colonial history by the British, but it is very hard to say that today the role and status of the English language in this region are merely those of being learnt and taught as one of the foreign languages. As the political,

economic, and socio-cultural circumstances in East Asia have changed, English has been used as a common lingua franca among these countries for a number of purposes in various contexts and domains. Although in most East Asian countries English has not yet been established as an official language in the sector of government, law, education and media, the rapid economic growth in these countries and their increasing need for the contact with other countries for political and economical reasons have led to the more need for English use for the international communication. Given the situation of the expanding circle, where English has been used as an international lingua franca for wider communication, as McKay (2002: 11) said, the English use in the expanding circle has 'the greatest potential for the continued spread of English'. For this reason, many scholars argue that the role of English in East Asia has moved beyond EFL. For example, in his article on English in Taiwan, Min-chieh (2004: 77) argues that English in Taiwan is no longer used as EFL but should be perceived as a means of wider communications, because Taiwanese speakers of English have more chances of contact with speakers from the outer and expanding circle, and therefore more exposure to a variety of English is required. K. J. Park (2009) also mentions that though it might be premature to say that English plays an official role as a second language in Korea, its status in Korea now undergoes a shift to a second language despite less use for 'intra-national communicative purposes' (2009: 96).

East Asia countries have achieved the fast economic development over the past few decades, and the large part of this growth has derived from the international trade and export. This means that this region has much more contact situations with other countries than any other part of the world and the high level of international communication skills through a common contact language is a prerequisite for the continuing political, economical and cultural development and cooperative relationships with other nations. For example, ASEAN plus Three, which is a regular international meeting for regional cooperation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the three East Asia nations of China, Japan, and South Korea, shows an increasing opportunity to communicate among other East and South-East Asian countries. As English is used as an official language in ASEAN, there are more possibilities to use English as an official lingua franca in this kind of international organisations or meetings in the region of East Asia. The situation of the increasing need for ELF use has been verified more obviously

in the business sector. More and more international corporations have expanded their business and investment to East Asian regions, and English is clearly the most frequently used lingua franca among business people in East Asia. Along with this situational requirement, the strong concerns with education, which are a unique cultural quality of East Asia (Chen & Chung 1997), also have accelerated the change of English use and status in East Asia. In other words, as most East Asian countries are knowledge-based societies rather than natural-resources or cultural-heritage-dependent economies, education has an exceptionally huge social value in East Asia, and today English has a special role as a new means of surviving in competition and achieving a higher social status. Many parents in East Asian countries have spent a great amount of money for their children's private English education, and this phenomenon, which is often described as 'English frenzy' or 'English fever', has been a heated issue in East Asian society. For example, according to the data Statistics Korea (www.kostat.go.kr) provides the total private education expenditures of elementary, middle and high school in Korea recorded 18.6 billion dollars in 2013, and about 70 percent of students in Korea participate in the extra private education and tutoring. The education of English consists of the majority of the spending in this sector. The great concerns with education in East Asia are also supported by the proportion of finishing higher education in this region. About 98 percent of Korean students finish the high school education, which is higher than the OECD average of 73 percent, and 63 percent of them went on to higher education, both of them topping the OECD rankings. From these historical and social characteristics, the social meaning of English in East Asia appears to be to some extent distinguishable from European or other non-English-speaking countries.

The growing possibility of ELF use in East Asia is also observed in higher education sector in this region. As the effort for internationalisation has been actively made in the higher education, there has been the growing mobility of university students and staff, particularly among East Asian countries, by a range of academic support policies such as exchange student programmes or visiting scholarship. The majority of international students in universities in East Asia tend to constitute students from other East Asian countries. For example, according to the statistics by the National Institute for International Education in Korea (www.niied.go.kr), the number of international students in universities in Korea is 87,278 in October in 2012, and Chinese students, which

amount to 59,793, form the largest group, followed by Mongol (4916), Vietnam (3261), Japanese (2880), and American (1233) students. Particularly, the number of Chinese international students in the universities in Korea has dramatically increased in recent years, and in some universities the rate of Chinese students constitute over 90 % out of all international students.

The situation is similar in China or Japan. According to the Chinese Ministry of Education, in 2012 the number of foreign students studying at universities in China reached 240, 000, and South Koreans form the greatest number of foreign students in China, followed by the USA and Japan. The latest statistics by the Japanese Ministry of Education shows that in 2011, 141,774 foreign students were recorded to study in universities in Japan, and approximately 96.8 percent of these students are from Asia including China, South Korea and Taiwan. As seen in the statistics above, the majority of international students in East Asia are from other East Asian countries, and although in some cases these international students might have some command of these East Asian languages for their study, many students do not have the sufficient proficiency to understand lectures in those languages. Therefore, more and more institutes of higher education in East Asia, as in Europe, have shifted their academic programmes into English-medium instructions (EMI) to attract both more domestic students and international students.

Comparing to the scale of EMI programmes and courses in European universities, the number of EMI programs in East Asian universities is still relatively lower, but the number of EMI is more likely to continue to increase. It is not surprising that today EMI courses are pervasive in the universities in Hong Kong, where has a long history of EMI education in secondary and tertiary levels, and six out of eight government-funded universities have adopted the official policy of EMI only (Kirkpatrick 2010: 166). Many other East Asian universities have also encouraged more content-subject courses to be conducted in English. For instance, the KAIST university in Korea has provided all the academic programs in English and Seoul National University has offered over 10 percent of Humanities courses in English since 2006 (K.J. Park 2009: 97). It is anticipated that more and more academic courses and programmes in the universities in East Asia will be offered in English to attract more international students and to seek to follow the global trend of ‘internationalisation’ of the higher education. Consequently, there are more

possibilities that students in higher education settings in East Asia use ELF to communicate with each other despite their presence in non-English mother tongue countries.

1.1.2 ELT in East Asia

One of the most central issues in English teaching and learning is the early introduction of English in the school curriculum and the shift to communicative approach in the classroom practice. All these phenomena attribute to the extensive assumption that the goal of English learning should be to achieve native-like competence, which needs to be challenged particularly for the majority of East Asian speakers of English, whose main purpose of English use is ELF communication. With regard to this situation of English language learning in East Asia, the notion of ‘the social SLA’ (Larsen-Freeman 2007: 780) provides a useful implication. While the traditional cognitivist SLA tends to view language as a mental state, and the primary goal of language learning is to acquire native speaker proficiency, SLA research conducted from a socio-cultural perspective considers language as a ‘social construct’ and therefore socio-cultural and context factors are essential to understand the language learning and use. The social SLA does not merely focus on how to learn a language but priorities exploring how speakers use language. Therefore, in social SLA perspectives, the main goal of language learning is to achieve a functional proficiency rather than native speaker proficiency as in the mainstream SLA. This concept of the social SLA provides much more implications for ELT and English use in East Asia, since a majority of East Asian speakers of English would use English as a lingua franca in the international context of communication, and therefore English learning should not be just focused on the acquisition of idealised native speaker proficiency but on the development of ability to use English functionally for different purposes in diverse contexts.

Despite of the significance of effectiveness and accommodation in interaction over nativeness (Cogo & Dewey 2006, 2012; Jenkins 2000, 2006; Mauranen 2004; 2007), English learning and teaching in East Asia have still stressed the acquisition of native-like competence. In other words, even though the effective use of English through accommodation and negotiation is more crucial in ELF contexts than the correctness and native-like competence, ELT in East Asia has still focused on how learners can achieve

native-like fluency and proficiency. The most common question regarding the English education is when English should be taught in the school curriculum, and whether English should be taught as a subject or as a medium of instruction. It is generally assumed that English should be learned as early as possible, and therefore the educational authorities in almost all East Asia countries have decided to adopt English as a compulsory subject teaching in the school curriculum from the early primary school levels. Apart from Hong Kong, where English is taught from the 1st grade of the primary school, many other East Asian countries including China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan have introduced English teaching from the third grade of the primary school curriculum. In big cities like Beijing or Shanghai, there has been a proposal to introduce English even from the 1st year of primary schools. Benson (2008: 2) argues, however, that it is a myth to believe that the best way to learn a second language is to start it as early as possible. The growing demand for English learning at the early age might hinder the appropriate development of the children's mother tongue, and children are overloaded with linguistic and cognitive demands, which are often too high to cope with, particularly when their performance is measured by 'an idealised native speaker model'. As Kirkpatrick (2010) points out, English should be taught in ways which would help acquire and promote the mother tongue as a basis for developing bi/multilingualism and allow learners to better understand English as 'a pluricentric language'.

The policy of too early introduction of English into the school curriculum, especially when it is at the expense of the mother tongue education, can have negative effects of L1 acquisition for most children who do not yet reach a stable L1 development (Bruthiaux 2002). Also, in many cases, children who have a greater fluency in their mother tongue tend to acquire a second language more successfully, since children are able to use their L1 skills in systematic ways to enhance L2 learning (Benson 2008: Cummins 2005, 2008). Therefore, it is preferable to start English education in the school curriculum from at least the later primary schools, especially when the child's L1 is not cognate to English as in many Asian languages like Chinese, Korean or Japanese (Kirkpatrick 2009: 10). Too early adoption of EMI would not allow children to develop literacy and fluency in their L1, as in the case of Singapore, where English is used as the medium of instruction from the 1st-year of the primary school. In Singapore, even though Chinese, Malay and Tamil, which are local languages of most Singaporean, are taught as a subject at school,

many ethnic Chinese students who graduated from a secondary school have a very poor level of literacy in Chinese (Kirkpatrick 20010: 164).

I examined the current situation of English use in East Asia and some critical issues in ELT in East Asia such as EMI education. Although there is a great body of research on region-based varieties of English in East Asia such as China English, Hong Kong English, and some Japanese English and Korean English, little research has been done on ELF in East Asia comparing to European ELF and ELF in ASEAN. However, as Murata & Jenkins (2009) mention, East Asia is currently one of the remarkable places, where English has been dynamically used in different domains for various practical purposes, and the situation of ELF use in East Asia has been significantly changed in recent years. One of the critical reasons is that the need for economic, political and cultural cooperation in this region has been massively growing, especially very actively in business sector and the higher mobility of students among East Asian countries. Also, needless to say, more recently English has been recognised and used as the most effective medium of communication among many East Asian speakers. People have realised the need for a common language in the increasing contact situation in the globalised world, and English would play that role, instead of learning each foreign language whenever they need it for communication. Finally, as the overall proficiency of East Asian speakers of English has been improved, many situations of English use in East Asian contexts can be accepted as communication by ‘ELF users’, not just as ‘learner English’ or ‘interlanguage’. In the changing sociolinguistic situation in East Asia, where the significance of communication has been paid more attention in language learning and consequently there are increasing opportunities of ELF use, pragmatic and strategic competence need to be drawn more attention.

1.2 Pragmatics and accommodation in ELF

One of the main purposes of any kind of communication is to convey and understand meanings, and pragmatics is at the centre of this process. The meaning-making process is particularly seminal in ELF interactions, because in ELF situations shared knowledge and common ground for understanding of pragmatic norms among participants cannot be expected as much as stable and established speech communities. As speakers in ELF interactions are from different linguacultural backgrounds, pragmatic resources are often

‘negotiated moment by moment’ in ELF communication (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 114) rather than depending on a pre-determined and fixed norm for pragmatic practices. Pragmatic conventions tend to be highly culture-dependent, and therefore one major challenge of learners of English is to acquire particular speech acts and expressions to be appropriate in a certain communicative event or situation. When it comes to English as a contact language, however, the situation is different. As English as an international lingua franca has no longer got connected to a particular culture or national basis, the criteria of appropriateness and politeness for pragmatic practice in ELF can be determined by contexts of use and purposes of interaction and negotiated by individual speakers’ fleeting needs rather than the NS norms. More specifically, as English has been used in a range of domains and professional sectors such as business, trade or academia, the discourse norms in ELF pragmatics are more likely to be negotiated within different professional and disciplinary communities of practice and shaped by their own purposes of use (Mauranen 2012). It seems to be clear that in ELF environments the achievement of effectiveness and mutual understanding is prioritised over NS norms or ENL conventions. Therefore, ELF speakers attempt to negotiate and co-construct meanings to achieve mutual understanding by drawing on their linguistic and communicative repertoires and developing various pragmatic strategies effectively. This process of meaning-making and understanding is an interactive and collaborative process by which participants continue to develop common ground and knowledge and achieve a shared repertoire.

Given that nativised varieties of Englishes have their own distinctive pragmatic features to adapt their contexts of use and fulfil particular communicative functions, and therefore it has been accepted as a natural language process, ELF speakers also tend to create their own pragmatic behaviour to suit their purposes of interaction and accommodate to their interlocutors rather than simply reiterating conventional norms of NS English. A growing body of ELF research has shown that when speakers use ELF, they tend to engage in innovative and creative processes of pragmatic performance for various purposes such as maximising explicitness and clarity/ intelligibility (e.g. Cogo & Dewey 2012; Dewey 2012; Mauranen 2012; Pitzl 2005), exploiting redundancy and pursuing ‘relative functional usefulness’ (Seidlhofer 2011: 96). Such non-conformities and creative use of ELF from NS norms can be understood as appropriate language practice ‘by individual

speakers, who make it their own for particular purposes and conditions of use' for their own communicative needs (Seidlhofer 2011: 96).

This diversity and hybridity in ELF have inevitably led to the importance of mutual adaptation and intercultural negotiation skills. In everyday conversations, speakers regularly shift and modify their speech patterns and styles according to their interlocutors, contexts and various social factors such as topics and purposes of interaction. For example, adults might speak slowly and choose simpler syntactic structures and lexical items when they talk to young children. The similar phenomenon can be also observed in foreigner talk. Speakers continue to change and move their utterance length, speech rate or pausing frequencies and lengths to show their attitudes towards the interlocutors in communication and manage social distance for their communicative purposes. Such phenomenon of linguistic and communicative accommodation is in fact a very natural and pervasive language process in everyday conversations, and it is particularly crucial in ELF because of diversity and variability in ELF communication. In intercultural communication settings like ELF, participants might encounter the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity among them, and lack of shared linguistic repertoire and knowledge can lead to communication breakdown and understanding problems. Therefore, speakers in ELF interactions often need to modify and alter their speech styles and conversational patterns to accommodate to their interlocutors and facilitate intelligibility and mutual understanding. It is observed that accommodation operates in a highly adept and proactive way in ELF conversations (Jenkins 2000; Cogo & Dewey 2006; Cogo 2009; Hübauer 2009; Kaur 2009; Kirkpatrick 2007; Mauranen 2006, 2012; Seidlhofer 2009a; 2011; Watterson 2008). In intercultural or ELF communications, communicative competence no longer means 'linguistic proficiency' or 'the native-like production of language' but appropriate adaption and accommodation in different contexts.

Research has thus demonstrated that speakers of ELF attempt to overcome unpredictability and uncertainty and negotiate differences effectively by adapting and accommodating their communicative behaviour to their interlocutors. In other words, ELF speakers engage in negotiation of meanings and mutual understanding by strategically employing cooperative and convergent strategies (Björge 2010; Cogo & Dewey 2012; Kalocsai 2011; Kaur 2011; Kordon 2006). By displaying collaborative and convergent adaptation ELF speakers can exhibit agreement and support, attain the

communicative efficiency, and enhance clarity and explicitness. Accommodation is generally perceived to involve linguistic behaviours in which participants make their speech behaviour more similar to that of their interlocutors and reduce the distance between them. In a wider sense, however, collaborative acts and enhanced explicitness can be considered as an essential form of accommodation, since they are used as ‘a way of accommodating to the hearer’s perceived interpretive competence’ (Mauranen 2012: 51). Therefore, accommodation can be understood as a wider interactive process based on negotiation and collaboration, including cooperative strategies such as repetition, paraphrase, code-switching and back-channel, and the focus of my research is to explore how ELF speakers draw on their particular pragmatic resources and co-construct meanings to accommodate to their interlocutors and contexts of use.

1.3 Research objectives and organisation of the thesis

The principal objective of my research was to observe how East Asian speakers communicate each other in their ELF interactions in order to achieve successful negotiation of meaning and maintain affective relationships by employing various communicative strategies and resources. My research particularly focuses on accommodation, which has been gaining a growing significance in ELF communication. My research questions are: 1) what are the main accommodation strategies that East Asian ELF speakers typically use in communication among themselves? 2) what are their motivations for using accommodation strategies (e.g. to project identity, to establish solidarity, or something else?) and 3) what kinds of factors (e.g. cultural or ideological values and politeness and face systems) seem to be involved in East Asian ELF accommodation? By analysing what actually happens in East Asian ELF communication, my research aims to contribute to providing empirical data for ELF studies to compare ELF communications from different regional contexts and discover similarities and differences among them and to better understand a fundamental nature of ELF. More essentially, these findings are expected to provide useful pedagogic and practical implications for ELT in East Asia.

The next part of the thesis is constructed by six different chapters. In chapter 2, the phenomena of the global spread of English will be discussed, by reviewing the relevant literature on World Englishes and ELF. I will review some definitions of the term ELF

and other relevant terminologies to minimise possible confusions and misunderstandings of the terms and provide clearer conceptualisation of ELF. I will then present the recent development of ELF research and some characteristics and emerging trends in ELF use that this ELF research shows. It will involve ELF phonology including the issues of intelligibility, lexico-grammatical features of ELF and ELF pragmatics and communication strategies. In the first part of chapter 3, the extensive review of accommodation theory, which is the theoretical framework of my research, will be provided. The review will include basic principles of accommodation theory, accommodation strategies, types of accommodation, optimal levels of accommodation, social application of the theory and the limitations of research into accommodation theory. In the later part of the chapter, I will discuss the significance of accommodation in ELF communication and provide an overview of ELF pragmatic research into accommodation. In chapter 4, I will demonstrate the methodology used for this research, presenting the empirical focus of the research and the aim of the research and research questions. The process of recruiting participants and data collection will be also described in detail. I will then provide a descriptive account of the findings in chapter 5, and in chapter 6 more detailed discussions will be presented. The discussions will be based on a comparison of the findings of my data with other ELF research and studies on East Asian communication, and possible explanations for the certain features of pragmatic accommodation in my data will be approached with East Asian cultural values, e.g. politeness, and East Asian speakers' orientations and attitudes to communication. Chapter 7 will provide the summary of the thesis and some theoretical and pedagogical implications for teacher education and ELT. The chapter will be concluded with limitations of the research and some suggestions for future research.

2. Chapter 2The spread of English: World Englishes & ELF

2.1 The globalisation and the spread of English

Globalisation and interconnectedness among nations around the world have needed more cooperation than ever before for many political and economic reasons as well as for business and trade, and have led to unprecedented growing mobility for travel or educational purposes. Furthermore, the increasing need for exchange of information on science and technology has risen to opportunities of both on-line and off-line communication, and the development of electronic communication has accelerated the change in the nature of communication across the globe. Globalisation has also led to a large-scale of demographic movement and broken clear-cut ethnic, cultural and linguistic boundaries and territories among nations and regions. In many societies around the world, multilingual and multicultural factors have replaced monolingualism and monoculturalism, and intercultural communicative competence and awareness have been acknowledged as an essential component for successful communication in the global contexts (Kachru 1992b; Bamgbose 1998; Yano 2009). Today we cannot say globalisation without English. English stands at the centre of the globalisation. The global use of English worldwide, which derived from the first diaspora, that is, the migration of native English-speaking population to North America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and the second diaspora from colonisation, such as the countries including India, Philippines, Nigeria and Singapore, has been more widely expanded by the political and economical super power of the US and accelerated by the globalisation.

Kachru's concentric circles are undoubtedly still the most influential and most commonly used model of the spread of English. The model divides English used in the world into the Inner Circle, with the role of 'norm-providing', the Outer Circle, 'the norm-developing', and the Expanding Circle, 'norm-dependent' (Kachru 1997). Each circle is distinguished according to how the spread and development took place, how acquisition is processed, and what the function of English use is in their contexts. In terms of the fact that this model provides a convenient and clear picture of development and spread of English around the world, it is useful and influential in sociolinguistics

and applied linguistics for explaining and understanding the current status and role of English worldwide. Thus, as Kirkpatrick (2007a) points out, it views English not just as a monolithic form but as a plural entity, and denies that one variety is superior to others linguistically as well as showing that English can represent the speakers' own identity in multilingual and multicultural contexts.

Though Kachru's three circle model has been most widely used as a framework to describe the spread of English, the assumptions about normativity in the model need to be re-examined. In other words, the model leaves a number of unanswered questions: that kinds of norms should be adopted in the outer circle and expanding circle? Is it better to adopt endonormative or exonormative? Kachru's concentric model also seems to have to some extent limitations to account for the current situation of English use and the nature of speakers in a range of contexts. The most critical problem for my research is that the model overlooks the increasing role and influences of ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) use in international contexts, which is the most frequent type of English use in the world. In other words, the model marginalises the significance of English in the expanding circle, whose speakers number the largest group of English users, and still considers the function of English in this context as a foreign language. In some expanding circle countries such as Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden or Switzerland English is no longer used just as EFL but its function has been developed almost as a second language (McArthur 1998; Graddol 2006). Also, in many other expanding circle countries including China, Japan and Korea, English is learned and used for diverse purposes in international communication contexts rather than for communication merely with NSs. As McKay (2002) mentions, today there are more bilingual speakers of English in many expanding circle countries such as Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands than the outer circle countries like the Gambia and Rwanda where English is used as an official language. In many expanding circle countries, English is also used as a means of instruction for education like the outer circle, and the domains have been expanded more widely. The role and status of English in the expanding circle is no longer limited to EFL use.

Today many speakers of English are bilingual or multilingual, and they use English for various purposes and functions in different contexts. In some cases, it is difficult to identify someone's L1 or L2 although he or she belongs to one particular circle of Kachru's model. In addition, the percentage of English-speaking population and their

linguistic repertoire and proficiency as well as domains and functions of use show considerable differences even within a particular circle. For example, in the outer circle countries English is mainly used by elite groups, whereas English in Singapore is more widely spoken by the general public (Kirkpatrick 2007a).

There are contradictory views of both the optimistic and the negative one on this unprecedented linguistic phenomenon of global spread and use of English language. Phillipson (1992) views the spread of English as the result of the power dominance of mother tongue English-speaking countries and criticises this unequal structural relationship between these countries and periphery non-mother tongue countries with the term '*linguistic imperialism*'. He argues that the current situation of global spread of English is not the product of a natural process of linguistic and cultural diffusion the users of English in periphery countries choose subjectively, and this unilateral linguistic power relation would lead to the continuous dominance of English-speaking countries. Whereas Phillipson has a highly negative view on the spread of English, Crystal (2003) describes it as natural and positive phenomenon, and expects that English use worldwide would become more Americanised and homogenised. However, Phillipson and Crystal seem to ignore the most crucial factor in discussing the change of language and society, that is, the people who use it. Both tend to interpret the phenomenon heavily with superficial social structure and power relationship.

Pennycook (2007), on the other hand, criticises Phillipson's point of linguistic imperialism, by arguing that the framework predominantly focuses on the threat of homogenization of language and culture and fails to take consideration of centre-periphery relations of language and power. Consequently the Phillipson's approach elucidates the phenomenon of the global spread of English primarily from nationalist views, that is, simply 'strong nationalistic defenses of local or minority languages and cultures'. Pennycook also points out the limitations of the World Englishes paradigm, as the World English approach mainly highlights on the pluricentric features of English as the outcome of the development of new national varieties of English, and argues that this nation-based approach does not also provide an adequate explanation on dynamics of the coexistence and interrelation between the global and the local. Instead, as Pennycook put it, 'we need to understand how English is involved in global flows of culture and knowledge, how English is used and appropriated by users of English round the world, how English colludes with multiple domains of globalisation' (2007: 19).

According to Pennycook's perspective, English has both fluidity and fixity at the same time by moving translocally, and both localities and interrelations in wider social contexts are crucial for understanding the current situation of English worldwide. In other words, with the global spread of English, linguistic and cultural forms flow and move across borders and diverse communities and produce new localized forms of practices, which he describes as 'transcultural flows'. Therefore, a variety of linguistic and cultural forms that speakers produce are constantly modified, transformed and adapted to make their linguistic and cultural practices more appropriate and available to their use and refashion their identities in new contexts through the process of 'borrowing, blending, remarking and returning' (Pennycook 2007: 6). Globalisation leads to English as a field of change, flow and appropriation rather than linguistic and cultural homogenisation or heterogeneity.

Pennycook emphasises that we need to move beyond the dichotomic view of globalization versus localization— or imperialism (homogenization) vs pluralism (heterogeneity) —, 'where one is assumed to be for international intelligibility and the other for local identity' (2007: 115), but describe and understand the process of globalization in more dynamic ways. In other words, the direction of influence between the global and the local is not unilateral but both are mutually and interactively affected, and English as a means of global communication has simultaneously the property of both fluidity and fixity, in which language and culture not only 'move across space, borders, communities, nations' but also 'become localized, indigenised, re-created in the local' (Pennycook 2007: 7). In this sense, new ideas, styles and pragmatics transculturally and translocally flow, and linguistic and cultural forms and practices for international communications are 'always in a state of flux, always changing, always part of a process of the refashioning of identity' (p. 8).

Whereas Crystal and Phillipson focus more on external factors as a main reason for the spread of English today, Brutt-Griffler (2002) demonstrates the spread of English with the concept of 'macroacquisition', which refers to the social second language acquisition. She argues that the migration of English-speaking population to wider areas is not the main reason which led to the development of English as an international language, but the growing number of bilingual speakers' language acquisition, which works as a social process, has led to the global spread and change of English. This process of macroacquisition is involved in frequent language contact, and bilingual

speakers' innovation leads to language change and development rather than imperfect learning and erroneous language use, whereas diffusion of English by ENL speakers' migration led to 'the development of largely monolingual English-speaking communities' (e.g. the US, Australia, and New Zealand) (McKay 2002: 14).

In terms of the fact that Brutt-Griffler (2002) elucidates the global spread and development of English language with comprehensively organised theoretical framework and shows the status and role of the expanding circle speakers of English in this global context, providing a detailed and logically supported argument, her study contributes to providing a clear explanation to this issue. What she makes the point clear in this argument is that NNSs also play an active and crucial role as *agents* in the spread and change of English. In other words, the English language change has taken place L2 speakers 'through the process of second language acquisition by groups or speech communities' and for the majority of ELF speakers 'the primary input is not coming from native speakers' (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 136) but is provided with the process of interaction in various communities of practices of bilingual speakers.

2.2 World Englishes & ELF

The notable outcome of this spread and globalisation of English language is the development of World Englishes (henceforth WEs) and English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF). Although the term World Englishes, often described as the New Englishes, have a range of interpretations, it is commonly used to refer to the localised varieties of Englishes in some post-colonial countries in African, Asian, and the Caribbean countries, and more often called as the outer circle Englishes (Jenkins 2006: 159; Erling 2005; McArthur 2002). They have become nativised or institutionalised in their local contexts by the influence of their own local language and shown some different linguistic features in phonology, syntax, vocabulary and pragmatic expressions as well as distinctiveness in acquisition, functions and purposes in use (Seidlhofer 2009). ELF refers to English used as 'a contact language' by speakers from different linguistic-cultural backgrounds (Jenkins 2006: 157). In other words, ELF communication takes place when speakers of different L1s meet and use English as 'the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option' (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). Whereas WEs are involved in the Outer Circle Englishes, ELF primarily, but not deliberately or exclusively, focuses on English communication among non-native speakers of English

(NNS) from the Expanding Circle. As some WEs scholars point out (Kirkpatrick 2007), the development and change of the expanding circle Englishes have taken place much more rapidly than those of the inner circle and outer circle Englishes. The demand for English in the expanding circle has become gradually higher for the various purposes and in a range of contexts, and this situation is likely to continue. Therefore, the need for the study on the features and processes of ELF use as well as speakers' underlying motivations and perceptions on their performance has been increasingly paid attention.

Although there are some differences between WEs and ELF in the historical background in development, function and the context in use, they share many theoretical concepts and practical issues from sociolinguistic perspectives. In other words, both are concerned with pluricentric perspectives on language use and pedagogy rather than monocentric approach and consider linguistic variation and diversity as a natural language phenomenon. They also assume that English no longer belong only to native speakers and question to major issues on linguistic norms and social identity of speakers. As Seidlhofer (2009: 236) argues, 'both are to some extent in different realities but have common ground (question to major challenges) and need to be perceived as entirely compatible'. However, whereas the study of WEs tends to focus on identifying distinctive linguistic features and practices in a certain variety of nativised English, ELF is more related to intercultural communication and therefore has greater relevance to my research than WEs.

2.3 Conceptualising ELF- definitions of terms

Although the use of ELF has continued to expand worldwide and a range of research into ELF has been highly actively conducted in recent years, there are still substantial debates surrounded the phenomenon of ELF itself and various issues on ELF including some derogatory attitudes and pejorative views. Some of these negative attitudes towards ELF might be attributed to a misunderstanding regarding what ELF refers to and what ELF researchers want to find out as well as how ELF is related to diverse sociolinguistic issues. First of all, therefore, what ELF means and what the misinterpretations on ELF need to be explored. As mentioned above, in a very basic sense, ELF means English used as a 'contact language' among speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds and in a more practical way it refers to English used by speakers from the Expanding Circle (Jenkins 2009: 201). In the strict sense, the term

‘lingua franca’ is none of members’ mother tongue and has no native speakers in communication (see Firth 1996: 240; House 1999: 74; Jenkins 2006: 157; Seidlhofer 2000). This nature of lingua franca has led to some definitions of ELF in the early years as follows:

[ELF is] a “contact language” between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication (Firth, 1996, p. 240).

ELF interactions are defined as interactions between members of two or more different linguacultures in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue (House, 1999, p. 74).

In the definitions above, ELF is confined to the notion of foreign language used by none of participants’ mother tongue and native language. However, in the current situation of the growing intercultural communication across all three circles, speakers from the outer circle and inner circle are not excluded in ELF communication unless they lead the communication or play a norm-providing role by acting as a reference point to the expanding circle speakers. For instance, in the VOICE (the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English), the maximum 10 percent of inner circle NSs’ presence in communication is allowed. In this sense, the core element to define ELF is not the nativeness or non-nativeness of speakers but the settings, where English is used in a language contact situation, and its functions, which are a communication medium among speakers from different linguacultural backgrounds (the intercultural fluidity in participants’ communicative needs). Therefore, ELF can be better understood as ‘any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option’ (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). What is important in conceptualising ELF is its functional aspect rather than formal one.

Another crucial issue with regard to the term ELF is the appearance of many different alternative terms to describe the global spread of English. For example, a variety of terms such as *English as a global language*, *English as an international language (EIL)*, *English as a world language*, and *global English* or *international English* are often used as an alternative to ELF. All these terms, however, particularly the term *international English*, may cause the confusion in understanding the concept of ELF, as Seidlhofer

(2004) notes, by implying that ‘there is one clearly distinguishable, codified, and unitary variety called International English, which is certainly not the case’ (p 210). As English is widely used in international communication, there are a variety of terms which describe this phenomenon to distinguish from the NS varieties of English, but many of them have a potential for misleading or confusing factors. For these reasons, the term ELF is preferred among ELF researchers.

The context of ELF is conceptually distinguished from that of EFL. The main focus of learning EFL is to achieve a native-like competence in order to communicate successfully with native speakers of English as in any other foreign languages, and consequently the ultimate goal of learning in an EFL context is to acquire grammatical, lexical and pragmatic knowledge based on native speaker norms, which are considered as a reference point to judge correctness and appropriateness (Gass & Selinker 1994; Selinker 1992). In ELF contexts, on the other hand, the native speakers of English are neither the only nor main target object for communication but other L2 speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds are the central interlocutors. Therefore, ELF should not be considered as ‘a part of modern foreign languages’ like EFL, but theoretical and conceptual approach in ELF needs to be based on difference perspective rather than deficit perspective (Jenkins 2006: 139). In other words, the fundamental difference between EFL and ELF is that from EFL perspectives, any deviation from ENL norms is perceived as a failure and error, which is resulted from L1 transfer and interference, and therefore the majority of SLA researchers and ELT practitioners still encourage learners to accurately imitate and adopt what native speakers do. This is a commonly held belief in ELT, but it is somewhat misleading. In ELF contexts, on the other hand, such variation and diversity in language forms and use is considered as an evitable and natural outcome of language contact and evolution. For this reason, code-switching and code-mixing in EFL situations tend to be seen as the result of lack of proficiency and a failure of the command of the appropriate NS forms, and therefore they are considered undesirable and required to avoid. However, as ELF does not aim to conform to NS models as a primary target for learning, code-switching and code-mixing are seen as not only as ‘natural and entirely appropriate phenomena’ but also a useful bilingual resource to show the speakers’ in-group membership and solidarity and to project identity and cultural distinctiveness (Jenkins 2006: 140). The notion of a native speaker’s norm needs to be eliminated in ELF, since the objective of ELF is not to build

a membership in a particular native speaker community, but pragmatic and communicative norms and processes in ELF tend to be adaptively negotiated and co-constructed during the course of interaction (Seidlhofer 2011). Because of the de-territorialised and hybrid nature of ELF, the accommodation and adaption play a more significant role in ELF interactions rather than imitation and adoption of NS norms as in EFL contexts.

Despite its extensive use, ELF is often perceived negatively and still acknowledged as ‘interlanguage’ or ‘learner English’ (Jenkins 2009: 200). These negative attitudes and orientations to ELF are often based on misunderstandings on what ELF means and what ELF research seeks to explore. One common misconception is that ELF study aims at the establishment of one monolithic variety of English. ELF is not a single unified form of English, which is forced to be learnt as a norm to which all speakers should conform, but in essence it is a ‘mode of communication’, in which bilingual or multilingual speakers are engaged in lingua franca contexts of use (Cogo 2008: 58). It respects diversity and variation of English use in various contexts and therefore has the pluralised and pluricentric views on language use rather than supporting a monolithic and exonormative model for speakers (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2006).

Another misconception is that the aim of ELF study is to apply the prescription of rules based on description of ELF data (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2006, 2011). ELF researchers do not want to promote one specific model alternative to NNS norms but rather attempt to provide learners and users with more options which are more relevant and realistic. The description of ELF use is entirely important in terms of the better understanding of its nature and communicative process, but ELF scholars acknowledge the fact that ‘language teaching cannot simply be based on descriptive facts... uncritically corporate into prescription’ as Widdowson (1991: 20) points out. The description of language needs to be considered for language teaching but should not automatically determine the pedagogical choice. As many ELF scholars argue, it is a completely pedagogical matter that what should be taught, and it has to be decided according to the learners’ need and learning purposes in a particular context. What ELF research suggests is that speakers should choose and decide which kind of English they need to learn and use (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2006). However, the learners and users of English need to be informed the current situation of ELF use and raise some awareness of sociolinguistic issues involved. Although ELF interactions have become

enormously increasing and ELF speakers from the expanding circle outnumber the other two contexts, there is a still dearth of understanding of ELF and ELF communication among linguists and ELT practitioners. It seems, therefore, crucial to continue to explore the nature of ELF communications and what is the difference between ELF interaction and NS-NS and NS-NNS interactions, and ultimately ‘in what ways ELF interactions are actually *sui generis*’ (House 1999: 74).

2.4 Recent developments in ELF research

The salient value of descriptive work in ELF research has been stressed by many ELF scholars (Seidlhofer 2004, 2011). The first reason for this emphasis is that the descriptive work can contribute to a better understanding of the linguistic processes which characterise ELF and would lead to the conceptual and attitudinal change to ELF use and ELF speakers. As we can assure from the work on outer circle Englishes, established linguistic forms by description and codification would eventually lead to a legitimacy and acceptance of ELF both to academics and the general. Whereas many people recognise the existence of ELF, ELF innovation and ELF speakers’ creativity have not yet been accepted as a valid sociolinguistic entity. As Seidlhofer mentions, ‘even if its desirability is acknowledged in principle, a conceptualisation of ELF is unlikely to happen as long as no comprehensive and reliable descriptions of salient features of ELF are available’ (Seidlhofer 2004: 215). In addition, availability of the description of ELF would in the long run exert an influence on the change of curriculum design, material development and teacher training in ELT. Therefore, empirical research at various linguistic levels in different contexts and domains is the first step for the development of ELF study and for predicting its future.

ELF research has been massively growing over the past decade in the various contexts and linguistic levels, but it is still in the early stage to make a determinate conclusion of characterisation of ELF. Also, the majority of research and data collections are based on the European contexts. It is true that the major development of ELF has taken place in the European continent due to the strong correlation and interconnectedness in political, economic and business sectors among European countries, and this geographical imbalance in ELF research may display the limitation to draw the whole picture of the phenomenon of ELF, viz. However, there is uncertainty at the moment whether linguistic features of and attitudes to ELF are distinguishable according to the

geographical variables, or they have much more common factors than differences. The research in other regional contexts such as South-East Asia has been arising along with the dynamic use of ELF in this area.

The main objective of descriptive ELF research is to explore the common and general linguistic features of ELF use and communicative processes and to analyse a systematic frequency of specific characteristics, that is, frequently-appearing forms and regular patterns in ELF interactions. In order to achieve more valid findings, a large-scale of corpora is needed. Alongside the identification of communicative and linguistic forms in ELF interactions, the functions of those forms and underlying motivations of the use of particular linguistic patterns are also very crucial to better understand the speakers' ELF use, in other words, we need more in-depth study of why something happens as well as what happens in ELF communication. ELF research should not be limited in identifying the linguistic features in ELF on the surface-level, but rather more qualitative analysis of naturally-occurring empirical data in various contexts is vital.

Although early studies in ELF just started since 1990's in several contexts and domains, for instance, business telephone conversations among speakers from different European countries (see Firth 1990; 1996), the discourse features of ELF small talk (Meeuwis 1994; Meierkord 1998), in recent years an extensive body of ELF research has been carried out at different linguistic levels in various regions, domains and contexts. The studies in terms of linguistic levels involve ELF phonology (Jenkins 2000, 2002, Pickering 2009; Pickering & Litzenberg 2011; Walker 2010), lexico-grammar (Breiteneder 2005; Cogo & Dewey 2006; 2012; Hulmbauer 2007; Seidlhofer 2004), the non-standardness in ELF morphosyntactics (Björkman 2009), pragmatics in ELF (Firth 1990, 1996, 2009; Firth & Wagner 1997; Haegeman 2002; House 1999, 2002; Knapp 2002; Lesznyák 2002; Meierkord 2002), the use of the progressive form in ELF (Ranta 2006), the role of code-switching in ELF (Klimpfinger 2007, 2009; Cogo 2009), repairing of non-understanding in ELF (Kaur 2011; Pitzl 2005; Watterson 2008), pre-empting problems of understanding in ELF (Kaur 2009), repetition in ELF (Kaur 2008; Lichtkoppler 2007), topic management in ELF (Lesznyák 2002), attitudes, perception and identity in ELF (Hynninen 2010; Jenkins 2007; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010; Mimatsu 2011; Pedrazzini & Nava 2011; Sherman & Sieglóvá 2011), and the cultures of ELF (Meierkord 2002; Baker 2009, 2011a, 2011b).

Empirical research into ELF has been undertaken in a range of contexts and domains, for example, ELF in business sectors (Bjorge 2012; Ehrenreich 2009, 2010, 2011; Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010; Louhiala-Salminen, Charles, & Kankaanranta, 2005; Pitzl 2005; Rogerson-Revell 2007; Vollstedt 2002; Wolfartsberger 2011 spoken ELF in academic settings (Björkman 2011; Mauranen 2003, 2012; Smit 2010), ELF in international journals (Lillis et al. 2010), ELF among multilingual crews in merchant trading ships (Sampson and Zhao 2003), and daily conversations in dinner tables among international students (Meirkord 2002). ELF research has been also done in different regions including South-East Asian ELF (Deterding & Kirkpatrick 2006; Kirkpatrick 2010b, 2010c), ELF in the Alpine-Adriatic region (James 2000), and spoken ELF in a university setting in Sweden (Björkman 2008), but the critical point on ELF studies to date is that the vast majority of ELF research has been carried out in European settings (Berns 2009; Modiano 2009; Breiteneder 2009).

When it comes to the corpus study, in recent years, ELF corpus projects has been extensively developed and contributed to the growth of empirical research data. VOICE (the **Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English**), compiled at the Department of English at the University of **Vienna**, is the first computer-based and the largest ELF corpus, which consists of 1 million words of naturally occurring spoken data of ELF communication. In the corpus, approximately 120 hours of speech are transcribed, and it includes approximately 1250 speakers from 50 different linguistic backgrounds. The corpus recording involves a wide range of speech events in different professional, educational, and leisure domains for various functions (e.g. the exchange of information, building social relationships), and consequently it comprises the spoken ELF data from conference, interviews, seminar discussion, workshop, meetings, panels and conversations (<http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/>).

Another corpus project is the ELFA corpus (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings), which started to gather recording of the spoken ELF data in 2001 based at the University of Tampere and University of Helsinki (see the project web page at: <http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elja/elfacorpust>). It was completed in 2008, with compiling approximately 1 million words of authentic spoken academic ELF, and was recorded at 4 different universities in Finland, which are the University of Tampere, the University of Helsinki, Tampere University of Technology, and Helsinki University of

Technology. The corpus comprises different speech events in academic settings such as lectures, presentation, seminars, thesis defences, and conference discussions in various disciplinary domains, where English is used as a lingua franca between speakers from diverse first language backgrounds. Approximately 650 speakers from Africa, Asia and Europe who use 51 different first languages participated in the ELFA corpus.

One important point in ELF corpora is that distinguished from learner corpora, speakers' proficiency is not indicated in the corpora, and there was no intentional attempt to control or assess this proficiency level. As Mauranen (2010) points out, it is common to encounter the communication settings that the levels of proficiency among speakers in ELF differ from each other, and it needs to be aware of this diversity and variability as an unavoidable reality. Although the VOICE and ELFA do not exclusively focus on European ELF speakers, because of the geographical nature of context of the data collection and recording, the majority of speakers in the VOICE and ELFA corpus inevitably comprise European speakers of English. In recent years, the effort for establishing the corpus of ELF in Asian contexts has begun to be made. ACE (the Asian Corpus of English) chaired by Andy Kirkpatrick at the Hong Kong Institute of Education is just finishing a preliminary study on ELF use in ASEAN (the Association of South-East Asian Nations), and the first corpus of spoken Asian ELF is about to be collected. The aim of the corpus is not only to 'identify and analyse the distinctive linguistic features of Asian ELF and the communicative strategies of Asian ELF users, but also to compare the features and use of Asian ELF with those of European ELF' (<http://corpus.ied.edu.hk/ace/>), and it is expected to contribute to the geographically comprehensive and balanced development in ELF research.

ELF research is based on the assumption that ELF interaction is a type of intercultural communication. It approaches the ELF features as the speakers' intention for cooperation and supportiveness and gives a greater value for ELF speakers' creativity. The key point in ELF research is that a variety of linguistic aspects of ELF should be interpreted as difference rather than error or deficiency (Jenkins 2006). In the deficient view, L2 speakers' English is often described as interlanguage or learner English. Although the criterion of decision between the learners' error in L2 speech and ELF speakers' creative variation has not been yet straightforward, the legitimacy of ELF need to be accepted based on components such as 'systematicity, frequency, and

communicative effectiveness' (Jenkins 2009: 202). The ultimate purpose of ELF research is not to encourage all English learners or speakers to learn and use the features based on descriptive work on ELF (Jenkins 2007, 2009; Seidlhofer 2006, 2011). As already mentioned above, ELF researchers do not think that the findings of linguistic description based on the corpora should decide the language pedagogy, and instead the sociolinguistic reality and the change of linguistic situation need to be considered and reflected on language teaching and learning, especially when it comes to English, which has been undoubtedly used as a means of the international lingua franca communication.

2.5 Characteristics of ELF- emerging trends in ELF use

2.5.1 The issues of intelligibility and ELF phonology

As variability and diversity of English use has been pervasive world-wide, how international intelligibility can be maintained is a salient issue for successful communication. It is a common concern that the emergence of local varieties of English and nativised and institutionalised L2 English has become a threat of mutual intelligibility, and the increasing divergence from NS norms would lead to the loss of intelligibility in the international communication. If ELF is characterized with its diversity and heterogeneity, accommodation might be the optimum solution to diversity-related intelligibility problems. In other words, accommodation is probably seen as the most effective and crucial way of solving intelligibility and comprehension problems, and therefore ELF speakers need to be trained to adapt and adjust towards interlocutors in intercultural communication. I will return to this issue of accommodation later in the chapter after I critique other research perspectives on intelligibility and how to maintain intelligibility.

Some studies show that the NS English is the most intelligible and therefore should be used as a prestigious teaching model to maintain the international intelligibility (Munro 1998; Munro & Derwing 1995). However, the phenomenon of phonological variation is not merely restricted to the NNS varieties of English but has been prevailing in many inner circle varieties, and in fact there is lack of empirical evidence to support that the inner-circle variety of English, often North American (GA) or British variety (RP- Received Pronunciation), is the most intelligible and easiest model for all speakers from other two circles and in any communicative context. Also, one clear and crucial point

regarding intelligibility is that every speaker cannot be intelligible to all different groups of speakers. In other words, speakers of English have not been intelligible to other speakers of English in different parts of the globe, and this is a natural linguistic phenomenon which will continue (Smith and Nelson 1985). Therefore, as far as international intelligibility is concerned, it might be impossible that every speaker is intelligible to every other speaker of English, but instead, they should attempt to make their speech more intelligible to interlocutors who mainly communicate each other. In this sense, the term *intelligibility* needs to be reconsidered and reconceptualised in the international communication context, specifically in ELF situations, and many prevailing beliefs on the issue of intelligibility should be challenged. It is questionable that for whom and in which context the issue of intelligibility is debated, and whether the previous and current research into intelligibility views the L2 speakers as an equal subject of communication or just regards them as a dependent and passive communicator.

A great body of research into intelligibility has attempted to identify which linguistic factors influence intelligibility problems based on segmental and supra-segmental elements, e.g. stress, accents, speech rate, etc. Most studies, however, focus on NSs' intelligibility judgement and perceptions on various features of NNS's speech or accents which are based on how the deviation of NNS pronunciations from NS has an effect on NS's intelligibility and comprehensibility, and some attempt to compare intelligibility judgement between NS and NNS on each group's speech according to variables of speakers' accent and speech rate (e.g., Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler 1988; Anderson-Hsieh *et al.* 1992; Derwing & Munro 1997; Hahn 2004; Munro & Derwing 1995; Major *et al.* 2002; Riney *et al.* 2005). The findings of these studies penalise NNS's pronunciation or phonetic and phonological errors as a main reason for impairing intelligibility and show how the deviance of NNS pronunciation from NS norms has an effect on NSs' intelligibility and comprehensibility rather than 'considering the possibility of acceptable regional L2 variation' (Jenkins 2007: 84). For example, Field (2005) investigated the influence of shifts in lexical stress and vowel quality on intelligibility and compares the effects of the variables between NS and NNS participants. Both NS and NNS groups of listeners were asked to listen to and transcribe a set of the recorded items in which the variables of lexical stress and vowel quality were manipulated. He argues that certain types of stress misplacement affect a serious

impairment of intelligibility, and the effect of the stress shift was more significant when the shift was rightward. More importantly, when stress was shifted left with a change of vowel quality, it did not affect any significant impairment of intelligibility. NS and NNS participants showed a similar pattern of intelligibility, although NNS recognised the standard form of items more slowly, and one interesting finding was that NNSs were more tolerant to non-standard lexical stress than NSs. In a similar vein, Hahn (2004) conducted the research to investigate how nuclear stress affects the intelligibility among Korean speakers of English. He organised lectures with three different groups of undergraduate students in Korea and manipulated nuclear stress in each group to measure the levels of listeners' comprehension of the lectures. Not surprisingly, the group of students in the lecture with the standard form of nuclear stress showed a higher level of intelligibility and comprehensibility, and the finding reveals that nuclear stress constitutes a salient factor for intelligible speech.

Foreign accent is often recognised as one of the barriers to intelligibility (Derwing & Munro 2005; James 1998; Major et al. 2002; Riney et al. 2005). Riney et al. (2005) observed how NS and NNS listeners made perceptual judgements on accent in different ways, each based on different phonetic parameters. The two groups of listeners, each of whom are Japanese and American, were divided into phonetically trained and untrained listener groups and asked to assess the accents by listening to sentences read by Japanese and American speakers. Their focus was to investigate whether both groups of listeners could distinguish Japanese and American speakers from one another and identify who sounded most and least American among Japanese speakers. The findings revealed that Japanese listeners could easily identify each groups of speakers based on their accents, but had some difficulties in identifying who sounded more American. It was also found that non-segmental parameters such as intonation, fluency or speech rate played a primary role when the untrained Japanese listeners made perceptual judgements, while segmental parameters were relatively less significant. Untrained American listeners, on the other hand, drew on segmental parameters such as /l/ and /r/ sound when assessing accent. In another study on the effects of NNS accents on intelligibility, Major et al. (2002) examined how NSs and NNSs performed in the comprehension test following the lectures by speakers from different L1 groups, including Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, and American. Whereas many studies on intelligibility address that speakers show more intelligibility to the speech produced by

the same L1 speakers, in this study except for the Spanish speakers, the intelligibility score of Chinese and Japanese listeners was not advantaged to the speakers who share their L1. Rather, both Chinese and Japanese listeners had higher score when they listened to the speech by Japanese and Chinese speakers, respectively. All NNS listeners showed a higher degree of intelligibility to Spanish speakers than any other NNS groups, and Chinese and Japanese listeners displayed a similar level of intelligibility to Spanish speakers' speech with that of American NSs. Major et al. argue that one possible explanation is Spanish speakers had less accent than the other two groups of speakers, and Spanish is a syllable-timed language like Chinese and Japanese. Major et al. made a conclusion, however, that both NS and NNS listeners tended to evaluate NNSs' English as less intelligible and therefore scored significantly lower on comprehension tests. These studies argue that L2 speech is overall less intelligible to both NSs and NNSs because of their foreign accents.

A common feature of these intelligibility studies is that they were conducted in experimental settings, and therefore it is substantially questionable whether the results can be applied to the intelligibility process in real-life conversations. These studies are not based on the interactional communication, but most are involved in listening tasks or sentences transcriptions for tape-recording of reading passages or word lists. However, intelligibility is not speaker- or listener-centred but interactional process, and it is more problematic that this view on intelligibility as one way process is often concerned with the NS's judgement to decide what is intelligible and what is not, and therefore NNSs are encouraged to make themselves understood by NSs rather than the opposite (Bamgbose 1998; Jenkins 2000; Kachru & Smith 2008). The intelligibility studies tend to pay more attention to finding out to what extent the deviation of varieties of English from a NS standard can be accepted (Bent & Bradlow 2003). Native speakers should no longer be the only judges to decide what is intelligible and acceptable. As more and more L2 speakers of English communicate with other speakers from different L1 backgrounds, they need to make a judgement on what is and is not intelligible. Today, mutual intelligibility needs to be more associated with interactions among NNSs in the international context. Also, as far as intelligible production of speech is concerned, it may be a myth that the NS is the most intelligible, and many research findings substantiate this fact (Bamgbose 1998; Bent and Bradlow 2003; Jenkins 2000; Kachru & Smith 2008).

Another problem of the intelligibility studies is that they isolate contexts when judging intelligibility by using short pieces of sentences and passages. The degree of intelligibility increases when the words are presented in longer texts than in isolation, and therefore the context of the interaction is a very crucial constituent to understand and interpret speech. Speakers can compensate for the intelligibility problems 'by drawing on information provided by context in the form of their understanding of what had been said so far' (Field 2005: 418). Most studies are also limited to particular segmental or prosodic elements to measure the intelligibility, and this is problematic because intelligibility cannot be assessed by one single variable, and intelligibility process is much more complex. Speakers use a range of linguistic and paralinguistic factors to understand the speech.

While the majority of intelligibility studies are based on either NS or NNS' judgement on speech produced by NNSs, the focus of research into international intelligibility has recently moved to mutual understanding among ELF speakers in the international communication. Some research findings show that in many cases pronunciation problems are a major cause of communication breakdown in ELF communication (Jenkins 2000; Deterding & Kirkpatrick 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007). Jenkins (2000, 2002) provides the empirical evidence that NNSs tend to use bottom-up processing strategies when perceiving speech, and the lack of shared socio-cultural knowledge among speakers are more likely to drive them to rely on the phonemic segments of words rather than contextual and co-textual elements of the utterance. In order to reduce communication breakdown caused by pronunciation problems and guide ELF speakers to more intelligible and successful communication, she suggests that phonological error and correctness need to be redefined in ELF context. She proposes the Lingua Franca Core (LFC), which identifies essential and non- or less essential elements for phonological intelligibility in ELF contexts, based on her extensive ELF data and argues that pronunciation teaching should shift towards more learnable and relevant factors which exert greater influence on intelligibility. Her research findings indicate that segmental features are more crucial for phonological intelligibility in ELF interaction than suprasegmental factors such as weak forms, connected speech, word stress, intonation or stress-timed rhythm, and the less influence of suprasegmental elements on international intelligibility is supported by other scholars. For instance, Bruthiaux (2002: 137-138) argues that the simplification in phonology as in morphosyntax is likely to

naturally appear as a consequence of the increase of NNSs' English use, and tone loss in English communication in the international context is the evidence of this phenomenon. Kirkpatrick (2010) suggests that syllable-timed speech does not interfere mutual understanding in ELF interactions, and in fact it seems to enhance mutual intelligibility among ELF speakers, because the reduced vowels are avoided and the same amount of prominence is given to each syllable. This demonstrates why in Kirkpatrick, Deterding and Wong's (2008) study, participants responded that Hong Kong and Singaporean speakers' English is highly intelligible.

Jenkins further argues that ELF speakers' L1 transfer, which is often considered as a major factor of unintelligible speech, does not necessarily threaten international intelligibility. When speakers recognise that their use of a particular phonological transfer continues to impede intelligibility for their interlocutors, they are likely to make attempts to replace it with intelligible sound and draw accommodative strategies to overcome these problems. Similarly, Deterding & Kirkpatrick (2006) observed that many non-standard pronunciation features are understood among ASEAN ELF speakers and do not appear to interrupt communication, although some distinctive phonological features in ASEAN ELF cause intelligibility problems, particularly the features different L1 speakers do not share. Rather, some of non-standard features, e.g. the use of full vowels of function words and the pronunciation of the word '*our*' with two clear syllables, tend to enhance the intelligibility for other ASEAN ELF speakers (p. 394). Their research findings demonstrate that ELF speakers have a tolerance for variation and attempt to accommodate each other and signal non-comprehension in an effective and face-saving way.

As regards international intelligibility, sociolinguistic and contextual factors such as familiarity with L2 speech, willingness to communicate, and attitudes towards L2 speakers are also essential (Coetzee-Van Rooy's 2009; Derwing & Munro 2005; Major et al. 2002; Jenkins 2000). The main reason why many speakers perceive L2 speech as less intelligible than NS English is that a majority of speakers are less exposed to and consequently less familiar with L2 varieties of English, and intelligibility difficulties due to unfamiliarity are not solely limited to NNS varieties of English but also applied to inner circle varieties of English. For example, in Deterding (2005)'s research, which investigated the understanding and attitudes of outer circle speakers of English, who are Singaporean undergraduate students, to a non-standard variety of British English

(Estuary English), most of participants could rarely understand this unfamiliar NS variety, and some of participants showed a very low intelligibility and highly negative reactions to it. Many research findings show that as speakers were more trained by listening to NNS speech from different L1 backgrounds, both NSs and NNSs improved their intelligibility (Bent and Bradlow 2003; Derwing, Rossiter, & Munro 2002; Jenkins 2000; Kachru & Smith 2008; MacIntyre *et al.* 2003; Major *et al.* 2002; Rubin 1992; Smith & Nelson 1985). The more a speaker is exposed to a variety of English and actively involved in the lingua franca communication, the greater he/ she is familiar with that interlocutor or variety and consequently likely to gain intelligibility. Interlocutors' perception and attitude is also one of the crucial variables that influence the intelligibility judgement, as many studies reveal (Coetzee-Van Rooy's 2009; Lindemann 2002; Lippi-Green 1997; Rajadurai's 2007; Rubin 1992; Smith and Nelson 1985; Tracey *et al.* 2002). As the research findings show, listeners who make more attempts to understand interlocutors tend to judge the speaker's speech more intelligible than those who have a negative attitude. The participants with positive attitude to their interlocutors' English and willingness to understand it have a strong tendency to provide appropriate responses to their partners and contribute to the dynamic and effective communication.

Along with a tolerance of NNS performance and willingness to understand it, accommodation skills appear to contribute to promoting mutual intelligibility and understanding for successful communication (Jenkins 2000, 2002; Cogo & Dewey 2006, Deterding & Kirkpatrick 2006). As Giles and Coupland (1991: 85) put it, 'increased intelligibility is a valuable by-product of convergent acts and may on occasion be the principal motivation for accommodating'. In many cases, communicative breakdown and problems in phonological intelligibility can be resolved by various accommodative strategies, and by accommodating to the interlocutors and the context of communication, ELF speakers can attain communicative efficiency and affiliation. Although there are concerns that variation of English use and subsequent divergence may cause international unintelligibility in communication, many ELF data reveal that in ELF settings speakers have strong desires to make their speech understood by interlocutors from different L1s and consequently attempt to converge to their interlocutors (Jenkins 2000: 2002). Accommodation has in fact been found to be one of the key strategies in ELF communication (Cogo & Dewey 2006; 2012; Dewey 2011, 2012b).

2.5.2 ELF pragmatics and communication strategies

2.5.2.1 Clarity and explicitness in ELF pragmatics

In the early ELF research, the vast majority of study was focused on finding out which linguistic factors cause the misunderstanding in ELF communication and how it is resolved by speakers. Recently, however, more research findings of ELF pragmatics have shown that communication breakdown or non-/ misunderstanding in ELF is much less frequent than generally anticipated and even lower than NS-NNS communication (Björkman 2008; Cogo 2009; Mauranen 2006, 2012; Ranta 2006; Seidlhofer 2003; 2011). Also, if non-understanding happens, participants adopt various communicative strategies to overcome understanding problems, for instance, by using topic change or negotiation of meaning, which speakers employ in an adept way but does not interrupt the flow of conversation (Meierkord 2000; Meeuwis 1994; Pitzl 2005; Watterson 2003).

The phenomenon of mis/ non-understanding is not limited to ELF communication but inevitably occurs in any kind of conversation, and therefore it is more crucial to observe and explore how ELF speakers react to and resolve understanding problems rather than trying to identify whether misunderstanding is more common in ELF than other kinds of communicative contexts. Understanding is viewed as a interactional process ‘by which participants engage in building common ground or joint knowledge, rather than taking these for granted’ (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 115). As understanding is a two way process which is co-constructed and collaboratively achieved by participants in communication, we cannot say that one party is entirely responsible for understanding problems. One way of resolving misunderstanding in ELF interactions is signalling understanding problems by direct and explicit indicators. Once non-understanding occurs, ELF speakers tend to signal their understanding problem and actively negotiate a meaning. In the study on non-understanding in an ELF business context, Pitzl (2005) reveals that ELF speakers adeptly manage understanding problems by a request for clarification with interactional strategies of repetition or reformulation of the interlocutor’s preceding utterance. The finding shows that participants in her research data tend to immediately indicate their non-understanding and resolve it ‘in a way that does not disrupt the ongoing interaction, but which at the same time enables their co-participants to produce adept responses and reactions’ (Pitzl 2005: 69) rather than letting it pass. Cogo & Dewey’s (2012) data also show that when non-understanding occurs, ELF speakers

attempt to indicate the need for clarification and initiate negotiation. In other words, participants explicitly signal their non-understanding and request a confirmation of understanding by a variety of indicating means such as repetition or reformulation with rising intonation, pause, lack of uptake, the direct indicators such as '*mhm?*' or explicit queries such as '*what do you mean?*'.

In Lesznyak's (2002: 178) research data, misunderstanding is overtly resolved as more proficient participants re-employ less proficient interlocutors' linguistic forms, which are deviant in terms of NS norms but 'communicatively more effective' and further 'jointly completing turns with them'. This kind of cooperation among participants is also observed in the data of House (2002: 259), Firth (1990: 276) and Watterson's research (2008: 381), and this co-constructive process seems likely to contribute to dealing with linguistic demands appropriately according to communicative contexts and to preserving face of interlocutors. In non-understanding situations, the participants in ELF interactions also tend to signal the need for repetition or clarification' (Kirkpatrick 2007: 125). Although ELF speakers occasionally use the '*let-it-pass*' principle to preserve the face of interlocutors and not to interfere the flow of communication, when the non-understanding of certain pronunciation or vocabulary seems to affect the overall flow of communication, a listener does not let it pass and requests clarity and explicitness, which is a crucial component for exchange of clear message in ELF.

Mauranen (2012) argues that the effort for enhanced clarity and explicitness by participants might be a natural interactional behaviour which operates in a language contact situation, where linguistic and cultural heterogeneity is prevalent, whereas the implicitness is more often observed in homogeneous cultures, where people can expect a higher degree of shared knowledge and linguistic repertoires. ELF speakers seem to be aware of the fact that there are gaps in shared knowledge and common ground, and therefore they attempt to make themselves clearer, more explicit and comprehensible. Mauranen adds that pragmatic strategies for clarification and explicitness are motivated by cooperativeness, because participants in ELF interactions have a main interest to convey intended meaning successfully and achieve shared understanding, and therefore 'striving for clarity is a way of working towards this goal together' (Mauranen 2012: 167).

Mauranen has found metadiscourse, local organising, and topic negotiation as interactional devices for explicitness in her ELF data. Metadiscourse, or discourse reflexivity, involves language about language, which helps guide the interlocutors by explicitly signalling the discourse organisation. Mauranen's analysis of ELF data illustrates that ELF speakers frequently employ reflexive expressions such as '*what I'm saying is that...*', '*what I want to say is...*', '*I don't say that...*', or '*as I said...*', and this kind of metadiscourse contributes to helping participants navigate the flow of the conversation and keep track of the sequences of interaction. It can also reinforce the mutual comprehension by explicitly providing the review of the preceding talk and make it possible to predict the content which is coming next by relating the current discourse to the upcoming talk. Such metadiscourse is also often oriented by other interlocutors. In other words, interlocutors can express their reflexivity by using phrases such as '*what you are saying is that*', '*the mention that you made*', and '*would you like to explain*' (p. 176-178). Mauranen distinguishes three main roles in other-oriented reflexivity: elucidation, interpretation and springboard. Elucidation is used when the speaker requires the first speaker to 'clarify, confirm, or expand on what he or she has said', e.g. '*you are saying that*', and interpretation means that the speaker provides an interpretation of the first speaker's utterance such as '*so you are saying things....*'. Springboard is that the speaker makes rephrasing the first speaker's sentences 'as a point of departure for a new direction in the discussion' (Mauranen 2012: 176). Mauranen emphasises that ELF speakers draw on a variety of interactional means of discourse organisation and explicitness, but metadiscourse or discourse reflexivity is 'the most flexible and sophisticated' device to achieve these purposes (2012: 171).

Indicating local organisation is involved in overtly announced self-rephrasing. In other words, ELF speakers are found to use conspicuously frequent self-rephrasing markers to indicate their upcoming change of the previous speech 'to organise discourse by marking transitions, changes of direction, and plane-changes explicitly' (Mauranen 2012: 191). Speakers attempt to clarify their intended meanings by using interactive signalling for comprehension and provide interlocutors with anticipatory devices in order to help keep track of the conversation. Mauranen's study shows that ELF speakers use more self-rephrase markers such as '*I mean*', '*in other words*', '*namely*' and '*what I'm saying is*' much more frequently than ENL speakers, and there are some differences in the most favoured expressions between two groups. ELF speakers tend to

display the greater frequency of the phrase '*I mean*', whereas '*in other words*' is the most commonly used self-rephrase marker in ENL speech.

Negotiating topics, or topic negotiation, means fronting topic referents at the beginning of sentences before the use of the subjective pronoun, as in '*this blue-collar job er it involves...*', '*our other basic industry paper and pulp it was successing....*', '*the patients they also get...*', '*these different layers of identity they are.*', '*the Estonian government they made....*', or '*the fat drops they can be....*' (Mauranen 2012: 194- 195). This syntactic device has an effect of enhancing coherence and clarity by highlighting and foregrounding the topic and providing it prominence. It can secure interlocutors manage comprehension and help the speech more transparent. Mauranen points out that such syntactic structure is very common in the spoken discourse in many languages, and it has been found to be frequently used particularly in ELF conversations. She argues that negotiating topic can be considered as a way of accommodation, because it orients to the interlocutor and foregrounds collaboration for the interlocutor's comprehension and enhanced clarity.

Further, some research observes that participants in ELF interaction attempt to pre-empt potential problems of understanding in advance (Cogo & Dewey 2012; Mauranen 2006, 2012; Kaur 2009). Rather than just remedying understanding problems already occurred, proficient ELF speakers are likely to be able to anticipate understanding difficulties from the outset and play an active role in averting problems by employing 'preventative procedures' to secure understanding (Kaur 2009: 108). Repetition and paraphrase are one of the most commonly employed strategies to overcome understanding problems in ELF and enhance the level of clarity. Both strategies not only check or signal understanding during the interaction but also allow the listeners to rethink the meaning of prior talk, and consequently lead to 'maintaining shared understanding between the participants' (Kaur 2009: 113). Watterson (2008) also argues that ELF speakers use repetition not only as a sign of their non-understanding to their interlocutors but also as a feedback to it, and repetition is a communication strategy preferred by ELF speakers to resolve understanding problems for both listeners and speakers and to show their intimacy.

2.5.2.2 Cooperativeness and supportiveness in ELF

The relatively rare frequency of understanding problems in ELF communication is to a large extent led by highly cooperative and mutually supportive nature of ELF communication (Firth 1996; Meierkord 2000; Meeuwis 1994). The ‘lexical anticipation’ is one example of representing a degree of mutual cooperation and supportiveness among ELF speakers (Kirkpatrick 2007: 122). Interlocutors using this strategy help other speakers by suggesting lexical items to process interactions flow smoothly, especially when the other interlocutor has some difficulty to find out the appropriate words in particular situations for a particular topic. In most cases, interlocutors show a positive reaction to this and perceive it as a helpful communicative strategy rather than accepting it as an interruption or showing irritation, because ‘lexical suggestion’ is distinguished from ‘lexical correction’, which is considered as error correction by listeners and may cause anxiety or losing face, as often occurring in NS- NNS interactions. The lexical suggestion is a type of expression for solidarity of ELF speakers to improve effectiveness in communication.

Cogo and Dewey’s study (2012) also support that utterance completion commonly occurs as a supportive strategy in ELF interaction, and their data show that utterance completion takes place both after the hesitation of the prior speaker and with the form of latching. It is found that participants in their ELF data often produce utterance completion at the word search moment, which is signalled by the repetition of the same words (e.g. *to to*, *with the with the*), hesitation markers ‘*ehm*’, ‘*er*’, or ‘*eh*’, and pauses. In other words, when the initial speaker seems to be unable to recall the proper word next, the other interlocutors attempt to anticipate the word the current speaker is looking for and then provide a possible candidate word in the following turn. Participants in their data are often found to introduce the utterance completion with an agreement token such as ‘*yeah yeah*’ to signal to the initial speaker that they understood what he/she was trying to say (p. 153).

On the other hand, utterance completion is also used to exhibit purely engagement and participation in the interaction, even though there is no hesitation token in the end of the preceding turn. In this case, the turn is latched immediately onto the prior speaker’s utterance, and speakers perform this latched utterance completion to jointly construct the turn by inserting syntactically, semantically and pragmatically relevant components.

This type of utterance completion may particularly require ongoing monitoring both the content and structure to anticipate the word the prior speaker is attempting to say. An interesting finding of Cogo and Dewey's research is that ELF speakers often add the sentence even after the syntactically completed utterance of the initial speaker. In other words, speakers add an utterance onto the preceding turn 'as a continuation of it but without being syntactically dependent on it', which they call 'an appendor turn' (p. 156). Speakers expand the utterance by providing the reason for the action in the preceding turn, and this appendor turn tends to facilitate and elicit more talk from the initial speaker, Cogo and Dewey argue that utterance completion acts as a way of supporting participants in talk and show a high degree of cooperation and involvement in ELF communication.

Kalocsai's (2011) ELF data also show that participants commonly employ utterance completion as a cooperative strategy to express interpersonal and build rapport. The findings of his study indicate that collaborative utterance completion is particularly frequently observed when the speaker is hesitating for the word search or when the understanding fails between interlocutor to support each other and negotiate the meaning. However, the utterance completion is also employed even when there is no sign of problems. Kalocsai argues that participants in ELF interactions tend to be willing to provide interlocutors with support and help by sharing their linguistic resources. Kaur's (2011) data also provides the evidence that utterance completion is frequently employed in ELF interaction to convey the listener's understanding and co-construct an ongoing utterance. Utterance completion is particularly effective to help the conversation move forward when the speakers have some trouble or difficulty to convey what they intend to express. Kaur demonstrates that in utterance completion speakers need to concern both form and meaning by providing appropriate lexical items as a possible candidate through a logical guess based on contextual information in the course of interaction, and it shows a high degree of interactional collaboration in ELF communication. Utterance completion was more frequently observed after a word search moment, pauses or hesitation markers such as '*er*' or '*mhm*', and a majority of examples of Kaur's data show that the suggested lexical items are accepted by the first speaker by repeating them in the following turn often with the agreement token such as '*yeah*' (Kaur 2011: 67). Kaur emphasises that utterance completion indicates the collaborative and mutually supportive nature of ELF interaction.

The communicative features of ELF based on negotiation and collaboration are also reflected on turn-taking, topic management and back-channelling. ELF speakers tend to use pausing to signal their intention of topic shift or closing a conversation (Meierkord 2000). Long pauses frequently occur between turns or even within turns according to the phases in conversation in order to indicate the turn of phrase. There is also frequent occurrence of simultaneous speech, but its length in ELF interaction is generally not so long, comparing to NS conversation Orestrom's data (1983). Lesznyak (2002) reports that ELF speakers show successful topic management by formulating certain rules in the procedure of introducing, closing, shifting and interrupting a topic, which result into the formation of regular pattern. As regular patterns emerge in topic management, speakers avoid demanding structures and instead use simple structures, ultimately leading to communicative efficiency. It is also observed that ELF speakers select safe topic and keep a high degree of politeness and that in ELF communications 'laughter' functions as a kind of backchannel (Meierkord 2002: 120-2; Lesznyak 2002: 189).

Kirkpatrick (2007) also highlights the special role of laughter, which is frequently appeared in his ELF data. Laughter is often used to show the speakers' non-understanding or to hide it and to express speakers' positive emotion such as pleasure or satisfaction (p. 133). In Meierkord's (2000) research, back-channelling is frequently used by interlocutors as a means of supporting each other, and it is attaining a particular meaning according to the topic. She goes on to argue that ELF speakers create their own communicative style in conversation and that this distinctiveness should not be evaluated merely as a consequence of their L1 influence. Meeuwis (1994)'s research finding reveals that ELF speakers show endeavour to make use of various conversational strategies to maximise intelligibility and avoid losing face, and the negotiation of meaning is actively and effectively performed among participants. Participants in ELF interactions, for instance, keep high degree of politeness by using a great deal of 'back-channels', 'sentence completions' and 'restatements' (p. 67), and a variety of cajolers are also displayed to ask the listener's sympathy and make interaction more cooperative and supportive.

As seen above, backchannelling is a frequent type of pragmatic strategy which indicates the cooperative and mutually supportive nature of ELF interactions. Cogo and Dewey's (2012) study illustrates that ELF speakers frequently exploit backchannels not only to express their listenership, engagement, and interest but also to elicit more speech, as

they are used as a feedback to show the speakers' positive attitudes and understanding. Backchannels are also often used as acknowledgement or agreement tokens and turn continuers rather than the interruption of talk, because they do not aim at changing the topic or giving new information but provide support for a smooth flow of interaction. Therefore, backchannels ultimately serve a rapport-building function in ELF communication. By showing their active listenership with frequent backchannels, ELF speakers signal to their interlocutors that they are paying attention to what the interlocutor has said. Cogo and Dewey report that ELF speakers employ various types of backchannels such as '*mhm*', '*ok*', '*yeah*', and '*uh huh*', and the data provide clear evidence of a supportive nature of ELF, and the latching onto and overlapping with the prior turn are most common in backchannels in ELF interaction.

In the ELF negotiation interaction, Bjørge (2010) also found that backchannelling is frequently employed to show active listening, signal attention and build rapport. Bjørge's data show that verbal forms of backchannels such as *yes*, *yeah*, *mhm*, *okay* are most commonly used in the business ELF interaction, even though non-verbal backchannel behaviour such as head nodding were more commonly used. The interesting finding is that the backchannel behaviours display the different frequency according to negotiation phrase. In other words, the negotiation process is divided into three different phrases, that is, relationship-building, information exchange/persuasion and the conclusion, and in the relationship-building phrase and the conclusion phase more backchannels were found comparing to the second phase, the information exchange/ persuasion phase. Bjørge argues that the first and third phase are less conflict-oriented than the second phase, and therefore a possible explanation for such result might be that in the relationship-building phrase, the focus of communication is more likely to be placed on building a friendly atmosphere and a positive relationship among participants, and in the conclusion phase, the conflict tends to be resolved and speakers can finally relax, whereas in the phase of the information exchange/persuasion participants are involved in conflict and arguments.

Kordon's (2006) study also supports that ELF communication is overtly consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive, and his data of ELF interactions between Vietnamese and Austrian ELF speakers illustrate that agreement tokens and backchannels act as a supportive means of communication. In other words, participants in his data extensively used various types of agreement tokens including weak

agreement tokens (*mhm*, *hm*, *mm*), neutral agreement tokens (*ok*, *yes*, *no*, *yeah*, *yah*), and strong agreement tokens (*exactly*, *right*, *absolutely*, *of course*) as positive backchannel cues, and these communicative devices served the phatic functions which not only establish common ground and a positive atmosphere and show interests in and agreement to the preceding utterances but also show friendliness and enhance interpersonal relationships. Kordon highlights that active backchannels ultimately contribute to establishing rapport and maintaining the smooth flow of the conversation.

Simultaneous talk is another pragmatic phenomenon which is frequently found to exhibit supporting meaning in ELF. In the theoretical framework of Conversation Analysis, where the basic rule of conversation is one participant should speak at a time, simultaneous speech has been generally viewed as a violation of the turn-taking system, which needs to be repaired (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974, Schegloff 1968, Schegloff & Sacks 1973). However, Wolfartsberger (2011) argues that ELF speakers often use overlapping to express their involvement and listenership and to indicate their attention to the support and collaboration for their interlocutors, and the cooperative overlapping is exceptionally frequent in ELF communication. Wolfartsberger's data of business ELF conversations show that collaborative overlap is produced in a range of different forms such as long phrases or minimal responses and backchannel items including '*mhm*', '*yes*', '*of course*', '*right*' or '*yeah*'. This collaborative overlap can show agreement with the prior speaker and encourage the speaker to continue his/her utterance by providing supportive reactions. Also, ELF speakers often employ collaborative overlap by providing appropriate words to help their interlocutors move forward at the word search moment, whereas competitive overlap is intended to interrupt the current speaker's turn and hold the floor. In Wolfartsberger's data, minimal responses or backchannel cues are found to be the most frequent type of collaborative simultaneous speech in ELF interaction. However, she reports that her data also show the high frequency of competitive overlap and demonstrates that the result might be caused by the time constraints of business meetings. In other words, comparing to casual conversations, the conversations in business meetings tend to take place within a fixed time-schedule and therefore can be significantly influenced by such external factor.

As backchannels often act as a supportive form of overlapping, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the forms and functions of backchannels and overlapping. In other words, backchannels and short responses are used as a common type of overlap

for cooperative purposes, and the participants in their ELF data produce overlaps such as '*ah*', '*yeah definitely*', '*mhm*', '*yes*', or '*of course*' to signal their attention to what the speaker is saying and provide an active feedback. In many cases of overlapping in Cogo and Dewey's (2012) data, ELF speakers do not use backchannels and short responses in order to interrupt the prior speaker's turn and take over the floor but to encourage the current speaker to continue to keep the turn and display their interest and supportive listening. Consequently, overlaps do not disrupt the flow of the interaction but encourage a smooth continuation of the ongoing turn. When the interlocutors sometimes misjudge the turn ending at the possible transition relevance place and then produce overlaps with a short response, they tend to yield their turn to the prior speaker and then the turn is repaired immediately after they realise their misjudgement. Cogo and Dewey emphasise that even the interruptive overlapping is not necessarily used to hold the floor but to signal the speaker's desire of engagement in the interaction and provide a quick clarification. Another type of the cooperative simultaneous talk is the overlapping used for sentence completion, which Cogo and Dewey call 'completion overlaps' (2012: 140), and participants in their ELF data display the high frequency of completion overlaps. ELF speakers often complete the utterance which the first speaker started, by filling the rest of the turn with appropriate lexical items or phrases. This completion overlap often occurs when the current speaker makes a short pause or hesitation, because it can encourage the speaker to take action and provides the opportunity to complete the turn. This interactional practice of completion overlaps shows the speaker's 'readiness to cooperate in the development of the talk' (Cogo & Dewey 2012: 147) and ELF speakers adeptly engage in the co-construction of meaning.

As many findings of ELF research indicate, ELF speakers tend to attempt to maintain explicitness and clarification in the interaction and cooperation and supportiveness is a prominent nature of ELF talk. The communicative situation which is characterised with the lack of shared knowledge among speakers and the high levels of unpredictability encourages ELF speakers to attempt to produce more explicit discourse and to expect their interlocutors to do so as well. ELF interlocutors employ a variety of pragmatic strategies to promote clarity and explicitness in conversation. Although English is a shared medium of communication in ELF situation, the levels of command of English are extensively diverse qualitatively and quantitatively as well as socio-cultural difference among speakers. Due to this nature of complexity and heterogeneity in ELF,

it seems that interlocutors perceive the vagueness as a major cause of hindering to a large extent mutual understanding and consequently foreground the clarity and explicitness in communication. The effective and successful communication in ELF settings is primarily determined by the speaker's appropriate and skilful use of pragmatic strategies. What ELF research pays more attention is to look into how ELF is used and processed during the conversation and what kinds of communicative strategies ELF speakers employ to overcome their own linguistic limitations, to cope with a range of social variables faced in intercultural communication and to ultimately result in effective and successful communication, which is often distinguished from what NSs do and without conforming to NS norms. Although the ELF research is in the early stage in development, the compiling descriptive work on ELF is expected to contribute to the change of awareness towards variation and diversity in language use in specific contexts and reconsideration of various sociolinguistic issues such as native speakers, standard language, multilingualism, and communicative competence.

2.6 Reconceptualising a language variety and speech community: Communities of Practice

The traditional way of describing and prescribing English needs to be changed since many of linguistic assumptions and pedagogical practices it is based on are no longer relevant, applicable, and practical. In other words, as social mobility has increased beyond nation-based boundaries, and social networks dynamically operate in a global scale through the technological development such as the internet, sociolinguistic realities cannot be described in a traditional sense. One of the theoretical concepts that need to be reconsidered and re-contextualised is 'speech community'. Changing sociolinguistic situations have challenged the traditional concept of speech community which has geographical constraints in constructing the members of communication. As seen in Gumperz (1971)'s definition of the speech community, which is 'any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage' (1971: 114), a speech community is generally identified within the framework of language variety, which is based on geographic locality, and a majority of research on language variety has tended to focus on identifying specific interactional patterns and linguistic characteristics of particular speech communities. As Rampton (2010)

adds ,however, ‘social organisation and language use are deeply interrelated, and therefore as sociolinguistic situations of speech community has been changed, the nature of speech community needs to be shifted’ (2010: 275). Such changes have extended the possibilities of communication beyond physical space and face-to-face contact and required new kinds of communities based on shared concern, domains of interests, regular interaction and commitment. As Seidlhofer (2009: 238) points out, ‘at a time of pervasive and widespread global communication, the old notion of community, based purely on frequent face-to-face contact among people living in close proximity to each other, clearly does not hold any more’. Alternatively, the concept of ‘*Communities of Practice*’ (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) is more appropriate and suitable to describe and explain the current circumstances of English use around the world today.

The concept of Community of Practice (CofP) was originally developed as a social theory of learning to critique traditional models of learning. By describing and understanding how novice (new) members in a group are trained, acquired, and assimilated to a set of practices to accomplish shared social behavior and specific tasks, the theory can be applied to how students learn in a classroom. In other words, while learners are generally required to acquire what teachers teach in an artificial classroom environment, Wenger (1996) suggests that learning is an essentially social process which people are involved in through various natural human activities in daily life. The process of becoming a member of a CofP entails learning as when we join a new workplace or professional group. We learn to perform an appropriate accomplishment in a CofP. Members generally start as a ‘peripheral member’ and later become a ‘core member’ as they acquire the knowledge and skills of the group. In other words, the process of learning in a CofP is associated with ‘the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence’ (Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999: 174).

To be identified as a CofP, three criteria need to be met (Wenger 1998). The first dimension is mutual engagement, which is generally involved in regular interaction and relationships. Having the same job or the same title itself does not automatically make a group as a CofP unless members have a regular interaction. Although ‘members of a CofP do not necessarily work together on a daily basis’, they need to make regular contact with one another in order to participate in a range of joint activities and discussions and produce shared practices. Through this process of mutual engagement, members learn from each other. However, the relationships and memberships for

individual CofPs built by mutual engagement do not have to be always stable and permanently unchangeable, but instead each CofPs are ‘in a state of constant flux’ (Ehrenreich 2009: 132), as the social relationships and interactional engagement today often need rapid change, shift and flow and therefore new members continue to join and leave the individual community of practice for moment-by-moment need and purposes. Also, the interpersonal relationship among members of a CofP may not be always harmonious and positive but members can often encounter unexpected conflicts in the process of mutual practices and engagement. As participants in this study of ELF regularly met in order to discuss the topics they were interested in over a certain period of time and engaged in shared practices, the group satisfies the criterion of mutual engagement which is required to become a CofP and therefore in terms of mutual engagement it can be identified as a Cof P.

Second, members should share some ‘jointly negotiated enterprise’. Participants create relationships of ‘mutual accountability’ (Wenger 1998: 77) by pursuing and accomplishing certain goals and purposes they share and negotiate. This joint enterprise should be not only shared and negotiated but also ‘reasonably specific and not very general or abstract’, and build contributions to ‘something meaningful to an understanding of the dynamics of the group involved’ (Meyerhoff 2008: 528). The joint enterprise, however, is not a merely predetermined objective or purpose of the construction of a CofP but needs to be understood as a ‘process’. In other words, it is not simply an explicitly articulated shared goal but members need to shape jointly agreed perspectives on ‘what matters’ and ‘what is appropriate’ in the context of their interaction through an ongoing process of negotiation. Appropriateness should be defined and understood according to a specific context and particular task (Ehrenreich 2009: 132) and it can consequently lead to the meaningful and productive result of interaction in the CofP. Through this process of negotiation, members understand their personal role and responsibility within the group relationships. The participants in my data had a common goal which is to build social relationships and networks and exchange their opinions and perspectives towards a range of political, social, and cultural issues and their daily routines. They projected their perspectives on specific issues such as democracy, education policy or culture shock, listened to others’ views on these issues, shared their experiences as an international student who studied abroad, and implicitly and explicitly shaped their shared perspectives on ‘what matters’ and

‘what is appropriate’ through the process of negotiation. Consequently this property can characterise this group as a CofP.

Through mutual engagement and the pursuit of joint enterprise over time, members of a CofP produce a shared repertoire, which involves common resources such as specialized terminology, ritual procedures or linguistic practices, and this is the outcome of negotiation of meaning and the acquisition of the community’s practice. The members might produce ‘innovative and unorthodox language use’ as an element of their shared linguistic repertoire but this element reflects the members’ assimilation into the group or community and often contributes to making variation and ‘new effects’ that an individual CofP pursues (Wenger1998: 83).

Members of CofPs get together and engage in a process of ‘collective learning’ in a shared domain and intentionality is the key to form Cof Ps and distinguish it with other kinds of interactional groups. A community of practice is not merely a group of friends or a social network of people, but membership which is formed among people by a shared domain of interest is a key to define the notion. A commitment to the domain builds membership, and members of a specific community of practice have an identity and a shared competence which make a distinction between them and people outside their community of practice. The members do not necessarily have to have professional and specialized knowledge in the domain, but they develop their collective competence and learn from each other in the course of interaction and engagement. Through the process of interaction, participants in this study attempted to identify gaps and develop their practice. In other words, through discussions and interactions of a range of topics and activities, members in this ELF community of practice acquired and fostered existing skills of solving problems, identifying gaps, requesting and sharing information, and exchanging experiences.

Today more and more people have engaged in personal and professional social networks of communications in the virtual communities. As Dewey (2009) adds, ‘the significance and the pervasiveness of the virtual communities continue to grow exponentially as new technologies emerge and develop at seemingly ever expanding rates’ (2009: 77), and therefore the increasing phenomenon of the virtual communities has led to ‘a very different meaning of community’ (Seidlhofer 2006: 4). The concept of communities of practice is particularly important in relation to ELF, as it focuses on ‘the

fluidity of social space and the diversity of experience' (Eckert 2006: 3) rather than homogeneous and fixed demographic categories. From communities of practice perspectives, typical characteristics of social interaction do not emerge from the frequency through face-to-face contact and the immediacy through geographic proximity, but common interest, knowledge, and experience play a more significant role in building the professional associations and social networks, where communication takes place in a more virtual environment than the physical. In this kind of context of interaction, meanings are negotiated and created in the course of mutual engagement and a shared social practice, and 'traditional boundaries become more fluid, and are more often transgressed' (Dewey 2009: 77). ELF communication is based on the nature of fluidity, transiency, and variability. In this respect, communities of practice have provided a more practical and workable conceptual framework to describe and analyse language change and variation which take place in ELF, the new emerging sociolinguistic context.

However, as Ehrenreich (2009) points out, 'using /speaking ELF is in itself not only too abstract to represent a meaningful and therefore explanatorily productive joint enterprise, but is also too broad' (p. 135). In other words, all groups of speakers using ELF do not shape one unified community of practice, but more specific professional groups or social-network members with shared concern and repertoire can be identified as an independent ELF-using community of practice. As the scope of the community of practice is narrower than the speech community, we need to make a distinction between different ELF-using communities of practices, where linguistic functions and issues may considerably vary. Individual communities of practice may have different goals, cultures, and beliefs. Therefore, in each ELF-using communities of practice, it may be significantly diverse to define and perform appropriateness in their linguistic and pragmatic practice, since appropriateness in language use and social meaning, e.g. politeness or speech act, tends to be assessed in terms of the purpose of interaction, the role of speakers and the context of use in a given situation. Therefore, it will be more useful to observe and explore how social meanings and knowledge can be negotiated and developed through mutual engagement and practice in individual ELF-using communities of practice and how different and similar they are each other.

Ehrenreich (2009) investigated how the framework of a community of practice can be conceptualized in her ELF data, which is based on business ELF in German

multinational companies. The research shows that participants in the business CofP of an international company use ELF in the adept and creative ways ‘as part of their communicative repertoires in order to get their work done efficiently’ (Ehrenreich 2009: 147). Ehrenreich notes that the central goal of her business ELF CofP is to ‘corporate objective of profit-making’ as other business communities do, and to achieve these goals members need to identify what matters and what does not and negotiate what is appropriate in their context. In other words, individual CofPs need to define, interpret and negotiate context-specific or task-specific appropriateness, because a community’s enterprise should be ‘reasonably specific and not very general or abstract’ (Meyerhoff 2002: 528). Therefore, members of any CofP, including ELF-using CofPs, need to adjust and adapt their language use ‘to what is required and therefore appropriate in these professional communities’ (Ehrenreich 2009: 146).

The speakers in the ELF-using business community of practice have concomitant memberships in different CofPs, in which people perform different functional roles, for ‘enterprise- or project-related needs’ (p. 131). People may find themselves as a somewhat novice member in one CofP but as an expert members in another community. As practice and identity is developed through participation in a community of practice, new identity may be generated by participants in ELF-using communities of practice, while they still maintain their existing identity. Furthermore, the cultural richness of ELF context can generate ‘a fluidity and heterogeneity within and beyond communities’ (Handley et al. 2006: 641). With regular interactions in different kinds of settings by using various means of communication such as phone, email or Skype, ‘diverse and complex interpersonal relationships develop... in various and highly dynamic ways’ (Ehrenreich 2009: 131-132). One of the most significant characteristics of international business CofPs is that they are ‘in a state of constant flux’ as new members continue to join and others leave the community (Ehrenreich 2009: 132).

Ehrenreich emphasizes that through ongoing processes of negotiating their joint enterprise, members in international business CofPs share the perception that the issues of linguistic correctness or standardness do not matter. Instead, efficiency and shared perspectives on appropriateness is the primary principle to govern communication, and appropriateness can be best judged by the members of the relevant CofP. Ehrenreich points out that:

Becoming an expert member of an ELF-speaking business CofP is [therefore] very much about acquiring this new, enterprise-related as well as efficiency-governed notion of appropriateness concerning the use of English, no matter how far removed this may be from previous (e.g. educational) experiences, and acting competently according it'. (Ehrenreich 2009: 138).

One of the reason of this pursue of efficiency as a major enterprise might be based on the fact that linguistic plurality is a significant characteristic of shared repertoire in this business ELF CofP. Members accomplished various communicative tasks beyond geographic constraints, such as phone call with Chinese business partners, face-to-face interactions with European suppliers and customers and a presentation or meeting either in German or English. They also often have situations to exchange conversations via a phone call with the US or Canada clients, where they need to deal with different regional varieties of English that ENL speakers produce. Members of the business ELF CofP are involved in multilingual situations with other languages as well as English, and they are frequently required to use code-switching for different functions and purposes. In any case, linguistic respect operates as a common principle in ELF CofPs. For example, while German speakers mostly use their own language in Germans-only groups, they quickly shift their language mode to English when non-German-speaking members join the conversation. In this vein, members of ELF-using CofPs need to develop multilingual competence to manage communication with speakers of various linguistic proficiency and lingua-cultural backgrounds, and this linguistic plurality as a shared repertoire among members can fundamentally contribute to making interactions in ELF-using CofPs more efficient and fluid.

ELF communication often takes place in communities that are not easily identifiable and locally determined but the contexts of ELF interaction is culturally and linguistically fluid through more diverse and transient networks. In other words, ELF speakers no longer belong to one single stable and homogeneous speech community but they continue to change, shift and transflow the communities and domains of their social, professional or academic activities for diverse purposes and specific needs. ELF speakers in my research might be also involved in different CofPs as a member and play different functional roles in different CofPs by diverse channels of telecommunication such as phone, email or online social network systems. In fact, a large number of ELF

speakers do not limit the scope of their social interactions and relationships to face-to-face meetings or communication but more often maintain their contacts with other members of CofPs via virtual communities. Therefore, while the group of ELF speakers I studied made regular meetings with their classmates in the library for their group work in class and interact with other international students in social clubs at their university, they continued to join a range of political, religious or career-related activities via internet websites such as face-book or twitter and maintain the relationship with their friends in the home country through email or skype. Their relationship with other participants in this research project might be temporary and ad hoc, since they merely met one another and formed the CofP for a limited period of time for the project-related purpose, but they also have potentials to build constant relationships and communication with the convenience that diverse types of telecommunication provide.

2.7 Summary

All these ELF features mentioned above are not definitive conclusions but have a hypothetical nature which requires more empirical data to corroborate these findings. What ELF study represents is not the description and codification of a single monolithic variety of ELF, which is a certainly not the case, but the respect of diversity and flexibility according to the function and purposes of use. As Hall, Schmidtke and Vickers (2013) point out, ‘English has never been a monolithic system of fixed forms’ and the extent of variability is particularly considerable in communications that ELF speakers engage in because of ‘the circumstances in which their languages have developed, the breadth and depth of the functional repertoires they control, the extent of their multilingualism, and the kinds of linguistic practices they typically engage in’ (Hall et al. 2013: 2). Since there are huge variations in the usage of certain linguistic forms among the Inner Circle, Outer Circle, Expanding Circle varieties of English and even some diversities across different nations within each circle, it might be oversimplification to identify the fixed and unique linguistic features and forms of ELF which are clearly distinguishable from ENL use. Therefore, we need to understand the variable and contingent nature of English use and the plurilithic reality of linguistic practices of ELF. Mauranen (2012) also argues the difficulties of predicting homogenisation of ELF. She sees the nature of language contact in ELF as one of the

major reasons for the complex heterogeneity of ELF. In other words, the nature of ELF as a contact language is distinguished from other language contact situations, which generally involve two different languages and one of them is chosen for communication or sometimes a mix of them or a pidgin. ELF takes place in a more complex contact situation, in which participants bring their own distinctive features and repertoires based on their L1-influence, and therefore these repertoires already have a hybrid nature. In other words, ELF undergoes the double language contacts. Mauranen terms this kind of a contact situation as ‘second-order language contact’ (2012: 29). ELF consists of hybrid features by speakers from different L1-based varieties, or ‘similects’, and therefore the processes and mechanisms in ELF tend to be ‘less stable and more complex’ to characterise. Consequently, it might be more difficult and complicated to recognise shared linguistic features of ELF, whereas it is relatively easier to find them in L1-based varieties such as Swedish English, Chinese English or Korean English, which do not undergo language changes and development from one generation to another but ‘remain forever first-generation hybrid’ (ibid.).

Anyone who takes part in ELF communication needs to understand a dynamic and hybrid nature of ELF and enhance the ability to accommodate to diverse forms. As Seidlhofer (2004: 214) mentions, we need to acknowledge ‘the active role of ELF users as agents in the spread and development of English’. The deficient view on ELF use and ELF users should move towards the objective attitude which accepts the current sociolinguistic reality of English use in the world and show the generosity in variation and diversity in ELF communication. To establish English truly as a useful medium of international communication, the speakers involved in this specific communication situation should no longer be perceived as a perpetually receptive learner but need to actively participate in the ongoing process to determine the function and purpose of use. In the next chapter, I will present the review of Accommodation Theory, which is the theoretical framework of my research, and also see how accommodation has been explored and emphasized in ELF studies by reviewing previous ELF research on accommodation.

3. Chapter 3 Accommodation in communication

Accommodation as a communication process has been widely used in everyday conversation and in many different sociolinguistic situations and contexts. Throughout the history of language use and language change, accommodation has also played a significant role as a salient strategy in language contact situations and led to language mixture and new dialect formation. Trudgill (2008: 252) argues that ‘accommodation is not only a subconscious but also a deeply automatic process’, and as Cappella puts it, ‘mutual adaption is pervasive, and it is the essential characteristic of every interpersonal interaction’ (Cappella 1997: 65). Also, in explaining the relationship between accommodation and the issue of identity from the evolutionary perspectives of new Englishes, Schneider mentions that ‘speakers keep redefining and expressing their linguistic and social identities, constantly aligning themselves with other individuals and thereby accommodate their speech behaviour to those they wish to associate and be associated with’ (Schneider 2007: 21). From sociolinguistic views, linguistic accommodation is an inevitable and automatic behaviour in social interactions.

In ELF communication situation with speakers from different linguistic and socio-cultural background, the major challenge is to manage a diversity and hybridity in communication and to negotiate these differences effectively and successfully. One way speakers can reach successful communication is to shift their speech patterns according to their interlocutors or contexts of use. Accommodation is a communication process by which speakers adapt or adjust their communicative behaviour to that of their interlocutors to facilitate communication or alter their speech pattern to make their speech more intelligible and to improve the mutual understanding (Jenkins 2000; Cogo 2009). Despite the lack of shared linguistic repertoire, knowledge and various proficiency among speakers, misunderstandings are less common in ELF situation than we expect, because speakers prevent them, and they attempt to ‘converge towards a shared middle ground’ and overcome unpredictability and uncertainty by employing cooperative and convergent strategies (Mauranen 2009: 246). Mutual adaptation operates strategically among ELF speakers, and they are dynamically engaged in the negotiation of the language. In this chapter, I will review Accommodation Theory, which is the theoretical framework for my research, and explore how significant accommodation is in communication, particularly in ELF contexts, and what

implications the previous research on Accommodation Theory provide with regard to the salient issues in ELF studies. In the last section, I will show how dynamically and effectively accommodation takes place in ELF communication with a range of on-going ELF research on accommodation.

3.1 Accommodation Theory

3.1.1 Basic principles of Accommodation Theory

Communication Accommodation Theory (henceforth CAT) provides a framework for explaining a shift in speech forms and style to adjust a range of interpersonal and sociolinguistic factors in communication. In other words, CAT explores how speakers modify their speech style according to situational, personal, or even interactional variables and what the underlying motivations and consequences of such accommodative behaviours are, more specifically the ‘cognitive and affective processes’ underlying strategies of convergence and divergence (Thakerar et al., 1982: 207; Gallois et al. 2005: 123). As communication is involved in a range of social dimensions such as ‘gender, culture, ethnicity, social and occupational status, age’ and so on (Giles & Ogay 2007: 293), accommodation process also takes place in multi-faceted aspects. CAT is primarily involved in the linguistic dimension of interpersonal communication, but the larger context of the intergroup communication is also a crucial issue in CAT, because the communication as a means of expression of personal identities also represents various social identities as members of groups. Therefore it has been paid growing attention to how the different personal and social identities are negotiated during the interaction through the process of accommodation.

Since its first emergence in the early 1970s, CAT has been developed under several ‘conceptual refinements and theoretical elaborations’ (Giles & Ogay 2007: 293). Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), which is the original version of accommodation theory, initially emerged as socio-psychological model to explain accent shifts in interaction, and accent convergence in the inter-personal communication was elucidated as a phenomenon which reflects accommodation processes determined by situational variants such as the formality of the context (Giles et al. 1991: 5). SAT suggests that communicative behaviour is to a large extent determined by ‘social cognitive processes’ which mediate the social relationship and individual motivation. Whereas SAT and its

research mainly focused on the modification of speech style in the interaction based on the convergent and divergent strategies, CAT has expanded its focus into ‘the whole process of communication’ in more extensive intergroup and interpersonal encounters including inter-generation, inter-ability, inter-gender, inter-ethnic as well as the contextual extension such as in organisation or media. Its social application has expanded from a micro level approach to the communicative processes such as ‘accent shifts or vocal patterns’ into a wider range of macro level factors including situations, contexts, interlocutors, or their attitudes and perception. In other words, whereas SAT as a socio-psychological model of speech style modification focused on exploring specific linguistic variables to demonstrate the speech variation in diverse social settings, CAT has been refined into integrative and interdisciplinary theoretical framework which encompasses various dimensions of social interaction as well as relational and contextual processes in communication, and now takes more account of motivational, strategic, and evaluative aspects in the choice of sociolinguistic code, style and strategies. CAT has attempted to describe, predict and explain the outcome of shift in speech behaviour as well as the underlying motivations and communication processes in the interaction (Giles et al. 1987).

As miscommunication and the relation between language, context, and identity have become a central issue in communication, CAT has more focused on intercultural communication and approached communication in terms of communicative effectiveness as well as a valued social and personal identity (Gallois & Giles 1998; Gallois et al. 2005). Speech and linguistic features such as pitch, speech rate, and accent are no longer the only focus of the CAT (Gallois et al. 2005: 130). However, the significant role of speech behaviours in the interaction among interlocutors or groups has been still the central attention of the theory, since group membership or individual identity is expressed by the specific speech behaviour, for example, the demarcation in ethnic, status, ingroup or outgroup membership, or role or norm-specific behaviours can be all expressed by speech behaviours.

3.1.2 Accommodation strategies

Accommodation Theory explains speakers’ accommodative behaviour in terms of approximation strategies, and therefore convergence, divergence and maintenance are major focuses in CAT. Speakers shift their speech patterns and style and negotiate

social distances by converging and diverging to their interlocutors, and these strategies occur in a range of linguistic levels such as utterance length, speech rate, information density, vocal density, pausing frequencies and lengths, etc.(Gallois et al., 2005).

Convergence refers to a strategy by which speakers adapt their communicative behaviour to become more similar to that of their interlocutors. On the other hand, divergence is defined as a strategy which accentuates differences between individual speakers and other interlocutors by maintaining or diverging their speech patterns away from those of their interlocutors. In the strategy of maintenance, which is similar to divergence, individuals persist their original speech pattern regardless of their interlocutor's communicative characteristics. The central idea to the CAT is that speakers adjust their speech style and patterns according to the interlocutors, contexts and other social factors by managing the distance from their interlocutors (Giles et al. 1991; Coupland 1995). CAT views that in communication speakers display their attitudes towards the interlocutors and social distance continues to be changed and moved by their communicative strategies, and this behaviour can be considered as 'accommodation' (Giles & Ogay 2007: 294).

The major motivations for convergence in the affective level are to gain social approval from the interlocutors and show agreement and support, since individuals tend to be attracted and show the favour and respect to someone whose conversational pattern is similar to themselves, and therefore more social rewards can be expected. In the cognitive aspects, convergence is motivated in order to facilitate comprehension and attain the communicative efficiency and cooperativeness, as the similarity in speech behaviour can increase intelligibility and predictability of the interlocutors and minimise 'uncertainty' and 'interpersonal anxiety' (Giles & Ogay 2007: 296). Consequently, this leads to more mutual understanding. On the other hand, divergence is motivated by the desire to display distinctiveness from one's interlocutor or to maintain positive sense of identity (Giles et al. 1991; Gallois et al. 2005). The speaker may employ a divergent shift to their own in-group language behaviour in order to display disapproval or dissociation when their group identity or membership is threatened. For instance, the Welsh speakers replied with strong Welsh accents when ethnically hostile questions were given, comparing to their answers to neutral questions (Bourhis & Giles 1977). The speaker also wish to diverge since the identity maintenance in the interaction by

using speech markers and nonverbal features of their own group language tend to maintain or reinforce their own self-esteem (Giles et al. 1991: 37).

When the speaker regards the interaction more as an inter-group process, divergence is activated for the speaker's social identity based on a shared in-group membership, whereas the speaker is likely to diverge to maintain the individual difference based on their own personality and speech pattern when the inter-personal distinction is emphasised in the interaction. The social identities are a valued factor in the interaction as one belongs to many different social groups and each social identity is reflected consciously or unconsciously during the communication as a means of 'in-group pride' or 'self-worth' (Giles & Ogay 2007: 296). Divergence, however, is not always motivated by identity maintenance or development but in some situations the speakers increase dissimilarity by exaggerating their foreign accent to facilitate comprehension (Giles et al. 2005: 139).

In the early accommodation research, it was found that convergence is generally favourably evaluated, while divergence leads to negative reactions. Convergent behaviour is appreciated as more 'competent, attractive, and cooperative' since it helps to reduce the cognitive effort the listeners make in the communication (Gallois et al. 2005: 128). However, neither is the reaction to convergence always positive, nor does divergence lead to a negative evaluation. The situational pressure (external attribution) and social norms operate as a key factor to determine whether the evaluation is positive or negative rather than the fact that a determined reaction to convergence and divergence already exist (Simard, Taylor, and Giles 1976; Ball et al. 1984; Gallois & Callan 1997; Gallois et al. 2005: 128). When convergence results from situational pressure and social norms, the reaction was not positive. The response to the divergent behaviour, on the other hand, is less negative when it is caused by situational pressure. Therefore, we cannot necessarily conclude that 'the relationship between degree of convergence and positive evaluation is necessarily linear' (Street & Giles 1982: 212).

In many studies on convergence, the power relationship in convergent interactions emerges as an influential factor in terms of occupational, economic, racial, and gender hierarchy. For instance, one who is a subordinate in a company tends to converge more to those who are in an occupationally superior position. Salespeople show greater converge to customers than the opposite, and tourists from more developed countries do

not make much effort to acquire the local language when travelling, whereas the local people engaged in the tourism are often proficient in a variety of foreign languages (Giles et al. 1991: 20). In all these social relations, one holds greater economic power than the other, and the interpersonal convergences in these communicative settings are dominated by the power relation. Also, in the interaction between members of different social groups, accommodation may often be ‘asymmetrical’ and ‘unilateral’ in terms of the position of power, for example, black immigrants in the U.S. might converge their speech more to whites for ‘the economic advantages’ and ‘social rewards’, as women show more convergent shift to their male interlocutor in the mixed-gender conversation than men do (Giles et al. 1991: 21).

ELF research shows so far that in ELF context, the motivations for accommodation are not limited to gaining approval or emphasising distinctive identity, but ELF speakers appear to be motivated to improve the communicative effectiveness, intelligibility and cooperativeness and to facilitate and pre-empt communicative breakdown from linguistic diversity and variation (Cogo 2009; Cogo & Dewey 2006, 2012; Dewey 2012; Kaur 2009; Mauranten 2007, 2012). Although research on the correlation between power relations and convergent shifts has not been conducted in ELF contexts, there are possibilities that accommodation may also occur asymmetrically in ELF settings according to the position of power among speakers, particularly in high stakes ELF interactions such as ELF in business contexts (BELF).

3.1.3 Optimal levels of accommodation

When engaging in communications, speakers have certain beliefs on appropriate and acceptable behaviour in particular contexts, and this is also applied to accommodation. While convergent accommodation is a salient strategy for effective and cooperative interactions, and therefore convergence on several dimensions may be perceived positively, convergence on all dimensions may be evaluated negatively or often as over-facilitative behaviours. As such, speakers have expectations with regard to optimal levels of accommodation, and the failure to meet this expectation leads to a negative evaluation of the interlocutors (Giles et al. 1991; Gallois et al. 2005).

Over-accommodation is a form of convergence in which a speaker excessively synchronises the speech to the interlocutor and is often negatively perceived. Examples

of over-accommodation speech involve foreigner talk or intergenerational communication such as baby talk or patronising talk for the elders (Fox & Giles 1996a; Coupland et al. 1988). In foreigner talk, the speaker use simplified form of the language often with slow speech rate, loud volume, and exaggerated intonation in order to make foreigners understand better. On the other hand, under-accommodation occurs when the speaker maintains his or her linguistic behaviour and discourse pattern regardless of the need of the interlocutors. This insufficient accommodation often leads to miscommunication among speakers and provide the interlocutor with negative impressions that the speaker is not interested in the conversation. The extreme example of this case is the intercultural communication, where the speakers maintain their language when their interlocutor is not competent in the language and even when they can speak the interlocutor's language (Giles et al. 2005).

All these expectations on optimal levels of convergence and divergence are often based on stereotypes on out-group members and prevalent social and situational norms. The specific stereotype in a society or culture creates a speaker's expectations on how the group the interlocutor belongs to generally behaves and responds in the social interaction. The speakers therefore accommodate toward the image they believe rather than the actual linguistic behaviour. For example, the Swiss student who has a stereotype to African American speakers being friendly and sociable attempts to shift his/ her speech style to be more expressive and outgoing (Giles & Ogay 2007). The interlocutor, however, may regard such behaviour as exaggerated and artificial, because the situational norms and her/his stereotype to Swiss people are incongruent with this speech manner. In this respect, the Swiss speaker can be said to be over-accommodating. As such, speakers' expectations on appropriate levels of convergence and divergence are often attributed to social norms which are socially shared ideas to determine what is the appropriate or inappropriate language is in a given situation and context through (Galllois & Callan 1991). In other words, as different social groups exist in a society for a long time, through a long history of intergroup contact they create the norms based on how speakers from the groups should communicate each other. For instance, in the inter-group conversation, the minority group members are believed to converge toward the dominant group, therefore it is a common perception that speakers will converge to the language of people who speak the standard language as a prestigious variety (Amiot & Bourhis 1999; Moise & Bourhis 1994). Consequently, the relationship between social

groups establishes the socio-historical context in which communication takes place, and it exerts the influence on speakers' expectations on and outcome of appropriate levels of accommodation.

3.1.4 Social applications of CAT

From its initial development to explain speech style modification, Accommodation Theory has been extended its scope to a general model of communicative interaction (Giles & Ogay 2007). It has been applied to a variety of social communication contexts such as accommodation in organisations, health-care systems, and the courtroom, with different social groups including inter-cultural, inter-generational, inter-gender, and inter-abilities.

The intercultural communication setting is one of communicative contexts where CAT has made significant contributions, as the theory was first focused on interpersonal and inter-group interactions based on linguistic markers such as accents or dialects to display a membership to social groups. In the research of Lawson and Sachdev (2000) in Tunisia, Tunisian speakers show different accommodative behaviours according to different cultural groups. When Arab Tunisians and White Europeans who speak French asked for directions to the post office, Tunisian speakers generally converged to the language of the interlocutors, but they tended to diverge when asked in French.

Although French is a prestigious language in Tunisia, Tunisia speakers seem to display more distinctiveness from their former colonial language. Another example is found in the Bourhis (1984)'s research. Francophone and Anglophone speakers in Montreal were asked about directions, either in English or in French, and over 30% of Anglophone speakers responded in English even when they were asked in French, while only 3% of Francophone speakers answered in French to the English-speaking interlocutors. The research findings show that in Montreal, where the English-speaking minority has higher social status and power even within the French-speaking majority, speakers tend to accommodate to more prestigious language, and the sociocultural variables, in this case the power and status of the language, influence the attitude of speakers to the language and consequently lead to the different accommodative behaviours.

In relation to the intercultural communication, Accommodation Theory is also involved in more macro-level issues including bilingualism and second language acquisition. In

the Ross & Shortreed (1990)'s research, when a non-Japanese speaker attempted to converge to his/her Japanese partner's language, the Japanese speaker answered in English rather than in Japanese despite the partner's excellent Japanese proficiency. The Japanese speaker's motive to such behaviour might be attributed to signalling out-group boundaries, as the Japanese speaker might perceive the non-Japanese speaker's attempt to speak Japanese as a threat to her Japanese identity. Another interpretation is possibly that the Japanese speaker was diverging to the interlocutor by using English, because she intended to use English language, which is a language code having prestigious social role and status in the modern Japanese society, rather than converging to the Japanese language used by the interlocutor. The research findings show how objective accommodation is distinguished from the psychological accommodation, and how the interlocutor or the outside observers perceive the accommodation behaviour.

Intergenerational communication is another area where a great body of research on accommodation has been done. As the young and older generation have different language code as well as different values and beliefs on social issues, they are perceived as different cultural groups, which therefore display different accommodative behaviours, and the communication between two groups often results in the miscommunication and misunderstanding (Giles & Coupland 1991). In Kemper et al. (1995)'s study, older speakers display less accommodation to their younger interlocutors, while younger speakers tend to show over-accommodation or excessively adjust. The young speakers attempt to act in overtly polite and caring manners and talk to their older interlocutors with simpler topics, basic grammatical structures, and slower speech rate. This kind of patronising talk is to a larger extent based on a negative stereotype to the elders, who are often viewed as fragile and slow, and generally perceived as over-acted and less comfortable by the recipients.

The interaction between health professional and patients, which is characterised with the imbalance in the possession of knowledge and the difference in communicative role, also needs appropriate accommodation for a successful communication. Bourhis et al (1988) shows that both doctors and patients believe that health professionals need to converge to the patients by using less medical jargons patients cannot understand. Inevitably, doctors tend to dominate and control the conversation and provide the decision about the content and structure of the communication. However, they not only have a responsibility to provide accurate information, but also need to take account of

the patients' emotional and linguistic needs in order to boost patients' satisfaction and compliance. Therefore, the accommodative process is a key element for the health-care interaction settings to build a positive relationship between two groups (see Watson & Gallois 1999; Street 1991 for more details on accommodation in health-care).

3.1.5 Research on CAT and its limitations

Research on CAT has involved a range of interactional processes in different contexts in different linguistic levels. In other words, accommodation theory has focused on various interpersonal and intergroup communication processes in different settings such as organisation, media, workplace, etc., and accommodation has been measured by verbal and nonverbal communication behaviours including accent shifts, vocal patterns, speech rate, lexical choice, and the amount of talk according to variables of 'status differential', 'ingroup or outgroup boundaries', and 'role or norm-specific behaviours' (Giles et al. 2001: 51-52). Therefore, accommodation between professor-students, doctor-patients, healthcarer-disabled, employer-employee, elders-youngers, male-female, and staff-customer is the most frequently demonstrated repertoire in previous CAT research.

Despite many revisions and developments, the primary focus of research on CAT remains on micro-level speech behaviours and tends to demarcate group boundaries with the variables of ethnic background (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor 1977), gender, generation, and ability and views status differentials as a crucial factor to affect accommodation. That is, most research has approached to the relationship between accommodation and social group interaction in the dichotomic perspectives and identified a member of speakers in one group as showing more accommodation than that of the other group. For example, in the research on intergenerational communications, elderly people are found to show less accommodation to their younger interlocutors, whereas younger people tend to over-accommodate to their partners, and in inter-gender interactions, women are also described as more accommodative than men because they tend to be more polite and cooperative in conversation. This dichotomic direction inevitably leads to the result that in CAT status and power discrepancy according to socioeconomic position is a significant factor that determines the nature and processes of accommodation. For instance, research findings show that in a TV talk show, the presenter shifted his vocal pitch according to guests' status, in other words, he would accommodate to the guests with higher status than himself, whereas

the guests with lower social position converged more to the presenter (Gregory & Webster 1996). In another study, it was found that newscasters changed their pronunciations to 'the assumed socioeconomic status' of their audiences (Bell 1984).

Another limitation is that most research is mainly based on accommodation in NS-NS interaction in the Western setting, and even in the research of NS-NNS interactions the status or power discrepancy is still a dominant factor to affect accommodation in this communicative setting. The research findings show that there is lack of accommodation in NNS-NS interaction, and this is mainly caused by NNS's lack of proficiency and therefore they are hardly able to use accommodative strategies skilfully (see Beebe & Giles 1984; Beebe & Zuengler 1983; Zuengler 1982; Zuenger 1989; Zuengler 1992 for L2 accommodation). In many studies, the NNS' accommodation is interpreted as 'the degree of nativeness to target language', and they argue that there is status imbalance between NS-NNS, and this would affect their interactions, by analysing L1 speakers' standardness and L2 speakers' correctness in particular phonological utterance and speech rate, and concluded that NNS cannot show accommodative strategies effectively and flexibly because of their lack of proficiency to use these strategies. It is further argued that dominance, supposedly by the NS, may be a more influential dynamics in NS-NNS interaction than accommodation is (Zuengler 1989).

Lastly, what lacks in CAT research is that it is mainly focused on phonological accommodation such as accent shifts, pronunciation, and performance of specific phonology, and little research has been done on syntactic or pragmatic accommodation. To better understand accommodation as a social communication process, a wider range of linguistic areas including accommodation in syntax, pragmatics, or lexis need to be explored, and the nature of setting, the topic of the discourse, and the type of speakers are also significant factors to determine the way speakers talk in a particular situation and when, how, and on what linguistic levels they modify their speech in a given social context and to explain the dynamics underlying accommodation.

Although the main focus of both theoretical account and research on CAT is on approximation strategies, which focus on individuals' strategic behaviours to negotiate and achieve a desired social distance, I will also explore other accommodation strategies such as discourse management, interpretability, and interpersonal control (Giles et al. 2001: 36). Interpretability strategies mean how individuals interpret their interlocutors'

language behaviour and react effectively, for example, by speaking more clearly, louder or slower to help interlocutors' understanding. Discourse management strategies involve communication strategies to cope with a range of communicative variables by attuning and shifting their speech behaviours according to interlocutors' communicative needs such as 'topic selection, sharing, face maintenance, backchanneling, or turn management' (ibid.). Lastly, interpersonal control strategies refer to speakers' intended behaviour to control and manage the direction and nature of the conversation through interruption or use of different forms of address.

3.2 Accommodation and ELF

3.2.1 The importance of accommodation in ELF communication

Accommodation as both theory and practice in communication has been paid a growing attention in ELF studies, which attempt to explore how cultural-linguistic diversity and variation can be resolved during the interaction and how communicative understanding and effectiveness can be achieved in ELF situation, and therefore the significant role of accommodation has been emphasised by many ELF scholars. For example, Mauranen suggests 'adaptability' and 'intercultural negotiation skills' as an essential requirement for successful communication in ELF settings (Mauranen 2007: 244). Jenkins (2000, 2006) also stresses the role of accommodation in intercultural and ELF communication by her empirical research data and argues that rather than forcing to learn and speak a monolithic variety of English, ELF speakers need to adjust their speech in order to become more intelligible to their interlocutors from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and in many cases they are not the native speakers but the other varieties of English speakers.

In the research on phonological intelligibility among ASEAN ELF speakers, Deterding and Kirkpatrick's (2006) argue that what ELF speakers needmost for effective and intelligible communication is to learn the communication skill to be able to accommodate their pronunciation to the needs of their interlocutors and to make use of it properly when required. They also predict that accommodation skills are likely to be more pervasive as a regional ELF emerges, and further argue that NSs from the inner circle countries need to be trained to learn how to accommodate when they speak to NNSs for business or academic purposes. Therefore, exonormative teaching materials or

methods will be no longer the only reference point for ELF speakers at all times, although the endeavour to maintain intelligibility should continue to be made among ELF speakers.

Cogo and Dewey (2006) emphasise the importance of accommodation for the successful ELF communication, which is featured as variation and diversity, and argue that accommodation is one of the common and salient pragmatic strategies in ELF interactions. ELF speakers are effectively engaged in lingua-culturally diverse communication by attuning the language in cooperative and mutually convergent ways (Dewey 2012). This reflects that ELF communication is highly supportive and cooperative, which are the key characteristics of ELF interaction. Seidlhofer (2004) also stresses accommodation as a salient communication strategy in ELF. She identifies useful accommodation skills such as 'drawing on extralinguistic cues, identifying and building on shared knowledge, gauging and adjusting to interlocutors' linguistic repertoires, supportive listening, signalling non-comprehension in a face-saving way, asking for repetition paraphrasing, and the like' (Seidlhofer 2004: 227). She suggests that the awareness of multilingual features of ELF and the exposure to a greater range of different varieties of English would help to acquire these accommodative communication skills (Seidlhofer 2006). She also argues that 'unilateral approximation' to inner circle norms which are not shared in ELF communication is likely to cause communication breakdown, and therefore 'mutual accommodation' plays a significant role in effective and successful communications (Seidlhofer 2000: 62).

3.2.2 ELF research on accommodation

3.2.2.1 Phonological accommodation in ELF

The earliest study on accommodation in ELF was pioneered in phonology in ELF interactions by Jenkins (2000). She argues that in many cases phonological variation in L2 English attributes to an accommodative motivation rather than just a failure to native-like production. From the EFL perspective, variation is equated with error or deviation from NS norm, and therefore it is believed that they should be avoided and corrected. It seems that in the EFL classroom teaching the major aim is to redirect learners' speech to be standardised to an idealised native speaker standard. She suggests that it should be acknowledged that L2 speakers can change their language in different

ways in linguistic patterns or style, which may be often ungrammatical from the NS perspectives, for various purposes, as L1 speakers do. In practice, it is commonly observed to use various speech modifications in daily communication, and this diversity is accepted as natural and normal. As speech style varies according to a speaker, intra speaker variation is also a common linguistic phenomenon in communication. Speakers are engaged in intra speaker variation as 'a natural adjustment process' in communication, and they converge towards or diverge from their interlocutors according to a range of sociolinguistic variables such as interlocutors or communicative situation and contexts (Jenkins 2000: 54). This variation does not necessarily lead to the communication breakdown by misunderstanding or intelligibility problems, but rather speakers attempt to converge to be understood and to make their speech more intelligible to their interlocutors from different L1 backgrounds.

The example of accommodation is also found in foreigner talk (FT), in which native speakers modify their speech according to their non-native interlocutors. FT is often characterised with simplified pronunciation and grammatical structure or slower speech rate and so on. The motivation of this kind of adjustment in ELF communication might be similar to that of foreigner talk, but the major difference of accommodation between ELF and FT is that in ELF the accommodation operates as an interactive process, while in FT the accommodation takes place as a one-way process by native speakers. Jenkins provides empirical data which show how ELF speakers shift their speech, especially in the phonological level, according to their interlocutors, that is, in the interaction with different L1 interlocutors and the same L1 interlocutors. Her research data, which involve the interactions among two Japanese, three Swiss-German, and one Swiss-French ELF speakers in the English classroom for the Cambridge Certificate in Advanced English Speaking examination, show that speakers display phonological variation in the interaction between the interlocutors from different L1 and those from the same L1 backgrounds as the interlocutors themselves. In other words, the speakers tended to display more frequent phonological deviations when interacting with the same L1 interlocutors comparing to the pair from different L1. More importantly it was observed that the most deviations occurred in non-lexical and grammatical words such as preposition or article rather than content words which are crucial for the understanding of the utterance meaning (Jenkins 2000: 61).

Even when speakers deviate the pronunciation in the content words, they soon acknowledge that it may cause comprehension problems for the interlocutors and make an attempt to shift them closer to more intelligible form. For instance, the Swiss-German speaker who repeatedly pronounced the word ‘covered’ not in the native standard way kept to modify his pronunciation, moving from relatively less intelligible sound to more similar to the NS sound, i.e. (/kəʊ wəd/ → /kəʊ vət/ → /kəʊ vəd/ → /kʌ vəd/). Japanese speaker who pronounced the word ‘cushion’ (/kʊ sʃ ɔ z/) and ‘fruit’ (/fɹ u:t/) in a deviating way with her Japanese phonological transfer also attempted to replace the sound to avoid possible mis/non-understanding by the interlocutors. The research findings show that speakers attempt to avoid the phonological deviation in key content words, which are likely to affect the understanding in the interaction, and they shift phonological forms and the frequency of deviation according to the interlocutors and the context. Also, in the study which compares how phonological convergence in the interaction is different between social conversation and information exchange tasks, Taiwanese and Korean speakers displayed L1 phonological transfer less frequently in the social conversation than the information exchange task, where the mutual intelligibility is a key factor to decide the successful interaction. She demonstrates that convergence is not just limited to the motivation to reduce phonological errors, but involved in the accommodative motivation to adjust the interlocutor’s need.

In many cases, L2 variation needs to be considered as an attempt to enhance the phonological intelligibility according to the interlocutor’s particular features such as L1 or English proficiency rather than the failure of the acquisition of the NS standard pronunciation. Phonological variation in ELF, therefore, appears to be an effective and positive feature in ELF communication, and a more dynamic use of accommodative strategies, mainly in convergent ways, seems to contribute to the successful communication than maintaining the speech style regardless of the interlocutor’s features or context.

3.2.2.2 Accommodation in ELF pragmatics

Since Jenkins (2000)’ pioneering work shed light on the significance of accommodation in ELF interactions, a greater body of ELF research has explored how accommodation operates in ELF. Pragmatics is the linguistic area in which a particular attention has

been paid to a strategic behaviour of accommodation. Repetition is one of the pragmatic strategies which is frequently employed as accommodation in ELF data. While repetition is often seen as an indicator of ‘dysfluency’ (e.g. Biber et al. 1999) and considered as a flawed expression and therefore something speakers needs to avoid and tackle, particularly in L2 communication (e.g. Skehan 2005), Lichtkoppler (2007: 39) suggests that repetition is an efficient and significant strategy for successful communication in ELF. Cogo and Dewey (2006: 70) show how repetition is employed as an accommodative strategy in their ELF data.

Extract 1.

- 36 KAREN: but I like more I think I like more the
37 Leopard because
38 DANIELA: it’s much more complex
40 KAREN: yeah: no the Death in Venice was...
41 I liked it it was nice (0.5)
42 ANNA: more things going on in the Leopard=
43 KAREN: =I think yeah... more things happen
44 because Death in Venice at eh and I think
45 ANNA: nice beautiful boy
46 KAREN: yeah (laughing) and all ugly men

The speakers in this conversation are talking about the films, *The Leopard and Death in Venice*, which the Italian director Visconti made. Karen (German) is speaking to Anna (Italian) that she prefers the film ‘The Leopard’ comparing to the other, and then trying to explain the reason. Daniela (Italian) helps Karen’s talk by adding a sentence ‘Leopard is much more complex’ and using an utterance completion. Karen agrees to the reason Daniela said (*yeah* in line 40). We can then see that Karen makes the accommodation by repeating the phrase *more things* which Anna already said in the previous utterance and modifying the verb ‘*going on*’ to the synonym ‘*happen*’. The next data shows another example of accommodation, in which a speaker converges to a non-standard form of utterance used by the interlocutor (Cogo and Dewey 2006: 71-72).

Extract 2. Chinese Revolution

- 237 CHAKO: my [specific interest in point
238 SILA: [yeah
239 CHAKO: when did language I mean
240 SILA: [mhm... mhm
241 CHAKO: because [of revolution
242 SILA: [mhm mhm
243 CHAKO: did language change?
244 SILA: [yeah it changed
245 CHAKO: [specifically intentionally
246 SILA: because of revolution but it also changed from
247 The beginning of the twentieth century
248 CHAKO: yeah
249 SILA: ehm after the last emperor [was deposited
250 CHAKO: [yeah
251 SILA: and chinese government wanted to modernise we
252 cannot use this classical [language
253 CHAKO: [yeah
254 SILA: so very few people understand or can write
255 CHAKO: yeah

Chako (Japanese) asks to her interlocutor Sila (Mandarin) whether the revolution in China affected the change of the language, Mandarin, and she used the zero article for the phrase '*because of revolution*', which is not a standard form from the NS perspectives. In line 246, however, Sila is converging to Chako's talk by repeating the utterance *because of revolution*. The reason why Sila omitted the definite article in this utterance does not seem to be lack of her knowledge on the appropriate use of definite article, but her accommodative motivation to the interlocutor, because in other utterances she used definite articles in the way of NS norms. Her use of a zero article can be understood as an example of accommodation in a convergent way, which is

motivated to achieve efficiency and alignment by making her speech style similar to that of the interlocutor (Cogo and Dewey 2006: 72). Although Sila could have used a definite article in her utterance, instead of repairing the previous utterance by the interlocutor, she chose the communicative efficiency by converging to the interlocutor's utterance which does not crucially affect the understanding of the meaning. Cogo (2009: 260-261) argues that the accommodative repetition is a cooperative strategy to express alignment and solidarity rather than a remedial strategy to overcome non-understanding. This alignment and solidarity in communication consequently contributes to gaining approval from interlocutors, and ingroup membership and personal affiliation are likely to be built in multilingual communicative situations.

Kaur (2009)'s research also shows how repetition and paraphrase are employed in ELF communication in order to accommodate each other and improve shared understanding by pre-empting communicative problems. Kaur (2009) describes and analyses repetition and paraphrase as preventative procedures to pre-empt potential problems of understanding, and in her data these accommodative strategies were employed especially after long silence, minimal response, and over-lapped talk, which may cause communicative breakdown. However, while in Cogo & Dewey (2006) and Cogo (2009)'s research speakers employ other-repetition as a converging strategy by repeating exactly the interlocutor's utterance for cooperation and efficiency, in Kaur (2009)'s study repetition and paraphrase are used as a self-repair strategy to enhance the interlocutor's understanding. For instance, when a listener does not proceed the next turn, where some response is expected and a transition is needed, a speaker repeats the segment of his/ her talk because the speaker regards the interlocutor's extended silence as a signal of possible difficulties in understanding. Although the interlocutor does not express the problem of non-understanding explicitly, the speaker attempts to enhance a shared understanding by repetition and paraphrase, which provide the interlocutors with another opportunity to check the understanding of the prior utterance.

The speakers also perform repetition or paraphrase of their prior talk after receiving a minimal response with 'response tokens' like 'mhm', 'yeah', or 'huh', which are often considered as a signal of understanding in communication (Kaur 2009: 113). The following extract illustrates an example of this case.

Extract 3. The political crisis in Burma

- 01 M: no in-in that company six years er first I join a: Korean
 02 company it's ()
 03 S: uhuh
 04 M: elevator, escalator, TV:
 05 K: huh
 06 M: so they've got branch office in Burma
 07 K: °mm°=
 08 M: =so before I- I: get my degree I join because at that time
 09 you know er eighty eight crisis in Burma
 10 S: °uhhuh°
 11 M: →er you know democra: democratic crisis in Burma sos ers
 12 there's er university close about three years
 13 K: °huh°=
 14 M: =at that time I join: start working.

M is telling S and K why she had to suspend her undergraduate studies. The speaker attempts to repeat or paraphrase his or her prior utterance after receiving a minimal response, because he or she expects some more response rather than merely simple back-channelling by the interlocutors, or because the speaker assumes that the interlocutor's muted minimal response may be resulted from the failure of understanding (Kaur 2009: 116). The discourse marker 'you know' prior to the paraphrase is used to confirm the interlocutor's understanding before providing an alternative utterance, which may cause another potential problem of understanding. By doing so, potential problems of understanding are prevented and shared knowledge between interlocutors is increased. Repetition and paraphrase also provide interlocutors with opportunity to understand prior utterance, and consequently contribute to enhanced mutual understanding between participants. This strategic use of preventative strategies in ELF needs to be more paid attention because they are qualitatively different from discourse skills resolving problems which already exist, and the pre-empting skills show how actively and effectively ELF speakers use accommodative strategies and facilitate communication in the diverse and fluid communication situation.

The speakers in Kaur's data also displayed the repetition and paraphrase immediately after the overlap, which may hinder the interlocutor's hearing and understanding of the talk. Although collaborative turn sharing and overlaps occur frequently in ELF communication, whose nature is highly supportive and cooperative, overlaps can cause the noise in which the interlocutor may miss the important message the speaker intended to transmit. Therefore, after the overlaps the speaker repeats or paraphrases the utterance to provide another opportunity to understand the segment of his or her talk. Paraphrasing is sometimes more effective and valuable to enhance comprehensibility by changing the utterance partially or completely. Kaur (2009: 119) concludes that communication breakdown occurred rarely as the speakers display a strategic use of negotiation of meaning and accommodative procedures such as repetition and paraphrase.

The role of repetition as an adaptive strategy in ELF communication is also explored in Mauranen's (2007) study. She limits her focus to self-rephrasing, which is 'speaker's own reformulations' rather than other-rephrasing or self-repetition (2007: 248). Self-rephrasing commonly operates in her data, and ELF speakers reformulate their utterance without affecting its original meaning. What needs to be paid attention is that that self-rephrasing is processed in two different dimensions, as Mauranen found out, that is, reformulation of 'structure' and reformulation of 'meaning'. When the speaker focuses on the contents that the interlocutor would interpret, in other words, when shared knowledge affects the understanding and flow of the communication, the speaker reconstructs the contents. For example,

Many children but most of not most them but about 30 40 percent of the children,

There was minimum social and (career) mobility which meant, or we could say that poor people had no chance for (career) mobility (Mauranen 2007: 251)

The above rephrases show that the speaker makes the meaning more explicit by modifying contents of the initial phrases. Rephrasing is also motivated to increase clarity by changing a structure. In this case, the original meaning of the utterance is maintained, and the form is modified to provide the interlocutors with more opportunities to clarify the meaning, as in the example of the rephrase '*the poor nutrition level this poor diet*' (Mauranen 2007: 251). The speaker creates the reformulation of the phrase, but the meaning is retained, and expects the interlocutor to

gain clarity and explicitness. ELF speakers in her data tend to focus on form rather than meaning when employing a rephrase (ibid.). Mauranen argues that the strategy of rephrasing acts as ‘an important means of coping with the exigencies of spoken language’ (Mauranen 2007: 248), and they provide speakers with more opportunities for processing and clarifying the meaning. Particularly in ELF contexts, this reformulation of the utterance enhances the understanding and comprehension of the talk to convey the message more clearly to the interlocutors.

Code-switching is another salient accommodation strategy in ELF communication. Cogo (2009) suggests that ELF speakers accommodate each other by using code-switching to signal their affiliation and membership to individual ELF communities of practice whose members often have multilingual backgrounds. While in SLA code-switching is seen as a learner strategy that learners in low proficiency display as a means of compensation for their deficient linguistic repertoire, as Cogo (2009: 263) points out, from a sociolinguistic point of view, code-switching can be understood as a strategic expression of the bilingual or multilingual competence of ELF speakers rather than the gap in their linguistic repertoire. In her data, it does not seem that speakers code-switch for linguistic needs such as appeal for assistance for missing words or right expressions, because in many cases any hesitation, pause or filler words are not found prior to the code-switching. Also, after code-switching an immediate translation is employed to emphasise the nature of the switching as ‘a momentary borrowing’ rather than compensation of the lack of linguistic repertoire, as shown in the phrase ‘*we call them*’ (Cogo & Dewey 2006: 68). ELF speakers, who are mostly bilingual or multilingual speakers, co-construct social meaning by using different codes for different functions, and these functions are involved in the exchange of referential meaning as well as the expression of the social identities of speakers. In this respect, different symbolic social meaning, values and identities are delivered by the switching from one language to another, and the flexible use of code-switching has become a multilingual resource of ELF speakers.

Cogo (2009) shows that ELF speakers in her study are found to use code-switching strategically for various communicative functions despite a range of sociolinguistic variables involved in code-switching, such as speakers’ different proficiency in each linguistic code and repertoire. Her research findings indicate that code-switching acts as an extra resource to attain particular communicative goals in conversation, and the first

function of code-switching is to provide an effective alternative in conversation in which bilingual and multilingual ELF speakers make meaning and express nuances more appropriately to suit the speakers' intention. The second function is to make sure the understanding in intercultural communication, in which linguistic and cultural difference may cause frequent comprehension problems, and to deliver efficient talk. Code-switching plays a role as an extra tool for easing potential risk of non-/misunderstanding or providing the moments for searching for words. The third function of code-switching is involved in the issue of cultural and social identity. As already mentioned above, ELF speakers use code-switching to signal their bi/multilingual identity and in-group membership to the individual ELF communities of practice. ELF speakers code-switch into their interlocutors' language to exhibit a special friendship to interlocutors' culture and to develop a favourable impression to them (Klimpfinger 2007: 54). In these cases, code-switching functions as a tool for reducing social distance, acknowledging interlocutors' cultural background, and signalling the knowledge of the interlocutors' culture, which are largely overlapped with the motivation of convergent accommodation. The language code switched, however, is not necessarily the speaker or the listener's own L1 repertoire, but the third language code. For instance, in Cogo (2009)'s data the Japanese and Italian speakers code-switch into Spanish, which is the third language both speakers are fluent, because the Japanese speaker thinks that Spanish is the language which has the commonest factors with her interlocutor's L1, Italian, and it is also the language both speakers can speak in an informal and friendly atmosphere (Cogo 2009: 269). Cogo argues that ELF speakers creatively use their multilingual repertoire to effectively maintain social identity and ingroup membership as a multilingual ELF speaker.

The major motivation for code switching is to accommodate in the bi-/ multilingual communication situations and to show the speaker's respect to the interlocutor and create a friendly atmosphere. Klimpfinger (2007) argues that ELF speakers use code-switching effectively as one of the accommodative strategies to deal with the diversity of communicative factors such as unexpected situations and interlocutors' different backgrounds. As Cogo (2009) points out, the functions of repetition and code-switching might be multiple and overlapping, but they are frequently used with an accommodative motivation in ELF communication to adapt to the speech of the interlocutors. The effective use of these strategies shows how ELF speakers deal with the diversity of

communicative factors such as unexpected situations and interlocutors' different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

3.2.2.3 Lexical and lexicogrammatical accommodation in ELF

The accommodative nature of conversation in ELF can also lead to the use of new patterns of lexis or lexico-grammar. This emerging trend occurs in mutually convergent ways based on cooperative and listener-oriented awareness. Dewey (2011) shows how ELF speakers display a convergent move towards a 'co-constructed' interaction mode rather than towards an 'established norm or localised variety' (Dewey 2011: 210). The following extract is the conversation about world travel between a Brazilian speaker (S1) and Japanese speaker (S2).

Extract 4.

S1: how long do you need to get there?

S2: how long?

S1: how long time do you need to get there?

S2: ah (.) it takes about 12 hours

The process can both facilitate successful communication and contribute to the emergence of innovative patterns of use. The Brazilian speaker, who already showed an interest in visiting Japan, asked the journey time to Japan to his Japanese interlocutor, but the interlocutor did not understand the standard code, 'how long', so there was a momentary communicative breakdown in the flow of the interaction. In the next turn, however, the Brazilian speaker immediately reconstructs the utterance and clarifies the meaning by using more explicit but non-standard form 'how long time'.

Dewey (2011) shows another example of the convergent and innovative use of lexis in ELF interaction, in which a speaker echoes a non-standard phrase produced by an interlocutor. ELF speakers in his data reiterate the interlocutor's utterance to show mutual alignment rather than merely to achieve communicative effectiveness. This phenomenon is reflected in the extract below, where Korean, Japanese, and Chinese speakers who study post-graduate course at a UK university communicate on the topic of discrimination in schools.

Extract 5.

S1: i think people er the other students pick them (.) up? (.) pick them up? how can i ? :
(.) tease off?

S2: yeah, hm tease off and maybe bully and (.)

S1: yeah (,) yeah so

S2: maybe (,) and er also teacher (,) teacher also i think maybe i think upset

S1: yeah

S2: and erm, they don't know how to deal with

S1: yeah

S3: discrimination

S1: hmm

S1 (L1 Korean) uses the word 'tease off', which is a non-standard item, but before using this form, he continues to draw on various paralinguistic cues such as hesitations, pauses, lengthened syllables and rising intonation, which is an attempt to find out an proper phrase to describe his meaning, even with explicit question '*how can I?*'. S2 (L1 Japanese), however, reiterates this non-standard form and immediately adds the word 'bully', rather than initially correcting this phrase by suggesting a lexical item. S1 quickly responds with back-channelling, '*yeah (,) yeah so*', to show agreement to S2. The findings illustrate that ELF speakers are often unaware of form and echo non-standard items used by an interlocutor, which they do not usually make use of and can recognize as non-standard. As empirical data shows, ELF speakers tend to be more attuned to the language patterns of their interlocutors than to established standard norms to show alignment and collaboration, while intelligibility and comprehensibility are maintained.

In the research on lexicogrammar in ELF communication, Cogo and Dewey (2006) show how lexicogrammatical innovation is related to accommodative motivation, especially focused on the use of 3rd person singular present tense *-s*. As already identified as one of emerging lexicogrammatical features in ELF in Seidlhofer (2004)'s study, 3rd person singular zero can be interpreted not as erroneous dropping but as accommodative behaviour according to the interlocutors or context of use. Cogo

& Dewey (2006)'s data shows that 3rd person singular –s and 3rd person singular zero in main verbs occur in the similar frequency, but in all types of verbs the total number of the occurrence of 3rd person singular zero becomes higher than the case of main verbs. Also, in their data, instances of 3rd person zero are shown in over 70% of conversations which include 3rd personal present forms.

What is more significant with regard to this issue is that the use of the 3rd person s is mainly influenced by two factors, which are 'the situational context of an interaction' and 'the linguistic context' (Cogo & Dewey 2006: 78). In other words, the use of 3rd person zero varies according to how formal the setting is and whether L1 speakers are present in the communication. unquestionably, while 3rd personal zero occurs more frequently in informal settings, particularly without presence of L1 speakers, ELF speakers tend to use more 3rd person singular s in more formal contexts such as classroom tasks or academic events. According to their data analysis, the number of 3rd person zero has been decreased by 31 to a total of 72 verbs, and this shows that ELF speakers strategically shift linguistic forms in order to accommodate to the settings and their interlocutors. It is notable that the presence of L1 speakers in conversation affects the selection of the 3rd person singular form. Even though ELF speakers have a full knowledge on the grammatical use of 3rd personal singular form, they display a more frequent use of non-standard form in the communication with other ELF speakers. As shown in the data, the use of 3rd person zero is primarily driven by the accommodative motivation to achieve communicative efficiency and to exploit redundancy. It might say that 'the 3rd person zero is emerging as the more characteristic, unmarked feature for present simple verb forms in ELF communication' (Cogo & Dewey 2006: 80).

Cogo & Dewey (2006: 87) conclude that there is a fundamental interconnectedness between lexicogrammar and pragmatics, and in many cases the underlying motivation of shift in the lexis and lexicogrammar are essentially pragmatic in nature. Pragmatic motivations, which are often based on accommodative intention in ELF interactions, result in lexical and lexicogrammatical changes, and these lexicogrammatical innovations also exert a crucial influence on pragmatic strategies and speech patterns. This intra-speaker variation of certain linguistic items, which are often considered as redundant and irregular features, demonstrates how effectively ELF speakers show accommodative strategies in the interaction.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed Accommodation Theory and a range of research on accommodation. Accommodative speech behaviours contribute to enhancing comprehensibility and effectiveness in communication and result into many positive emotional and affective outcomes among speakers. Particularly, in ELF interactions, which have the nature of variability and fluidity and therefore need more flexibility and adaptability, accommodation is a key element for successful communication. That is why many ELF studies have stressed the significance of accommodation, and accommodation has drawn the growing attention in a greater body of ELF research. ELF speakers foreground communicative effectiveness and functional aspects of interaction rather than native speaker norm or form, and therefore adaptive and accommodative pragmatic strategies should be emphasised in language use and teaching. My research is associated with this emerging pragmatic area of accommodation and aims to explore how accommodation processes work in ELF interactions. In the next chapter, I will account for my research focus and methodological processes in more detail.

4. Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 The focus of the study

4.1.1 The empirical focus of the research

The main focus of my research is pragmatic discourse skills in ELF communication, more specifically accommodation strategies, among East Asian speakers of English in the U.K. academic settings. Whereas in previous ELF research the main focus tended to identify linguistic features on the surface level such as phonological or lexicogrammatical features, recently ELF studies have paid more attention to the pragmatic processes and strategies alongside underlying motivations and functions of these strategies. In particular, accommodation, ‘which is emerging as possibly the single most important pragmatic skill in ELF communication’ (Jenkins 2011: 928), has played a crucial role in intercultural communication.

Pragmatic characteristics, however, have proven to be more difficult to identify and analyse than other levels of linguistic domains such as lexical, phonological or grammatical features, and even in many cases the use of certain lexical and grammatical forms can only be completely construed through the analysis of their functions in association with pragmatic motivations and functions ‘in larger discourse contexts’ (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998: 106). While distinctive features in phonology, lexicogrammar or syntax are explicitly observed, pragmatic features cannot be understood as ‘a closed set of features’, as Seidlhofer (2001:217) points out. Also, whereas phonological characteristics can be grasped even in small databases, and general findings are likely to be obtained from even a short corpus data, pragmatic features tend to arise on the basis of more irregular stretches of talk, and consequently pragmatic research needs relatively larger size of interaction data. Despite this less closed and less manageable aspects of pragmatics in general, due to the importance of pragmatics in communication more research has been undertaken in relation to a range of ELF pragmatic strategies.

A lack of shared knowledge, diverse cultural background and various levels of speakers’ command of English often result in unpredictability and uncertainty in ELF situation, and difficulties in comprehension in purely linguistic elements inevitably require

strategic use of various pragmatic skills such as negotiation of meaning or effective management of turn-taking to resolve the problems. As many research findings show (e.g. Jenkins et al. 2011), the use of appropriate pragmatic strategies enhances the effectiveness in communication and ultimately contributes to the successful interaction. Particularly, in ELF settings, where English is used as a means of communication among speakers from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds, the factors such as efficiency, effectiveness, and clarification supported by various pragmatic strategies determine the desired result of interaction. In this respect, accommodation skills are required for successful ELF communication more than any other strategies.

Whereas the casual conversation was studied as an ELF setting in much of the earlier ELF research (see Meeuwis 1994; Meirkord 1996, 1998; Cogo 2009), business and higher education setting have been the major domain of recent ELF studies (see Jenkins et al. 2011). It is not surprising that ELF in business settings has been extensively studied, as English is widely used as the lingua franca of international business. Alongside business ELF, the academic setting is another major domain in which extensive research has been undertaken with regard to ELF. Mauranen et al. (2010) note that ‘academia is one of the domains that has adopted English as its common language, and is one where international communication characterises the domain across the board’ (2010: 640). The reason why academic settings are more broadly studied in ELF research than any other is that speakers in higher education possess a competent level of proficiency to manage to engage in ‘demanding communicative business’ such as a high-level of arguments or abstract discussions for ‘sophisticated professional purposes’ (Mauranen 2006: 128), and therefore their communication is worth investigating as a *sui generis* community of practice even though it might be often different from that of native speakers.

Above all, the fundamental characteristic of academic communities using ELF is highly international and diverse in speakers’ socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds, particularly in the UK universities, where have a number of international students from a wide range of nationality and L1. This diversity and hybridity in nature makes academic settings as a more appropriate and interesting place to observe how ELF speakers adapt each other and intercultural negotiation skills are effectively used, and therefore accommodation is more likely to be required and expected to be employed by speakers than any other communicative contexts.

One of the disadvantages of academic discourse as ELF data might be its institutional communicative nature and often not interactive or transactional. In other words, as in presentations, lectures, and thesis defense, many speech events in academic settings tend to be monologic, not dyadic or multiparty as found in some ELF studies. This can be problematic when investigating accommodative skills and strategies, as accommodation tends to operate in a dialogic communication. The present research, however, is involved in neither monologic academic speech events nor formal communicative situations, but my research focused mainly on multi-party conversation settings, and some dialogic interactions, as a data source in order to observe a dynamic accommodation process.

I will approach the communicative and pragmatic strategies used by ELF speakers in my research in a ‘difference’ perspective rather than ‘deficit’ perspective as in a traditional EFL paradigm (see Jenkins 2006 and Seidlhofer 2011 for a distinction between the ELF and EFL paradigms). In ELF situations, ELF speakers’ distinctive use of English from NS English can be considered as ‘legitimate variation’ or ‘innovations’, not just errors or gaps in knowledge, and speakers do not need to, and are not often motivated to, approximate NS English (Jenkins 2010: 4). From an ELF perspective, proficient ELF speakers are seen as ‘skilled communicators’ rather than ‘failed native speakers’ of EFL, and they create linguistic forms that they prefer to use and make an innovation by using their multilingual resources (ibid.). In ELF communication, code-switching is frequently used to signal cultural identity and to express solidarity and affiliation with one’s interlocutors. ELF speakers use accommodation strategies in order to show affective convergence and facilitate comprehension. In all these communicative behaviours in ELF, communicative effectiveness is given more priority than ‘correctness’ attached to native speaker norm. Mauranen (2010b) also argues that successful language use should have a key priority for a pedagogical discussion, that is, on what we should pay a particular attention in terms of communication strategies for successful ELF interactions and how effectively proficient ELF speakers communicate with multilingual speakers in intercultural communication.

Whereas in most L2 English corpora an L2 speaker is described as a ‘learner’ and the analysis of data is to heavily focus on how certain items are used ‘wrongly’ in their English and which patterns are frequently produced distinguished from native speaker English, the analysis of data in my research is to explore how effectively and

successfully ELF speakers communicate and produce strategic interactions despite their different use from native speakers. In terms of linguistic diversity both from ELF speakers' different L1 backgrounds and from proficiency, the term 'variability' is more appropriate to describe ELF speakers' English than imperfect or broken English, because these words imply that 'there is a single dimension of mastery of a target language' (Mauranen 2007: 245) and therefore a non-native speaker is a permanent learner, which is obviously not the case of ELF.

I will also consider a range of contextual factors that influence variability on accommodative discourse. The contextual element has been paid a critical attention in ELF studies, and its influence has been revealed to be a lot more significant than predicted, as proficient ELF speakers display extensive variation in linguistic forms and strategies not merely for intelligibility but for various purposes including identity, solidarity or humour according to a context (Jenkins 2011).

It would be premature to argue that ELF is a certain unique form of a variety of English distinguished from other Inner Circle, Outer Circle Englishes or any regional varieties of English, but it is obvious that ELF is a fast-growing phenomenon of English language use, more precisely speaking, a sociolinguistic phenomenon which already extensively spreads and exists for a long time. Although a growing body of descriptive work in ELF has been extensively accumulated recently, the development of work is still in the early stage and findings are still very limited. In order to better understand this emerging linguistic phenomenon and draw a shared and more generalisable picture of ELF, more empirical research based on larger corpus data is required. The objective of my research is the contribution to empirical study in ELF communication.

4.1.2 The aim of the research and research questions

The aim of my research is to investigate how accommodation strategies are processed in the interaction among East Asian ELF speakers and to explore the underlying motivation, perception and reaction to this performance.

My research questions are:

1. What are the main accommodation strategies that East Asian ELF speakers typically use in communication among themselves?

2. What are their motivations for using accommodation strategies? (e.g. to project identity, to establish solidarity, or something else?)
3. What kinds of factors seem to be involved in East Asian ELF accommodation (e.g. cultural or ideological values and politeness and face systems)?

At the initial stage of the analysis, I will attempt to identify which accommodative strategies are used and how frequently, and at the later stage, I will focus on exploring the underlying motivations and purposes of these strategies, that is, why the speakers use particular strategies and patterns in a certain situation. Also, the same strategies and patterns might serve different purposes for a particular group of speakers or a particular individual speaker in different context. This in-depth analysis will be based on the cross-disciplinary practice including intercultural communication, interactional sociolinguistics, variation analysis or the ethnographic approach. Rather than focusing on a specific kind of pragmatic strategies or skills in relation to accommodation, a wider range of pragmatic phenomena will be explored particularly with regard to convergence, which is a major strategy in Accommodation Theory (Giles et al. 1991). Also, this accommodative practice of ELF pragmatics will be compared with accommodation in other research of ELF interaction and East Asian communication, and by uncovering the similar or different aspects of interactional features in the ELF setting of this study with those contexts, the nature and significance of ELF communication will be more clearly described and better understood.

In relation to the second research question, as accommodation is motivated by a range of interactional purposes such as social approval, support, efficiency or projecting identity and group membership, I will explore the underlying motivations and functions of each pragmatic strategies used for accommodative purposes. As the same communication strategy can have different motivations and functions, for example, the strategy of repetition can be used for confirmation check, repair or backchannel, I will classify the accommodation strategies according to their functions and interactional outcomes which are determined by the speaker's following action or interlocutor's response. I will also analyse the factors which may be involved in East Asian ELF accommodation by examining how these strategies are used in East Asian communication and whether East-Asian-specific lingua-cultural beliefs and attitudes might influence the use of accommodation strategies.

4.2 Methodological approach

4.2.1 Focus group and pilot study

A great body of ELF studies is based on naturally-occurring conversation data in a range of contexts, but there are some difficulties to collect data from the purely naturally-occurring conversation settings for several reasons. The first practical reason is difficulties of time limitation and access to the conversation settings. However, more fundamental reason is that it is difficult to collect the data from more dynamic and intensive interaction with more in-depth level of communication rather than just a small talk or a light casual conversation. Some critics argue that ELF conversation is just non-native English full of mistakes and errors, but to clarify the fact that ELF speakers are engaged in a highly effective and dynamic communication process and that ELF communication should be distinguished from learner English, it was more likely to be reasonable to observe more in-depth conversations among proficient ELF speakers.

The second difficulty is to find the settings in which all participants constitute international students exclusively from East Asian countries, because most disciplines and modules consist of both home students and international students from a variety of nationalities and linguistic backgrounds. It is not difficult to see the communication situation of group discussion among students in the campus, but in many cases all group members do not necessarily consists of only East Asian students. However, I needed to observe how ELF communications only among East Asian speakers work and what happens in this particular ELF setting. For these reasons, it was required to organise the setting in a partly controlled way to arrange the groups with all East Asian ELF speakers, rather than just collecting the data from the conversation by already formed groups, even though it can be incompatible with an ethnographic approach which most ELF research pursues and there might be some possibilities that controlling the groups of participants can influence the findings.

I conducted the pilot study with a focus group method, because it was thought to be difficult to collect data from naturally occurring conversation in completely unstructured communication settings within a limited time, which is in my case maximum 2 or 3 months planned for data collection for the PhD project. Consequently, focus group seemed to be a more effective and time-saving research method to collect

spoken ELF data since the focus group discussion can generate dynamic interactions among the participants by exchanging their opinions or ideas with regard to a certain topic. The primary purpose of the focus group for my pilot study is not to listening to people and learn from them on a particular topic or agenda, which is the general purpose of focus group, but to observe their communication, particularly accommodative strategies, discourse pattern and characteristics during the communicative exchange.

For the pilot study, I conducted one focus group discussion and 2 interviews in August 2010, and the participants for the focus group were pre-sessional MA students at one university in the U.K.. The participants were from Korea (male-transportation engineering), Taiwan (male-material engineering), China (female-marketing), and Thailand (male-maritime engineering), and the interview participants were 1 Chinese MA student (Linguistics-female) and 1 Taiwanese MA student (Business and Management- female).

For the focus group discussion, I opened the conversation with a welcome greeting and then provided a brief explanation of the focus group discussion and the overview of the topics. Prior to the discussion, I distributed the stimulus material for reading and discussion, which constitutes three extract articles and the following questions for each extract, and all topics are linguistics-related one with regard to the spread of English and ELF. The questions for the discussion involve relevant issues on those topics such as native speaker norm and intelligibility in intercultural communication as well as the situation of English learning and teaching in the participants' own country. The full script of the material for the focus group discussion is on Appendix 1. The focus group took about 1 hour.

The result of the pilot study, however, was not successful. I could not find the dynamic accommodative interaction in the focus group. There were some repetitions, but there was no any other accommodative strategy. I think the main reason comes from the constraint of 'focus group' as a research method for accommodation, because it was difficult to observe natural and active turn-taking among participants. Before I asked a question, they rarely initiated the turn, and they rarely exchanged their views and opinion. They provided no reaction to others and just constructed their individual opinion. Consequently, it was just like a pattern of question and answer rather than interaction.

Various factors may have been involved in the failure of the focus group, which intended to observe accommodation in the interaction through the dynamic and natural turn-taking. One reason of this failure of the focus group might be attributed to the lack of acquaintance among participants. They were all from different pre-sessional classes, and they had not met each other before. As Morgan (1998: 49) notes, it depends on the purpose of the research whether to select participants for focus groups with strangers or acquaintances. According to the literature, however, it is noted that the arrangement with strangers is traditional in the focus group discussion, particularly in marketing research, because speakers tend to be more open and truthful when they are talking with people who have no acquaintance with each other and will probably not see again (Vaughn et al 1996: 63-64). Some also argues that it is useful to organize the focus group among strangers when the 'taken-for-granted assumptions' are discussed as a topic (Morgan 1998: 49). For these reasons, strangers are often recommended as participants for the focus group. In other literature on focus group (Liamputtong 2011), however, the intimacy among participants works in a positive way, therefore the participants might have felt uncomfortable to speak with strangers and consequently the lack of intimacy among participants might negatively affect the result of my focus group discussion.

Furthermore, this lack of intimacy among speakers might be intertwined with the features of communication style of East Asian speakers and then attributed to interrupt the dynamic turn-taking in focus group discussion. Modes of communication in Asian culture are characterised by 'indirect' and 'implicit' as well as more receiver-centred than the more sender-centred communication of the Western. The language in the Western discourse system tends to be used as a means of expression and therefore the exchange of ideas and thoughts is emphasised, whereas in Asian communication processes, a 'total or holistic communication' is pursued and the attitude to the argumentation is passive (Servaes 2000: 7). Although this typical communicative patterns and modes of communication of East Asian speakers cannot be generalised for all social contexts and individual speakers and this stereotypical approach might be to a large extent a problematic interpretation, the Asian mode of communication, which is audience-oriented rather than communicator-oriented, is likely to affect a disadvantageous result for the focus group discussion. East Asian culture tends to regard the concepts like 'indirectness', 'modesty', and 'politeness' as important and

consequently attempt to communicate in a face-saving ways as much as possible, and it is valued not to openly express one's opinions or feelings. East Asian speakers, therefore, tend to avoid such expressions as 'I disagree', 'I don't agree with you', or 'I have a different view on that' (S. J. Park 2009: 99). In the western culture, 'it is often permitted and encouraged to take part in talk or even dominate the floor, even for children' (Cameron 2001: 21). This kind of 'language socialisation practice' might vary across cultures and communities, but it might also act as an influential factor in my focus group.

The constraint of the topic seems to be another factor to influence the result. The topic for focus group discussions might not be interesting, and therefore not appropriate, to participants enough to stimulate their dynamic discussion. The participants might have little interest on the topic and have never thought about it seriously before. All the topics for the focus group discussion were a linguistic one, more specifically the spread of English, ELF, native speaker norms, and intelligibility issues, and as the disciplinary domains of most participants were not linguistics, they might have been less interested in those topics. As Morgan (1998: 62) puts it, 'one of the most common reasons why a topic is not appropriate is that the participants have too little involvement in it'. Therefore, the participants' interest and ability to discuss the selected topic is crucial for successful discussion in focus groups. In my pilot study, the lack of interest in the topic might not have encouraged the participants to provide the active discussion. In this respect, it needs to be considered 'how easy it will be to generate a free-flowing and productive conversation on the topic' (ibid.). The focus of my study is not to listen to the participants' thoughts or experiences itself but to describe what happens in the interaction and which specific communicative strategies are used in ELF communications in a certain context, which is the academic settings among East Asian ELF speakers, and therefore dynamic exchanges of interaction among participants are the key significance in my research.

In the focus group method, a moderator opens the session and introduces the topic of the discussion. During the group discussion, the moderator sets specific questions and sometimes activities and invites participants to express their opinion. In the closing stage, the moderator summarises the main points of the focus group discussion and calls for questions from the speakers. For these reasons, the focus group has to a certain extent a disadvantage as a research method for my study, in which a dynamic turn-

taking is a central element for observing accommodation, while it might be more effective when the group discussion has certain issues the researcher wants to know and the participants share a strong interest in the issues. In my pilot study, the focus group discussion seemed to produce more artificial conversation turns, that is, after I asked questions, the participants spoke their opinion by a person-to-person sequence, rather than natural and dynamic turn-taking among participants, which is the main purpose of my main study I need to explore.

4.2.2 Research method

As in the focus group it was difficult to find out dynamic exchange of interaction and free-flowing discussion among participants, I consequently decided to change the research method to a modified version of traditional focus group, what I would like to call 'conversation group', which is less organised and more naturally-occurring than traditional focus group. What this research method is different from focus group is that I neither organised the conversation with specific questions and prepared stimulus materials, nor moderated the group discussion and led the conversation as focus group does. I did bring some topics to stimulate the communication, but in many cases the participants opened the conversation with the topic they were interested in, and we started the conversation very naturally with a range of topic from their daily life.

I attempted to make group dynamics more natural and active and to provide the participants with the opportunity to discuss their shared interests in a friendly atmosphere. Instead of directing the participants to talk about a predetermined agenda, I made an effort to encourage them to speak by bringing a variety of stimulating topics or issues and tried to skillfully change them according to participants' reaction or dynamics of interaction. As Cameron (2001) points out, to generate the natural data it is more effective to select normal and familiar topics as in a natural atmosphere, rather than asking them to undertake a usual or artificial task or activity.

In terms of the fact that I was actually involved in what was going on and took part in the conversation groups as a participant, not just watch, my research methodology is a partly participant observation, and one of the advantages of participants observation is that the researcher join the group being studied as an insider and takes part in the activities and share the experiences. Rather than just observing the conversation as an

outsider, in which there is a higher risk the researcher embeds his or her 'own values and interpretations' on the speakers' behaviour (McNeill & Chapman 2005: 94-95), by being involved in the field studied as both an ELF speaker myself and a researcher, the interpretations of the communication and behaviour can be more based on the speakers' intentional motivation and intuitive attachment. There will be, however, a question of whether and how a researcher's presence may affect other people's behaviour. The researchers encounter what the sociolinguist William Labov (1972) called 'the Observer's Paradox': ideally, they want to observe how people behave when they are not being observed (Cameron 2001: 20). However, as McNeill & Chapman (2005: 96) point out, when the researcher joins the group as a participant-as-observer, in the early stage, the participants of the group might behave artificially as they are aware of the researcher's presence, but the participants' behaviour tends to return to normal eventually without caring the researchers' presence.

One might argue that my data from the artificial setting arranged for the research purpose is not 'natural' data, and therefore it cannot be good data for ELF discourse research. However, the issue of what is or is not 'natural' in the data raise complicated arguments. As Cameron (2001) argues, anyone has shown convincingly that the talking which research subjects do in a lab is a different thing in every respect from their 'normal' talk. Conversely, it is widely acknowledged that the act of recording talk, whether in a lab or somewhere else, has the potential to affect participants' behaviour and make the talk something different from what it would have been otherwise. All talk is shaped by the context in which it is produced, and where talk is being observed and recorded becomes part of the context. It could be argued that a lab is itself a social setting, and 'taking part in a research project' is a recognisable social activity, just like 'chatting with friends' (Cameron 2001: 20). There is also distinction in spoken discourse between 'ordinary' talk – what happens in casual contexts with family and friends – and 'institutional talk' – what we do when we interact as, or with, professionals, as in teacher-students and doctor-patient interactions. Institutional talk is perfectly 'natural' in the sense discussed above – it is not just manufactured for research purposes – but there has been a tendency to treat 'ordinary' talk as more fundamental, and thus privileged (ibid.). Despite the controlled setting and research-purposed data, ELF communications in this study can have empirical research values in terms of regional manifestations of ELF, which are still lack of empirical data.

Any conversation in my data was not intentionally elicited for research purposes, but participants had equal discursive rights as casual conversations between peers, and the interaction took place under the natural and participant-oriented circumstances. In this sense, the data of my research is qualitatively naturally-occurring. The only difference between other ELF research data and my data is that I organised the setting and participated in interactions, whereas other researchers in ELF just accessed to the pre-determined settings by someone else and recorded the interaction. In the case I participated in the group as a teacher or acted as a leader of conversation, or if I was a native speaker, my presence in the group as a participant-as-observer might influence the result of the nature of the communication. I did not, however, lead the conversation or play a role as a mediator to discuss a specific topic and elicit a specific result or participants' opinion, and therefore the fundamental nature of the communication in my conversation group is not artificial but as naturally-occurring as most corpora of ELF data are.

4.2.3 The participants

Although ELF communication has taken place across the whole globe, there are more possibilities of higher frequency that ELF speakers are engaged in ELF communication based on regional contexts due to the strong political, economic and cultural interconnectedness and cooperation, e.g. EU, ASEAN, Middle East, or Latin America, and therefore ELF is likely to be developed with the regional-based form such as European ELF, ASEAN ELF or Latin American ELF, although we cannot demarcate the clear-cut boundary among them. There may be common characteristics of ELF communication across all regional contexts, but there might be also some differences in different regional-based ELF, in which characteristics are to a large extent based on the speakers' L1 or culture. As East Asia has been arisen as one of the most fast-growing and influential economic hubs in the world, the political and economic relationship among East Asian countries has been more strongly intertwined than ever before and the mobility in a range of sectors has continued to increase in the governmental, business and individual level. As already mentioned in Chapter 2, there are great possibilities that English is used as a lingua franca in East Asia rather than learning and using each foreign language, i.e. Chinese, Japanese or Korean, when communicating each other.

The participants for this research are international students from East Asian countries who study the undergraduate and postgraduate course in five different universities in the U.K. Today there are a large proportion of international students in the UK universities across the whole country. According to the statistics of the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA), in 2004 there were approximately 80,000 international students studying a Masters-level programme in the UK and 17,000 studying for a Doctorate. The number of international students has been growing steadily for more than thirty years, and has doubled since 1999. The overall percentage of international students in UK universities is 15% in 2011/2012 and 66% of full-time taught postgraduates and 42% of all taught postgraduates are overseas students (www.hesa.ac.uk). As English has been used and spread as an international medium of communication, more and more overseas students have come to English-speaking countries for their academic career. Many UK universities, therefore, are keen to attract this group of students, and claim that they be truly international. For example, the website of the University of Southampton says:

"The University of Southampton is a truly international institution with a global reputation for excellence in leading-edge research. Students from more than 130 different nations study here and our network of university partnerships spans the globe."

They emphasises the international diversity of the university in terms of the high proportion of the overseas students, which involves 1,400 EU students and more than 3,400 international students from outside the EU from more than 130 different countries, out of over 22,000 students.

In particular, the number of students from East Asia in the UK universities has soared in the past decade, and according to the statistics of HESA (Higher Education Statistics Agency), Chinese students (in higher education in the UK) currently number the largest group of overseas students, with approximately 57,000 students in 2012 – almost one in six of overseas students – and other East Asian students are also ranked in top 10 out of non-EU overseas students. The top five East Asian countries in terms of the number of students enrolled on UK higher education programmes in 2009/10 were Hong Kong (9,600), Taiwan (5,233), Korea (South) (4,277), and Japan (3,871) including China, and the academic levels East Asian students study in the U.K. constitute 36,994 students for

the undergraduate programmes and 33,415 students for the postgraduate programmes. According to the annual report of enrolled student population in 2012 at the University of Southampton, which is the major setting of this research project, the number of international students from East Asia comprise 1298 students from China, 170 from Hong Kong, 133 from Taiwan, 24 students from Japan, 50 from Korea, and 142 from Thailand out of the total number of 22269 students at the institution. These increasing figures of the East Asian students mean that in the UK higher education ELF communication among East Asian students is occurring highly actively and this context can provide us with a useful source for ELF data. As Ranta (2006) argues, the academic setting is especially appropriate for ELF research since English is used as the working language on the regular basis, and particularly the ELF speakers studying in the academic settings in the English-speaking countries like the participants of my research use English as a medium of communication both at the school and in their daily life.

As regards the process of recruiting participants, I circulated an email in order to recruit participants who had interests in my research with the help of one friend of mine, who has known a lot of international students in Southampton. I explained briefly about my research area, which is ELF, and the brief introduction of the research itself. I did not mention, however, the detailed contents that I would explore, that is, accommodation strategies in the communication. Instead, it was just informed that I would like to record and analyse the conversation we made. Six students responded to me and other participants are students who have a personal acquaintance with the researcher myself. I organised the regular meeting with them, almost once a week for a 9-week period of time, from the end of January to the end of March 2011. To minimise the external noise for a good-quality recording of the conversation, rather than meeting in the cafeteria or open place with the presence of non-participants, the conversation group meeting took place in the group meeting room in the libraries at the universities where my participants were studying. Totally, 14 students took part in the data collection, and they are from China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. Six students of them, however, participated in the project on a regular basis. The academic subjects that participants study vary including accounting, finance, management, computer science, hotel management & hospitality, and linguistics. The information of the profile of participants for my research is provided in Appendix 2.

Regarding the proficiency of participants' English, since the participants are all required the English language qualification for the entrance of the course, e.g. IELTS, participants possess a considerably advanced level of proficiency in English, and they are involved in the academic settings as a user of English rather than a learner. In the academic settings, which require speakers to possess a challenging and demanding language use for arguing and discussing a range of topics, speakers hold a reasonable level of competence for communication. Despite the possession of the English language qualification, however, the participants would possess different levels of proficiency in English, and as Mauranen (2010) points out, it is a normal and natural situation that speakers have different proficiency in ELF settings. Eventually, this difference in speakers' proficiency might affect the use of accommodation according to participants. Therefore, the variation of participants' English proficiency would be one of the variables which affect the accommodation in communication in the research.

4.2.4 Data collection

The data for the research was collected in the academic settings at the U.K. universities, and consists of approximately 25 hour-long spoken ELF discourse with 22 different communication events. As I mentioned above, the total number of participants is fourteen, and their nationalities involve Mainland China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. Six students of them, however, participated in the project on a regular basis, and two different groups were the main source for the data. In other words, the majority of my data consists of the conversations by group A, which includes one male Chinese speaker, one female Chinese speaker, and one Korean female speaker, and group B, in which one female Japanese speaker, two female Chinese speaker and one female Korean speaker took part in the conversation. I organised a group meeting once a week for a 9-week period of time, from late January to the end of March, and each group conversation lasted from 1 to 2 hour. Refreshments and some snacks and soft drinks were provided to participants in order to establish more casual, natural and friendly atmosphere for interaction rather than formal discussion group.

The data was audio-recorded in authentic situations with the agreement of the participants. All the meetings and recordings took place in the library meeting room at the universities. The number of speakers in each discourse event ranges from 2 to 4 people, but most of the data comprises the interactions among 3 or 4 participants,

whereas some corpus data in ELF involves a monologue such as presentations or lectures and a dialogue between two speakers like interviews or thesis defences. The maximum number of participants in the individual event was intentionally restricted not to outnumber 4 speakers because of the possibility of frequent over-lapping and subsequent difficulties of transcription and analysis as well as for the purpose of creating the atmosphere of the communication more comfortable and friendly, because the majority of participants had no or little acquaintance each other before this research project. Whereas the participants of the normal focus group research number from at least 5 or 6 to 10 people, the main purpose of this research is not to examine a number of participants' voice or opinion on the certain agenda or topic, as mentioned earlier, but the research has a priority on collecting the spoken data which consist of dynamic turn-taking among participants to observe communication strategies used in the interaction. As most literature on focus group points out, the imbalance of participation among speakers is one of the disadvantages of focus group. Given these possibilities, in order to provide each participant with more opportunities to talk, 3 or 4 speakers were considered most suitable for effective conversations.

Also, this regulation of the number of participants is based on the traditional characteristics of East Asian speakers in communication. As mentioned above, East Asian speakers tend to be uncomfortable in speaking in front of a number of audience or with many interlocutors, and this fact might be one of the reasons which resulted in the failure of my pilot study. By organising the conversation group members with a small size, each participant was also allowed to have more turn, and any member of the group was not alienated. In addition, by collecting most of the data with the same participants over a certain period of time, it is expected to observe the change of the accommodative behaviour in the communication.

Participants were informed of the general purpose of the research, which is to observe how ELF speakers communicate each other, but they were not told specifically what the research aim and questions are. Whereas in focus group participants are informed of the general topic or issues which will be discussed because the main purpose of focus group is to obtain participants' points of view on the topics presented, the participants in my research were not provided with the topic or agenda prior to the conversation in order to make the nature of the conversation as naturally-occurring as possible. It was also informed that the participants' interaction would be kept confidential. As participants

should be provided a permission form to obtain their informed consent (Vaughn et al 1996: 69), a permission form was sent to prospective participants before the conversation group began, and it was made sure that their interactions are anonymous and pseudonyms would be used. In the next chapter, more on methodology, i.e. data analysis tools, will be presented. In other words, I will describe how I carried out the analysis of my data, and provide the findings of my data analysis. In Chapter 6, I will discuss some possible explanations of the certain patterns and dynamics of accommodation strategies used in my data and explore similar and different aspects of accommodation comparing to other ELF research and East Asian communication.

5. Chapter 5 Findings

In this chapter, I will present the findings of my data analysis by identifying which kinds of pragmatic strategies are used for convergent accommodation. The chapter begins with the analytical framework that I drew on, followed by a brief description of frequency of each strategy. In the next part of the chapter, a detailed description and analysis of the results will be presented based on the examples of transcribed data, in which I used a modified version of the transcription of conventions used in Hutchby & Wooffitt (2008) and it is provided in Appendix 3. The first part of findings involves the convergent strategy of repetition, which is divided into two different motivations, i.e. repetition for clarity and repetition for solidarity. The next sections will be followed by the accommodation strategies of utterance completion and concluded with the summary of the findings.

5.1 Data analysis tools

5.1.1 Conversation analysis

For the analysis of my data, I drew on Conversation Analysis (henceforth CA) as a micro analytical tool, but whereas CA is conventionally concerned with particular socio-pragmatic norms, I am adopting this analytical method from a different perspective. As the major attention of my research is to analyse accommodation in the interactive and responsive process of ELF communication, how the participants understand and respond to each other's utterance are the central issue in my analysis. Therefore CA, which aims to describe and identify the turn organisations and interactional procedures of talk-in-interaction, can act as a useful analytical tool for my data analysis. In other words, I adopted CA to identify sequences, where accommodation occurred. CA first emerged as an approach to the analysis of casual conversation which aimed to investigate the structural organisation and features that are systematically distinguished from other forms of conversation (Goodwin & Heritage 1990). CA has since been applied to a substantial range of forms of talk-in-interaction in formal and institutional settings such as courtroom, TV news, interviews, and political speech (Schegloff et al. 2002). CA pays major attention to the detailed description of interactional structures and procedures and particularly illuminates the specification of sequential features in conversation. In other words, CA is used to analyse and

understand how and for what participants organise the interactional procedures and how they understand these processes and reflect their own responses. Therefore, CA is concerned with a range of interactional phenomena such as turn-taking, the management of sequence, repair, overlap, adjacency pairs, and conversational opening and closing.

As CA is not simply the study of talk but the main objective of CA is to identify the interactional organisation of talk-in-interaction, words used in turns are not analysed as semantic units but understood 'as products or objects which are designed and used in terms of the activities being negotiated in the talk' such as complaint, requests, warning, proposals, and offers (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 12). In other words, in CA it is a key attention to uncover how the meanings are produced and understood in interaction, how the reasoning procedures are organised in the course of conversation, and how participants understand what is going on in interaction and produce, interpret and respond to meanings.

Turn-taking in interaction is a central concern of CA. Therefore CA pays attention to how turns are organised, how participants manage turn-taking, and how sequence organisation of talk is shaped. The first rule of turn-taking in CA is that turns are sequentially ordered, because conversation is a structurally ordered and highly organised phenomenon (Seedhouse 2004). Talk-in-interaction is produced in a temporal order, and turns are constructed 'in a series of turn constructional units' (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 42). The fundamental assumption in CA is that the talk in interaction is formed by stable and organised patterns and sequences, and therefore adjacency pairs are a key aspect for analysis in CA. In other words, a certain set of utterances is conventionally used in pairs, e.g. questions and answers, invitations and acceptance/declines. 'Within the CA framework, this sequence is often normatively organised' (Goodwin & Heritage 1990: 287), while this is not the case in ELF, where communicative patterns are less attached to pre-fixed and predetermined normativeness and conventions.

In adjacency pairs, the first pair parts should be followed by a specific range of responses, and the second pair part is required to be relevant to the first pair part. These sequential properties, however, do not necessarily have to be 'strictly adjacent in all cases' and adjacency pairs do not simply mean that some utterances are accomplished in pair but the fundamental significance of paired action sequences is 'how mutual

understanding is accomplished and displayed in talk' (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 44). In other words, an utterance which is placed immediately after the prior turn is to be understood as produced in response to the preceding utterance. Therefore, the first pair part requires the second pair part, which is an appropriate reciprocal action, and the absence of the production of the coherent next action can be treated as 'the object of remedial efforts' (Goodwin & Heritage 1990: 287).

The second assumption is that the next turn in sequence projects the speaker's understanding and interpretation of what his/her interlocutor intended to mean in the preceding turn, and displays subsequent conversational actions (Goodwin & Heritage 1990: 288). Also, in CA, talk-in-interaction is viewed as an organised system for the production of meaning (Seedhouse 2004) and speakers produce utterances to accomplish particular communicative purposes. Therefore, CA focuses on how a speaker makes a turn related to a prior turn, what kinds of interactional purposes and outcomes are accomplished in the turn and how the turn is connected to the next turn. In other words, the relationship between turns indicates 'how the participants themselves actively analyse the ongoing production of talk in order to negotiate their own, situated participation in it' (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 41). Therefore, as Hutchby & Wooffitt (2008: 14) put it, 'people's utterances in conversation are not necessarily determined by their individual beliefs, preferences or mental states but can be determined by their orientations to the structural organisation of conversation'. CA is concerned with the turn-taking system by focusing on how a speaker makes a turn related to a prior turn, what kinds of interactional purposes and outcomes are accomplished in the turn and how the turn is connected to a next turn. Each conversational action is treated as both displaying an understanding of prior and projecting subsequent conversational actions.

Another central assumption in CA is that generally one person speaks at a time, and therefore overlap indicates the breakdown of a turn-taking system. Consequently, the failure of this pattern leads to repair. Within a CA framework, generally one person speaks at a time (Schegloff et al. 2002: 4), and the turn change occurs with little gap or overlap between them. This indicates that participants seek to produce ideal coordination between speakers. Therefore, overlapping indicates the speaker's failure and breakdown of the rules of turn-taking. To manage this kind of problems in turn-taking system, when it occurs, participants attempt to use conversational repair, which shows how speakers deal with trouble or problems in talk-in-interaction. Repair acts as

‘the management of intersubjectivity as an ongoing process in interaction’ (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 59). It is often assumed that repair is involved in correcting errors in turn-taking. However, all conversational repair is not necessarily involved in any factual error of the speaker but related to ‘the suspension of ongoing turns or sequences in order to attend to some trouble that has become apparent’ (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 57).

However, whereas CA is mainly involved in an in-depth focus on a turn-by-turn sequential organisation of the talk, it pays little attention to the relevance of contextual and socio-cultural variables. In other words, the analysis in CA is grounded on the organised properties of talk and oriented to what participants accomplish rather than being explicated by the external factors or variables. Although the role and significance of the context of interaction are emphasised in CA by arguing that ‘a speaker’s action is context-shaped in that its contribution to an on-going sequence of actions cannot adequately be understood except by reference to its context’ (Heritage 1984: 242), the notion of context in CA is largely addressed in terms of the preceding sequence of talk and narrowly constructed to the interactional and sequential context in which the actual conversation occurs. CA considers utterances as ‘actions which are situated within specific contexts’ (Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008: 18) and therefore emphasises that in order to understand and explain the speaker’s intentions and meanings, the analysis should be based entirely on what empirical phenomenon shows. CA rarely concerns on demographic information of participants and ethnographic aspects of analysis and interpretation of data such as the speaker’s identity, beliefs, cultural or occupational background, or the meaning of the utterance beyond the words, but instead the analytical mechanism in CA only focuses on actual utterances within the actual context. However, conversation is always situated and contexted in a set of circumstances in which participants are involved such as place, time, identities, gender and class (Sacks et al. 1974: 699).

In qualitative analysis of data, reflexivity is also a significant issue in relation to the researcher’s role as an insider and outsider and possible effects of this on the data collection and analysis. Reflexivity, which is involved in drawing and reflecting the researcher’s own cultural background, stance and knowledge on the research process, is particularly significant in qualitative data analysis (Boulton & Hammersley 1996; Finlay 2002; Hellawell 2006; Manson 1996; Roberts et al. 2001). Interpretation and analysis of qualitative data cannot be simply neutral, as researchers incorporate personal

and professional experiences and perspectives into the actual analysis of their data (Mauthner & Doucet 2003: 416). The same data can therefore be interpreted differently by different researchers, and interpretation and analysis of data are contextually grounded. There is no right and wrong interpretation, but the validity of the researchers' interpretations is determined by 'being able to demonstrate how they were reached' (Mauthner & Doucet 2003: 418). Researchers therefore attempt to enhance the validity of research results by selecting transcript extracts which best represent their findings as evidence. Consequently, meanings are made rather than found (Mauthner et al. 1998), and 'the reflexive ethnographer does not simply report 'facts' or 'truths' but actively constructs interpretations of his or her experiences in the field and then questions how those interpretations came about' (Hertz 1997: 8)

In this research, my role involves both an insider in the group of East Asian ELF users and an outsider as a researcher. Reflexivity in my data analysis might be operationalised in more East Asian perspectives because of my personal background as an East Asian and ELF speaker myself. In other words, my cultural identity, beliefs and values as an East Asian speaker might influence understanding aspects of participants' behaviour and shaping interpretation and analysis of my East Asian ELF data. It seems to act as an advantage to reflect the insider viewpoint because 'situating ourselves socially and emotionally in relation to respondents is an important element of reflexivity' (Mauthner & Doucet 2003: 419). Rather than being a complete outsider as a researcher, as I myself is an East Asian speaker and an international student in the U.K. university and participated in data collection both as an observer and as a participant, my participants, who are all East Asian ELF speakers, might feel more intimacy and comfort than working with native English speakers or a researcher from non-East Asian background.

5.1.2 The frequencies of accommodation strategies

With regard to identifying accommodation strategies in my data, there are various accommodation strategies that have already been identified in ELF research, e.g. repetition, paraphrase, or code-switching, and therefore I had categories in mind to look for these types of pragmatic strategies for accommodation. However, I was also open to find out other categories that have not been documented in ELF research so far. To achieve organized statistical information on the strategies used, I used NVivo, which is the analytical software most commonly used for qualitative data. NVivo provides a

convenient tool in the process of coding and organising the transcribed data in a more efficient and manageable way (Bazeley 2007; Dornyei 2007). In other words, it allows to record the coding in one place and to organise the coding by classification and categorisation according to themes or attributes of participants. NVivo makes easier to manage the data by gathering sources materials in one project file, and the coding in the primary data can be retrieved when needed. Also, the code properties can be combined, compared and contrasted with other codes in different sets of data. The coding information and the frequencies of different accommodation strategies in each conversational event in my data are based on findings NVivo provided. The table below shows the summary of the frequency of each accommodation strategy employed in my data.

Table 1. The frequencies of the accommodation strategies

Accommodation strategies	The number of conversations	The number of instances
<u>Completion</u>	22	692
Latching & overlap	22	587
Pause/ hesitation	22	105
<u>Paraphrase</u>	22	278
Other-paraphrase	22	207
Self-paraphrase	22	71
<u>Repetition</u>	22	967
Other-repetition	22	813
Self-repetition	21	154
<u>Code-switching</u>	3	6
L1	2	2
L2/ Ln	2	4

In 22 different group talks, repetition is the most frequently employed by the participants in my data, and in total 967 strategies were coded as repetition, where the frequency of other-repetition significantly outnumbered that of self-repetition. Other-

repetition was employed as over five times as self-repetition. The similar patterns are also found in the strategy of paraphrase, which occurred much less frequently than repetition overall. Other-repetition was used almost five times as frequent as self-repetition. Self-repetition is mainly involved in the interactional purpose of clarity of the speaker's own utterance or used as a remedial means for non-understanding or intelligibility problems. In other words, speakers attempt to make themselves more comprehensible and intelligible by repeating what they have said. On the other hand, speakers tend to repeat other speakers' utterance to show their listenership, involvement and understanding, as I excluded other-repetition for confirmation check or repair. Therefore, the higher frequency of other-repetition and other-paraphrase can indicate that East Asian ELF speakers in my data seem to foreground collaborative and mutually supportive aspects of communication, and this can also mean that there might be a relatively low degree of need for repair or remedy for understanding problems and communication breakdown in this context of East Asian ELF.

The second most frequently employed strategy is utterance completion. It is found that utterance completion occurred much more frequently with latching or overlap talk rather than after hesitation or pauses. This higher frequency of utterance completion accompanied with simultaneous talk can also support the cooperative nature of ELF talk. In other words, utterance completion seems to be more frequently employed not as a collaborative strategy to resolve the existent problems when the interlocutor encounters some difficulties to process and develop their utterance but as an immediate feedback and cooperative backchannel. Whereas repetition, paraphrase, and utterance completion were employed fairly frequently in my East Asian ELF data, participants rarely displayed code-switching, and only 6 examples of code-switching were found in three conversation events. These statistics of the actual use of pragmatic strategies for accommodation can tell us the explicit patterns and features of accommodation in my data, and therefore they can play a significant role to characterise accommodation of my data, as my analysis is based on the relatively small corpus data. The detailed analysis of each strategy will be explored in the next part of this chapter.

5.2 The analysis of Accommodation strategies

5.2.1 Repetition for clarification

Whereas repetition is often considered as an indication of lack of speaking skills or a marker of dysfluency of a speaker (Schegloff, 1987) in the traditional SLA literature, repetition is indeed a common communicative resource that speakers are effectively engaged in the interaction and can be used for a successful communicative strategy particularly in the intercultural communication. A great body of research into interaction and communication strategy indicate the pervasive use of repetition in everyday conversation as a very widespread phenomenon (Tannen 1987, 1989; Johnstone 1987; 1994; Jensen & Vinther 2003; Norrick 1987; Perrin et al. 2003; Rieger 2003).

Repetition is a significant tool for participants to negotiate meaning and adapt to their interlocutors by partial or full reiteration of their utterance in order to make their own utterance more intelligible and comprehensible, and this ultimately aims to adapt to their interlocutor's capability in comprehension. Although speakers often employ repetition when communication breakdown occurs, they tend to make more frequent use of repetition to prevent possible communication problems according to the interlocutor's responses. They do not, however, limit to replicating the same word they have used before but more often reformulate and rephrase their wording to convey the meaning they intended more effectively and clearly. ELF speakers also regularly converge to their interlocutors by reiterating or summarising what their interlocutor said, and this contributes to confirming the message the interlocutor tried to say and enhancing clarity and explicitness in the flow of interaction. Such effort for mutual understanding through repetition shows the high degree of adaption in ELF.

Before moving on to the discussion of findings of repetition as accommodation in my data, it needs to clarify the forms of repetition in order to avoid a possible confusion of terms. Repetition is basically classified as self-repetition (Johnstone 1994), in which speakers repeat themselves, and other-repetition or allo-repetition (two-party repetition) (Tannen 1987; Sawir 2004), in which re-say (reiterate) what the other interlocutor said. Repetition is also distinguished according to the degree of fixity, in other words, speakers can produce either a completely identical form and a meaning of repetition, which is called 'exact repetition' (Johnstone 1994; Tannen 1987:586) or 'full repetition' (Brody 1994: 5), or make a 'partial repetition' by repeating only part of an utterance or

repeating with variation (Barbaresi 1996: 105). The third type of repetition is paraphrase, where speakers reformulate the original form and meaning (Tannen 1989: 54). Whereas previous ELF pragmatic research on accommodation has only dealt with either other repetition or self-repetition (Cogo 2009; Cogo & Dewey 2006, 2012; Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2007; 2012; Pitzl 2005; Watterson 2008), my study will examine both forms of repetition, if they are considered as an interactional practice of accommodation. I will also include both exact repetition and partial repetition including paraphrase.

Repetition is commonly used in conversation for a variety of purposes such as to gain time for word-finding, to avoid silence, to emphasise the significance of an utterance, which Lichtkoppler (2007: 48) calls ‘prominence-providing’ repetition’, or to request confirmation and ensure accuracy (see Johnstone 1987; Norrick 1987; Sawir 2004; Tannen 1987a, 1987b, 1989). When it comes to repetition as accommodative practice in ELF talk, I excluded repetition as a gap-filler such as sing-word verbatim repetition (*at at at..., the the the...*), because repetition in this function is performed as a means of the speaker’s own safety in speech rather than interactional purposes such as helping the interlocutor’s understanding or clarifying meanings by rephrasing as shown in the data below. Repetition as accommodation also needs to be distinguished from repetition as repair strategy to remedy non-understanding or resolve understanding problems which already occurred in interaction, since accommodation is not an interactional device for repair or compensation but a highly strategic adaptation skill to manage communication more effectively and successfully. Speakers often reiterate some or all parts of a prior utterance to adapt to their interlocutors by making their own utterance more explicit and comprehensible. Extract 1 provides the example of self-repetition but the speaker rephrases her own words for clarity.

Extract 1. E, J: Chinese, K: Korean

- 1 K but do many chinese people like, how can i say, sweet dessert like cookie
- 2 or rice cake
- 3 E [ice cream]
- 4 J [ice cream]
- 5 K do they like it?
- 6 J yeah
- 7 E [...], it’s really really sweet, because we must maintain it for several

- 8 months, you know in the past people made some cakes, but they will make
 9 it very sweet for its shelf life
 10 K ehm
 11 E → ehm (.), make it er, maintain longer
 12 K ehm (:), traditional chinese one

Korean speaker K asked Chinese interlocutors whether Chinese people have their own traditional sweet dessert, and Chinese speaker E explains that Chinese people traditionally tend to make the kind of dessert very sweet to preserve for a long period of time. Speaker E, however, modifies her sentence '*they will make it very sweet for its shelf life*' (in line 8) to simpler and more transparent expression '*make it er, maintain longer*'. Speaker E seems to attempt to reformulate her sentence with an easier meaning to understand, presumably because she considers her interlocutor K's minimal response '*ehm*' as an indication of possible difficulties of comprehension, even though there is no sign of the interlocutor's request for confirmation or clarity. In other words, speaker E seems to believe that the idiomatic expression '*shelf life*' she employed might cause some understanding problem by the interlocutor, and consequently the minimal response that interlocutor K made might be an indication of her non-understanding but she may just let it pass not to lose her face or not to interrupt the flow of conversation. After the interlocutor's minimal response, speaker E immediately rephrases her idiomatic expression into more transparent one in order to resolve a possible understanding problem and to adapt to the interlocutor's 'perceived interpretative competence' (Mauranen 2012: 51).

Such phenomenon of 'unilateral idiomaticity', which Seidlhofer (2002) has termed, has been found to cause understanding problems and communication breakdown in ELF interactions (Pitzl 2009; Seidlhofer 2002; 2011). The idiomatic usage of a particular language tends to be naturally acquired through long-term exposure to and familiarity with the semantic values and pragmatic functions of a certain idiomatic expression. Native speakers can acquire this kind of idiomatic competence in a more natural condition by the recurring and extended use of the language and be aware of whether a particular idiomatic expression is appropriate in a certain context. In other words, idiomatic competence in language use tends to be acquired 'as part of the process of acculturation into a community' (Seidlhofer 2011: 132). On the other hand, it is very difficult to expect that non-native speakers can have the same amount of experience and

exposure to the environment to fully understand the semantic value of idiomatic expressions and use them in an appropriate context to accomplish pragmatic functions. When it comes to ELF contexts, however, a crucial issue in relation to idiomaticity in language use is whether ENL idiom principle needs to be applied to the use of ELF in the same way as in ENL contexts. As Pitzl (2009: 312) points out, ‘a central function of idioms in ENL is to serve as territorial markers of group membership’, and therefore it is questionable to require ELF speakers, who use English beyond the ENL territorial function, to adopt and conform to ENL idioms, which are pragmatically motivated and conventionally functioned for members of an L1 speech community.

Particular idiomatic expressions can be effectively used in communication as cooperative and reciprocal devices, when participants have common knowledge on and familiarity with them. However, in ELF situations, unilateral idiomatic behaviour, which conforms to a particular ENL norm, can be communicatively dysfunctional and counterproductive (Seidlhofer 2011: 136), as ELF speakers cannot be assumed to have the same level of common knowledge on idiomatic expressions used in particular ENL communities. Consequently unilateral idiomaticity, which simply replicates the idiomatic behaviour of native speakers, can be uncooperative, non-reciprocal and inappropriate in ELF communications, as a number of ELF speakers are likely to be unfamiliar with the conventional norms of ENL idiom usage and therefore cannot understand it. Consequently, linguistic forms of ENL idioms can disrupt the accommodative process of negotiation of meaning and lead to the failure of successful communications in ELF contexts. As shown in Extract 1 and Extract 2, East Asian speakers in my ELF data tend to change his or her expressions to overcome possible ambiguity and improve clarity rather than simply repeating the same word again, and this repetition more often occurs without an overt sign of communication breakdown or comprehension problems. The speakers’ strategic and dynamic attempt to make their wording clear and easier for mutual understanding is also found in the next extract.

Extract 2. E, J: Chinese, K: Korean

- 1 E so, what what did you study in korea? when you were in uni-
- 2 K eh, i studied, i did my (.) b.a. in political science and diplomacy
- 3 J @@ political=
- 4 K →= politics, and=

- 5 J =i know=
 6 K =my just second minority major? second major was (.) enlgish linguistics.
 7 but it was nothing.
 8 E quite similar to me, because i chose international relationship in social
 9 science, and i used to be in english major in china. (.) so=
 10 K =english=
 11 E =major
 12 K major
 13 E →english department, yeah
 14 K in china

In this extract, participants are talking about what they studied in the university in their own country. In line 2, Korean speaker K says she studied political science at the undergraduate, and she repeats again in line 4, but this time changes it into '*politics*' after interlocutor J's reiteration of her utterance with light laugh in line 3. Even though there is no sign of the interlocutor's non-understanding or intelligibility problem on her utterance, she clarifies the word she used in the prior turn by immediately repeating it with partial reformulation. Speaker K seems to consider the word '*politics*' as easier to understand for her interlocutors than '*political science*'. A similar pattern of repetition is also displayed in the following turn. In line 8, Chinese speaker E mentions she was in English major in china, and in the next turn she also repeats the word she used, but this time with transforming the word '*English major*' into '*English department*' just after the interlocutor K's echoing of her utterance. In these two cases, there is no evidence of understanding problem or request for confirmation by interlocutors, but speakers attempt to adapt to the interlocutors in conversation by repetition to facilitate comprehension and prevent anticipated non-understanding on items they used. Speakers seem to replace their words into a new lexical item in order to resolve and pre-empt possible vagueness and ambiguity and to improve the initial expression and make the meaning more explicit. The examples of self-rephrasing in three extracts above show that rephrasing tends to be involved in the modification of forms to improve the initial formulation of the expression, whereas the semantic similarity of a replaced expression is maintained. In other words, even if the expression is replaced by a new lexical item, its original meaning remains the same. The following extract also shows the speaker's

effort for enhancing the explicitness of meaning and pre-empting any potential understanding problems.

Extract 3. E, J: Chinese, K: Korean

- 1 J =the root (.) i think maybe the increasing bigger gap between the poverty
2 and wealthy, you know, in china in recent years the gap between wealthy
3 people and poor people is=
4 E =higher=
5 J =**increasingly higher**, in especially in recent years, and expen-, expen-,
6 **expenditure level is much more higher**, you know, it become, become
7 like in the uk, i lived in shanghai, **the expenditure level is much higher**
8 than in southampton @. even though you know, we are developing country,
9 and the uk is a developed country @@
10 E @@
11 J but, expenditure, you now, expenditure reflects on the, you know the, the,
12 **the, expenditure on the normal normal food, the, the, the like the eggs,**
13 **rice are relatively higher than in southampton. @@ yeah**
14 E ehm, (.) yeah, i think so.
15 J and the, the, the, price of the, to buy your house, buy your flat is much
16 comparatively higher especially, **it is compared with with london** @@
17 K ehm
18 J in shanghai or beijing, these big cities.
19 K ah, shanghai or beijing, isstill er=
20 J =**you can compare them with london**.yeah, it's very high.
21 K it's MORE expensive than=
22 J =**you can compare with, you can compare with**=
23 E =yeah=
24 J =very very high.
25 K ehm.

In this extract, Chinese speaker J continues to reformulate his expressions with new lexical choices, which involve more specific meanings than the initial formulation (i.e. from expenditure level to the expenditure on normal food and the price of buying a house). Chinese speaker J opens the conversation with the topic of rising prices and the

gap between the poor and the rich in China due to the fast-growing Chinese economy. Chinese speaker E attempts to jointly construct the on-going sentence which Chinese speaker J was making (in line 4), and speaker J immediately ratifies his interlocutor E's lexical item in the following turn by repetition. Instead of replying it with a simple agreement token such as *yeah*, *yes* or *okay* to express his agreement with and approval for speaker E's collaborative turn-construction, speaker J employs a partial repetition with adding an adverb, which might be intended to produce a clearer and detailed description and emphasis, '*increasingly higher*' (in line 5).

Speaker J narrows the topic into the increasing level of expenditure in China, by comparing it with that of the U.K. and attempts to heighten clarity and enhance mutual comprehension by providing more specific and detailed examples. In other words, speaker J repeats his sentence '*the expenditure level is much more higher*' again in the subsequent sentence, with a comparison to that of Southampton, where he lives in the U.K. By continuing self-repetition, speaker J seems to attempt to amplify meaning and emphasise the significant change in Chinese economy despite the lower level of overall economic development of China than that of the U.K. Speaker J's repetition continues in the following turn, where he attempts to visualize the phenomenon by showing the cases of food price including egg and rice and the price of buying a house as a concrete example of higher living expenditure in China. Speaker J attempts to expand the topic to more specific examples for negotiation of meaning and to secure the interlocutor's comprehension by replacing and inserting lexical items. In other words, his continuous self-repetitions (in line 16, 20, 22) seem to be intended not only to emphasise the significance of the situation but also to make the issue clearer and more explicit and facilitate the interlocutor's understanding and interpretation.

The prominent feature of repetition for clarity in my data is that participants are seen to attempt to actively pre-empt possible troubles beforehand to secure common understanding. This pre-empting effort by ELF speakers has been also observed in other ELF studies (e.g. Cogo & Dewey 2012; Kaur 2009, 2010, 2011; Mauranen 2012). Although there is no sign of actual error or mistake that requires repair or modification, by rephrasing and replacing their wording or utterances immediately after the interlocutor's reaction, East Asian speakers in my data have been found to strategically eliminate vagueness and ambiguity and seek further clarification from the outset. Although participants displayed a high frequency of self-repetition, as shown in the

statistical result of frequency of strategies, they used significantly frequent other-repetition to promote mutual understanding. The following extract provides the example of how speakers engage in the interactional process of negotiation of meaning and shared comprehension explicitly by reformulation other interlocutor's utterance.

Extract 4. E, J: Chinese speaker, K: Korean speaker

- 1 E =i studied in china for three years, and this year is my final year, and i visit,
- 2 [i'm a visiting] visiting student.
- 3 J [i see, i see]
- 4 K [ah (:)]
- 5 J [i see, i see]
- 6 E there is a program held by [university and my]
- 7 K [you have taken] this just for the final year
- 8 E yeah, for the final year.
- 9 K →you transferred the course
- 10 E yeah, visiting student.
- 11 [.....]
- 12 J →it's a kind of com-, [cooperation] teaching
- 13 K [is it]
- 14 E yeah, cooperation
- 15 J it's a kind of cooperation teaching
- 16 E yeah, cooperation between students and schools.

In Extract 4, Chinese speaker E gives the explanation on her current academic position, which is the fourth year of undergraduate and visiting studentship in a U.K. university. After Korean speaker K's repetition of the phrase '*for final year*' in line 7, which has been already mentioned by speaker E in line 1, speaker provides the agreement token '*yeah*' as a positive reply, but again repeats the phrase '*for the final year*' in line 8. Speaker K reiterates speaker E's utterance '*a visiting student*' but this time rephrases it into '*you transferred the course*' in line 9, and in the next turn speaker E repeats the word '*visiting student*' with the agreement token '*yeah*'. Speaker E again converges to her interlocutor J by repeating his word '*cooperation*' in line 14 and line 16 and displays agreement and clarity. Speaker E seems to repeat the word '*visiting student*' in

line 10, since she might think that speaker K missed this word she said in the prior turn and it is indicated by speaker K's delayed repetition in line 9 with rephrasing.

As the examples of the above data show, participants in my East Asian ELF conversation do not limit their repetition to the verbatim repetition of the same word again but more commonly employed partial or full modification of repetition without losing semantic similarity. Although participants use self-repetition for the purposes of lexical search or keeping the floor, which are most common motivations for repetition in NS communications (Schegloff 1987; Tannen 1983), it is found that East Asian speakers in my data dominantly show the repetition as a convergent strategy to promote clarity and explicitness and improve mutual understanding. The following extract further shows how the use of rephrasing and modified repetition dynamically occurs by reformulating the lexical choices or sentences.

Extract 5. E, J: Chinese, K: Korean

- 1 J =you can start to apply now.
- 2 E apply for the=
- 3 J =for the master
- 4 E i already applied for the southampton. and they gave me the [offer]=
- 5 J [offer]
- 6 K =offer, wow=
- 7 E =but it's=
- 8 K =congratulation=
- 9 E = it's conditional @@@
- 10 J [but] why conditional? conditional your, your language? (.) your=
- 11 K [what do you need]
- 12 E = my language and also the mark here. i should have, [er] get five marks at
- 13 least fifty eight.
- 14 K [ah]
- 15 K →**you complete your credit in your course to apply.**
- 16 E yeah.
- 17 K ehm

In this extract, Chinese speaker E, who is an undergraduate student in the final year, tells her plan for applying a master course in the U.K. university after her graduation.

Another Chinese speaker J suggests her to apply for it now, and speaker E answers she has been already given a conditional offer from the school. She explains that for an unconditional offer she needs to get a certain score in the English language test, which is IELTS, and the minimum marks of fifty eight at least in five modules. In line 15 Korean speaker K repeats what speaker E said but this time by reformulating the phrase '*i should get five marks at least fifty eight*' into '*you (should) complete your credit in your course to apply*'. The interesting point here is that speaker K rephrased her interlocutor's utterance with specific information into the sentence of a more general meaning in her own word. In other words, speaker E mentioned that she needed to achieve the mark of at least fifty eight in five modules to pass the course and apply to the MA programme, and speaker K negotiated the meaning by reformulating the word '*get (five) marks*' into '*complete (your) credit*'. After that, the original speaker E responds with an agreement token '*yeah*' in line 16, and her backchannel '*ehm*' in the following turn supports that speaker K seems to fully understand. Speaker K ensures mutual understanding and clarity by paraphrasing the interlocutor's utterance. The extract below shows both self- and other-paraphrase not only as an interactional tool for clarity but also as a supportive response to the interlocutor's turn and dynamic co-participation. In Extract 6, Korean speaker H tells other interlocutors his working experience in Saipan, which was colonized by the U.S. in the past and therefore people in Saipan speak English in everyday conversation.

Extract 6. E and J: Chinese, H and K: Korean

- 1 H they they speak, they all speak english
- 2 J uh
- 3 H but it's really interesting, they don't really use many vocabularies
- 4 K uh?
- 5 H they don't even know many vocabularies, although their first language is
- 6 american, english
- 7 E huh?
- 8 [.....]
- 9 H their language is very limited
- 10 K ehm
- 11 J →you mean they just use very simple english to express themselves

- 12 H yes, it's right
- 13 J →ah, even they can only speak english, but **they cannot speak very**
- 14 **complex english**
- 15 H yeah, yeah, not like americans
- 16 J @@@ that's very interesting

Korean speaker H explains that although people in Saipan all speak English, the vocabulary they use is very limited (line 9). In the next turn, Chinese speaker J clarifies speaker H's utterance by paraphrasing it into '*they just use very simple English to express themselves*' (line 11), and speaker H provide an agreement response with the backchannel '*yes, it's right*' in line 12. Speaker J repeats the sentence again by rephrasing it to '*even they can (only) speak english, but they cannot speak very complex english*' in line 12. Speaker J seems to not only maximise the clarity and mutual understanding but also provide active response and listenership by repeating his interlocutor's utterance through paraphrase. Speakers not only produce the modified reiteration for the clarity of certain lexical items but also attempt to improve explicitness by summarizing a long stretch of the interlocutor's talk as in the following extract

Extract 7. E, J: Chinese speaker, K: Korean speaker

- 1 K i think, the buddhism, many people believe and many people have er have the
- 2 belief on buddhism [as] their religion, but i think (.) throughout the history in
- 3 korea, buddhism was not just a religion, it was much more like the cultural
- 4 cultural=
- 5 J [ehm]
- 6 J =heritage=
- 7 K =cultural basement and (.) yeah, so.
- 8 E like confucianism?
- 9 K yeah, confu, yeah confu-=
- 10 E =confucious.
- 11 J confucious
- 12 K confucious is not a religion, it's a really=
- 13 E =cultural=
- 14 K =cultural or spiritual belief
- 15 E yeah.

- 16 K it's strongly strongly attached to korean people=
- 17 E →it's **it's like a moral standard for**
- 18 K →**moral, moral standard.** yeah.
- 19 E yeah
- 20 K but i think although the confucian er derived from china=
- 21 E =ehm=
- 22 K =to japan or to korea
- 23 E ehm
- 24 K but the characteristics of (.) the original, original version of confucianism is
- 25 total-, is quite different, and it has been changed from the original one. i mean,
- 26 also through the history in korea, the confucian the the form of confucian, and
- 27 the kind of confucian have changed, had changed a lot. i mean there are
- 28 different kind of confucian.
- 29 E →uh, i see. i know you mean **the confucian deri- derived from china, and**
- 30 **then it changed in korea and japan.**
- 31 K yeah, maybe or each each students of the (.) confu- confu-=
- 32 E =confucianism
- 33 J confucianism
- 34 K confucians of er student? or other er different different people developed
- 35 confucian differently and they interpret and approach and develop confucian,
- 36 the original confucian differently, so maybe the characteristics of confucian in
- 37 china, and in korean, and in japan are slightly different.
- 38 E →yeah, maybe **they are from the same era but they become different thing.**

In this extract, speakers are talking about a religion in their own country, and Korean speaker K says that Buddhism has the biggest population in Korea among other religious groups. Then she moves on to argue that Buddhism is not a merely religion but acts as a crucial cultural value and beliefs in Korea and therefore strongly attached to Korean people's life and culture (line 16). After speaker K's relatively long explanation on the issue, Chinese speaker E concludes to interpret it by summarising it as '*it's like a moral standard*' in line 17, and speaker K immediately responds by repeating it with an agreement backchannel token '*yeah*' in the next turn in line 18. After that, speaker K also argues that the form and character of Confucianism, which originated from China, has become changed and reformed as it was introduced into Korea and Japan. Chinese

speaker E again clarifies what speaker K said by paraphrasing it into her own word, '*the confucian deri- derived from china, and then it changed in korea and japan*' in line 29-30. In line 34- 37, speaker K explains that people who were involved in Confucianism have developed it in different perspectives and approaches, so that is why Confucianism has been established in the different forms and characters in each East Asian countries. Again, in the following turn speaker E repeats her interlocutor K's utterance by summarising it with her word '*they are from the same era but they become different thing*'. As seen in several examples in the extract above, after the interlocutor's relatively long turn, speakers explicitly attempt to converge to the interlocutor to ensure clarity and facilitate mutual understanding by repeating others' utterance with paraphrase and summarising. Summarising response is particularly effective for improving clarity and mutual comprehension by revisiting the crucial points that the speaker intended to make and reformulation the meaning in easier and simpler way.

As seen in the last four extracts, rephrasing, or paraphrase, is more often employed than the repetition of the same word. Whereas repair is intended to fix a problematic word, the primary purpose of paraphrase is to make meaning more transparent and explicit by expressing it in different words. In other words, in repair there is a clear 'error-and-correction sequence' (Mauranen 2012: 215), but paraphrase is not derived from any overt error or mistake but delivered to 'amplify meaning and secure the interlocutor's understanding' (Kaur 2010: 200). Paraphrase is a form of repetition (e.g. Norrick 1987; Tannen 1987; Johnstone 1994), but speakers reformulate a syntactic structure or lexical form to make their own or the interlocutor's utterance more comprehensible and clearer. Paraphrase is a more advanced interactional practice, as speakers adeptly exploit their linguistic repertoires by expressing given information in different ways for mutual understanding or clarification. ELF speakers often attune to their interlocutors by rephrasing or summarising the gist of what the interlocutor has said, and paraphrase tends to reinforce an intended meaning and provide a high degree of explicitness. The examples in the following extracts show how participants strategically employ paraphrase for effective communication.

Extract 8. K: Korean, E: Chinese, and A: Japanese

- 1 K how about the situation in japan and in china, especially young=
- 2 E =the security. i think in japan=

- 3 K =vandalism=
4 E =it's peaceful.
5 A yeah @@ because=
6 K =still peaceful?
7 A yeah, it is. i don't know why, we are, maybe because of japanese people's
8 character or something, because normally japanese people are (.) very
9 peaceful.
10 J yeah
11 K i see
12 E →**they are so polite.**
13 A yeah, maybe. but, maybe not between friends.
14 E ah, between friends?
15 A but other people, who are unknown, unknown people, with unknown
16 people we tend to be polite, and
17 E you use the, er, er, those er words, like, er er **gozaimasu.**
18 A →yeah, polite words.
19 E **yeah, polite words.**
20 A we use the different kinds of words at the end of sentence, so.

In the earlier part of the conversation in this extract, the participants were talking about their experience and views on the security in the U.K. and one participant said that it was sometimes dangerous to walk alone on the street in some areas, because she might encounter violent teenagers. When Korean speakers K asked about the situation of the social security in Japan and China, Chinese speaker E provided the answer about the situation of Japanese society, '*it's peaceful*', rather than talking about that of the Chinese society. Chinese speaker E's reaction, in which she began the conversation not with Chinese situation but that of another interlocutor, seems to be a way of showing politeness and friendliness by starting the talk with the other interlocutor's topic, rather than dominating the talk with her own topic, and by making a positive description on Japanese society, even though it is based on her own guess and therefore a very subjective idea. In the subsequent turn, Japanese speaker A expresses her agreement with Chinese speaker E's answer by repeating speaker E's sentence in line 8, '*japanese people are (.) very peaceful*'. In the later turn, speaker E repeats speaker A's sentence to display a strong emphasis and agreement, but this time she rephrases the sentence

slightly by changing the word '*peaceful*' into '*polite*' (line 12) rather than providing exact verbatim repetition. Speakers E's repetition through reformulation can be seen not only as an expression of active support and agreement to her interlocutor's utterance but also as a way of an interactional practice for developing clarity and explicitness by replacing the original expression with a new word, which is semantically similar. Speaker E's rephrasing might be also based on the motivation for cooperation, because she seems to attempt to co-construct and negotiate a meaning by producing a new expression '*polite*'. In other words, a short pause in line 8 can evidence that speaker A intended to use a different expression to describe the Japanese people's character, which characterises the Japanese society, but after the hesitation she just echoes the expression her interlocutor E used in the earlier turn, '*peaceful*'. Speaker E might interpret speaker A's hesitation as a word-search moment and therefore try to co-construct meaning by providing an alternative expression '*polite*', which she might regard as a more appropriate lexical item to describe the character of Japanese people. The speaker's motivation for clarity and explicitness in conversation is more likely to be substantially associated with that of cooperativeness.

Another example of repetition as a means of showing agreement and approval is also found in line 18. Japanese speaker A replies to Chinese speaker E's use of Japanese expression '*gozaimasu*' with an agreement token '*yeah*' and rephrases the expression to '*polite words*' (line 18). In the following turn, Chinese speaker E immediately shows her agreement with a positive backchannel cue '*yeah*' and reiterates the word her Japanese interlocutor used. The Japanese word '*gozaimasu*' is an example of polite language, but Japanese speaker A seems to reformulate the word '*gozaimasu*' into a more general meaning of the word '*polite language*' since there is a possibility that other interlocutors, Korean speaker K and Chinese speaker J, cannot understand the meaning of the word and can be marginalised in the conversation. Speakers seem to indicate their agreement and solidarity to their interlocutor by using repetition of the word that the interlocutors used, rather than simply reacting with short backchannel cues and agreement tokens. Echoing the interlocutor's utterance can contribute to establishing a stronger sense of support, attention and empathy among participants than simply providing an agreement token or a backchannel cue such as *yeah*, *yes*, *okay* or *mhm*. Speakers tend to show their understanding and signal listenership, involvement

and rapport by providing echoing repetition with simple backchannels as an active feedback.

In sum, numerous examples in data indicate that participants dynamically and adeptly engage in the meaning-making process by repetition and paraphrase for clarity. East Asian ELF speakers not only seek to make their wording clearer and easier to understand but also actively provide reflexive listening by clarifying, rephrasing, and summarizing of interlocutor's utterance. Participants often attempt to clarify the interlocutor's intended meaning to ensure mutual understanding and this also shows shared engagement among participants. Even though there is no indication of understanding problems or communication breakdown, speakers actively display their strategic resources of accommodation based on the interlocutor's responses such as minimal responses or echoing responses. It seems clear that the major function of repetition is not limited to repair or gap-filler but more frequently and dynamically used to achieve more effective and comprehensible communication.

5.2.2 Repetition for solidarity

Whereas self-repetition is mainly employed to enhance clarity or explicitness for anticipated problems of comprehension or intelligibility, speakers tend to repeat others for cooperation or affiliation. Whereas many research findings show a variety of functions of repetition based on efficiency or repair and problem-solving purposes in terms of both production- oriented and comprehension-oriented functions, a significant feature of repetition in my data is that participants repeat others to show their participation, solidarity or listenership (Johnstone 2008; Lichtkoppler 2007: 48; Murata 1994: 200; Perrin et al. 2003; Sawir 2004: 9; Tannen 1989). In other words, speakers signal that they are still listening and understanding others (Lichtkoppler 2007: 57). By echoing exactly what the other interlocutor said, speakers indicate rapport in the interaction and show 'participatory listenership' (Sawir 2004: 9). Although in many cases, functions of repetition are overlapped and closely intertwined with each other, compared to other types or functions of repetition, speakers in my data show display substantial examples of this exact other repetition to build rapport and solidarity in the interaction, as in the following extract.

Extract 9. E, J: Chinese, K: Korean

1 K [...], the reason, the main reason we choose, we choose to study here is only

- 2 er mainly for english.
- 3 J → mainly for english, and the english have the very very good you know the
- 4 teaching, teaching experience here, and another reason maybe=
- 5 E =reputation=
- 6 J we can we can learn in the very pure english is one of the=
- 7 E =yeah=
- 8 J =most reason=
- 9 E =i like the bri-, british er english.
- 10 J and another reason is comparative with another country like america, er, english
- 11 is more safer. there is no, you know, social, you know, violence or social (.) like
- 12 how to say (.) and any, any way more safer than america and other countries,
- 13 yeah it's like a very higher=
- 14 E =security
- 15 J → security is very good in the uk, for, especially for the students.
- 16 K yeah, it's true=
- 17 J =if if you, you see the the america, there are lots of the (.) the=
- 18 E =vi-, [violence]
- 19 K [violence]
- 20 J yeah, fight.
- 21 E and the bomb, and the terrorist
- 22 K → yeah, [terrorist]
- 23 J → [terror, terrorists], yes yes

In this extract, speakers have a conversation regarding the reasons and some advantages to study in the U.K. Speaker K initiates the talk by saying that they choose to study in the U.K. mainly for English. In line 3, Chinese speaker J repeats the phrase '*mainly for English*' which Korean speaker K used in the prior turn and then continues to develop the topic they were talking about by providing more detailed explanation to support his interlocutor J. Speaker J moves on to another advantage, which is the higher security in the U.K. Speaker J says that the U.K. is safer than America or other countries, and his following utterance '*it's like a very higher*' is complete by his interlocutor E with the word '*security*' in line 14. In the next turn (in line 15), speaker J immediately responds and shows agreement by repeating what speaker E said. After that, participants highly jointly participate in the conversation and co-construct meaning, in other words, they

converge their opinion that there are more dangers of violence and terror in the U.S. by completing other's utterance and frequent agreement responses and backchannels. And then again speakers express their agreement and positive response by echoing other interlocutor's utterance in line 22 and 23. More dynamic and frequent use of this exact other-repetition for alignment and solidarity is illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 10. E, J: Chinese, and H, K: Korean

- 1 J do you think, do you think japanese is for, easy for you to learn?
- 2 E [yeah]
- 3 H [for korean], japanese is [the easiest]
- 4 E [yeah, grammar] structure is=
- 5 H =same
- 6 E so similar
- 7 H yeah, even
- 8 J structure [of grammar] is similar?
- 9 H [vocabularies]
- 10 [.....]
- 11 J if you just learn very basic, basic japanese, it is easy, because=
- 12 H =yeah, right
- 13 J the vocabulary looks very similar
- 14 K ah
- 15 J but if you learn very [advanced japanese] is=
- 16 E **if you learn very deeper**
- 17 E =the grammar is=
- 18 J →=**the grammar is**
- 19 E it's really difficult
- 20 J di-, quite different, quite different=
- 21 E =don't you think so?
- 22 J quite different for my=
- 23 E =**they have so many rules of grammar and**=
- 24 H →=**yeah, they have so many rule**
- 25 K yeah, but many korean people say chinese language is one of the most
- 26 difficult languages
- 27 E but it's flexible, you can use the words, er

- 28 K but=
 29 J =not easy to learn [not easy to learn chinese]
 30 K [but the word flexible] sometimes means it's
 31 difficult
 32 E it's hard to=
 33 K =hard to find right one
 34 E yeah
 35 K yeah

In this extract, participants discuss whether Japanese language is easy to learn for other East Asian speakers. Korean speaker H replies that Japanese language is one of the easiest foreign languages for Korean speakers, and the Chinese interlocutor E supports it by providing its reasons including similar syntactic rules and lexical structures between Japanese and Korean language. Speaker J, however, expands the topic by arguing that the more advanced the level of Japanese language becomes, the more difficult it is to learn. As shown in line 19, speaker E attempts to jointly construct the speaker J's sentence, by inserting the reason, '*it (the grammar) is really difficult*'. In line 18, speaker J echoes the phrase his interlocutor E produced in the preceding turn. What is particularly interesting in this turn is that there was a simultaneous talk during speaker J's turn by speaker E, and speaker E tries to complete speaker J's sentence by latching it, as seen in line 16 and 17. Even though speaker J also latches onto speaker E's turn in the subsequent turn (line 18), he does not complete the sentence but simply repeats speaker E's phrase. He had an opportunity to complete the sentence in line 18, but he seems to stop continuing his word and wait for speaker E to finish the sentence to give her an opportunity to complete the turn. Speaker J's echoing response shows support and listenership in order to encourage the interlocutor to continue her turn. After speaker E's utterance '*it's really difficult*' (line 19), speaker J provides agreement by rephrasing speaker E's wording (line 20). In the later turn, Korean speaker H also employs echoing repetition as an agreement response to speaker E's utterance. Speaker H repeats what the interlocutor said, and this echoing response tends to contribute to providing more emphasised agreement and prominence on the interlocutor's utterance than a simple backchannel or minimal response such as *yes* or *yeah* (Bjørge 2010; Mauranen 2012; Watterson 2008). Another prominent motivation behind echoing or

exact other-repetition is to support the current speaker and show listenership and understanding.

Extract 11. E, J: Chinese, K: Korean

- 1 K =also british english tend to be very=
- 2 J =royal i think
- 3 K stiff
- 4 J stiff?
- 5 K i mean more clearer, clear
- 6 J → clearer
- 7 K much clearer=
- 8 E =and also they connect, connect words like middle yesterday, [they don't]
- 9 say [.....]
- 10 K linking, linking word, some kind of
- 11 J →ah, linking word
- 12 E ok
- 13 K yeah
- 14 J american english i usually link link to the american black-, black culture
- 15 like rock @@
- 16 E uh (.), disaster for me @@@ but i cannot understand
- 17 J →you cannot understand

In Extract 11, participants have a conversation about the difference of pronunciation between British and American English. Immediately after Korean speaker K says the pronunciation of British English is clearer to understand, Chinese interlocutor J repeats K's phrase '*clearer*' (line 6) with no rising intonation, which means this is not for confirmation check or request for clarification. Speaker J does not continue to hold his turn but simply echoes the preceding utterance of the interlocutor, and this kind of echoing occurs again in line 11. When speaker K points out that American English is less intelligible and more difficult for her to understand because of more use of linking words, speaker J responds with a backchannel cue '*ah*' accompanied with echoing repetition (line 11). In this case, echoing response seems to be motivated to signal that the speaker has listened to and understood what the first speaker said rather than acting as a response for agreement and clarity. The same pattern of echoing is also found in the

following turn. Another Chinese speaker E mentions that Black English is particularly disastrous for her to understand, and speaker J again echoes speaker E's sentence '*you cannot understand*' (line 17). This instance also shows the speaker's support and listenership to encourage the interlocutor to continue his/her turn and to provide more active feedback rather than simply responding with minimal responses of short backchannel cues. All these examples of echoing repetition in this extract are seen as a natural and cooperative reaction towards other interlocutors and used as a way of building solidarity and rapport among participants in conversation. Speakers seem to attempt to avoid silence and continue to provide participatory listenership by echoing the interlocutor's utterance, and this echoing response is one of the most outstanding interactional phenomena exclusively frequently employed by participants in my data. Extract 12 shows how dynamically and collaboratively ELF speakers participate in the communication by drawing on a variety of convergent strategies including collaborative sentence construction and echoing repetition, and they acts as a means of supporting the interlocutors and signalling agreement and consensus. Although these active uses of convergent and collaborative strategies are not unique features observed only in ELF, these examples indicate that active negotiations of meaning are more common in ELF interactions than let-it-pass strategies, in which ELF speakers are considered less active in making meanings as observed in some early ELF research (e.g. Firth 1996). In the conversation in the extract below, participants discuss the use of Mandarin as an official language in mainland China.

Extract 12. E, J: Chinese, K: Korean and T: Japanese

- 1 K =so i heard even though you have your er, (.) own official language=
- 2 J =official language is is [mandarin], puton-, putonghua
- 3 K [putonghua]?
- 4 J putonghua.
- 5 K ehm..putongue? or putonghua? but you have very, a lot of =
- 6 E =mandarin
- 7 J mandarin language, mandarin language, yes
- 8 K dialects.
- 9 E yes, [we have] so many [dialects]
- 10 J [lots of] [dialects], so many dialects, and some of minority
- 11 have their own language, and use the different way to to write.

12 K if the people from different area, different province=
 13 E =they use mandarin to communicate, mandarin is (.) nationwide.
 14 K yeah, but if people get the education in the public school, everyone can,
 15 everyone has, everyone has the knowledge about the mandarin, so you can
 16 communicate in mandarin.
 17 E yeah, mandarin is taught in the schools.
 18 K but it, at home=
 19 E → =at home=
 20 K =with family, or their parent, they use the [di-, dialect]
 21 E [it depends], depends, depends.
 22 J sometimes dialects, dialects, yes.
 23 E it depends on what the parents want their children to talk
 24 J what is, is there any dialect in korea or japan, is it? is there any dialect?
 25 K we have quite a lot of dialects.
 26 J also quite a lot of=
 27 K =but these days, we have a public education, many many people have
 28 certain level of education, and then because of the media, the tv, or the radio,
 29 many people, every people has er knowledge on the formal language.
 30 J → formal language=
 31 K =which are our main language=
 32 J =like, just like a manda-, er [mandarin], mandarin in chinese.
 33 E [mandarin]
 34 K maybe with their friends or parents or family, they use their own dialect, but
 35 we can normally, can understand what they are talking.
 36 J maybe the same in china=
 37 K =but they have the special accent.
 38 E er you mean, er when you say a dialect=
 39 K → =dialect=
 40 E =are you, do you mean in accent? or
 41 K not only accent=
 42 E =other=
 43 K =they normally use the special lexical=
 44 E =another=
 45 K =yeah, the vocabulary.

- 46 E ehm
- 47 K sometimes people cannot understand the, er if they use very speci-, specific
- 48 dialect, vocabulary, but if they don't, we can just (.)=
- 49 E =guess the meaning.
- 50 K →yeah, sometimes **guess the meaning**
- 51 E ah=
- 52 J =you share the same language, just, just you have different accent. yeah.
- 53 E and also different words.
- 54 K yeah, but even though they don't, they don't use special vocabulary, but if
- 55 they have special, they try to speak informal language, but if er they have
- 56 special accent, we can notice, aha, they are from=
- 57 E =@@@=
- 58 K =seoul, or=
- 59 J =just kind of accents, yeah
- 60 E [and]
- 61 J [what about] in japan?
- 62 E yeah, japanese, i don't think there=
- 63 T =sometimes, but we cannot=
- 64 E =accent.
- 65 T →**yeah, just accent.**
- 66 E →**just accent.**

Korean speaker K asks Chinese interlocutors about the use of dialects in China, even though Mandarin is taught at school and used nationwide. There are several cases of echoing or exact other repetition, for example, as in line 19, 30, and 39, which show participatory listenership and support. In these echoing responses, speakers do not seem to intend to compete and hold the turn but help encourage interlocutors to continue their utterance. Consequently, their echoing repetition does not disrupt the overall flow of the interlocutors' utterance but provide their collaborative and convergent attitudes towards interlocutors. The original speakers naturally continue their sentences immediately after the interlocutor's echoing backchannels, often with latches. Participants also frequently employ echoing to signal their agreement and positive attitudes. For example, in line 50 and 66, speakers repeat the words or phrases that their interlocutors used in the preceding turn, and this use of echoing seems to serve the function of backchannels for

agreement. In Extract 13, participants are talking about what kinds of jobs are most popular in their own country, and Japanese speaker M speaks about the situation in Japan.

Extract 13. K:Korean, M: Japanese, and L: Chinese

- 1 M i i found the ranking first professional sport, professional sports career, and
- 2 second patisserie just make=
- 3 K =patisserie?
- 4 M patisserie, third er working for the kindergarten
- 5 K uh, really?
- 6 M yeah, for (.) er manga, cartoon writer
- 7 K wow
- 8 L **carton writer**
- 9 M ehm
- 10 K uh, it's very different
- 11 M fifth is doctor
- 12 K **doctor**
- 13 M sixth, fashion designer
- 14 K **fashion designer**
- 15 M seventh, er like nurse
- 16 K **nurse**
- 17 M eighth is pharmacy like er=
- 18 K **=pharmacy**
- 19 M yeah, yeah
- 20 K **pharmacist**
- 21 M yeah, pharmacist and nine singer
- 22 K **singer**
- 23 M ten (.) er how to say, hair [hair] designer
- 24 K **[hair] dresser**
- 25 L i think the hair designer is very popular
- 26 M yeah, yeah, very popular because of the famous drama maybe, fifteen
- 27 years ago

Japanese speaker M goes on her talk by providing the list of the top ranking popular jobs in Japan in order, which include professional sport athletes, patisserie, kindergarten teacher, cartoon writer and so on. During the conversation, other participants continue to echo what speaker M is saying as in line 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, and 22, but with a falling intonation, which means that their echoing is not for request of confirmation or clarification. After all this listing, in line 25 Chinese speaker L agrees with the fact that the last job listed, *hair designer*, is very popular by repeating the prior speaker's utterance, and then in line 26 Japanese speaker M also immediately displays a positive and agreeing response by echoing the phrase '*very popular*' speaker L used in the previous turn.

As the examples of echoing responses in data show, participants actively adopt each other's utterance and such repetition seems to be based on affective motivation. This strategic behaviour tends to make the interaction flow more smoothly and collaboratively and signal the speaker's intended co-participation and affiliation. This kind of 'solidarity repetition', as Murata describes (1994: 200), functions as a back-channel, since speakers not only add no further information or noticeable contribution to the development of topic or idea, but also do not interrupt their interlocutor's turn or elicit a response from interlocutors, but indicate to interlocutors that they are listening to, understanding or even accepting what the interlocutor said (Bjørge 2010; Murata 1994; Perrin et al 2003; Sawir 2004). As feedback makes communication as 'a two-way or interactive process' (Jandt 1995: 25), by converging to interlocutors through echoing response, speakers signal dynamic support and empathy and display more active acceptance and listenership. Signalling attention in interaction is 'an important aspect of communicative ability that contributes to rapport management' (Bjørge 2010: 201). Rather than just providing simple agreement backchannel tokens like *yes*, *yeah*, *that's right*, and *it's true*, speakers express their positive reply with a greater degree of alignment and rapport to the interlocutor by echoing and mirroring the interlocutor's utterance and encourage their interlocutors to continue their turn.

5.2.3 Utterance Completion

The utterance completion (Sacks 2000: 647) is described in various different terms such as collaborative sentence construction (Lerner 1991), anticipatory completion (Lerner 1991: 443), cognitive completion (Leudar & Antaki 1988), collaborative completion (Lerner 1991, 1996; Rae 1990) and joint construction of turns (Coates 1994). Speakers

often jointly formulate incomplete sentences of other speakers or build an extended utterance to develop the topic in the ongoing conversation. Through collaborative completion, speakers can exhibit cooperation and co-participation in interaction and project affiliation in joint action (Lerner 1993: 221).

Utterance completion is one of the interactional practices to indicate the great level of convergence by consolidating the prior turn, that is, speakers collaboratively take part in the turn-constructive unit in the ongoing process of the original speaker's turn and get into 'a possible completion point' by producing a syntactically coherent sequence (S. Lee 2006: 99; Iwasaki 2011: 116). Collaborative completion takes place based on the preceding process in which speakers monitor the prior talk and completely understand it to co-construct the following slot of talk. Participants generally produce collaborative action based on the information provided earlier, but in many cases speakers anticipate the not-yet-completed utterance with shared common knowledge and background information to coordinate further talk. It is observed that this joint construction helps a smooth flow of interaction and therefore it is considered as a collaborative participation rather than interruption.

The next speaker joins a constructive unit in a turn-in-progress, and this incoming talk is syntactically and pragmatically relevant to the prior talk as its continuation rather than a separate or independent unit of turn (Local 2005; Szczepek 2000). Therefore the second speaker initiates completion not to interfere the first speaker's talk, but orients and moves towards the first speaker to be jointly involved in the conversation. On the surface level, completion might seem as interruption of other's utterance. However, whereas completion is accomplished based on the speaker's cooperative and supportive motivation and function, interruption typically takes place to compete and take up the floor, change a topic or show disagreement at non-transition relevance place (Sacks et al. 1974; Zimmerman & West 1975; Farley 2008; Murata 1994b). Another obvious distinction between completion and interruption is that the completing speaker does not seem to continue to hold the floor by competing the turn, but the floor typically returns to the original speaker after completion (Szczepek 2000: 20). Also, in completion, there is no sign of high pitch and fast and loud amplitude, which are typical prosodic characteristics of competitive interruption to gain control and dominance in conversation (Levow 2005; Tannen 1983), but the completing turn is generally initiated at low or medium pitch levels due to its no-disruptive nature (French & Local 1986;

Yang 1996; Zuraidah and Knowles 2006). As collaborative completion is not aimed at claiming turn but provides interlocutors with support, the first speaker can continue speaking immediately after the utterance completion, and Extract 14 shows this example.

Extract 14. E, J: Chinese , K: Korean

- 1 E and i need to go back er to my campus for the=
- 2 J =you can start to apply now.
- 3 E apply for the=
- 4 J →=**for the master**
- 5 E i already applied for the southampton. and they gave me the [offer]=
- 6 J → **[offer]**
- 7 K =offer,wow=

In Extract 14, Chinese female speaker E, who is an undergraduate exchange student in the U.K. university, is explaining that she should return to her home country after the semester and submit a short dissertation to receive a credit for graduation and apply for the master course in the U.K. university. In line 4, Chinese male speaker J provides a completing item '*for the master*' to speaker E's utterance based on the previously provided information, which is the topic there were talking about, and it is exactly what speaker E intended to say, so she does not make any explicit disagreeing reply but carries on her speech turn to explain her situation. In line 6, speaker J again attempts to collaboratively complete speaker E's turn by anticipating the lexical unit in the upcoming talk. The strategy of completion is in the line with the basic motivation of convergence in which speakers adapt their communicative behaviour to become more similar to their interlocutors and to gain approval. Through joint sentence construction, participants seem to support a meaning-making process, and supporting is a major function of accommodation. This kind of collaborative turn construction among participants by suggesting lexical items is also observed frequently and dynamically in the next extract.

Extract 15. E, J- Chinese, and B- Japanese

- 1 E and is there any problem like similar to this in japan? the, the=
- 2 B →=**the gap between=**
- 3 E =yeah=

- 4 B →=the poorer and
- 5 E yeah.
- 6 B yeah, we have. actually in, people in tokyo are much richer than=
- 7 E →=ehm in town=
- 8 B =in countryside people=
- 9 E yeah=
- 10 B but not (.) as serious as in china, i think, but there is some problems like (.)
- 11 ehm like po=-
- 12 J →=poverty and wealthy?
- 13 B yeah.
- 14 J is that, is that happen in japan?
- 15 B yes, it is, but not as serious.

In Extract 15, Chinese speakers were talking about the growing gap of a living standard between the rich and the poor in China especially after the rapid growth of Chinese economy. Chinese speaker E asked Japanese speaker B whether this problem is happening in Japan, and before she finishes off her utterance, in line 2 and 4 Japanese speaker B provides the lexical item after her interlocutor's short hesitation as she can easily anticipate what speaker E is trying to say based on the information provided in the course of the interaction. It seems clear that her anticipatory completion is motivated to show cooperation and support to her interlocutor and to make the interaction flow more smoothly. In turn, speaker E co-constructs speaker B's turn by providing the word '*in town*' in line 7, and speaker B tacitly ratifies speaker E's collaborative lexical suggestion by repeating it but with a change of the word to '*countryside*' in the flowing turn. This collaborative action is again observed by another speaker J in line 12. As seen in the examples above, participants display a high degree of convergence by co-constructing and coordinating the turn-in-progress in a highly active and strategic way. In collaborative completion, speakers desire to produce their output to take into consideration the interlocutor's requirement and therefore to facilitate understanding and attain communicative efficiency, which is a basic 'cognitive organisation function' of accommodation (Gallois et al. 2005: 129).

This kind of conversational strategy is described as 'lexical anticipation' or 'lexical suggestion' (Kirkpatrick 2007: 122; 2010: 127). Speakers help other interlocutors by supplying appropriate lexical items to process a conversation flow smoothly and this

strategy indicates a high degree of mutual collaboration and supportiveness among ELF speakers. In most cases, participants are proved to display a positive reaction to this performance, and it is not perceived as an interruption or there is no sign of showing anxiety, because lexical suggestion is qualitatively distinctive from ‘lexical correction’, which typically takes place in NS-NNS communications. Whereas lexical correction is perceived as error correction by interlocutors and often leads to irritation or losing face, speakers consider lexical suggestion as an accommodative communicative strategy. Therefore, lexical suggestion is a type of expression of solidarity and effectiveness in ELF communication.

Meanwhile, Lerner (1991) explains commonly used structural formats of completion. In other words, he argues that completion more frequently occurs with sequential turn-constructural formats such as ‘if *X* and then *Y*’ or ‘when *X*, and then *Y*’, list structure, preformulated formats, or after quotation markers. In most cases in my data, completion is employed with the form of short lexical units or phrases, but when it occurs in the form of sentences, the structural format ‘if *X*, and then *Y*’ is the most frequent and common type of completion as in the flowing extracts. Extract 16 particularly provides the evidence of how jointly the interaction is formulated by participants and how successfully anticipatory completion is accepted by the original speaker. Participants have a conversation about a welfare system and benefit by the government, and speakers agreed that this system is still very insufficient and therefore the government needs to expand more supportive welfare system.

Extract 16. K: Korean and E: Chinese

- 1 K but i think i think the balan-, the balancing between the proper proper or
- 2 reasonable level of benefit or welfare and the the more profitable or er
- 3 more profitable and practical economic system, i mean if the government
- 4 pay for too much money for that welfare=
- 5 E →=they will become lazy
- 6 K yeah, that people, that can make people lazy lazier than and it makes the
- 7 government poorer and poorer, so that’s the reason why this government
- 8 er=
- 9 E →=need the considerable
- 10 K →=policies for change

11 E yeah

Speaker K expresses concerns about the disadvantages of the high standard of the welfare system with contrast word '*but*' in line 1. Speaker E, therefore, can easily anticipate what will come next after speakers K's initiating sentence '*if the government pay for too much money for that welfare*' in line 3 and co-participate in the turn-in-progress. Her candidate sentence '*they will become lazy*' in line 5 was exactly what speaker K intended to speak, as it is explicitly ratified with the agreeing token '*yeah*' and even the original speaker K repeats it again in line 6. Another dynamic collaborative action is immediately displayed in the flowing turn. Speaker K's initiating sentence '*that's the reason why this government*' in line 7 is jointly completed by speaker E's utterance '*need the considerable*' and afterward speaker K, who is the original speaker of the prior turn, carried on completing the rest of her sentence as an ensemble with the slot '*policies for change*'. She does not even give any agreement token or response between speaker E's turn and her following turn but merely fills the lexical items as if originally they are all one sentence.

Participants co-construct the on-going process of the turn, where overlapping talk or latching more often occurs than after their interlocutor's hesitation or pause, by anticipating and providing a structurally and syntactically relevant sentence. Particularly connective markers such as '*but*' or '*if*' seem to lead speakers to join a possible completion point that the interlocutor does not complete and to participate in co-producing and co-ordinating into further talk. The speaker suggests a candidate comprehension of the missing slot of talk which the interlocutor had intended to produce and coordinate the sentence during an on-going TCU (turn-constructive unit) completion. However, speakers do not attempt to produce a firm and determinate completion and to consider their own anticipatory completion as an explicit answer for the sentence construction. Instead, they carefully propose the anticipatory component by raising the intonation of the final part of the sentence 'to conceal the action as try-marker' (S. Lee 2006: 103).

As seen in the extracts above, through completion speakers can signal alignment and unity to their interlocutors by showing that they understand and know what interlocutors are talking about and facilitate a smooth flow of interaction. In other words, rather than producing explicit replying such as '*I understand*' or '*I know what you mean*', speakers

show their understanding by completing others and consequently lead to establish rapport to interlocutors. Although collaborative action is accomplished by the second speaker, it is incorporated into the first speaker's turn and therefore potentially belongs to the original turn (Szczepek 2000). Completion is apparently distinguished from interruption, which intrudes the original speaker's territoriality of speech, since the second speaker does not continue to hold the floor by competing the turn, but the floor is typically returned to the original speaker after completion. In completion, speakers have no intention to interrupt or change the topic but to co-produce and coordinate into further talk, and display convergence and co-participation in joint action. Therefore, all utterances initiated by the second speaker before the end of the first speaker's sentence or turn might not be judged as interruption, but a more contextual measurement needs to be operationalised rather than just a simple syntactic structure or measurement. In other words, situational factors such as the second speaker's intention and the content of both speakers' talk seem to be more crucial when judging a conversational behaviour as an interruption or completion.

5.2.4 Code-switching

The term 'code-switching' is defined as the shifting or alternating use of two or more languages in a single communicative event (Auer 1995; Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1993). From the traditional SLA perspectives, code-switching indicates the failure to produce the target language successfully by borrowing a speaker's L1 in talk. In other words, L2 learners with lack of proficiency may code-switch from the target language to their L1 to make up for their linguistic deficiency. However, as Cogo (2009: 263) puts it, 'from a sociolinguistic perspective, code-switching is an expression of the bilingual or multilingual competence of the participants being able to draw on their multifaceted linguistic repertoires' Code-switching is often employed as 'the repertoires of most bilingual people and in most bilingual societies' (Romaine 1989: 2). Therefore, in ELF situation, participants switch from English, which is their major language code for a given situation of interaction, to their interlocutor's L1 or even to the third language code for various purposes such as conveying symbolic meaning, drawing attention or for emphasizing multilingual identity (Cogo 2009; Klimpfinger 2009).

Many studies on code-switching demonstrate the meaning and role of code-switching in terms of either the project of power and authority by the alternation between a local or

regional language and the majority language in a multi-lingual society or the social or ethnic identity of immigrant speakers' language shifting between their mother tongue and the dominant language in a given community. They interpret that 'speaking a particular language is seen as an index of membership in a particular social (including ethnic) group' (Auer 2005: 405). For example, Auer (ibid.) argues 'in immigrant situations in Europe or in the Americas, the majority language is neutral with respect to ethnic belonging and the minority language is a potential symbolic carrier of ethnic (or other) self-identification'.

Code-switching in ELF situations, however, is distinctive from other sociolinguistic contexts, because it takes place in a more fluid, hybrid, multiple and flexible nature of the process of interaction rather than merely features of collective and national-identity-based group membership or identities. Code-switching in ELF does not present a clear-cut boundary of social or ethnic identity or in-group or out-group membership.

Although code-switching is used for various different purposes in ELF such as, it is a pragmatic strategy used to accommodate linguistic and contextual diversity of ELF communication. In other words, ELF speakers, who are generally at least bilingual or often multilingual, frequently employ different language codes or switch their linguistic repertoires by converging to or diverging from interlocutors for different purposes and functions, because different language codes serve a different social meaning (Myers-Scotton 2009). Therefore, such issues surrounding code-switching as politeness, solidarity, social identity, power, attitude, or relationship (Wei 2005: Auer 2005: Myers-Scotton 2009), 'are presented, understood, accepted or rejected and changed in the process of interaction' (Wei 2005). The extract below is one example of code-switching in my data, and participants have a conversation on the issue of the different cultural and philosophical values between the Western and East Asia.

Extract 17. E, J: Chinese speaker, K: Korean speaker

- 1 J it's also interesting, they are also, have difference, but the root of the
- 2 culture is inter-[twined]
- 3 K [twined]
- 4 J it's intertwined
- 5 K yeah, yeah, because geographically we are, geographically we located

6 closely
 7 J yeah.
 8 K also we share a lot of the=
 9 E =yeah
 10 K a lot of the, a lot of mental? or
 11 E values
 12 K a lot of values
 13 J some topics we have the same feeling, but when people talk from western
 14 countries she or he may not have common feeling about that.
 15 E and once i met a guy, he talked to me about the buddhism, and one thing
 16 he talked to me is the the main value of buddhism, that is to be empty, you
 17 know *kong* (공) and he just cannot understand why you would be empty,
 18 and why you try to be empty.
 19 J for example, something something we talk about something, we don't
 20 need to interpret too much, we all understand about.
 21 E yeah. we understand each other
 22 J but we talk some topics to, talk to western people from western countries,
 23 yeah he cannot feel about that and you have to ex-
 24 E explain
 25 J explain

In the earlier stretch of the talk Korean Speaker K mentioned that many Western people tend to think all East Asia countries are so similar, and therefore China, Japan and Korea have very similar culture and food, but when they see a deeper inside of their culture, they are very different one another. Chinese speaker J points out, however, the fact that despite the difference among them, East Asian countries share a plenty of cultural and social values. Followed by this comment, speaker E immediately presents one example of East Asian social value based on the Buddhism, *kong*, which means 'emptiness'. As speaker J stresses the fact that the Western people do not share some topics with East Asian and therefore cannot understand Asian cultural and symbolic values, speaker E clarifies this phenomenon by supplying one specific example she experienced while talking to a speaker from the Western country.

One interesting point is that after providing the word 'to be empty', speaker E displays a code-switching to Chinese word '*kong*' in line 14, which Korean interlocutor K might

not know. Speaker E's utterance complains that the Western speaker could not understand the meaning and value of 'emptiness', which is a very fundamental and central East Asian value system derived from Buddhism. Speaker E seems to employ the code-switching to her own L1 to make the meaning clear and to express a very East Asian value distinguished from the Western by borrowing the word from the original Chinese word. In this extract, even though speaker E does not converge to her Korean interlocutor K by switching to Korean word or the third language code both of them share, her intention of code-switching here might not be to diverge from her Korean interlocutor but she is likely to establish an in-group membership as East Asian both of them share by diverging from the Western, because Chinese speaker E knows that Korean speaker K can identify some of Chinese characters, as she mentioned it in the conversation before, and understand the meanings of them. The next extract, however, indicates an example of the project of solidarity and membership by switching to the interlocutor's L1.

Extract 18. E, J: Chinese, B: Japanese

- 1 E how is the japanese consciousness of japanese girl, because i thought
- 2 → them er considerate and **gawai**, and also @@@@
- 3 J →**gawai** @@@@
- 4 B you know the word.
- 5 J yes, it's popular in china.
- 6 B ehm.
- 7 J even though we don't know er japanese, but most try to, can say=
- 8 B =why?
- 9 J →you are **gawai** @@@
- 10 E →**bangai** and **amita**.and
- 11 B anime?
- 12 J →**anime**, yeah, because lots of japanese cartoon is very popular in, yeah
- 13 E @@@
- 14 B @@@@
- 15 J i grew up, when i was a child, i i see the japanese cartoon every day, yes,
- 16 it's very popular
- 17 E yeah.

In this extract, Chinese speaker E is asking about Japanese young women's emotional characteristics and gives explanations of her general impression and idea about this issue. She describes Japanese girls' character with the words '*considerate*' and '*gawai*'. Instead using English word 'cute', she suddenly displays code-switching in describing the topic, and also another Chinese speaker J repeats this code-switched Japanese word '*gawai*' with some laugh, which seems to show that he also knows the word.³ Chinese speaker E seems to assume that code-switching into Japanese is more appropriate to express a certain idea and describe Japanese people's characteristics. In the next turn in line 4, Japanese speaker B shows a positive response to this code-switching by saying '*you know the word*'. In line 10, Chinese speaker E again employs code-switching to display her knowledge on some other Japanese words, '*bangai*', which means 'extra' in English, and '*amita*', which literally means 'pure land' or 'clean earth'. These words are not relevant in the current conversation at all, but it seems that Chinese speaker E attempts to show her interest in Japanese culture, particularly Japanese girls' general personality or character in this talk, and consequently to build rapport and closer emotional relationship with Japanese speaker B by using simple code-switching. Another Chinese speaker J repeats the Japanese words code-switched by other interlocutors as in line 3 and 12 and provides additional explanations that these words are quite familiar to Chinese people and commonly used even though they have no knowledge on Japanese language maybe because of the influence of Japanese pop culture in China.

In line 3, Chinese speaker J's laughter following the repetition of the code-switched word '*gawai*' by speaker E appears to be used as means of expressing his positive emotion to the code-switching of which he already knows the meaning. In other words, as some research findings show that in ELF communications 'laughter' functions as a kind of backchannel (Meierkord 2002: 120-2; Lesznyak 2002: 189), through laughter he exhibits his positive response of satisfaction and interest in the code-switched word. Laughter highly frequently appears in my data, but it does not necessarily means that something is very funny. It might be naturally used to fill the gap in interaction and often to avoid losing face (Kirkpatrick 2007) as in line 2. After her description of Japanese girls' character with two characteristics, '*considerate*' and '*gawai*' (in line 2), speaker E attempts to continue to provide more comment or additional explanation on it,

as seen in the word '*and also*' in line 2. She seems, however, to forget what to say afterwards, so she alternates it with laughter to fill the gap of hesitation.

Such frequent use of laughter as a communicative strategy in East Asian communication is also found in some other research. For example, Fuki's (2002) study on Japanese communication features shows that Japanese participants highly frequently display laughter both before beginning a turn and after, in which no clear reason or purpose of laughter is observed. In his follow-up interview, respondents answered that laughter is used 'to alleviate the tension' or 'to make a good impression' (2002:108). He goes to argue that laughter is employed to cover the speaker's feeling of awkwardness and nervousness. In line 2, speaker E seems to laugh after she used code-switching while describing Japanese girls' characteristic, because she was not sure how the interlocutors, particularly Japanese interlocutor, understood her use of code-switching to Japanese and therefore used laughter as a hedge 'to minimize embarrassment and act as a self-defense mechanism' (Fuki 2002: 109). Another example of code-switching is seen in the following extract.

Extract 19. E, J: Chinese, B: Japanese, K: Korean

- 1 B yeah, it is. i don't know why, we are, maybe because of japanese people's
- 2 character or something, because normally japanese people are (.) very
- 3 peaceful.
- 4 J yeah
- 5 K i see
- 6 E they are so polite.
- 7 B yeah, maybe. but, maybe not between friends.
- 8 E ah, between friends?
- 9 B but other people, who are unknown, unknown people, with unknown people
- 10 we tend to be polite, and
- 11 E →you use the, er, er, those er words, like, er er gozaimasu.
- 12 B yeah, polite words.
- 13 E yeah, polite words
- 14 B we use the different kinds of words at the end of sentence, so.
- 15 E to show your politeness=
- 16 B=yeah=

17 E =to others.

In Extract 19, speakers have a conversation on the growing level of crime in their own countries, except Japanese society, and Japanese speaker B attempts to explain the reason. She assumes the Japanese people's characteristic, which is 'very peaceful' (line 2-3), as a reason, and Chinese speaker E supports it by saying '*they are so polite*' in line 6. Later on, speaker E employs the code-switching by using the Japanese word, '*gozaimasu*' (line 11), which is used to express deference and politeness to interlocutors in interaction, to additionally explain the Japanese people's high level of politeness in conversation. After speaker E's code-switching, Japanese speaker B provides a positive reply by supplying the additional information, which is '*polite word*', on the code-switched word with an agreement token 'yeah'. As indicated in the examples above, speakers appear to build rapport and friendly atmosphere by using code-switching to the interlocutor's first language, and many research findings illustrate that code-switching is a bilingual speakers' purposeful sociolinguistic strategy (Auer 2005; Eldridge 1996; Pfaff 1979; Scotton & Ury 2009). However, the reason why the use of code-switching is relatively very rare in my data comparing to other ELF pragmatic research on accommodation seems that participants simply have no knowledge on each other's first language, although Chinese or Japanese is the most commonly learnt and used foreign language in Korea, for instance. It is likely to have distinguished findings with different participants in other East Asian ELF contexts, where speaker have more competence in other East Asian languages.

Whereas some research findings reveal that code-switching is a frequently employed pragmatic strategy in ELF communication, my data shows a very few instances of code-switching among East Asian ELF speakers, as seen in Chapter 5. In my data, there were only seven cases of code-switching into the interlocutors' L1 in the total three speech events, and there was no instance of the code-switching into the third language, which is distinguished from other ELF data on code-switching (e.g. Cogo 2009; Cogo & Dewey 2006; Klimpfinger 2007; Pölzl 2003). The rest cases of the code-switching in my data occurred for the purpose of word-search between the same L1 participants, i.e., between Chinese- Chinese or Korean-Korean speakers. However, one obvious distinction between my data and other ELF studies on code-switching is the lingua-cultural background of participants. In other words, my data involves exclusively East Asian

speakers from China, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, and Thailand, while most participants in other studies on code-switching in ELF encompass the speakers of European languages.

Kirkpatrick (2010) presents a similar phenomenon of the rare use of code-switching in his ASEAN ELF data. Although he supports the fact that cod-mixing and cod-switching are a common phenomenon in language use in multilingual societies like South- East Asian countries, he points out that code-switching or mixing might not be effective in some cases in ELF situations, because some participants in conversation would not understand the lexical meaning which is switched into a specific language. In this context, 'a specific language' might mean the current speaker's L1 or the third language, which is none of the mother tongue of participants. In another case of code-switching, which is a shift into the interlocutor's L1, it is a prerequisite that speakers possess a certain level of proficiency or knowledge on this specific language. As Kirkpatrick (2010: 91) puts it, however, 'in lingua franca communication one could never anticipate that all participants could possibly be familiar with all the possible languages'. The participants in ELF conversation choose to use English as a medium of the intercultural communication, and therefore it might not be surprising to observe that code-mixing or switching do not frequently occur in his ASEAN ELF data. This phenomenon is found to distinguish ASEAN ELF from other varieties of English used in the South-East Asian countries, where the local varieties of lexical items are prevalently used to describe their own social and cultural values. ELF speakers seem to avoid the situation which marginalises the third members of speaker who does not know the language code switched, although the current speaker and the interlocutor know the switched language. In other words, speakers would attempt to avoid the use of culturally specific lexical items or expressions which might cause the non-understanding or comprehension problems among other participants who do not share the knowledge on the chosen language code.

One possible explanation of rare use of code-switching in my data is the historical and traditional attitudes towards and perspectives on each other's language in general. In other words, although Japanese and Mandarin Chinese are obviously one of the most commonly learnt and used foreign languages at least in Korea, this trend is a relatively very recent phenomenon due to Japanese and Chinese economic boost and its substantial impact on Korean economy as a political and economic partner.

Traditionally, however, in Korea there was a certain degree of resistant and negative

attitudes towards the use of these two languages, particularly Japanese language, because Korea has a distressing experience colonized by Japan for 35 years just before World War II. During this period Korean language was heavily influenced by Japanese language and even Korean people were prohibited to use our own language by the Japanese colonizing power. Therefore, after the independence from the Japanese colonization, Korea has tried to eliminate the remaining of Japanese language on Korean language on the level of the government, non-governmental organizations, the media, and the general public (Argüelles & J.R. Kim 2000). For this reason, in Korea the use of code-switching to or code-mixing with Japanese language tended not to be considered and accepted positively.

In the case of Chinese language in Korea, Korea did have their own language but did not have their own character until 1446 when Hangul, which is the native alphabet of Korean language, was invented in Chosen dynasty. Accordingly, Korean people borrowed Chinese character to write and record the documents, and in the past the high proportion of Korean vocabulary items was formed by Chinese characters.

Approximately 70 % of Korean vocabulary is estimated to have Chinese etymology (Lee & Ramsey 2000). However, Chinese etymological words in Korean language are read only in Sino-Korean pronunciation, where native Chinese pronunciations or words are not used at all (Sohn 2001), and the linguistic structure and system between Korean and Chinese language are completely different. Consequently, Chinese language did not have a massive impact on Korean language despite the geographical and political approximation between two countries. China also experienced Japanese occupation during World War II, and the consequent tension between China and Japan has led to the negative attitudes towards Japanese language among Chinese people. As already mentioned in the introduction chapter, China, Korea and Japan tended to have a strong nationalism and subsequently there was an effort to purify their native language in each East Asian country. For these historical reasons, code-switching and code-mixing in East Asia were not pervasive and did not commonly occur comparing to European countries, where most of countries share their language origins with the Latin and use a similar alphabet as well as the more active political and economic cooperation and frequent contact, mobility and fluidity among them.

5.3 Summary

The analysis of my data shows that East Asian speakers in my ELF data employed repetition, which is the most frequent pragmatic strategy for accommodation in my data, paraphrase, and utterance completion. Participants displayed high frequency of both types of repetition, self-repetition and other-repetition for two major purposes of clarity and solidarity. In other words, speakers sought to clarify their utterance by repeating often with some modifications of expression and to convey their intended meaning in an easier and clearer way, and they adopted reiteration even without the sign of understanding problems of interlocutors. Speakers also repeat or reformulate interlocutor's expression, and it is found that this type of other-repetition occurred most frequently in my data. Reflexive listening, which involves clarification, paraphrasing and summarising of a long stretch of the turn, is the most significant feature in my ELF data, and given the nature of ELF, which is characterised by diversity and hybridity, the adept use of such pragmatic strategies for negotiation of meaning and adaptation can contribute to effective and successful communication in ELF situation. More interesting finding is that participants more often drew on convergent strategies to project their willingness to co-participation and engagement in conversation. By providing echoing repetition and joint sentence construction, speakers attempted to overtly show their solidarity and listenership, and East Asian ELF speakers seemed to share great expectations of empathy in interaction and consequently produce highly rapport-building and affective conversations. In the next chapter, I will compare the findings of my data analysis to other ELF literature by focusing on similarities and differences and explore some possible factors which might influence the interactional phenomenon of accommodation.

6. Chapter 6 Communication in East Asia and its influence on East Asian ELF

In Chapter 5, I presented the pragmatic strategies commonly employed for accommodative purposes by East Asian ELF speakers in the data. The first salient characteristic of findings of my data is that repetitions, including paraphrase, are frequently used not for the remedial purposes in interaction but for accommodative and cooperative intentions. In particular, echoing of other interlocutor's utterance as a backchannel response is an outstanding phenomenon in East Asian ELF communications in this study. Utterance completion is another major pragmatic behaviour observed in my data. Although participants in this ELF setting produce collaborative completion to help other interlocutors immediately after their hesitation, with the form of lexical suggestion or anticipation, utterance completion also more often acts as a backchannel to construct ensemble in interaction. On the other hand, code-switching much less frequently appeared as compared with other ELF research.

In this chapter, I will investigate the similarities and differences between the findings of my East Asian ELF communication and those of other ELF studies and the possible explanation for the underlying causes and reasons of certain phenomena will be explored, particularly based on the East Asian speakers' L1 influence. In the first part of the chapter, I will compare the characteristics of the use of repetition in East Asian ELF in the study with other ELF studies and examine the patterns and nature of repetition in the communication of East Asian languages, because as much research show, the speaker's interactional processes in L1 often tend to be transferred to English communication (see Cenoz 2003; Kasper 1992; Kasper & Rose 1999; Takahashi 1993), and therefore participants' pragmatic strategies in L1 are more likely to operate in ELF communication. In other words, the way East Asian speakers use repetition or utterance completion in their L1 conversation will have some influence on the way they use these in ELF interaction, although there might be some differences. The underlying motivations and processes that affect each of the frequent features will be considered and analysed, focusing on a variety of socio-cultural values and ideological factors which may cause such phenomena. In the second part of the chapter, a more detailed explanation for the phenomenon of utterance completion will be provided by comparing my data with other ELF studies and East Asian communication. In the last part of the

chapter, another distinctive result, which is less frequency of code-switching in my data, will be investigated by examining a range of historical and socio-cultural factors in East Asian communication with regard to code-switching.

6.1 Accommodation for clarity

As seen in Chapter 5, East Asian speakers of ELF in my data are found to attempt to heighten clarity and explicitness by employing various convergent strategies such as self-repetition, self-paraphrase, other-repetition and other-paraphrase. In other words, participants reiterate what they have said either in the same turn or after the interlocutor's response or repeat other interlocutor's utterance to pre-empt possible misunderstandings. In most cases, there was no sign of actual communication breakdown or comprehension problems, when speakers produced repetition or paraphrase, but they seem to adapt to their interlocutors' linguistic and communicative capacity and to achieve clarity and mutual understanding by making their utterance more explicit and comprehensible, for example, by modifying the phrase '*political science*' to '*politics*', '*english major*' to '*english department*' or '*visiting student*' to '*cooperation teaching*' as seen in Chapter 5. As Mauranen (2012: 220) puts it, 'making one's talk clear and explicit is in itself a way of adapting to interlocutors, a form of recipient design, and can be seen as accommodating to interlocutors in a wide sense of accommodation.' The speakers' desire to make themselves understood by interlocutors tends to be greater in intercultural communication, where linguistic and cultural diversity and lack of shared knowledge often cause understanding problems, and therefore accommodation processes seem to operate dynamically to achieve shared understanding. Repetition is a way of achieving this purpose in my East Asian ELF data, and participants are found to use it effectively to pre-empt troubles and enhance mutual comprehension. Even though my data is based on the small number of participants and therefore the findings of my research cannot be generalised to represent individual contexts of East Asian ELF, it is hoped that the features found in this study can have some shared aspects of accommodation in other ELF settings, particularly in those with East Asian speakers of ELF, and provide some useful empirical evidence to understand and explain how East Asian speakers of English adapt to communicative situations and various social environments of ELF and how accommodation operates in the context of East Asian ELF.

Accommodation is not simply limited to approximation strategies such as convergence, divergence and maintenance, which represent the Communication Accommodation theory today, but more wide-ranging attuning strategies are concerned with accommodative processes. In other words, accommodation strategies have cognitive functions which involve the participants' motivation and effort to manage their speech production to take into account the conversational needs of the interlocutors and therefore facilitate shared comprehension. The speakers attempt to focus on the interlocutors' interpretative competence and organise their communicative patterns and style according to the requirement of the interlocutors' decoding capability. Such cognitive organisation functions seem to encourage participants to promote clarity and explicitness in order to support the listeners' interpretability and make effective use of discourse management. Consequently, effective and good communication, particularly in intercultural communication settings, depends on situational and contextual factors such as participants' role and their ultimate goal in communication, which can be determined by desirable affective and cognitive functions of communicative behaviours.

What we need to pay attention to in relation to accommodation and clarity in ELF is that an extensive use of communicative strategies for explicitness is closely related to the notion of cooperativeness, which is one of the major communicative features of ELF, though Jenks (2012) argued that ELF is not always cooperative. As a great body of ELF research have shown, ELF communication tends to be mutually supportive and cooperative, and common interests among speakers in ELF are successful communication. Therefore, 'striving for clarity is a way of working towards this goal together' (Mauranen 2012: 167), and explicitness provides a ground for accommodation, 'as it provides enhanced contextual support for anomalous forms to thrive in' (p. 200). As the process of constructing shared understanding is a clearly interactional and reciprocal practice in communication, it can be achieved by dynamic collaboration and negotiation between participants. As seen in many examples in my data, East Asian ELF speakers adeptly manage mutual understanding. In other words, through various adaptive and convergent strategies participants in ELF communication attempt to cooperate to develop clarity and explicitness for enhanced intelligibility and shared understanding, and this finding indicates that ELF is exceptionally listener-oriented as shown in other ELF studies (e. g. Cogo & Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2011).

In the case of self-repetition, participants in my ELF data do not simply limit to repeating the same words or phrases, which is often concerned with a repair for phonological intelligibility, but more frequently reiterate their wording with some modification, which seem to show that their repetition is more intended to enhance interactional comprehension focusing on meaning rather than aiming for phonological intelligibility, which is often accompanied with pitch or loudness. Speakers rephrase the initial formulation with semantically similar items, and therefore the meaning is not transformed although the new expression replaces the original one. This phenomenon indicates that speakers in East Asian ELF strategically adapt to communicative situations by conveying their intended meaning more effectively through new lexical choices. The similar patterns are also observed in Mauranten's (2012) ELF study, where modified repetition is more frequent than exact verbatim repetition. Speakers in Mauranten's ELF data tend to alter their interlocutor's utterance in their response rather than echoing 'identical stretches of speech', and this pattern of repetitions is particularly more observable in the case of repetition of longer phrases (p. 207).

The similar tendency also appears in the cases of other-repetition in my data. In other words, even when the speakers react to the interlocutor's utterance, they do not limit to echo the same wording as the interlocutor produced but more often reiterate the interlocutor's utterance by modification and reformulation. For instance, in the conversation on his working experience in Saipan (in Chapter 5), a Korean speaker describes the noticeable feature of English in Saipan, where the relatively limited number of vocabulary is used as comparing with other varieties of English. After his utterance '*their language is very limited*', the Chinese interlocutor reformulates the sentence to '*they just use very simple english to express themselves*' and to '*they cannot speak very complex english*'. Another Chinese participant in a different conversation also modified her interlocutor's sentence '*the confucian deri- derived from china, and then it changed in korea and japan.*' to '*they are from the same era but they become different thing*'. All these examples indicate that East Asian speakers of ELF in my data attempt to effectively negotiate the meaning for clarity and mutual understanding and facilitate communication by strategically reformulating the preceding utterance of either their own or their interlocutor.

Another interesting issue raised in my data as regards repetition is the lower frequency of self-repetition or self-paraphrase. Some might say that ELF speakers make produce

more self-repair or self-rephrasing than native speakers, because there tend to be higher frequencies of false starts or errors they made, and therefore they correct themselves more frequently. However, as the statistical analysis of my data shows in Chapter 5, the frequency of both self-repetition (154 cases) and self-paraphrase (71 cases) was remarkably lower than other-repetition (831 cases) and other-paraphrase (207 cases). Also, in the comparison of ELFA and MICASE, Mauraanen (2012) has found that ENL speakers produced more rephrasing than ELF speakers, i.e. 15 instances of rephrasing in MICASE and 10 instances in ELFA in 1, 000 words. Even when East Asian ELF speakers in my data employ self-rephrasing, they do not change the meaning but modify merely syntactic structures. In other words, rephrasing was made based on semantic similarities. Therefore, when the original utterance was replaced by the other, the meaning of a new word remains the same. The similar result is also observed in Mauraanen's research. Mauraanen (2007, 2012) has found that rephrases in her ELF data rarely affect meaning but ELF speakers more often modify morpho-syntactic forms and structures. Consequently, rephrasing in ELF seems to be more often involved in a change of lexical choices, sometimes with the specification of meanings.

In relation to rephrasing and paraphrasing, one conspicuous finding in my data is that participants tend not to announce their self-rephrasing explicitly. In other words, it is more common that East Asian ELF speakers in my data tend to rephrase their wording without rephrase markers such as '*in other words*', '*I mean*', '*namely*', '*that is to say*', and '*what I'm saying is*'. Mauraanen (2012) reveals that the participants in her ELFA data more frequently display explicit signals for self-rephrasing by using rephrasing markers comparing to native speakers of English, even though their use tends to be based on the very limited variety of expressions such as '*I mean*'. This different between my finding and Mauraanen's result might be because the nature of my data is more informal, as they are from casual conversations, whereas ELF conversations in Mauraanen's data took place in more formal settings (e.g. academic seminar, presentation or thesis defense) where such a language is generally more expected. The participants in my data, on the other hand, tend to reformulate a preceding utterance, either in the same turn or immediately after the interlocutor's reaction, by explicating it with synonymous expressions and providing definitions or examples. For instance, as seen in Extract 1 in Chapter 5, the Chinese speaker modified the phrase '*they will make it very sweet for its shelf life*' to '*make it er, maintaining longer*'. The speaker

might consider that her use of the word '*shelf life*' can cause a non-understanding of the interlocutor and consequently employ the strategy of rephrasing, as the interlocutor reacted to her utterance with a minimal response '*ehm*'. Her use of the hesitation marker '*ehm*' in the following turn supports the reason why the speaker finally provides an explanation for the word '*shelf life*' with a synonymous but easier expression '*make it er, maintaining longer*'.

As already mentioned in Chapter 5, despite its frequencies and common usage in spoken discourse, repetition has been generally considered as dysfluency and lack of competence of L2 speakers. However, the majority of examples of repetition, in the case of self-repetition or self-paraphrase, in my data do not seem to be involved in problematic production in speech, because they are not accompanied with hesitations or pauses, which are often an indication of false starts or difficulties in processing utterance in interaction (Mauranen 2012: 205). Whereas a typical motivation for repair is to correct misused expressions in speech, speakers make use of rephrase and paraphrase in order to resolve ambiguity and vagueness of the utterance by expressing items in different ways. In many cases of the use of rephrasing in my data, there is no actual mistake or error which requires correction and amendment, but participants seem to prevent potential problems of comprehension by enhancing clarity and explicitness. Even though the use of repetition and rephrase is by no means exclusive to ELF communication, it seems obvious that these strategies are an extensively used means of accommodation for clarity and mutual understanding in ELF, as seen in my data and other ELF studies (e.g. Cogo 2007, 2009; Cogo & Dewey 2006, 2012; Dewey 2007b; Kaur 2009; 2010; 2011; Lichtkoppler 2007; Mauranen 2006; 2012; Pitzl 2005).

6.2 Accommodation for solidarity

6.2.1 Repetition

6.2.1.1 Repetition in ELF

In Chapter 5, I reported how the East Asian ELF speakers in my research show the frequent use of repetition in their communication. However, I would not argue such phenomenon of high frequency of repetition is a merely specific characteristic of East Asian ELF. Rather, it seems to be a highly general and common phenomenon across all ELF contexts, because other ELF research has found repetition as a frequent behaviour in their ELF contexts involved in participants from diverse linguistic and cultural

backgrounds (e.g. Cogo 2009; Cogo & Dewey 2006, 2012; House 2002, 2003; Kaur 2008, 2009, 2010; Mauranen 2006, 2007, 2012). For example, Cogo and Dewey's (2012) study shows a number of instances of repetition among ELF speakers. In Cogo and Dewey's data, participants in ELF interaction repeat the phrase that another interlocutor uttered in the previous turn, either by echoing or partly modifying it with the use of synonym. A more interesting finding we need to pay attention is that speakers often reiterate the phrase which the interlocutor said but is not the native speaker form. Cogo and Dewey stress that such example of convergence does not seem to be caused by lack of the participant's knowledge on the appropriate form of language, but accommodation might be the primary motivation for such a use of non-native linguistic form, because in other cases the speaker used the correct form from the perspectives of the NS norm. Cogo and Dewey argue that ELF speakers attempt to achieve efficiency and alignment by converging their speech style and patterns to those of their interlocutors, which might be sometimes different from the forms of the NS norm, rather than correcting them, and solidarity and rapport are attained by such convergent repetition.

Lichtkoppler's (2007) research, which involves participants from a wider range of lingua-cultural backgrounds including European and East Asian ELF speakers, provides a number of examples of macro-functions of repetition in ELF including production-oriented repetitions, which are used to facilitate the communicative process, comprehension-oriented repetitions, which are motivated to achieve mutual comprehension, and interaction-oriented repetitions, which are employed to express involvement, solidarity and rapport. She argues that repetition is a crucial component in ELF conversation, which can contribute to overcoming linguistic and cultural diversity and to making successful and efficient communication, and that ELF data shows how 'one single-repeated- word has the power to facilitate the production and comprehension of language' (2007: 61).

Whereas my data engage in exclusively ELF speakers from East Asia, the majority of participants in Cogo (2009) and Lichtkoppler's research involve European ELF speakers, as the geographical settings of the data are the universities in Europe. However, the frequencies and patterns of repetition for accommodation in these studies are found to be similar to those of my research. The frequency of repetition in ELF is also evidenced in other ELF contexts. For example, Kaur (2009) provides the data

which involve South East Asian ELF speakers from a wider range of L1 backgrounds. In other words, as her data were recorded and collected at an international postgraduate program in a university in Malaysia, the majority of participants are South East ELF speakers including Burmese, Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese, or Thai, even though some European speakers including Italian and Spanish are also involved in the data of ELF communication. Kaur's data show how frequently South East Asian and East Asian ELF speakers use repetition for mutual understanding by pre-empting possible problems of comprehension based on the interlocutor's reaction such as silence or minimal responses and problematic communicative conditions like overlapped talk. I can say, accordingly, that repetition is a more general and common phenomenon of all ELF rather than a specific characteristic of East Asian ELF.

While a number of examples of repetition were used for efficiency or comprehension in those ELF studies to help to facilitate the accomplishment of utterances or to achieve mutual understanding, the findings of my data show the high frequency of using repetition for rapport-building or solidarity. Of course, the purposes of communication will depend on the types of data collected, e.g. whether the data are from casual conversations with no particular purpose or from high stake communications such as business meetings and academic seminars. More empirical data of ELF need to investigate this less explored area of the phenomenon in order to observe whether repetition is employed by East Asian ELF speakers for more affective purposes than ELF speakers from different L1 lingua-cultural backgrounds or inner circle varieties of English speakers, and if so, this difference seems to be caused in part by the influence of the mother tongue of East Asian ELF speakers. Hinkel (1996) points out that even though L2 speakers recognise specific NS pragmatic norms and rules, they have critical views on the use of pragmatic behaviours in communications and may sometimes regard the pragmatic behaviours based on their L1 as more appropriate and therefore draw on L1 rules of appropriateness to L2 interactions. As Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006) argue, the global phenomenon of ELF is more likely to vary in its local realizations, because ELF speakers tend to integrate their L1 communicative styles and pragmatic practices into ELF interactions, and this often contributes to a more efficient and effective communication.

6.2.1.2 Repetition as a backchannel

As seen in the findings of my data analysis in Chapter 5, repetition was frequently employed as a backchannel response by my participants of East Asian ELF speakers. Backchannel is involved in a variety of functions such as signalling support, agreement, attention, empathy, and enthusiasm, or an expression of understanding, a request for clarification, and encouraging the speaker to continue his/her turn (Bjørge 2010; Gardner 1998; Maynard 1986; McCarthy 2002; Schegloff 1982). Backchannel is an essential element of active listening, and it does not engage in a speaker shift but plays a role as a turn-continuer (Schegloff 1982). Active listening is a prerequisite for successful interactive process, and by using frequent backchannels the participants explicitly inform their interlocutors ‘that they are paying attention and contributing towards a common understanding of the topics being debated’ (Bjørge 2010: 192). An appropriate use of backchannel therefore leads to rapport management (Planken 2005; Spencer-Oatey 2000) and shows interlocutor’s pragmatic competence (House 2002). Watterson (2008) also argues that ELF speakers use *repetition* not only as a sign of their non-understanding to their interlocutors but also as a feedback to it, and repetition is a communication strategy ELF speakers frequently use to resolve understanding problems and to show their intimacy.

A substantial body of research reveals a high frequency of a backchannel including repetition and collaborative completion in East Asian communication. For example, Young & Lee (2004) show that the broader role and frequent use of reactive tokens in Korean conversations provide overt support for the speaker’s utterance. It is also observed that backchannels are more frequently employed in Japanese conversation than in other languages (e.g. Chiharu 1999; Clancy et al. 1996; LoCastro 1987; Makino 1980; Maynard 1986, 1989; Mizutani & Mizutani 1987; White 1989). Maynard (1989) shows that the frequency of backchannel feedback in Japanese conversation is approximately twice as high as in native English speakers’ conversation and argues that a ‘continuous flow of backchannel facilitates conversation management between Japanese speakers and listeners, and this continuous feedback in casual conversation is the norm within the Japanese speech community’ (1989: 177). It is generally recognised that such frequent use of backchannels in Japanese conversation generally reflects a characteristic of Japanese conversational style and cultural and social values to maintain ‘smooth and harmonious social interaction’ (Chiharu 1999: 198). Chiharu (1999) argues

that backchannels in Japanese communication are employed to show the interlocutor's attitude on what the speakers said and indicate their interest and agreement. It is found that the Japanese speakers generally expect that their interlocutors provide frequent backchannel response and may often feel uncomfortable and have a negative impression on their interlocutors, i.e. less cooperative or unfriendly, when their interlocutors hardly produce backchannels in the interaction. The high frequency of repetition and cooperative completion as a backchannel in my data of East Asian ELF communication seem to reflect this general tendency of a common use of backchannel and positive attitudes to it in East Asian conversations. East Asian ELF speakers in my data are found to attempt to cooperate each other and co-construct meanings with different pragmatic actions such as by frequent backchannels or repetition, as they do in their L1 communication, and such interactional strategies might act as a way of projecting their East Asian social values which are highly cooperative and supportive.

Even though the data of this study are not sufficient to make a generalisation of the use of repetition as a unique form of a backchannel cue in ELF, the high frequency of repetition as a backchannel is one of the distinctive features in this research. While some ELF research findings show that backchannel is particularly frequent in ELF communications (e.g. Bjørge 2010; Mauranen 2012), and it has been often reported that repetition is one of the very common pragmatic strategies in ELF interactions (e.g. Cogo 2009; Kaur 2009; Lichtkoppler 2007; Mauranen 2012), there are little empirical data which particularly focus on investigating how repetition is used as a backchannel in ELF conversations. To explore and understand whether repetition frequently operates in ELF as an interactive response cue as in my data, ELF research needs to provide more empirical evidence in diverse contexts with participants from different lingua-cultural backgrounds.

6.2.1.3 Repetition in East Asian conversations

One of the notable features of repetition in my data is that speakers repeat other interlocutors' utterance immediately after the original turn. As I already mentioned in Chapter 5, this kind of exact other-repetition functions as a backchannel, and many research findings have shown this high frequency of echoing repetition in the communications of East Asian speakers comparing to other groups of L2 speakers and

NS groups. For instance, Sawir (2004) illustrates that other-repetition is widely employed in the intercultural communication among Indonesian, Vietnamese and Japanese speakers, but there are some distinctive features in functions of repetition between Japanese and Indonesian and Vietnamese speakers. In other words, Japanese participants tend to converge by repeating and echoing what the other interlocutors said predominantly to indicate participation, listenership and solidarity, whereas the main role and function of other-repetition of Indonesian and Vietnamese speakers are a confirmation check and request for clarification. As in my data, the examples of repetition in Sawir's data neither add any new information to develop topics nor challenge the original speaker's territory, but indicate the listener's involvement, agreement, and positive attitudes to the interlocutor. Sawir's findings support that repetition, particularly repeating other speakers' utterance, functions as a backchannel, as it does not add significant meaning to interaction but is used to show attention, support, agreement, and listenership and to enhance rapport between participants. Sawir stresses that echoing repetition is one of the major communicative strategies for successful intercultural communications.

This phenomenon of a relatively higher frequency of echoing repetition by East Asian speakers is also observed in Fujimura-Wilson's (2007) research on the comparative study of repetition between Japanese and English speakers. Fujimura-Wilson's data reveal that Japanese speakers often repeat the same phrases of the previous speaker in turns in conversation, and exact other-repetition more often occurs in Japanese conversation than English speakers' conversation. Fujimura-Wilson found a clear distinction of the repetition patterns and styles between Japanese speakers and English speakers. In other words, Japanese speakers employ more exact other-repetitions to show their involvement in the conversation for collaborative purposes, such as showing agreement, empathy and providing confirmation, whereas English speakers more frequently display self-repetitions (approximately 77 % in data).

By repeating other interlocutors' utterance, Japanese speakers exhibit their enthusiastic agreement and interest in the conversation and show that they share the same information and opinions as other interlocutors. Fujimura-Wilson's data shows that repetitions contribute to collaborative interaction and positive politeness by building a closer relationship with interlocutors. She demonstrates that positive politeness is 'approach-based' since it is related to an individual speaker's desire to be ratified and

valued by other interlocutors (p. 321). Japanese people generally appear to be in favour of expressing themselves in the similar views as their interlocutors rather than arguing their own attitude. In the follow-up interview, Fujimura-Wilson found that Japanese participants often consider echoing repetitions as a communicative practice to exhibit harmony, cooperation, and participant's commitment to the interaction.

The similar examples of echoing repetition are observed in Japanese speakers' conversation in Murata's (1994) research on cross-cultural communication between Japanese and British English speakers. Murata identified five different functions of repetition – interruption-oriented, solidarity, silence-avoidance, hesitation, and reformulation repetition – and compared the use of repetition between Japanese conversation and English conversation. Murata's finding indicates that the occurrence of echoing repetition is exclusively frequent in Japanese speakers' interaction comparing to English speakers' communication. Murata points out that the examples of exact other-repetition in her data are very similar to cooperative interruptions, which she calls '*solidarity repetition*' (1994: 200), but in these cases participants are just reiterating what the first speaker said and do not intend to provide the interlocutors with collaborative completion. In this kind of echoing repetition, speakers do not aim to achieve any transactional or remedial purposes such as clarity, repair or communicative effectiveness but to show participatory listenership, solidarity, and rapport to their interlocutor by repeating what he/she said. Simultaneously, it seems to be used to avoid silence while they are searching for a new topic. One outstanding finding is that solidarity repetition is particularly rich in Japanese conversations, whereas British speakers predominantly produce repetition as a hesitation marker. Japanese speakers seem to attempt to establish a certain kind of common ground through solidarity repetition, and the use of echoing repetition appears to be a significant characteristic of Japanese communication

This frequent use of repetition in conversation is also exhibited in Chinese speakers' communication. For example, Sun (2005) suggests that repetition is a common feature for involvement and bonding in Chinese communication, and his data of telephone conversation among Chinese speakers exemplifies that repetition is one of common patterns of interaction in Chinese casual conversations. Sun argues that echoing repetition functions as a sign of agreement or acceptance of the utterance the first speaker produced. Sun's argument is in the line with other studies on repetition by

saying that repetition is also used for developing participation, ratifying, and bonding and enhancing interpersonal involvement among participants. Sun's data indicates that in Chinese conversation, echoing repetition appears to strengthen bonding among speakers and to highlight the speaker's 'attitudinal and emotional alignment' toward the interlocutors, thus contributing to enhance solidarity and interpersonal relationship (p.123).

In Li's (2006) study on the frequency of backchannel responses in inter- and intra-cultural communications between Chinese and Canadian speakers, the data also shows the high frequency of backchannel including repetition among Chinese speakers. The findings indicate that among the whole conversation groups, which consist of the Chinese/Chinese, Chinese/Canadian, Canadian/ Canadian speakers, the intra-cultural conversation between Chinese and Chinese speakers displays the highest frequency of repetition as a backchannel, whereas the Canadian and Canadian speakers' group exhibits the lowest backchannel. In the latter research, Li et al. (2010) also reveal that Chinese speakers provided significantly more backchannels than Canadian participants in general. An intriguing finding in both studies of Li (2006) and Li et al. (2010) is that Chinese participants used less repetition when they communicated with Canadian counterparts, whereas Canadian speakers did use repetition frequently in the conversation with Chinese interlocutors. However, Chinese speakers displayed more frequent repetition in their L1 conversation with Chinese speakers, while Canadian participants did not use repetition when they communicated with their L1 speaker group. These findings support the speakers' accommodative behaviour according to their interlocutors and conversational context. In other words, Chinese speakers shift their speech style and patterns of a certain communicative strategy, which is repetition in this case, when they communicate with their same L1 group interlocutors and their linguistically out-group members.

A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that Chinese speakers might feel more comfortable to use repetition with other Chinese speakers, because repetition is a commonly used communicative practice in their L1 communication, but they might not be sure whether repetition is an appropriate linguistic device in a conversation with out-group members, specifically with native English speakers. As observed in my data, the reason for the fact that Chinese speakers in my data employed frequent repetition and echoing in ELF communication with other East Asian ELF speakers, as in their L1

group conversation, seems that they might feel more comfortable when they communicate with other East Asian speakers than in the communication with native English speakers. Chinese might assume that they share more common linguistic and cultural grounds with other East Asian ELF speakers, and therefore communicative behaviours they commonly use in their L1 communication such as repetition and echoing are more likely to be frequently displayed in ELF communication than conversations with native English speakers. It seems that East Asian ELF speakers shift their interactional styles and patterns according to the contexts and interlocutors, and this shows East Asian ELF speakers' active and effective accommodation in communication.

Although some differences exist with regard to the patterns, distribution and frequency of repetition as a backchannel type among East Asian speakers, many research findings (e.g. Fujimura-Wilson 2007; Murata 1994; Sawir 2004; Sun 2005) support that through echoing repetition East Asian speakers actively provide interactional support to each other and produce appropriate turn-management strategies at possible completion points. As East Asian speakers are found to consider the lack of backchannels in conversation as 'uncooperative' and 'lacking in empathy', this positive role of reactive backchannels in East Asian conversation can support the fact why repetition is more frequently used as a backchannel response in my data of East Asian ELF. In other words, as repetitions are commonly employed as one of the most frequent types of reactive tokens in East Asian communications, this phenomenon is more likely to be reflected on the way they communicate in ELF. However, there are some limitations to apply the findings of these studies to ELF contexts of communication, since these studies on East Asian communication are based on intranational communications rather than intercultural or ELF interactions.

6.2.2 Utterance Completion

6.2.2.1 Utterance completion in ELF communication

As already seen in Chapter 5, the frequent display of utterance completion is a prominent feature of my East Asian ELF data. However, the majority of studies on utterance completion are based on the data of native speakers' communications (Coates 1994; Lerner 1991, 1993; Rae 1990; Sacks et al. 1974), and utterance completion has

not been extensively explored in ELF research comparing to other pragmatic strategies such as repetition or code-switching. In this section of the chapter, I will discuss whether there are any similarities and differences in the patterns and structures of utterance completion between my East Asian data and other ELF research and explore how utterance completion operates in East Asian communications.

Utterance completion is one of the interactional practices which indicate the great level of convergence by consolidating the prior turn, that is, speakers collaboratively take part in the turn-constructive unit in the ongoing process of the original speaker's turn and get into 'a possible completion point' by producing a syntactically coherent sequence (S. Lee 2006: 99; Iwasaki 2011: 116). Collaborative completion takes place based on the preceding process in which speakers monitor the prior talk and completely understand it to co-construct the following slot of talk. Participants generally produce collaborative action based on the information provided earlier, but in many cases speakers anticipate the not-yet-completed utterance with shared common knowledge and background information to coordinate further talk. It is observed that this joint construction helps a smooth flow of interaction and therefore it is considered as a collaborative participation rather than interruption. The next speaker joins a constructive unit in a turn-in-progress, and this incoming talk is syntactically and pragmatically relevant to the prior talk as its continuation.

The characteristic of the forms of utterance completion in my data varies from one-word lexical suggestions to longer phrases or sentences. The most frequent form, however, is a joint construction of a turn by providing short lexical units on the ongoing process of the preceding turn. The similar patterns of utterance completion are also observed in ELF research of Kirkpatrick (2010) and Cogo & Dewey (2012). In Kirkpatrick's (2010) ASEAN ELF data, the majority of examples of utterance completion are involved in short lexical units, which he calls '*lexical suggestion*' or '*lexical anticipation*' (2010: 127). For instance, Kirkpatrick (2010) shows the example of lexical suggestion which is involved in short lexical units in the extract below.

- 1 F1:those coming from the public er really come from lower er
- 2 B1:→ **income**
- 3 F1: **income** families....
- 4 B1: ... and they will continue doing

5 F1: → **better**

6 B1: **better** until (ibid.)

In the conversation above, the speaker B1 jointly formulates the incomplete sentence of the interlocutor F1 by anticipating and suggesting an appropriate word in line 2, and the similar form of lexical suggestion is again observed in line 5. In both cases of utterance completions, there is no sign of irritation or anxiety by the first speaker after such lexical suggestions but the first speaker ratifies the lexical item the interlocutor suggested by repeating it in the next turn and continues his sentence. The similar patterns of utterance completion are also reported in Cogo and Dewey's (2012) research. The instances of utterance completion reported in Cogo and Dewey's data show one word lexical suggestions, which is distinguished from the findings of my data. In other words, whereas my data show a more variety of forms of utterance completion, a number of instances of utterance completion in both Kirkpatrick (2010) and Cogo and Dewey's (2012) study tend to be limited to the form of short lexical units. Even though short lexical units or phrases are the most frequent and common form of utterance completion in my data, as in other ELF research, the participants in my data also display a number of cases of utterance completions which involve certain types of syntactic structures such as 'if *X*, then *Y*', or 'when *X*, then *Y*', e.g. A: and *if you are in a formal meeting or a formal*=, B: *=it's gonna be a long one*, or C: *.. if the government pay for too much money for that welfare*=, D: *=they will become lazy*.

Utterance completion in my data often occurred after the first speaker's hesitation or pauses. This tendency is in accord with the findings in Kirkpatrick's (2010) and Cogo and Dewey's (2012) data. In this case, the speaker performs utterance completion to help the interlocutor by providing the word the first speaker is searching and to make the conversation flow smoothly. As Cogo and Dewey (2012) point out, as the word search moment is generally signalled by the first speaker's repetition of a word, pauses, or hesitation markers such as *er*, *ehm* and *uh*, the next speakers more often produce utterance completion followed by this kind of linguistic cues. In my data, however, utterance completion was not necessarily employed to provide the first speaker with specific help for a word search but more often occurred with overlapping or immediate latching as seen in the examples in Chapter 5. In this case, the speaker produces a syntactically and structurally coherent sequence as a turn continuation in order to express his/her involvement and participatory listenership. A very similar result is also

found in Cogo and Dewey's (2012) study. As the listener monitors the first speaker's talk and fully understands it, he or she can anticipate and co-construct the upcoming talk based on previously provided information and shared common knowledge.

East Asian ELF speakers in my data also often produce the form of utterance completion which extends the preceding turn by providing possible reasons or adding additional explanations with the causal phrases such as '*because*' or '*for*'. This type of turn completion is described as 'an appendor turn', which refers to a turn 'added onto the preceding one as a continuation of it but without being syntactically dependent on it' (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 156). The appendor turn contributes to the smooth progress of turn and helps the interlocutor elaborate and extend the stretch of talk, and consequently it illustrates the high degree of attentiveness, collaboration and engagement in conversation.

Although there is lack of research on utterance completion in ELF communication, and therefore it is difficult to provide a more general and comprehensive picture on how utterance completion operates in ELF interaction, it seems clear that ELF speakers highly actively employ utterance completion to co-construct and coordinate the incoming talk, as seen in my data of East Asian ELF as well as in those of ELF research of Kirkpatrick (2010) and Cogo and Dewey (2012). By performing utterance completion dynamically, East Asian ELF speakers in my data seem to attempt to consolidate the preceding turn in conversation and show the high level of convergence. Given that utterance completion seems to be a prominent characteristic in East Asian ELF communication, it would be very useful and worthwhile to explore how utterance completion operates in East Asian speakers' L1 communication in order to understand whether East Asian speakers more often use utterance completion in ELF and whether they display different patterns and styles of utterance completion in ELF from their L1 conversations or not. Therefore, in the next part of the chapter, I will explore how utterance completion operates in East Asian conversation and draw its implications to East Asian ELF.

6.2.2.2 Utterance completion in East Asian communication

A number of studies have found that collaborative completion frequently occurs in East Asian conversations for cooperative and accommodative purposes (e.g. Chiharu 1999; H.Z. Li 2001; Iwasaki 1997; Murata 1994; S. Lee 2006; Strauss & Kawanishi 1996).

The studies stress the significance of collaborative completion as a device which provides an opportunity for participants to converge and collaborate in interaction rather than an intention of taking the floor or competing a turn. A lot of examples in the research on East Asian conversations present the similar patterns and structures of utterance completion to the findings in my data. One of the similar characteristics of utterance completion in East Asian conversation is that the form of lexical suggestions often occurs after the first speaker's hesitation or pauses during conversation. For example, in S. Lee's (2006) research on utterance completion in Korean conversations, short lexical units are the most prominent patterns and types of utterance completion that Korean speakers display to support the interlocutor. This kind of utterance completion frequently occurs when the interlocutor seems to have some difficulties to find an appropriate word in the process of the turn. S. Lee's data shows that when the first speaker makes a hesitation or has some difficulties to find a proper lexical item, the next speaker enters at a possible completion point in the on-going TCU and proposes anticipatory lexical items based on the previously provided information. The next speakers also often consolidate the prior talk through a form of reformulation and paraphrasing. S. Lee argues that participants collaboratively complete a turn to construct a turn-constructional-unit (TCU) and show how they understood the first speaker's utterance 'by performing relevant extension of the on-going talk' (2006: 91).

Another noticeable point is that the use of connective words such as '*but*' and '*and*' in a compound sentence structure is found to enhance the projectivity in a joint TCU, and it helps the other interlocutors to make a contribution to a joint turn completion during an on-going interaction. In other words, when the primary speaker's sentence includes discourse markers such as *but*, *and*, *when*, or *if*, the interlocutors may notice the constructional structure of the upcoming talk and coordinate the further talk based on what they have monitored and understood. This might explain why utterance completions in my data more frequently occurred after these kinds of connective markers. The cohesive devices enable the next speaker to anticipate and produce turn extensions for compound TCUs, combining the upcoming utterance with the prior turn. This joint participation in communication exhibits how Korean speakers produce an active and frequent convergence through collaborative and anticipatory completion. S. Lee argues that Korean speakers frequently invite other interlocutor's involvement in their talk and participate in joint action to develop intersubjectivity and alignment with

the interlocutors in the interaction. For an active joint completion, speakers often attempt to use commonsense knowledge and shared background information to exhibit congruent understanding and to build rapport. Her findings show that Korean speakers particularly tend to provide a single-word unit for a joint turn-construction 'to receive a confirming response' (p. 105). She emphasizes that the joint construction of the utterance in the on-going interaction is not perceived as interruption but rather collaborative involvement and engagement to show a high degree of convergence towards interlocutors.

The similar patterns of collaborative completion is also found in Murata's (1994) study on cross-cultural communication between Japanese and British English speakers, where Japanese speakers display much more frequent co-operative completion than interruption comparing to British English speakers. Murata shows that in Japanese conversations, utterance completion is often observed after the primary speaker's hesitation particularly through repetition, and Japanese speakers generally tend to help and cooperate with their interlocutors by providing lexical items which the interlocutors are attempting to search or by completing the primary speaker's utterance. She argues that collaborative completion is a nature of Japanese communicative behaviour for cooperation, and that Japanese speaker's utterance completion is more like a backchannel, in which the interlocutor encourages the current speaker to continue his/her utterance by anticipating and providing the possible candidate word for the interlocutor's turn. After the first speaker's hesitation by reiterating the phrase, the next speaker attempts to converge and help the sentence completion and conversation flow by the communicative action of cooperation.

The high frequency of utterance completion is also observed in Strauss & Kawanishi's (1996: 161) study on Japanese conversation, showing that their data of Japanese interactions are exceptionally rich in the collaborative completion. Strauss & Kawanishi demonstrate that collaborative completion of the other speaker's utterance is involved in enhanced mutual understanding and participation, and participants are actively provide collaborative completion based on the speakers' own anticipation or previously provided information. Japanese speakers quite often make ensembles when collaborative completions occur, and such co-participation is ratified by the interlocutors in most cases. Strauss & Kawanishi argue that Japanese speakers project empathy to their interlocutors in a more intuitive but more direct way, and collaborative

completion acts as a backchannel to maximise the speaker's empathy to the interlocutors' feeling or emotion. The heightened mutual involvement and support are corroborated by an exceptionally frequent use of backchannels such as repetition, either an exact or partially reformulated repetition, and overlapping is also very commonly displayed for collaborative purposes in Japanese conversation.

Although speakers' utterance might seem to interrupt the interlocutor's talk on the superficial level, speakers tend to show cooperation and participation by contributing to completing the first speaker's utterance. In this kind of collaborative utterance construction, there is also no sign of changing a topic nor introducing the next speaker's own topic as does interruption. It seems clear that the speaker has no intention to threaten the interlocutors' ongoing topic or invade their conversational territory but attempts to co-produce the interaction and to show active listenership and interests to the interlocutor. This kind of collaborative completion is described as '*cooperative interruption*', whereas *intrusive interruption* is used to impede the first speaker's utterance and give the second speaker's own voice over that of the first speaker (Murata 1994: 387). Whereas speakers are meant to change topics, take floor or project disagreement through intrusive interruption, in co-operative interruption a speaker joins the interlocutor's utterance by providing a word or phrase or completing the sentence. In cooperative interruption, therefore, speakers have no intention to change topics or intrude the interlocutor's 'territoriality' but co-operate with the interlocutor to make the interaction flow smoothly.

One interesting finding in relation to utterance completion in East Asian communication is that the speakers shift their patterns of utterance completion according to the context of interaction. For example, in Murata's data (1994) Japanese speakers show accommodative behaviour in using cooperative completion and intrusive interruption in different interactional situations. In other words, the overall frequency of cooperative interruption is much higher in Japanese-Japanese conversations, but Japanese speakers shift their behavioural pattern of interruption in the intercultural communication with British speakers. Murata highlights that intrusive interruptions occurred almost three times more frequently by Japanese speakers in Japanese-English speakers' conversation than in Japanese-Japanese conversations and argues that this significant increase of intrusive interruption by Japanese speakers in the intercultural communication between Japanese and English speakers is the evidence of Japanese speakers' accommodation of

their conversational style and patterns to their non-Japanese interlocutors, 'either intentionally or unintentionally' (p.392). Japanese speakers seem to adjust their communicative pattern of interruption to their British interlocutors by employing more frequent intrusive interruptions when communicating with them.

H.Z. Li's (2001) research also shows the East Asian speakers' accommodative behaviour in the use of collaborative completion. In H.Z. Li's data, Chinese speakers display the difference level of accommodation in the intra- and intercultural conversation. In other words, Chinese speakers converged their communicative style of interruption on that of their Canadian interlocutors, and consequently they produced more intrusive interruption in the intercultural communication with Canadian interlocutors, whereas they employed cooperative interruption more frequently with their Chinese interlocutors for the social acceptance and alignment. On the other hand, Canadian speakers maintained their interactional style of intrusive interruption regardless of whether they communicated with interlocutors from the intra-cultural group or the intercultural group. These studies are a good example of East Asian speakers' accommodative performance in communication according to the interlocutors and the situation of conversation. Even though my data is merely involved in intercultural communications among East Asian speakers, and therefore there is no dataset to compare my participants' accommodation behaviour in their L1 or the conversations with native speakers of English, it would be more interesting to explore whether East Asian ELF speakers in my data also display different interactional behaviours in using cooperative completion and intrusive interruption in their L1 communications and ELF, which can show how the accommodative behaviour in utterance completion operates by East Asian ELF speakers.

Although East Asia is often described as a deference culture, and therefore it is generally assumed that East Asian speakers tend to be more silent and not to interrupt their interlocutors, Ulijn and Li's (1995) study shows that in intercultural communication Chinese speakers produce more frequent interruption than Dutch or Finnish speakers, explaining that the nature of these interruptions is suggestive and reflective rather than intrusive. Their findings indicate that these cooperative interruptions are made to signal the listeners' understanding before moving on to the next. Although interruption is often regarded as a negative interactional behaviour by signalling dominance and hostility, collaborative interruption is a rapport-oriented act

and participants exhibit active listenership by frequent backchannels and express empathy, solidarity and affection (Ulijn & Li 1995: 598). Ulijn and Li elucidate that Chinese speakers seek to contextualise and involve the conversation by joint sentence completion, and such cooperative communicative behaviour is considered more positively in the Chinese culture.

In sum, as seen in the studies on East Asian conversations, East Asian speakers frequently employ collaborative completion in their own L1 communication, even though there are some differences in styles and frequencies among East Asian countries, and collaborative completion is a type of interactional device to project involvement and co-participation. When East Asian speakers reach a point of convergence where the congruent understanding of the prior talk has occurred, they are found to complete the missing slot of an incomplete TCU. Particularly, certain types of syntactical structures such as *if* or *when* clause and connectives like *but*, *and* and *because* seem to allow speakers to join collaborative participation and facilitate more opportunities for them to finish the incomplete TCU. In other words, the next speaker often provides an additional subordinate clause to the primary speaker's sentence or utterance with a connective word such as *but* or *because* and co-constructs the main clause followed by the '*if*' or '*when*' clause the primary speaker made, because these devices provide 'projectivity for the future course of the emerging turn' (Hayashi 2003: 207). In other words, the connective words can project the clue for the next part of the utterance and help interlocutors easily anticipate what kinds of phrases or sentences will be followed in the next part of utterance.

In my data of East Asian ELF communications, one of the ways speakers exhibited mutual understanding and managed alignment was through collaborative completions, and this frequent action of collaborative completion also seems to operate similarly in East Asian speakers' L1 strategies. The frequent patterns and structures of collaborative completion in East Asian communication in other studies have much similarities in common to those of my data, e.g. the frequency in the form of short lexical suggestions and *if* or *when* clause and after hesitation, silence, or pauses. East Asian speakers seem to collaborate and converge each other through the interactional style of collaborative completion by shifting the pattern and frequency of its use according to different conversational contexts, i.e., between intra-cultural and intercultural communication. Collaborative completion seems to be frequently used as a backchannel for active co-

participation and involvement among East Asian speakers, and this strategy is likely to project East Asian cultural values such as harmonious ideologies and collaborative social relationship.

6.3 East Asian cultural values and communicative behaviours of East Asian speakers

6.3.1 Confucianism

As seen in the earlier part of this chapter, a number of research findings support the notion that mutual involvement and cooperation are prevalent communicative behaviours in East Asian communication, and particularly such linguistic phenomena are clarified by the strategies of repetition or echoing and utterance completion as a backchannel response. If L1 influence of East Asian speakers acts as a significant factor to affect the frequent use of certain accommodative strategies, what are the underlying motivations that draw such communicative phenomenon? One possible explanation for findings of my data can be approached and provided based on ideological and socio-cultural values that underlie the communicative processes of East Asian speakers, because the strategic features in language use are to a large extent influenced by cultural belief and a value system of speakers (K. J. Park 2009; Sohn 1986). Accordingly, it is essential to investigate the culture-specific orientations and value system in East Asia in order to better understand East Asian ELF speakers' pragmatic behaviour.

One of the most influential ideological values in East Asia is Confucianism, which has had a great influence on social rules, interpersonal relations and cultural traditions and consequently led to shaping the styles and the mode of communication in East Asia (Chen & Chung 1994; Samovar, Porter & McDaniel 2009; Scollon. Scollon & Jones 2012; Stowell 2003; Tamai & Lee 2002). In particular, the Confucian discourse system developed the collectivism in the interpersonal and social relationships, culture, and even communicative styles, and speakers are reluctant to express critical views to others and typically centre on the rhetoric discourse mode in communication than reasoning (Scollon 1999). For instance, Ding (2006) shows that Confucianism inspires an indirect style in Chinese communication, and consequently Chinese speakers tend to 'establish their ethos that helps create a strong bond between individuals at a more personal level

and build a harmonious social structure at a more societal level' (p. 87). As a result, 'the importance of care' in interaction is more emphasized in East Asian culture.

In the Confucian culture, interpersonal relationship and attitudinal warmth are stressed, and therefore by sharing a common point of view, opinions and in-group membership, participants attempt to achieve 'high conversational involvement', which appears to be a typical characteristic of East Asian communication (Wei, Hua & Yue 2001:139).

Speakers exhibit 'the psychological connectedness' to their interlocutors by showing active participation and the high degree of interpersonal involvement, and this high involvement style is manifested by various conversational strategies such as cooperative repetition, participatory listenership and collaborative completion. Speakers attempt to avoid pauses in conversation, because silence often indicates lack of rapport and interests. Even though it is generally assumed that East Asian speakers, particularly Japanese speakers, tend to be silent in communication comparing to the speakers in the Western culture, much of research on East Asian conversations show the contradictory findings.

For example, the notion of '*aizuchi*', which refers to 'backchannel responses' in Japanese word, can explain this collaborative and mutually supportive nature of East Asian communication style through frequent reactive backchannels. This communication behaviour of *aizuchi* reflects that Japanese communication style and patterns are highly involved in harmony and cooperation and consider a greater degree of rapport in Japanese conversation (Saft 2007). *Aizuchi* is considered as a notable resource in the Japanese language and culture and shows how Japanese speakers attempt to cooperate and maintain harmony in conversation. Mizutani (1988) argues as follows:

"The use of '*aizuchi*' indicates that the listener is strongly united with the speaker psychologically, and when the speaker hesitates to continue speaking or when the speaker cannot find words, the listener is ready to help the speaker. This symbolically shows the co-operative nature of Japanese conversational style, in which both the speaker and the listener conduct a conversation, helping each other (Mizutani 1988: 60 in Murata's (1994) translation).

Many studies suggest that the characteristics of the communication strategy in Japanese turn-management is that speakers employ a 'conventionalised affect-laden'

communicational style by highly actively inviting and accepting involvement (Clancy et al. 1996: 381; Ishida 2006; Kita & Ide 2007; Maynard 1989; Miyata & Nisisawa 2007). In Wei, Hua & Yue's (2001) study on Chinese speakers' business conversation, Chinese speakers are also found to frequently display repetition and utterance completion during the communication to support each other, and Wei et al. argue that these interactional strategies contribute to both functional and affective aspects of communication. In other words, by repeating each other's words and phrases, speakers continue to not only make a close connection between earlier parts of sequences and later parts but also provide emotional affiliation. Consequently, speakers' efforts contribute to enhancing the whole structural and textual coherence in conversation.

Yum (2007) also highlights the impact of Confucianism on communication styles and patterns in East Asia. She argues that the most outstanding characteristic in East Asia communication and culture is the emphasis on interpersonal and social relationships and reciprocity, and such cultural tradition and emphasis on the high involvement and harmony in East Asian conversation have been derived to a great extent from Confucianism. As Yum points out, Confucianism has functioned as the basic social, cultural and philosophical value system throughout the history of East Asia, and Confucianism's main attention to social relationships with others has had a strong influence on communication mode and patterns in East Asia. In other words, Confucianism has contributed to establishing communication patterns that facilitate to construct and maintain intimate human relationships, 'placing them ahead of actual business transactions and the need to get things done quickly' (Yum 1998: 381). For this reason, the communication in East Asia tends to accentuate the role of receiver and listening rather than the sender and speaking.

The emphasis of Confucianism in East Asia society leads to social relationships characterised by cooperation, empathy, peaceful human relations, consideration of others, and collective harmony in East Asian communication mode and more generally in cultural life. Therefore, East Asian communication based on Confucianism emphasises a warm human feeling, affection and reciprocity between participants. As Confucianism has developed a philosophy of humanism and social relations, these philosophical and cultural factors have strongly influenced on interpersonal relationships and on communication patterns, which are distinctive East Asian styles. Yum (1988) identifies the five most significant areas of interpersonal relationships

influenced by Confucianism: a particularism, reciprocity, the in-group/ out-group distinction, the role of intermediaries, and the overlap of personal and public relationships. Confucianism has also contributed to East Asian communication patterns of ‘process orientation, differentiated linguistic codes, indirect communication prominence, and receiver-centred discourse’, whereas the Western patterns of communication are characterized by ‘outcome orientation, less-differentiated linguistic codes, direct communication prominence, and sender-centred discourse’ (Yum 1988: 374).

6.3.2 **Harmony**

As harmony is the central value in Confucianism, the significance of harmony is emphasised in East Asian culture for enhancing the interconnectedness among people in communication and more generally in society. Through harmony, East Asian speakers can communicate with other people in a respectful manner and establish their mutual and interdependent social relationship. East Asian speakers consider harmony as ‘the guidance of regulating the transforming and never-ending progress of human communication’, and therefore harmony is described as ‘the ultimate goal of Asian communication’ (Chen & Statosta 2003: 6). This harmonious and complementary collaboration is essential in East Asian social and cultural values and more generally people’s lives in East Asia (Chen 2006). For instance, Stowell (2003) argues that Korea is traditionally influenced by Confucian values, and therefore ‘Ideally, Koreans strive to uphold harmony through their communication’ (p. 112).

Furo (2001) describes the concept of harmony as a high social value in interpersonal relationship in Japanese society and argues that this Japanese philosophical and cultural value may have a strong effect on the mode and ways of Japanese communication. Iwasaki (1997) also makes a similar point by arguing that harmony and interdependence are considered ‘as an important concept affecting the ethos of Japanese communication’ (p. 690). Chen (1993, 2001) found that for the Chinese people cooperation through harmony is a kind of the duty and ethic of communication, and Chinese speakers exhibit sincere concern and empathy to their interlocutors by using verbal and behavioural strategies. Chinese speakers aim to achieve the most harmonious condition in human relationship as well as in the process of interaction, and therefore harmony is considered as the key concept characterising Chinese communication competence.

In Chinese culture, harmony is described as the Chinese word *he*, which is the most precious value and moral quality of all and the fundamental reason for Chinese people to perform politeness (Wei et al. 2001b). Chinese speakers attempt to achieve *he* by echoing other interlocutors and expressing their empathy and enthusiasm to the topic in communication. Thus, *he* is explicitly related to speakers' language behaviour and pays attention to what speakers say as well as how speakers say. However, we need to distinguish between harmony and agreement. In other words, harmony does not simply imply 'conformity' but 'concordance' and represents 'sharedness' rather than 'sameness'.

Harmony can be also described as 'attuning', whereas agreement can be expressed as 'tuning' (Hall and Ames's 1987). Attuning means 'the combining and blending of two or more ingredients in a harmonious whole with benefit and enhancement that maximises the possibilities of all without sacrificing their separate and particular identities' (p. 166). Tuning is, on the other hand, the process of finding agreement by adjusting one component to another one, which is possibly considered as the existing standard, with conformity and concurrence, and therefore the quality, value or status of one component is further improved at the expense of others. As Young (1994: 45) puts it, 'the active pursuit of harmony ultimately aims towards a unity of differences, a synthesis of divergence, a confluence of contrast'. Consequently, harmony is not limited to the notion of the moral value which dominates East Asian people's belief and behaviour but acts a way of communication to lessen a possible conflict caused by diversity and dissimilarity and to maximise mutual accommodation and adjustment.

Interconnectedness is the core of East Asian cultural life, and it plays a central role for East Asian people to define the meaning of their existence. Interconnected relationships between speakers are led by the great empathy which East Asian people possess and put a high value on. Chen (2006: 299) argues that 'it is this unity of coherence by which one ascends to the state of harmonious interpenetration or expanding and contracting between the interactants'. This great sense of interconnectedness and harmony is reflected on discourse patterns in East Asian conversation through the use of a variety of collaborative strategies and lexical expressions. For instance, Chinese speakers often use the inclusive first person plural pronoun '*zanmen*' (we/us) rather than a singular noun and make a frequent use of the discourse markers of '*shi/ jiushi*' (yes), '*duidui* (right)', '*haohao*' (good) to emphasise solidarity and positive interpersonal relationships

(Wei et al. 2001 b: 12). Chinese speakers also employ a variety of pragmatic strategies such as the frequent use of self-repair, simultaneous speech, overlap, and repetition to signal a great degree of personal involvement and rapport, which generate a harmonious atmosphere in the communication.

This phenomenon is also partly attributed by collectivism, which is explicitly reflected in East Asian way of speaking, because East Asian society is traditionally group-oriented rather than individual-oriented, and therefore East Asian people tend to provide more value on the group they belong to. In other words, the notion of 'we' is predominantly entrenched in East Asian society, rather than 'I', and accordingly East Asian people have a strong tendency of using the possessive adjective with this notion, for example, they say 'our school', 'our children', 'our parents', and 'our company', rather than 'my school', 'my children', 'my parents', and 'my company' (K-J Park 2009: 101).

6.3.3 Politeness

As seen in the discussions above, East Asian culture places a higher value on cooperative interpersonal relations and interconnectedness. In East Asian culture, cooperation is closely connected with the concept of politeness, and as a number of examples of accommodation strategies used in my data are motivated by cooperative purposes, accommodation in East Asian ELF is likely to be elucidated with the notion of politeness in East Asia. Politeness is described as a central communicative strategy that speakers aim to accomplish a range of interactional purposes, such as developing or maintaining harmonious interpersonal relations and enhancing a public self-image and smooth social interactions (Spencer-Oatey 2004, 2005; Wei et al. 2001b). Participants in interaction attempt to maintain and develop each other's face and adopt various communicative strategies to avoid and minimise potentially face-threatening act.

Linguistic politeness often tends to be determined by the speaker's personality and/or the situation or context of use, but cultural and social values are a major factor to influence the speaker's politeness behaviour. Therefore, the different cultures have different forms and patterns of politeness. For instance, the level of politeness forms in language use varies according to diverse cultural dimensions such as what kind of social relationship the society has with senior members, what kind of socio-cultural patterns exists in the gender-role or whether individualism or collectivism is more prevalent in the society.

Although all culture has a concept of linguistic politeness in conversation to accommodate interlocutors, politeness phenomenon is socially and culturally motivated, and accordingly politeness often appears to be conceptualised differently in different cultures. In this vein, the concept of politeness in East Asian culture might be different from that of the Western culture, as the different styles and forms in politeness behaviours between the East Asian and the Western speakers are often observed (Gu 1990; Ide et al. 1992; Mao 1994; Ulijn & Li 1995). In other words, positive politeness, in which speakers display a stronger desire to be appreciated and approved of by other people, is found to be more prevalent in East Asian culture (Hill et al. 1986; Ide 1989; J. R. Park 2007; Mao 1993; Matsumoto 1988; Zhan 1992), and this tendency is inevitably reflected on interactional practices in East Asian communications.

As positive politeness often generates a sense of intimacy or solidarity and aims to create a smooth and harmonious relationship with other speakers in interaction, lack of involvement, interest or empathy can threaten positive politeness. Many studies illustrate that negative politeness is alien in East Asian culture, and positive politeness might be used as a way of 'appropriate verbal behaviour' in East Asian culture (Pizziconi 2003: 1500). For instance, it is observed that as group membership and interpersonal relations are more stressed in Japanese politeness system than preservation of individual territories and freedom of action, politeness behaviour such as consistent back-channelling are often used to express 'immediate rapport and common ground between members of the culture' (Kasper 1990: 200), and the communicative elements of clarity, deference and camaraderie are more emphasised in Japanese interactions (Matsumoto 1988: 423). The higher tendency of positive politeness is also found in the Korean culture and communication. J. R. Park (2007) argues that positive politeness phenomena are more predominant in the Korean society, where 'interpersonal relationship, social reciprocity and interdependence' are significantly stressed in social interaction (2007: 126). Consequently, a range of linguistic means such as in-group identity markers or lexical items are employed to express positive politeness and to seek group membership and association.

The key aspect of positive politeness in East Asian culture is to reduce the social distance among participants in interaction. In other words, East Asian speakers attempt to create positive politeness by being as close to the interlocutor as possible, and frequent back-channelling and agreement tokens such as echoing repetition, paraphrase

and utterance completion can present this kind of effort to achieve positive politeness. For example, Zhan (1992) argues that Chinese people tend to avoid using negative politeness especially with close people such as family members, friends or acquaintance, because in Chinese culture the negative politeness behaviour is often considered as an intention to make a distance between the speaker and listener. Therefore, Chinese speakers adopt more positive politeness strategies to convey cooperation, minimise the social distance between the speaker and listener and increase the closeness to the interlocutors.

The motivations of positive politeness and convergent accommodation seem to have much in common such as providing support, agreement and solidarity, and therefore the greater role of positive politeness in East Asian culture is likely to have a strong influence on the higher frequency of echoing repetition and joint constructions of sentences as a backchannel response in my East Asian ELF data, where convergent accommodation strategies are pervasive. One of the distinctive features of my East Asian ELF data is that the affective elements tend to be more foregrounded in interaction than cognitive aspects. In other words, although functional aspects of communication have been paid more attention in ELF, and therefore communicative strategies focused on efficiency, intelligibility and clarity for understanding tend to be major issues in ELF pragmatics, my data shows that East Asian ELF speakers tend to pay greater attention to accommodation for affective purposes such as interactional support, involvement and affiliation. This phenomenon appears to be influenced by interactional features in their own East Asian communication, which stresses positive politeness and cultural values such as solidarity, harmony and rapport. In this respect, ELF cannot be understood merely as a neutral means of communication focused on transactional roles but acts as a highly complex and multi-faceted mode of communication which reflects the participants' culture, emotion and beliefs as well as their L1, which Mauranen has termed 'similects' (2012: 29).

In sum, a substantial body of research has shown that repetition, more specifically repeating exactly other speaker's utterance, is widely adopted in East Asian interaction and one of common conversational features in East Asian communication. Exact repetitions can operate as a backchannel to signal involvement, listenership, support and positive politeness in conversation. By echoing what other speakers have said, East Asian speakers enthusiastically support their interlocutors and show their active

involvement and positive politeness as a sign of an East Asian membership. East Asian speakers accommodate each other by converging through the communicative strategy of repetition, and this interactional behaviour shows a high degree of collaborative communication style of East Asian speakers. East Asian speakers seem to employ such accommodative discourse strategies to develop and enhance their own social and cultural values such as interpersonal harmony, empathy and positive politeness. East Asian speakers' communicative behaviour in their L1 is inevitably likely to be reflected and extended in intercultural communications such as ELF interactions, even though there will be some differences between their L1 conversations and ELF contexts. As substantial body of studies show, in East Asia the cultural value of harmony is the ultimate goal of human interaction (Ishii, Cooke & Klopff 1999). Therefore, we can say that reactive other-repetition and collaborative sentence completion are one of the typical pragmatic strategies in East Asian conversation to show cooperation, involvement and harmony among participants, which have a greater value in East Asian culture.

6.4 The role of culture in communication

In general, the role of culture in communication is significantly crucial, as 'language is always embedded in a cultural setting' (Baker 2011: 38) and participants tend to project their socio-cultural backgrounds and identity in the course of communication (Scollon et al. 2012: 46). Language and communication cannot be separated from the socio-cultural situation of use and the speakers' socio-cultural backgrounds and identities, as social meanings in communication are linguistically encoded (Hymes 1970, 1971, 1972; Gumperz & Hymes 1972). As Hinkel (1999: 2-3) puts it, 'culture shapes and binds one's social and cognitive concepts, and that these concepts are not likely to be understood and appreciated by outsiders...language can be seen as a way to describe and represent human experience and understanding of the world, and members of a language community share systems of beliefs and assumptions which underlie their constructions of the world. These constructions, views of objective phenomena, beliefs, and histories are communicated through language, thus establishing a connection between language and the culture of a community'. Hinkel describes the inseparable relationship between culture and communication as follows:

Language behaviours are an intrinsic part of the socialization process, and language use needs to be understood as cultural and social phenomena with systematic regularities...Communication between members of different cultural communities necessarily involves the interactants' systems of social and cultural identity and the subsystems of socio-cultural norms...Sociocultural behaviours of individuals follow the norms of the community and represent a convergence of philosophical, historical, and normative facets of culture. In interactions among members of different cultures, divergent concepts of appropriate behaviours and meaning interpretations can affect participants' conduct in social contexts (Hinkel 1999: 9-10).

If the interrelation between culture and communication is evident and inevitable, how are both notions linked and why? To understand this, we need to take a closer look at the concept of culture. Some people think of culture as a particular set of beliefs, assumptions, or values that people in a particular group share, and others consider culture as a set of rules and traditions that people conform to or as 'a set of largely unconscious habits that govern people's behavior' (Scollon et al. 2012: 3). Hinkel (1999) describes culture as 'the way of life a people, the social constructs that evolve within a group, the ways of thinking, feeling, believing, and behaving that are imported to members of a group in the socialization processes' (p. 3). As such the term culture has diverse definitions and in fact it is not an easy concept to identify and define, because the concept of culture may be described, understood and used in various ways by different groups of people. The significant point here is that no matter how diverse the definition of culture is such as social norms, beliefs and patterns of life and behavior, it can inevitably affect the way people use a language and communicate each other.

Scollon et al. (2012) use the word ideology instead of culture because of the possible confusions the word culture may bring about. Ideology, which is one of the major elements of culture in any society, is defined as 'the worldview or governing philosophy of a group of people or of a discourse system', and people have a certain set of assumptions and beliefs based on this philosophy such as 'what is true and false (epistemology), what is good and bad (values), what is right and wrong (ethics), and what is normal and abnormal (norms)' (Scollon et al. 2012: 111).. In other words, people build on 'ideas and beliefs about the world, conventional ways of treating other people, ways of communicating using various kinds of texts, media, and 'languages,' and methods of learning how to use these other tools' (p. 8) based on the ideology they have. These

assumptions govern fundamental aspects of the way people live and interact each other in social settings, and consequently the interpersonal relationship have a significant influence on a discourse system. Scollon et al. suggest four essential aspects of the discourse system: the forms of discourse, the socialization, the ideology, and the face systems, each of which have mutual effects on the others. As members acquire and develop this discourse system, they can be identified as ‘a fully-fledge member’ of a society. Four elements that characterize a discourse system are as follows:

- 1 Members will hold a common ideological position and recognize a set of extra-discourse features which will be taken to define them as a group (ideology).
- 2 a set of preferred forms of discourse serves as banners or symbols of participation and identity (forms of discourse).
- 3 Socialisation is accomplished primarily through these preferred forms of discourse (socialization).
- 4 Face relationships are prescribed for discourse among participants or between participants and outsiders (face system).

(Scollon et al. 2012: 113).

These characteristics which consist of a discourse system, or a system of communication, are fundamentally interconnected and mutually contingent one another. In other words, members in a certain culture display a certain set of communicative features, since the group they belong to prefers these kinds of forms of discourse, and consequently these features can act as a key factor to formulate the members’ identity. Also, the sociolinguistic and pragmatic features in communication such as the face system or the rules of politeness are basically the outcome of the constant processes of negotiation and socialisation among members to define appropriate social distance and relationship for their own society and culture. Furthermore, the interpersonal and social relationship people construct in everyday life ‘constantly reinforce and reproduce certain identities, patterns of communication, and assumptions about what is good and bad, true and false, right and wrong, and normal and abnormal’ (ibid.).

While Confusion discourse system is predominant in the contexts of East Asian conversations, the Utilitarian discourse system represents the Western communication. There might be, however, some tensions between the Confucian discourse system and the Utilitarian discourse system, in which ‘the central goal of society is progress, by

which meant an ever-increasing amount of material wealth, and therefore, happiness for individuals' (Scollon et al. 2012: 125). Scollon et al. explain the possible tensions between two discourse systems as follows:

As Asian nations become increasingly dominant players in the global economy, which is firmly based on Utilitarian principles, the points of contrast and friction between these two major discourse systems – the Utilitarian discourse system and the Confucian discourse system – have become more and more evident. Sometimes these tensions manifest themselves on the level of individual as Asian workers for multinational corporations find they have to negotiate the competing values and norms of behavior that they encounter at their workplaces and in their day-to-day lives with their friends and family members. Sometimes they manifest at the level of institutions as traditional practices of doing business based on family ties and personal connections are seen as at odds with new laws and regulations based on Utilitarian principles. And sometimes these tensions manifest on the level of international relations as the political and economic policies of Asian nations fail sometimes to meet the Utilitarian expectations of global trade organizations or of large trading partners like the United States regarding issues like 'fairness', 'transparency', 'intellectual property', and 'human rights' [.....] (Scollon et al. 2012: 124).

Scollon et al. point out the distinctive ideological properties in Asian countries from Utilitarian cultures, and these cultural factors including social values and forms of behaviours can cause tensions and conflicts between people from two different cultures when both groups of people meet and interact in order to cooperate for business or political and economic issues. As discourse systems and communicative principles and practices are inevitably influenced by these ideological qualities, speakers define and understand the same concept from different perspectives each other by projecting the key ideological values based on their own cultural expectations. Scollon et al demonstrate the example of this phenomenon as follows:

The ideological assumptions of the Confucian discourse system are sometimes distinguishable with the Utilitarian discourse system. For example, Utilitarians define good as the greatest amount of 'happiness' for the greatest number of people. In other words, goodness in this perspective is primarily seen as related to the physical and mental state of the individual: the more individuals that are happy, the

more 'goodness' exists. For Confucius and his follows, in contrast, goodness was seen not so much as a function of the individual as a matter of the relationships among individuals and between people and nature. Goodness in this perspective is not a matter of 'happiness', but a matter of 'harmony'. What is meant by 'harmony' is essentially balance and order, which is considered the foundation of everything from the internal workings of the human body to the external workings of astronomy and meteorology (Scollon et al. 2012: 124).

Under the Confucian discourse system, consequently, the social order and harmony is achieved through discourse in a way that appropriately perceives, understands, conforms and reflects their values and social rules. Even though speakers are not necessarily governed by one particular discourse system based on their cultural background, and therefore Confucianism is not the only absolute discourse system that dominantly operates in communication in East Asia, the discourse system speakers use and employ tends to represent a particular ideology that speakers are more influenced than others.

Although culture seems to have to a large extent influences on how people think, behave and interact with others, the discussion on the relationship between culture and communication has many critical issues. One problem is that the concept of culture in language and communication seems to be used in order to divide speakers into different groups and find out similarities and differences between these groups of people, aiming to clarify what kinds of properties of these particular groups of speakers have in the way of language use and communication. Scollon et al. (2012) point out the negative aspects of understanding culture as means of grouping as follows.

Culture is 'a way of dividing people up into groups according to some feature of these people which helps us to understand something about them and how they different from or similar to other people.'.... However, when you are dividing people up, where you draw the line is probably tricky.... This aspect of dividing people into groups can lead to two particular kinds of problems: one we call 'lumping,' thinking that all of the people who belong to one 'culture' are the same, and the other we all 'binarism', thinking are different just because they belong to different 'cultures' (Scollon et al. 2012: 3-4).

As Scollon et al. argue, people tend to assume that speakers who belong to a specific cultural boundary produce similar linguistic and communicative patterns and practices

simply because of their own cultural influences, while speakers who belong to different cultures think and behave as their culture is different. In this perspective, the concept of culture is narrowly defined and identified as a fixed and predetermined set of entity in essence. In this vein, another significant problem with the concept of culture in communication is its heavy dependence on essentialism. In other words, when we talk about culture in communication, it is often discussed with the boundaries of national culture. Then the focus of the discussion will begin with the assumption that the speakers who belong to different national groups will be different from one another and the difference in national or L1 backgrounds will act as a major determinant to identify the distinctive features the group possesses. However, the difference in communicative patterns and features of discourse between two different groups of speakers may have nothing to do with the difference in national backgrounds or L1. In other words, it is sometimes difficult to argue that a particular aspect of language use and communication simply arises from cultural or L1 backgrounds of speakers. It can be based on many different factors and variables such as the topic, settings or goals of communication. Also when we discuss the notion of culture, the term culture is not necessarily restricted to the nation-based construct but it can be used more often to describe and explore the detailed specifics of a group such as 'ethnic culture, local culture, academic culture, disciplinary culture' (Flowerdew & Miller 1995).

The crucial point in culture and communication is 'culture is a verb' (Scollon et al. 2012: 5). In other words, when we approach and understand the relationship between culture and communication, as Scollon et al. (2012: 45) put it, 'we should not focus so much on the people and try to figure out something about them based on the 'culture' they belong to. Rather we should focus on what they are doing and try to understand what kinds of tools they have at their disposal to do it'. We use language or linguistic systems when we communicate with others, and how communication systems are realized relies on cultural tools, which are available to speakers. Therefore, cultural tools may play a major role to shape the type of ideas the social group produce and the way speakers express their ideas. However, 'not everybody has the same tools available to them, and even when they do, not everybody uses them in exactly the same way' and 'since all of us belong to lots of different culture at once, we also have lots of different cultural tools available to us to take actions, which we borrow strategically when we are interacting with different people in different situations'. (Scollon et al. 2012: 6).

Baker (2011) also critiques the simplistic discussion of the relationships between communication and culture from the perspectives of essentialism or national structures of culture. Instead, he argues that the correlation between communication and culture needs to be approached and explored with a wider range of variables and factors which can affect the communication such as who the participants are, where the settings and contexts are and what the topics of interactions are about, and this of course needs more empirical data analysis and theoretical investigation. In relation to the discussion of relationship between culture and communication, the reason why people in different groups speak, express or practice in a certain way might not be merely attributed to their L1 or nationalities but more often derived from other aspects of cultural groups they belong to such as profession, age, religion or gender, or the goal of communication they want to attain.

Scollon, Scollon & Jones (2012) draw the notion of 'interdiscourse communication' to explicate some limitations to understand intercultural communication. In other words, when we talk about intercultural communication, the difference in speakers' nationality or L1 backgrounds often tends to be regarded as the most significant reason of miscommunication between speakers or the most influential factor of distinctive styles and patterns of communicative practice. However, other personal and sociocultural facets, such as genders, ages, ethnic or cultural groups, educational backgrounds, or occupation, often determine the nature of interaction and are more crucial to understand the characteristics of the communication. When speakers share their interests, sexuality, age, education, religion or profession, they seem to show the high degree of capability to communicate successfully despite the difference in their L1, ethnicity or nationalities. Rather, the lack of these aspects often causes miscommunication and interferes the successful interaction in intercultural communication settings. Particularly, as young people today engage in computer-mediated communication through online social network systems such as Facebook or Twitter, they build the virtual social relationships across cultures with people who have common interests in issues such as pop culture, fashion, or political preference. Intercultural communication is not as simple as we often consider. The point is that to better understand ELF and intercultural communication and enhance the validity of analysis, we should not simply focus on interactional problems and cultural conflicts among speakers based on the difference in their L1 or nationalities, but a wider range of cultural groups need to be drawn for analysis. In other

words, as speakers simultaneously belong to different professional, gender, religion, and generational groups, often cross the boundaries of these cultural groups, and therefore possess multiple memberships and identities, this feature of cultural membership will affect the way speakers interact and can act as a crucial element to understand the role of culture in communication, specifically in ELF communication.

In sum, the relationship between culture and communicative behaviour should no longer be represented by the heavy influence of nation-based culture. Alternatively, the understanding of the correlation between culture and language, or the culture and communicative patterns and styles, needs to be approached based on who the participants are, where the settings and situations are and what the topics of communication are, and this understanding is to a large extent empirical issue. Holliday (2011) points out that the relationship between culture and communication is not fixed and cannot be explained with one dimension of the nature of culture. The process of interrelations between two concepts occurs in ‘fluid and negotiable boundaries’. In other words, defining and understanding culture with national structures, which have a major impact on framing people’s lives and the features of society, do not encompass and provide sufficient explanations of key aspects of cultural and social practice in communication. Instead, there are more possibilities that people are engaged in more fluid and flexible modes of communication by crossing national boundaries, learning effective interactions through actual participation and experiences and consequently forming the communicative practices they need and prefer. We need to recognise that ELF is neither a culturally neutral language nor is the culture of ELF created and produced simply based on speakers’ own L1 or socio-cultural backgrounds. Instead, as Baker (2011: 42) puts it, ‘the cultural references and practices that ELF is used to create and communicate are dynamic, fluid and emergent and move between the local, national and global in complex and liminal ways.’

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I explored socio-cultural values and ideological factors which may affect the communicative behaviour of East Asian speakers of English in ELF interaction. The cultural values such as harmony, interpersonal involvement, and cooperation, which are typically stressed in the Confucian cultural tradition, tend to be extended to the way speakers in this culture communicate. In other words, as in the cultures under the

Confucian ideology the ultimate goal of communication is to show a sense of affection, affiliation and solidarity, speakers attempt to promote and enhance harmonious social and interpersonal relationship by producing communicational strategies of high involvement. Such strong emphasis on harmony in the East Asian communication patterns and discourse system is to a large extent influenced by Confucian ideology. Under the Confucian ideology interpersonal relationships and harmony are highlighted, and therefore the major goal of interaction is to initiate, promote and maintain warm and intimate social relationships.

As positive face-keeping behaviours are involved in politeness strategies such as expressing solidarity, sympathy and agreement and building common ground (Leech 2005: 18), East Asian speakers seem to consider a silence or lack of responses as a possible non-politeness act and accordingly attempt to provide more active feedback by the form of repetition or echoing, as in my data. From East Asian perspectives, linguistic politeness convey diverse ‘moral meaning or normative value’ in society (Mao 1994: 452), and the communicative focus in East Asian cultures tends to be placed on group membership rather than individualism (Matsumoto 1988, 1989; Ide 1989). To enhance politeness, East Asian speakers attempt to establish interactional connectedness to their interlocutors and seek to build interpersonal harmony in the interaction. By consistently providing repetition, and even utterance completion, as a backchannel rather than staying silently during longer turns of other speakers, East Asian ELF speakers in my data seem to not only convey ‘immediate rapport and common ground between members of the culture’ (Kasper 1990: 200) but also express politeness based on their own East Asian cultural orientation, which reflects a strong influence on the group-oriented culture represented by ‘belongingness, empathy, dependency, and reciprocity’ (ibid:195). However, many critical theories of culture have criticized the idea of one nation and one culture and instead attempt to understand the complexity, fluidity and heterogeneity as the growing nature of culture and language in the contemporary world. In the next chapter, I will provide the summary of the thesis, and some theoretical and pedagogical implications of my research.

7. Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 The summary of the thesis

This thesis has aimed to explore how effectively and dynamically East Asian ELF speakers join intercultural communications, drawing on various lingua-cultural resources to adapt the communicative contexts and their participants. My research was particularly focused on pragmatic strategies of accommodation, of which importance has been emphasised in ELF communication. In Chapter 1, I addressed the background and context of my research by examining the current situation of ELT and English use in East Asian countries. The growing mobility and the extensive use of ELF in East Asia indicate that ELT in East Asia needs to move from traditional ENL perspectives to a more ELF-oriented approach in order to better understand the nature of language use in a more fluid and flexible way and accommodate to the circumstances of the growing use of ELF in East Asia.

My research questions were:

1. What are the main accommodation strategies that East Asian ELF speakers typically use in communication among themselves?
2. What are their motivations for using accommodation strategies (e.g. to project identity, to establish solidarity, or something else)?
3. What kinds of factors seem to be involved in East Asian ELF accommodation (e.g. cultural or ideological values and pragmatic rules and traditions such as politeness and face systems)?

The first main research question of my study is concerned with the kinds of accommodation strategies East Asian ELF speakers typically use in my data. I aimed to find out whether there are any similarities and differences in accommodation behaviour in the comparison with the research on NS-NS communication and other ELF studies, and what their motivations are for using accommodation strategies. The findings indicate that East Asian ELF speakers in my data frequently employed repetition, paraphrase, and utterance completion. Particularly, participants more often repeated other interlocutors' utterance to show solidarity, listenership or rapport, whereas

findings of other research tend to report the functions of repetition in their data as an interactional strategy for efficiency, repair or problem-solving purposes. Another prominent feature of my data is the high frequency of the use of utterance completion. Speakers attempted to be involved in joint turn construction by anticipating and collaborating the upcoming talk, and this communicative action shows the high level of convergence and cooperation in communication. The outstanding difference of my ELF data from other ELF research is lack of code-switching in conversation. This result might be influenced partly by historical lingua-culture in East Asia. In other words, Japan and Korea are traditionally seen or perceived as being mono-ethnic and monolingual societies, although the actual sociolinguistic realities for both countries are more complex than this, and consequently they seem not to be so familiar with the notion of diglossia or multilingualism. Another possible explanation is the negative attitudes of East Asian speakers to one another's language because of colonization and the consequent effort of cultural and linguistic independence.

The second research question was what the participants' motivations were for using accommodation strategies. Even though participants used the accommodation strategies such as repetition and paraphrase for clarity and explicitness, as observed in other ELF studies, and attempted to make their utterance more explicit and comprehensible, East Asian speakers seem to particularly foreground the positive social relationships among participants in talk. In other words, they have been observed to actively signal their understanding, participation and listenership by frequently employing echoing repetition and collaborative sentence construction as a backchannel response. Although it is difficult to provide definite answers on the participants' motivations without follow-up interviews, the collaborative and supportive convergence seems to contribute to building rapport and solidarity among participants throughout the course of conversations.

The last question was what kinds of factors seem to be involved in East Asian ELF accommodation. The greater tendency of solidarity and rapport-oriented talk in East Asian ELF communication seems to be partly originated from socio-cultural values and communicative behaviours in East Asian communication which emphasises in-group membership and high conversational involvement. The significance of lingua-cultural values such as harmony and positive politeness is likely to influence communication styles and patterns of the East Asian communication, and East Asian ELF speaker seem

to convey these East Asian values into their ELF communication. Therefore, the interpersonal relationship and affective aspects of communication might be also highlighted in East Asian ELF communications and this can make East Asian ELF highly collaborative and mutually supportive.

7.2 Limitations of the research

The limitations of my research are absence of multiple data sources for findings and confirming evidence. In other words, I only did one kind of analysis, because I was not able to do follow-up interviews to get the participants' perspectives. Whereas the follow-up interview that is grounded on the data transcribed and analysed is often used to heighten validity of the research, the findings of my research rely on the research's interpretations. As all my participants were international students from East Asia, either undergraduates as an exchange student or postgraduates for a one-year academic course. Accordingly, they stayed in the U.K. temporarily just for their academic degree, and they got back to their home country at that moment I finished my transcription and analysis. Therefore, it was impossible to meet them and conduct a face-to-face interview, and I also attempted to contact them through email and Skype, but they were not willing to participate in the extra online interviews.

If the situation is allowed, it is more useful to conduct the interview with participants based on the transcript of conversations they actually produced, because by soliciting feedback from participants about the data, it can help reduce the possibilities of misinterpreting the meaning of participants' act and increase validity and credibility of the interpretation of data. This can consequently contribute to enhancing the overall validity and trustworthiness of the research. Without listening to participants' own perspectives on what is going on in their communication, there is a danger that the researchers' interpretation is biased to their own subjectivity or intuition. Even though people might talk and produce a certain pattern, style or linguistic feature unconsciously or habitually, and therefore there is little feedback they can produce about their speech in the interview, their views and attitudes towards the analysed interactional features can provide researchers with a more multi-faceted approach to interpretation and make it possible to gain more legitimacy and credibility of interpretation and validity of the research itself in a whole.

Another limitation of my research is the relatively small size of the data. Totally fourteen students took part in this research for a 9-week period of time, and the data constitutes approximately 25 hour-long ELF interactions. As the findings are based on the analysis of the data by the small number of participants in a single setting for a short-term period, it might be difficult to make generalisation of East Asian ELF speakers' accommodation in other contexts. However, as there is lack empirical data available that shows East Asian ELF speakers' communication and particularly accommodation in their communication with other East Asia ELF speakers, my in-depth description of East Asian ELF communication can contribute to drawing attention to the significance of accommodation in ELF interaction and providing the opportunities for more East Asian researchers to raise awareness on the role of accommodation. In the next section of the chapter, I will present theoretical and pedagogic implications that the findings of my research provide and will finish the chapter with future research.

7.3 Revisiting the concept of 'Communicative Competence'

The growing body of empirical ELF research and theoretical and practical debates surrounding the findings of ELF study have challenged existing beliefs and assumptions in ELT pedagogy (Dewey 2012; Jenkins et al. 2011; McKay 2003; Seidlhofer 2011; Widdowson 2004). As the nature of English use itself has been dramatically altered, the English language pedagogy should be also adjusted to this change. The changing situation such as a significant increase in the number of ELF users and a shift in their purposes of English language use has brought into questions in general principles and practices in ELT, and as McKay (2003: 1) points out, 'the teaching of English as an international language (EIL) should be based on an entirely different set of assumptions that has typically informed ELT pedagogy'.

The concept of communicative competence is one of the significant issues which need the re-interpretation and re-operationalisation in ELF contexts, and it is the major theoretical implication of my research. Communicative competence is particularly important in the discussion of accommodation, since accommodation pays explicit attention to how communication is adaptively and effectively performed, and how to develop accommodative skills is closely associated with the speakers' ability to draw on their communicative competence to accomplish a specific communicative purpose in a different context. Therefore, revisiting the notion of communicative competence can

provide a major theoretical implication for successful intercultural communication in general and of my research in particular.

The notion of communicative competence emerged as a contrast view on language use to grammatical competence focused on an abstract and formal form or structure which Chomsky highlighted. Hymes (1967, 1972) elaborated the concept of communicative competence based on ‘ethnographically-oriented exploration’ and argued that speakers needed to develop both linguistic competence and sociolinguistic competence for successful communication. Linguistic competence means grammatical competence, which refers to ‘knowledge of lexical items and of rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology’ (Canale and Swain 1980: 29). Grammatical competence is, therefore, involved in ‘the knowledge-oriented traditional views of language acquisition’ (Brumfit 2001: 50), in which a major goal in pedagogy is to master the idealised rule system. However, what it means to know a language is not limited to grammatical knowledge, but the socio-cultural and contextual dimensions are more essential in language use. In other words, as Leung (2005) points out, ‘as a knowledge of a linguistic code is just one of the components of overall communicative competence’ (2005: 131), we need to pay greater attention to appropriateness, which is associated with ‘the extent to which particular communicative functions, attitudes and ideas are judged to be proper in a given situation’ (Canale 1983: 7).

In this respect, sociolinguistic competence, which refers to the speaker’s ability to produce more appropriate language use and understand social meaning and the speaker’s intention in different sociolinguistic contexts, and strategic competence, which refers to ‘mastery of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies’ to resolve communication difficulties and compensate the lack of linguistic proficiency or limited knowledge (Canale 1983: 11), are more significant for successful communication. As language acquisition and use are not context-free, the social meaning and appropriateness of utterance is generally determined by sociolinguistic norms of the target language, and background knowledge of the target language and culture is required to express and interpret meanings appropriately. However, social and cultural norms or values that an ELF speaker draws on for communicative competence do not have to be based on unified and idealised native speaker norms, which ‘do not align with his or her own values and beliefs’ (Murray 2012: 320), but it is more important to take detailed consideration of the purposes of communication, the role of participants,

topics, settings and purposes of the conversation to be communicatively competent and appropriate (Leung 2005).

In fact, the original concept of communicative competence suggested by Hymes did not look into the general discussion of language use and practice but argued that language use always needs to be explored and understood in terms of specific social and cultural contexts of use. Although there might be some universal forms of rules in language use, these are different according to specific cultures and contexts and therefore research based on empirical data needs to discover these possible universal uses for language to identify and define communicative competence in a specific situation and context. The problem is that the perspective of 'an imagined or idealized native speaker of English' is applied to the operationalisation of communicative competence in any context and for any kind of learners of English. Leung (2005) points out that Canale and Swain's early work on communicative competence is also largely based on native speakerism of English. In other words, in the discussion on appropriateness for sociolinguistic rules Canales and Swain mentioned that the second language learners of English need to build 'knowledge of what a native speaker is likely to say in a given context' to master native-like expressions and norms and ultimately to achieve communicative competence (Canales & Swain 1980: 6). Canale and Swain seem to assume communicative competence in a native speaker's perspective and therefore what is appropriate in sociolinguistic rules and forms of language use is determined by how native speakers say and what they use such as pragmatic rules of politeness and appropriateness of formality.

Surely, there are clearly native speakers of English as any other languages, but the problem is that it is very difficult to identify and define a universal norm of English, as it is now used in many different communities and cultures as their first language. When it comes to English as an international medium of communication, the problem is more serious. Unspecified native-speaker norms cannot be forced to apply to the context where speakers learn and use the language for such kind of purposes. All native speakers do not share the same level and kind of knowledge, and 'the status of being a native speaker of a language' itself does not necessarily guarantee 'a complete knowledge of and about that language'. As Leung points out:

A knowledge of and about the language depends on 'which native speaker/s and in what context'. In other words, the abstract construct of the native speaker ceases to be useful as soon as we try to extract descriptive details from it [.....] in fact, with respect to communicative competence, the notion of native speaker would only make sense if we specify individual/s or group/s of native speakers and the contexts of language use. ...in so far as one may wish to refer to native speakers as a reference point for a specific curriculum, they have to be specified in terms of a whole range of attributes such as social/community position, context and modality of language use, gender, age and so on. (ibid.130: my own emphasis).

Leung emphasizes that it should be based on an empirical approach to judge what is appropriate in language use. In other words, appropriateness can only make sense when it is discussed in terms of detailed variables such as specific settings or specific participants. By observing and analyzing an actual social exchange, we can find out 'generalisable patterns of language use' according to different settings, contexts and participants and consequently build up some detailed and concrete generalization of appropriateness. Appropriateness is often identified and projected by selecting and providing a certain set of rules and forms of language use as a model of language practice, but these kinds of norms tend to be only appropriate in 'a culturally homogeneous speech community' (Levinson 1983: 25). In addition, as Leung puts it, 'it is far from the case that members of any real native-speaking community would always use the same agreed set of rules in actual engagement [.....] members of a native-speaker community do not necessarily adhere to some shared rules of use with respect to co-operation, directness, explicitness, politeness and other considerations in all instances of social interaction' (Leung 2005: 132). If the kind of social norms that are based on idealised native speaker's model is used for prescription to language learners, 'the pedagogic values of such prescription' cannot be maintained in a long term since learners of English might soon encounter the situation that the set of forms and rules of language they learn has only limited values in practice. Therefore, learners need more practical and effective ways of developing communicative competence.

In teaching pragmatics in the ELT classroom, however, learners tend to be simply presented 'lists of useful expressions' of appropriate speech acts (Crandall & Basturkmen 2004) such as 'the expression X is commonly used and polite in the

situation Y'. However, it is useless to force learners to adopt any particular norm of pragmatic behaviour, because pragmatic and strategic competence are not a norm-dependent notion, but it can become more flexible according to language users' cultural and linguistic experiences and different circumstances. Particularly, the need for certain strategies may change in the course of conversation. The role of strategic competence is particularly significant in ELF, where participants might encounter variability of interlocutors' lingua-cultural backgrounds and the levels of proficiency among speakers, because communication breakdown and comprehension problems often tend to be caused by underdevelopment of strategic competence (Dornyei 1991) and limited knowledge on grammatical competence and sociolinguistic competence can be overcome by an appropriate implementation of strategic competence.

In other words, even though participants possess a certain level of grammatical and sociolinguistic competence, we cannot necessarily expect successful communication if they do not make effective use of strategic competence, because conversation is interactional and two-way processes and there is always a possibility that unexpected social variables may occur. Consequently, the development of strategic competence can contribute to facilitating smooth and successful communication in intercultural conversation settings, and once speakers are aware of the importance of communicative strategies for negotiation and accommodation, they should be encouraged to use them whenever possible. Strategic dimensions of interactions need to be highlighted in teaching intercultural communication.

The successful communication is not simply limited to the acquisition of language-related knowledge but also language-related abilities, which are involved in the use of language related strategies, the appropriate and active use of communicative strategies will further illuminate the construct of communicative competence. As most adult speakers of ELF already have a fairly developed strategic competence in their L1, they tend to engage in a range of strategic behaviours in ELF. However, strategic competence is a dynamic notion, which cannot be determined by a monolithic standard or norm, and therefore 'optimal strategic behaviours differ under different conditions' (Phakiti 2008: 263). ELF speakers are more likely to deploy and develop their strategic competence according to their interlocutors, purposes of talk, and contexts of use with their increased ELF experience.

Learners need to experience how a variety of strategies from their own lingua-cultural repertoires can be drawn effectively for particular functions and communicative purposes in interaction, and it does not have to be necessarily dependent on ENL norms, but can be flexible according to the characteristics of their interlocutors and the contexts of use. As Murray (2012: 325) puts it, ‘strategic competence for accommodation needs to be developed based on the extent to which ELF speakers have acquired and used in ELF experiences’. Therefore, teachers need to provide students with more opportunities to engage in the process of mutual negotiation and accommodation through classroom practice that involves meaningful ELF interactions and present various activities related to collaborative talk activities ‘where learners are required to employ their strategic competence to work a solution to the discourse’ (Murray 2012: 323), because strategic competence is most likely to be acquired through frequent experience in real-life communication. The development of teaching materials and classroom teaching needs to incorporate features of intercultural pragmatic competence based on empirical studies of ELF interactions.

ELF speakers eventually need to develop the ability to create and exploit more dynamic and adaptive use of their own bi/multilingual resources of pragmatic strategies for interaction. Given that the nature of ELF interactions is highly fluid and heterogeneous, participants in ELF cannot expect and depend on any firm condition of pragmatic forms and meanings but should be equipped to improvise negotiation skills for a new pragmatics for each interaction and develop flexibility for expressing and understanding meanings effectively and successfully. This ‘mutual willingness to compromise’ pragmatic behaviour supports the fact that ELF interaction is overtly consensus-oriented and cooperative. Consequently, speakers should be encouraged to draw on any means of pragmatic strategies to enhance mutual comprehension and accommodation in the process of negotiation of meaning. A growing body of empirical ELF studies can help provide the useful data for which kinds of pragmatic strategies are commonly used and useful for effective ELF talk and therefore worth to focus on teaching. As my data and other ELF pragmatic research have show, these might involve a range of convergent strategies such as repetition, paraphrasing or code-switching, which can help pre-empt potential communication breakdown or to promote efficiency and solidarity. ELF research should continue to provide empirically-based evidence concerning strategic competence, which can help facilitate effective ELF interactions, by ‘identifying effects

associated with individual strategies, and determining procedures for strengthening the impact of the strategies on student outcomes' (O'Malley's 1987: 143).

7.4 Pedagogical implication

7.4.1 Implications for teacher education

In many contexts, teacher education programs generally tend to focus on developing teachers' competence in linguistic knowledge such as essential elements of forms and pedagogic practices based on NS norms. For example, most curricula of pre-service and in-service ELT teacher education programmes in Korea have been found to be heavily focused on traditional approaches to teaching. In other words, those ELT teacher education programs merely include the modules to acquire the teachers' language knowledge such as 'understanding of syntax, phonology, phonetics, or morphology', 'pedagogy of English composition', 'teaching grammar', 'principles and methods of ELT', and 'media assisted language learning and teaching' have been just added recently. Many of universities provide the module called 'British and American culture', which is aimed to improve teachers' understanding of the target culture, focusing on British or American popular culture industry such as literature, music, films, performance art, and visual art. This situation is very problematic, because it can give the language teachers the impression that English is the property owned by British or American speakers and used in certain inner circle countries. Out of ten major universities, only one university turns out to provide the module related to the development of English and World English. The situation is very much the same in other East Asian countries. This situation reveals how NS-norm-focused ELT teacher education is and indicates that ELT practitioners, at least in East Asia, still seem to understand English as a nation-based concept and have a preference to an inner-circle variety of language, either British or American. In such programs, there is lack of opportunity to foster teachers' understanding of diverse sociolinguistic issues and the changing situation of English use and raise their awareness on 'the nature of language itself and its creative potential' (Seidlhofer 2012: 205). However, knowledge about language is as important as knowledge of language (ibid.).

ELF research does not aim to promote a monolithic and new pedagogic model or an alternative norm but to draw attention to limitations and problems of established

principles and practice in ELT and applied linguistics and approach a variety of issues differently by exploring ‘how an understanding of ELF could lead to a change in our thinking about English and the way it is generally taught, and to point out what implications ELF might have for how English as a subject might be defined’ (Seidlhofer 2011: 201). Therefore, the introduction of ELF in teacher education can inform teachers of what is actually happening to English in a real world conversation and help them raise awareness on language use and communicative processes we normally unconsciously make. Teachers might be able to realise the importance of diverse communication skills in intercultural communications.

An ELF-oriented approach does not have to be radically innovative against the existing approaches to ELT. Materials used in teacher education, and also in ELT classrooms, can include more conversations among ELF speakers from a variety of L1 backgrounds than just those with inner circle speakers of English, e.g. ELF communications between French speakers and Japanese speakers or Lebanon speakers and Korean speakers. In terms of the contents of the materials, topics and activities of discussions in teaching materials need to involve more diverse issues on language diversity, identity, ownership, and the spread and change of English, since, as already mentioned earlier in the chapter, knowledge about language is as important as knowledge of language, and therefore it is crucial to know how English has spread, changed and adapted across various contexts and how teachers perceive and understand these kinds of issues surrounding English. These issues can raise awareness of ELF to both teachers and learners, who have never taken serious considerations of those issues before, and ELF-oriented activities help them get experience and exposure to ELF indirectly to prepare them for the future use of ELF, even though they have not yet experienced joining ELF communications.

By experiencing these kinds of ELF-oriented activities in teacher education programmes, teachers can have more opportunities of the exposure to real world conversations and understand the language as the dynamic process of communication rather than a fixed and closed set of linguistic forms. This can also help teachers open their eyes to understanding of an ELF phenomenon and functional values of various communication strategies and features in ELF interactions. This might be able to provide teachers with insights of in what ways ELF is relevant in their teaching contexts, and ultimately lead to the change of their attitude and orientation towards the language acquisition and teaching in general.

To incorporate an ELF-oriented approach in classroom practice, the most essential point is to explore and understand teachers' awareness and perceptions of ELF as well as their theoretical and practical beliefs of what is important for teaching. There has been some effort to explore teachers' awareness and responses to ELF and the findings have shown that experienced language teachers have an increasing awareness of ELF and other relevant sociolinguistic concepts such as varieties of English, ownership and World Englishes (e.g. Cogo & Dewey 2012; Dewey 2011, 2012). However, teachers' awareness and understanding of ELF do not seem to immediately lead to their willingness to incorporate an ELF-oriented or diversity-driven perspective into their teaching practice. Teachers tend to have a highly normative view on language and do not accept plurality in language models and norms, because they concern that the increase of language diversity can consequently lead to a loss in intelligibility.

The vast majority of current teacher education and training programmes have driven teachers to consider English as a fixed set of codified forms and consequently teachers adopt conventional approaches of teaching, which ignore the characteristics of variability and diversity of communication. Therefore, many teachers still focus on accuracy and correctness in their classroom teaching and inevitably continue to rely on NS norms as a reference point. This 'standard NS English language ideology' would lead teachers to consider NNSs as 'unequal users of English' and promote 'NS English as the ideal and, by default, NS teachers as having the greatest knowledge of English and highest level of expertise in using and teaching it' (Jenkins 2007: 44). However, teachers need to develop the understanding of the nature of English as a language, in which 'process' is considered as equally important as 'form' and 'awareness' on language is as crucial as 'certainty' (Seidlhofer 2011: 204). ELF research needs to examine what teachers think and how they can incorporate an ELF-oriented approach in teaching in more practical and context-relevant ways. Fundamental reassessment of the current approaches to teaching practice and what empirical work and theoretical debates of ELF can do for pedagogy should be collaborated with teachers. In other words, as Dewey (2012) points out, by collaboratively working with teachers we can be likely to find out more practical and feasible ways of incorporating an ELF perspective in pedagogy. We need to engage in more systematic and long-term empirical work in which teachers are involved, and classroom-based action research or classroom observation might be a good way to achieve this (p, 167).

In relation to an ELF-oriented teaching approach, the understanding of language change and diversity is particularly important. As my research findings indicate, there is a certain degree of variation and diversity in the use of pragmatic strategies and linguistic usage in ELF according to individual participant's L1 and their proficiency, contexts of use or the topics of conversation. As ELF conversation takes place in heterogeneous environments, English language teachers need to understand and recognise the fundamental nature of English use today, which is characterised by plurality, hybridity and diversity. English is not a monolithic and static system of fixed forms but has continued to undergo change, development and adaption by different participants in diverse contexts through the history. ELF, which takes place in a dynamic and fluid contexts of use, might also experience the process of change, development and accommodation in various domains and contexts, and there are more possibilities that ELF speakers construct not only common features among speakers from different L1 backgrounds but also their own distinct characteristics of ELF usage based on L1-influence.

As already mentioned in Chapter2, it might be difficult to predict homogenisation of ELF, and this is largely derived from the unique nature of ELF as a contact language. In other words, ELF undergoes 'second-order language contact' (Mauranen 2012: 29), in which participants already experience a hybrid process of language contact between English and their own L1 in the first place, and then again bring these hybrid repertoires into ELF conversation. Consequently, interactional mechanisms in ELF tends to be more complex, hybrid and fluid than other kinds of contact languages, and the growing use of ELF in a variety of domains and geographically extensive contexts has accelerated this diversity of ELF. Pragmatics in ELF is particularly a significant area which needs more understanding of diversity, because the meaning-making process is concerned with a range of sociolinguistic and cultural elements, through which participants project their own identity or creativity. Therefore, we need to educate teachers about the variable nature of ELF pragmatics, which is more flexible and negotiable according contexts and participants' cultural beliefs and attitudes such as politeness and speech acts.

The high degree of lingua-cultural diversity in ELF use leads us to recognise that accommodation is no longer simply one of the issues as a choice in communication but needs to be understood and emphasised as an essential requirement for anyone who

engages in intercultural and ELF interaction. ELT practitioners and researchers in Applied Linguistics need to acknowledge and understand this plurilithic and variable nature of language use and incorporate this reality into their practice. The programmes of language teacher education and development need to help teachers develop greater awareness of the significance of accommodation and context-relevant communication skills and strategies rather than simply drawing on the pedagogic approaches focused on ‘the form of pre-fabricated, formulaic expressions’ (Dewey 2012a: 27), because successful communication in ELF is determined by how effectively and adaptively participants accommodate towards contexts and their interlocutors’ linguistic repertoires and interpretive competence. In relation to East Asian ELF, as my research findings show, researchers need to understand the significance of affective functions of accommodation strategies such as solidarity and involvement. The rapport-oriented nature of East Asian ELF communication can be more studied and explored in comparing with other geographically-based ELF contexts.

All these kinds of efforts and the growing empirical work in ELF research can contribute to providing teachers with opportunities to reconsider prioritisation in teaching by suggesting ample evidence of how language is used in actual conversations. Teachers can observe how ELF speakers communicate effectively and successfully and how phonological, lexico-grammatical or pragmatic features in ELF communication can play positive roles for mutual understanding, rapport building or accommodation, without causing communication problems or breakdown, even though they are sometimes deviated from ENL norms. Then, pedagogical decisions will be made to spend more time on communicative salient features than less salient ones, and consequently teachers can pay more attention to those crucial elements and make the better choice for pedagogic investment in the limited teaching time (Jenkins 2000; Mauranen 2012; Seidlhofer 2011).

7.4.2 Implications for ELT

7.4.2.1 Teaching accommodation

An accumulating body of descriptive work on ELF interactions reveal the high functional value of various communicative processes and strategies used in ELF for different purposes, e.g. to achieve understanding or communicative efficiency. The

nature of ELF as a highly function-oriented interaction leads learners and teachers to pay more attention to useful and effective communicative strategies and processes to achieve mutual understanding and intelligibility. When learners encounter understanding problems in interaction, they have difficulties to express and manage those problems because of their lack of pragmatic knowledge on how to signal their comprehension problems in polite and appropriate ways. The question is then how teaching can help learners achieve accommodative and mutually convergent communication in ELF context. Pragmatic strategies for accommodation have been found to be teachable in the language classroom (Cogo & Dewey 2012; Dewey 2012b; Mauranen 2012; McKay 2009; Seidlhofer 2011). Therefore, classroom teaching should help learners to develop pragmatic skills to deal with various interactional situations and sometimes overcome non-understanding. Teachers need to organise a variety of activities to provide learners with more opportunities to practice and produce appropriate pragmatic strategies and items to signal non-understanding and should sometimes explicitly explain the need for and importance of specific strategies such as asking for repetition or clarification. Such signalling strategies are very crucial to overcome the non-understanding and to promote the effectiveness and clarity in the interaction. Consequently, learners can be involved in a mutual process of negotiation of meaning and more motivated to adjust to their interlocutors and enhance their accommodation. In the communication activities, learners need to be encouraged to use more frequent backchannels for active listening and rapport-building, ask for repetition and paraphrase for clarity, and exploit or add redundancy for either efficiency or explicitness, and all these strategies can contribute to developing accommodation and collaborative relationship among participants in conversation.

The significance of cooperative strategies also needs to be highlighted in English classroom teaching for intercultural communication. By incorporating these kinds of adaptation skills into the classroom teaching, students are able to learn how to enhance clarity and explicitness for successful intercultural communication and prepare themselves to foster interpersonal cooperation and promote mutual intelligibility. Comity also needs to be stressed in ELF conversation settings to promote friendly relationships with other participants, because as findings of my research show, ELF speakers, particularly East Asian speakers of ELF, seem to place a greater value and significance on rapport-oriented communication.

To foster learners' receptive competence and comprehension skills, learners need a lot more exposure to different varieties of English including the interactions of successful ELF speakers, and its significance has been stressed in much of the literature (e.g. Jenkins 2000; 2006; Kirkpatrick 2010; Mauranen 2012; Seidlhofer 2011). Learners need to modify their expectations that they will encounter one single variety of English, often inner circle varieties of English, and it is always the best option for any communication context and situation. As a practical approach, we can use more ELF-oriented teaching materials and approaches in the classroom, for instance, by using the communication of very proficient ELF users as a listening material to see how effectively they communicate and accommodate each other, or how they manage and deal with the situations if they have any understanding problems or communication breakdown. This can provide learners with greater help to experience ELF communication and cope with their future use of ELF outside the classroom. Teachers also can use the recording material of the NS and ELF speakers' conversation data which show the examples of the failure to accommodate each other, and learners can observe the fact that native speakers are not necessarily most intelligible and adept at accommodation. The data of highly successful ELF communication are sometimes likely to provide a more practical context for the English language learning and teaching to develop ELF accommodation skills. The significance of accommodation needs to be emphasised in many ELT classrooms by showing what accommodation actually means and how it operate in communication, because as Jenkins (2000: 193) stresses, 'accommodation will play a major role in international uses of English'.

7.5 Contribution

The original contribution that I have made in this research might be in terms of its methodology. In other words, I did bring together the methodology of focus group and casual conversation research. There is plenty of research on casual conversation (e.g. Eggins and Slade 2004) and on focus groups, in which researchers give tasks and organise the group artificially. However, I made a sort of combination of two methodologies which draws on some degree of control from focus group methodology and the dynamics of free-flowing conversation from engaging in naturally occurring conversation, which I have called conversation group. Even though I took a certain amount of control as used in focus group research in terms of organising settings where

people meet, and sometimes the topics that participants were talking about, I wanted to get them have much more casual conversation. Therefore, I did neither control the overall conversation nor interrupt the turns or the flow of the conversation intentionally, but I just took part in the conversation as a normal participant, without any sense of trying to control what it went on.

This thesis has provided some characteristics of pragmatic aspects of accommodation in ELF contexts based on descriptive work. I have made the empirical study on communicative processes of ELF in greater detail, although Cogo (2009) has made a comprehensive study on pragmatics and Dewey (2007) on lexico-grammar on accommodation. In other words, I have conducted more in depth research focused on pragmatic accommodation, which is the area that has drawn growing attention and significance but still little researched, by building on what Cogo did as part of her pragmatics research into ELF pragmatics. Furthermore, my research has compared communicative strategies of my East Asian ELF data with those of other ELF studies and found some differences and similarities. The findings of my data will be able to provide more empirical evidence of pragmatic characteristics of ELF such as listener-oriented, pre-empting and collaborative talk.

Given that ELF speakers tend to foreground meaning-exchange and understanding in communication than using language as an in-group marker within a boundary of a certain speech community, pragmatic dimensions of communication are particularly important in ELF settings. My research findings indicate the need for effective, flexible and collaborative practice of meaning-making. In other words, as ELF is often characterised with diversity and variability in terms of speakers' lingua-cultural backgrounds and the repertoires they bring into interaction, accommodation is probably seen as the most important way of solving diversity- and intelligibility-related problems and achieving successful communication. The findings of my research add further support to the need for the development of adaptation and accommodation skills in intercultural situations.

As I have specifically focused on East Asian speakers and looked at further closely East Asian communication in ELF, this thesis might contribute to providing empirical data of East Asian ELF communication. There are other corpus-based studies on ELF in East Asian contexts such as ACE. Also, Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006) have researched

phonological intelligibility among speakers of ASEAN countries, and Kirkpatrick (2010) have produced more comprehensive and interesting research on ELF in East Asia. However, ELF research has not yet produced much empirical work specifically on East Asian ELF, and therefore East Asian ELF has been still relatively less explored comparing to European ELF communication. Even though my study is based on a small size of corpus data, I believe that this thesis can provide empirical evidence for the comparison of pragmatic practices of ELF with other research in East Asian contexts and can make a contribution to opening further insight into East Asian speakers of English in intercultural communication and particularly East Asian ELF.

7.6 Future research

Although ELF research has achieved a growing momentum in recent years, there is still lack of empirical data in the field. To be able to provide more comprehensive and broad picture on linguistic and interactional features and processes of ELF, more research needs to be conducted in various communicative situations in different contexts with speakers from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds. A majority of ELF data has so far tended to be based on temporary or short-term and singular speech events. However, future research in ELF needs more intensive and long term involvement in order to collect a more reliable and rich data set. This can provide a much greater opportunity to make a detailed and consistent observation on what is actually going on in ELF communication and consequently allow to generate a more valid, trustworthy and applicable grounding to describe, interpret and explain the phenomenon of ELF.

Although there are some research and corpus projects on region-based ELF data, e.g. ACE for East Asian ELF communication (see Chapter 2), a large proportion of ELF data has been involved in European-speaker-based ELF communications both in small scales of ELF research and larger scales of corpus projects such as VOICE and ELFA. Although these studies and data include East Asian participants and other-regional-based ELF speakers, they have not provided comprehensive comparisons of ELF features among different regional contexts. By comparing the accommodation patterns of ELF speakers in other different settings and with other groups of participants from different L1 backgrounds, future research can identify similarities and differences of ELF features according to various sociolinguistic variables. There might be similarities across all ELF, but there may be some broad regional differences among East Asia,

Europe, Latin America, Middle East ELF, etc. Such multi-case or multi-site research can contribute to providing the crucial factors which influence and characterize the nature and linguistic features of ELF communication.

It is also worth exploring whether the individual speakers make similar patterns and styles of accommodation in different contexts of use with different interlocutors in order to identify how ELF speakers deal with diversity and variability and activate accommodative practice according to diverse sociolinguistic variables. By comparing the same individual speaker's accommodation patterns and features in the other settings with other groups of participants, we can observe how intra-speaker accommodation works, and if there is any difference in the speaker's accommodation behaviour, we might be able to identify the crucial factors that affect the accommodation act. To better understand the nature and features of accommodation in ELF interaction and make its relevance to pedagogic practice, future research needs to provide more extensive empirical data both in more multi-cases of the same individual speakers and in more multi-settings with diverse groups of participants.

Appendices

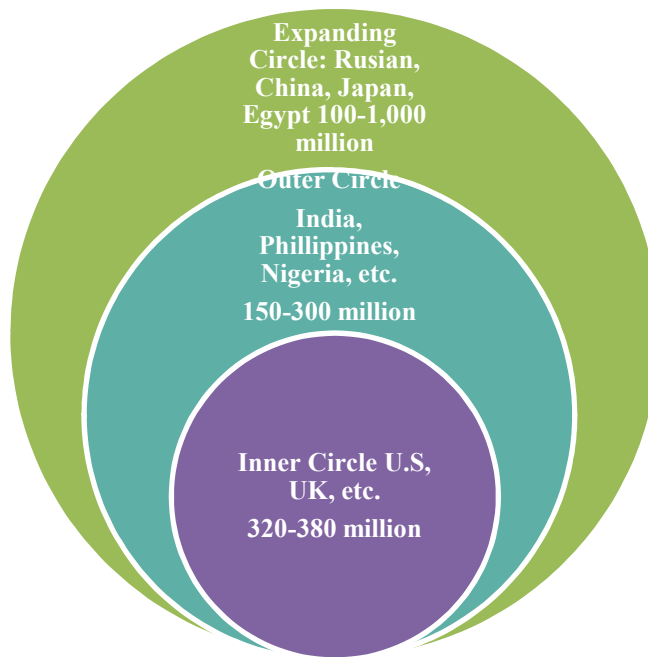
Appendix 1 The material for the focus group discussion (pilot study)

Discussion1-The spread of English & ELF

As the use of English has continued to expand worldwide, the purposes and the nature of English use have changed in the international context. Today it is estimated that 80 % of English communication takes place among non-native speakers of English (NNS) without the presence of any native speakers, and the English language is used as an international lingua franca in various contexts and domains (Graddol 2006).

Most people agree the importance of English use in the globalised world today, but there are different views on which kind of English we should learn and use. Some people argue native speaker norms should be taught and learnt as a standard (British English or American English) in the class in a strict way, because they are ‘real English’ and otherwise we lose intelligibility in communication, whereas others argue that keeping stick to the native speaker norm (proficiency) is no longer realistic, necessary and relevant in ELF contexts, and instead efficiency and cooperative and supportive interactions are more important rather than accuracy and correctness based on NS norm. How far do you agree or disagree?

ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) refers to English which is used as a contact language among speakers from different lingua-cultural backgrounds and none of them is a native speaker of English.



(Kachru's 3 circle model: 1992)

1. Do you think English is a global language for international communication? Why do you think so? e.g. The huge number of users, the globalisation and need for political, economic and cultural cooperation (especially trade and high mobility of students and the development of tourism, and so on)
2. Which variety of English are you familiar with?
3. Which variety do you think we should follow? Why?
4. When do you most experience communication breakdown? (e.g. speakers' poor pronunciation, strong accent, low level of vocabulary, lack of knowledge on grammar, background knowledge on issues to talk about.)
5. Which points do you think most important for successful communication in the international communication? e.g. native-like pronunciation, knowledge on vocabulary, grammar and idiomatic expression, attitude to keep conversation by negotiation of meaning and to use various strategies to understand others' speech (e.g. repetition, paraphrase or code-switching, appropriate shift or change their own speech pattern or style)

Activity -ELF variant or interlanguage error?

The below shown are the frequent examples many ELF speakers make in communication. Which one do you think acceptable or unacceptable? Or do you consider most of them as an error? Why?

- 1) The customer wearing a white shirt want a different design.
- 2) A French girl which I met in London is studying computer technology at a university.
- 3) The school who I graduated from was closed last year.
- 4) She always makes a noise in the library, isn't it?
- 5) I discussed about my thesis with my supervisor.
- 6) She decorated her new house with new furnitures.
- 7) My brother lost his luggages in the airport.
- 8) There are many staffs on the information desk.
- 9) How long time does it take to get to the station?
- 10) My sister carried a red colour box to the office.
- 11) I need some papers. Can I borrow?
- 12) I'm hearing your baby's cry.
- 13) There's about 2 hours left.
- 14) This is a really important criteria

Discussion2- Native speaker norm

The below is an extract from a newspaper article.

Many language experts propose that, for the good of international communication, a simplified form of English should be developed and codified, based on the experiences of foreign learners. This seems to me misguided. We can accept that a non-native speaker may make mistakes, but it would be foolish to try to incorporate all the different types of mistakes of all nationalities to create a new lingua franca. Most foreign learners don't want that either. When they hand over their money to the language teacher, they don't want to be taught Spanish English or European English or World English: they want to learn real English, even if they know they'll fall short of perfection. (Michael Bulley, letter to *the Observer* newspaper, 20 July 2008)

Others argue, however, that there are numerous non-native features that do not seriously hinder communication and they should be used for encouraging the acceptance of non-native forms to a much greater extent than today and to motivate ELF users in academic or business sectors to communicate without the pressure of native norm accordingly (Ammon 2008).

- 1) As an ELF speaker who studies in academic settings in the English speaking country, what do you think?
- 2) Do you think non-native speakers' English which is different from native speakers norm should be avoided as much as possible and they are always errors and should be corrected by native speakers, or should it be accepted as long as it does not cause serious breakdown of communication?
- 3) Do you think competent speakers of English are those who speak native-like English fluently or they can be better at adjusting their language for people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds?
- 4) Do you think native speaker teachers are best for teaching English? What advantages are there of learning English with native speakers? Good pronunciation, authentic use of English expression?
- 5) Do you think local teachers are less proficient in English, especially pronunciation, and therefore they are less preferred than less qualified native teachers?

Discussion3. Intelligibility

There are some concerns that the growing varieties of English use would hinder the global intelligibility when communicating with speakers from different varieties and lead to the communication breakdown. Do you think it is the best way to follow native speaker models in order to keep the international intelligibility for effective communication? Is the native speaker variety (British or American English) most intelligible and easy to understand? Do you have more problems when you communicate with other non-native speakers than native speakers?

1. When you do not understand others' speech, how do you react? Just pass it not to disrupt conversation or to save their face? Do you ask them to repeat (for pronunciation mis/non-understanding) or paraphrase (if you do not understand vocabulary or their meaning)?
2. If your listeners do not understand what you are saying, do you make any effort to get them understand by repeating, speaking more slowly or clearly, making sentences differently or using different expressions?

Appendix 2 The Profile of Participants

speaker	sex	age	L1	Course level	Course name	Length of study in the UK	IELTS Score
1	Female	29	South Korean	PhD	Linguistics	5 years	7.5
2	Male	27	Chinese	MA	Computer Science	6 months	6.5
3	Female	22	Chinese	BA	Management	4 months	6.0
4	Female	21	Japanese	BA	Event Management	1 Year	6.5
5	Female	22	Chinese	BA	Finance	4 months	6.0
6	Female	22	Chinese	BA	Accounting	4 months	6.0
7	Female	25	Japanese	MA	Management	5 months	6.5
8	Male	30	Thai	PhD	Management	3 years	7.0
9	Male	27	South Korean	BA	Hotel management & hospitality	2 years	6.5
10	Female	40	Japanese	MA	Linguistics	5 years	6.5
11	Male	28	Thai	PhD	Linguistics	1 year	6.5
12	Male	27	Thai	PhD	Education	1 year	7.0
13	Male	29	Thai	PhD	Education	1 year	7.0
14	Female	27	Taiwan	PhD	Education	3 years	7.5

Appendix 3. Transcription conventions

Speaker ID	Speakers are identified by initial. In each case pseudonym have been used to safeguard the anonymity of the participants.
(0.5)	Number in brackets indicates a time gap in tenths of a second.
(.)	A dot enclosed in brackets indicates a pause in the talk of less than two tenths of a second.
...	Multiple dots indicates a section of dialogue not transcribed
=	‘Equals’ sign indicates ‘latching’ between utterances.
[]	Square brackets between adjacent lines of concurrent speech indicate onset and end of a state of overlapping talk.
(())	A description enclosed in a double bracket indicates a non-verbal activity.
-	A dash indicates the sharp cut-off of the prior sound or word.
(:)	Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter.
(?)	Indicates speech that is difficult to make out. Details may also be given with regards to the nature of this speech (eg. shouting).
(xxx)	‘x’ is used for undecipherable speech
.	A full stop indicates a stopping fall in tone. It does not necessarily indicate the end of a sentence.
?	A question mark indicates a rising inflection/ intonation. It does not necessarily indicate a question.
CAPITALS	Capital letters are used to show where a word or phrase has been given prominent or mark a section of speech noticeably louder than that

surrounding it .

@ Laughter is represented with the @ symbol, and the number of symbols is used to approximately represent the number of syllables.

Under in bold Underlined fragments indicate the words or phrases that certain strategies are used

(Hutchby & Wooffit 2008)

Appendix 4. Transcribed data

Conversation group 1.

E, J: Chinese, K: Korean

- 1 E actually i went to cambridge yesterday
- 2 J cambridge
- 3 K cambridge?
- 4 E yeah, yeah cambridge
- 5 J did you take some pictures?
- 6 E yeah, of course, of course
- 7 K for for a one-day trip, short trip
- 8 E yeah, one day trip, and we we went to
- 9 J you you take the trip to see there (?) alone?
- 10 E no
- 11 J or held by=
- 12 E =gui-, guided by rod
- 13 J by rod?
- 14 E rod drove his car, and totally we have we had six people together to go there
- 15 K rob?
- 16 E rod
- 17 K rod, who is rod?
- 18 J the international
- 19 E the friends international boss, the boss of, yeah, do you know him?
- 20 K ehm, @@@@
- 21 J maybe next time @@
- 22 E yeah
- 23 K he's british?
- 24 E yeah british and he stayed in china for several years.
- 25 J several years, as a teacher in nin-nang province
- 26 E as as an english teacher?
- 27 J yeah, english teacher, he told me and he's wife is also chinese @@
- 28 K ah, so she, he is very familiar with chinese people and chinese culture
- 29 E yeah
- 30 J and he's is a main organiser of the friends of the (.)
- 31 E international
- 32 K international community, international student community

33 J he's very good

34 E and we went to the queen's college, king's college, and tradegy (?) college

35 J wah

36 E and i think the most impressive process is a training court, because there is a there is

37 a room @@ showing all the history about the, during the world war two

38 J world war two

39 E yeah, and

40 J museum?

41 E yeah, a sort of black museum

42 J exa-, exa-, exhibit something, the photos and stories about the world war two?

43 E no, there are museum is in memory of the heroes who sacrificed their lives in the

44 second world war

45 J i see

46 E and i also saw the statue of the tanism, newton and also a lot of great people

47 J did you go to the cambridge college

48 E cambridge college?

49 K university

50 J university of cambridge

51 K it's one of the prestigious universities in the world

52 E i mean all those colleges i saw yesterday is inside the cambridge college

53 K ah

54 E i mean there are many colleges in cambridge

55 J oh, i see i see

56 E and

57 J it's open, but there is a main campus of the

58 K what i was confused about cambridge university there are a lot of colleges in the city of

59 cambridge, what is real cambridge university is in that city.

60 E we first arrived at a (.) countryside to park our car and then we went to the city centre, and

61 in the city centre there is a cambridge university, and in the university there are many

62 colleges what i say trinity, queen and king

63 K there is a cambridge university

64 E yeah, they are all belong to cambridge university

65 K cambridge university, that means that colleges are famous for their academic=

66 E =made up all these famous colleges, yeah

67 J did you go to the building, which show harry porter movie?

68 E ah, it is called, it is the main building of the university of cambridge used for used for (.)

69 dinner @@

70 K ah

71 E not really i think

72 J it is very old building like a church

73 E i think maybe this harri-, harry porter maybe happened in oxford university

74 K ah, really? is it?

75 J really?

76 E yeah.

77 K not cambridge

78 E not cambridge

79 J not cambridge?

80 E yeah, i don't know it@@

81 J ok

82 K have you ever been to cambridge?

83 J no

84 K i have been there two years ago @@

85 J two years ago

86 K maybe three, three years ago? and it was very good

87 E yeah, very nice

88 J like a (XXX) here

89 E yeah

90 K atmosphere is quite different from southampton two years ago

91 J it's very different, southampton is quite new.

92 E and i think weather is good, because it is was raining in southampton, when we arrived at

93 cambridge, it's dark rain, we can we can travel by vessel (?)

94 K did international office hire the coach (.) to move to

95 J just drive his car

96 E the boss of the international drive his car

97 K his car, a small car. how many how many students gathered together?

98 E six in total

99 K ah, six and one of the=

100 E =there was one teacher asked rod to do this for us, and maybe

101 tomorrow we will cook a large dinner for him @

102 K it was free? how much should you pay?

103 E twelve, twelve pound

104 K twelve pound for just a tra=

105 E =return

106 K transportation

107E yeah

108J you just paid a gas fee @@' it's very good very good, i don't know he just tell you about

109 that, i don't know it presents (?) on the website.

110E uh

111J how could you know?

112E no, it's activity hold by rod personally, not by the friends international

113K ah

114J you are so familiar with him so=

115E =no, one teacher, one teacher you know (xxx in chinese)

116J i don't know, maybe maybe after i see

117E yeah, she asked rod to do this for us

118K she's, she or he? he's very kind

119J he

120E he

121K he

122E rod is=

123J =very kind very kind

124...

125K do you have any exam soon?

126E exam? there is not exam

127J we don't have exam, just course work, course work

128K course work

129J and paper

130K essay

131J essay

132E essay and course work and also [exam]

133K [presentation?]

134J presentation, normally

135E at the end at the end of semester we have exams

136J yeah, we have a exam

137K so, have you have you (.) handed in your dissertation proposal?

138J handed in from the normally by the elec-, electrical paper on the (xx)

139K do you need, do you need to write dissertation?

140E yeah, but not handed in here, but in to china

141K ah

142E because i belong to china=

143K =chinese university

144 E yeah, chinese university

145 K although you take the course here

146 E here as an exchange student, i jsut take the course here, but not belong to here, and i'm

147 applying for another year for study for the master degree

148 K so have you ever applied for =

149 E yeah, i have applied and receive offer, but it's conditional

150 K for what? ielts?

151 J you should have your degree

152 E also also all the marks, scores i take here

153 K ah

154 E yeah (.) i need to achieve at least five subjects above fifty eight score.

155 J not that difficult for you @@

156 E @@

157 J fifty eight score, why fifty eight?

158 E fifty-

159 J fifty eight, why not fifty or sixty @@

160 K maybe she doesn't know why @@

161 E yeah, i don't know why

162 J it's it's it's a (.) ok i see the second on a, it's similar to second on the degree, below the

163 second on a degree

164 E belong to=

165 J =to to (.) it's uk standard uh uh, uk standard

166 E uh, uh,

167 J mark of standard

168 E uces

169 J uk yes

170 K ehm

171 J for for label i think for label mark standard

172 K you mean,=

173 J =third on the degree, and second on the degree, first on the degree

174 K you mean, pass, distinction or=

175 J =yes, the first degree is distinction

176 K yeah, yeah, distinction, and merit and

177 E we are merit

178 J the first degree is overall seventy percent

179 K ah, yeah

180 J the the upper second

181 K yeah, upper yeah, upper seventy or upper=
182 J =upper sixty =
183 K =or lower sixty
184 E ehm ehm, that's right
185 K it's different from korean system, i mean we have a, b, c, d, that kind of mark
186 J a, b, c, d? ah (.)
187 K and a plus and a zero and a minus, and b plus, b zero, b minus that kind thing, the worst
188 thing is f, the score f
189 E this kind of system also exists in china, but a bit different because china also adopt another
190 system net (?) scores, one hundred scores
191 J one hundred, yes
192 E in middle school, we also adopt this kind of a, b, c, d
193 K ah, really?
194 E yeah
195 J it's not a university, we don't have a, b, c, d
196 E it's a quality (?) education, one one procedure of course (?) education, (XXX in chinese)
197 J not in my school
198 E ok, but this kind of evaluation is hard to im-, im-, im-, how to @@
199 J experiment
200 E implicat-, implemented
201 J implemented
202 E yeah, and how could you, because this kind of system depends on teachers, the teachers
203 need fill all this scores for students, and how's the system going in in korea?
204 K korea? you mean the university one
205 J university or higher
206 E you all adopt the same system in korea?
207 K i think so, because i guess we follow the same academic system with the american, usa
208 one. if we take the system british system, the score or the academic mark should be, uh
209 academic mark should be marked by pass, distinction, or the merit, but in korea case,
210 overall score is calculated by the maximum percentage is one hundred, and then ninety
211 five or eighty five something like that, but in each course, the mark is calculated by a, b, c,
212 d, that kind of thing
213 J i see
214 K but for the=
215 J =equivalence calculation you can you can followed by
216 K but for the elementary or high school students, the secondary students is different from,
217 but i'm not sure er how the present system is the same or similar or different from mine

218 one, yeah.

219 J but but as a , it's different from china, because here if you got above sixty percent, you

220 have upper second on a , but in china if you want to pass the course, you should pass sixty

221 percent, at least every one we get above sixty percent

222 E if you are in one hundred

223 J yes, one hundred, also there's one hundred here, but if you pass the degree, you get a fifty

224 percent is just enough.

225 E yeah, yeah

226 J it's the different you know the scoring, marking marking criteria is different, yeah

227 E er stricter

228 J yes, (.) if you got a sixty or seventy percent, your value is good, it's very good mark, but

229 in china it's not a good, if you have, get a ninety percent, it's a good mark @@

230 E yeah

231 J because marking system is different

232 E and how many years show er (.)

233 K to take university?

234 E yah

235 K four year

236 E four year

237 K yeah

238 E and you also have a internship semester for the last year?

239 K i don't think so, we don't have any formal the formal compulsory compulsory for the

240 intership, i don't know

241 E because we in the last semester of the fourth year, we need to go out to find some job, and

242 get some experience

243 K ah, really?

244 J you have to? the internship is required to

245 E yeah, required to

246 K requirement

247 E yes, it's compulsory

248 K really? but i graduated from university almost (.) seven years ago, so the system might be

249 changed, but in my case, there was no compulsory internship, internship course,

250 something like that, but these days it's very competitive to get a good job

251 E yeah

252 K to getting to the career, maybe these days many students get an internship experience

253 during summer holiday or summer vacation or winter vacation

254 E and and how did you apply for the universities when you are at high schools? do you have

255 er assessment to take all the students and have the same=
 256 J =like sat, u-, u.s.?
 257 K national exam
 258 E yeah, national exam
 259 K it's very horrible and very competitive
 260 E @@@
 261 K because maybe i guess the situation, the education situation in every east asian country
 262 country is almost the same, but i think, i have no idea how it's like er china or japan, but
 263 in korea it's very competitive and stressful to take the=
 264 E =national=
 265 K =national exam to enter the university
 266 E yah, college entrance exam
 267 K yeah, we have the national one to to study in university we should take that university
 268 exam and also we should have the qualification to prove we graduate, we finish, and we
 269 gradu-, we finish the secondary school system of education or if they don't have any any
 270 opportunity to study in public high school or in the in the public school system, maybe if
 271 they are so poor or they are ill, they can take alternative exam to get the high school
 272 student, high school education qualification
 273 J oh, i see
 274 E and then enter the college
 275 K that's it, we don't have any kind of gap year or something like that
 276 J it's not a necessary if you want to apply for er take the exam of the national examination
 277 to to graduate from high school, it's not necessary it's not necessary
 278 K what you mean?
 279 J to get a qualification of the high school, it's not necessary in china
 280 K really? to study in university
 281 J it's not necessary if you are very poor very poor (.) very poor mark cannot graduate high
 282 school. you can still apply for=
 283 K =university
 284 J you can also qualitifed (qualified) to to take the examination
 285 K oh, really?
 286 E there is an adults exam
 287 J it's not er necessary
 288 E exam, examination for the people who worked, who quit their study at schools, they can
 289 take this kind of examination to get in er
 290 K you mean the different one
 291 E yeah, different systems, one is formal, normal one [for]

292 K [for young students]

293 E yeah, and other is for those who want to take the exam and they are already work

294 J oh, yeah, i see, you see the but er even though what you say is formal national course,

295 still can accept someone from society, from the social social normal social people to

296 take the examination

297 K you have the six years elementary school (.) education

298 J yes, yes

299 K and three for

300 J three for high school

301 K three for the secondary high school

302 E secondary

303 J three years high school and the six years is your obligation

304 K uh?

305 J obligation, oh, six years is

306 E three years secondary, and three years high school

307 K ah, i see

308 E and nine years is compul-=

309 K =compulsory

310 J compulsory

311 K it's free for tuition fee

312 J [no]

313 E [yeah]

314 J it's free for=

315 E =compulsory education is free

316 J ok

317 E and after the compulsory education, we have the pay paid kind of=

318 K =tuition fee

319 E yeah, tuition fee

320 K why? @@, you are suspicious about the change or

321 J i don't know

322 K maybe maybe the system was changed from your your age or her age

323 E yeah from our age, our age we need to pay after we went to the college those students who

324 are at the compulsory years, so they don't need to pay anything. the policy are getting

325 better and better for those students under the compulsory education

326 K yeah, yeah, it's true as the economic [economic] is better

327 E [economy goes]

328 K we can get the more, better education, support from the government.

329 J especially to countryside people, from countryside they can have the opportunity of the
 330 compulsory (.) education
 331 E but i think in china we also have a stressful and er very hard working, work to do to get in
 332 the college
 333 K so you mean it's very competitive to enter the very prestigious universities
 334 E yeah
 335 K yeah, it's the same in korea
 336 E but after (.)
 337 J from from my year we are from, since that time when i take the examination of the
 338 college, er our our country changed er changed the (.) rules, so so we can, lots of the
 339 chinese colleges can accept the more students, what we say that extensive extensive
 340 recruiting
 341 E ehm
 342 K so you mean it was less competitive
 343 J less competitive yes
 344 K in your age
 345 J yes, yes
 346 E so what's your age? @@
 347 J before before my year, few year ago
 348 E i was born in nineteen eighty nine
 349 J nineteen ninety seven
 350 K actually i need your ages, it is personal information for my research so, you were born in
 351 E nineteen eighty nine
 352 K nineteen eighty nine
 353 E ehm
 354 K emma, and you? can i ask?
 355 J nineteen ninety three
 356 K nineteen ninety three
 357 J nineteen eighty three, nineteen eighty three
 358 K sorry, i put nineteen nineteen three
 359 E but i heard you say you were born in
 360 J nineteen eighty three @@
 361 K can you guess how old i am?
 362 J @@@ so you can ask for us to guess @@@
 363 E ehm, i guess you were born in nineteen eighty five?
 364 K thank you so much
 365 J @@@

366 K i'm a phd
 367 J phd
 368 K that means i spent at least four [year undergraduate]
 369 E [four years]
 370 K and
 371 E because you only need one year for master and then
 372 K but there was some gap between master and phd, and gap between ba and ma
 373 E ah
 374 J i can guess your age @@
 375 E so
 376 K so i was born in nineteen eighty one
 377 E ha?
 378 J eighty one
 379 K eighty one, so i think i'm the oldest
 380 E no, no, no, you look the same as me @@
 381 K no, you are younger
 382 E no, we are the same looking (?)
 383 K anyway chinese people look so very younger than
 384 J i think it's common features of the asian girls looks younger
 385 K because of the skin? or
 386 J yes, skin, i think, i think so
 387 E and i i also think boys are also younger than
 388 K girl?
 389 E the the western people
 390 K ah
 391 E because i met some local people and i saw he was in the same age as mine, but no, he was
 392 three years than me, three years younger than me (.), and still looked very matured than
 393 me
 394 J yeah, yeah, western country boy looks mature
 395 E because they drink a milk @@@
 396 K i have no idea why why asian people looks younger than the western people
 397 J why? @@@
 398 K the exactly maybe
 399 E because to the girls they begin they begin to make up (.)
 400 K from early age
 401 E yeah from very young age, around ten or so, yeah, i often saw the kind of girls
 402 J so

403 E so this makes them too (.)

404 K their skin starts to be aged

405 E yeah,

406 K from younger age

407 J oh, the dress dress the like er more mature than (.) yeah @@

408 E and also i think maybe

409 J also maybe experience depends something

410 E yeah

411 K which experience, which experience you mean?

412 J experience personal experience i think it depends on also what you are looking sometimes

413 E you mean stress or eating habit

414 J it can something, can be a lot of things, the way you living, the way you dress @@

415 experience can change a lot of things

416 E ehm

417 K asian people maybe much more take care about our health or beauty than western and we

418 are very keen on [to get] some more recent and updated information on health and the

419 well-, er wellbeing, some kind of thing

420 E [yeah]

421 E ehm, ehm

422 K beauty

423 J xxxx

424 K we are very sensitive to change of the information, i mean, every time some information

425 on health and beauty have changed, i mean from long time ago, people didn't know about

426 how how the sunlight is harmful to our skin, so we didn't use the the sun cream or that

427 kind of thing, but these days many professional for the cosmetic industry emphasise the

428 importance of using the sun cream or sunscreen protector something like that

429 E but i think this kind of cos-, cosmetic er products also increase er=

430 K =western

431 E yeah, increase them to be-, become more mature more old, older than us

432 K ehm

433 E because there are many che-, chemical thing inside the product

434 K ehm

435 E one thing i suddenly studied about thing is they often make some, er some expressions

436 J expression, expression?

437 E yeah, like they laugh very (.) how to say

438 J expression is different @@

439 E because we are more conservative and we smile=

440 J = it depends it depends on individual, not culture
 441 E they like to do some faces
 442 J i see
 443 E you know what i mean?
 444 K no, i can't
 445 J you mean chinese people looks more constrai-, conservative
 446 K you mean the expression our feeling or our face
 447 E yeah, we don't show not as much as they show, and
 448 K we can hide our felling and our face
 449 E we smile not so
 450 K ah. that's why they have very
 451 E xxxxxx
 452 K yeah, it's true. do you notice how they move freely when they speak or when they talk, i
 453 mean, the western people
 454 E yeah, @@@@ we just like cunning
 455 K we speak very murmur, we tend to murmur when we speak, we don't show our
 456 expression, we don't smile too huge
 457 E yeah, yeah, this also increase=
 458 K =their wrinkles
 459 E yeah
 460 K age of the skin, ah, i see (.) today i think as the korean economy has has developed, and
 461 the the average average level of life the the (.) living living standard is getting better and
 462 better
 463 E ehm
 464 K people start people have started more concern and interests in the health and beauty, so
 465 these days many people and media or broadcast make some programs to give information
 466 on our, how we how to make our health better or some kind of things, so many people are
 467 keen to know much more much more information on good food for our anti-aging skin or
 468 health that kind of thing, or how to exercise, how to do, how to control our feeling to
 469 make our feel the calm, calmer, so i think we heavily heavily concern about the health.
 470 heath or beauty these days. How about in china? Many people many people are keen on
 471 E yeah
 472 K health or wellbeing
 473 E recently ehm, we have er we have a chinese, traditional chinese medi-, medi-, herbs
 474 K uh
 475 E and we er inser-, insert this kind of idea into our daily life to make our daily food to cure
 476 body naturally

477 J, K ehm

478 E and er some scientists said that the green beans can increase the health of human

479 body, so people begin begin to buy this kind of beans

480 K consume more beans than before

481 E yeah, and then the beans price of the beans go up

482 K ah

483 E yeah, go up and just just another case is that onion

484 K onion?

485 E onion can be anti-bacteria

486 K anti-oxidant or

487 E yeah, anti-oxidant, so people begin to buy this kind of product, the the commercial,

488 commercial thing also increase this kind of pressure

489 K it's the exactly the same, i mean everyone already knows how some kind of, or almost

490 every kind of vegetables or fruits are very good for our health

491 E yeah

492 K but if the media, media broadcast

493 E yeah

494 K certain kind of food can, people start to consume much more much more amount of that

495 food than before, so it can it can make make the change of the price of food

496 J what is the kind recent phenomenon people tend to believe some some people which

497 called professional called specialists, people tend to believe them, what is said that do not,

498 do not experience any, do not approved by evidence, you know, it's just, it's kind of

499 fraud

500 K you mean without any exact, any any precise evidence people tend to follow

501 J they tell tell themselves a professional, but actually they are not, but normally normal

502 ordinary people do not know they are not professional

503 E yeah also

504 J how to do that how to, and then in recent years people can know more and more about our

505 health

506 K ehm

507 J you know @@

508 E and they follow the medium brighdly (?) sometimes, but since this kind of case happened,

509 and there are some medium eh report some of the fake profession-, professionals, so i

510 think this phenol-, phenol-, phenomenon maybe get improved

511 K but chinese people anyway er (.) are very good at taking caring of their health, i mean, you

512 you eat quite healthy food than the western people and normally you don't you don't have

513 much ready-made meal or instant food

514J various cooking
 515K uh?
 516J you mean we we eating more healthy food
 517K yeah, eyah
 518E but in china @@ in china most of the parents they are , they will spend some time to do
 519 dishes, but it depends on the situation, er some of the (xxx in chinese) white collars they
 520 don't have enough=
 521K =time
 522E yeah, enough time, so maybe they tend to be like western life
 523K i see, so do many chinese women work? work even after they get married, i mean
 524J work
 525K yeah, work, many married couple still work together even after their marriage (.) i mean,
 526 they=
 527J =work together?
 528K yeah, the eating eating style of the chinese people have changed to western style is many,
 529 many moms still work outside, they are not just housewives, so they
 530J ah, no, no (.) it is (.) how to say, i don't know the statistical data, but
 531K i heard many [many]
 532J [depends] depends
 533K many married chinese women still work
 534J yeah, most
 535E some of them still work
 536K but not most of them J it's not different from japan
 537E if you don't have children, maybe they still work, but if you have children, you have to
 538 take care them, take care of them, you need to spend several years, and after this years,
 539 after children can go to school, you can still work outside
 540J but you have to , because in china, for young man cannot afford alone to family especially
 541 if you want to buy your house
 542K i see
 543J buy your flat
 544K the price of the house is=
 545J =very high, very high
 546E ehm (nodding)
 547K higher than before
 548J higher than uk
 549K higher than uk?
 550J yes,

551 K really?
 552 J in shanghai and beijing the price of the house, the average price is higher than uk, in
 553 london @@
 554 K so new new flats, the new flats
 555 J it's impossible for young=
 556 K =young people to buy
 557 J like us to buy buy a house without support any support from [our parents]
 558 E [parents]
 559 K it's so same
 560 E ehm (agreeing)
 561 K the price of a house is extremely expensive, so normally even even the married couple
 562 both of the couple work together, but they can't afford=
 563 J =you can't afford
 564 K we can't afford
 565 J but you have no that kind of tradition, because in in in china, if if one boy want to, you
 566 know, ask for a girl for marry to marry me, girl say 'buy me a flat a house first' then i'll
 567 marry you @@ it's a common it's a common phenomenon in china, so which is also the
 568 root by many many criteria (critics?), many many er newspapers to say it's a root reason
 569 push the price of the house @@@
 570 K ehm (.)
 571 J you have to buy your house, and you can marry @@
 572 K is it free to buy as many the house ?
 573 E nowadays because the government want to interfere this kind of very (?) at economic at er
 574 situation, so they made some policies to er to=
 575 J =suppress=
 576 E =this rich people from buying more than two or three luxury rooms (.), so
 577 K so they
 578 J it's useless actually, it's useless, still very high
 579 K in korea, er one family can own one house, formally, but if they want more, they should
 580 pay a lot of tax
 581 J ah
 582 K but theses days they, many people can own the properties, the many properties, but
 583 E as arise (?)
 584 K yeah, as much, as many as they want, they can but they should pay a lot of tax
 585 J i see, i see, it is a good (xxx)
 586 E property tax
 587 K yeah, that kind =

588 J =the housing tax we don't have the housing tax in china

589 K housing tax?

590 J we don't have that, i know it was the country especially i know korea like you say and us,

591 in the us yes the housing tax

592 K yeah, here even they have quite a lot of tax

593 E yeah

594 J but in china, we don't have that

595 E we have, we haven't had that because (.)

596 J we don't have council tax,

597 E we newly

598 K you mean your economic is newly developed recently

599 E yah

600 J it's new for us @@

601 K whythe price of the properties is so expensive even the government

602 E because

603 K the government don't doesn't want to charge the tax

604 J because we use, we let the market dependent on price, it is the kind of the policy, yeah.

605 E i think the government want er increase, want to decrease the house of the, the price of the

606 hous-, property, but also they want property to prosper-, prosper-, prosper

607 J possible

608 E yeah, because all other kinds of industry depends on the property, it it increase the (.) the

609 K you mean the price of property can [influence]

610 E [increa-]

611 K can influence other areas of industry

612 E yeah

613 J but the key problem of the the house price is very high in china, is i want to ask whether

614 young people in big city in korea whether you can rent a house, which is er offer offered

615 by government

616 K e-, hm (.)

617 J yeah?

618 E so your government offer you some cheaper house to

619 J offered by the not not not the dependent by market, it offered by government, yeah?

620 K i think there are some some governmental er governmental department which takes care

621 of housing housing condition or housing system, so they they construct some some flats

622 [and they] offer

623 J [i see i see]

624 K offer to the poorer people with cheaper price, but to to (.) to get the opportunity to live that

625 kind of the flat sponsored by government people should have some kind of er (.) how
 626 can i say=
 627 J =the level
 628 K requirement?
 629 J requirement
 630 K which is they should have=
 631 J =the rules, the level, i see
 632 K certain level of the the how can i say
 633 J i see, they should be required
 634 E yeah
 635 J so do you think this kind of flat is enough for for people who are very poor? or you know.
 636 K i don't think so
 637 E there are many poor people in korea still cannot find house to live
 638 J you know in the uk the poor poorer can get free to rent a house
 639 K for example, very old people or pensioners or the the young girl or the people with
 640 baby, they can be offered some kind of flat, the free or the cheaper flat →additional
 641 explanation/develop the topic
 642 E yeah,
 643 J you mean the uk or korea?
 644 K i'm not sure the exact system but anyway maybe we offer some kind of cheaper flat, but
 645 we don't provide any free flat or free property to the poorer
 646 J i see, in china we, this kind of flat for poor people is scary resource, scary
 647 E yeah, we we
 648 J we have the money we have the government budget for that, but in recent years because
 649 it's out of control, local government use this money to build flat for commoty (?)
 650 K commodity?
 651 E commercial
 652 J commercial, commodity (.), yes, commodity housing
 653
 654 K i think the average percentage of the house ownership in korea is very low, i mean,
 655 although there are a lot of properties and er newly built the flats, or apartment in korea,
 656 especially in seoul or big city=
 657 E =few people live in the flat
 658 K yeah, i think someone who has quite a lot more extra money they they tend to buy more
 659 [properties] they invest they use the properties as means of means of investment
 660 E [invest]
 661 E so this kind of properties are controlled by er little portion of [rich] people

662 J [wealthy] wealthy people

663 E yah

664 J so over all, you from your perspective er young people like our age in korea, they can buy

665 it, usually live in the house they bought ? or just rent a house?

666 K i think many of [young] people rent the house

667 J [how much percent?]

668 J ok

669 K they can't afford to buy property by themselves, it's very expensive and without their

670 parent's support they can't buy

671 E so this kind of problems er how long has this kind of problems, is it=

672 K =long time ago

673 E long time ago

674 J but but but it's not that, actually it is common, (...) i think at the same type of views (?)

675 who said young people they should rent because in their age, it's not allowed er fortune to

676 afford to buy a house, but in china, it's different, because because of the traditional

677 opinion, if you want to marry, you have to own your own house

678 K really?

679 J yeah

680 K but that pushes=

681 J =in other countries they don't have that kind of

682 K that pushes man should earn a lot more money than women or

683 J yeah, yeah, sure

684 K a lot of pressure

685 E when a man propose to a woman, they should have enough wealth to do this

686 J yeah

687 E so it's better for them to own a car and house=

688 J =yeah, house, car

689 E (xxx) and and money

690 J money@@@

691 K in korea, the situation is also the the same

692 J but in korea er young people do not have to this kind of overall social culture like china,

693 china young people afford more pressure on this

694 K more pressure

695 J more pressure on this, you know, you get a work you have to afford to buy a house, then

696 the pressure transferred to their parents @@

697 E and if their parents are rich enough, they can afford this kind of buy (.) yeah

698 J yeah

699 E this kind of buy=
 700 K = properties for their children
 701 E yeah, they can buy the house for their children, i know many people many parent buy
 702 this kind of house for their children for their future wife, so
 703 K so if we imagine one, the normal normal people graduated from university, and if he
 704 reached some average age for marriage, they only have three? They only have three or=
 705 E = thousand
 706 K years er to earn the money
 707 J to earn the money
 708 K to prepare for their marriage to buy flat or property
 709 J ehm
 710 K but it's impossible to earn the enough money to buy [a house]
 711 J [justthree years] it's impossible to
 712 buy er (.)
 713 E house in china
 714 K yes, it's impossible, even the people work about for decade or so, it's hard for them to
 715 own a house, because they need to use their er (.) their salary as a guarantee
 716 K ehm
 717 J salary
 718 E yeah
 719 J if you want just to get a salary, it's really impossible
 720 E they pay for several instalment
 721 K ah, you mean the mortgage or the loan →clarity
 722 E yeah, they can buy this but they pay this house in several time
 723 K i see, that's [mortgage]
 724 E [after]
 725 K if someone has small amount of money, or certain part of the money to buy the the
 726 house, but they can buy it with the, by loaning from their company or bank, and they
 727 should [pay] that money
 728 E [pay] yeah
 729 K each instalment for several years
 730 E yeah from their salary
 731 K yes, yes
 732 J in china, as this people slavery to to bank, of the bank @@@
 733 K slavery?
 734 E slavery
 735 J yeah @@

736 E slave, slave

737 J slave, slave, yes (...) slave of the house @@

738 K but the countries like canada, or usa or australia er er with a big country, with huge size of

739 country but, with little population, their price of flat or the property would be cheap,

740 cheaper than korea, or japan, because korea or japan (.) the the size of country of korea or

741 japan are very small but the population is crowded, so the level of price of property must

742 be very, much more expensive than these countries, so

743 E ehm

744 K also the @@ seventy percent of korea er (.) the korea country is covered by mountain,

745 so that means only few few areas are er are.

746 J you means the coverage of mountain is very higher in in [korea]

747 K [korea], seventy percent of land

748 E land

749 K land is mountain, seventy percent of land is mountain

750 J mountain cannot to be, (.) people cannot live

751 E xxxxxx

752 K yeah, only only few area of land we can live

753 J i don't know, i see

754 K yeah, that means, yeah, korea is very populated, even though these days many people don't

755 have their baby, but anyway korea is very crowded country, so that's the reason why the

756 price of property is very expensive, especially in big city, the capital, seoul

757 J it's not that crowded in big cities in china @@

758 K but maybe the very countryside or the little city in china maybe very cheaper

759 J you know the second city, but the recent years the price is still pushed very higher

760 K in every part of

761 J in recent years, few years ago=

762 E not every part, i think in the countryside, property still [remain] low

763 K [cheap]

764 E yeah, depends=

765 J =which province

766 E it depends on this, the economy cause or something

767 J young people gathered=

768 E =push into this big city

769 K push to get a job

770 E yeah, to get a job, because there are more opportunity to provide for them, and if those

771 people in living in the countryside, they don't have fee to pay the house, they just pay

772 J also people in countryside do not want to live in an old old way, you know

773 K ah, they want modernised
 774 J planned to, they want to go to the big cities (.) you get a better life
 775 E ehm
 776 J in big cities, yeah
 777 K andi think first congratulation the chinese the chinese economic position as the second
 778 biggest country in the world,
 779 E @@@
 780 K congratulation,
 781 J the phenomenon
 782 K yeah the economic, the second biggest economic power in the world
 783 E total, the total gdp, but not the per capital
 784 J not that means the country is wealthy, but not means our people is wealthy @@
 785 E yeah, because it is said that er people in china only own one tenth of the per capital
 786 gdp of the japan
 787 K ah, you mean, although the chinese government is becoming richer and richer=
 788 E =overall economy is increased, but not everyone in china
 789 K i see
 790 J in recent years, our government gain most profit of the (.) housing, property
 791 E yeah, property (.)
 792 J yeah yeah this
 793 K many part of the manufacture-, manufacturing industry is very developed in china, so that
 794 means a lot of people can get the money from that industry, also the i.t. industry is very
 795 developing in china
 796 J i.t.?
 797 K i.t industry or electronics, manufacturing=
 798 E = i think this kind of figure shows that the gap between rich and poor is very very wide
 799 J samsin in korea
 800 K samsung?
 801 J yeah, samsung, yes
 802 K yeah (.) i think although chinese economy has shown development very big progress,
 803 visibly, but the problem is the gap between the poor and the richer has been er widen and
 804 widen, widening
 805 E ehm
 806 K and only only several industry or several companies have earned huge money, but the rest
 807 of the people and the rest of the industry have reached the good level of the the =
 808 E =life standard
 809 K earning money

810 E uh (.) it's a big problem

811 J the problem is a normal process if a country or just people individual grow too fast

812 K but but i'm curious about the economic situation about the employment, i mean, these

813 days even in this country, uk, and korea, have suffered from the high high=

814 E =unemployment

815 K unemployment, especially

816 J employment or unemployment

817 K UNemployment

818 J unemployment

819 K unemployment

820 E it's the same in china, maybe=

821 J =in recent years

822 K is it the same in china?

823 E yeah

824 K but your economy is very fast (.) fast developing

825 E but the minority of the rich er initiate the growth of economy, but the majority of the poor

826 J but the phenomenon is especially in china actually the most of price and corporate is, need

827 more more people

828 E ehm

829 J more employee, the lack of the lack of the, you know, how to say (.) (xxx) yeah, need

830 more people, on the other hand, lots of students graduated from college, they cannot find a

831 job

832 E ehm

833 J but in the in the recruiting activities lots of the companies and er lots of positions are

834 available

835 K ah

836 J on the other hand

837 E really?

838 J yes, yes, actually, yes, and on the other hand, more people cannot find a job, it's

839 complicated, you should divide different aging (?) different you know different (...) area,

840 different professional area, you should divide er, just take take one example, take a

841 graduate example, one who has graduated from school because of, i think one of the

842 reason is our college, the course, those our our students in the in the college cannot catch

843 up with the pace of the market, the the relied, real society, that means when they graduate,

844 they cannot cannot (.)

845 E xxxxxx

846 J qualified for for for the position

847 E but i think when you apply for a position, the company will give you some training before
848 you=
849 J =i know i know some training we in our company we we also want to recruit some
850 students from the college, but but it's
851 E it didn't
852 J yeah, their quality is not er sufficient
853 E they are not suitable to the companies
854 J yeah, because of the quality of the education of the college, yeah [it is]
855 E [i know]
856 J it is one of the choose, another choose is young people like our age from countryside they
857 don't have the very high education, their satisfactoriness recruit them like er two thousand
858 ehm two thousand salary, but they don't don't satisfy for that
859 E ah
860 J i think it's it's good it's good, but they have very high (xxx) you know, they want to get a
861 higher salary, but they cannot have the quality to do the job, it is the kind of the =
862 K =gap between
863 J the gap between their satisfaction, satisfactory and their goal and reality, yeah it is it
864 is er one of the, it is complicated in china to analyse this this kind of phenomenon @@ in
865 china lots of the lots of the things
866 E maybe a few years ago students from, graduate from university, they will live high
867 requirement, but recently because competitive economy environment they begin to (.) to
868 pursue this kind of jobs ehm without high high goal on the salary
869 J yeah, it it goes back to the question we talked just now, in our country recent years more
870 and more graduate, graduate students from high school can have more opportunity to
871 enter into the college
872 K yeah, it's true
873 J and, on the other hand, on the college resource cannot come, catch up, cannot catch up the
874 pace of the recruiting
875 K ah
876 J recruiting of the students into the college, so in the resource of the college is scary
877 (scarced), not sufficient for for the students with that quality of the teaching is going
878 down
879 E before before we went to the university, we need to study hard to gain pro-, er offer from
880 some famous university, but after we wen-, went to this university, er they have they have
881 very not so strict rules to let students graduate, so students can graduate ehm without (.)
882 K less of
883 J the reason of teach, teacher is is not sufficient for for for students, i think this is a similar

884 phenomenon in uk, uk recruiting more and more international students in recent years it is
885 scruti-, criticised by increasingly, increasingly by newspaper and the other people like er
886 the uk is going down in recent years, because of the the (.)
887K but do you agree with that?

Conversation group 2.

K: Korean, M: Japanese, E, L: Chinese

- 1 K do you have a lecture today?
- 2 M no
- 3 K no? but do you come to (.) the library to study?
- 4 M yeah
- 5 K when you don't have any lecture=
- 6 M =yeah, sometimes we have a group meeting for our group assignments
- 7 K assignment?
- 8 M group assignment
- 9 K group assignment (.), which kind of group assignment is yours? i mean do you have
- 10 any project to=
- 11 M =the kind of project for example, er one project is like er buy some web er (.) find
- 12 some ehm website that web design and we find some problem in this design, in the
- 13 design of the website, and so we provide, we give participants how to improve the
- 14 website design and how to improve their e-commerce
- 15 K ah(:)
- 16 A e-commerce?
- 17 M e-commerce, it's like a on-line shopping
- 18 E [uh]
- 19 K [uh]
- 20 M and business model, bt ceo (?)
- 21 K ah, e-commerce
- 22 E we did study in the university
- 23 L yeah
- 24 M uh, really? @@ (.) in china? oh
- 25 K web-, web design or
- 26 L er
- 27 E e-co=
- 28 M =e-business or e-commerce (.), e-commerce, uh
- 29 E what is the most of the (.) classmates in your mo-, module, is local people or
- 30 foreigner?
- 31 M foreigners, yeah
- 32 E because i heard that most of the students study postgraduate is not local (.) [people]
- 33 M [yeah],
- 34 than one percent @@@ yeah, only one or two=

35 K =even in your course? ma?

36 M yeah, yeah, yeah

37 K only just a few er british?

38 M yeah,

39 K native british

40 M i think only two? or three

41 K how many how many are your university, your course?

42 M ah (:), ah (:): my major is more than (.) graduate because we have total twenty five and

43 three of three british so

44 K ah (:), very few

45 M yeah

46 K i think this is very common, this is almost similar to other course

47 E yeah

48 K especially, the the post graduate course

49 E yah

50 K in university

51 M special finance

52 E most of them prefer to=

53 M =and banking, the chinese students

54 K yeah

55 M they are

56 K even in linguistics, especially in language teaching there are a lot of overseas

57 students, much much more overseas students than native speakers

58 E yeah

59 K yeah, maybe in ba course, the undergraduate course there are a lot more native s-,

60 native speakers

61 E yeah, so my friends think it's much more worthy to come here early, er in this year,

62 yeah, the year before the postgraduate

63 K i see, so, and i also i can notice (.) er there are some some grouping? or membership

64 among native speakers, and apart from the non-native speakers, i mean in the in the

65 post graduate course , as i, as we told there are a lot more international students, so the

66 majority, ah, the native speakers are minority, and the majority is international

67 students, so the atmosphere of our postgraduate course is we, we easily get together

68 and with others, even non-native or native or different countries. but in the b.a., young

69 students university students tend to (.) make friends with er those from the same=

70 E =[yeah]

71 L =[yeah]

72 K the same cultural background for example, so yeah i can see only the the asian
73 students, chinese or korean students, they just get along together with themselves
74 M do you have in charges to discuss some topics with british students? or
75 E yeah, this semester i have a mod-, i have an= assignment that i need to work with
76 local people
77 K ah (:)
78 E er (.), six people in my group, so i think it's very difficult to communicate with=
79 M =yeah
80 E it's better in accounting because there are a lot of pro-, a lot of professional work
81 K you mean, in er your group, group work there are total six members of=
82 E yeah, total is six people
83 K but how many native speakers?
84 E they are four
85 K [four?]
86 M [four?]
87 L i have, i also have assignment to (.) to to the course ehm total total erm group number,
88 er total group total group people are five people and only i'm a chinese, and other four
89 are=
90 K =native
91 L yeah, natives
92 M oh (:)
93 K the, the ,out of two people
94 E yeah
95 K one is you and
96 E yeah
97 K one is which country? is she or he from=
98 E =all are from china
99 K ah, two chinese and two, four, ehm (.). how, do you feel any difference between
100 communication with other international students and the communication with native
101 speakers? or how is different or which one is do you feel more comfortable or
102 E i think the communication with international students, but er also it's not good at
103 learning a language, so i also hope to talk with the, because sometimes they also
104 don't know how to express their emotion like me, so
105 K ehm
106 E so, it's much easy
107 K much, easy, but you feel you feel you will improve you improve your english when
108 communicate with native speakers than non-native?

109 E i think it just make me more confidence, but if you improve your english, you also
 110 need to talk with er native speakers (.). er communicate with international students
 111 can only improve your confidence, you your confidence, but not your spoken English
 112 or grammar or something else just confidence
 113 K ehm
 114 L i think they have speak, speak in during their their life, they always speak very quick
 115 K very fast
 116 L very fast, and er i i found it's very difficult to catch their
 117 K uh, if you have any misunderstanding, or communication breakdown during your
 118 conversation, er do you have any special strategy? or do you ask what they are talking
 119 about or, how how do you cope with that miscommunication or the misunderstanding
 120 from their so fast speaking?
 121 or their very unclear pronunciation
 122 E then i ask them to speak one more time and
 123 M @@@
 124 K 'could you repeat' or something like that?
 125 E what?
 126 K sorry or do you speak sorry
 127 E yeah
 128 K or could you repeat it or
 129 E yah, yah usually when they speak with us, they will er slow down their speak
 130 intentionally
 131 M ehm
 132 K ehm
 133 E and i think it's very difficult to join their group because when you have a lecture, you
 134 just listen to the lecturer talk to you, you won't communicate with the people who sat
 135 next to you, and when a when a lecture is over, you just leave a classroom, and go
 136 and=
 137 K =but during the lecture or class, er the the tutors give some chance to to discuss or
 138 E i think it depends on what you are studying, maybe yeah in business school, they are=
 139 K =there are no controversial issue
 140 E yeah
 141 K i see
 142 E and the study in social science maybe so
 143 L no seminar, we have no seminar
 144 K no other activities except (.)
 145 L lecture

146 K lecture, ehm
 147 E we have class, but just do the exercise
 148 L just teacher talk and talk, we just
 149 E xxx
 150 K it's very similar education in my country, i mean yeah the the i think most of the east-
 151 asian country classroom teaching is very similar situation, just teacher's lecture, we
 152 write down what teachers are talking about
 153 L yeah
 154 K we don't have any much chance to discuss or debate
 155 M yeah, we don't have
 156 K so especially for the post graduate study, especially the phd study, er we don't have
 157 any lecture, formal lecture, so we try to ehm, we attempt to er attend to workshop or
 158 seminar, even in this kind for academic activity (.), er ehm people are very good at
 159 arguing and debating or exchange their opinion, and they are very good at become,
 160 becoming critical i mean, critical means, critical means, ehm, critical does not mean er
 161 just attack or arguing others, but means they are very (.) er the critical thinking is they
 162 try to be very (.), how can i say the (.), the (.)=
 163 E =yeah
 164 K have different kind of the idea or their opinion, and they try to express their opinion
 165 and they are very good at asking about what they are unclear, or something like that,
 166 but in asian, in asian education culture
 167 E ehm
 168 K just pass the, we just let it pass
 169 M [ehm]
 170 E [ehm]
 171 K even when we don't understand, or even we have some kind of question or
 172 M ehm, ehm
 173 K yeah, yeah (.). what i very envy to the native speaker or the western students is yeah
 174 they are very good at debating and argument
 175 E yeah
 176 K yeah, they are very natural and confident
 177 E yeah, i think in, during the lecture sometimes the lecturer will ask 'do you have any
 178 question' and the asian students just just stay quiet
 179 K yeah
 180 E even though the lecturer question, they stay quiet, and then they will ask after lecture
 181 K ah, face-to-face, one-to-one
 182 E yeah

183 K uh, yeah, it's true, ehm, i see, so how how we how is the classroom in japan?

184 M how is the classroom? ehm (:)

185 K atmosphere

186 M atmosphere, ah (:), how can i express (.), ehm, during the class, we just keep silent,

187 because the er teacher give us a lecture, so, eh, so sometimes they will ask questions,

188 so some people give, raise hands to give answers, but basically most of the time their

189 answering question is the same person

190 K (xxx)

191 M yeah, yeah, the same person, and er ehm (.)

192 K so normally how many how many are there=

193 M fourteen

194 K in

195 M it might be classroom? forty

196 K forty?

197 M forty

198 K in high school? for high school?

199 M middle school and high school

200 K it's very big, bigger than i expected

201 M uh, really?

202 K so when i was in high school, it's almost over ten years ago @@, and there were

203 fifty, above fifty (.) students in one class, in high school, and after we, after i

204 graduated from the school, i heard er there (.) there are much less and less students, so

205 nowadays maybe thirty five or er around thirty for elementary school in a class, and

206 around five-, thirty five to forty, less than forty

207 M yeah, yeah

208 K the middle school and high school

209 M some elementary school close because the children's living in the city more

210 K yeah, i saw the news on the internet website, the korean internet website, the one

211 elementary school located in the centre of the, one of the, in the centre of er seoul, the

212 capital city, only nine, nine new students enter, entered that school

213 M ehm

214 K into that elementary school, not er not a suburban area, the country area, it's in

215 seoul, so i was very surprised, so er having no, having no baby in the family is yeah

216 very widespread these days, we are the only one, only one child is very common in

217 korea

218 M ehm

219 K so that's the one of the social problem, the the decrease of young young generation

220 E why why they don't have a child?
 221 K because of the, because the (.), ah, as more women, the more women work outside,
 222 the more they want, they don't want to have baby because they don't have time to
 223 take care of them, their children
 224 M the caring children is very expensive
 225 K (xxxxx)
 226 M cost a lot
 227 K long time ago, maybe our parents generation, maybe average number of children is
 228 five or six, or four or five, but the parents, most of mom, most of mom just take care
 229 of in house, they didn't work outside (2), but yeah, but they just take care that kind of
 230 very a lot of children, but these days, women really want to live like their mom's life
 231 M ehm
 232 K they they want more private freedom and they they want to enjoy their life than just
 233 focus on taking care of their children, i think, maybe but the only child is a
 234 population policy in china, so maybe you don't you can't feel any difference between
 235 the past and the present er change of family, family type of something like that
 236 E i think it's more common in japan (.), er because as you said, it's a very big expense,
 237 yeah and the, yeah still many population in china is still very big, still very large, so
 238 ah, even you have one two er study in the kindergarten, you also need to spend a lot of
 239 money, even it's the [xxxxx]
 240 K [there is no]
 241 E [since] since the baby was born, you just keep spending money
 242 M @@
 243 E yeah
 244 K but the government don't support the=
 245 E =uh, they try to, but i think they fail
 246 M @@@
 247 K and so because of, ah, to tackle this social problem of the the decrease, the decrease of
 248 young generation, er having less baby, the the Korean government have attempted to
 249 provide some some policy to support families with maybe more than three children
 250 something like that
 251 L in china the government also erm, i i heard from my mother, my mom, she said the
 252 government support ehm every family to give birth two two children
 253 K ehm
 254 L because now because ehm last ten years ehm every family only have one children in
 255 the in the, not in the city
 256 K ehm

257 L maybe in the countryside every family can have two or more children

258 K ah (:), it's its' it's they are excluded they are excluded from the population policy

259 which should have one baby, i mean in the city people living in the city should follow,

260 but in countryside, they don't have to follow

261 L uh, i think in the countryside (.)

262 E i think because it's much better than it was the past, because you know in the past er

263 the people in the countryside, they wil have five or six children, but nowadays it's

264 only two or three, so it's much less

265 K ehm

266 E and i think even the government will support the family, the the money can only

267 support their food or clothes, they don't support their education

268 K education, but chinese education, chinese government make er until the middle

269 school, until middle school education as compulsory

270 E yeah

271 L yeah, middle school

272 K so that means the middle school don't have to pay for their tuition fee

273 E yeah, you don't have to pay but in some countryside you don't even have a school,

274 and there is no enough teacher in the countryside

275 K ah (:), i see

276 E only one teacher will teach your language, your math or something else, all of this all

277 of this teach by one teacher

278 K uh, even in middle school?

279 E yeah, sometimes

280 K ehm

281 E some some part of countryside is very poor

282 L very poor area

283 K but the government should support the the education situation in the countryside, even

284 for the countryside, but the central government don't, doesn't charge of that

285 education?

286 E i think they have tried to do their best, er there are some some kind of school called

287 hope school

288 K hope school

289 E yeah, it's it's supported by the private er, maybe they donate their money to some er

290 institution, and the institution will have built the school in the countryside

291 K ehm

292 E yeah

293 K not by the central government education, but the private support is one of the source

294 for education
 295 E but i think this this activity is hold by government, er the government cover you to
 296 denote denote your money
 297 K the japanese government support a lot of (.) [education]
 298 M [nowadays] in japan te government pay
 299 every family if they have one baby, each baby er they provide one hundred, er two
 300 hundred pounds for per month
 301 K two hundred pound?
 302 M per child-, child per each child
 303 K if they have only one=
 304 M =three, one, and two double three triple (?)
 305 K really?
 306 M so they really encourage to have a baby because now it's becoming a serious problem
 307 to the=
 308 K =lack of the baby
 309 M yeah, lack of the baby into
 310 K xxxxxxx
 311 M yeah, there are a lot of elderly people, so they can't afford to pay for the pension, so
 312 K and the highs school, er in japan high school is compulsory, only
 313 M not compulsory, but we have a both private and public school, if you go to public
 314 school, you don't need to pay tuition fee
 315 K ah, really
 316 M just pay for the food, lunch
 317 K lunch
 318 M so you can choose, but you have to pass examination, but most of the high school you
 319 don't want to er get a high degree, high degree
 320 K or
 321 M or you can
 322 K they can they can
 323 M they can
 324 K they can apply for the other education course
 325 M yeah, of course, of course, they have
 326 K ehm (.), and er do you have any er native speaker for english class for middle school
 327 or high school?
 328 M yes, yes they have once a week we had a speaking class
 329 K speaking class=
 330 M =when i was a (.) high school student

331 K uh, i see (.), and you? do you have any native speaker teachers in public school in
 332 english class?
 333 L in in my high school, when i was in a high school, there was a non-native teacher
 334 K the local teacher just tech
 335 L i think nowadays in this year, i think maybe there will be native speakers
 336 K ah, there are=
 337 L =xxxxx
 338 K i also heard ere r normally in chinese education system you start learning english from
 339 the grade three form the elementary school, i heard even big international city like
 340 shanghai or beijing, the the children the children start learning english in the
 341 classroom from grade one, is it true?
 342 E i think er even in the kindergarten they teach english to student like er a, b, c, d or e
 343 K but the kindergarten is not a compulsory school system, education system, it's a, most
 344 of them are private (.), so
 345 E i don't know
 346 K yeah, i just=
 347 E =but the most of the parents will send their children in the early to english school
 348 K i see, i think talk too serious issue @@@@
 349 E @@@@
 350 M @@@@
 351 K yeah, depressed, so is there any interesting you would bring up or are there any special
 352 event or incident during the last
 353 E is there someone in your flat go to the summer, because my friend er
 354 K flat?
 355 E is it someone in your flat is going to , because one of friend last week they spent a
 356 night in your-, i don't know whether it's your flat, but i saw a picture you take with er
 357 learn she's emma, and the one is called jerry? yeah, they, you ,
 358 K @@@@
 359 M i got it, i got it, she started, she started, is she your classmate?
 360 E yeah , she's my flatmate
 361 M who?
 362 E jerry
 363 M yeah, yeah, yeah, i met her at the one of my friend, she is finished from finland
 364 K ah (:)
 365 M she started here about four or three month and she will go back to home country,
 366 maybe this, today? yeah
 367 K why?

368 M she finished her program, she studied=
 369 E =four or three month?
 370 K ah (:), she started her one year course within three month
 371 M no
 372 K no?
 373 M no, i don't know what is the problem like er, she just explained she just came here
 374 only not on whole one year, just some month
 375 K exchange program? three, three month?
 376 E i don't think so, i think most of the exchange students one year
 377 K one year? or [only six months]?
 378 E [sometimes]
 379 K six months?
 380 E six months for visiting students, some some visiting student stay here for half year
 381 M maybe half year, i'm i'm not sure, but she was finished and staying here before going
 382 back, so we have the party for last monday
 383 E ehm
 384 M in her house
 385 K ehm
 386 M so we met her
 387 K ehm
 388 E i think there are a lot of international students
 389 M yeah, yeah, yeah (.) so finland and mexican, greece
 390 E uh
 391 M a lot of
 392 K ah, in your flat?
 393 M not my flat
 394 (spilt drink)
 395 K do you have any issue? (.) sorry, thank you so much, thank you.
 396 E is it, how did you meet her?
 397 M uh, do you know the international cafe?
 398 E yeah
 399 M we met there
 400 E [uh]
 401 K [ehm]
 402 M yeah, all of the=
 403 E =do you come every week?
 404 M not every week, but er usually i go two or three a month

405 E so you , you also went, go to the like a open house or
406 M ah, sometimes, but recently i didn't go
407 K i'm a bit curious about a fashion in japan and in china, i mean, the fashion trend, for
408 example for=
409 M =i don't know @@@
410 E @@@ fashion
411 K for example, we are very, korea was very late for the change of the fashion trend (.),
412 long time ago, maybe=
413 M =ehm
414 K twenty or thirty years ago, even ten years ago, so in korea there was there was, the
415 people said (.) japan is ten years earlier than our trend
416 M @@
417 K i mean if if we have er some item or some fashion was=
418 M =erm
419 K popular in japan
420 M erm
421 K we follow it almost ten years later
422 M uh (:)
423 K i mean (.), yeah long time ago, in the past, there was very, there was no (.), no er er er
424 communi-, how can i say, any any medi-, medium, means to translate for the fashion
425 or the trend to another country, but nowadays=
426 M =yeah
427 K the fashion, fashion trend in korea is almost, it's almost, the speed of the fashion trend
428 is almost the er similar or the same as the european fashion or american or japan
429 M yeah all product, they will provide once a week, or, so fast, yeah, fastly changed, [and
430 for the]
431 K [also]
432 K also these days many women purchase their fashion product via internet, so [we can
433 buy] any product we want
434 M erm
435 K through internet, even from the overseas
436 L in korea er more and more people buy product on-line?
437 K yeah, many people so, [on-line shopping] is
438 E [xxxxxxx]
439 K very developed these days
440 E is it still much cheaper?
441 K i think it used to be very cheap, cheaper than off-line shopping

442 E uh
 443 K but nowadays yah, it has become expensive, much more expensive, because (.)
 444 because some some celebrities some celebrities=
 445 E = i think
 446 K celebrities run that on-line shopping, and on-line website run by celebrities tend to be
 447 more expensive
 448 E ehm, but i think if it's expensive, they can lose their advantage, because in on-line
 449 shopping you can't try it on when you buy a cloth
 450 M ehm
 451 E or something like that
 452 K yeah, we can't just design or
 453 E but
 454 M i think in japan most of people use on-line shopping, when they living suburb, you
 455 know, you can't go to the cen-, city centre because it's very expensive to buy a train
 456 ticket so
 457 K ehm
 458 M they use just internet lady's but [xxxxx]
 459 K [also] we can save the time and transport
 460 M yeah, because i live in tokyo, we have a lot of shopping centre, i don't, i rarely use=
 461 K =ah=
 462 M =on-line, internet
 463 K but when i was younger than now, i mean, maybe (.) university student, actually i
 464 spent a lot of time to surfing the internet-shopping, and yeah, actually i did buy some
 465 items from the internet shopping website, but in some cases it was successful to get
 466 the items
 467 M yeah
 468 K which i was very satisfied with, but in many, most, more cases, i'm very disappointed
 469 M ehm
 470 K because(.) the the most of the item on the screen seems very pretty
 471 E yeah @@
 472 K than off-line but even, when i er er saw it, yeah, it's very disappointing
 473 E yeah
 474 K i mean the colour is slightly different
 475 M ehm
 476 K from those on the screen
 477 E yeah
 478 K and the design or size is not suitable, it's not appropriate for me, so

479 L i think the quality is not very good
 480 K ah, yeah , in in some cases er the news broadcast er (.) in the news broadcast, there are
 481 a lot of fake website or
 482 M ehm
 483 K yeah, and they just tell a lie
 484 M eh (:)
 485 K and even they they just after they make the website and after they get the money from
 486 the customer
 487 E uh (:)
 488 K they just close the website and they disappear, yeah, so it's one of the new social
 489 problem, ehm. i think in korea we have, how can i say, we have very, we have a
 490 variety of fashion brand and even we, even the (.) fashion item in in market, in the
 491 cheaper market, not the department store, or shopping mall, yeah, it's very, this kind of
 492 business is very developed, but i realise in this country, there are that means we are
 493 very competitive, the the fashion fashion business is very competitive, and fast-
 494 growing and yeah we have a lot more variety we can choose, more options, but i
 495 realised in this country only limited number of er high fashion brands exist
 496 M like topshop or
 497 K topshop, zara, only very few one, fewer than korean's one
 498 E ehm
 499 K that means the private private fashion, private businessman in the fashion industry er
 500 they are very, it's very difficult that they get into that=
 501 E =yeah
 502 K com-, competition or business, so how how is the situation in japan? or china
 503 M ah (:)
 504 K is it similar or i only [xxxx]
 505 M [we have] more brands, but compared to korea we have less
 506 brand, because i think most of buyer each market you know er like cheap brand, they
 507 er go to namdae-moon in korea=
 508 K ah (:)
 509 M to buy a very cheap=
 510 K =cheap item
 511 M item and then they sell more [xxx]
 512 K [uh (:)]
 513 M top-up using another brand name
 514 K ehm
 515 M yeah, so we have more brand

516 K you mean you have a lot of small business the [fashion] shop on the high street
 517 M [but]
 518 K high street. only zara or big designer
 519 M not only, we also have like high street fashion like zara, uniclo
 520 K uh, uniclo
 521 M but yeah we also have a lot more like say=
 522 K =smaller
 523 M smaller, but especially we have a lot of fashion building, yeah in this building there
 524 are, they have store in this building, so especially like er we have a big fashion
 525 building in each centre of the city around japan
 526 K ehm
 527 M so every fashion brand have each shop, er have shops, each building so
 528 K ehm
 529 M not so small, you know, they produce a lot of products, and they sell on-line, and they
 530 er give ad-, advertisement on the magazine, because most of the japanese er decide to
 531 buy which item to, by er reading maga-, special magazine, if the er popular fashion
 532 model with some cute product they will find so
 533 K ehm, so attractive to=
 534 M =yeah, yeah
 535 K that items
 536 M yeah, so we decide which item is fashionable, a latest fashion, but like er by reading
 537 fashion magazine
 538 K ehm
 539 M like bb or (.) you don't know
 540 K h, i see
 541 M yeah, really fashion
 542 K ehm, and how about er china? do you have only a few numbers of brand? from big
 543 company, big fashion company? or maybe private buyers just run the shop
 544 L a lot of brand
 545 E i think it's almost like japan, we also have many small business, but i think most of
 546 the people prefer to buy ehm clothes with a brand like er zara or h & m, yeah
 547 K ehm
 548 E because they can promise the product in a good quality
 549 K ehm
 550 E yeah, sometimes the clothes without a brand, they will have a fashion style, but er
 551 after one time, you will need, it will become, get weak, because er when you wash it,
 552 the colour will fade

553 K ehm

554 E yeah

555 L and some brand, a local brand, and er and er may-, maybe young young person may
 556 like a local brand because it's very it's much cheaper, and er some ehm some some er
 557 when you become like my mother and my father, they don't like this this local brand,
 558 they like some big brand, be-, because they think it's er (.) because they think the big
 559 brand will (.)

560 K quality will be better

561 L yeah the quality is better and and their state will ehm, i don't know how to explain
 562 @@

563 K i see, i think i can know, you mean, the young, the old generation tend to tend to want
 564 the product which is more expensive but have better quality, and some, sometime-, er,
 565 very often, clothes represent their status

566 E yeah

567 K not only for beauty but also something else

568 E and i think someone er who want to follow the fashion trend, they may buy the brand
 569 which is much cheaper, because the cloth is not expensive and then you can use the
 570 money you save, buy a lot more clothes, your clothes

571 K i see

572 E yeah, but if you buy a very expensive one, you cannot change that

573 K i see, young people want more items, the [cheaper more items]

574 E [yeah]

575 K xxxxx

576 E they want to follow the fashion

577 K yeah, more sensitive to the trend

578 E yeah

579 K or fashion change, but the older generation don't need to have a lot of er, much items,
 580 much clothes

581 E and some items are imported from japan or korea

582 K uh

583 E but the imported item is very expensive

584 M ehm

585 K ehm

586 E yeah

587 E is the luxurious product popular in japan or korea?

588 M but what is the luxurious=

589 E like channel

590 M channel? but i think in china, they are very @@ (.) you know we =
 591 K =very keen on to buy [the luxurious design]
 592 M [compared to japan] we=
 593 E =it won't happen in japan and korea?
 594 M maybe [twenty] years ago
 595 K [i think]
 596 K yeah, yeah
 597 M they are they
 598 K i think it changes
 599 M young people don't want to buy a luxurious brand, because all of the girls have the
 600 same brand, so they want more, buy unique brand, yeah
 601 K something unique and something different from others
 602 M yeah we have a very good quality brand, not exported european like famous, channel
 603 or louis vitton, because everyone has the same bag, the same purse so
 604 E yeah
 605 K i see
 606 M we prefer to buy more (.) unique one
 607 K i see, more er items from=
 608 M =yeah=
 609 K =individual design=
 610 M =yeah [individual]
 611 K [not] huge brand
 612 M just it's just expensive, does it? so with young people seems (?) it's too expensive to
 613 buy, so
 614 K i think there were the, i mean er there was some movement, there was some=
 615 M =yeah, twenty ago, everyone want to buy er, buy er louis vitton but
 616 L what's the popular brand in japan?
 617 M recently? or, yeah, but [still] still louis vitton is very popular in japan, yeah
 618 K you know, i heard from one of my mother's friends, she she used to live in france and
 619 she worked in louis vitton, and she's very old, she's now she's over seventy years, so
 620 maybe twenty or thirty years ago, when she worked in that luxury brand shop, there
 621 were a lot, even in france, a lot of the japanese customers in that shop
 622 M yeah, yeah
 623 K but nowadays a lot of chinese than japanese
 624 E yeah, yeah, yeah
 625 K even in the, even in the luxury designer shop in oxford street, in the oxford street in
 626 london, or harrot

627 M yeah

628 K or department store

629 M there are a lot of chinese shopper, they sell to chinese customer, even in japan we

630 have the chinese shopper, that, we sell to chinese tourists because they want to

631 buy some luxury brand

632 E they will come in korea?

633 K er, yeah, we used to, people used to be crazy about that er

634 M @@

635 K designer, expensive designer brand i think only the limited, er still only the limited

636 number of people can afford to buy that expensive product, especially people tend to

637 er tend to go shopping for this expensive designer brand, during their travelling, i

638 mean they can they can (.) they can enjoy the shopping from duty free shop

639 M ehm

640 K yeah, after travelling in er abroad, so i think now as the chinese government, er

641 chinese economy has been getting er getting developing, yeah, the a lot more people

642 chinese people can afford to buy that expensive brand, so yeah many people are crazy

643 and very, you are very interested in, in that kind of brand

644 M i heard in china er wearing the pajama with some luxury brand like rolex [and] louis

645 vitton but it's fashionable

646 K [ah (:)]

647 L @@@@

648 E @@@@

649 K really?

650 E i think especially in big city like beijing or shanghai

651 M yeah

652 K ah (:)

653 M it represents we live in near city, because we they (?) wear pajama

654 K ah (:)

655 M yeah, so

656 K training, training clothes or something like free style

657 M yeah, free style, yeah

658 K but with very luxury=

659 M = yeah @@@@ it's very interesting

660 E i think maybe sometimes it says your taste

661 M [ah (:)]

662 K [ah (:)]

663 E because some products in a luxury brand, it's very classical, er i mean er typical

664 K ehm

665 E yeah

666 K also i think these days from the from the by, from the media, the peo-, it seems people

667 are very (.) easily influenced by the celebrity's fashion, i mean if one very pretty and

668 popular actress or singer wear some clothes

669 E uh

670 K er, just after that broadcasting

671 M ehm

672 K yeah, that product is just out of stock, yeah

673 E i think it's not for me @@

674 K ah, it's not for you?

675 M @@@@

676 K yeah but i heard many people are keen on

677 E do you think the i-phone is, belong, belong to luxury brand?

678 K i-phone?

679 E yeah

680 M i-phone

681 K i-pod, apple?

682 M apple? ah (:)

683 K no, [i don't] think so

684 M [no]

685 K it's very popular and=

686 M =not luxury, compared to the other like Louis vitton, channel

687 E yeah, but i think the products from i-phone is also very expensive

688 L so, so there are more ehm more and more people to (.)

689 K want to buy=

690 L =want to buy i-phone

691 M ehm, you have a similar product but it's more, the price is much [lower]

692 K [expensive], i think

693 so, I think so, i mean even the same product, eh, er the price of the same product is

694 different in china and japan or even in korea. so maybe yeah the price will be more

695 expensive

696 M ehm

697 K in china than [u.s.a.] or japan

698 E [yeah]

699 K i mean, how can i say, the currency level is different

700 E yeah, if you buy some products in hong kong, maybe you will get the six-, sixteen

701 percent discount
 702 K ah (:)
 703 E uh, no, thirteen percent discount
 704 K ehm, i see
 705 E but i think sometimes this product maybe er (.) the (.) quality is not matched with
 706 their er price
 707 K ehm, i see, it's more expensive than=
 708 E =yeah=
 709 K =its [real quality]
 710 E [worth than it's worth]
 711 E yeah (.), but when you own your product want another one, you have i-phone, then
 712 you want i-pad,
 713 K em
 714 E and i-touch or something else
 715 K so these days the smart phone is [much] more common and popular
 716 M [ehm, ehm]
 717 K yeah, because it includes, it contains a variety of functions
 718 E yeah, i think they are a small computer
 719 M @@@
 720 K yeah, i think the price of mobile phone service (.) mobile phone service is very
 721 expensive in korea, i mean than in this country. i think=
 722 L =mobile phone service?
 723 K yeah, i mean, in this country, if we want to buy a mobile phone as we pay-as-we-go,
 724 it's very cheap, even the phone price itself is very cheap (.), and yeah, use the, the
 725 price of uses is sometimes very expensive, but but if er pay for, we use the monthly
 726 mobile phone, very often it's quite cheap, and they provide a lot of time for telephone
 727 and text message, even fifteen or twenty pounds per month. (.) with only few
 728 registration fee, only one hundred pounds or fifty pound, but in korea, registration fee
 729 is even very expensive, i think er, almost three hundred pound? and we pay a lot more
 730 money for monthly use
 731 E uh
 732 M uh, expensive
 733 K i i think it' because of the monopoly, i mean the government only allow only few
 734 company to run that mobile phone=
 735 E =yeah
 736 K business
 737 M ehm

738 K i mean only few, but in this country there are a lot more competition among
739 companies
740 M ehm
741 K so that's the reason
742 L in china only three=
743 E =three
744 L three
745 K three mobile phone company?
746 L all three, three mobile company provide service
747 K ehm, and how about japan?
748 M four
749 K four?
750 M ehm
751 K not so (.)
752 M ehm
753 K many
754 M we have the chinese region, yeah
755 K ah (:)
756 M but i think the price, ehm, is similar to here
757 K here? t's quite er reasonable
758 M yeah, because it's very competitive, the company
759 K also the, i got this smart phone, sam-sung smart phone, the the free smart phone, from
760 my this is, i'm using the three mobile phone? and i have been a customer, i'm a long
761 term customer, maybe over three years and first year they sent sent this er smart phone
762 to me. it's free, and it's monthly only fifteen? or less than twenty pounds which
763 include over maybe six hund-, three hundred minutes
764 M ehm
765 K for telephone and maybe one hundred or almost fifty, over fifty text message
766 M ehm
767 K but in korea, if if someone wants to use this kind of smart phone, they should pay
768 maybe almost i guess almost three hundred or four hundred pounds for only this smart
769 phone, and they also should pay their monthly uses, so i think it's very crazily
770 expensive
771 E ehm
772 K so korean mobile phone market should be more competitive i mean, yeah, there
773 should be a lot more competition (.). they only charge all fees to the customers
774 E so the teenagers in korea, they want usually talk talk on the phone?

775 K they use a lot of mobile phone, even very young children have their own mobile
 776 phone
 777 E i i mean, whether they spend a lot of time speaking on the phone
 778 M ehm
 779 E because in china, teenagers very like to talk on the phone
 780 K uh (:)
 781 E maybe one time for one or two hours?
 782 K ah, yeah, yeah
 783 E just talking on the phone, but but they will be very close in korea, they will also spend
 784 so long time, so
 785 K but i think these days the reason why very young children have a mobile phone for
 786 their safety and their parents want to keep eye on their children, yeah
 787 L i think in china parents don't want to, don't want their children=
 788 K =to have the=
 789 L =have the mobile phone
 790 K but but the many children just [ask]
 791 E xxxxxxx
 792 K yeah, just ask their children to buy
 793 E my friend got one to buy
 794 K yeah, why not me, yeah
 795 M @@@@
 796 E and sometimes parents will say if you got this, get a mark in exam, i will buy one for
 797 you
 798 L paren-, parents think mobile phone will affect their study
 799 E ehm
 800 K yeah, it's ture
 801 E and sometimes it's forbidden, forbidden in the school
 802 K ah
 803 E if you use the mobile phone
 804 K do many teen ager or even children have a romantic relationship with other gender, i
 805 mean, when i was young, if middle school or high school, yeah, quite quite, some
 806 some high school or middle school children have boy friend or girl friend
 807 M ehm
 808 K but it wasn't common, yeah, if someone have boyfriend or girl friend, they are con-,
 809 they are, yeah, people thought er they are not good student
 810 M ehm , uh (:)
 811 K something like that, some kind of prejudice

812 E yeah

813 K but i can see, i can see these days a lot more young children or students have this kind

814 of romantic relation ship

815 E yah

816 K is, is it the same?

817 E i think it's very common in high school

818 K high school?

819 E yah, ehm, i think even in the middle school or prima-, primary school it happens

820 M yeah, yeah

821 E even though even though they don't know what's bad or what's like

822 M ehm, just [xxxx]

823 E [just want to]

824 M we are going out with you

825 E yeah, yeah

826 M because although the relationship is not like adults you know really, but

827 K but i guess japanese societies are more open, open than other east asia country, i

828 mean, yeah

829 M ehm (:), ehm, maybe

830 K so even many japanese students have more freedom to have er

831 M ehm

832 K romantic relationship

833 M yeah, yeah, it's allow it

834 E but when their parents know, their relationship=

835 K =do they allow their children to have boyfriend?

836 M depends on the parents thinking, but yeah

837 E most of them will forbid, they will agree

838 M they will agree maybe ,yeah

839 E i think most of the parents in china will forbid

840 M @@@

841 K because =

842 E =the thing is they think in a bad way, they always think it will affect your a lot of

843 time in their relation

844 M but in japan, children don't want to say, communicate to say parents about=

845 K =uh, their=

846 M =their relationship, so

847 E but some parents will keep to ask , you don't know how they know it, they just know

848 M really?

849 E yeah

850 M how, [we can]

851 E [sometimes] the teacher will tell parents , something wrong

852 L

853 E you need to pay attention to it @@ yeah

854 M uh, really? ehm

855 K i think the main reason why korean parents don't like their children to have some kind

856 of romantic relationship when they are very young is Korean society is very

857 competitive, so the the, entering very (2) famous university, prestigious university is

858 very for for anyone's life, so if they if the stu-, young students spend their time with

859 their pare-, with their boyfriend=

860 M =@@@@

861 K or girl friend, yeah, the parent's very worried, a lot worried about (.) future's situation

862 their children fail to enter the very prestigious university, so they think they most of

863 their time, spend most of their time for the study, not any other activities

864 L ehm, i think it's the same in china

865 E yeah, parents will will tell their children, but the children just ignore it, and do what

866 they want

867 K ehm, so going a prestigious university=

868 L =ehm

869 K guarantee, guarantee the young people's better future life in china? I mean, people are

870 very keen on going on, going to the university, good university, that means they can,

871 can be successful for their future life

872 L yah (.), good university

873 K yeah

874 L in china, there there are many university, and some are good, and some are not very

875 good

876 K ehm

877 L i think parents, ehm, most of the parents think their children go to the high, high rank

878 university, their future will be bright

879 K ehm, maybe the same

880 M but compared to china and korea, we're more optimistic even though you fail to the

881 good university, you if you have er other special skill, special skill or=

882 K =do you, do you think so? but i'm very pessimistic to that kind of, yeah

883 M xxxxxxxx

884 K i think still korean society are very very keen on for (.), keen on going to very high

885 rank,

886 high ranked university

887 M ehm (:)

888 K because the people still want their children to have the white collar job

889 M ehm

890 K not just skilled job, for example, even even the=

891 M =no, no, i mean lot's of skilled job is not blue collar job

892 K i mean if someone is very successful businessman

893 M ehm

894 K in food industry

895 M ehm

896 K or restaurant, and other is (.), they, he or she has a very, er academic qualification in

897 a very prestigious university, but they earn less money than that businessman

898 M ehm

899 K who did not graduate from university, but people might think the the later person

900 M ehm

901 K with less salary but with, maybe the banker or something like that

902 M ehm, ehm

903 K better white collar job, they think the latter person is considered a bit (.)

904 M uncomfortable, i'm very about china and korea, because if children, they fail to er

905 pass the, to pass the university

906 K uh

907 M how (.) do they manage their future, because (.) if they fail first of all, they will fail

908 passing the examination

909 K i think that's the main reason, one of the main reason why today korea there are a lot

910 of unemployment young young graduate students in in korea, i mean, parents and

911 even the students themselves don't want to have a useful and practical occupation

912 with a skill, they just want to go to university even though they are not good at study.

913 they just graduated from university, and they can't get a job

914 M ehm

915 K they can't find a job

916 M ehm

917 K yeah, so if they are not good at study, they should have chosen any use-, any practical

918 option

919 M yeah, yeah

920 K i mean they should have the the the, skills for example, baking

921 M ehm

922 K or some, they can become a carpenter, or some driver

923 M ehm

924 K or plumber, but they don't, they don't choose that job

925 M ehm

926 K they just want to study in university just they want to work in the office, so this kind

927 of conservative perspectives and attitude

928 M ehm

929 K fail to, failed korea's future

930 M ehm

931 K and korea's , yeah i can see, so even the very quite rich parents but but whose

932 children fail to enter prestigious university (.), they send their children abroad, to

933 study abroad

934 M ah(:), ah

935 K that kind of, yeah, option, i i heard korea is maybe the second biggest (.) country

936 which have er, which send their students abroad, especially in in the u.s.a., i mean, can

937 you imagine how smaller the korean population is comparing to japan and china

938 M ehm

939 K but the korea is ranked

940 M yeah

941 K one of the, second biggest=

942 M =yeah

943 K overseas students in u.s.a. university

944 M yeah

945 K that means many students many korean students are sent to u.s.a. university (3). me i

946 myself study in university in english speaking country, so @@@

947 M @@@

948 E why did you choose to study in the u.k. not u.s.a.?

949 K ehm (.), one of my professor encouraged me to get experience to study abroad, and he

950 recommend-, ah, maybe one of his students who graduated from the same discipline

951 er live and work in the u.k.

952 M ehm

953 K so he encouraged , he suggested me to meet him (.) and yeah, so i i was, i planned to

954 visit this country only for one year for my english course, but after that

955 E [@@@]

956 M [@@@]

957 K i'm just staying longer and [longer]

958 M [longer]

959 K after english, english class, private English language course, i realised i'm not not

960 enough to improve my english, so i decided to study, do my ma, even after my ma, i
 961 realised i'm not enough
 962 M [@@@@]
 963 E [@@@@]
 964 K so decided to study
 965 E some people choose choose study in the u.k. because they like the accent
 966 K uh, really? but i (.) didn't
 967 E @@
 968 K i was not so sensitive that kind of accent or
 969 E eh
 970 K some special native speaker variety
 971 M i think it's difficult to me compared to american accent
 972 K yeah because, yeah, maybe i think the situation is the same as in china, i mean er in
 973 korea, most of the english teachers are influenced by american=
 974 E =yeah
 975 K version, merican textbook and american teacher and
 976 E yeah
 977 K american media and that kind of thing, so when i listen, actually i attended english
 978 course in korea, which, er run by british council, british council so, i met a british
 979 speaking teacher, and at first i was a bit confused and i had a lot of the trouble to
 980 understand=
 981 M =ehm
 982 K their accent and pronunciation
 983 M ehm
 984 K but now, i feel yeah british accent is more comfortable thn American
 985 M ehm, uh
 986 K they use [a lot of]
 987 M [british?]
 988 E uh?
 989 M do you like british accent?
 990 E ehm, maybe but i think it's not problems
 991 M ah (:)
 992 K do you have any preference?
 993 M er, yeah, i like, prefer american accent
 994 K ah, american accent?
 995 M yeah
 996 K why

997 M i can hear, but i=
998 E =tired of
999 M yeah tired of listen to tired and less in bbc
1000 E @@@@
1001 M @@@@, yeah, so i try to understand british accent, but
1002 K but i think the the british pronunciation is a bit clear than American one, they=
1003 E =yah
1004 K they speak clearer than american people
1005 M ehm
1006 K american people er seem to speak faster and with more connected speech
1007 M uh (:)
1008 K i mean they use much more [r] like=
1009 E =yeah, in american accent water
1010 K yeah
1011 E but in biritsh accent water
1012 M uh (:)
1013 K or brother, they use, speak [brother], [father], but in britain they just speak
1014 [father], [mother]
1015 E yeah

Conversation group 3.

J, E: Chinese, K: Korean

- 1 J you know you cannot see a lots of [media's] whether the accident is rising, maybe it's not,
2 [yeah]
3 E [the media can]
4 K [you mean] you mean growing curiosity about sexual=
5 J =yeah
6 K sexual
7 J maybe people curiosity about it and you can get more information, the news than before
8 K ehm
9 J so people have a kind of feeling about why this kind of=
10 K =passion
11 J yeah
12 K ah (:)
13 J why this in-, incident
14 K what kind of feeling can i get
15 J and i think like you know like a similar all this disasters can lose lose of them, lots of disasters
16 than before
17 E yeah
18 J it's not mean the
19 E it get more incidents, is it?
20 J yeah, the information is easier than before
21 E yeah
22 K you mean this this similar event happened long time ago
23 J yeah, long time ago, but the [countryside]
24 K [but the media], we can, we could not=
25 J =yeah, media
26 K get this information=
27 J =yeah=
28 K =this from the media
29 J yeah, the media, yeah, i think the mainly the way, yeah
30 K uh
31 J you can get very easy yeah
32 E i agree with you, but [also]
33 J [it's part] of reason i think
34 E yeah, and also the rate for this sexual abuse meant also rising, maybe the part of reason is

35 media, the media is reporting more and more this kind of event, when you o this you will feel
 36 it's quite normal for me, i can do this also, so this event happen more fre-, frequently than
 37 before

38 J yeah, and also maybe i think also the kind of sign for those girls, they are to report this to the
 39 public, so you can see this. if this happen before, you can see that, eh no such things, actually
 40 those hidden before for the public

41 K uh

42 J you can see this, yeah, you can see whether this kind of also suggesting that you, those girls er
 43 you know dare to report his

44 K ehm

45 J they're exposed to those things to the public

46 K but i think one of the changing trend on this issue is the age of the criminals=

47 E =younger

48 K yeah, is getting younger and younger

49 J younger

50 E yeah

51 K that means they are not mature enough to to judge their behavior is right or wrong

52 E yeah

53 K but they just imi-=

54 E =imitate them

55 K yeah

56 E adult behaviours

57 K yeah, in the very young age

58 E yeah

59 K exposure to this kind of news or information without any education on this issue

60 E that's really dangerous=

61 K =yeas, very dangerous

62 E other some case, teenagers er they er just stab a cat (.) violently

63 K ah (:)

64 J cat?

65 K yeah, yeah

66 E used a high heel

67 K uh, yeah

68 E yeah, i saw [a]

69 K [something] similar [in korea]

70 E [it's really really]

71 J it's er

72 E brutal i think

73 K yeah, yeah brutal

74 E yeah, and a=

75 J =and something brutal behaviour to animals er it's a kind of you know, what i can say, [it's

76 popular] for those

77 E [the

78 video this]

79 J some kind of (.) limited groups who want to buy these videos

80 K em

81 J yeah, so why you can see those kinds of videos very they pick some pick up some some young

82 beautiful girls

83 E yeah, [to do some]

84 J [to do some] very very brutal, yeah, very you know inhumane behaviour to those

85 animals, because some of people want to see that

86 K ehm

87 J they make make this video you know the the capture the video for that, and make cds dvds to

88 sell that

89 E uh, maybe just uh (:)=

90 J =[there is a kind of amuse]

91 E [although this kind of] videos are on the internet for the public

92 K yeah

93 E and the public feel shocked by this kind of videos and then the er (xxx-chinese code-

94 switching)

95 J kick, kick the rat [is very high yeah]

96 E [er kick, yeah kick the rats is getting higher and high]=

97 J =yeah, different [aims want to]

98 E [they also drive] by the commercial initiative

99 J commercial initiative or someone

100 E yeah

101 J some you know people, [with very very]

102 E [i think] people

103 J different you know, perspective you know, if you want to er you know if you want to analyse

104 the psychological , someone with very high pressure want very something very different to

105 @@

106 E ehm

107 J yeah

108 E but people go to more and more money worship, because er

109 J it's also a social phenomenon i think yeah

110 E uh

111 K [i think]

112 J [currently] people people suffering from very high pressure, yeah

113 E and the moral standard is getting lower and lower

114 K yeah

115 J in another country, another country in china there are lack of protect er those animals, because

116 this kind of behavior cannot get any punishment by the law

117 K ehm, yeah, yeah that's [the problem]

118 J [so] so they don't suffering from any

119 E because traditionally china don't, china use the er confucianism to control people, and

120 people just obey these things by their nature, they don't need the law to er forbid to do

121 something

122 K you mean the standard of morality was quite high in china

123 E yeah, usual before the history, and the law is so er, the law is lower to the confucianism for

124 some values

125 K ehm

126 E but now because people are getting not obeyed to those values, so we need a law [to]

127 strengthen, to control the people

128 K [yeah]

129 K yeah, i totally agree with you

130 E yeah

131 J use a law to control people?

132 E because the value cannot control people anymore, [people are] getting un-, unobeyed-, violent

133 against er the values, yeah

134 K [so if i]

135 J uh ehm

136 K so now one of the controversial debate in korean society is now the, how can i say, now

137 intensity and frequency of this kind of horrible crime is getting er, increasing more and more

138 E ehm

139 K we don't have any proper law to protect victims and protect young people

140 E yeah

141 K to regulate this crime, so we, everyone says, many people said, say we should change our law

142 to become more=

143 J =strict

144 K more strict [and]

145 E [but] it's not it's [not]

146J [but] there is a law to

147E yeah

148J you know there are some differ-, different

149K for for example, if a criminal abuse the women, which kind of punishment they (.) do they get

150J yeah, we have strong, if the girl belong to eighteen

151K uh, ehm

152J young young [girl] those punishment is very stricter

153K [girl]

154J stricter, stricter yeah, the same same case a woman who are you know older than eightten ,

155 you have the, this kind of law

156K ehm

157J yeah, yeah

158K but this kind of sexual criminal in the case of sexual crime the many er many criminals tend to

159 be, how can i say, (.) they just repeat their crime, repeat and repeat, they just commit this once

160 J you think the law have to stop again?

161K yeah, the problem is the law is just a very, (.) very generous, they [just] punish them with

162 only short term punishment

163E [yeah]

164E they can also, always find some routes to get through the punishment, and sometimes it's hard

165 to prove that they are illegal, and they did illegal things, so even the law cannot punish the

166 people who do some wrong behaviours

167K ehm

168E yeah, it's very difficult

169K ehm

170E and in china now we have, recently i read a piece of news in that we will establish a system of

171 promise across the employ-, employee system (.)

172E because [er] employees are not so loyal to their erm, [company]

173J [uh]

174K [company]

175E they just escape other company without saying anything

176K ah (:)

177E so [they]

178K [without] saying notice?

179E yeah

180K you mean

181E yeah

182K we sometimes they just take some very very secret secret information from=

183 E =yeah
184 K their company and they sell it to the new company
185 E yeah
186 K something like that
187 E it's really a loss to the previous company, so now establishing system to er values of
188 employee's
189 promise, a cre-, credit
190 K ehm
191 E credit
192 J credit, yeah
193 E @@@@
194 K ehm
195 E and it's really sad
196 J you think it's really sad? @@@
197 E (xxxxxx-chinese code-switching) I mean the general standard of the moral is=
198 J =ehm
199 E is decreasing, yeah
200 K ehm

Conversation group 4.

K: Korean, E, J: Chinese, T: Thai

- 1 K so in this situation the the japanese government, japanese people just killed the queen
2 E uh, so [queen]
3 K [may-] maybe many foreigners don't know this historical incident
4 J ehm
5 K but can you imagine japanese government killed the queen er of one of the country,
6 so maybe it's impossible to be =
7 T but at that time was she also very strong? i mean in china also listen to russia
8 E yeah, yeah
9 T at some moment, she express very strong
10 E yes, it is
11 J especially in the communist party
12 T even before, before they already i mean gave a power=
13 J =yeah, yeah=
14 T for russia, i mean it's gonna be more or less in korean time as well, when russia was very
15 very strong
16 K anyway japan should
17 J yeah, it's a kind of coalition
18 K yeah
19 J coalition, get together yeah
20 K yeah, should er take take over korean peninsula to go to, to enter into the land=
21 T the same as us
22 K yeah, china or even any country, they are er the island, so [they are] separated from the
23 main land, so
24 J [island]
25 J have the same same=
26 K =same situation as britain
27 T but i think the concept at that time is not is not similar to today concept of the country, i
28 mean at that time if you were stronger to invade to get the land or=
29 E =yeah
30 T er you can erm you use
31 J at that time
32 T yeah, so i mean only the strongest nations why, something like that
33 K yeah
34 T i mean yeah it's kind of very terrible thing that that made i mean (.) at that time if we were

35 strong, we might did, but we know we are not that one, but the way of terrible it's a
 36 different thing

37 E i think japan learn from western countries that if you are most stronger, you can keep all
 38 the lands as well

39 T but i think the idea is a kind of=

40 E =the the you mean that's not from western

41 T uh, i mean the strongest one is a kind of intra other, control other (.) er i think everywhere
 42 have that kind of idea, it's not new the way just we travel , the western idea, actually we
 43 don't have that idea (.) in in in asia

44 E yeah i think at that time because the the ev-, evolution in japan meiji=

45 K =meiji (.)

46 E revolution

47 K yeah, meiji revolution

48 E yeah, then so many things from the western, and they say that if you are more powerful,
 49 because most, er those countries such as british, er britain, and er=

50 T =france=

51 E =all these, because they are more powerful, so they er control more lands in asia, and
 52 japanfrom=

53 T =indonesia

54 K you know japan did japan did respect britain quite a lot, i mean they have, both have quite
 55 similarities, i mean both countries are island, and they are they are=

56 E =they are

57 K yeah, away from the main land, and so maybe japanese people got a lot of how can i say, a
 58 lot of the intuitions =

59 E =conception from, yeah

60 K conception as the britain's er ruling system [or] everything

61 E [yeah]

62 K because the, even britain was very small country, but they controlled quite obeyed vast
 63 majority of countries, european or africa

64 E yeah

65 E ehm

66 K so japan wanted to learn a lot britain so (.) they made [coalition or some]

67 J [maybe]

68 K yeah, they follow a lot of system

69 J [and]

70 E [but] i think at that time, it's quite complicated, because if er if japan didn't colonise an
 71 asia area

72 K uh

73 E then one of the western countries will colonise us. i think our

74 K ehm

75 E at that time, it doesn't it doesn't matter who you are, it does, er japan colonise us, so the

76 western countries didn't go on to keep the land

77 K uh (:), do you think so?

78 E i think if any other countries have opportunities, they will colonise us

79 K ehm

80 E just s japan did (.) @@@

81 T at that time already i mean it's already passed that time someone tried to colonise

82 something, i mean those kind of not very strong country only for someone hands, so very

83 few country like at that time, mostly china, korea, thailand or something like that they are

84 already for, so when japan decided to invade, but actually i didn't think before what was

85 raised to, relevant to do it

86 K but

87 J want want

88 T but i guess natural resources, because it's kind of a lot of people in small island, so they

89 can't expand anything their, i mean

90 J i think the most of the motivation for japan to invade other country I think is is er resource

91 is really scarce, and yes what I said is the small small island who want more resource

92 [and]

93 T [and one thing that]

94 J other country, asian country is so weak especially china, specially

95 K but you know the (.)

96 J yeah

97 K the nature of the colonisation by western country and japan is completely different, i

98 mean the=

99 J =the nature?

100 K i'm not sure, i don't know fully what their original intention to invade other country, but

101 er er i guess the most western country, the reason (.) the, not reason, mainly when the

102 western country colonise or rule the asian or african country

103 J ehm

104 K the main reason the main intention of their invasion was just to take just get some natural

105 resources, or something like that

106 J ehm

107 K but in japan's case

108 E they want to control the money=

109 K =everything, everything, i mean when they er when they colonised korea (.), they not only
 110 er (.)
 111 J because because i think it's demand become expand-, expansion, you know the first thing
 112 is he just get more resources, and then after he realise 'oh, it's so easy' @@
 113 K ah
 114 J then he [want]to dominate more
 115 K [maybe]
 116 K they just continue to expand their=
 117 J =yeah
 118 K their=
 119 E =power
 120 K power
 121 J power power, expand their power, and near the end of the second world war, er even japan
 122 want to invade america, you know (.) you know
 123 K but i think er er mainly western people wanted to get something from their colonised
 124 country, but [japan]
 125 T [i guess] japan want chinaese land
 126 K but japan want to have korea or country
 127 J [uh, to to establish] what is
 128 E [to be like japanese]
 129 K yeah
 130 J this kind of
 131 K to become completely japanese=
 132 E =i think if they technically control [people's minds]
 133 J [control asian country]
 134 E people's thinking way, so
 135 T but but they didn't do in thailand actually, they they just kind of take resource
 136 J it's not in thai, because @@
 137 K they they (.) they didn't deserve it, i mean they didn't have enough power to [to]
 138 T [probably]
 139 J [because]
 140 K [to spread] their power into thailand, because [they] should focus their [power to korea], or
 141 [some part] of china
 142 J [i] [it's very important]
 143 E [yeah]
 144 T but actually i mean i see from the chinese movie in vietman, when japan ruled yeah a kind
 145 of do something to people in china, but in thailand they they didn't do anything like this

146 E i i think maybe thailand is not their goal
 147 K yeah
 148 J they don't , they don't need to you know all the countries, because they have you know
 149 E they have to [focus on korea]=
 150 J [take advantage] your general location
 151 K =korea
 152 E yeah, korea is a peninsula, and i think japan would think it is easier to er colonise you,
 153 and use another language, use japanese, japanese thinking way, and then control this land
 154 K yeah, actually japan er japan wanted to control everything in korea, i mean they [they
 155 force]
 156 E [they
 157 want]
 158 K us to change our name into japanese name=
 159 J =learn japanese
 160 K not learn, we should we should speak only japanese during that=
 161 J =it's the same do in in taiwan, yeah, it's the same
 162 K it's completely [colonised]
 163 J [to] to to change your history
 164 E [they want to]
 165 K [actually] japanese government wanted to change everything of the ja-, korean people, i
 166 mean they try to change our our=
 167 E =but
 168 K spirit or everything
 169 J yeah
 170 E germany did the same thing to the to er (.)
 171 J uh, yes, other other european countries
 172 E they force force for the people to learn german=
 173 J =german, yeah
 174 T but but actually i mean from from erm germany er lesson i think if something is totally
 175 different, they they like you said, they won't decide to keep, so basically destroy
 176 K uh
 177 T but i guess japan and korea, i mean their feeling they might feel like you are quite similar=
 178 E =yeah
 179 T so it's the easy, the easiest place to turn some way to be japan and korea
 180 E yeah
 181 T i mean compared to china, thailand or whatever, i mean people just look different, but
 182 korea

183 erm it's not the same but still i think it's more similar to japan, i mean, so that that i mean
 184 try try to use the german say in a way of thinking, you're a kind of related to this, so just
 185 let related together or something like that
 186 K maybe japan thought korea is very small country, so they [might]
 187 E [yeah the main course for them]
 188 K yeah, so they might be able to have er, how can i say, [invade] this country, korea
 189 E [they want]
 190 K and then they can move to the [china]
 191 J [china], china [is in a very good position]
 192 T [but i don't believe that] i i don't believe the
 193 location, i mean if korea is not there, i mean if korea is somewhere else, they might not
 194 badly beat them, but i think everything just make sure is they can invade china, i think the
 195 key thing is china
 196 K ehm
 197 T to my understanding
 198 E yeah
 199 T but i i want to make sure everything i mean=
 200 E =around china, it's ok. you can use everything around china, if it's not in china
 201 T if korea is stable, so how can they [travel] to china
 202 E [yeah]
 203 E they want support from korea
 204 K yeah
 205 E and then into the, invade to china
 206 T the location is unlucky, i mean to be in the middle of their=
 207 J =in the middle of yeah
 208 T actually it's quite similar to poland, so one side is germany and another side is russia, and
 209 you go one side to china, one side to japan (.) so when we can't=
 210 J =just keep the country there yeah, it's a kind of battle
 211 E @@@
 212 J between different line
 213 K but i can't imagine how japanese people thought, they can they could invade china
 214 J ehm
 215 K and control china
 216 J for for our
 217 E they think they are=
 218 J =for our history er we learn from something like that because it's a kind of small
 219 party they they they persuade more persuasive to national they have the power to do that,

220 yeah

221 T @@@@

222 J and also he take advantages, some kind of weakness of person-, personality, you know in

223 in during the second world war, er japanese use lots of chinese to have them=

224 E =i think, yeah, yeah

225 J have them do do the the very evil things to their er yeah people

226 E [uh at that]

227 T [uh]

228 J to make them threat chinese government, in that time, it's really really er how to say,

229 there's lots of government in china, there are not uniformed government in china during

230 that=

231 K =uh

232 J from the world war two

233 T but for that time er before that time, china was already very very weak, i mean from from

234 that kind of drug from=

235 E =drug

236 K opium, no

237 E jeonjiyun?

238 T that thing

239 K opium?

240 J from from emperor to to

241 E yeah

242 T i mean everyone=

243 J =at that time, it's a kind of chinese revolution, very big revolution time

244 T but it's best time for japan=

245 J =not uniform, the government you know do do defend

246 E we are forming some

247 J yeah

248 E and then some people in china also want to recover er back, er want to return back to the

249 ching dynasty that

250 K uh

251 T you still have civil war

252 E so (.) yeah

253 J civil war

254 E so they want to control this part of people to have them to into er again go in china

255 K uh

256 T but strategically it's the best time to do

257 E yeah

258 T i mean er japan is strong and china is that weak, it's not the time to win=

259 E =all the western country just come to china, and some=

260 T =at that time, china already (.) @@@

261 T at that time, i mean in japan after the the grand palace was burnt already, right?

262 E ehm

263 T i mean in china those british, france, and germany go there and burnt a big palace in

264 beijing, right?

265 E yeah, yeah

266 T so japan after that i mean at that time

267 E they take advantage

268 J world war, war

269 T uh

270 J yeah, in world war one, british er spanish=

271 T cheonanmoon palace, right? forbidden cheonanmoon palace

272 E yeah, cheonanmoon palace

273 J cheonanmoon palace, yes, yes, yes, cheonanmoon palace yeah

274 E @@

275 T i mean at that time china already a kind of

276 J burnt yes

277 K unstable and very [converting situation, chaotic situation]

278 J [exactly do not bring that, might be the]

279 T yeah, i think they have a very chaotic situation in china at that time

280 E yeah

281 T strategically=

282 E =and japan already have already controlled the north east (.) north west

283 T east

284 E north east

285 J north east of china

286 T should be east

287 E also the=

288 J =the three, er

289 E i don't know

290 J yeah, the three (.) ok, three regions, very big region, it's also also like a very good position

291 like thailand, on the one hand, it can control other part of china, on the other hand, it can

292 can invade russia (.) it is very good situation, and

293 E and this part and they can invade most of the=

294 J =whole dominated by japan, yeah

295 E i'm curious what happened after japan killed the queen in korea?

296 K uh (:)

297 E you will be colonised after that?

298 K uh, i mean they were already, at that time when the queen was (.) was killed by japanese

299 government

300 E [yeah]

301 J [ehm]

302 K and in the middle of colonisation area

303 E ehm

304 K but the problem is it was almost at the end of colonisation and after, ah, even some years

305 later there were some world war two

306 T he was the last king of korea? =

307 K =yeah

308 T the situation [is very similar to china]

309 K [at that time]

310 T the last king of china also end after the win

311 J but the historical life, after our government was established

312 T but it's gone, it's gone, it's not valuable xx

313 J but it was before the second world war

314 T uh, huh

315 K yeah, the the situation, the situation when the queen was killed by japanese government (.)

316 was that many western powerful countries was er (.) was trying to (.) provide their their

317 power into korean peninsula

318 E ehm

319 K so the government, the government was juggling which country, which country we should

320 (.) [more dependent]

321 T [rely on]

322 J [dependent]

323 K and which country we should trust, this kind of thing

324 J uh

325 K so one of the (.) maybe russia, or netherland not german, this kind of countries

326 J ehm

327 K so japan want to (.) want to take out, want to take over this positioning positioing how can

328 i say, positioning fi-, fight or this kind of politi-, unstable political situation, but the queen

329 was queen wanted to (.) get more coalition, the cooperation with russia so that reason why

330 japan killed the queen, maybe after that yeah the political situation was very chaotic and

331 very unstable in korea
 332 E uh (:)
 333 K uh, uh, uh, very sad story @@@
 334 J @@@
 335 E but [i think]
 336 T [it's past]
 337 K yeah
 338 E it's really sad that recently the earthquake happening in japan
 339 K yeah, yeah, yeah
 340 E i think no matter what happened in history (.), we are all human beings
 341 K yeah, we don't yeah we shouldn't we shouldn't blame japanese people, it's only the
 342 government's fault
 343 E yeah, it's a political thing, not people's
 344 K yeah, political, different, so many korean people pray for japan, japan's recovery
 345 J it's disaster for human actually
 346 T yeah, it's for human, it's just happen in japan
 347 J recent years lots of earthquake the biggest one is in china in sichuan, and aother one is in
 348 E and this time the earthquake is two, two hundred times more than the one
 349 T now
 350 K than chinese one?
 351 T japan
 352 J yeah, japan
 353 K yeah, yeah
 354 T nine
 355 J but anyway they have very very good building, yeah
 356 T [earthquake]
 357 J [better than] in china in sichuan province
 358 K uh
 359 J actually yeah yeah
 360 E yeah because=
 361 T it happened quite often, and
 362 J i see in the news the house, many of the house didn't collap-, collapse, yeah
 363 K in=
 364 J =[still]
 365 T [japan]
 366 K japan?
 367 J japan, japan, yeah [most] most of them

368 E [i think]
 369 K over over ten ten thousand people
 370 J people
 371 K were killed already and
 372 E no, no, no
 373 T just imagine it's not japan, i think the number won't be just thousand
 374 J thousand, yes
 375 T I mean it happen
 376 E in china, it's about three thousand, but i think it will go up [because]
 377 K [because many people] are
 378 missing
 379 T yeah
 380 E [many people] are buried on the building, and many people are missing in the tsuna=
 381 K =[tsunami]
 382 E [tsunami], yeah
 383 J but they say the currently biggest er=
 384 K =problem is
 385 J problem is yeah nuclear, nuclear=
 386 K =nuclear
 387 J explosion
 388 K power station for
 389 J power station
 390 K yeah
 391 J it can maybe kill thousand of=
 392 T =now?
 393 J now, currently the nuclear station
 394 T in japan? or korea?
 395 J in japan
 396 T uh, japan
 397 J @@
 398 T i think not japan, but korea @@@
 399 K japan, japan has japan has several nuclear power station, but maybe se-, that several
 400 power station,=
 401 T =seven i think
 402 K seven?
 403 T yeah, it's quite a lot i think
 404 K but maybe three or four are located near [the place] which [where the tsunami]

405 T [in that area]
 406 E [where tsunami], yeah
 407 K was hit
 408 E and they are really good at keeping the er nuclear plants safe, but even they are=
 409 T =strong
 410 E yeah, they still destroyed all of them
 411 J yeah, the incident realise people to think of the another event in russia
 412 T uh, ehm
 413 K ah
 414 T in caped (?)=
 415 J =the whole city currently there is no one stay there, live there actually @ still now
 416 K i can't imagine [how horrible] it is, radiation
 417 E [radiation]
 418 E and there is a website to donate to japan er cross, red cross
 419 J yeah you can see, it also have the yeah
 420 E yeah
 421 J have the
 422 E yeah
 423 J donate to japan
 424 E i have shared that on the facebook
 425 J yeah
 426 E so people
 427 K even in korea, many celebrities have donated money, quite huge money to japan
 428 E ehm
 429 J i think currently the way that influence a lot there is snow in
 430 E did you hear something about er donation from china?
 431 K china?
 432 E yeah, i'm wondering
 433 J donate?
 434 K donation
 435 J donation
 436 T i have seen er china sent a rescue team to japan
 437 J yeah, some of the=
 438 E =uh, really I really heard the government do send rescue team, because it's=
 439 T =ehm, i i actually this thing in bangkok thai government and er japanese ambassador to
 440 thailand, er they say actually they don't want people to go there this time, especially the
 441 rescue team, because the chaos=

442 J =they are also needed yeah
 443 T uh, no, but japan they do have, and basically from that area they can't control those
 444 people, i mean they can go everywhere and japan is not a kind of
 445 J uh
 446 T keen to, i mean hundred thousand people who work in japan, they didn't know who is
 447 whom, or something like that
 448 E yeah
 449 T so in in bangkok they are not to send but something else, send rice or something like that
 450 K yeah
 451 T because they need
 452 K many many korean rescue team already departed to japan, and they are helping
 453 T eh
 454 K japanese people to be rescued
 455 T the greatest news the scotish er rescue team
 456 K yeah
 457 T they have to come back
 458 K yeah, british and even=
 459 E =scotish rescue team=
 460 T yeah
 461 E they separated from british?
 462 T uh, actually it's a kind of scotish they have some rescue team, but they they got issue
 463 about the document from british ambassador (.) ambassador in tokyo confirmed there are=
 464 E =british also
 465 T yeah something like that
 466 E xxxxx
 467 T yeah, but they still need the japanese ambassador to to thailand they see scottish are
 468 chaos, they
 469 K and anyway even japanese is very rich country, but they need more international help=
 470 E =yeah
 471 K from outside
 472 T but to men, i think like country korea, they can help more, because you are more family
 473 the location, er
 474 K you know korea rescue-, rescue [team]
 475 T [rescue team]
 476 K was the first team=
 477 T =arrived
 478 K xxxx

479 T first to be @@@
 480 K to japan
 481 T it's close
 482 K i think er the relationship between japan and korea is quite complicated
 483 T @@
 484 E yeah
 485 K although our past political history is very very bad, but now we have a very strong
 486 relationship, especially in cultural sector, i mean many korean korean movie , or drama
 487 J ehm
 488 K were imported to, exported to japan, and many japanese people like the korean populari-,
 489 korean (.) pop [stars]
 490 J [pop stars] pop stars
 491 K pop stars, so [they they] yeah
 492 J [different situation]
 493 K they act in japan and they have earnd a lot of money from japan, so that's the reason
 494 why many er korean movie or movie stars or singer have donated a lot of money to japan
 495 T i think another thing is if you have to pick one country that people can communicate with
 496 japan, they it's gonna be korea
 497 K yeah
 498 T i mean rescue team or something like that get there, and you speak english and japanese
 499 people, they don't really speak english
 500 K also many migrants from korea (.) lives in japan, and also many er korean students study in
 501 japan, so quite huge population of japan is korean or chinese migrant
 502 J yeah yeah currently
 503 K yeah, it's very sad
 504 J the centre of the earthquake er er it usually have you know (.), it's frequent, the earthquake
 505 there
 506 T in japan?
 507 J yeah, and at that time resources is very rich, so when when bigger er when after, after
 508 earthquake, big earth quake, people are still back to this place, because people have to live,
 509 yeah, it is kind of, yeah
 510 K so maybe about two years ago, 2008 you have sichuan earthquake and the=
 511 J =sichuan
 512 K sichuan
 513 E sichuan?
 514 K yeah
 515 T which one? sichuan?

516E sichuan
 517J sichuan, yeah, sichuan earthquake yes
 518K earthquake had quite huge damage to china
 519J very huge damage, yeah
 520K uh, how many people were dead?
 521E thousand
 522K thousand?
 523J no, no, [ten] million
 524T [ten million, thousand]
 525K [how], how much was the magnitude of it?
 526T [ten million thousand]
 527J eight million , eight million
 528E =eight
 529J eight to er
 530K eight to nine?
 531J nine, nine, eight to ten million
 532T uh, magnitude in china
 533E xxx
 534T i think they
 535J it's ten thousand
 536E really?
 537J no, no
 538T people, right?
 539J ten million
 540K ten-, maybe around eight (.) magnitude?
 541T i think magnitude is less than that
 542K uh
 543J eight, eight level
 544K eight, around eight
 545J in china
 546K i think seven magnitude is very strong
 547J strong
 548T i mean six destroy building, right?
 549K but it was around over nine
 550T yeah, nine
 551J over nine in japan
 552E yeah, [so power] is=

553 K [so it was]
 554 T =stronger, much stronger
 555 E yeah
 556 J much stronger
 557 E hundred times stronger
 558 T i think people died more in china, because the city a kind of more in=
 559 E =intensive
 560 T in [mountain]
 561 J [in mountain]
 562 T so when it has collapsed=
 563 J =this time is also different (.) from china, china yes lots of mountain collapsed, but in=
 564 E =also the building, the quality of building is not so stronger as japan, because japan is er
 565 earthquake country, they can have so many manage to [protect]
 566 J [i think] in in japan the building is
 567 not a problem, but this time [it is]
 568 T [but it]
 569 E tsunami
 570 K tsunami
 571 E tsunami is a real problem
 572 T not, not earthquake it self, but tsunami
 573 E yeah
 574 T i mean
 575 J key problem, so maybe so many yeah
 576 K so is sichuan province southern? or north part of china, which area is it? sichuan
 577 T southern just next to thailand
 578 K middle
 579 E inland
 580 J yeah
 581 K inland
 582 E yeah
 583 K ah
 584 T it's a bit southern actually
 585 E yeah
 586 T it's around burma, thailand, this side
 587 J yeah
 588 K i think but i think the earthquake is not (.) a common natural disaster in china even
 589 J it depends on which part actually

590 T it's not very common, but then

591 J just sichuan you know it is located er [on the] (.) how to say on the

592 K [in the middle of]

593 T xxx @@@

594 K [unstable]=

595 E [earthquake]=

596 J =earthquake is

597 T xxxx

598 J this this area is really active

599 E yeah, they are active part

600 J really active during this and connect to to to japan, the same places, yeah

601 K but as far as i know normally the asian pacific [ring]

602 J [clash]

603 E uh

604 K ring is very

605 J between between this places actually

606 K very weak, have very weak and unstable [geographical base]

607 T [they're covering fire]

608 K but china, this kind of, in the middle of area

609 J area

610 K it's quite far from this asian pacific fire ring? or something like that

611 T the ring of fire

612 K yeah, the ring of fire

613 T erm, that place also earthquake in i think erm (.) just like the country like india, pakistan

614 K pakistan

615 J paskistan

616 T i think the year before [china] already earth-, earthquake in pakistan, and china and

617 pakistan i mean they just have a big mountain in the middle

618 K [ah]

619 J ehm

620 T but actually the same kind of same earthquake then it won't happen, er i mean the the

621 destroy happen in this side, but another is on the same side

622 K ah (:)

623 T but it's more or less the same thing

624 J yeah yeah

625 T that place, earthquake place

626 K does does thailand have any kind of natural disaster?

627 T uh, [actually]
628 K [you have] tsunami before? no?
629 T actually we don't have natural natural disaster, but there is an earthquake in indonesia, it's
630 like japan, it's a kind of the wave, so strong
631 K ah
632 J ehm
633 T because we don't have natural disaster, we don't have the system to to to alert people to
634 beware this thing, so quite a lot of people died at that time, because of wave, but=
635 K =wave?
636 T the wave, the yeah ocean
637 K i see
638 E but you are not really [er near sea], yah
639 T [no, we are not on the peak (?)]
640 T thailand is on the sea
641 E on the sea?
642 T no, no south of soyan (?), thailand is a kind of the land, i mean on the xxxx
643 E vietnam is on the, vietnam is
644 T uh, ehm
645 E all side?
646 T no
647 E or just=
648 T =thailand is a kind of quite long
649 E yeah, i know
650 T here is vietnam and there is two side
651 E so this pat=
652 J =two side of, two
653 T southern of thailand is sea, and both side (.) the southern thailand
654 J both side
655 T both side, but the earthquake here, so we
656 K so thailand is not complete i-, island country? its [half is] connected to the land, the
657 mainland=
658 T [uh]
659 T =thailand is peninsula, actually
660 K ah, peninsula
661 T er, we've got er vietnam, laos, and thailand, burma, and then we've got that one long and
662 we've got malaysia at the end
663 K ah

664 T so at at i mean at the area in bangkok is peninsula

665 K ah

666 T southern of thailand, malaysia, singapore

667 K ah

668 T because we we didn't, i mean we don't have natural disaster so just

669 K uh, it's good, lucky

670 T hundred people, hundred thousand people died i think, but probably half of them is

671 tourist=

672 J =just few years ago

673 T er, yeah, 2004 i think, but among half is still missing @@

674 K but also another serious natural disaster in korea is flood, huge flood

675 J huge flood

676 E uh

677 K flood, big rain during summer

678 J during summer?

679 K yeah

680 J because of [you have lots of mountain]

681 K [during july or august]

682 J yes?

683 K yeah, or how can i say

684 T flood in china, when is, when is=

685 J =specially

686 T when it starts to be disaster, it's also very big disaster i mean (.) flooding, er yangzi, i think

687 E yangzi=

688 T =yangzi river, it's so strong

689 E uh, yeah, yeah and that's why, yeah xx huang he

690 J ah, huang he river

691 K ah, huang he river

692 E yangzi xxx (chinese)

693 K yangzi river

694 E yangzi river?

695 J uh, yes

696 K is the yangzi river the same as whuang ha?

697 E no, no, no, no

698 J no, it's not the same, it's not the same

699 E i mean

700 J different name

701 E yangzi river is in tanjang?

702 J yes, yes

703 K is yangzi river the biggest river in china?

704 J long=

705 K =longest

706 J long river

707 T is the one in shanghai?

708 E [yeah]

709 J [yeah], yangzi river is (.) travelled from, across yeah shanghai=

710 E =we made er a dam

711 T uh, ehm

712 E three gorgeous dam

713 K uh

714 E to to=

715 T =dragon

716 E yeah, to protect the people to er to from er to protect people from flooding, but i think

717 there is another problem from the dam, because the dam is so high, it's about one hundred

718 fifty, fifty around meters, and the mountains on the er (.) mountains er @@

719 J sichuan, actually the dam is in sichuan

720 E yeah, and some people say that the dam maybe will have some relationship with the

721 sichuan earthquake, because too much too much water are contained in this area

722 K ah

723 E and then the

724 J maybe

725 E the geography make, geography base er [influenced yeah]

726 K [it's] to the land,

727 E yeah, maybe

728 J but most of the experts don't think so, because earthquake is a very big natural

729 K uh

730 J human cannot influence, they speak

731 K uh

732 J disaster you know

733 K maybe

734 J it's because applied to this change

735 K anyway, anyway but in the flood season the dam, construction or location of dam can=

736 E =yeah

737 K might be might be able to affect the situation of the flood, I mean it can [cause] landslide

738 J [yes]

739 E yeah

740 J when dam is built, there was no flood that

741 E yeah

742 J but before long ago, usually every every year there was flooding during the huang he river

743 K ehm

744 J yeah, but before also concerned during sichuan earthquake, because if the dam is

745 destroyed, the whole shanghai will will gone

746 E yeah

747 J will will=

748 T =wash away

749 J under the water actually

750 E it's really a problem because if you destroy it=

751 J =destroy it

752 E all the area down this dam will be destroyed (.) and=

753 J =you cannot rule not only in the=

754 E =but if it continue to be like this, er the geography structure will be influenced by this

755 dam, because so much water

756 K ehm

757 E no one knows how to do that

758 T i think in china you have a lot of big dam, recently

759 E this one is the biggest, the world biggest

760 T and also=

761 K =world biggest?

762 E maybe yeah

763 J yeah, it's biggest, biggest

764 E someone said if america want, want to er invade china, you can directly er destroy this

765 dam, and all this everyone will be gone

766 K uh

767 E so

768 J it's the second second biggest, second biggest dam, the first in the egypt (.) egypt

769 K egypt?

770 J egypt, egypt

771 K ah

772 E i don't' know

773 K i forgot the name of river, the nile?

774 T yeah

775 E nile?
776 K nile river?
777 E yeah, river
778 J yeah @@
779 E @@@
780 K anyway after i faced the news of japan's earthquake
781 E yeah
782 K i realised i mean before the news of earthquake, japan earthquake
783 E ehm
784 K not most, not interest, but most serious news was syria's political unrest, i mean syria's
785 political conflict, do you know what it is?
786 J i don't know
787 T i think in=
788 J =political conflict
789 K yeah, i mean now
790 E the=
791 K =it starting from egypt, there are many er er=
792 E =conflict?
793 K middle east countries
794 J ehm
795 K have, country's people have made the movement, the=
796 E =the
797 K more and more political freedom from their dictatorship
798 E yeah
799 J you mean relationship in japan?
800 K no, middle east
801 J uh, middle east
802 E middle east, yeah
803 K ryria, libya
804 T libya, yeah i see
805 E yeah, yeah
806 K saudi arabia, this kind of middle east country
807 J yes, middle east countries are huge
808 K now, syria maybe
809 J yeah
810 T syria
811 E yeah

812 K maybe

813 T [syria] also finding the, libya,

814 E [yeah]

815 K so the dictators of egypt, i forgot the name, but anyway, two or three other middle-,

816 middle east asia, the president just stepped down from their=

817 T =uh, ehm=

818 K position

819 E ehm, they step down=

820 K =now libya, the libya's leader is very strong

821 T gaddafi

822 K he, he never wants to give up his position, even his

823 J currently, the government news of gaddafi is

824 K yeah, gaddafi

825 J currently dominate most of his country

826 K yeah, and he has killed a lot of his people, so maybe many european country or other er eu

827 or countries from u.n., they they made the=

828 E =helping japan, you mean and then

829 K i mean

830 J helping the opponent

831 K this kind of civil war or power relation, this kind of, people can control, but this kind of

832 natural disaster [in japan], we can't

833 E [uh, i see]

834 K so what i can see and what i can learn from this both incident, both situation is=

835 E =human and nature can cause

836 K yeah, so=

837 E =japan

838 K we should respect nature from this incident of japan, but on the other side, this libya

839 people, not libya, libya president, dictator should learn what is important for us and for

840 our future, ,maybe they shouldn't waste their time and waste their effort to just fight to

841 control or this kind of, yeah, very stupid thing, so we should we should spend our time to=

842 E =i think

843 K much more valuable=

844 J =it's a good awaring

845 E it's er=

846 T =power issue i mean

847 E yeah

848 T people are not living=

849 E =people's nature

850 T er the people are willing to take the power, we want to take part in that kind of thing, and

851 very few people interested in power can reach the position and some people=

852 J =interested in some

853 T =yeah, they feel they lose, but they can't lose

854 K but that kind of dictators have control, have that control over thirty years

855 E ehm

856 K over thirty years, can you imagine how long it is, so

857 J yeah

858 T but if you stop now, i mean how about his family, how about , actually i'm not supporting,

859 but i i try to understand why he feel he can lose, so he can't go anywhere, no one will

860 come if he lose his family, relatives, so he just fight

861 K if it's clear even after he step down

862 T uh, ehm

863 K he he should he er he shoul feel 'uh i'm ok, and my family is ok, but'=

864 T =cultural difference

865 E yeah, cultural difference

866 K but why he

867 T cultural difference, i mean they want just ok we finish, this is something like that

868 J but, there is also also=

869 K =dictator, we have quite a lot of dictator

870 J one years ago, there is with a lot of conflict with south (.) east, south korea

871 K uh, uh

872 E [north]

873 J [yeah, north korea], especially last biggest incident

874 K uh, yeah

875 J in the sea

876 K yeah

877 T north korea is

878 J is very very huge ten-, tension

879 K yeah, it's true

880 J yeah

881 T i think when people=

882 J =both side very @ yeah

883 T to me north, i think people so long time, so they are kind of whatever @@ it doesn't make

884 any difference

885 E yeah

886 K but what what we can't control is the north korea @@

887 J north korea

888 T yeah, i understand

889 K i mean in the past way, i mean many korean people want to cooperate each other with

890 north korea, but

891 J but north korea also said we can cooperate, but still break, north korea said er you know

892 criticise south korea says 'you always with america

893 K ah, really? =

894 J =most of them try to

895 K xxx

896 E the problem is the side of north korea, because they insi-, insist on the system of er, north

897 korea (.) er i'm confused, british

898 K but they

899 E communism @@

900 K no, no, no, i mean the communism is ok, but [the problem is dictatorship]

901 E [because]

902 K their communism is not a =

903 E =it's totally extreme

904 K extreme, extreme dictatorship

905 J extreme

906 E yeah

907 K only governed by one family

908 E yeah

909 K for over fifty years, around sixty years

910 J yeah

911 K also even with this dictatorship, but if people are happy and everything is ok, it's ok

912 T [ehm]

913 J [ehm]

914 K but the problem is people die for the hunger

915 T i think the thing is not a problem, the thing is ok, i mean they try to show the picture

916 people are ok

917 K ehm

918 T i mean they see we see differently like like in china, also i mean in the news people are

919 listen something like that

920 E [xxxx]

921 T it's not the same you heard here, i mean i'm not saying this is better, but this is a different

922 view, i mean they show the picture of china, i mean i went to meet my er (.) mother-in-law

923 in (.) in china, china for some time, the news in china just everything is such a good, great,
 924 E yeah
 925 T it's just like er, uh come on have some bad news
 926 E yeah, we have the same feelings, and we know that there are many many bad news, but the
 927 government control the
 928 T they just (.) build the=
 929 J =you went to susi before?
 930 T yeah
 931 J @@@
 932 T i mean probably they know it's just dozen of problem, uh no
 933 E @@
 934 T no, not that, not that great, but i think it's weird they they do, i mean if they exhibit the
 935 problem, you fix the problem
 936 E yeah
 937 T if people tend to refuse it is problem, the thing is fine
 938 J ehm
 939 T so
 940 J it is a problem
 941 T that is problem, because they think =
 942 E =people think they are living in peace, but actually they are so dangerous, and they don't
 943 recognise the er danger thing, so i think=
 944 T =but the thing is it's hard to come from the, they have to feel they have, they are in danger,
 945 and they are, i mean people have to be by themselves basically, if someone try to intrigue
 946 them, it's still to be you take your own idea until they should do , but i don't think the
 947 people are keen to do that
 948 E yeah, i i understand what you mean, people should realise their own right and make things
 949 changed, so
 950 J currently in china,
 951 E the same situation happen in north korea
 952 J north korea
 953 T i think it's more north korea, because chinese people are=
 954 E =open we are
 955 T when when a country begin to open, the people brought or something like that, thing move
 956 (.) pretty quick in in the right order, in the right direction, it doesn't make any chaos, the
 957 thing move , but the north korea they tend to like
 958 E yeah, they do
 959 T we are here, we are=

960 E =conceal eyes
 961 T conceal eyes or something like that
 962 E yeah
 963 K the situation=
 964 E =the situation are similar to er china, for several decades, yeah
 965 T long time ago
 966 E long time ago
 967 K uh, before open door policy
 968 E before open door policy and=
 969 T =see see
 970 K open door policy
 971 T see the way they keep the news to people are quite similar to china, [forty]
 972 E [yeah]
 973 T forty or thirty years ago
 974 J thirty years ago
 975 E i think it's so stupid, stupid
 976 T [yeah] @@@
 977 K i think even in chi-, china now has communism as their political=
 978 T =yeah
 979 K political [system], but your economy is completely=
 980 E [we also]
 981 E =capitalism, yeah you are right
 982 K i think
 983 T but china is only country got (.) capitalism with communism rule, i mean you see=
 984 E =communism
 985 T leader of north korea
 986 E leaders are, they say they believe communism, but all the structure of economy is
 987 capitalism
 988 T but it think it's still true=
 989 K =is it
 990 T true a lot of er er
 991 K i'm quite confused of co-, coexistence of political communism=
 992 T yeah
 993 K and economical capitalism
 994 J our leader changed make our theory to make the rule=
 995 T =it is the only place=
 996 J a kind of challenge, economic capitalism, it's, we don't say it's capitalism, we don't say

997 we we perform capitalism in china
 998 E ehm
 999 J we we say it's chinese style communism
 1000 E @@@@
 1001 J @@@ it is a kind of change [change of]
 1002 E [that's what the media said] @@ [chinese style]
 1003 J [change er] yeah @@
 1004 T but i think you have to be fine in some way it's allowed, i mean [if] it's been
 1005 like north korea, like cuba or something like that
 1006 E [but i]
 1007 E ehm
 1008 T [it's gonna have to change]
 1009 J [we have to actually]
 1010 E ehm, but i think things are better ehm to be like this way, because if we have a
 1011 total capitalism leadership, it won't be so ehm good i think
 1012 K ehm
 1013 E maybe the best thing for us is to have this erm control of them and maybe people
 1014 can make some improvement on this government, not totally er change them
 1015 J ehm
 1016 E not like what happens in libya
 1017 J our leader becomes more practical
 1018 T @@@
 1019 J more practical, let people to live better life first @@
 1020 K but [as] (.) but as
 1021 E [yeah]
 1022 K as people have more (.) more [economic] position, more higher economic position
 1023 in china
 1024 J [desire]
 1025 J ehm
 1026 K maybe they might want to have more political [freedom]
 1027 T [that is] that is the western expect
 1028 K but it's natural human (.)
 1029 E i think [we should] wait all the conditions become mature
 1030 K [human]
 1031 K uh
 1032 E yeah, not now, if now we just er revolute, and all the people will be living
 1033 in chaos, and the economy won't go so fast, we need to [gurance], yeah

1034 K [more control]

1035 E guarantee the environment to grow our economy first (.), not er (.) before=

1036 K =yeah, it's you know true

1037 E so even the western countries criticise us, but our government will ensure us to=

1038 J =the political right is a kind of certain things in in china, yeah (.) @@

1039 T actually i talked this issue with my wife before, er if chi-, if chinese government

1040 allow people to express their own idea without any control, and the situation is

1041 gonna be far worse than in bangkok, when people just we want this, we want this

1042 E yeah, yeah

1043 J actually=

1044 T =i mean by our culture, by our chinese culture, it's still good to control and then

1045 kind of see what kind thing's allowed to do, but i think the western already fancy,

1046 western fancy the thai system allow people to express, but there is chaos all the

1047 time

1048 E [yeah, we see in france]

1049 J [but you think it's er]

1050 E [people all]

1051 J [people] in thailand, even even your prime minister

1052 T uh, ehm

1053 J your prime minister still can be, his government still can be er can be (.) protect,

1054 can be [against], can be against you know the current thai thai er, thaksin

1055 T [against]

1056 T thaksin?

1057 J thaksin, yes, still [still er] recognised by current government as er as=

1058 E [@@@]

1059 E =as a betrayer?

1060 J yeah, betrayer @@ some kind of things, [thaksin]

1061 E [no, no, no], thaksin is in exile, is it?

1062 T yeah, [he's he's in xxx]

1063 J [yeah, xxx]

1064 E yeah

1065 J in other countries, so (.) and usually lots of protesting in in your capital

1066 T yeah

1067 J in in chi-, china's media [point view]

1068 T [it's not allowed]

1069 J we usually er usually see in our media is that how you know that, how how this

1070 kind of disaster tend to to the [normal] people we usually we should consider that

1071 our government lead us to take another point of view to see how you know not
 1072 stable society is @@
 1073 T [it's chaos]
 1074 T i think it's too sad story
 1075 J we don't take human right, this kind of political things and event
 1076 T yeah, i see
 1077 J we just see 'yes, ah it's a very disaster' to, [how] how mess-up in the capital-,
 1078 [capitalism]
 1079 T [but]
 1080 T [but but what you see] from another point of view let people express their feeling
 1081 especially those poor people who think they they know what they want and they
 1082 don't care anything else, the the one this one
 1083 J ehm
 1084 T i think in in some sense, also have to respect them, let them say what they want, let
 1085 them do what they want, i mean=
 1086 J =for party?
 1087 T ah, if we respect the the democracy system, then we have to let them do
 1088 E ehm
 1089 T but it's chaos i'm sure, yeah, so i mean that's why the kind of agree with chinese
 1090 government do that, i don't i don't see actually like this thing, i think it's a
 1091 process to move, [we can't] just er just
 1092 E [yeah]
 1093 T [just] leave your hand and say, so
 1094 E [just]
 1095 E yeah, yeah
 1096 T [just chaos]
 1097 J [but] it more or less influence people's life, influence your economy, you know
 1098 T erm
 1099 J the the whole society is not sta-, not stable, you know
 1100 T it's true, but gain i mean, should should we let people express their idea?
 1101 J uh (.), [but] but make make the government more healthy you mean
 1102 T [@@@]
 1103 T [should] the government should government influence people=
 1104 J [the government]
 1105 J =policy
 1106 T er, no, for for thai, we leave people explain their feeling
 1107 J uh

1108 T so they can do protest, they can do whatever they want, so that's why=
1109 K =you have a prime minister?
1110 T we do
1111 K uh
1112 J prime minister, how curren-, my my curiosity is how er normal majority of
1113 the thailand people see about thaksin
1114 T thaksin?
1115 J thaksin
1116 T uh (;)=
1117 J =he's good, basically he's good man or bad man or=
1118 T =erm,
1119 J you know it's certain
1120 T to me, two side, er bang-, bangkok and er bangkok not east, bangkok and south,
1121 not east and north, for bangkok people for (.) can i say, actually i'm originally
1122 from south, people with education and people with their own idea, they tend to
1123 like this man, because he a kind of have policy er if you have a debt? i mean if
1124 you have borrowed some money, he just say er saw the government pay, er they
1125 give like one million to every village and say so you decide what you like to do
1126 with this money
1127 J ehm
1128 T uh, then uh both bangkok people think that's not right, why not try to make more
1129 effort in education and public health, or whatever, instead of throw money away
1130 into those poor people, that one say another side of small people no one ever ever
1131 before they give money to them, to them no one care about them before
1132 J ehm
1133 T so why we should love someone else who don't care about us, why not we care
1134 about this person who care about us, so it's kind of (01.47.00)
1135 J why why you do not you know run other election? why you=
1136 T =next year
1137 J why why this party, you know, oppo-, opponents you know the kind of
1138 T a number of people are ok, a number of educated people outnumber poor people
1139 J @@
1140 T although we respect democracy
1141 J uh
1142 T one man one rule, it doesn't matter, you are professor, you are not education, you
1143 have one world, right? so basically when you and er have something like one
1144 hundred to to ninety eight something like that so something like that, so er (.) this

1145 year, last year the government the the prime minister he said he wants to keep the
 1146 situation calmfirst, and then we gonna have an election this year. and see again er
 1147 how thing work
 1148 J current government in thailand is just transitaion-, transition government i think
 1149 T traditional?
 1150 J t-, transition
 1151 T transition?
 1152 T erm,
 1153 K transition?
 1154 J transition, yeah
 1155 T not not not really because they have got something two to eight, nine to eight, so
 1156 when when they kick thaksin out, so actually, it's it's not so clear to my
 1157 understanding the king influence, and then a kind of of someone should do
 1158 something for the country, this might be able to
 1159 J uh
 1160 T to (.) to rule the country, but one and two kind of get mad
 1161 J uh
 1162 T so can anyone sacrifice or something like that
 1163 J yeah
 1164 T so with the one and two kind of ten people er they move the party, so from
 1165 nineteen eighty seven we got one hundred eight, so that one got ninety two
 1166 J uh
 1167 T so now another side become the majority, so they rule the country
 1168 K so do you have the regular election? to=
 1169 T = every four years
 1170 K every four years
 1171 T but, uh theoretically the king should not influence the system
 1172 K uh
 1173 T but at that time, [there was a chaos]
 1174 J [but who influence] the system? your king play very key role
 1175 T i=
 1176 J =to balance difference
 1177 T in thailand it's illegal to say, but to my understanding i believe so, i mean he,
 1178 that's why thailand is different from japan, because they are not just symbolic,
 1179 they do play the=
 1180 J =yeah
 1181 T the role

1182 J yeah
 1183 T yeah, they do
 1184 K uh
 1185 T but but they they have to, i mean they have to play safely, if if they do something
 1186 improper or
 1187 J improper
 1188 K uh, i also heard from one chi-, thai friend, the the royal family or the king
 1189 T yeah
 1190 K do some jobs for the di-, the diplomatic (.) the work i mean they can represent
 1191 T yeah, they can=
 1192 K = the country
 1193 T yeah, they can, uh
 1194 K or the domestic domestic politi-, the prime minister dealt with some domestic
 1195 political issues=
 1196 T =yeah
 1197 K and the king deal with some er some the diplomatic, [diplomatic] jobs
 1198 J [diplomatic]
 1199 E oh, so they're involved in politics
 1200 T uh, no no no
 1201 K no? it's not true?
 1202 E [on on the diplomatic]
 1203 T [he's not involved in] politics
 1204 T er, he's not involved in diplomatic, i think it's erm (.) erm, theoretically er
 1205 officially no, the king doesn't do anything, the king only kind of consultant
 1206 K uh
 1207 T but in practical, er yeah he has to take part (.) er
 1208 E er
 1209 T basically [not political], but he er gonna kind of have some policy, how to improve
 1210 this area, how to make thing better
 1211 E [so he can make]
 1212 J uh, they have kind of they have the job, what they do is a kind of bri-, britain, in
 1213 uk
 1214 T kind of yeah
 1215 J uk very close to the, close to the royal family, they cannot do other things actually
 1216 T yeah, in thailand also in thailand also cannot yeah
 1217 J yeah
 1218 T it's more or less the same thing

1219 J yeah

1220 T but I think er the country compare uk to thailand, thailand need more help from

1221 the monarchy than the uk, so far uk i mean seem to be fine, the queen, she's

1222 always in london, otherwise like have some break in scotland, or something like

1223 that, but the king in thailand he has to travel around and then see things how to

1224 make things change or something like that, so still i mean prac-, er theoretically

1225 he doesn't do anything, but practically he did a lot of things, and (.) i mean how (.)

1226 how he gonna play a role and not er take all the government do as well, so it's a

1227 kind of (.) yeah

1228 K ehm

1229 T yeah it's kind of very sensitive thing, and yeah so it's hard to discuss

1230 K political issue is always very sensitive

1231 J yeah, involve lots of lots of concerns

1232 K because we we

1233 J interests, so

1234 K we can't get any any how can i say, er er (.) gathered agreement among people,

1235 different people or different part of members have different opinion [or] different

1236 views

1237 E [ehm]

1238 K so we can't make any=

1239 J =you can't take who is your friend and who is @@ you can't easily take that @@

1240 T yeah, so i think thailand is quite similar to uk, quite similar

1241 J quite similar, but [it's different culture actually]=

1242 E =yeah

1243 T [but it's different as it's] different culture, so here they see

1244 one family, they see like a celebrity or whatever, but in thailand you you can't

1245 criticise,[i mean]

1246 K [anyway] people respect royal family and king

1247 E ehm

1248 T respect?

1249 K respect

1250 T i think most people do respect the king, but the problem, forbidden topic and er

1251 always a kind of very sensitive issue is about the prince, he only have one prince

1252 K uh

1253 T who is expected to be [next] king and he's extremely unfamous in thailand

1254 K [next]

1255 J [ehm]

1256 K [uh (:)]

1257 T but the king himself, er no one has such a issue with him, because he's controlled

1258 for sixty year, more than sixty years

1259 K but anyway the charles prince is very poor, because her mother lives qui-,very=

1260 T =it's the same situation [actually]

1261 K [very long time]

1262 K even the queen is over, it's almost ninety years?

1263 T no, she's eighty two

1264 K eighty two? [only eighty two]

1265 T [but they say eighty] actually=

1266 K =i mean the britain

1267 T yeah

1268 K the queen is over eighty, but she's still very healthy, seems very healthy, so

1269 maybe her her (.) her son charles prince seems more (.) older than her, so

1270 J @@@

1271 K i worried about whether he can do any, he can do any his job during his life

1272 J @@@

1273 T but actually the thai king has been a king er longer than the queen (.), because the

1274 king is already sixty one?, i think the queen is nine-, uh fifty ninety or something

1275 like that

1276 J sixty nine

1277 T two year after

1278 K ah

1279 T so the prince there also got the same situation, it's a kind of shared (?), he he can't

1280 really do much thing

1281 K ehm

1282 T he has to wait for his (.) father

1283 J father

1284 K anyway today's talk was very interesting, because yeah

1285 E yeah, because many things were introduced by you

1286 K yeah

1287 E i know very little about thailand, yeah really

1288 K anyway we talked about a lot more political issues

1289 E @@

1290 K which is not normal topic we are, yeah, we're dealing with, yeah anyway today's

1291 talk was very dynamic and very exciting

1292 E yeah

1293 K because of [new] member
 1294 J [new]
 1295 E knowledgeable man
 1296 K yeah, we learned a lot today
 1297 E and i think you see things quite true, you can see things true?
 1298 T i'm not sure what i can understand is right or not, because still especially when i
 1299 discuss about chi-, china issue with my wife, she's just like
 1300 J @@
 1301 T @@@@
 1302 J quite different culture, but it's very good i think @@
 1303 E so your wife don't, doesn't accept you say something
 1304 T uh, she she does, she does
 1305 E erm
 1306 T but some er think she usually
 1307 E =some principle thing
 1308 T we discuss er things like in the middle east or what-, what so ever
 1309 E ehm
 1310 T but then we begin to talk about china, she just
 1311 E @@@@
 1312 T everything is ok, but not about china
 1313 J but i think people from asia countries has lots in common anyway, even though
 1314 there are so too much col-, conflict when we marry with people from western
 1315 E yeah, do you find any cultural erm, different cultural difference?
 1316 T before i married, i because my blood, my grandparents come from china
 1317 E ehm
 1318 T and one of my grandmom er both from chinese er parent, i mean she doesn't have
 1319 any thai blood
 1320 K ah
 1321 T so I really have like very few thai blood, so i i mean in thailand i can say i'm
 1322 chinese
 1323 J ehm
 1324 T uh, so i i don't believe before married her, because i i thought it's gonna be the
 1325 same, but after the marriage i found actually a lot of things different, and because
 1326 er my aunts they come from something er guangzhou
 1327 E ehm
 1328 T and she's from shanghai
 1329 E uh

1330 T even because chinese, but actually the culture is different

1331 E yeah

1332 T a lot of thing is different, it's not shared in common, i mean the way they believe,

1333 the thing's right or wrong something like that, it's just like uh @@@

1334 E @@@@

1335 J and also a very interesting thing is you know suzhou is very close

1336 T uh

1337 J just take few minutes when you travel to to to suzhou to susi, but the language, the

1338 accent is quite different,

1339 T i heard=

1340 J =i cannot easily understand people who pronounce in usi, usi, you know @@

1341 T and she started

1342 J quite different

1343 E @@

1344 J it's very hard to understand people from different place

1345 T i think the difference is more or less shared, er asian culture i mean like er

1346 something very hard to explain in english language, she get it something, but she

1347 might not accept it like er in thailand we do we do respect er seniority very strong

1348 as korea as well, but in china=

1349 E =seniority?

1350 K yeah, respect=

1351 T =old old people=

1352 E =uh

1353 T younger people

1354 J some

1355 K we we use different language when we spea-, when we speak=

1356 T =yeah to the elders

1357 J uh, really?

1358 E but nowadays it's not so strict in china

1359 T it's still in thailand, and she's a kind of, i don't accept this, this or something like

1360 that just

1361 E yeah

1362 J you say different vocabulary or something to to

1363 K politeness, level of politeness or sometimes different vocabulary for the same =

1364 E yeah, [if i]

1365 K word

1366 E you say solution, solution is different

1367 K solution?
 1368 E yeah, like uh like my=
 1369 J =my @@@@
 1370 E @@@@
 1371 K or the meal is different
 1372 J ehm
 1373 K when we ask 'do you have lunch?' or
 1374 E uh, yeah
 1375 K 'do you have a meal?' [it's] different when we ask to younger and older
 1376 J [ehm]
 1377 E yeah, long time ago in china if you ask old people 'how old are you?', you should
 1378 ask it in another way, uh xx (chinese)
 1379 K ah, yeah we also use different=
 1380 J =different expressions
 1381 E yeah
 1382 J different expression is the same?
 1383 T in thailand=
 1384 J =just just different expression?
 1385 T in thailand, still she's kind of reject or accept that @@
 1386 E yeah, because nowadays we don't have that strong rules to call the=
 1387 T =actually it's not rule, but to to thai we think that [it's a kind of polite]
 1388 E [it's er polite-], yeah
 1389 T so you don't you don't really have to, basically we don't do call people kind of
 1390 thing you are impolite or something like that, and then she just like 'no, everyone
 1391 are equal
 1392 we have to treat everyone the same
 1393 E that's the (.) western mind, westernised=
 1394 T =she just kind of 'no, in china we don't have this kind of thing anymore'
 1395 E ehm
 1396 T just no, we are in thailand
 1397 E @@@@
 1398 J say something she should have more respect to=
 1399 E =yeah
 1400 J senior you know
 1401 T but probably=
 1402 E =if you can become familiar, more familiar, you=
 1403 T =yeah, she has the different thing=

1404 E =when you first meet some old people, you should say something polite?

1405 T yeah i think this(.) just er i mean like er it's hard to explain if you're married with

1406 western people, it's gonna be very hard to explain, but like her, chinese and thai, i

1407 think she she knows, but whether she accept or not is different thing, but she

1408 knows, she she get the feeling she she got the idea about this kind of thing

1409 E uh

1410 K but i think (.) there are clear, the clear similarities er all round the world, i mean

1411 even the language used=

1412 J =different=

1413 K =used in different countries in different cultures might might be different

1414 E yeah

1415 K but the the bottom line of

1416 T eh, ehm

1417 K for example to respect, to show the respect older people, we have similar kind of=

1418 J =static

1419 K yeah, how can i say, the emotional, er emotion or some some sense of respect for

1420 the olders, for example, in the western culture, they normally don't use any

1421 special special word, when when they talk to the seniors

1422 E ehm

1423 K but they still have some kind of a sense of respect

1424 J yeah

1425 K for example, on the bus they (.) they just, how can i say

1426 E they just do it, not er not say it

1427 K yeah, sit down please, something like that, yeah

1428 J ehm

1429 K they yield their seats for the olders

1430 E ehm

1431 K or disabled people

1432 T i think that one is the manner

1433 K manner

1434 T the the manner, but the the way the one er to me i think in western concept, they

1435 they use same, but because if you just do different thing for different aged people,

1436 that kind of er don't know, it's not really racism, i mean a kind of discrimination

1437 to the aged

1438 K uh

1439 T or something like that, so they are kind of try to treat (.) the age is not the issue, but

1440 the connection of people something like that, so er to me put that way but=

1441 E =yeah
1442 T for for asian they give us (?), put the age as as the proxy (?) or something
1443 E yeah, but er when i first come here, i'm wondering if i give my seat to, also old
1444 people @@
1445 T some people they don't like it
1446 E yeah, maybe i'm insulting them
1447 T yeah, yeah, some people, they don't like it
1448 E so i'm always thinking about whether i should give my seat or not @@ yeah
1449 K ehm
1450 E it's different culture
1451 K different culture, yeah (.) different attitude
1452 E ehm
1453 K different mind
1454 E @@@
1455 K thank you thank you so much for coming today, maybe

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