

University of Southampton Research Repository ePrints Soton

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g.

AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Modern Languages

**Study abroad and the development of L2 requests: The development of
pragmalinguistic behaviour as operationalised in request realisations of UK based
study abroad students in Germany/Austria**

by

Denise Kaltschuetz

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2014

ABSTRACT

This longitudinal mixed methods study traces the request development of eight UK based students learning German in Germany and Austria. Although language socialisation was used as an underlying contextual framework, the main focus was on the development of politeness as operationalised in requests, and the factors which may have influenced this development such as the establishment of an L2 identity and membership in communities of practice (CofPs).

Five participants were English native speakers, two had grown up bilingually, one speaking Croatian and English and the other Italian and Twi, and one was a French native speaker. The requests were primarily elicited in semi-structured role plays carried out with German native speakers, yet the participants were also asked to record authentic interactions in service encounter scenarios, expected to lead to the utterance of requests. The role play data, which amount to 144 role plays, were collected before, during and after the students' stay abroad. In-sojourn, the participants were also asked to record authentic exchanges, three of which were used in the present study. In addition, the students were also interviewed pre-in-and post-sojourn (24 interviews) and were asked to fill in an online background questionnaire before going abroad and a language engagement questionnaire while they were abroad.

The role plays were coded based on the CCSARP coding scheme to determine the degree of directness and of internal and external mitigation in learner requests. The authentic data were analysed with Conversation Analysis. The data show a shift towards more directness, i.e. less internal and more external mitigation in-sojourn, thus indicating an adaptation to target community specific language behaviour. However, the degree of adaptation varied partly in line with participants' degree of awareness of differences in linguistic politeness and identification with German society, and partly in line with the extent of their engagement with local CofPs. The variables which mostly influenced the change between pre-and in-sojourn request realisations, were the awareness of differences in linguistic politeness and the successful establishment of an L2 identity. Interaction with the host-community, which did not have a noticeable influence on the general pre- to in-sojourn change data, and awareness of difference in

linguistic politeness, did however impact the change in pre- to in-sojourn request variation.

The CA analysis of the authentic exchanges and the corresponding role plays both show the same preference structure for requests, thus providing researchers in the field with important new validation for role play methodology.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	i
Table of Contents	i
List of tables	v
List of figures	vii
DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Organisation of the thesis.....	4
2 Literature review	7
2.1 Chapter outline.....	7
2.2 Theoretical framework.....	8
2.2.1 Language socialization.....	8
2.2.2 Politeness	9
2.2.3 An overview of politeness theories	12
2.2.4 Identity and communities of practice (CofPs)	20
2.2.5 The relationship between four underpinning concepts: language socialization, politeness, identity and communities of practice.....	28
2.3 Study/ residence abroad	30
2.3.1 Development of pragmatic skills in a study abroad context	31
2.3.2 Development of L2 requests in a study abroad setting	42
2.4 Conclusion and presentation of research questions	47
3 Methodology	51
3.1 Chapter outline.....	51
3.2 Participants in the study	51

3.3	Methodological rationale	56
3.3.1	Role-plays	57
3.3.2	Authentic self-recordings	59
3.3.3	Semi-structured interviews	59
3.3.4	Questionnaires.....	60
3.4	Data collection procedures.....	62
3.4.1	Online background survey	63
3.4.2	Semi-structured interviews (pre-, in- and post-sojourn)	64
3.4.3	Facebook	65
3.4.4	In-sojourn data collection trip	66
3.4.5	Role-plays	67
3.4.6	Naturally occurring data.....	68
3.4.7	Language Engagement Questionnaire	69
3.5	Data analysis methods	69
3.5.1	Interview analysis	71
3.5.2	Questionnaire/ online survey analysis.....	72
3.5.3	CCSARP coding scheme	73
3.5.4	Explanation of coding categories.....	77
3.5.5	Coding categories: examples and explanations	80
3.5.6	Conversation Analysis (CA).....	90
3.6	Chapter conclusion	93
4	Results 1: The development of student request realisations.....	95
4.1	Analysis of request directness data.....	95
4.1.1	Direct strategies (DSs)	96
4.1.2	Conventionally indirect strategies (CISs)	97
4.1.3	Non-conventionally indirect strategies (NCISs).....	98
4.1.4	Overall use of DSs, CISs, and NCISs pre-, in, and post-sojourn.....	99
4.1.5	Variation of sub-strategies (SSs).....	101
4.1.6	Research question 1a and b.....	102
4.1.7	Individual participant discussion	102

4.2	Analysis of request perspectives	114
4.2.1	Hearer dominant strategies (HDSs)	114
4.2.2	Speaker dominant strategies (SDSs)	115
4.2.3	Speaker and hearer dominant strategies (SHDSs)	115
4.2.4	Impersonal strategies (ISs).....	116
4.2.5	Research question 1c.....	117
4.2.6	Individual participant discussion.....	118
4.2.7	Link between request directness and perspectives.....	125
4.3	Analysis of internal mitigation strategies (IMSs)	129
4.3.1	Syntactic downgraders (SDs).....	129
4.3.2	Lexical and phrasal downgraders (LPDs)	130
4.3.3	Upgraders	131
4.3.4	Variation of Internal mitigation sub-strategies	132
4.3.5	Research question 2.....	133
4.3.6	Individual participant discussion.....	133
4.4	Analysis of external mitigation strategies (EMSs)	143
4.4.1	Mitigating supportive moves (MSMs).....	144
4.4.2	Aggravating supportive moves (ASMs).....	145
4.4.3	Variation of external mitigation sub-strategies	146
4.4.4	Research question 3.....	147
4.4.5	Individual participant discussion.....	147
4.5	Overall frequency counts for all strategies	158
4.6	Analysis and comparison of the sequence organisation of authentic	160
	request data and selected role-play data.....	160
4.6.1	Emma: authentic data versus role-play data.....	162
4.6.2	Lucy: authentic data versus role-play data.....	174
4.6.3	Alice: authentic data versus role-play data	181
4.7	General discussion	187
4.8	Chapter conclusion.....	189

5	Results 2: Identity, politeness, and communities of practice.....	190
5.1	Chapter outline.....	190
5.2	Overall linguistic change data.....	190
5.3	Interview analysis	199
5.3.1	Identity in the host community	199
5.3.2	Participant understanding of politeness	202
5.4	Overall profiles of individual participants	210
6	Discussion	219
6.1	Chapter outline.....	219
6.2	The original contribution of the study	219
6.3	Overview of findings	220
6.4	Limitations of the study	226
6.5	Recommendations for further research.....	227
7	Appendix A.....	229
8	Appendix B.....	235
9	Appendix C.....	237
10	Appendix D.....	239
11	Appendix E.....	245
12	Appendix F	247
13	Appendix G	251
14	Appendix H	255
15	Bibliography.....	257

List of tables

Table 3.1 Participant placement details	52
Table 3.2 Overview of data collection tools used during the study	62
Table 3.3 Participant online background survey.....	64
Table 3.4 Coding categories and sub-categories.....	76
Table 4.1 The use of DSs at all data collection points	96
Table 4.2 The use of CISs at all data collection points	97
Table 4.3 The use of NCISs strategies at all data collection points	98
Table 4.4 Overall use of DSs, CISs, and NCISs pre-, in, and post-sojourn.....	99
Table 4.5 The use of different request sub-strategies (SSs).....	101
Table 4.6 HDSs at all data collection points	114
Table 4.7 SDSs at all data collection points.....	115
Table 4.8 SHDs at all data collection points	115
Table 4.9 Impersonal request strategies for all data collection points	116
Table 4.10 Overall use of HDs, SDs, SHDs, and ISs pre-, in, and post-sojourn	117
Table 4.11 Christine: Link between request directness and perspectives	125
Table 4.12 Anna: Link between request directness and perspectives	125
Table 4.13 Sonia: Link between request directness and perspectives.....	126
Table 4.14 Alice: Link between request directness and perspectives.....	126
Table 4.15 George: Link between request directness and perspectives	127
Table 4.16 Lucy: Link between request directness and perspectives	127
Table 4.17 Emma: Link between request directness and perspectives	128
Table 4.18 Andrew: Link between request directness and perspectives.....	128
Table 4.19 SDs at all data collection points.....	129
Table 4.20 LPDs at all data collection points	130
Table 4.21 Upgraders at all data collection points.....	131
Table 4.22 Different IM-sub-strategies at all data collection points.....	132
Table 4.23 Number of MSMs at all data collection points	144
Table 4.24 Number of ASMs at all data collection points.....	145
Table 4.25 The use of EM sub-strategies at each data collection point.....	146
Table 4.26 Frequency counts for all strategies	159
Table 5.1 Difference between all linguistic frequency and variation types pre-and in-sojourn	193

Table 5.2 Differences between pre-and in-sojourn totals for all request strategies.....	194
Table 5.3 Summary of all linguistic frequency types and variation pre-in-sojourn	196
Table 5.4 Language engagement questionnaire responses	198
Table 5.5 Participant profiles: overall linguistic strategies excluding variation.....	211
Table 5.6 Participant profiles: variation 1	215
Table 5.7 Participant profiles: variation 2	217

List of figures

Figure 4.1 Comparison of DSs to CIS and NCIS use	100
Figure 4.2 Christine directness level.....	103
Figure 4.3 Christine request variation.....	104
Figure 4.4 Anna directness level.....	105
Figure 4.5 Anna request variation.....	105
Figure 4.6 Sonia directness level	106
Figure 4.7 Sonia request variation	107
Figure 4.8 Alice directness level.....	108
Figure 4.9 Alice request variation.....	108
Figure 4.10 George directness level.....	109
Figure 4.11 George request variation.....	109
Figure 4.12 Lucy directness level	110
Figure 4.13 Lucy request variation	111
Figure 4.14 Emma directness level.....	111
Figure 4.15 Emma request variation	112
Figure 4.16 Andrew directness level.....	113
Figure 4.17 Andrew request variation.....	113
Figure 4.18 Overall use of request perspectives	117
Figure 4.19 Christine request perspectives	118
Figure 4.20 Anna request perspectives	119
Figure 4.21 Sonia request perspectives.....	120
Figure 4.22 Alice request perspectives	121
Figure 4.23 George request perspectives	122
Figure 4.24 Lucy request perspectives.....	122
Figure 4.25 Emma request perspectives	123
Figure 4.26 Andrew request perspectives	124
Figure 4.27 Christine internal mitigation main categories.....	134
Figure 4.28 Christine internal mitigation variation.....	134
Figure 4.29 Anna internal mitigation main categories.....	135
Figure 4.30 Anna internal mitigation variation.....	135
Figure 4.31 Sonia internal mitigation main categories	136

Figure 4.32 Sonia internal mitigation variation.....	136
Figure 4.33 Alice internal mitigation main categories	137
Figure 4.34 Alice internal mitigation variation	138
Figure 4.35 George internal mitigation main categories	138
Figure 4.36 George internal mitigation variation	139
Figure 4.37 Lucy internal mitigation main categories.....	139
Figure 4.38 Lucy internal mitigation variation.....	140
Figure 4.39 Emma internal mitigation main categories.....	141
Figure 4.40 Emma internal mitigation variation	141
Figure 4.41 Andrew internal mitigation main categories	142
Figure 4.42 Andrew internal mitigation variation	143
Figure 4.43 Christine supportive moves.....	148
Figure 4.44 Christine supportive moves variation.....	148
Figure 4.45 Anna supportive moves.....	149
Figure 4.46 Anna supportive moves variation.....	150
Figure 4.47 Sonia supportive moves	150
Figure 4.48 Sonia supportive moves variation	151
Figure 4.49 Alice supportive moves.....	151
Figure 4.50 Alice supportive moves variation.....	152
Figure 4.51 George supportive moves.....	153
Figure 4.52 George supportive moves variation.....	153
Figure 4.53 Lucy supportive moves	154
Figure 4.54 Lucy supportive moves variation	155
Figure 4.55 Emma supportive moves	155
Figure 4.56 Emma supportive moves variation.....	156
Figure 4.57 Andrew supportive moves.....	156
Figure 4.58 Andrew supportive moves variation	157

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Denise Kaltschuetz, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Study abroad and the development of L2 requests: The development of pragmalinguistic behaviour as operationalised in request realisations of UK based study abroad students in Germany/Austria

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. 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;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:.....

Acknowledgements

Although writing a thesis can be a very solitary experience, it is not achieved in isolation. Special thanks go to my supervisor Prof. Rosamond Mitchell, who made me focus on what was important when I was lost in data and who would answer all my questions every step on the way. I am also very grateful to my advisor Prof. Patrick Stevenson, whose expertise regarding conversation analysis greatly contributed to the analysis of all naturally occurring data in my thesis.

This project could not have been carried out without the help of eight students who volunteered to participate in this study and who consequently spent a lot of time on tape recording encounters and being interviewed by me. I am also very indebted to my colleagues who helped me carry out the role-plays and to the students and friends at the University of Southampton who agreed to participate in the pilot tests for all data collection methods.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my friends for their constant support and encouragement. I would like to thank my friend Carmen Gaete-Mella for her help with the Nvivo coding and input on coding categories as well as her emotional support in difficult times; my friend Katy Heady for proofreading certain chapters and listening to my PhD woes; my friend Fatima Baig for sharing her PhD experiences with me and being there for me when I needed her; my friend Jenny Carl for her calming influence and expertise regarding all things PhD; my friend Jane Middlebrook who finished her degree at the same time and could thus fully relate to all the challenges a PhD student has to master; my friend Günther Roth for his continuous support and cheerfulness and for believing in me.

I would also like to thank my partner Janne Rättyä for his patience, understanding and interest in my research, and my parents for their support and enthusiasm. Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother Evelyne Kaltschütz.

Abbreviations

ASM	Aggravating supportive move
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns
CIS	Conventionally indirect strategy
CofP	Community of Practice
DS	Direct strategy
EMS	External mitigation strategy
EM-sub-strategy	External mitigation sub-strategy
HDS	Hearer dominant strategy
IMS	Internal mitigation strategy
IM-sub-strategy	Internal mitigation sub-strategy
IS	Impersonal strategy
LPD	Lexical and phrasal downgrader
MSM	Mitigating supportive move
NCIS	Non-conventionally indirect strategy
SA	Study abroad
SD	Syntactic downgraders
SDS	Speaker dominant strategy
SHDS	Speaker and hearer dominant strategy

1 Introduction

Students who go abroad, it is claimed, develop greater personal maturity, first-hand knowledge of other lands and peoples, commitment to civic engagement, and intercultural awareness fostering mutual understanding among nations (Kinging, 2009:5).

In the age of globalisation, student mobility has increased dramatically. An ever growing number of students spend one or two semesters abroad on work placements or as part of a student exchange programme. This sojourn abroad is thought to broaden students' minds by exposing them to a new culture and language yet while it was initially believed that intercultural competence and language skills were miraculously going to improve simply by spending time abroad, research on language proficiency and pragmatic competence in study abroad students has shown this assumption to be too simplistic.

The three main foci of study abroad research to this day have been the development of linguistic skills (Freed, 1995, Freed, 1998, Collentine, 2009) and pragmatic competence (Kinging, 2008) as well as the establishment of an L2 identity in the target community (Kinging, 2004, Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). Early research carried out in a study abroad setting was predominantly outcome oriented (Carroll, 1967, Huebner, 1995), measuring linguistic gain in all language competencies. The results showed great differences in linguistic improvement which begged the question why students, who were seemingly exposed to a very similar study abroad experience, developed in such different ways. While grammar improvement does not necessarily take place abroad, most students do develop sociolinguistic and pragmatic skills (Regan et al., 2009, Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei, 1998).

Exactly what happens during study abroad and how this translates into linguistic change has led researchers to investigate a large range of possible factors, or as Kinging (2009:5) put it: "The design of research on language learning abroad [...] confronts the investigator with a bewildering array of variable features, from the identities, motives, or desires of the learner to the range of chance or deliberate encounters presenting opportunities to learn."

These variables have largely been studied in isolation, e.g. the impact of sociocultural awareness on sociolinguistic skills (Marriott, 1995), or the influence of motivation and identity on linguistic gain (Norton Peirce, 1995, Kinginger, 2008), to name but a few, yet the study abroad experience is complex and calls for a more holistic approach. This is what the present study endeavours to do by investigating the influence of sociocultural factors such as identity in the L2 community, interaction with the host community, awareness of differences in politeness, and student L2 proficiency, on request development.

The speech act of requests was chosen not only because it has been researched in depth but because it was expected to change perceptibly during study abroad (see section 2.3.2). Previous study abroad research has shown that pragmatics is one factor which almost always improves when abroad (Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei, 1998). The study abroad experience was not only seen as a likely context for the improvement of pragmalinguistic speech behaviour, but it also allowed for an analysis of the influence of independent variables such as L2 identity, politeness skills and integration with the host community on request development.

The act of requesting always contains face threatening elements and learning how requests are carried out in the target community is not straightforward. Knowing the right words to make the request is not enough. Behaviour and language may change depending on what we are asking of whom and why. Thus requesting draws on a whole repertoire of pragmalinguistic skills which students seem to develop at different rates and to a different extent.

The first three research questions (RQs) of the present study address the linguistic aspects of request development in a study abroad setting by focusing on change in request directness/ perspective and the extent of internal and external mitigation and variation thereof. RQ 4 focusses on the sequence structure of requests to determine whether there are any differences between requests produced in role-plays and in authentic data, but also to highlight pragmatic problems within L2 requesting episodes, and how these are overcome. RQ5 investigates whether there is a link between contextual and identity factors and pragmalinguistic change. The complete set of RQs is as follows:

1. How do the request realisations of advanced students of L2 German change over time (i.e. before, during and after a sojourn abroad) regarding
 - a) the directness level of requests used
 - b) the variation in directness strategies and
 - c) the change in request perspectives?

2. a) To what extent are student requests internally mitigated before, during and after their sojourn abroad?
b) Does the variation in internal mitigation strategies change during study abroad (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)?

3. a) To what extent are student requests externally mitigated before, during and after their sojourn abroad?
b) Does the variation in external mitigation strategies change during study abroad?

4. What differences are there in the way the participants “orient to the preference structure for requests” (Kasper, 2009:34) in role-plays and in authentic exchanges? Are the role-plays and the authentic data samples equally valid sources of data?

5. Do learner identity, the engagement in communities of practice and/ or the participants’ perception of politeness when abroad influence pragmalinguistic developments?

To answer these research questions, a group of study abroad participants were asked to act out role-plays pre-, in- and post-sojourn and to record natural data while they were abroad. The role-plays allowed for a certain degree of standardisation in that the degree of imposition, social distance and the power differential could be changed. The authentic data the students were asked to record was used as a validity check for the role-plays but also to investigate potential pragmatic problems and the sequence organisation of requests (Schegloff, 2007). The linguistic change observed in the role play data was analysed using a modified version of the well-known CCSARP coding scheme (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) which analyses requests based on their level of directness and the extent of external and internal mitigation. Conversation analysis (CA) was used to compare the sequence structure of the authentic to that of the role-play data.

To determine which factors may have influenced differences in request development, students were interviewed before, during and after their stay abroad. These interviews aimed at getting a better understanding of what students thought politeness was and whether it was done differently in the UK and in Austria/ Germany, but also how far they felt they were part of the host community. Participants also completed a questionnaire to document their interaction patterns and engagement with local communities of practice (CofPs).

This is therefore a longitudinal mixed methods study with extensive coding based on the CCSARP coding scheme and thus on speech act theory. The naturally occurring data was analysed with CA while the interviews were coded qualitatively and the language engagement questionnaire quantitatively.

1.1 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter 2 (literature review) introduces the theoretical framework applied in the present study. While language socialisation is the underlying framework, politeness theory, identity and communities of practice (CofPs) constitute the actual focus of this project. The discussion of existing politeness theories and a more detailed description of those relevant for the present study is followed by a section on identity and whether it is innate or a fluid construct which develops in interaction. The chapter closes with an overview of pragmatic research carried out in a study abroad setting, and a rationale for the RQs of this study, arising from the earlier discussion.

Chapter 3 (methods chapter) starts with a pen portrait of all participants and then talks about the methodological implications concerning the use of role plays, semi-structured interviews, and questionnaires. The next two sections deal with data collection and analysis methods.

In the first of two results chapters (chapter 4) detailed data analyses comprising both linguistic developments and the change in variation of all sub-strategies are presented, so as to address RQs 1-4. The analyses comprise request directness and perspective, internal mitigation strategies (IMSSs), external mitigation strategies (EMSSs), an overall frequency count of all strategies, and an analysis and comparison of the sequence organisation of the authentic request data to a selection of the role play data.

Chapter 5, the second results chapter, presents findings concerning participants' evolving L2 identities, their perceptions of differences in politeness, and access to CofPs. This information is related to linguistic change observed in-sojourn, in order to address RQ 5.

Chapter 6 (discussion chapter) discusses all results in light of the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 2.

2 Literature review

2.1 Chapter outline

The first main part of this chapter (2.2) introduces the overall theoretical framework used to account for L2 pragmalinguistic development in the present study of German learners undertaking study abroad. It starts with a definition of language socialization and then briefly talks about L2 language socialization and why it lends itself to the analysis of pragmatic development in a study abroad context (section 2.2.1).

The next section (2.2.2) introduces the topic of politeness and section 2.2.3 gives a short overview of existing politeness theories. It ends with the approach towards politeness used to interpret the data of this study.

Identity and communities of practice (CofPs) are the final theoretical constructs introduced in section 2.2.4. After an outline of different approaches towards identity, and how social identities develop within communities of practice, the terms “habitus”, “capital”, and “investment” and their relevance for this study are explained. The section closes with a discussion of recent research on how identity issues influence L2 development. In section 2.2.5, the relationship between language socialization, politeness, identity and communities of practice as underpinning concepts for this study is explained.

In the second main part of this chapter (2.3), empirical studies on pragmatic development in a study abroad context are reviewed and analysed from a language socialization perspective (2.3.1). A brief history of pragmatics is followed by a review of studies on request development in a study abroad setting with a focus on the methodologies used to elicit data as well as a discussion of the analytical tools applied to interpret the findings (see 2.3.2).

The final part of the chapter (see 2.4) draws overall conclusions and introduces the research questions of the study, grounded in the theoretical framework which has been developed.

2.2 Theoretical framework

2.2.1 Language socialization

Since the present study takes place in a study abroad context, with students interacting with German native speakers and participating in communities of practice, the most appropriate underlying theoretical framework was judged to be that of language socialization (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1986, Ochs and Schieffelin, 2001). With respect to second language learning, language socialization is concerned with how L2 learners are socialised into language use appropriate for the target community and how these interactions help them claim a place in this new society where learners feel they are legitimate L2 speakers (Norton, 2000, Norton Peirce, 1995) .

As language socialization is about specific target language behaviour, it offers explanations for pragmatic development as well as the development of politeness patterns and L2 identities (Čekaitė, 2006). Although this is not an ethnographic study, there is sufficient evidence of how the participants behaved in their respective communities of practice (CofPs) for language socialization theory to be relevant. The main focus of this study will be on request development and politeness, but also on communities of practice and identity as the main factors believed to influence the development of pragmalinguistic skills in the participants.

Here I briefly talk about language socialization as underlying theoretical approach. In following sections I concentrate on politeness and identity development within communities of practice (CofPs).

Although language socialization was first primarily applied in L1 acquisition (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1986), researchers in SLA have also discovered the applicability of this paradigm to descriptions of the process of L2 acquisition (Duff, 2007, Duff, 2008, Cekaite and Aronsson, 2004).

At the heart of language socialization is the idea that speakers of a language, whether it is their L1 or L2 can only acquire communicative competence by interacting with expert members of a group.

“Language socialization” refers to the process by which novices or newcomers in a community or culture gain communicative competences,

membership, and legitimacy in the group. It is a process that is mediated by language and whose goal is the mastery of linguistic conventions, pragmatics, the adoption of appropriate identities, stance [...] or ideologies, and other behaviours associated with the target groups and its normative practices. (Duff, 2007)

However, it is also recognised that ‘newcomers’ are not just recipients of the information they gain in these encounters, but active agents who make their own decisions on how to use it (Barron, 2001). Thus language socialization encompasses all social aspects of the L2 learning experience, from establishing an appropriate L2 identity, to social integration and the development of L2 pragmatic practices. As mentioned before, it is these three aspects that the theoretical framework of the present study is going to be based upon. Since this study is investigating the development of pragmalinguistic skills as operationalized in requests, the relatively vast field of L2 pragmatic behaviour can be narrowed down to “politeness” and to what extent politeness practices are influenced by factors such as social identity and the degree of integration in the host community.

In the following section, I am going to give a brief overview of existing theories of politeness and explain why I chose a very discursive approach toward politeness (Kasper, 2009) for the present study.

2.2.2 Politeness

Much of what has been written on linguistic politeness is based on the idea that every verbal exchange follows certain underlying principles which guide us through a conversation. Grice (1975), f. ex. thought that discourse participants followed four Maxims when talking to each other. He called these rules the Cooperative Principle (CP) and they consist of four Maxims which he defines as follows: Maxim of Quantity (“Make your contribution as informative as is required”, p 45), Maxim of Quality (“Do not say what you believe to be false”, p 46), Maxim of Relevance (“be relevant”, p 46), and Maxim of Manner (“Be clear, brief and unambiguous”).

The belief that all conversations are based on these Maxims ultimately led to the formulation of the Cooperative Principle (CP) which is

Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. (Grice, 1975)

While this sounds rather prescriptive and indeed there are researchers who have pointed out that “natural conversations do not proceed in such a brusque fashion at all” (Brown and Levinson, 1987:95), others like Davies (2000) argue that the CP is based on naturally occurring conversation and that Grice was not trying to provide the speaker with a set of rules he would have to follow to successfully communicate, but that through observation he arrived at the four Maxims which on the one hand characterize speech and on the other are the expectations we have when listening to a speaker.

Grice was aware of the fact that discourse participants do not always follow his Maxims and explained this with the participants’ wish to convey (implicate) information by deliberately “breaking” the Maxims. An “implicature” can thus be created by violating the Maxims by “opting out, violating, clashing, and flouting” (Lindblom, 2001:1603).

“Opting out” refers to the conscious choice not to adhere to the Maxims by f. ex. announcing “I cannot say more; my lips are sealed” (Grice, 1975:49) a speaker indicates that he is not going to adhere to the Maxim of Quantity.

Maxim clashes refer to the situation when a speaker gives one Maxim preference over another, like in the following example where the Maxims of Quantity and Quality clash:

Susan is driving Peter to Angela’s house.

Susan: Where does Angela live?

Peter: Alaska

.

In this case, the Maxim of Quantity is violated by Peter since he does not provide Susan with Angela’s exact address but with a much broader explanation of where she lives. Another example of “flouting” the Maxim of Quantity are tautologies such as “boys will be boys” or “women are women” (Grice, 1975:281). Since they do not impart the necessary amount of information, it is the choice of tautology that implicates information.

An implicature can also be achieved by violating a maxim, f.ex. guest A at a party states that a certain person is an “old bag” (Grice, 1975:283) whereupon his conversational partner B makes a remark about the weather. According to Grice, this is a violation of the Maxim of Relevance, since B refuses “to make what *he* says relevant to A’s preceding remark” (Grice, 1975:283). By doing so, B implies that he feels A’s remark is inappropriate and that he has committed a faux pax.

All in all, Grice suggests that if an utterance is not clear and unambiguous, the hearer does not automatically think that what has been said is “nonsense” (Davies, 2000:2), but tries to find an alternate meaning. So, not adhering to the Maxim of Manner (“Be clear and unambiguous”) in the following example leads to the formation of an implicature:

A: Is there another pint of milk?

B: I’m going to the supermarket in five minutes.

(Davies, 2000:2)

Here, although speaker A does not explicitly say that he wants a pint of milk, speaker B infers as much and answers by saying that he will go to the supermarket (to get some). If the CP was about clarity, or pure information transmission (Eelen, 2001), it could most definitely not be applied to this case, but what Grice suggests is that there is an “accepted way of speaking” involving implicature (Davies, 2000:2). We assume that the four Maxims are in place, meaning that what is said is true, that only what is required is said, not more, that it is relevant and clear. If this was not assumed, no interlocutor would make the effort to interpret a speech act.

Thus, the CP does not state what rules speakers should follow to communicate. It tries to capture the characteristics of the “accepted way of speaking” with its four Maxims.

Much of what has been written on politeness is based on Grice’s CP, claiming that speakers flout a Maxim in order to be polite. If somebody is vague when requesting things, he flouts the Maxim of Manner and forces his interlocutor to make inferences about what it is he actually wants.

Grice’s CP has mainly been criticized for its claiming to be universally applicable and for the way in which Grice bases his CP on cooperation. In *Logic and Conversation* (1975:45) Grice argues that

Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are, *characteristically, to some degree at least*, cooperative efforts. (*My emphasis*)

Kasher (1976:214) points out that if cooperation is “contrary to a speaker’s interest”, it cannot be the sole trigger for information transmission through implicatures. Kasher thus proposes the Rationalization Principle which is based on the idea that the only reason for a talk exchange is relevance, which again is one of Grice’s Maxims. Davies (2000) argues that the term “cooperation” as used by Grice has commonly been misinterpreted, and that Grice gave rationality preference over cooperation, as shown in the above mentioned excerpt from *Logic and Conversation*. Davies claims that the main emphasis is on rationality which is also expressed linguistically through the “strongly hedged” (Davies, 2000:18) (see emphasised part of quotation above) references to “cooperative efforts”. She further argues that the CP was only called the cooperative principle because Grice saw “cooperation as the necessary outcome from the application of reason to the process of talk.” (Davies, 2000:19).

Since cooperation is a prerequisite of politeness, researchers such as Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987) partly base their theories of politeness on Grice’s Cooperative Principle.

2.2.3 An overview of politeness theories

In this section, I am going to give an overview of existing politeness theories. The comparison of politeness theories is necessary to understand why the theory chosen to explain the findings of the present study is better suited to do so than other approaches towards politeness. This sections start with theories which are directly based on Grice’s maxims before proceeding to those theories which adopt a more discursive approach towards politeness.

Lakoff (1973) amalgamates Grice’s four Maxims into one. She then introduces one Maxim of her own, namely “Be polite” which is subdivided into “Don’t impose”, “Give options”, and “Make A feel good, be friendly” (Eelen, 2001:3). Depending on the cultural background, one rule is given preference over the other which, according to

Lakoff, leads to the application of different strategies such as Distance (for don't impose), Deference (give options), and Camaraderie (make A feel good, be friendly). Lakoff then defines the strategy of Distance as an impersonality strategy and claims that it is mostly present in European cultures, while Deference (or hesitancy) and Camaraderie (informality) are more common in Asia and the US respectively.

Leech's politeness theory (1983) also draws heavily on Grice's CP, adding six Maxims to the already existing four: Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement, and Sympathy. These six Maxims form his Principle of Politeness.

Brown and Levinson (1987) partly base their theory on the Gricean framework which, for them, is the unmarked way of speaking. In order to do politeness, however, discourse participants deviate from the CP. Three criteria determine the extent of politeness that is used in conversation: P (the perceived difference in power between speaker and hearer), D (the perceived social distance), and R (how face-threatening a particular speech act is seen in a certain culture, its "cultural ranking").

Central to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness is the concept of face which they claim consists of "two specific kinds of desires ('face-wants') attributed by interactants to one another" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:13). One is the notion of negative face, or "the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions", and the second is the idea of positive face, defined as the wish "to be approved of" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:13). The notion of "face" is universal, but dependent on the cultural context with regard to what acts are considered face threatening.

Based on this theory, individuals are thought to have a positive and a negative face and, depending on cultural background, one is given preference over the other. Brown and Levinson (1987:61) base their definition of face on Goffman's, who describes "face"

as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself (Goffman, 1967:5).

Based on this definition, face is not stable and unchangeable, but something that we construct in the course of an interaction. Although Brown and Levinson (1987)

claim they base their notion of face on Goffman's and on the general concept of face, which is mainly used in the context of losing face, or feeling embarrassed, their idea that all speakers and addressees are "rational agents" and have face wants that can only be satisfied by others implies an understanding of face which is different from Goffman's in that it assumes face to be inherent in the speaker.

While the definition of negative face - "the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions" - can be subsumed under the traditional concept of politeness, positive face or the wish "to be approved of" is less clear at first sight. Brown & Levinson (1987:62) define positive face as the "most salient aspect of a person's personality in interaction". It is what we want from others in an interaction, or "the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired." This wish depends to a certain extent on who we interact with and the cultural context of our actions.

Keeping the face wants of both speaker and addressee in mind, communication can become somewhat of an obstacle race. There are however acts that, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), are inherently face threatening such as requests. Requests threaten the addressee's negative face wants, thus restricting the addressee's actions.

Yet the speaker has the option of carrying out a request "off record", for example through the use of hints. By saying: "Oh, it's freezing in here", the speaker tries to get the hearer to switch on the central heating. Since this hidden request is formulated like a statement, hearer failure to interpret it as such does not, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), result in face threats which are as severe as if a direct request strategy had been used.

This idea of varying levels of directness has been taken up by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) in their Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP) coding scheme. Although this coding scheme was created to code requests and apologies, I will only talk about the coding of requests since these categories were used to analyse requests in the present study.

Since the level of directness of the request plays a central part in this coding scheme, it is necessary to explain what Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) mean by it, namely "the degree to which the speaker's illocutionary intent is apparent from the locution" (p 278), with illocutionary intent being the speaker's intention when making an utterance (locution). They further claim that directness "is related to, but by no means coextensive with, politeness" (p 278). While this is different from the Brown and Levinson approach which states that decreasing directness leads to politer requests, it is

still far from a fluid approach towards politeness since Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) still very much adhere to the interpretation of isolated speech acts.

The basis of the Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) approach towards politeness regarding requests is the idea that there are two kinds of indirectness: conventional and non-conventional indirectness. Conventionally indirect strategies are used to “realize the act by reference to contextual preconditions necessary for its performance as conventionalized in the language” (p 47). A query preparatory request strategy, f. ex., belongs to the category of conventionally indirect strategies (“Could you tidy up the living room please?”).

Non-conventionally indirect strategies on the other hand are dependent on the interpretation of the recipient and are as such much vaguer. Examples of non-conventionally indirect request strategies are strong and mild hints, e.g. the strong hint: “Your room looks like a battlefield”.

Blum-Kulka (1987:132) states that “politeness seems to be associated” with conventional indirectness, or to use a Brown and Levinson term here, “on record” indirectness, and less with non-conventional indirectness. She thus claims that politeness is “the interactional balance achieved between two needs: The need for pragmatic clarity and the need to avoid coerciveness. This balance is achieved in the case of conventional indirectness [...]” (Blum-Kulka, 1987:131).

Although this view of politeness is not shared in the present study (for an explanation of the approach toward politeness used in this study see end of section 2.2.3), the coding scheme per se is very useful in that it allows the researcher to code requests based on the degree of internal and external mitigation, the level of directness and the semantic components involved in the formulation of the request. It also helps to quantitatively visualise usage patterns and developments at different data collection points. Changes in these patterns, if they occur in-sojourn, can be interpreted as an attempt by residence abroad participants to adjust to the pragmalinguistic language behaviour of the host community and as such as a form of politeness.

Internal and external mitigation refer to the upgraders or downgraders (or boosters and hedges) used to internally modify a request (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), e.g. “Can you clean the carpet *a bit*?” Here, “A bit” is an understater which is used to lessen the intensity of the request.

From the point of view of directness, this request would be conventionally indirect. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) call this form of request a query preparatory, which are utterances used to see if the addressee is able and/or willing to grant a request.

A speaker could also use semantic components before or after the actual headact (see 3.5.5.3 for an in-depth explanation) to mitigate the force of the request externally. So in the case of the above example, someone could have used a “disarmer” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:288) such as “I know you have been very busy lately but...” before uttering the actual request.

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) distinguish between direct, conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect strategies. The first category consists of mood derivables, performatives, hedged performatives, obligation statements and want statements.

A “mood derivable” describes a request where “the grammatical mood of the locution conventionally determines its illocutionary force as a Request” (p 279). The best example of this is the imperative form, such as “Get out of here!”. In this particular case, the locution, or “the actual words uttered” (Thomas, 1995:49) and the illocution (“the force or intention behind the words, p49) are the same and it is most likely that the perlocution, or “the effect of the illocution on the hearer” is that he will leave the room etc. The imperative “Get out of here”, makes it clear that this utterance is a request. Yet the illocutionary force (i.e. the speaker’s intention when saying something) can be interpreted differently depending on the context in which it occurs, a fact that Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) neglect in their coding scheme.

Within the category of “performatives”, (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) distinguish between explicit performatives and hedged performatives. In an explicit performative, “the illocutionary intent is explicitly named by the speaker by using a relevant illocutionary verb”, f.ex. I am *asking* you to leave right away (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:279). In a hedged performative “the illocutionary verb donating the requestive intent is modified” (p 279), e.g. I *must ask* you to leave the room.

“Obligation statements” are “utterances which state the obligation of the hearer to carry out the act” (p 25), e.g.: You’ll have to help me with that.

The last of the direct strategies is the “want statement” which is an utterance expressing “the speaker’s desire that the event denoted in the proposition come about” (p 279), f.ex.: I would *like* to borrow your car for a day.

The next category, that of conventionally indirect strategies, consists of “suggestory formulae”, such as “How about doing your homework” and “query

preparatories” which are “utterances containing reference to preparatory conditions” (e.g. ability, willingness), e.g. Would you mind helping me with this?

The last and least direct category is called non-conventionally indirect strategies. It includes “strong hints” and “mild hints”.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) the level of directness is negatively correlated with how face threatening these requests are, with direct request strategies being the most face threatening, and non-conventionally indirect strategies the least face threatening. Arguably, this does not seem to be the case in the conventionally indirect category of strong hints which can sound very much like an accusation and not like a supposedly polite (since indirect) request, e.g. You have left the house looking like a battlefield.

“Mild hints” on the other hand might be very hard to read as request in the first place. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989:25) mention the example of “I am a nun” as possible answer to a “persistent hassler”.

As mentioned before, Brown and Levinson equate indirectness with politeness, a concept which is mainly based on the idea that requests are face threatening acts that need to be mitigated. The main weakness of this approach is that it only distinguishes between polite and impolite behaviour, without taking “appropriate” behaviour into consideration. What is “appropriate” is very context specific, yet Brown and Levinson (1987) largely neglect context and mainly deal with speech acts in isolation. It is thus less a theory of politeness, but a theory of face threatening acts and how to mitigate them.

Although their model of politeness is one of the most influential, Brown and Levinson have been criticised for claiming that “face” is a universally applicable concept as can be seen in their introduction of a Model Person. They base this claim on the idea that politeness is socially significant in that it helps express social relationships (Brown and Levinson, 1987:2).

However, many researchers investigating non-Western societies claim that the nature of these social relationships and the idea of e.g.. negative face wants is based on the Western idea of individuality and autonomy, while in Japan negative politeness is almost negligible since Japanese society has a “collective rather than individualistic orientation” (Kasper 1990:195). Thus negative face wants cannot be seen as a reason to deviate from Grice’s four communicative maxims, which again contradicts Brown and Levinson’s claim of universality.

In his critique of nine existing politeness theories, Eelen (2001:9) analyses Yuego Gu's theory, which investigates politeness from a Chinese perspective. Gu argues that the concept of face wants as coined by Brown and Levinson is not applicable in the Chinese context, where face wants cannot be explained with speaker and hearer wants but rather with societal expectations (Eelen, 2001:10). Although individual expectations are of course informed to a certain degree by societal norms, in any context, according to Gu these norms are somewhat more prescriptive in China and thus the Chinese speaker has to put societal norms before individual face wants (Eelen, 2001:10).

The Japanese notion of politeness also differs from the Brown and Levinson approach in that it is more restricted in the verbalisation of politeness. Ide (Eelen, 2001:11) points out that Japanese speakers need to make a decision regarding honorific forms whenever they speak. She calls this aspect of politeness "discernment". Since Japanese speakers are bound to make a decision regarding appropriate honorific verbs every time they address someone, they do not have what Ide calls "volition", and they cannot resort to a neutral way of expressing themselves.

Politeness theory has also been used to explain why speakers diverge from the Gricean CP which is mainly concerned with "pure information-transmission" (Eelen, 2001:11), despite researchers who would argue against the CP being information transmission only, but rather the accepted and expected way of speaking (Davies, 2000). Ide claims that Japanese speakers never find themselves in the neutral position of just conveying information, but always have to choose between honorific or non-honorific forms, reflecting societal norms such as being polite towards your elders, person of higher status etc. This again shows that a more holistic approach toward politeness has to take the context in which an utterance occurs into consideration.

In response to problems with approaches attempting to identify politeness universals within individual speech acts, indicated above, researchers such as Kasper (1990), Locher and Watts (2005) and Al-Gahtani and Roever (2011) have called for a more discursive approach towards politeness, and the application of conversation analysis e.g. to study request sequences (Schegloff, 2007). Locher and Watts, f, ex, see politeness as part of what they call "relational work" which they define as " 'work' individuals invest in negotiation relationships with others" (Locher and Watts, 2005:10). They claim that we all, mainly because we are social beings, depend on other human beings and on social interaction "to realize [...] life goals and aspirations" (p 10).

When looking at social interaction, behavioural patterns linked to certain situations became apparent. Locher and Watts explain this phenomenon based on the concept of “frames”, which, according to Tannen (1993:53), are “structures of expectation based on past experience”. They also draw on Bourdieu’s notion of “habitus” which Watts (2003:149) describes as “the set of predispositions to act in certain ways, which generate cognitive and bodily practices in the individual”.

Locher and Watts (2005:11) propose that both frames and habitus “account for the structuring, emergence, and continued existence of social norms which guide both verbal and non-verbal instances of relational work.” Based on this definition, relational work also includes impolite, or aggressive verbal behaviour, unlike the proposals of Brown and Levinson, where the exclusive focus is on the mitigation of FTAs in order to be polite. Locher and Watts also claim that interactions are always about the negotiation of face and since relational work includes all kinds of linguistic behaviour, so does “facework”.

Based on the Tannen (1993) idea of frames as “structures of expectation based on past experiences”, a large part of all interactional work will satisfy these expectations and thus be unmarked (see column 2). Unmarked behaviour can either be non-polite, or politic/appropriate.

If linguistic behaviour does not fulfil structured expectations, it is marked. Marked behaviour can fall into three categories, based on how the hearer perceives it: 1. It can be seen as negative if the hearers feels it is impolite (or non-politic, inappropriate); 2. Overly polite behaviour is also negatively marked behaviour and the researchers hypothesize that hearers react very similar to it as to impolite behaviour; and 3. Positively marked behaviour is seen as polite, appropriate and politic, yet at the same time politic behaviour does not necessarily have to be perceived as polite.

Contrary to other theories of politeness, this approach clearly distinguishes between first and second order politeness. First order politeness is seen as a participant’s own perception of what is polite, and second order politeness is “the constructs of theoretical politeness models proposed in the literature (Locher, 2006:252).

Grainger (2011:167) explains the difference between first and second order politeness as follows: “First order politeness is an ethnographic approach to perceptions of socially appropriate behaviour (called ‘etiquette’ in some non-academic circles) while second order politeness, as Locher and Watts (2005) point out, is really about relational facework and not to do with the common meaning of politeness at all.” Since

second-order politeness is “analyst-driven” as opposed to “data driven” (Grainger, 2011:168), it does not lend itself to the analysis of “discursive politeness”, yet second order politeness models such as the CCSARP coding scheme can be very useful when analysing speech acts linguistically and in isolation.

Since Locher and Watts (2005) claim that there are no inherently polite speech acts and that the evaluation of a situation very much depends on the participant’s personal view of the interactions and their past experiences in similar situations, politeness per se is only a part of the big spectrum of relational work.

Locher and Watts thus have a highly fluid approach to politeness, since they see it as something which is co-constructed in conversations yet still influenced by past experiences and expectations. Despite its fluidity, the approach still proposes an underlying structure consisting of habitus and cultural frames which acknowledges the fact that we all carry some cultural and educational baggage, and possess a “set of predispositions to act in certain ways” (Watts, 2003:149).

Arising from this review of theoretical approaches to politeness, the approach towards politeness used in the present study is twofold: firstly, the CCSARP coding scheme of Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) will be applied to document linguistic change in the politeness behaviour of study abroad participants, through analysis of pre-, in- and post-sojourn data. This coding scheme is seen as providing useful operationalization of the endeavour by study abroad participants to adjust to target community specific language norms, and as such as a form of politeness. Secondly, acknowledging the views of Kasper (2009) and of Locher and Watts (2005), that politeness can only be fully understood as a discourse phenomenon, a conversational analysis approach will be also be adopted, in further analyses of both authentic self-recorded request sequences and selected role play data. Thus for example, in analysing self-recorded naturalistic requesting data, pragmatic problems will be interpreted using the concept of marked behaviour while the adherence to the preference structure of requests will be interpreted as unmarked or politic behaviour (Locher and Watts, 2005).

2.2.4 Identity and communities of practice (CofPs)

In order to explain the differences in the development of pragmalinguistic skills in the present study, from an underlying language socialisation perspective, it is

necessary to also look at the social identity students developed during their year abroad. Identity can be seen as one of the inherent predispositions mentioned by Bourdieu (1990), although here too some researchers (e.g. Weedon (1996)) claim that it is something which is negotiated in every situation and is not inherent to the speaker. In turn, identity can be seen as influencing the extent to which sojourners during residence abroad can participate in social practices within certain communities of practice.

Norton Peirce (1995) claims that a learner's social identity develops once he/she has claimed the right to speak, meaning once they have become legitimate members of a society. Since she also bases her approach on Bourdieu's idea of habitus, she accepts that certain aspects of identity, such as ethnicity, gender, age are largely fixed, while others are more negotiable.

How the development of a social identity in the target community creates a feeling of legitimacy and ultimately the right to speak, is the focus of this section, where I first look at different approaches towards identity and then concentrate on the approach used in the present study, namely Norton-Pierce's idea of learner subjectivity and investment. The main question identity research in the field of SLA has been dealing with is how far identity is something we are born with, or whether it is something we can choose and build on or change ourselves. Poststructuralists see identity as something "fragmented and contested in nature" (Block, 2007) which is well reflected in the feeling of ambivalence language learners experience, with ambivalence being "the natural state of human beings who are forced by their individual life trajectories to make choices where choices are not easy to make" (Block, 2007:865).

In the present study, I am assuming that identity is both inherent and constructed. Factors such as ethnicity, age, social class etc. determine to a great extent the way we perceive ourselves and thus contribute to the formation of an identity, while participation in different communities of practice may lead to the development of several different identities which are much more negotiable and fluid. Mathews (2000), f. ex. argues that one can assume an identity, or "buy" one in what he calls the "cultural supermarket", though even here individual identity choice is constrained by location and social structures, meaning that depending on which country the cultural supermarket is in, the identities on offer will change, and social structures (e.g. specific gender roles in certain countries) will also limit the choice of available identities. While Mathews concedes that we cannot assume any identity we want, he claims the constraints are of a social nature.

There are researchers however, who feel that ethnicity age, race etc. provide much more rigid categories and are not something we can choose to ignore. May (2012) for example accepts that these social constructs might not be fixed for life, that they too are negotiable, but argues that to base everything in life on agency and disregard any kind of existing structure is taking things a step too far.

The notion that identity is predominantly the product of agency, i.e. that we all have the choice as to which type of identity we would like to assume, has also met with resistance from researchers investigating communities of practice (CofPs). The underlying idea of the CofP approach as first introduced by Lave (1988) and Lave and Wenger (1991) is that learning is a social process. As such, it depends on social participation in the practices of a certain group of people with a common goal, and the development of an identity connected to these CofPs (Wenger, 1998:4).

Wenger (2007) defines communities of practice as follows: “Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly.”

The main characteristics of a community of practice are the domain, the community and the practice. A “domain” is a shared area of interest, such as politics, language learning, sports etc. The term “community” refers to the relationships members of the groups have in order to exchange information on the topic they are interested in (domain). “Practice” itself refers to members of the group building a “shared repertoire for their practice” (Wenger, 2007). If ERASMUS students f. ex. met on a regular basis to discuss language learning strategies and shared the experiences on living abroad, these stories could become the basis for their “practice”. All social participation starts with “legitimate peripheral participation” which is achieved by interacting with already existing members of a group. To become a fully accepted member of any group and thus move from the periphery towards the centre, one must gain legitimacy and be considered a legitimate member of the group by the others (Wenger, 1998:101). It is a social process which “includes, indeed it subsumes, the learning of knowledgeable skills” (Lave and Wenger, 1991:29). This process of gaining legitimacy in the group is also connected to the development of an identity as group member, yet like May (2012), Lave and Wenger believe that the formation of an identity is not only the result of social participation but that it, in turn, also influences the social interactions we have.

Whether, how and to which extent these social interactions take place, and with them (in the cases we are interested in) the formation of an L2 identity, is closely linked

to what Bourdieu (1986) calls capital. Bourdieu claims that individuals (can) possess three kinds of capital, namely economic, cultural and social power (Bourdieu, 1986:47). A fourth form of capital, the so called symbolic capital can be “capital – in whatever form – insofar as it is [...] apprehended symbolically” (Bourdieu, 1986:56) and “perceived and recognized as legitimate” (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991:230). Economic capital refers to what we possess in financial terms (Bourdieu, 1986:47). Cultural capital, on the other hand, can present itself in three different forms, namely in 1. the embodied state which refers to the accumulation of cultural capital “in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, Bildung [...]”, (Bourdieu, 1986:48) , 2. the objectified state which refers to cultural capital “objectified in material objects and media, such as writing, painting, monuments, instruments, etc.”, (p 50) and 3. in the institutionalized state or “the objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications” (Bourdieu, 1986:50).

Social capital “is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group [...]” (Bourdieu, 1986:51). This means that knowing people who possess a lot of cultural capital automatically adds to the social capital one possesses (by knowing them).

Bourdieu believes that identity is not a stable product but a process. As such, the term “identity” is seen as too restrictive by some researchers, one of them being Weedon who calls identity “subjectivities”, or “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation in the world” (Weedon, 1996).

One of the first researchers in SLA to point out the lack of theories describing how social identity and the L2 environment influence the learning of an L2 is Norton Peirce. She sees identity as how “people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space and how people understand their possibilities for the future” (Norton, 1997:410).

Following post-structuralist researchers such as Weedon, Norton Peirce claims that social identity is something that is not fixed and unchangeable but rather a phenomenon that changes depending on factors such as social contacts and investment (Norton Peirce, 1995), investment being something akin to Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital. She defines investment as the expectations learners have when they invest in another language and get “cultural capital” in return (Norton Peirce, 1995:17). The

introduction of the term “investment” instead of motivation reflects Pierce’s discontent with SLA theorists who she claims “have not adequately addressed how relations of power affect interactions between language learners and target language speakers” (Norton Peirce, 1995:9).

For her study, Pierce recruited five women from a 6 months ESL course she co-taught, “Mai from Vietnam, Eva and Katarina from Poland, Martina from Czechoslovakia, and Felicia from Peru” (Norton Peirce, 1995:13). Her data collection is based on a six month diary study, regular meetings to discuss what the participants had written in their diaries, a before and after questionnaire, interviews, and “home visits”. In her 12 months long study, Norton Peirce noticed that although all of her participants were extremely motivated to learn English, they were sometimes reluctant to speak it. Two of her participants, Martina and Eva, coped with their apprehension about using English by repositioning themselves in new roles that would give them the legitimacy to speak the L2. Norton Peirce particularly stresses that the high level of learner investment, their hopes that they would gain cultural capital by investing in learning how to speak English, was one of the most important conditions for developing an L2 identity.

Martina was already 37 years old when she and her husband decided to leave Czechoslovakia for Canada to find a “better life for children” (Norton Peirce, 1995:20). Although Martina initially had great problems finding a job, the knowledge that her entire family depended on her was a powerful motivator. Norton-Peirce claims that “Martina’s investment in English was largely structured by an identity as primary caregiver in the family” (Norton Peirce, 1995:21). This knowledge ultimately gave her the strength to reclaim her identity as an adult who has the right to tell adolescents what to do and not vice versa. Before that, the Canadian girls at her workplace would tell Martina what to do, but once she had “reframed” her relationship with these girls as a “domestic one” (Norton Peirce, 1995:22), the power relationship changed and Martina had gained the legitimacy to speak.

Eva, who immigrated from Poland mainly to work and learn English in Canada, was a fluent speaker of Italian but spoke English very haltingly. When she found herself a job at a restaurant, she was not really accepted as part of the team by the other employees and the fact that Eva saw herself as an “illegitimate speaker” of English (p 23) did not help her overcome her anxiety about speaking it. Only when the other employees started talking about holiday destinations, could Eva claim an identity as a

multicultural citizen “with the power to impose reception” (p24), thanks to her own travel experiences and respected linguistic skills (not her native Polish, but her L2 Italian). She thus succeeded in claiming a new identity that gives her the right to speak and be heard.

Norton Peirce’s research clearly shows that L2 language socialization is closely linked to identity issues. If Martina and Eva had not succeeded in claiming a form of identity that would give them the legitimacy to speak in the host community and thus overrule their view of themselves as “illegitimate speakers” of English, they would not have been able to create opportunities for language socialization to take place.

This shows that L2 learners have to assume a role in the host community that gives them the right to speak and be heard, a situation that might seem easier to achieve for temporary sojourners such as exchange students – whose explicit purpose it is to learn the language – than for economic immigrants who are sometimes not particularly accepted by the host community. Yet the degree to which exchange students are seen as someone who is only going to stay for a short while anyway and does not need to be fully integrated, remains to be investigated.

Norton-Pierce’s study is relevant to my concerns because she shows how problems with developing a new social identity and thus gaining the legitimacy to speak affect L2 language learning. However, her data collection was based on learning diaries and did not contain speech samples. She also mainly concentrated on L2 learners reclaiming an identity as L2 speakers and by doing so successfully integrating into the target communities. The connections between an L2 learner’s upbringing, ethnicity or social class, and their social integration, is somewhat neglected in her study, although she does not deny that these structures exist.

In the present study, I am going to use Norton-Peirce’s approach and in particular her concept of investment, to seek explanations for differences in pragmalinguistic development of the participating study abroad students through exploring possible variation in establishing a working L2 social identity and thus creating opportunities for language socialization. The idea of investment may also help account for the possibility that some students may be more determined to carve out a place for themselves in a German speaking country than others.

As mentioned before, Norton-Peirce is mainly interested in how her participants managed to gain enough legitimacy to speak by establishing an identity that allowed them to do so. Failure to develop a new identity as legitimate L2 speaker ultimately

leads to problems with speaking the L2. This is seen in the case study by Teutsch-Dwyer (2001), who made recordings of her single participant, Karol, interacting with his co-workers and friends. Karol was a 38 year old Polish man whose English did not improve as much as expected, especially given that he had access to native English speakers. However, Teutsch-Dwyer's explanation was that Karol failed to build an identity as a man who could be accepted as interlocutor by American men. His ideas of what it means to be a man, namely to know how to converse well, met with incomprehension from the American men he had dealings with. American women seemed to find this very appealing, however, and Karol soon became friends with three of his co-workers. Yet his English did not improve because his female friends adjusted their language to his needs, meaning they would slow down and simplify their speech. His girlfriend even started making calls for him which led to a certain kind of dependence on his part on the few interlocutors he did have. While a lack of input was one of the main problems in Norton-Pierce's (1995) study, one could say that a surplus of "helpful" input was the problem in Teutsch-Dwyer's study. Although Karol had access to native speakers, the fact that they adjusted their language to his needs did not force him to improve his English skills. Karol's identity as Polish man prevented him from developing a new social identity as American man thus depriving him of opportunities for gender specific language socialization. It is an example of how failure to develop an L2 specific social identity can influence the type of input a learner receives. Maybe Karol's investment in English was not as strong as for example Martina's (see pages 24-25) because he had made other friends and had a native speaking girlfriend who took care of him, i.e. he was successfully integrated in a number of communities of practice, without high pressure to use English, whereas in Norton-Peirce's study, the survival of her participants or their families very much depended on them learning to use English correctly in relevant CofPs.

Other relevant studies of identity also look at gendered language learning experiences in a study abroad setting, and how they can influence language learning and thus ultimately also the pragmatic development of L2 speakers.

In Polanyi's (1995) study on American students in Russia, the researcher asked 40 students, half of them women, to keep a written and oral journal of their language experiences in Russia. It emerged that one of the main factors influencing student success in practising the language was their relations with the other sex. While the male American students all had very positive experiences, the situation was very different for

the female participants. Polanyi claims that the female students overall felt they had to develop strategies to fight men off since they were seen as easy targets for sexual harassment because they were abroad alone.

What the female students learned to do was to be “women Russian language speakers” (p 289), a role that required a different set of linguistic skills from those of their male colleagues. It was also a set of skills the OPI (oral proficiency interview) they had to take upon their return to the US failed to measure, thus purporting to show that the female students progressed less than the male students (Brecht et al., 1995). Yet Polanyi points out that the tests are standardised and do not take the fact that we speak gendered language into consideration (p 290).

Another important study in the context of identity development is Kinginger’s (2004) case study work on American students abroad. Kinginger investigates the language development of Alice, a US American student from a disadvantaged background who first took an intensive French course in Quebec and then spent two years in France to learn French. Alice was a highly motivated learner who, due to her financial situation, could not go on trips with her fellow American students in France and was thus forced to try and establish relationships with native French speakers. This took several months but, once accomplished, marked her journey from the periphery to the centre of a local community of practice. By doing so, she reinvented herself and became a more open-minded Francophile, interested in a wider variety of topics than before. Through participating in a community of practice, Alice succeeded in developing an identity linked to her new position in this society and thus ultimately experienced a much more meaningful and productive study abroad period than her colleagues.

Kinginger’s study of Alice shows how investment can help students look for opportunities to practise a language and create opportunities for language socialization, be it in the form of communities of practice or simply by interacting with L2 native speakers. The development of an L2 social identity helps them find a place in the target community and thus the legitimacy to speak and be heard, which is tied to socialization processes.

Finally, the work of Isabelli-Garcia (2006) has shown that students undertaking study abroad who manage to participate in local communities of practice and develop social identities linked to these become more culturally sensitive and less ethnocentric. Whether or not they manage to develop social networks and participate in the practices

of certain communities of practice partly depends on agency and the extent to which they manage to establish a meaningful and legitimising social identity.

In summary, identity, investment (Norton Peirce, 1995) and access to CofPs (Lave and Wenger, 1991) seem to be the contextual factors which influence pragmalinguistic development to a great degree. This has led to the inclusion of these factors as independent variables when investigating request development.

2.2.5 The relationship between four underpinning concepts: language socialization, politeness, identity and communities of practice

In the present study, language socialization was used as underlying theoretical framework since the process of socialization comprises elements such as familiarisation with target community specific politeness, becoming part of a community of practice and establishing an identity in the L2 community, alongside the development of linguistic proficiency. As the study tried to determine the pragmalinguistic development of SA students as operationalised in requests, the main focus was on politeness as expressed in request behaviour. The CCSARP coding scheme was used to trace the evolution of linguistic changes in request production. The scheme was specifically designed to analyse the directness level of requests and their internal/external mitigation. It does not take the sequence organisation of requests into account but focusses on the request itself. As such, it was expected to be helpful in determining which mitigation strategies were acquired in-sojourn and to what degree the request directness level changed during study abroad. The CCSARP coding scheme lends itself to the coding of large amounts of data since it comprises well defined categories of mitigation devices and directness strategies. In the present study, the degree of request directness documented through CCSARP was not equated with varying degrees of politeness but was analysed to see which usage patterns emerged in-sojourn. The emergence of certain patterns of internal/external mitigation and changes in request directness in-sojourn were interpreted as adjustment to target community specific language behaviour and thus as a form of politeness.

The approach towards politeness applied in the present study is grounded in the notion of relational work (Locher and Watts, 2005) which comprises all interactional behaviour. Politeness is claimed to be only a small part of relational work. Drawing on

Tannen's (1993) concept of frames, Locher and Watts (2005:10) suggest that all interaction is carried out based on "structures of expectations" developed in the past. Relational work is further influenced by the "habitus" or "the set of predispositions to act in certain ways" (Watts, 2003:149). As such, polite behaviour can vary greatly depending on past experiences and societal norms the respective speaker was exposed to.

In the present study, the violation of these "structures of expectations" was interpreted as a pragmatic problem and thus as negatively marked, or non-politic/inappropriate (Locher and Watts, 2005:12, Fig.1). The decision whether a certain utterance was indeed inappropriate was based on CA which claims that there is a preference structure for requests (Schegloff, 2007). From a CA perspective, a request is a dispreferred First Pair Part (FPP) and as such the speaker does not want to make it in the first place. Ideally, a request would thus be pre-empted by the interlocutor, which is only possible if the requester hints at the actual requests, or – in CA terms – uses pre-expansions. Once the request has been made, again in CA terms, the preferred structure of the request sequence would entail the immediate granting of the request in the Second Pair Part (SPP). Even if the request is rejected, the way these dispreferred SPPs are uttered has certain common characteristics, such as turn initial delays, hedging, or disguising the rejection as question or explanation (see section 3.5.6 for a detailed discussion of CA). Dispreferred SPPs tend to be much longer than preferred SPPs since they are extensively mitigated to soften the impact of the rejection. CA thus lends itself to the analysis of pragmatic challenges in that it highlights the characteristics of the sequence organisation of requests.

It was hypothesised that access to relevant input through CofPs and the establishment of an L2 identity would be the main predictors for the students' pragmalinguistic development in-sojourn. Access to a community of practice leads to interaction with already existing (expert) members of the group and aspiring members are thus socialised into becoming accepted members of the group. One of the conditions for this process of socialisation to take place is the feeling of legitimacy as a group member. Only if the aspiring group member feels he or she has the right to participate in group practices, can an L2 identity develop (Norton Peirce, 1995) which in turn makes it easier to access relevant input in the form of CofPs.

2.3 Study/ residence abroad

Study abroad (SA) has long been considered a vital part of L2 acquisition. While it was commonly thought that students could learn basic language skills in a classroom, it has been believed that only an extended stay in the respective host countries would eventually lead to high proficiency levels. Researchers have not only tried to account for the development of language skills in a SA setting (Llanes, 2011) but also for the development of politeness features, social competence, or learner beliefs (see 2.3.1).

As a result of differences in educational policies and cultural backgrounds between f.ex. the US and Europe, US based research has mainly investigated the impact of study abroad on language skills, the main areas of interest being a measurable increase in competence and whether this competence is any different from the skill a student could acquire in a classroom setting (Kinginger, 2008:30). Studies investigating the development of proficiency, fluency, listening, reading, and writing in a study abroad context have shown that in general students benefit in all areas. While many aspects of L2 proficiency are clear beneficiaries of study abroad, the picture is less clear cut for some aspects, e.g. research into the development of grammatical features shows that study abroad per se does not necessarily lead to an improvement in this domain (Collentine, 2009). Critics also claim that in many studies the numbers are too small to be significant, and that the lack of control groups makes it impossible to draw relevant conclusions (Kinginger, 2008:67). Apart from these technical challenges, the patterns of results in SA research are less homogenous than may be expected. Not only do the definitions of study abroad vary depending on how long and for what purpose students go abroad but also student educational and cultural backgrounds differ widely thus leading to quite different study abroad experiences. There is considerable variation in outcomes for individual participants as well.

In the present case, where careful attention is being paid to the context of study abroad, its interaction with students' identity, and likely impact on learning outcomes, it is expected that the study abroad experience cannot be treated as a single variable, but will be quite different for each of the participants, and this assumption is reflected in the methodology adopted (see chapter 3).

2.3.1 Development of pragmatic skills in a study abroad context

Before linguistics discovered its interest in pragmatics, the proponents of logical positivism claimed that statements were only meaningful if they could be empirically tested and then either judged true or false. One of the main representatives of this movement, Bertrand Russell, argued for the creation of an ideal language, a language without the imperfections of common speech (Thomas, 1995:29). Ordinary language philosophers like J.L. Austin (1962) on the other hand took the view that everyday life language did not only serve its purpose but served it very well. Instead of striving for the perfect language, according to Austin, one should investigate why ordinary language worked so well.

While logical positivism led to the linguistic equivalent known as truth conditional semantics, ordinary language philosophy formed the basis of pragmatics. Since Austin's ideas were based on language use in real life, he started by saying that nobody would normally judge an utterance to be "false or meaningless" (Thomas, 1995:31), but that they would rather try to make sense of what they had heard. Austin also claimed that the distinctions ordinary language made between for example requests or commands must be important for the language users (Thomas, 1995:31).

Austin's belief that language users do not merely use language "to say things (to make statements) but also to do things (perform actions)" was to be the main foundation of pragmatics within linguistics (Thomas, 1995:31).

Based on this idea, Austin talked about performative verbs (Austin, 1962:150) which he subdivided into verdictives (verbs used to give verdicts, or for "the delivering of a finding, official or unofficial" (Austin, 1962:150-152), exercitives (verbs used to describe the "exercising of powers, rights or influence", p150), commissives (verbs used to describe a promise or a commitment, p150,151), behabitives (verbs expressing attitudes and social behaviour, f.ex. condoling, congratulating etc. p151), expositives (expressions which make "plain how our utterances fit into the course of an argument or conversation [...] e.g. I assume or I argue", p151).

Austin's speech act theory was further developed by Searle (1976) who argued that speech acts have to be taken into account when studying language to fully understand what is being communicated. To this end, Searle distinguished three different phases any speech situation consists of, the first one being the so called locutionary act, or the utterance of the speech act itself. The second part is the

illocutionary force of the speech act, or the speaker intention, and the third is the perlocutionary force which refers to the result (Searle, 1976).

An utterance like “It’s quite cold in here” could be interpreted as either a statement or a request to switch on a radiator. Following the second interpretation, the illocutionary force of this speech act is the speaker’s desire for the heating to be switched on. If the hearer interprets the utterance as a statement however (the first interpretation), the perlocutionary force of the speech act leads to a result which was not intended by the speaker.

To fully understand what is being communicated on a non-literal level, it is not sufficient to look at verbs as belonging to one of the subcategories of performatives as suggested by Austin (Thomas, 1995:31). It is the illocutionary and perlocutionary forces of an utterance that give it pragmatic meaning.

Searle argued that speech acts are universal (Searle, 1976). They occur in all languages but are realized differently within each linguistic framework. Yet Searle’s taxonomy, in which he elaborates on Austin’s ideas, has also been severely criticised by scholars such as Thomas (1995) and González-Lloret (2010) for only looking at isolated speech acts instead of taking the context in which they occur into consideration.

Austin and Searle’s belief that there is more to language than linguistic forms has definitely contributed to a better understanding of communication and the reasons for communicative failure. It was the study of language in use by philosophers of language such as Austin, Searle, or Grice that also influenced research in linguistics which had mainly been focusing on linguistic structures in isolation (Saussure 1983, Chomsky, 1965)

Chomsky (1965:4) f.ex. neatly divided language into “*competence* (the speaker-hearer’s knowledge of his language) and *performance* (the actual use of language in concrete situations)”. Chomsky’s take on competence has probably been best summarised by Canale and Swain (1980) who define it as the “linguistic system (or grammar) that an ideal native speaker of a given language has internalized” (Canale and Swain, 1980:3).

Hymes (1972) suggested a broadening of the field of competence into communicative competence. Contrary to Chomsky’s definition of competence, which exclusively referred to the knowledge of rules of grammar, Hymes’ communicative competence encompasses both the knowledge of and the ability to apply the rules of language use in context (Hymes, 1972:281) thus integrating pragmatic knowledge and

paving the way for a paradigm shift. In turn, Leech (1983), called for a paradigm shift away from competences towards performance. The main features of this new paradigm, pragmatics, were a focus on the study of language functions, not forms, the acknowledgement of the importance of context and authentic use of language, but also the awareness that language is a means of communication (p 5). Thomas (1995) and Leech (1983), for example, distinguish between what they call general pragmatics, sociopragmatics, and pragmalinguistics (Martinez- Flor and Uso-Juan, 2010:6). Leech defines general pragmatics as “the study of linguistic communication in terms of conversational principles” (Martinez- Flor and Uso-Juan, 2010:6), while sociopragmatics investigates the link between “linguistic action and social structure” (p 6), meaning how factors such as social status, the degree of imposition or social distance influence the way we carry out “linguistic acts” (p 6) or whether we carry them out in the first place. Pragmalinguistics looks at how grammar influences a speaker’s ability to produce pragmatic utterances. A speaker needs to have a certain linguistic repertoire to be able to f.ex. make a pragmatically appropriate request. A main focus, for example, would be on structures enabling the use of modification strategies to soften or reinforce a speech act and its level of directness.

While the present study does trace pragmalinguistic development as operationalised in requests, its main focus is on the contextual factors influencing the change between pre-and in-sojourn request realisations. Although the present study is mainly based on role-plays which means that the participants cannot make the decision whether to address their interlocutors in the first place, they still have to assess the degree of imposition, social distance and the power differential and adjust their language accordingly.

When studying the development of pragmatic skills in a study abroad context, several factors have been thought to influence this development, ranging from identity, availability of input, proficiency, personality, motivation. Concerning the efficacy of study abroad, particularly contrastive studies between at home and study abroad students seem to indicate that while knowledge of grammar and accuracy do not necessarily improve in the study abroad context (Collentine, 2009:222), fluency, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence do.

Research on pragmatics in a study abroad setting has looked at f.ex. the development of speech acts (Warga and Schölmberger, 2007, Cohen and Shively, 2007, Shardakova, 2005, Bataller, 2010), sociolinguistic competence (Regan, 1995, Siegal,

1996) and politeness (Marriott, 1995). Most of this research is descriptive and tried to analyse which variables are mainly responsible for pragmatic gain. Factors such as the availability of input (Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei, 1998), curricular intervention (Cohen and Shively, 2007), and proficiency level (Shardakova, 2005) have been found to influence pragmatic development, yet the belief that students will acquire pragmatic skills just by spending time in the host country has proven a myth. It seems that it can be challenging to create an L2 identity that gives students/ residents abroad the legitimacy to speak in the host community in the first place (see again Norton Peirce's (1995) longitudinal case study on immigrant women in Canada , which I discussed in detail on pages 15 and 16).

Norton Peirce (1995) claims that L2 learners first and foremost need to feel they are legitimate speakers of the L2 in order gain access to meaningful interactions, but there are also other social factors which influence the extent of L2 socialisation.

Various studies have looked at the importance of the salience and frequency of input (Collentine, 2009) and have found that it can be very challenging to find. Cohen and Shively (2007:193) claim that students have to be “proactive” and look for opportunities to interact with native speakers. Other researchers stress that even in homestay scenarios, where students interact with their host families on a daily basis, many native speakers tend to simplify their language when speaking to L2 learners (Iino, 1996). In the case of Japanese this might mean leaving out levels of honorific address they deem too difficult for foreign students to grasp. Siegal (1996:375) f.ex. mentions a Japanese project dating from the early 1980s, where a form of “abbreviated Japanese” based on only one register, the so called “polite style” (desu/ masu) was created to help foreigners learn the language. Although this could be interpreted as an attempt to help foreigners learn Japanese in the first place, it also shows quite clearly how low the expectations are regarding the mastery of all honorific forms by foreign students. Another difficulty in getting appropriate input is the fact that native speakers tend to overlook pragmatic blunders in L2 learners that a native speaker would not get away with (Siegal, 1996).

Other studies have also shown that learners' identity may itself complicate the acquisition of L2 pragmatics. Siegal (1996) investigates how her case study participant's view of herself prevents her from learning honorific forms in Japanese to a degree that would have enabled her to have a pragmatically smooth conversation. This study is very interesting in that it shows just how Mary's subjectivity and her

subconscious decision to establish herself as an independent researcher seem to deny her access to the kind of input she would need to produce pragmatically appropriate ways of interacting with her Professor.

Mary is a 45 year old Japanese teacher from Australia who had spent one and a half years in Japan 20 years before she participated in Siegal's study (when once again in Japan). In the course of 19 months, Siegal interviewed Mary and also analysed Mary's interaction with her Professor in Japan. Mary sees herself as an independent researcher who has come to Japan to improve her Japanese and to carry out research into language learning strategies. Siegal claims that Mary is "concerned with presenting a 'polite' and 'deferential' demeanor" (Siegal, 1996:367) while at the same time wanting to establish herself as a serious researcher. However, although Mary is worried about her not being able to express politeness adequately in Japanese, she overcompensates by using partly inappropriate intonation and overusing *desho*, an epistemic modal. Mary does not seem to be aware of the fact that *desho* has multiple meanings, ranging from "indicating conversational harmony" (p 367) to mitigating the force of speech acts. Mary uses *desho* in the latter sense, without knowing that it is best not to use it in conversations with superiors because it is interpreted as asking "for confirmation of something that your superior is assumed to already know" (p 369) and can thus be face threatening.

Mary feels more comfortable when introducing certain topics which she does during the conversation with her professor. Although she presents him with a gift for his child and informs him about interesting conferences in the field he is interested in, the mere fact that all topics are introduced by Mary, together with the content of the conversation, signal that Mary wants to position herself on the same, or on a slightly lower level than her professor. Since Mary does not use honorific forms (which she would have to do – according to Japanese pragmatic norms - as she uses "polite *desu/masu* forms of verbs") she tries to compensate by using *desho*, a modal particle which can be used in a variety of ways, none of which Mary is aware of. Japanese informants stated that they would have used other means to achieve politeness exactly because the interlocutor was a professor (Siegal, 1996:372). Mary ends the conversation by thanking the professor in a "singing voice" that is usually only used in service encounters (Siegal, 1996:375). Although Mary is partly aware of what is expected linguistically in certain situations, she either does not seem to have access to the right

kind of input or she refuses to adopt certain features of honorific language due to identity issues.

Siegal points out that it was not easy for Mary to get adequate input for two reasons: university educated Japanese usually speak English well, and foreigners are thus often addressed in English, and secondly Japanese language learners do not seem to get enough corrective feedback because the expectations towards L2 Japanese learners are very low. Both stances show that the L2 Japanese students are given a “foreigner” identity and thus do not get access to valuable data. This again means that they are not socialised into using Japanese as fully accepted members of Japanese society but into the role of a foreigner, someone who cannot be expected to grasp the intricacies of the honorific system. While this might not be a big problem for sojourners, it would lead to “alienation in terms of social contact and economic opportunities” (Siegal, 1996:376) for those who chose to live in Japan. What remains to be seen is whether people living and working in Japan would get access to certain kinds of pragmatic input, or how long it would take for them to be seen as part of Japanese society and thus acquire the legitimacy necessary to be a fully accepted member of this community.

Additional studies investigating the influence of the availability of input on the sociolinguistic development of study abroad participants are Regan’s (1995) study on the ne-deletion of six university students on their ERASMUS year in France and Marriott’s (1995) study on the development of politeness behaviour in eight Australian students in Japan.

In her study on the usage of the French negation particle “ne” in six English speaking students of French during their SA year in France, Regan found that the experience abroad seemed to greatly contribute to the students’ awareness of when to drop “ne”. Regan chose “ne” because it is a “powerful indicator of formality” in French. In general, native speakers of French retain “ne” in formal situations and drop it when being informal. Regan’s study on the deletion of “ne” by her student participants showed that it had doubled during the year abroad. The variables thought to influence student deletion of “ne” were a mix of linguistic features (lexicalisation, proficiency), and contact with native speakers. As far as lexicalisation was concerned, depending on whether the students would use lexicalised phrases such as “Je ne sais pas” or not, the rate of “ne” deletion would change accordingly. Regan also found that the least proficient students have the highest “ne” deletion rate and thus progress the most.

Concerning contact with native speakers, the study showed that those participants who had not been to France before the study did not delete "ne" at pre-test, but would start doing so due to contacts with native speakers while they were abroad. The students who had been to France before, but had very little contact with native speakers during their residence abroad, would start deleting less.

Marriott (1995) traces the acquisition of politeness of eight Australian students who spend one year in Japan, through role play methodology. As we have seen, in order to be polite in Japan, students need to know the honorific system which "consists of grammatical encoding of verbal and other lexical elements, [...] (linguistic) politeness, and etiquette or courtesy which covers non-verbal communicative behavior" (Marriott, 1995:198). The students stayed with Japanese host families and went to school with Japanese students, receiving very few Japanese lessons at school. Through her pre-, during- and post-tests she shows how students use and manipulate these variables in the course of their year abroad. The way students do politeness changes to a great extent, with great individual variation. While they mostly acquire "polite formulaic expressions", are able to perform a request and improve their knowledge of third person forms (p 215), the students still had problems finding the appropriate honorific style for their teachers at school (p 218).

Marriott gives several reasons for this, the most important being the lack of appropriate input. Guests in Japan are "awarded high status" (p 221) and the host families dedicated a lot of time to their assigned students resulting in an overall improvement of student language and politeness skills. This again shows that the importance of the availability of input or the chance to be socialised into target language appropriate language behaviour, because the only politeness feature that did not improve was the honorific style which the participants were not exposed to within their Japanese families.

Although the participants did attend school, there were very few classes and no special attention was paid to the topic of honorifics. The "non-reciprocal nature" of the use of honorifics in the classroom, with the students expected to use it toward professors, but the lecturers using the plain style to address them (p 218) did not provide them with enough opportunities to practice.

In this context, the question naturally arises if a more extended stay in the host community would lead to more contact with native speakers and an increasing awareness of what it means to communicate in a pragmatically appropriate way in the

L2. One of the most influential studies examining a possible link between length of residence and pragmatic awareness is Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) study. 173 Hungarian EFL students, 370 ESL students of various origins in the U.S., 112 Italian primary school teachers, and the teachers of both ESL and EFL students participated in the study.

Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998) were mainly interested in whether ESL and EFL learners showed the same degree of pragmatic awareness, whether their proficiency level had an influence on the way they perceived the input, and whether teachers and students showed the same degree of awareness.

The results of video elicitation tasks in which the participants had to watch a scene on video and then answer questions on a spread sheet showed that the educational environment played an important role in the perception of pragmatic appropriateness. While Hungarian ESL students consistently rated grammar as more salient than pragmatics, a view shared by their teachers, their colleagues in the U.S thought pragmatics more important than grammar. Increased proficiency levels led to an increasing gap between grammar and pragmatics perception, which again indicated that language proficiency does not necessarily mean increased pragmatic awareness. Length of residence in the US seemed to play an important role in the development of pragmatic perception. When looking at the students in Hungary, it becomes clear that they have been socialised into a focus on grammar. In the absence of opportunities to acquire pragmatic skills during interactions with native speakers, their main opportunity to practise English was in the classroom where they were mainly marked based on grammatical accuracy and not on pragmatic knowledge.

The mere fact of living in the host community might be the common denominator the participants share, yet the amount of interaction with the host culture and thus the opportunity to become more perceptive of how things are done in the L2 are likely to influence pragmatic development, as we have already seen in some of the studies discussed above. While Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998) come to the conclusion that the development of pragmatic skills depends on the learning environment (ESL versus EFL), the question naturally arises whether it would help potential study abroad students if they were to be made aware of pragmatic differences between their own and the host community. Cohen and Shively (2007) did just that by briefly introducing their participants to speech acts and a "self-study guidebook on language and culture strategies" (Cohen and Shively, 2007:189) before they went

abroad. The researchers wanted to see if this “curricular intervention” would help students learn the speech acts of apology and request in a study abroad setting. The 86 participants (all of them students at a university in the US) then spent one semester in a Spanish or French speaking country. 42 students were assigned to the experimental group (with pragmatics training), the rest to the control group (no pragmatics training). At the end of their sojourn, French and Spanish native speakers rated the students’ performance regarding requests and apologies but no statistically relevant differences were found.

Cohen and Shively concluded that had the intervention been more extensive, it might have raised student awareness more and led to more tangible results. Yet again a period of only one semester might in this case not have been long enough for any real pragmatic changes to take place, simply because there was not enough time for novice learners to get acquainted with cultural norms and how they are expressed in language. Here too, the question is mainly what kind of input the students had access to during their stay, and what opportunities for language socialization they had; a rich socialisation experience might be expected to overwhelm any influence from prior training.

Another pragmatics training study concerned skilled immigrant workers in New Zealand, who often do not find work placements due to their inability to interpret and respond to job offers appropriately. The eleven participants of this study (Riddiford and Joe, 2010) were highly qualified job seekers from overseas wanting to settle in New Zealand. To help skilled migrants find a job, the Workplace Communication Programme for Skilled Migrants at the Victoria University of Wellington created a programme based on the improvement of sociopragmatic skills (Riddiford and Joe, 2010:195). The twelve week course at the Victoria University of Wellington is divided into a five week in class part and a six week internship at a potential workplace. The last week of the course is spent in the classroom again (Riddiford and Joe, 2010). The study used authentic data as well as data elicited by role-plays, interviews, and discourse completion tasks (DCTs), an elicitation tool which usually consists of a prompt and a blank to fill in what one would have said in a certain situation. The eleven students participating in the study all tape recorded themselves during the six weeks they spent at their respective work placements.

The main focus of the study was on the development of requests, and the researchers used a framework suggested by Alcón Soler et al. (2005) to classify the

changes in request formulation. The most noticeable changes took place after the five week classroom instruction where it became clear that the participants had adjusted their initial request strategies which were mainly based on the use of excuse me and please (p 200). Data collected at the midpoint of the course showed that participants had become more aware of sociopragmatic issues which showed in their use of “pausing and sighing, and greater use of turn-taking” (p 201) One of the participants, Helena, f.ex., initially had great difficulties formulating requests. In the course of the 12 weeks she became more aware of different social realities. While it would have been perfectly alright to ask a secretary in China to work late to finish a presentation, the situation in New Zealand is different, and Helena’s role-play data show that she becomes increasingly more perceptive of what is considered normal behaviour at a workplace in New Zealand. Through the use of openers (I was wondering), or fillers and pauses (um, er) (p 201) she indicates hesitancy and thus shows that she is aware of the imposition her request imposes on her secretary. The data also show an increasing awareness of cultural norms. It seems that the explicit lessons on how to do politeness in New Zealand in combination with the actual internship opportunity greatly helped the participants in this study to improve their pragmatic skills. The improvement in this case might have been more noticeable than in the Cohen & Shively study because 1. the participants in New Zealand knew that this particular course could help them find a work placement and 2. the course on pragmatics took five weeks and was not restricted to simply pointing out pragmatic pitfalls to students. It thus seems that the combination of instruction, practice, learning environment and motivation were determining factors in combination for the development of pragmatic skills in this case. The next variable of interest for research on pragmatics in an SA setting is student proficiency levels. The idea that students benefit most from a study abroad experience when they are already moderately competent speakers of the L2, the so called threshold hypothesis (Regan, 1995, Brecht et al., 1995) is not shared by all researchers. Some research indicates that less proficient students seem to benefit more from an SA experience than their more advanced peers (Freed, 1998:51). At the same time, it is difficult to trace advanced learners’ language gains because of the ceiling effect of most assessment tools that fail to tease apart the subtle changes occurring in advanced learners during their sojourn abroad (Freed, 1998:35). In summary, less proficient students seem to progress more in a study abroad setting than their more advanced peers but whether this is also true for

the development of pragmatic skills is a question addressed in the next study reviewed here.

It was the less proficient American students of Russian (Shardakova, 2005) who adapted more easily to pragmatic routines than the more proficient learners, who seemed to invent their own pragmatic routines based on greater language proficiency. Shardakova investigated how American students of Russian produced apologies in “three communicative contexts: a) the context of intimacy (communication with a friend); b) the context of unfamiliarity (communication with a stranger); and c) the context of unequal social status (communication with an authority figure)”, (Shardakova, 2005:423). The results showed that low proficiency learners with SA experience produced most native like apologies, while higher proficiency students with no SA experience tended to be overly polite thus diverging from the native speaker norm. In the case of highly proficient L2 learners with SA experience, however, apologetic behaviour became more “individualized”. Shardakova concludes that learners develop their own pragmatic interlanguage and L2 identity and do not “blindly follow” native speaker norms, a conclusion in keeping with a language socialization stance on learner agency. In the absence of a developed L2 identity, beginning learners adopt formulaic pragmatic routines thus giving the impression of progressing more than their more advanced peers. Though agency is not tied only to a learner’s linguistic knowledge but to his/her identity and conscious decision to do or not do things in the target community, it is still based on the idea of being able to make an informed decision. This lack of information at the more elementary levels of L2 learning might be an explanation why less proficient learners more readily adopt pragmatic routines than advanced learners who do not only possess pragmatic knowledge but already engage with it creatively by producing their own version of pragmatic behaviour. It is in the nature of L2 speech acts, that their successful realisation is tied to both the knowledge of sociopragmatic as well as pragmalinguistic norms, meaning that in order to formulate an appropriate request or apology, or to simply converse in a manner that is considered appropriate in the target community, a student will have to know the underlying grammar, but also be aware of the possible social implications of the wrong choice of address forms etc.

Learning about the pragmatic norms of the host community is an important part of the study abroad experience. As we have seen so far, this learning process depends on a range of factors such as proficiency, pragmatic awareness, and the availability of input through interaction and membership of relevant CofPs. The reasons for students

not being able to get adequate input are manifold, ranging from learner identity and agency, to host country specific attitudes towards L2 speakers.

Several studies have shown that different host countries seem to treat foreign exchange students differently. Student status in Japan f.ex. is very high, since L2 learners are considered guests, yet at the same time the expectations towards them as Japanese L2 language learners are quite low (see pp 33-34) This again makes it difficult for students to get adequate input, because there is little feedback in the form of corrections.

Ultimately, research into pragmatic development tries to identify which factors contribute to an improvement in communication in the target community, what helps L2 learners blend in better and what factors prevent them from getting authentic input. Deciding what role the learner aspires to play in the new society/ CofP, being aware of what is seen as appropriate (speech) behaviour within that group, and then learning strategies to fulfil these expectations are a part of pragmatic development.

2.3.2 Development of L2 requests in a study abroad setting

In the last part of my literature review, I am going to talk more specifically about the development of requests in a study abroad setting (already touched on in some studies reviewed in the last section). Since the present study tries to account for the development of pragmalinguistic skills, I will review studies with a focus on the development of the speech act of requesting per se as well as those investigating how contact with native speakers in a study abroad setting influences the pragmatic choices students make when formulating requests.

Studies investigating the development of requests during study abroad (Bataller, 2010, Code and Anderson, 2001, Barron, 2001, Shively, 2008, Magnan and Back, 2006, Schauer, 2004, Al-Gahtani and Roever, 2011) make use of a wide range of methodological choices. In the following section, I am going to look at the data collection tools and approaches applied by several researchers to elicit requests and at possible explanations they offer for the development of requests in a study abroad setting.

Three studies by Bataller (2010), Barron (2001) and Schauer (2004) looked at how student requests change during their year abroad in Spain, Germany and England

respectively. All three researchers used the Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) coding scheme or adapted versions thereof (see Bataller, 2010) for requests and the results show that factors such as student agency, identity and access to adequate input have a significant influence on student request realisations.

Bataller (2010) traced the development of requesting of 31 US students on their four month sojourn in Valencia. Her study participants interacted in open role-plays with a Spanish native speaker. While the results showed that some aspects of student request production changed in the course of the four months, others remained largely unchanged. To investigate this further, Bataller conducted a qualitative analysis of her findings which showed that some students had simply not wanted to use certain request strategies (p 172), or that they might not have had enough time to become aware of pragmatic differences in request realisations. Here too, student agency seemed to be the main determining factor when it came to the decision what level of directness to use in a request. The other factor was the availability of input, as two NS-contact questionnaires taken by the participants showed. Most of the students felt they did not have enough contact with native speakers, since they went to school with other English speaking students and also mainly went out with them. Others felt their Spanish was not good enough to be able to have a relaxed conversation with native speakers (p 254). The study shows once again that being abroad does not automatically mean having access to appropriate input. From a sociolinguistic perspective, learner subjectivity and the feeling of not being a “legitimate” Spanish speaker obviously influenced some of Bataller’s participants and made them shy away from interactions with NSs. Others did not have enough opportunities to interact and thus get socialised into target language use. The decision of some students not to use more direct request strategies (agency) might have changed if they had had more opportunities to get to know the host community and its speech behaviour.

Barron (2001) also found that study abroad did influence student speech act realisation patterns, but that again some aspects remained unchanged. 33 advanced Irish learners of German spent one year in Germany and Barron explored the development of refusals, requests, and offers through administration of Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs). A comparison of student production to that of German native speakers showed that although some changes had taken place, the downgraders in requests were still judged non-native-like. Barron points out the reduced usage of phrases such as “I wonder” which had previously been translated into German, but also an increased use of

syntactic downgrading in offers. Post-test DCTs also showed that students used more “lexical and phrasal downgrading” in refusals and requests but these speech act realisations were still not interpreted as native like by the German speakers who participated in the study. Barron states that some pragmatic changes took place much later in their SA year which seems to indicate that more time in the L2 community usually increases the chances of socialization and learning, but also that pragmatic development is not necessarily linear, but seems to happen in stages.

Schauer (2004) found that some of her native German speaking participants on their ERASMUS year in England adapted their request strategies more quickly to native speaker norms than others. The 27 participants of the study were aged between 20 and 27 years. Twelve students were native German speakers who were ERASMUS students at the University of Nottingham for one year; the others were a native English speaking control group. Data were elicited three times with a Multimedia Elicitation Task (MET), right after the students arrived in the UK, in the middle of their stay, and shortly before they left. The MET was designed to elicit requests; in this particular case the author was interested in investigating two different imposition and status conditions. Participants were asked to formulate four low and four high imposition requests addressing someone of equal status and someone of higher status. The equal status imposition requests comprised “speak louder, open window, give directions” and “move away from door”, the high status imposition requests included “borrow sth., arrange meeting, fill out questionnaire and postpone sth.” The author analysed her data based on the categories designed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and looked at the percentage of external and internal modifiers the subjects used. It turned out that the German group used more external modifiers like disarmers, imposition minimizers, preparators etc. than the native speaker controls (see 3.5.3 for definitions of these CCSARP categories). The researcher offered the possible explanation that the German group might have interpreted the experiment as a test and tried to do as “well” as possible. Regarding internal modifiers, five of them – Politeness Marker, Downtoner, Consultative Device, Understater, and Past Tense Modals – were used by all native speakers (see 3.5.5.2).

These internal modifiers were also the ones the German group used the most, thus showing that a development towards native-speakers norms had taken place. There were also exceptions to this rule though, which again seems to support the idea of individual differences or different student personalities (p 267). It is unfortunately not clear how often these students interacted with English native speakers, or if they were

staying with host families, so the influence of contextual variables on individual development cannot really be accounted for.

While Schauer based her study on discourse elicitation tasks, Shively carried out an ethnographic study of the way politeness is indexed in language and how politeness patterns change in the course of a semester abroad in Spain (Shively, 2008). Shively spent a semester abroad in Toledo with seven intermediate to advanced students of Spanish. All students were undergraduate students from the US of varying backgrounds and an average age of 20. The students stayed with Spanish host families and had to take a 12 week course taught by the researcher on how to improve their study abroad experience. In the course of 14 weeks, Shively traced the development of politeness indexed in requests in service encounters. Her study is based on naturalistic data which the students tape-recorded themselves during service encounters, but also on interview and student journals. The results showed that service encounters do not seem to be the ideal environment to learn about language and politeness since the focus was primarily on the transaction with little space for language feedback. Students reported having learned most during class and with their host families (p 388).

Shively analyses her data based on Spencer-Oatey's (2000) "domains" which include an illocutionary, discourse, participation, stylistic, and nonverbal domain. These domains are thought to encompass behavioural expectations regarding interactions. The illocutionary domain actually refers to the performance of speech acts, while the discourse domain describes the way an exchange is structured and what topics are talked about. The participations domain refers to turn-taking within the conversations and the stylistic domain is linked to the "choice of genre-appropriate lexis and syntax, and choice of genre appropriate terms of address or use of honorifics" as well as the "choice of tone (for example, serious or joking)". The last of Spencer-Oatey's domains is the nonverbal domain which mainly refers to gestures (Shively, 2008:180). Shively notes that the results were individually different. While some students could not adjust to the different cultural frames in Spanish service encounters due to identity issues, others took a more pragmatic view and started using host community appropriate requests. The same holds true for the level of accommodation the students were ready to accept. While some found it extremely annoying to either be spoken to in English or in "foreigner" Spanish, others were grateful for this crutch (p 384). Shively, who uses a language socialization framework, suggests that service encounters might not be the most advantageous way to socialize a novice into using language appropriately due to

their innate focus on selling a product rather than truly engaging with the other person, yet in the present study it was felt that service encounters offered the ideal backdrop for requests. Shively's concern about the nature of service encounters was not shared since the students were asked to look for situations where they would have to interact with the shopkeeper or employees (see 3.4.6) but even if the focus of a service encounter is selling a product, the act of doing so takes place within certain cultural frames. The participants are exposed to a particular kind of speech used in service encounters and thus learn how to act (linguistically) appropriately.

It has become sufficiently clear that the way novices are socialized into target culture politeness norms depends on multiple factors such as the nature of the encounters on offer, the degree of accommodation, the type of interlocutor, the willingness to adopt a different cultural frame, and other identity issues. While Shively explains most of the differences in request realisations between students with reference to either identity issues or agency, Al-Gahtani and Roever (2011) tried to find out how the level of proficiency influences the sequential organisation of requests. Their focus is not on how the requests per se change with regards to modification, but at what point in the interaction participants of different proficiency levels utter the actual request and how they negotiate potential objections. Due to the focus on the sequential organisation of requests, they chose applied conversation analysis as analytical tool.

Al-Gahtani and Roever (2011) had their participants, 26 Saudi Arabian learners of English in Australia, act out role-plays which they analyse with conversation analysis (CA). The participants fall into four proficiency categories: beginners, low intermediate, upper intermediate, and advanced. The role-plays are based on three request situations. The degree of imposition and the social distance between the interlocutors is low but the power variable is manipulated by the researchers. The length of residence in Australia ranged between one week and three years. By using CA, the researchers were able to describe the exchanges also with regard to the "interlocutor's contributions" (Al-Gahtani and Roever, 2011:19). Concerning the participants, significant differences were found between beginning and proficient learners of English. The less proficient participants uttered their requests relatively early in the respective interactions which seemed to make the interlocutors assume a "more directive role" Al-Gahtani and Roever (2011) than they would with more advanced students. With beginning learners of English the interlocutors tended to use more first pair parts to elicit the information they needed and they also partially disregarded the role-play instructions by omitting

additional complications they were supposed to introduce in the interaction. The sequential organisation of the students' talk seemed to give the interlocutor cues as to their proficiency. While beginning learners mostly launched into the requests without any pre-expansions, more proficient learners would "project the upcoming request" through "preliminary moves" (Al-Gahtani and Roever, 2011:18). This sequential organisation had a profound influence on the interlocutor in that he/she could assume a more passive role with advanced students than he/she had been able to with the elementary students.

The CA approach used in this study enabled the researchers to analyse both the participants' and the interlocutor's speech, thus outlining the interdependence between them and the influence of student proficiency on the interlocutor, and thus on the structure of the interaction. In the present study, proficiency is not one of the factors expected to influence the sequential organisation, or indeed the structure of the requests (mainly because the proficiency levels of the participants of the present study are more similar than those in Al-Gahtani and Roever). However, the use of applied CA to analyse role-play data has proven very useful for the present study (also seen in the study of Locher and Watts, 2005) since it allows for a more discursive approach towards politeness in general. In the present study, applied CA thus forms the interface between an analysis of the sequential organisation of requests as well as the relational work carried out by the participants and their interlocutors in the role-plays as well as in the authentic interactions.

2.4 Conclusion and presentation of research questions

In this chapter, I first introduced the theoretical concepts used to account for pragmalinguistic development in this study. Since the participants live abroad and interact with German native speakers on a daily basis, language socialization is the most appropriate overarching framework to explain L2 learning in social contexts, and communities of practice (CofPs). The two main foci within this language socialisation framework used to explain potential differences between the participants are politeness theory and social identity.

Concerning politeness, I have acknowledged the importance of the 'speech act' tradition and recognised its significance in L2 pragmatics research in the work of Blum-

Kulka et al. (1989) and others. However, I also recognise the situated and contextualised nature of politeness, and accept the value of analyses (including those using CA), which recognise that politeness is negotiated between interlocutors.

Concerning the perspective of “identity” used in this study, I showed that Norton-Peirce’s idea of a social identity which is co-constructed in interaction yet also dependent on the “habitus” lends itself best to account for the development of a social identity in the participants of this study. I also argued that the development of a social identity is closely linked to interaction and participation in communities of practice.

Section 2.3 gave a brief overview of pragmatics and its origins and I then reviewed current research on pragmatic development in a study abroad setting. The chapter closes with a methodological analysis of previous request development studies in a study abroad setting.

The discussion presented in this chapter has led to formulation of the following research questions:

1. How do the request realisations of advanced students of L2 German change over time (i.e. before, during and after a sojourn abroad) regarding
 - a) the directness level of requests used
 - b) the variation in directness strategies and
 - c) the change in request perspectives?

2.
 - a) To what extent are student requests internally mitigated before, during and after their sojourn abroad?
 - b) Does the variation in internal mitigation strategies change during study abroad (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)?

3.
 - a) To what extent are student requests externally mitigated before, during and after their sojourn abroad?
 - b) Does the variation in external mitigation strategies change during study abroad?

4. What differences are there in the way the participants “orient to the preference structure for requests” (Kasper, 2009:34) in role-plays and in authentic

exchanges? Are the role-plays and the authentic data samples equally valid sources of data?

5. Do learner identity, the engagement in communities of practice and/ or the participants' perception of politeness when abroad influence pragmalinguistic developments?

Three questions (1, 2 and 3) are concerned with students' L2 pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic development, and a further question (5) is concerned with the social factors which may explain these. One further question (4) is methodological in nature, using CA to compare the preference structure of requests in both authentic and role play data, in order to validate the use of role play as a data gathering tool in this and many previous studies.

In chapter 3, I will introduce the analytical tools used to analyse the collected data and give an overview of the research sites and the participants of the present study.

3 Methodology

3.1 Chapter outline

The theoretical foundations of this longitudinal mixed methods study, politeness theory, Conversation Analysis (CA), identity and communities of practice (CofPs) were the focus of chapter 2, leading to a presentation of the research questions which drive the study.

Chapter 3 presents the research design and methodology adopted to implement the study. The chapter starts with the presentation of pen portraits of all participants (3.2). In section 3.3, the methodological rationale underlying the mixed methods design and data elicitation tools used in the present study is presented and the actual data collection procedures are described in detail in section 3.4. The chapter ends with an in-depth explanation of all data analysis methods (3.5) and a chapter conclusion.

3.2 Participants in the study

In the third year of their undergraduate studies, students taking languages degrees at UK universities have to spend one year abroad. They can go abroad on an ERASMUS student placement, but they can also work as teaching assistants at schools or look for a work placement. The initial nine participants of this study volunteered to participate when they were 2nd year undergraduate students, at a research-intensive UK university. Karen, the native German speaking lecturer who carried out part of the pre-sojourn role-plays, taught German to all of the participants and initially helped the researcher establish contact with the students. Recruitment followed the normal ethical procedures of the host university.

In order to help answer the identity related part of RQ 5 “Do learner identity, the engagement in communities of practice and/ or the participants’ perception of politeness when abroad influence pragmalinguistic developments?”, the students were asked at recruitment to fill in an online survey (see Appendix A) on their previous language learning experience, and also took part in a pre-sojourn semi-structured interview. The

results are summarised below in Table 3.1 and in short portraits of each individual participant.

Of the nine initial participants, six were native speakers of English, two students grew up bilingually (Croatian/English and Italian/Twi), and one was a native speaker of French. One native English speaking participant dropped out in December 2011. Seven of the remaining eight completed their year abroad in Germany, while one student went to Austria (see Table 3.1 for placement details). The participants are listed in Table 3.1 in order of ascending proficiency (i.e. by language ‘stage’ as defined by the host university, where Stage 4 is post-A level).

Table 3.1 Participant placement details

Student (stage)	city	ERASMUS student exchange	Work placement	TA
Christine (4)	Neckargemünd		Internship at Stephan Hawkins School	
Anna (5)	Giessen		Internship at Bosch TT	
Sonia (5)	Frankfurt	X		
Alice (5)	Frankfurt		X	
George (5)	Freiburg	X		
Lucy (5)	Saarbrücken			foreign language assistant)
Emma (5)	Potsdam	X		
Andrew (6)	Wien	X		

Christine

Christine was a French native speaker in her second year of English literature and German at the host university. She had not lived in England before. She started learning German at the age of 14 and had been studying it for 7 years before her sojourn in Germany. Christine’s self-assessment of her English and German skills was “advanced” and “beginner to intermediate” respectively. She had spent one month travelling in German speaking countries and had attended German classes in the last of her altogether three trips. While she only spoke with native or fluent speakers of German once per week during her first trip, she spoke German every day during her second and third trip to Germany.

Christine started to learn English when she was five years old because her parents put her in English speaking schools. One of her main problems when learning German was her initial belief that “German would come to her” just like English had. She then noticed that this would not be the case and that she would have to study very hard to improve her German language skills.

Anna

At the time of our first interview, Anna was 19 years old and thus the youngest of the eight participants. She too was in her second year at university doing a BA in Contemporary European Studies. Anna, a native English speaker, had started learning German at age five and rated her proficiency as “intermediate”. She also spoke Spanish at “beginner” level. Anna spent five years in Germany with her family when she was five years old. She went to an international school in Germany where all subjects were taught in English but the students had one hour of German four times a week and two hours on Fridays. At that time, she spoke with native/ fluent speakers of German every day since all her neighbours were German

Sonia

Sonia, a 21 year old student, was studying management sciences and German. Sonia grew up bilingually in England, speaking both English and Croatian. Her parents were Croatian speakers. Apart from English and Croatian, Sonia also spoke French and classified her knowledge as “intermediate”. Sonia had been studying German for eight years before going on her year abroad. Regarding her former travel experience, she had spent four months in German speaking countries. On her first trip to Austria, she took no classes and spoke with native/ fluent speakers of German every day. She stayed in Austria for two months. On her second trip, Sonia went to Germany where she stayed for three weeks. She took classes and talked with native/ fluent speakers of German every day. During her third trip, this time to Switzerland, she again took classes and spoke with native/ fluent speakers of German every day. She stayed in Switzerland for two weeks.

Alice

Alice was a 20 year old student in her second year at university. Her degree programme was German and Spanish (Linguistic studies). Alice was born in Italy. Her parents spoke Twi (father) and Fante (mother), two dialects of the Akan language spoken in the Southern regions of Ghana. The family spoke Twi with each other but Alice used Italian outside her home. She also rated her English and Spanish as advanced. Alice started studying German at 14 years of age, thus later than the other participants. At the time of the first data collection for the present study, she had been studying German for six years, two of which were at university. Alice had not been travelling in German speaking countries prior to her study abroad year, yet she was one of the most multi-cultural students participating in the study.

George

George was a native English speaker enrolled in the French and German BA programme. At the age of 20 he had been learning German for a total of nine years. George rated his knowledge of French as “intermediate”. He had been to Germany twice, each time for one week, before his study abroad year. He did not take any classes and only spoke with native/ fluent speakers of German infrequently.

Lucy

Lucy was a 20 year old, second year university student who studied French and German. She was a native English speaker who started learning German in secondary school at age 11 and had been studying it for a total of nine years before going abroad. She rated both her French and German “intermediate/advanced”. Lucy spent four ten day trips in Germany on school exchanges, so 40 days in total. She did not take German classes on any of her four trips and summarises her experience in Germany as follows: “The first time I spoke almost no German, as my knowledge was very, very basic. By the fourth time I sometimes had short conversations (five or ten minutes) with my exchange partner’s parents, but with my partner I more or less spoke English the whole time.” Lucy met her native German speaking boyfriend at university in England. They mainly spoke German with each other.

Emma

Emma was a 20 year old native English speaking student who studied German and linguistics in her second year at university. She started learning German at the age of eleven and had studied it for nine years before her study abroad year. Emma spoke two other languages apart from German, namely French where she classified her knowledge as “beginner” and Spanish as “intermediate”. She had spent one week on a student exchange in Germany before her sojourn abroad. She took classes and spoke with native/ fluent speakers of German every day.

Andrew

Andrew was a 21 year old English student. He was in his second year at university studying German linguistics and Italian. Andrew started studying German at the age of 12 in secondary school. After four years of German in secondary school, he then had two more years in college and at university, respectively. He also studied Italian, French, and Spanish formally and self-assessed his knowledge as “intermediate” for French and Italian, and “beginner” for Italian. Andrew was one of those students who also had former travel experience in German speaking countries. His first trip to Germany was a school exchange and he spent ten days there. He did take classes during the trip and talked to native German speakers every couple of days. The second time he went to Germany to visit a friend. He only stayed for four days and did not take any German classes. He had extended conversation with native German speakers/ fluent speakers of German every day. His third trip to Germany was another school exchange. He stayed for eight days, did not take any classes and spoke with fluent/ native speakers of German every day.

In summary, four of the participants – Christine, Alice, Sonia, and Anna – differ from the rest of the participants in that they grew up speaking at least two languages. When taking an even closer look, these four students fall into two categories: Alice and Sonia were each born and raised in countries other than their parents’ home countries. They both spoke their parents’ mother tongues at home and another language outside their homes. Sonia spoke Croatian with her parents and English everywhere else. Alice spoke Twi, an Akan language, with her parents and Italian outside her home. Since her mother grew up speaking another Akan dialect, namely Fante, Alice could understand some Fante since she used to listen to her mother talking to her family on the phone.

Alice, closely followed by Sonia, has the most pluricultural/lingual identity of all participants.

In Christine and Anna's case the situation is somewhat different. Christine attended English speaking schools in France from the age of five onwards yet both her parents were French, they all lived in France and her lingua franca was French. Anna and her family moved to Germany when she was only five years old but in spite of living in a German speaking country, her German input was much smaller than Christine's exposure to English. German was just one subject in Anna's school, the lingua franca being English. She spoke English at home and due to the fact that she was only five years old at the beginning, her contact with the German speaking world around her must initially have been quite limited.

3.3 Methodological rationale

In the present section, I will introduce the overall design and data elicitation procedures chosen for the study, and discuss their advantages and drawbacks.

The fundamental issue of concern in this study was to document how pragmalinguistic development in the area of requesting takes place over time for study abroad students, and what factors influence this development. In order to operationalise this concern, a longitudinal mixed-methods research design was adopted, including both systematic speech act coding, applied conversation analysis, semi-structured qualitative interviewing, and limited use of questionnaires. Thus rather different tools were required in order to answer the various research questions of the study.

For the purpose of answering Research Questions 1-3, it was necessary to collect samples of participants' requesting behaviour. Analysing learner language has always posed researchers with the problem of what elicitation tools to use. Researchers such as Kasper and Dahl (1991) even position different data elicitation tools alongside a continuum ranging from highly constrained to authentic data thus assuming that a certain kind of tool will necessarily lead to certain types of data. Based on this underlying assumption, many studies of politeness have dealt with the advantages and disadvantage of methodological choices, while very few have actually looked at the data gained with different tools and compared them to naturally occurring data. In this study therefore, two different tools were used to document participants' requesting behaviour:

both researcher-designed role plays (the main source of pragmalinguistic evidence), and a smaller-scale set of authentic self-recordings created by participants when abroad; comparison of the resulting data would allow Research Question 4 to be addressed. These tools are introduced below, together with the semi-structured interviews and questionnaires needed in order to address Research Question 5.

3.3.1 Role-plays

Reliable data collection tools have to measure “the intended hypothetical construct, namely, pragmatic competence” (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010:41). In the present study, the main focus is on how and if participants orient towards the preference structure of requests (Kasper, 2009:34) and thus do politeness, but also on how they formulate their requests from a linguistic perspective. As in many studies of L2 pragmatics, role plays offered good potential to collect relevant data.

Félix-Brasdefer (2010:47) defines role-plays as “simulations of communicative encounters that elicit spoken data in which two interlocutors assume roles under predefined experimental conditions.” To be precise, the above definition applies to open role-plays where participants are given situational prompts but are expected to negotiate the outcome. In closed role- plays, on the other hand, “the participant responds to a role-play situation without a reply from an interlocutor” (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010:47).

Role-plays, which are frequently used in pragmatics research (Demeter, 2007, Halleck, 2007, Rosendale, 1989) combine some of the advantages of natural data with the possibility to control for certain variables (such as Power, Distance and Degree of Imposition: Brown and Levinson, 1987) thus ensuring a degree of standardisation. They are usually recorded and transcribed which makes them a very labour intensive data elicitation method. Due to this, role-plays cannot be used for a large pool of participants.

The validity of a data elicitation instrument encompasses three sub-categories: content, criterion, and construct validity (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010:43). Content validity comprises item and sampling validity. Item validity “refers to how well the items of the instrument measure the intended content area [...] namely, pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic knowledge”(Félix-Brasdefer, 2010:43,44). Open role-plays lend themselves to this kind of analysis since their structure resembles that of authentic exchanges thus allowing for a CA analysis regarding sequence organisation. Yet it is

also possible to isolate speech acts within role-plays and classify them based on a speech acts oriented coding scheme, as was done in the present study. Thus the item validity of open role-plays is very high.

The other part of content validity, sampling validity “refers to the representativeness of the content of the items included in the overall instrument, such as inclusion of different types of situations [...] and symmetrical and asymmetrical contexts”(Félix-Brasdefer, 2010:44). The amount of detail provided in role-play prompts has been shown to have an influence on the data produced by participants (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008). Thus, the participants in Félix-Brasdefer’s study were asked to comment on the content validity of her pilot test role-plays. They all stated that more contextual information was needed and that their answers would have been different if certain aspects of the prompts had been more detailed. The more situational detail is provided by the role-plays, the more valid the instrument per se becomes, yet at the same time this makes it more likely that the number of role-plays will have to be reduced which has an effect on the “ representativeness of the items included in the instrument” (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010:53).

In the present study, all role-plays were based on real life situations the participants could be exposed to before, during and after their stay abroad. All role-plays were written to reflect varying degrees of social distance, power, and imposition.

Criterion-related validity, which “examines whether the results of a production of a test correlate with the findings obtained from another instrument” (Félix-Brasdefer, 2010:44) was investigated by comparing the structure and sequence organisation of role-plays to that of authentic data.

Regarding construct validity, or “the internal structure of the instrument and what aspect of pragmatic competence it intends to measure (e.g. production, perception, interaction)”(p 44), open role-plays help assess all three aspects, since the participants need to engage in a conversation in which they need to make a request.

The authenticity of role-plays may however be somewhat compromised since participants realise that their performance and behaviour in the role-plays will not have any consequences (Kasper and Rose, 2002). Role-play participants are also aware that the interest of the researcher lies in their language which can lead to them trying to produce as much as possible instead of acting out their respective roles (Al-Gahtani, 2010).

A systematic influence of the data collection technique on the data is undeniable, yet in the case of role-plays, it has been argued that the interactions very much resemble naturally occurring exchanges (Huth, 2010). By analysing transcripts from telephone conversations between advanced German speakers in the US, Huth showed that the role-play participants follow certain sequential patterns found in the naturalistic L1 exchanges such as trying to establish solidarity, mutual understanding, or some kind of common grounds before proceeding to the actual purpose of the interaction. Although role-plays have no real-life consequences, Huth's participants still followed the same structures they would have used in similar situations in their L1, i.e. they adhered to what in CA terms is called sequence organisation. This led Huth to believe that the data gained through role-plays is not different from naturally occurring data apart from role-plays commonly being more goal-oriented than natural exchanges (Huth, 2010:549). Huth pointed out that more research concerning the comparability of elicited and natural data is needed, and his claims are pursued further in this study through comparison of role play data with self-recorded authentic requesting data.

3.3.2 Authentic self-recordings

The participants were asked to self-record a minimum of three authentic encounters during their stay abroad, so as to provide further complementary evidence on their evolving requesting behaviour. The advantage natural data have over role-plays data is the fact that participants do not have to imagine what they would say in a certain situation. The knowledge that their real life requests have consequences may also lead to an increased effort to deliver them as pragmatically appropriately as possible yet even the authenticity of naturally occurring discourse is slightly compromised by the fact that for ethical reasons, both the student and the interlocutor must know they are being recorded.

3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used in this study to gather vital data concerning participants' sense of identity, i.e. to contribute to answering Research Question 5. Such interviews are based on a set of pilot-tested questions all participants

are asked “although not necessarily in the same order or wording” (Dörnyei, 2007:136). The format provides comparable data across a group of participants, yet the open-ended format (Dörnyei, 2007:136) of semi-structured interviews also encourages the interviewees to elaborate on things they find important or particularly relevant.

When writing interview questions, it is recommended to avoid “ambiguous words” and “leading questions” such as “It was frustrating, wasn’t it...?” (Dörnyei, 2007:138). Although some researchers claim that there is no such thing as a neutral interviewer (Dörnyei, 2007:141), Dörnyei feels that an attempt at impartiality should be made, so as to facilitate the overall goal of the interview, i.e. to allow the interviewee to express themselves freely and to document their individual perspective on the issues raised.

It has been recognised that interviewees also subconsciously try to guess at and fulfil the interviewers’ expectations. This predisposition, called the “social desirability bias” (Dörnyei, 2007:141) can be counteracted by establishing rapport and a non-judgemental attitude but also through careful wording of questions, so that the interviewees do not feel that one answer might be more desirable than another.

Interviews can be very time-consuming and the lack of anonymity may also lead to a change in the interviewee’s behaviour yet, if properly conducted, they usually yield rich data and allow for more flexibility than written elicitation tools. They have been widely used in identity research, as was seen in Chapter 2, e.g. in the work of Norton Peirce (1995); in this study, participants were interviewed on three occasions, pre-, in- and post-sojourn.

3.3.4 Questionnaires

In this study, in order to fully answer Research Question 5, it was also necessary to collect contextual information on participants’ general patterns of language use when abroad. Questionnaires are commonly used in study abroad research for this purpose, and a questionnaire was seen as the most practical tool to use in this study also.

Dörnyei (2007:102) states that questionnaires can elicit three different kinds of data, through factual questions, behavioural questions, and attitudinal questions. Factual questions are used to find out more about the respondent’s background, behavioural questions help to shed light on what the participants “are doing or have

done in the past”, and attitudinal questions are “used to find out what people think” (Dörnyei, 2007).

Depending on what kind of information is needed, the items used in a questionnaire can either be open-or closed-ended items. Closed-ended items do not elicit any kind of writing from the respondents, “instead, respondents are to choose one of the given alternatives (regardless of whether their preferred answer is among them)” (Dörnyei, 2007:105). Open-ended questions include, among others, clarification questions and short-answer questions (p 107).

Closed-ended items are usually preferred in questionnaire research, although some open-ended times are occasionally used. Research in questionnaire design, however, has shown that the data gained through open-ended questions is not usually as multi-layered and rich as interview data, a fact which is thought to be linked to a lower level of participant engagement in questionnaires (p 105).

One of the main challenges when designing a questionnaire is the wording and intelligibility of the items. To avoid any form of misinterpretation of items, multi-item scales (Dörnyei, 2007:103) offering different answers to a question are frequently used. Other commonly used closed-ended items include Likert scales in which participants rate the applicability of statements to their own experience on a scale, typically of five or seven points (Dörnyei, 2007: 105).

Another problem may be the lack of participant commitment and enthusiasm. It is therefore important to inform the respondents of why their participation is needed and by when they have to complete the questionnaire. Other factors such as questionnaire length, layout and item sequence (p 111) are also essential when designing a questionnaire since poorly structured, overly long, and badly sequenced questionnaires usually fail to engage the participants (Dörnyei, 2007:111).

In this study, given the small number of participants and their familiarity with the researcher, participant commitment was not a matter of concern, and advantages were seen in the use of a “Language Engagement Questionnaire” (McManus et al., 2014) to gather comparable data on language use across participants, to complement more individual data provided in interview.

3.4 Data collection procedures

Table 3.2 Overview of data collection tools used during the study

Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
i-survey		
Role-plays	Role-plays	Role-plays
Interview	Interview	Interview
	Language Engagement Questionnaire	
	Authentic data recording Stimulated recall sheets	

The data collection was carried out between May 2011 and October 2012. The first part (May 2011) took place at university in England before the students left for their summer vacation and then their year abroad. The nine participants were asked to fill in an online survey concerning their language background, study abroad experience, and German coursework they had completed.

Then each of them acted out role-plays (six situations) with a German native speaker (Karen or Susi). Karen carried out role-plays with three participants and Susi with the remaining five. As soon as the students had completed their role-plays, the researcher administered their pre-sojourn interview. One participant, Anna, was ill at the time of the pre-sojourn data collection. She was given an alternative date and carried out both the role-plays and the interview with the researcher. All interviews, pre-, in- and post-sojourn were conducted in English.

A facebook group called “study abroad group” was founded which allowed the researcher to communicate with the students quickly and efficiently during their year abroad. In December 2011, the researcher went to visit all participants in Germany (Potsdam, Frankfurt, Saarbrücken, Neckargemünd, Freiburg), and in Vienna (Austria). During this visit, the participants were interviewed to see how their initial expectations regarding their sojourn abroad had changed and if they were aware of new aspects of politeness. The students also acted out six new role-plays with the researcher. The content of these role-plays was different from those pre-sojourn, yet the degree of imposition, the power differential and the social distance between the interlocutors were similar (see Appendix D). They were then asked to fill in a language engagement questionnaire to find out with whom and how often they spoke German and English (see Appendix C). Then they were all given digital tape recorders and a recording

schedule. They were asked to record a minimum of three naturalistic encounters with native speakers of German and fill in a stimulated recall sheet on the same day they recorded themselves. These recall sheets were designed to help them remember the exchange, asking things such as “how do you feel about your use of German in this conversation” or “who was the person you were talking to” (see Appendix E). These audiofiles and the simulated recall forms were then sent to the researcher.

The final, post-sojourn encounter took place in October 2012, when the students acted out their third set of role-plays and were interviewed again. The role-plays were different from both pre- and in-sojourn role-plays regarding content, yet the degree of imposition, social distance and the power differential between interlocutors reflected those of the pre-and in-sojourn role-plays.

3.4.1 Online background survey

The online survey, which the students took in May 2011 through the medium of English (see Appendix A), was divided into four sections. Section 1, called “basic information” comprised information such as student age, year at university and the name of their degree programme. Section 2, “Language background” was designed to elicit information concerning the participants’ and their parents’ native language(s). In section 3, students had to answer questions about their formal language learning history, i.e. when they had started learning German, what German classes they had taken before going abroad, and if they spoke any other languages. In section 4, “Foreign study and travel”, the students were asked to list the times they had spent in a German speaking country and whether they had taken classes and/or spoken with native speakers.

This background information was needed to see if language proficiency and multiple identities might have an influence on participant request realisations but also to see whether the participants already had different levels of cultural awareness before their sojourn abroad and whether this would have an impact on their process of integration in the host community, i.e. was all relevant in particular to Research Question 5.

The preliminary survey was successfully pilot-tested on four students, two of whom were native speakers of English, while the other two students spoke Portuguese

and Farsi as first languages. The pilot test did not lead to any changes in the phrasing of the questions but to a slight adaption of the online formatting of the questionnaire.

The final version of this survey was administered online. Table 3.3 is a summary of the data gained from the background survey concerning participants' language backgrounds and prior knowledge of German. Together with information from the pre-sojourn interviews, it forms the basis of the student pen portraits (see 3.2). The order of participants is based on ascending proficiency according to the "language stages" of the host university.

Table 3.3 Participant online background survey

Student and stage	Native language(s)	Total of university classes taken in German before study abroad	Travel experience in German speaking countries prior to study abroad	Classes taken while travelling in German speaking countries	Total numbers of years learning German
Christine (4)	French	2	1 month	yes	7
Anna (5)	English	1	5 years	NA	14
Sonia (5)	Croatian/ English	2	4 months	Yes	8
Alice (5)	Italian and Twi	3	NA	NA	6
George (5)	English	4	NA	NA	9
Lucy (5)	English	2	NA	NA	9
Emma (5)	English	5	NA	NA	9
Andrew (6)	English	2	3-4 months	Yes (10 days)	9

3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews (pre-, in- and post-sojourn)

The semi-structured pre-sojourn interview (see Appendix B) was loosely based on Shively (2008) because Shively had carried out interviews in a similar situation and some of her questions were suitable for the present study. While all students were asked the same questions, they were free to add things they thought were important. The interviews were conducted in English and audiorecorded by the researcher using an Olympus digital recorder.

The aim of the pre-sojourn interview was to get an understanding of how the following variables might influence the language socialisation process and embedded therein the ability to produce target language appropriate requests: student expectations regarding their year abroad, the space the students occupy within the target society, exposure to native German speakers, students' view of their own and what they consider "German" politeness, their opinion on the influence of study abroad on politeness skills, language proficiency, and the students' view of themselves as German speakers.

The in-sojourn interview (see Appendix B) was designed to see whether student perceptions of language / politeness skills had changed in the time they had already spent in Germany/ Austria and who they mostly spoke German with. They were also asked if they felt part of the local society and if they had joined any clubs etc. Overall, the in-sojourn interview aimed at discovering what kind of changes with regard to language and politeness skills had taken place, whether they felt their identity had changed in any way and who they primarily interacted with.

In the post-sojourn interviews (see Appendix B) the main focus was on finding out how the students felt retrospectively about their year in Germany/Austria, if they perceived any change in their own identity while abroad, whether they would like to return and what their perception of German politeness was, now that they had spent some time in the host country.

3.4.3 Facebook

The study abroad group on Facebook consisting of the nine student participants and the researcher initially served as the main means of communication. This Facebook group was a closed group.

The Facebook group was mainly used to set up appropriate times for the in-sojourn data collection visit and to clarify questions concerning student demographics and work placements, but being "friends" with the participants on Facebook also meant that the researcher had access to their status updates, frequent student comments on the students' private (love) life abroad, or any other kind of surprising event, party, trip etc. that occurred. This helped complete the picture of the participants as social beings trying to find their place in the target community. Following the data collection trip,

messaging on Facebook was used by the participants and the researcher as their main means to communicate.

3.4.4 In-sojourn data collection trip

Due to their different work placements or ERASMUS places, the students had arrived in Germany / Austria at different points in time, between September and October, 2011. The in-sojourn data collection trip took place in December 2011, one week before Christmas vacation. One main purpose of the visit was to get an impression of where the participating students (now reduced to eight) worked or studied, who they mainly interacted and spoke German with, and how their initial pre-sojourn expectations and ideas had changed in the course of approximately two months. The second main purpose was to administer the in-sojourn role-play series, to document any change regarding request realisations since they first did the role-plays.

During this visit, several different types of data were collected. Firstly, the researcher conducted the in-sojourn interview aimed at tracing the change in beliefs and perceptions regarding German politeness and at keeping track of whether students felt their initial expectations had been met or not (see Appendix B).

Secondly, the Language Engagement questionnaire (McManus et al., 2014) was used to determine student exposure to German and their use of English and, if applicable other second languages they might have been studying at this particular point in time.

Thirdly, to get authentic (request) data, students were asked to self-record a minimum of three interactions with German native speakers and deposit the audiofiles in a dropbox together with background information concerning the interlocutor and comments on how they felt the exchange went.

For longer recordings made with friends, the students were asked to make the participants sign a consent form giving detailed information on the projects and the researcher's contact details. For shorter service encounter recording, students were asked to record verbal consent and to give their interlocutors a participant information sheet with the researcher's contact details and information regarding the study. The students were free to make more recordings if they wanted to, but three were agreed to be the minimum.

Finally, a set of in-sojourn role-plays was conducted by the researcher with each participant, as described in the next subsection.

3.4.5 Role-plays

As discussed in section 3.3.1 above, role-plays were chosen as a main means for documenting participants' requesting behaviour for several reasons: firstly, it was not clear whether all participants would be able to tape-record authentic interactions where they would use requests. Secondly, role-plays added consistency to the data since all role-plays included an interlocutor rejoinder and were based on comparable degrees of social distance, imposition and power. The role-plays also provided the only pre-sojourn source of data concerning how the participants used requests before having spent a year abroad. All sets of role-plays (pre-, in- and post-sojourn) consisted of six situations of varying social distance, degrees of imposition, and power differentials. All participants acted out the same sets of role-plays on each occasion, which allowed for a certain degree of standardisation. The pre-sojourn role-plays were based on Cohen et al. (2005:346-355). The interactions were audiorecorded and transcribed based on CA conventions.

For the pre-sojourn role-plays, a pilot test was carried out with individuals selected to reflect the composition of the group of participants. Since the researcher did not have access to other students studying German at that point in time, the pilot test was carried out using applied linguistics students as well as German speaking colleagues at university. The role-plays were written in English so that the participants would not be able to get any linguistic cues from the instructions. The participants in the pilot test were asked to evaluate the credibility of the role-plays, the wording, and whether they would have preferred the role-play instructions to be in German.

Due to the fact that the participants were only available for a couple of hours pre-sojourn, the researcher could not carry out both the role-plays and the interviews with them and had to ask two native German speaking colleagues for support. The two German native speakers were lecturers at university; Karen, from Germany, and Susi from Austria. The researcher was not present during the pre-sojourn role-plays which were administered in a single session. Karen conducted all pre-sojourn role-plays with three participants and Susi with five participants. The researcher herself conducted the

last student's role-play which took place a week after the others, due to illness. The second (in-sojourn) set of role-plays was carried out with the researcher. A fresh set of role-plays was written by the researcher based on situations these specific students might encounter in their year abroad. The in-sojourn role-plays were pilot tested on two native English speaking students of German whose proficiency level was one stage below that of the students abroad, and on one student of the same proficiency level. The pilot participants were asked to pay special attention to the wording of the role-plays, the language of the instructions (again English) and whether they would prefer the addressees in the role-plays to have names.

While the lower proficiency students thought that all six situations were authentic and the fact that no names were provided was not seen as a disadvantage, the higher proficiency students felt that one proposed situation was not credible, so this was changed. He also felt that it would help if names were included in the role-plays because that was "one less thing to think about". Since the first set of role-plays had included names in five out of six situations, the researcher added names where appropriate in the second set of role-plays too.

The post-sojourn role-plays were carried out by the researcher in October 2012, after the return of all participants from abroad. These new role-plays were pilot-tested on two English speaking stage 4 German students at university. The post-sojourn role-play scenarios were based on possible situations an ERASMUS student might find him/herself in before returning home (sending personal belongings home, cancelling mobile phone contracts, taking trains etc.). The participants of the pilot test were asked to comment on the clarity and the authenticity of the role-plays after which one role-play (train ride to Saarbrücken) was changed slightly, because it was initially unclear for the respondent what he was supposed to say and what was background information.

3.4.6 Naturally occurring data

All participants were given an Olympus audio recorder and asked to record a minimum of three encounters with German native speakers. As discussed in section 3.3.2, this was done to answer RQ 4 regarding the preference structure of requests in authentic versus role-play data. Ideally, two of these encounters would have been service encounters, and the third a longer stretch of talk with a friend. It was

thought that service encounters would naturally provide a request scenario. The authenticity of these data is of course somewhat compromised by the knowledge of both interlocutors that they were being recorded.

The students were also asked to think of service encounters that would require them to engage in somewhat longer interactions, e.g. looking for something in a pharmacy, the post office, a mobile phone shop etc. The participants did not get any specific instructions for the recording of the longer exchange with friends etc. since this was mainly intended to provide data on relational work and turn taking. They were then asked to record a minimum of three encounters and fill in an Interaction Information Sheet, or stimulated recall sheet (see Appendix E) on the same day they recorded themselves. These files and the simulated recall forms were then sent to the researcher.

3.4.7 Language Engagement Questionnaire

Students were made to fill in the Language Engagement questionnaire (see Appendix C) on one occasion, while they were abroad. They did this in the presence of the researcher. The questionnaire aimed at determining how much time the students spent engaging with German, English and, if applicable, another second language. This information was needed to determine whether differences in how often they interacted with fluent German speakers/ native speakers, or how often they were either exposed to German (radio, television) or used it in lectures, at the workplace, or for social networking had any influence on their in-sojourn request development (Research Question 5).

3.5 Data analysis methods

In the present study two main data analysis methods have been used to analyse the role-play data and the authentic data produced by the participants: the CCSARP coding scheme (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) and Conversation Analysis (Schegloff, 2007, Kasper, 2009). The CCSARP coding scheme was used to analyse linguistic aspects of all role-play requests, while CA was applied to compare whether there were any differences in sequence organisation between the authentic and the elicited request data. Thus CCSARP is central to answering RQs 1-3, while CA makes a crucial contribution to

answering RQ 4. The interview and questionnaire data were used in an attempt to explain the linguistic findings, i.e. to address RQ 5.

In practice, this meant that all role plays were transcribed and then the actual requests made by the participants were isolated and coded based on the CCSARP coding scheme which allowed for a categorisation of requests with regards to directness level, internal/external mitigation, and request perspective (see 3.5.3). This process was repeated three times: pre-, in- and post-sojourn. With the help of the coding software NVivo, all instances of mitigation, varying directness levels and perspectives were tracked and counted. This information was then exported into Excel to allow for a numerical representation of the data in the form of graphs. This made it possible to compare the number of f.ex. internal mitigation devices the students used pre-sojourn to that used in- or post-sojourn. The trends and patterns emerging in-sojourn were interpreted as attempt to adjust to target community specific language behaviour.

In addition to this, the natural data recorded by the students were analysed with CA to determine if the participants adhered to the “preference structure for requests” (Schegloff, 2007) and whether this structure changed between pre- in- and post-sojourn data collections. As validity check on the role play data, the sequence structure of the authentic exchanges was then compared to that of a selection of role plays carried out by the same participants. CA analyses of request sequences have shown that they follow certain patterns (see 3.5.6 for an in-depth explanation). The minimal request unit consists of a FPP (the request) and a SPP (the granting or rejection of the request). A request could ideally be pre-empted, yet in the present study this did not happen due to the role play scenarios or the situation in which the natural exchanges took place. The FPP, in this case the request, can be expanded before it takes place (pre-expansion). Request sequences can also have insert expansions between the FPP and the SPP, and they can be expanded after the SPP. Both role plays and natural exchanges were analysed with CA to determine if they were based on the same underlying preference structure. CA also helped to highlight and compare instances of turn-initial delays, hesitancies, pauses, and attempts to hedge negative replies.

In summary, the CCSARP coding scheme was used to trace changes in request development focussing on the actual headact while CA helped to shed light on how the interlocutors jointly constructed request sequences while at the same time underscoring the validity of the role plays.

3.5.1 Interview analysis

As described above in section 3.4.2, interviews were conducted three times, pre-in-and post-sojourn. However, five of the original ten in-sojourn interview questions (see below) were considered most relevant when answering RQs 4 and 5.

Question 1: Tell me what you think polite speech behaviour is?

Question 2: What have you discovered about German politeness so far?

Question 3: Is polite speech behaviour understood differently in Germany and Britain?

Question 4: Have your German “politeness” skills changed since you arrived?

Question 5: How do you see yourself in this society? What place do you have?

Responses to these five interview questions have been analysed in two different sections, starting with interview question 5 on learner identity in the host community (see 5.3.1) followed by section 5.3.2 where the answers to interview questions one to four (participants understanding of politeness) are analysed.

The answers to interview questions 1-5 were transcribed and then, in an initial coding step (Dörnyei, 2007:251), passages relevant to the interview questions were highlighted. Next, the codes or common categories identified in these data were listed in a step known as “second-level coding” (Dörnyei, 2007:252). Similar codes were then summarised under a shared name, e.g. in interview question 5, Sonia and George were both judged not to feel part of German society. Their description of this state differed but the content was the same which led to this particular category or code being called “outsider”, a word George used when describing his identity within the host community.

The findings are presented in two steps in Chapter 5: first, summaries of the in-sojourn interviews are presented in sections 5.3.1 (identity) and 5.3.2 (politeness). Then, the codes which emerged from these data are used in Table 5.5, columns II and IV to visualise how they might have influenced the linguistic development of all participants.

Interview question 5 (How do you see yourself in this society? What place do you have?) was shortened to “self-assessed identity in the host community” (Table 5.4, column II).

The summarised interview data yielded the following categories: outsider, trying to fit in with foreign identity, OK with foreign identity, part of German society, and feels like a happy ERASMUS student.

Regarding interview questions 1-4, two themes emerged in participants' responses: linguistic politeness and social politeness. In responses to question 2, examples of linguistic and or social politeness were given. The main themes in the question 3 responses were examples of the differences in linguistic and/or social politeness and/ or explanations of why there are no differences in social and/or linguistic politeness. These themes were further summarised and labelled "awareness of differences in linguistic politeness" and "self-assessed change in politeness skills" (see Table 5.5, column IV).

Concerning awareness of differences in linguistic politeness, the following categories were found in the data: limited and yes. The self-assessed change in politeness skills was rated: no change, yes, yes but still needs improvement, moderate change, maybe.

3.5.2 Questionnaire/ online survey analysis

In the present study, the participants were asked to take two questionnaires: the first one, the online student background questionnaire (see Appendix A), pre-sojourn, and the second, the paper-based Language Engagement Questionnaire (see Appendix C) in-sojourn.

Regarding the online student background questionnaire, all items were either closed-ended or short answer questions such as "What is your native (first) language? If you have more than one native (first) language, please specify".

The Language Engagement Questionnaire, which the students completed in the presence of the researcher during the in-sojourn data collection trip, consists of 26 closed-ended Likert scale questions and one open-ended question. The students were asked to rate how often they carried out certain activities in German. In the second part of the questionnaire, which is identical to the first, they were asked to do the same for a language other than German (normally English). This part was not analysed in the present study, since the following four questions (about the students' use of German) were found most useful when trying to answer RQs 4 and 5:

How often do you:

1. Engage in service encounters
(buy something in a shop etc.),

2. Engage in small talk,
3. Engage in long casual conversations
4. Participate in organised social activities (e.g. clubs, church, sports, etc).

Open-ended question

Would you like to comment/reflect on any of your answers? For example, if there is a book you're currently reading or a favourite television programme you watch, we're interested in that information. Also, if the television (or radio) is always on in your flat but you're not actively watching it, you can tell us that too.

The respondents were asked to rate these activities by ticking one of the following options: everyday, several times a week, a few times a week, a couple of times a month, rarely or never. The answers were tracked in Table 5.4 thus allowing for a frequency pattern to emerge. Three interaction groups were discernible in the data: low, moderately high, and high.

Given the small number of participants and the fact that all participants were committed to the project and willing to participate in all data collection procedures, no formal analysis of response reliability was carried out.

3.5.3 CCSARP coding scheme

The role-play requests were coded based on the CCSARP (Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns) coding scheme (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) which lends itself to the analysis of large amounts of data since it allows for a linguistic categorisation of requests and the tracking of all linguistic developments over time. The coding categories were first designed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) in an attempt to classify requests and apologies which were elicited in written Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs). The CCSARP coding scheme provides a well-developed tool kit to analyse the linguistic features of requests. For this reason, the transcribed role-play request data were coded using a scheme based largely on the CCSARP coding scheme. This was done using the coding software NVivo which supported analysis of requests on four different levels: 1. The directness level of the head act, 2. The degree of internal

mitigation (IMs), 3. The degree of external mitigation (EMs), and 4. The request perspective.

The first step when trying to determine whether a request is f.ex. a mood derivable or a performative is to decide where the actual request starts in the overall request sequence. This “actual” request is what the CCSARP coding scheme calls the head act. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989:275) define the head act as “the minimal unit which can realize a request; it is the core of the request sequence.” They proceed by saying that in order to “isolate the Head Act one should disregard those parts of the sequence which are not essential for realizing the request” (p 275). So in a request such as “Get me a drink, please. I am thirsty”, the minimal unit to realise the request is “Get me a drink, please”. “I am thirsty” is a supportive move and thus external to the head act.

Although the CCSARP researchers claim that the coding categories can also be used for naturally occurring data, there are certain limitations in this respect. Firstly, in the original CCSARP project the requests or apologies were limited to one line answers, thus making it easier to recognise the head act. In naturally occurring data, and even in open role-play data, it is often quite difficult to determine a single lead head act, a problem Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) tried to solve by introducing the term ‘double head’ for multiple head acts within a request sequence.

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) would however only code a stretch of data as a double head act, if there were two head acts of the same directness level, f.ex. two query preparatories. Contrary to this, in the present study, head acts were coded as double or triple heads if each of the produced head acts fit into a request coding sub-category (see section 3.5.3, Table 3.4, sub-categories). That is, in the present study, head acts of different directness levels, such as f.ex. a query preparatory and a mood derivable, were also coded as double heads if the context suggested that they both carry the same requestive weight. Whether this was the case, was determined based on the individual analysis of each role-play and the interaction with the respective interlocutor. Although the less direct request of the two should, according to the coding scheme, be coded as a supportive move leading up to the actual requests/ head act, there were situations where the overall analysis of the situation suggested that two or three requests should be coded as joint head acts, even if they were not of the same level of directness.

There are three head act directness levels: Direct Strategies, Conventionally Indirect Strategies, and Non-conventionally Indirect Strategies (see categories in Table 3.4 and section 3.5.5). Each of these categories comprises several different sub-

categories. In chapter 4, the terms “strategies” and “sub-strategies” will be preferred in the presentation of findings, while here the terms “categories” / “sub-categories” will be used when presenting definitions used to code the request data. All other levels of analysis also comprise main categories which consist of several sub-categories. Table 3.4 presents those sub-categories which actually occurred in the data. It does not mention all CCSARP sub-categories. A comprehensive list of all original CCSARP categories is given in section 3.5.5 (also see appendix F for examples of all strategies used in the present study).

Table 3.4 Coding categories and sub-categories

Levels of analysis	categories	sub-categories	sub-categories	sub-categories
1. Request strategies (directness level)	<p>Direct Strategies (DSs)</p> <p>Conventionally Indirect Strategies (CISs)</p> <p>Non-conventionally Indirect Strategies (NCISs)</p>	<p>DSs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mood derivables • performatives • hedged performatives • locution derivable • obligation statement • want statement 	<p>CISs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • suggestory formulae • query preparatories 	<p>NCISs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strong hint • mild hint
2. Internal mitigation Strategies (IMSS)	<p>Lexical and phrasal downgraders (LPDs)</p> <p>Syntactic downgrader (SDs)</p> <p>upgraders</p>	<p>LPDs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cajoler • consultation device • downtoner • hedge • politeness marker • subjectivizer • understater 	<p>SDs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conditional clause • conditional • false conditional clause • subjunctive • tense 	<p>Upgraders:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intensifier • Ortho=graphic supra=segmental emphasis • time intensifier
3. External mitigation Strategies (EMSs)	<p>Mitigating supportive moves (MSMs)</p> <p>Aggravating supportive moves (ASMs)</p>	<p>MSMs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disarmer • Getting a precommitment • Grounder • Imposition minimizer • Preparator • Promise of reward 	<p>ASMS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • moralizing 	
4. Request perspectives	<p>Hearer dominant strategies (HDSs)</p> <p>Speaker dominant strategies (SDSs)</p> <p>Speaker and Hearer dominant strategies (SHDs)</p> <p>Impersonal strategies (ISs)</p>			

The coding categories shown in Table 3.4 were only used to describe the linguistic features of requests. No conclusions concerning politeness f. ex. were drawn based on the level of directness or indirectness of requests, though trends in the in-sojourn data have been interpreted as adaptation to host community specific language behaviour and as such as a part of politeness.

3.5.4 Explanation of coding categories

In this section, the different coding categories derived from the CCSARP project will be explained in detail based on Table 3.4.

Originally, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989:277-289) distinguished nine coding categories for requests: alerters, request perspective, request strategy, syntactic downgraders, lexical and phrasal downgraders, upgraders, supportive moves, mode and type of modal (see Table 3.4). In the present study, six of these categories – request perspective, request strategies, syntactic downgraders (SDs), lexical and phrasal downgraders (LPDs), upgraders and supportive moves – were used. Of these six categories, request strategies, and request perspectives can easily be found in the “levels of analysis” column of Table 3.4. The term “level of analysis” was introduced by the researcher to describe the different perspectives from which a request can be analysed. Syntactic downgraders, lexical/phrasal downgraders, and upgraders belong in the category “internal mitigation strategies” on level 2. Supportive moves, which consist of mitigating and aggravating supportive moves, are external mitigation strategies on level 3. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) do not use the term internal mitigation strategies for lexical and phrasal downgraders (LPDs), syntactic downgraders (SDGs), and upgraders. They do not use external mitigation strategies for mitigating supportive moves (MSMs) and aggravating supportive moves (AGMs), either, but mention these categories directly while they revert to using the term request strategies for direct strategies (DSs), conventionally indirect strategies (CISs) and non-conventionally indirect strategies (NCSs), and request perspectives for hearer dominant strategies (HDSs) etc. In the present study, the different levels of analysis were grouped as shown in Table 3.4 to make it easier to understand what overall level each individual category/ sub-category belongs to.

3.5.4.1 Level of analysis 1 (request directness)

The following explanation of coding categories and procedure refers to the sub-categories of the first level of analysis (see Table 3.4). It comprises the sub-categories of DSs, CISs, and NCISs. As noted already, the number of sub-categories used in the present study differs slightly from the number suggested by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). The CCSARP Coding Manual published as appendix of the 1989 book “Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Request and Apologies” comprises nine sub-categories: mood derivable, explicit performative, hedged performative, locution derivable, want statement, suggestory formula, preparatory, strong hint and mild hint. This list of strategies encompasses the three main directness categories: DSs, CISs, and NCISs. Yet in the first chapter (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:18) of the same book, the researchers partly introduce new names for the above categories e.g. explicit performatives become performatives, locution derivables turn into obligation statements and preparatories are now called query preparatories.

Due to the nature of the collected data, the researcher decided to keep a distinction between locution derivables and obligation statements because it was found that they differ slightly and that not all requests which were formerly coded as locution derivable would neatly fit into the new category of obligation statements. A set of definitions of the revised categories used in this study follows below, together with illustrative examples.

DSs in the present study include mood derivables, performatives, hedged performatives, locution derivables, obligation statements, and want statements. CISs coded in the study comprise suggestory formulae query preparatories and NCISs include mild and strong hints.

3.5.4.2 Level of analysis 2 (internal mitigation strategies)

IMs consist of syntactic downgraders, lexical/phrasal downgraders, and upgraders. These categories comprise several sub-categories (see Table 3.4). Internal mitigation describes the degree to which the head act is internally modified to either increase or mitigate the illocutionary force of the request, hence the distinction between upgraders and downgraders.

Syntactic downgraders which Blum-Kulka et al. (1989:281) define as devices “mitigating the impositive force of the Request by means of syntactic choices” originally comprise interrogatives, negation of a preparatory condition, subjunctive, conditional, aspect, tense, conditional clause and combinations of the above. In the present study, this list was reduced to conditional clause, conditional, false conditional clause and subjunctive. One category, false conditional clauses, was introduced by the researcher (see Appendix F and Appendix G).

Lexical and phrasal downgraders also modify the head act internally “through specific lexical and phrasal choices” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:283). This category consists of politeness markers, consultative devices (a sub-category that does not appear in the coding manual itself but is identified on page 19 in the same book) understaters, hedges, subjectivizer, downtoners, cajolers, appealers and combinations of the above. In the present study, the following sub-categories were used: cajoler, consultative device, downtoner, hedge, politeness marker, subjectivizer, and understater.

Upgraders also mitigate the head act internally. Yet compared to the before mentioned categories of downgraders, they “increase the impact of the request”(Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:285). The original list of upgraders comprises intensifiers, commitment indicators, expletives, time intensifiers, lexical uptoners, determination markers, repetition of requests, orthographic/ suprasegmental emphases, emphatic additions, pejorative determiners, and combinations of the above. Only three of these sub-categories were used in the present study: Intensifier, orthographic suprasegmental emphasis, and time intensifier. The other categories were not applicable to the data.

3.5.4.3 Level of analysis 3 (external mitigation strategies)

External mitigation refers to the use of supportive moves which are semantic components “external to the Head Act occurring either before or after it.” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:287). EMSs can either mitigate or aggravate the head act. The original list of mitigating supportive moves includes the following sub-categories: preparators, getting a precommitment, grounders, disarmers, promises of rewards, and imposition minimizers. The MSMs sub-categories used in the present study comprise Disarmers, Getting a precommitment, grounders, imposition minimizers, preparators, and promises of reward. The sub-categories of ASMs consists of insults, threats, moralizing and

combination of the above. Only one sub-category, moralizing, was used in the present study.

3.5.4.4 Level of analysis 4 (request perspectives)

The CCSARPs coding manual states that “a request can be realized from the viewpoint of the Hearer, the Speaker, or both participants, or any explicit mentioning of the agent can be (deliberately) avoided” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:278). The authors further determine that “in cases of embedded structures, coding relates to the verb in the Head Act” (p 278). All requests made in the present study were coded based on these four request perspectives.

3.5.5 Coding categories: examples and explanations

In the following section, the different coding categories will be explained in detail highlighting some of the problems which occurred when coding the role-play data and what decision were made if requests seemingly did not fit into any of the categories. Based on Table 3.4, the sub-categories and the coding process used to determine whether certain head acts belong in a particular sub-category will be explained.

3.5.5.1 Examples of request directness strategies

As mentioned above (see 3.5.3), the CCSARP coding manual distinguishes nine request directness strategies while ten request directness strategies were coded in the present study. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) have arranged them in order of rising indirectness, meaning that the illocutionary force of the request is clearly visible in strategy 1 (mood derivable, DS), while strategy 9 (mild hint, NCIS) is only recognisable as a request in context.

In the below list of requests, the explanations given Blum-Kulka et al. (1989:18) in Chapter 1 and in their coding manual (p 273- 294) were merged to facilitate coding. All definitions are in line with those of the original CCSARP coding scheme yet

sometimes - due to the lack of examples in the original – a more in depth explanation of why certain requests were coded in a certain way was added (e.g. for performatives).

Direct strategies (DSs):

1. Mood derivable .The grammatical mood of the locution conventionally determines its illocutionary force as a Request. The prototypical form is the imperative. However, functional equivalents such as infinite forms and elliptical sentence structures express the same directness level. In summary, utterances in which the grammatical mood of the verb signals illocutionary force which is derivable via linguistic indicators.

- a. Leave me alone!
- b. Get lost!
- c. The menu please.

2. Performatives. The illocutionary intent is explicitly named by the speaker by using a relevant illocutionary verb. Here too, the illocutionary force is derivable via linguistic indicators, the linguistic indicators being the relevant illocutionary verb. In summary, performatives are utterances in which the illocutionary force is explicitly named.

- a. I'm asking you to tidy up your room!

This definition is derived from the CCSARP coding scheme, but Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) do not mention requests which start with what could be named a “performative beginning”, e.g. I am asking you....(Ich bitte Sie, ich frage Sie) but then go on checking the willingness and ability of the interlocutor, something which would then belong in the conventionally indirect category of query preparatories (see point 8), f.ex:

- b. I am asking you (=performative beginning) if you could give the paper a week earlier (query preparatory ending).

In the present study, requests of this kind were coded as (hedged) performatives if they started with a relevant illocutionary verb, this being a verb which conveys requestive intent, such as ask, request, etc. Had the above request started with “I wanted to hear/know” it would have been coded as query preparatory.

Another factor which has to be taken into consideration is the slight difference in structural usage between the English verb “to ask” and the German verb “fragen”.

While in English both of the following requests are possible, in German only the “if” option is possible when using the verb “fragen”

- a. I want to ask you to help me. (hedged performative)
- b. I want to ask you *if you could help me* (hedged performative)
- c. Ich möchte Sie fragen *ob Sie mir helfen können.*

If one wanted to apply a similar structure as in sentence (c), another verb carrying the illocutionary force of a request has to be chosen, f.ex.:

- d. Ich ersuche / bitte Sie mir zu helfen. (hedged performative)

Although the question arises whether “fragen” conveys the same illocutionary requestive force as “to ask”, the fact that the speaker is announcing that he/she is asking the interlocutor for information, help, support etc. is the linguistic cue which makes this kind of request a (hedged) performative.

This difference in usage between “to ask” and “fragen” will also be of importance when it comes to coding the internal mitigation of (hedged) performatives. As explained before, in the case of “fragen” used as a hedged performative, the sentence can only proceed with “if” (ob) (sentence d/e)

- e. Ich wollte Sie fragen *ob Sie mir helfen können.*

Since only optional elements are coded as internal mitigation, in the case of hedged performatives starting with “Ich wollte Sie fragen” the subsequent if part cannot be coded as internal mitigation. In cases where both is possible (....., ob Sie mir helfen können/ mir zu helfen), the if/ob part of the sentences was coded as false if-clause (syntactic downgrader).

Similarly, other verbs conveying illocutionary intent, such as “ersuchen” (to ask someone to do something) can only be used with to plus infinitive.

- f. Ich ersuche Sie mir zu helfen.

In summary, verbs such as *ersuchen*, *bitten* and *auffordern* (all of which mean to ask sb. to do something) carry more illocutionary force as requests in German than the verb to ask. Regarding these verbs there can never be any doubt as to whether the speaker is

going to utter a request or not. In addition, the use of an illocutionary verb requires a certain linguistic form which all performatives have in common - subject plus (modified) illocutionary verb and unless the verb carries no requestive force (to hear, to know) all requests of this form were coded as performatives in the present study.

This means that the Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) definition (the original definition in this study) was not altered but that the lack of additional examples in the CCSARP coding scheme made it necessary to determine how to code examples which did not have the exact same form as the ones provided by the researchers.

3. Hedged performatives. The illocutionary verb denoting the requestive intent is modified by modal verbs or verbs expressing intention. Hedged performatives are utterances in which the naming of the illocutionary force is modified by hedging expressions, but since there still is an illocutionary verb expressing the requestive intent, the illocutionary force is derivable via linguistic indicators.

- a. I *must* ask you to move your car. (Ich *muss* Sie bitten Ihr Auto umzustellen)
- b. I *would like* to ask you to put the exam off by a week. (Ich *möchte* Sie bitten, die Prüfung um eine Woche zu verschieben.)

4. Locution derivables. Utterances in which the illocutionary intent is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution. In the present study, the category of locution derivables is still used because neither want nor obligation statements cover simple statements such as:

- a. I need more time to do this.

Or questions which do not contain elements referring to the willingness or ability of the interlocutor to carry out certain acts (query preparatory)

- b. Will you take me home? (Bringen Sie mich nach Hause?)

Based on the semantic meaning of the utterance, the interlocutor can infer that it is meant as a request, in contrast to the categories before, where linguistic factors such as the use of the imperative or the verbal announcement that one is going to perform a

request clearly mark them as requests. This also shows that the farther down on the scale the categories are, the longer it is supposed to take to identify them as requests.

5. Obligation statements. The understanding of illocutionary force or requestive intent relies on the semantic content of the utterance. It is thus locution derivable. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989:279) use the above category of locution derivables instead of obligation statements in their coding manual yet substitute locution derivables with the category of obligation statements on page 18 of the same book. Although the semantic content in both cases is locution derivable, the category of obligation statements is not comprehensive enough to accommodate statements such as “I need more time to do this” or questions such as “Will you take me home?” An obligation statement is an utterance which states the obligation of the hearer to carry out the act.

a. You’ll have to move that car.

6. Want statements. The understanding of illocutionary force or requestive intent relies on the semantic content of the utterance. It is locution derivable. The definitions given for want statements cover slightly different aspects of this request category. On page 18, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) say that want statements are utterances which state the speaker’s desire for the hearer to carry out the act

a. I really wish you’d stop bothering me.

The coding manual itself (p279) says that a want statement expresses the speaker’s desire that the event denoted in the proposition come about.

b. I’d like to borrow your notes for a while.

The definition for sentence b) is more widely applicable since it applies to all request perspectives while the definition for sentence a) aims at hearer dominant requests.

Conventionally indirect strategies (CISs):

7. Suggestory formulae. The interpretation as request is aided by conventional usage. It is an utterance which contains a suggestion to something.

The illocutionary intent is phrased as a suggestion by means of a framing routine formula.

- a. *How about cleaning up?*

8. Query preparatories. The interpretation of illocutionary force is aided by conventional usage. The utterance contains references to a preparatory condition for the feasibility of the request, typically one of ability, willingness, or possibility as conventionalized in the given language.

- a. Would you mind lending me your car?
- b. Could you clear up the kitchen, please?
- c. Can I borrow your notes?
- d. I was wondering if you would give me a lift.
- e. I just wanted to hear if I could get a lift home.

In the coding manual, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989:280) distinguish between preparatories and query preparatories. Their definition of query preparatories is “the speaker questions rather than states the presence of the chosen preparatory condition”. So “Can I borrow your notes” would be a preparatory, while “Could I borrow your notes” is a query preparatory, yet on page 18 this distinction was given up and the category called query preparatory encompasses can/ could etc. queries. In the present study, only the term query preparatories is used for both definitions, especially since Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) seem to have used it for both preparatories and query preparatories.

Non-conventionally indirect strategies (NCISs):

9. Strong hints. The illocutionary intent is not immediately derivable from the locution; however, the locution refers to relevant elements of the intended illocutionary and/ or propositional act. Such elements often relate to preconditions for the feasibility of the request. Unlike the preparatory strategy, hints are not conventionalized and thus require more inferencing activity on the part of the hearer, yet the utterances contain partial reference to objects or elements needed for the implementation of the act (you have left the kitchen in a right mess).

- a. Will you be going home now? (you want a lift)

- b. I wasn't at the lecture yesterday (you want to borrow lecture notes)

10. Mild hints. The interpretation as request relies heavily on context. The locution contains no elements which are of immediate relevance for the intended illocution or proposition, thus putting increased demand for context analysis and knowledge activation on the interlocutor. In short, mild hints are utterances that make no reference to the request proper (or any of its elements) but are interpretable as request by context.

- a. You've been busy here, haven't you? (if you want someone to clean the kitchen)
- b. I didn't expect the meeting to end this late (you want a lift home)
- c. I am a nun (to a persistent hassler)

3.5.5.2 Examples of internal mitigation strategies (IMSs)

The second level of analysis used in the present study (see Table 3.4) refers to the use of IMSs such as downgrades/ upgraders. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) distinguish syntactic downgraders (SDs) and lexical and phrasal downgraders/upgraders (LPDs). Regarding syntactic downgraders, only those elements are to be considered downgraders which are optional and which have "a mitigating function in context" (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:281). The example given in the manual is that of a query preparatory and interrogatives. Since the majority of query preparatories are questions such as "Would you mind...?", or "Could you...?", the question per se is not internally coded as interrogative because it is not optional. This problem does not present itself in query preparatories such as "I just wanted to hear if you could take me home" because they do not take the form of a question.

Yet, in the case of locution derivables, questions are optional. Both "Sie nehmen mich mit (p 281)" (You are going to take me home) and "Nehmen Sie mich mit (p 281)?" (Are you going to take me home?) are locution derivables which shows that in this example the interrogative form is optional and should thus be internally coded as such. This is a decision that has to be made in all cases of internal mitigation. Another important factor is the question whether a particular syntactic downgrader has "a

mitigating function in context” (p 281). Since this largely depends on the development of the respective role-play, it has to be decided for every individual example.

In the present study, another category of syntactic downgraders was introduced, namely “false if-clauses” (see point 8 below). This was to account for the optional if part in hedged performatives, e.g.

- a. I wanted to ask you *if you could give me more time*.

This request could have taken another form: I wanted to ask you to give me more time, which makes the above if part optional. In the CCSARP coding scheme, the researchers introduce a category called *type of modal*. They define modals as “a syntactic class of verb form” and count will and would in this category. In the case of the present study it was felt that a category called false if-clauses was more self-explanatory and representative of what was often used as the finishing part of hedged performatives. It also reflected the distinction between syntactic modals such as those occurring in if sentences and those which are used in query preparatories (Could you lend me your book please?) and which do not change the sentences structure. In the case of the latter, “could” was coded as tense.

All sub-categories of downgraders and upgraders are listed below. Those used by the participants in this study are in bold.

SDs:

1. Interrogatives (Nehmen Sie mich mit?)
2. Negation of preparatory conditions (You *couldn't* shut up, could you?)
3. **Subjunctive** (It *might* be better if you)
4. **Conditional** (I *would suggest* you take him with you)
5. Aspect (I'm wondering if you could go shopping for me?)
6. Tense (I *was* wondering if....)
7. **Conditional clause** (It would be better if you went home earlier)
8. **False if-clause** (I wanted to ask *if you could turn down the music*)

None of the participants used interrogative, negation of preparatory conditions or aspect (for which there is no equivalent in German). The sub-categories which were used are subjunctive, conditional tense, conditional clause and false conditional clause.

LPDs:

1. **Politeness markers** (Can you call him, *please*?)
2. **Understater** (Can you hurry up *a bit*?)
3. **Hedge** (It would be better *somehow* if you....)
4. **Subjectivizer** (*I wonder* if you could sit the exam for him)
5. **Downtoner** (Could you *possibly* cook for us today?)
6. **Cajoler** (*You know*, it would be great if.....)
7. **Appealer** (Hurry up, *will you*?)
8. **Consultative device** (*Do you think* you could give your presentation today?)

All lexical and phrasal downgraders were used, so all eight sub-categories appear in the Nvivo coding scheme of the present study. Although Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) do not mention consultative devices in the actual coding manual, they make an appearance elsewhere in the book and refer to “expressions by means of which the speaker seeks to involve the hearer directly, bidding for cooperation” (p 283).

Lexical/ phrasal upgraders

Upgraders, or “elements whose function it is to increase the impact of the request” (p 285) where only used sparingly and of the original ten sub-categories, only three were used by the participants. The list starts with the three sub-categories (in bold) actually used by the participants (p 285):

1. **Intensifier**: Adverbial modifiers used by speakers to intensify certain elements of the proposition of the utterance. (The kitchen is in a *terrible* mess.)
2. **Time intensifier**. (You better move your car *right now*!)
3. **Orthographic/suprasegmental emphasis**: Underlining, using exclamation marks or, in the spoken mode, using marked pausing, stress, and intonation to achieve heightened or dramatic effects. (Cleaning the kitchen is *your* business!)
4. Commitment indicator: sentence modifiers by means of which a speaker indicates his or her heightened degree of commitment vis-à-vis the state of affairs referred to in the proposition. (*I'm sure* you won't mind giving me a lift)
5. Expletive. (Why don't you clean that *bloody* mess up?)

6. Lexical uptoner: A marked lexical choice whereby an element of the proposition is given negative connotations. (Clean up that *mess!*)
7. Determination marker: Elements indicating a heightened degree of determination on the part of the speaker. (I've explained myself and *that's that!*)
8. Repetition of request: Literally or by paraphrase. (Get lost! Leave me alone!)
9. Emphatic addition: Set lexical collocations used to provide additional emphasis to the request. (*Go and clean* that kitchen!)
10. Pejorative determiner. (Clean up *that* mess (there)!)

Sub-categories four to ten were not used, yet it has to be said that the distinction between expletives, lexical uptoners emphatic additions and pejorative determiners is in many cases extremely difficult if not impossible. Point eight is problematic in that it suggests internal coding of double heads as repetition of requests. Once a participant utters a double head and it was coded as such, it should not be coded as repetition of request internally, because it would then not be optional anymore.

3.5.5.3 Examples of external mitigation strategies (EMSs)

EMSs fall into two categories: mitigating and aggravating supportive moves. MSMs tone down the force of the request while ASMs do the opposite. Of the six supportive moves, the participants of the present study used all but one (promise of reward).

Of the three ASMs, only moralizing was used. The sub-categories in bold were used by the participants of the present study.

MSMs:

1. **Preparator**, e.g. Can I ask you something?
2. **Getting a precommitment**, e.g. Could you do me a favour?
3. **Grounder**, e.g. *I was paid late last month.* I couldn't pay rent.
4. **Disarmer**, e.g. *I know you said you didn't have any time,* but...
5. Promise of reward, e.g. Could you help me put up the curtains? *I'll do the ironing for you.*
6. **Imposition minimizer**, e.g. Could you come see me on Monday, *if you are not too busy?*

ASMs:

1. Insult (to increase the impositive force of the request, a speaker prefaces it with an insult, p288), e.g. *You've always been a dirty pig, so clean up!*
2. Threat, e.g. Move that car *if you don't want a ticket!*
3. **Moralizing** (in order to lend additional credence to the request, a speaker invokes general moral maxims), e.g. *If one shares a flat one should be prepared to pull one's weight in cleaning it, so get on with the washing up!*

3.5.6 Conversation Analysis (CA)

CA was originally used in sociology to analyse natural speech data without taking interlocutor characteristics into consideration (Bergmann, 2004). This was due to the fact that the analyses were mainly based on authentic telephone conversations where “the physical presence of the other party and all visual communication are removed” (Bergmann, 2004:301). The underlying principles of CA are the assumptions that social activities are carried out through interaction with others and that these interactions follow certain sequential patterns (González-Lloret, 2010). Thus CA is mainly interested in how the participants’ understanding of each other and their subsequent orientation towards what has been said ultimately leads to certain “sequences of action”.

Later, CA was also applied to analyse the naturally occurring talk of people who talked to each other face to face (Drew and Heritage, 1992) which led to a growing complexity of CA transcription symbols, since all non-linguistic cues had to be transcribed too. The main interest lies in what the data reveal with regards to the before mentioned sequential patterns of interactions. This focus also explains why context specific variables such as social status, relationship with each other, age etc. are considered irrelevant for an interaction, a view which is directly opposed to an SLA approach where these variables are carefully controlled to determine how they influence interactions. At first sight, these two approaches seemed irreconcilable but calls for a more “discursive approach” (Kasper, 2006a, Kasper, 2006b) in speech act research have led to the emergence of applied conversation analysis. Applied conversation analysis (ten Haave, 2001, Richards and Seedhouse, 2007, Drew and Heritage, 1992) differs

from CA in that it takes the physical and social context in which interactions take place into account. Applied CA is now also used to look at the sequence organisation of elicited and not just naturally occurring talk (Al-Gahtani and Roever, 2011). In their cross-sectional study, Al-Gahtani and Roever (2011) analysed the role-plays of their participants based on CA. The results show that the less proficient students uttered requests as soon as possible and were very dependent on their interlocutors with regards to co-constructing the exchange. In CA terms, this meant that they uttered fewer first-pair parts and were generally unable to “project the upcoming requests” (Al-Gahtani and Roever, 2011:1) meaning they lacked the proficiency to jointly construct sequences of talk. This study is a good example of applied conversation analysis being used as an analytical framework in speech act research.

Compared to the speech act based CCSARP coding scheme, CA is used to analyse data in a bottom up process. Conversation analysts look at “how some bit of talk was done, and ask: What does that bit of talk appear designed to do?” (Schegloff, 2007:8). Conversation Analysis is still mainly used to analyse naturally occurring talk. Participants of natural conversations take turns when talking to each other. These turns consist of what in CA terms are called turn constructional units (TCUs) (Schegloff, 2007:3). TCUs are built of “sentences or clauses more generally, phrases, and lexical items” (p 3). Sentences or phrases are usually uttered in a certain context and with specific intonation. Turn constructional units further represent what Schegloff (2007:4) calls “a recognizable action in context”, meaning that it is obvious to all participants that they are taking part in a specific conversation, at a certain time and place. The person who begins to talk in a turn then has “the right and obligation to produce one TCU, which may realize one or more actions” (Schegloff, 2007:4).

For participants of a conversation to be understood, it is imperative that they organise their turns in such a way as to enable them to “talk singly” (Schegloff, 2007:1). Yet turns do not just randomly occur one after the other but are “grouped in batches or clumps” (p 1).

Schegloff prefers to think of these clumps as actional rather than topical, meaning he thinks it preferable to approach the analysis of these stretches of talk by investigating what it is they do instead of what topic they are about. An offer of coffee f.ex. does not mean that the ensuing exchange is going to be about coffee but rather the acceptance or rejection of the offer.

When looking at these “clumps of turns” (Schegloff, 2007:2) from an action perspective it becomes clear that they represent different “sequences of action” (p 2) which are organised in a certain manner. Schegloff (2007:2) defines sequences as “the vehicle for getting some activity accomplished”, and the analysis of naturally occurring data has shown that in order to accomplish various actions, different ways of organising sequences are preferred. Request, for example, fall into the category of actions and their preferred sequence organisation differs from that of an invitation.

With the exception of some forms of storytelling, the smallest building block of a sequence is an adjacency pair. Adjacency pairs consist of two turns uttered by two different speakers. They are “adjacently placed” and “relatively ordered” (Schegloff, 2007:13), meaning one turn immediately follows the other and there is a First Pair Part (FPP) and a Second Pair Part (SPP). FPPs are utterances “which *initiate* some exchange” (p 13), such as a request while Second Pair Parts answer FPPs. Furthermore, adjacency pairs such as for example a request and answer unit can be expanded before the first pair part. This type of expansion is called a pre-expansion (Schegloff, 2007:26). It can also be expanded between the first and the second pair part (insert expansion) and after the second pair part (post expansion). Expansions are usually also organised in adjacency pairs (Schegloff, 2007:109) and can be expanded themselves.

Research has shown that there are preferred and dispreferred FPPs just as there are preferred and dispreferred SPPs. Requests are a good example of a dispreferred FPP (p 86). Requests can either be granted or rejected and pre-expansions are employed by the requester “to maximize the occurrence of a sequence with a preferred second pair part” (Schegloff, 2007:81). Ideally, the requester would not have to utter the request at all and his pre-expansion would elicit a pre-emptive offer.

Due to their dispreferred status, requests are usually uttered very late in conversations and tend to be heavily mitigated (p 83). One way of mitigating requests are pre-sequences which have to be jointly constructed so that the actual request can be pre-empted and does not have to be uttered at all. Only if this is not possible because it may not be clear to the requestee that a request is about to be made, is a go-ahead acceptable. Although go-aheads are preferable to request rejections, they still make it necessary to actually utter the request. Both the requester and the requestee can orient to this preference structure: the requester by using pre-sequences which hedge the actual request, delay its utterance and by doing so stress its status as dispreferred second pair

part; and the requestee by encouraging the requester with go-aheads during the pre-sequences and by pre-empting an impending request (Kasper, 2009:34).

In the present study, the authentic request data was analysed using an applied CA approach, to compare whether there were any differences between the way the participants “orient to the preference structure for requests” (Kasper, 2009:34) in the role-plays and in the authentic exchanges.

3.6 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I first introduced an overall rationale for the mixed methods approach adopted to address the research questions outlined in Chapter 2, and then presented the data elicitation tools to answer them. After a brief description of all participants, the actual data collection procedures as carried out in the study were discussed in section 3.4. This was followed by a detailed explanation of the data analysis methods (see 3.5) and their limitations. In chapters 4 and 5, I will analyse the collected data and develop detailed answers to the various research questions.

4 Results 1: The development of student request realisations

This is the first of two chapters presenting the findings of the study, and it is divided into six parts. The first five sections comprise the analyses of request directness data, internal and external mitigation strategies, request perspectives and an overall frequency count for all strategies. They thus address research questions 1 to 3 which focus on how student request realisations change over time regarding the extent of external and internal mitigation as well as request perspectives (see 2.4).

Every section focusses on general strategy use first, then describes the range of sub-strategies used to operationalise the general (superordinate) strategies, and ends with an in-depth discussion of all individual participants. In the strategy sections, the order of participants is based on ascending strategy use pre-sojourn, while the individual participant discussions are arranged in order of ascending proficiency.

Sections 4.1 to 4.5 present linguistic developments occurring on all different levels of analysis. Section 4.6 is a comparison of the sequence organisation of authentic and role-play data to compare the validity of both methodological tools (see RQ 4, 2.4) and to determine whether a CA analysis can reveal new aspects of the data.

4.1 Analysis of request directness data

As explained in section 3.5.4, the CCSARP coding scheme distinguishes three levels of directness ranging from direct strategies (DSs) to conventionally indirect strategies (CISs) and non-conventionally indirect strategies (NCISs). In this section, the development of direct, conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect strategy use in the pre-sojourn, in-sojourn and post-sojourn role-play data will be analysed in terms of usage frequencies.

4.1.1 Direct strategies (DSs)

Table 4.1 shows the use of direct request strategies over all three data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of DSs pre-sojourn. Relations between the pre- in- and post-sojourn numbers of all strategies are indicated by the symbols < (greater), > (lesser), = (equal).

Table 4.1 The use of DSs at all data collection points

Student (stage)	Number of DSs pre-sojourn	Number of DSs in-sojourn	Number of DSs post-sojourn
Sonia (5)	0	3	4
Emma (5)	0	5	0
Anna (5)	1	4	1
Christine (4)	2	2	0
George (5)	2	3	2
Lucy (5)	2	5	1
Alice (5)	3	3	3
Andrew (6)	3	8	2
Overall tokens	13 <	33 >	13

The table shows that six students (Sonia, Emma, Anna, George, Lucy, and Andrew) use more DSs in-sojourn than pre-sojourn. Christine and Alice use the same number of DSs pre-and in-sojourn. The Post-sojourn data shows that six students (Emma, Anna, Christine, George, Lucy and Andrew) use fewer DSs than in-sojourn. Only Sonia's use of DSs increases by one post-sojourn and Alice's remains stable. Thus, the overall use of DSs dramatically increases in-sojourn and then falls to the initial pre-sojourn number post-sojourn.

4.1.2 Conventionally indirect strategies (CISs)

Table 4.2 shows the use of CIS strategies at all data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of CISs pre-sojourn.

Table 4.2 The use of CISs at all data collection points

Student (stage)	Number of CISs pre-sojourn	Number of CISs in-sojourn	Number of CISs post-sojourn
Alice (5)	2	3	4
Lucy (5)	4	1	2
Andrew (6)	4	2	5
George (5)	4	3	4
Christine (4)	4	4	5
Anna (5)	5	3	4
Emma (5)	6	2	6
Sonia (5)	6	3	2
Overall tokens	35 >	21 <	32

Again, the table shows that six students (Lucy, Andrew, George, Anna, Emma, and Sonia) use fewer CISs in-sojourn than pre-sojourn. Only Anna uses more CISs in-sojourn, and Christine's number remains the same. Post-sojourn, the overall number of CISs increases again, with seven students using more CISs post- than in-sojourn and only Sonia using one CIS less. Thus, while CISs are the favourite request strategies pre-sojourn, numbers sharply decrease in-sojourn just to rise again post-sojourn

4.1.3 Non-conventionally indirect strategies (NCISs)

Table 4.3 The use of NCISs strategies at all data collection points

Student (stage)	Number of NCISs pre-sojourn	Number of NCISs in-sojourn	Number of NCISs post-sojourn
George (5)	0	0	0
Andrew (6)	0	0	0
Sonia (5)	0	0	0
Anna (5)	0	0	1
Christine (4)	0	0	1
Emma (5)	0	0	1
Lucy (5)	0	1	3
Alice (5)	1	0	0
Overall tokens	1 =	1 <	6

The table shows that George, Andrew, and Sonia do not use NCIS at all. Alice is the only student who uses one NCIS pre-sojourn, and Lucy uses one in-sojourn.

Post-sojourn, Anna, Christine, and Emma each use one NCIS and Lucy uses three.

Thus, while NCISs are hardly used pre-and in-sojourn, their number increases sixfold post-sojourn. Next, the use of DSs is compared to that of CISs (see Table 4.4). Since NCISs are used extremely sparingly and almost exclusively post-sojourn, they are not discussed in the initial comparison of strategies.

Pre-sojourn:

DSs>CISs

Just one participant (Alice) uses direct strategies more often than conventionally indirect strategies. She is also the only student who uses a NCIS pre-sojourn.

CISs>DISs

The preferred request directness level before going abroad is the use of conventionally indirect requests with seven out of eight participants (Christine, Anna, Sonia, George, Lucy, Emma, Andrew) using them more often than direct strategies.

In-sojourn:

DSs>CISs

During the year abroad, there is an overall increase of DSs. Four students now use more DSs than CISs (Anna, Lucy, Emma, Andrew). Lucy is the only student who uses a NCIS in-sojourn.

CISs>DISs

Christine is the only student who uses more CISs than DSs in-sojourn.

DSs=CISs:

Three participants use the same number of DSs as CISs strategies in-sojourn, namely Sonia, Alice and George.

Post-sojourn:

DSs>CISs

In the post-sojourn period, only one student, Sonia, uses more DSs than CISs.

CISs>DISs

Seven students now again use more CISs than DISs (Christine, Anna, Alice, George, Lucy, Emma and Andrew).

4.1.4 Overall use of DSs, CISs, and NCISs pre-, in, and post-sojourn

Table 4.4 Overall use of DSs, CISs, and NCISs pre-, in, and post-sojourn

	Number of strategies pre-sojourn	Number of strategies in-sojourn	Number of strategies post-sojourn
DSs	13	33	13
CISs	35	21	32
NCISs	1	1	6

From the analysis above, it can be seen that the overall tendency is for participants to return to the directness behaviour they showed before they went abroad. DS use increases dramatically in-sojourn while the number of CISs decreases. Post-sojourn, the pattern seen in Table 4.4 and in Figure 4.1 is almost identical to the pre-sojourn numbers with the exception of the appearance of a small percentage of NCISs.

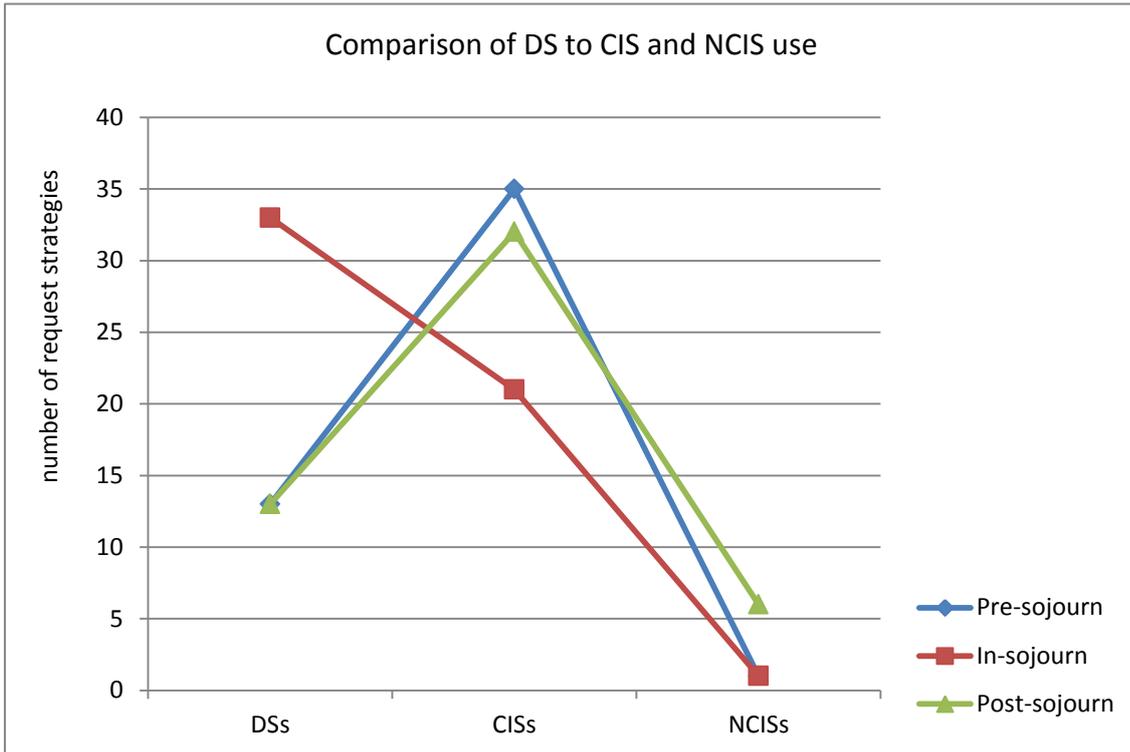


Figure 4.1 Comparison of DSs to CIS and NCIS use

4.1.5 Variation of sub-strategies (SSs)

Direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect request strategies can be further subdivided into individual sub-strategies, or request types. For a comprehensive list of all sub-strategies see appendix F.

While section 4.1 traced the use of DSs, CISs, and NCIs overall, it did not account for the use of different request sub-strategies within these superordinate categories. In the present section, the use of these different sub-strategies, that is the range of strategies within the three main categories (DSs, CISs, and NCISs) will be analysed. Table 4.5 shows the use of different sub-strategies (SSs) for all three data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of strategies pre-sojourn.

Table 4.5 The use of different request sub-strategies (SSs)

Student (stage)	Number of different SSs pre-sojourn	Number of different SSs in-sojourn	Number of different SSs post-sojourn	Number of <u>new</u> SSs in-sojourn	Number of <u>new</u> SSs post-sojourn
Emma (5)	1 <	3 >	2	2	1
George (5)	2 =	2 <	3	0	1
Sonia (5)	2 <	3 >	2	2	0
Anna (5)	2 <	3 =	3	2	1
Christine (4)	3 >	2 =	2	0	1
Alice (5)	3 =	3 =	2	1	0
Lucy (5)	3 =	4 >	3	3	0
Andrew (6)	5 <	6 >	2	3	0
Overall tokens	21<	26>	19	13	4

Five students (Emma, Sonia, Anna, Lucy, and Andrew) use more different SSs in-than pre-sojourn. George and Alice use the same number pre-and in-sojourn. Only Christine's pre-sojourn number decreases by one in-sojourn. Post-sojourn, five students (Emma, Sonia, Alice, Lucy, and Andrew) use fewer different SSs than in-sojourn. Anna and Christine use the same number in-and post-sojourn. Only George uses one more post-than in-sojourn.

In summary, the range of request sub-strategies increases in-sojourn and drops post-sojourn (21<26>19). The participants apply thirteen completely new request sub-strategies in-sojourn and four additional new strategies post-sojourn.

4.1.6 Research question 1a and b

How do the request realisations of advanced students of L2 German change over time (i.e. before, during and after a sojourn abroad) regarding

- a) the directness level of requests used
- b) the variation in directness strategies

Answering part a) of the question, the overall tendency is to use more direct request strategies in-than pre-or post-sojourn. The use of CISs drops considerably in-sojourn yet increases again post-sojourn and the overall number of NCISs is so small as to be potentially negligible but the overall number increases sharply post-sojourn.

Regarding part b) of RQ 1, the number of different SSs increases in-sojourn and drops again post-sojourn. Students apply a total of 13 new sub-strategies in-sojourn and four new sub-strategies post-sojourn.

4.1.7 Individual participant discussion

First, the overall use of DSs, CISs, and NCISs for ever individual student is discussed and then compared to the variation data. This is particularly important, since the overall directness levels may be very uniform, e.g.: a student might use the same number of DSs, CISs, and NCISs pre-in-and post-sojourn but within these categories, the use of individual sub-strategies (SSs) strategies may have changed dramatically. The students are discussed in order of ascending proficiency. Two Figures are presented for each participant, the first one showing results at the superordinate level of DSs, CISs and NCISs, the second showing more detailed findings at the sub-strategies level of individual request strategies, also called request types. Regarding Christine and George's superordinate request data (Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.10), a three- dimensional graph type was chosen to better illustrate the identical pre-and in-sojourn data.

Christine

Christine's pre- and in-sojourn directness level data are identical (Fig. 4.2). She uses the exact same number of DSs and CISs pre- and in-sojourn while her post-sojourn directness levels are similar to those of the majority of participants before going abroad, with zero DSs and five CISs. She also uses one NCIS post-sojourn, so her data shows a pronounced shift towards indirectness after her year abroad.

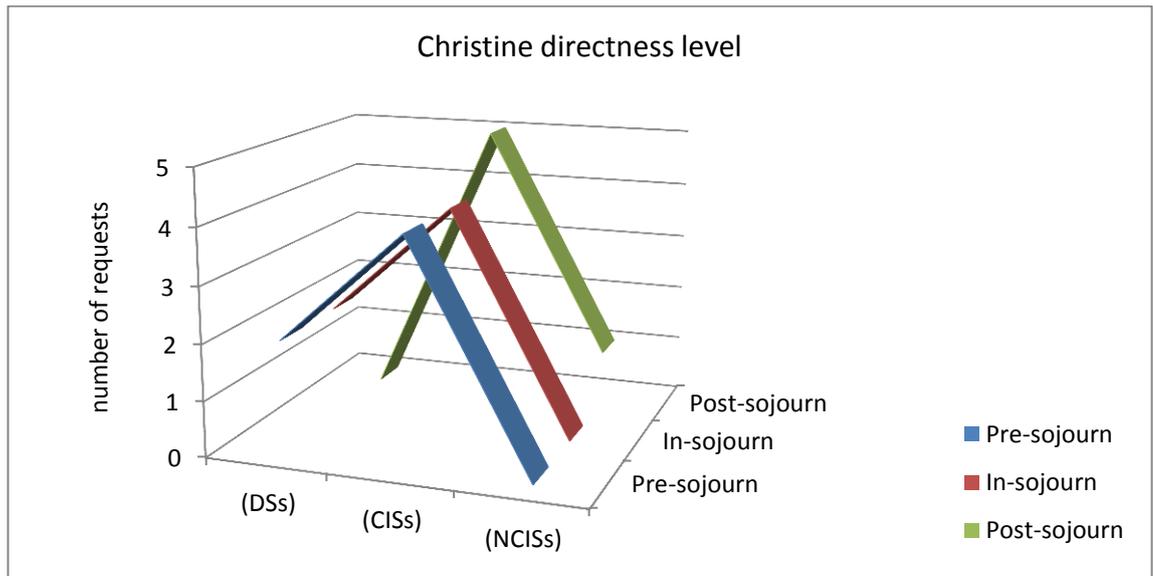


Figure 4.2 Christine directness level

Regarding general directness types, there is no change between her pre- and in-sojourn data. This, however, is not true for the range of requests she uses pre- and in-sojourn (Fig. 4.3).

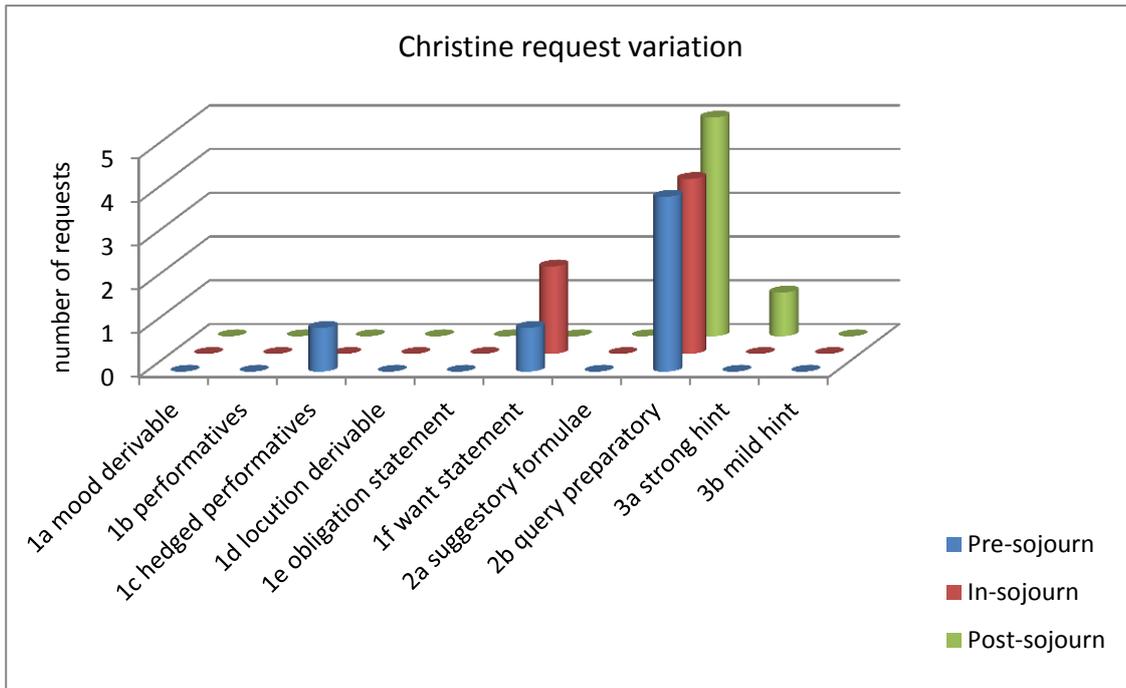


Figure 4.3 Christine request variation

Christine uses three different request strategies pre-sojourn, two of which she retains in-sojourn. Post-sojourn, she also uses two strategies, one completely new and one (query preparatory) which she has used pre-, in- and post-sojourn.

Anna

Anna only uses one DS before going abroad. However, as seen in Figure 4.4, this number increases to four in-sojourn and drops back to one post-sojourn. Her favourite strategies pre-sojourn are CISs of which she uses five. This number then drops to three in-sojourn and increases to four post-sojourn. Anna also uses one NCIS post-sojourn.

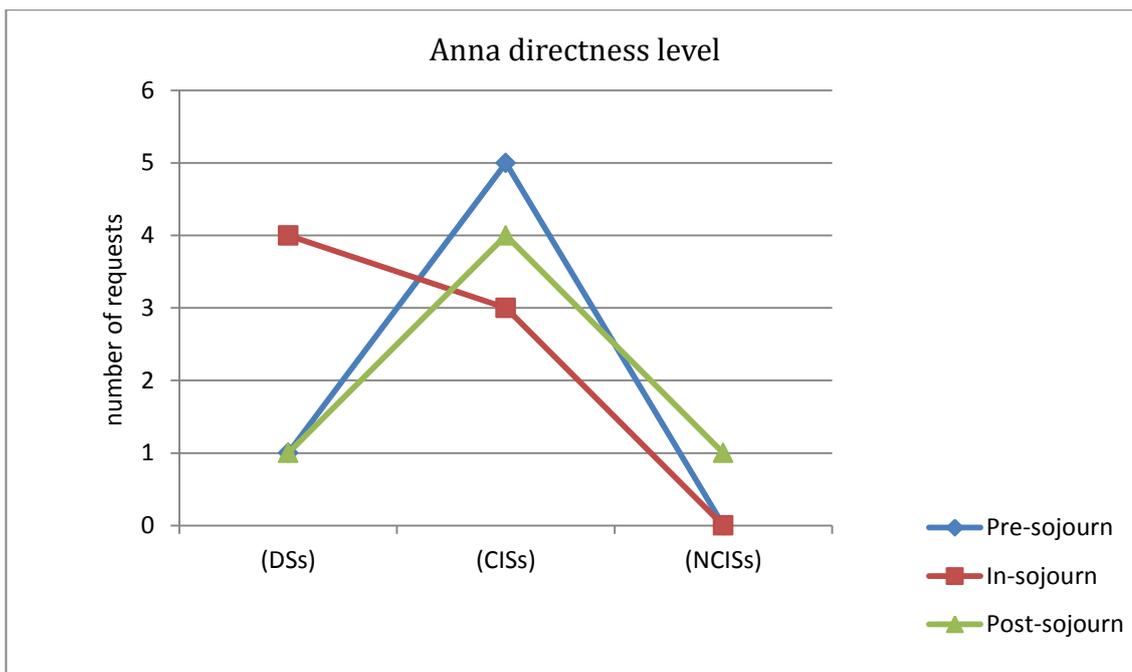


Figure 4.4 Anna directness level

With regards to variation (Fig. 4.5), Anna uses five different strategies altogether. Anna's data show that she mainly uses query preparatories (CISs) pre-sojourn although she does use one DS pre-sojourn, a locution derivable, too. In-sojourn, she retains query preparatories but starts using hedged performatives and obligation statements, both of which are direct strategies. Post-sojourn, she still uses query preparatories and one obligation statement but she also uses one strong hint (NCIS).

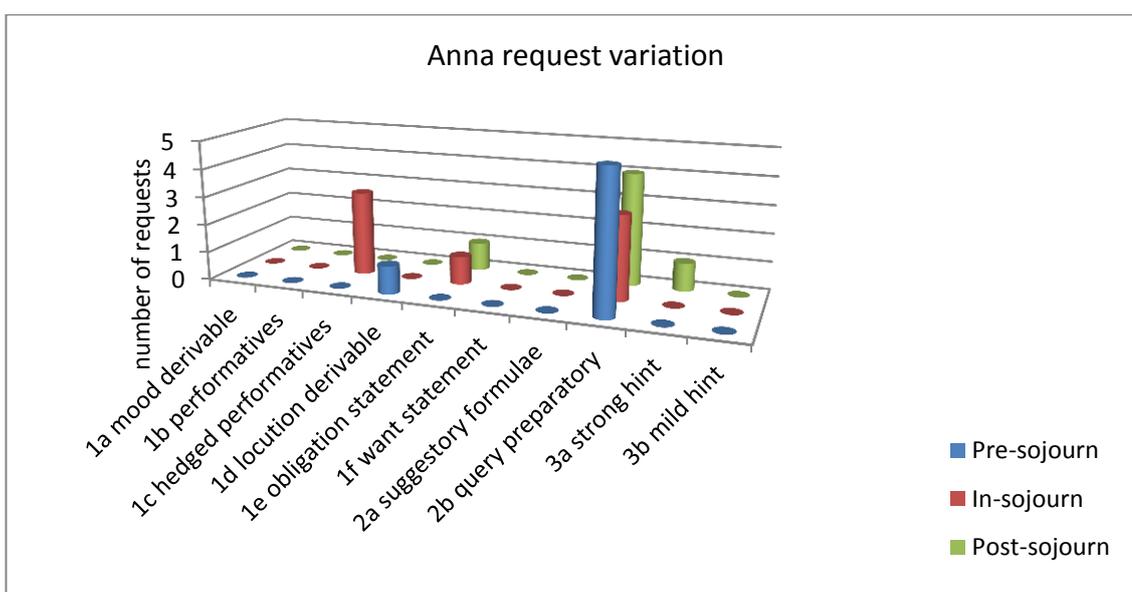


Figure 4.5 Anna request variation

Sonia

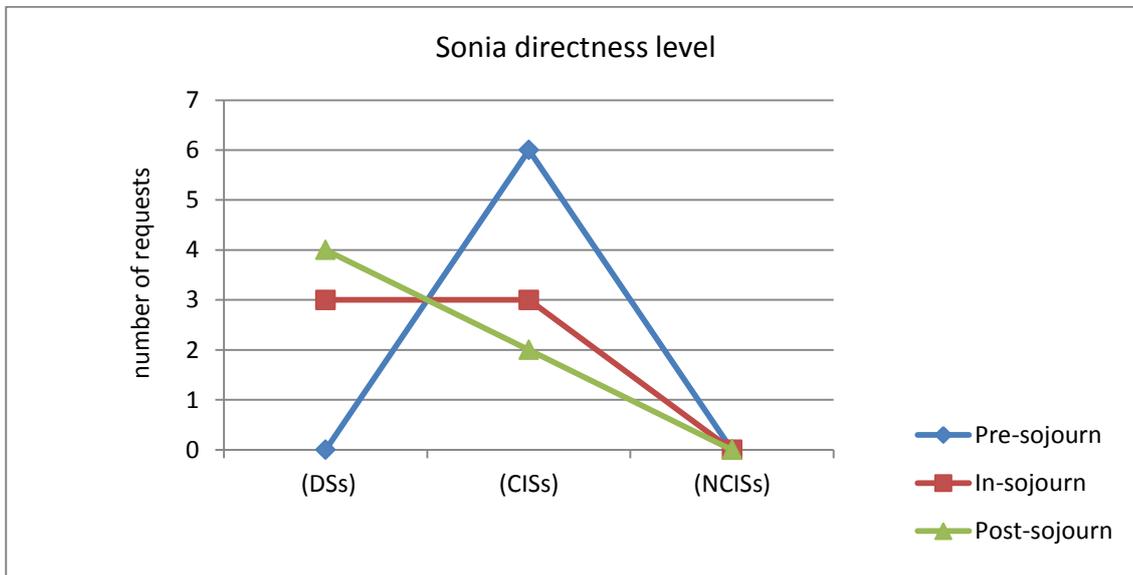


Figure 4.6 Sonia directness level

Figure 4.6 gives an overview of Sonia's use of request strategies. Sonia only uses CISs before going abroad, but in-sojourn she starts applying DSs, too. In her case, there is no reversion to pre-sojourn directness levels in the post-sojourn period. Instead, she even uses one more DS (and one less CIS) post sojourn than-in-sojourn.

Regarding the variation of sub-strategies request strategies (Fig. 4.7), Sonia starts out with very little variation pre-sojourn. She only uses two different request types before going abroad (query preparatories and suggestory formulae). While she retains query preparatories, she picks up two new request strategies in-sojourn (hedged performatives and want statements). In the post-period, she still uses hedged performatives and query preparatories. Overall she uses four different request strategies.

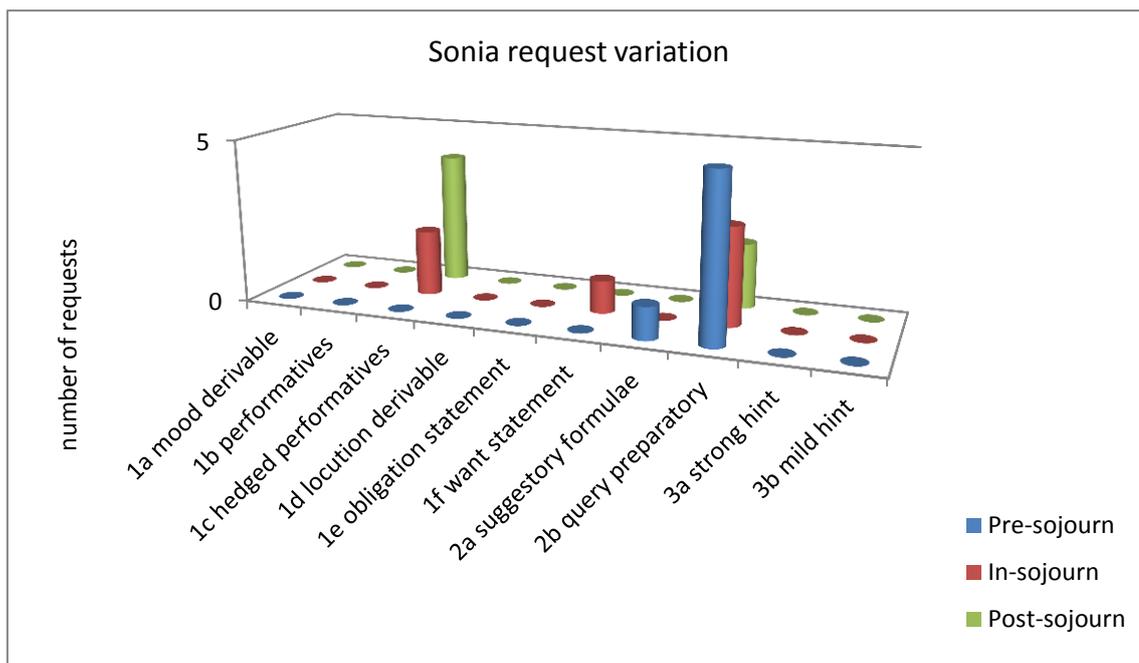


Figure 4.7 Sonia request variation

Alice's directness level data show almost the same degree of change between in-post and pre-post data (Fig.4.8). That is, she is the only participant who uses the same number of DSs pre-, in- and post-sojourn. While she uses fewer CISs strategies than DSs pre-sojourn, her use of CISs goes up by one in-sojourn and post-sojourn. Alice is the only student who uses a NCIS pre-sojourn.

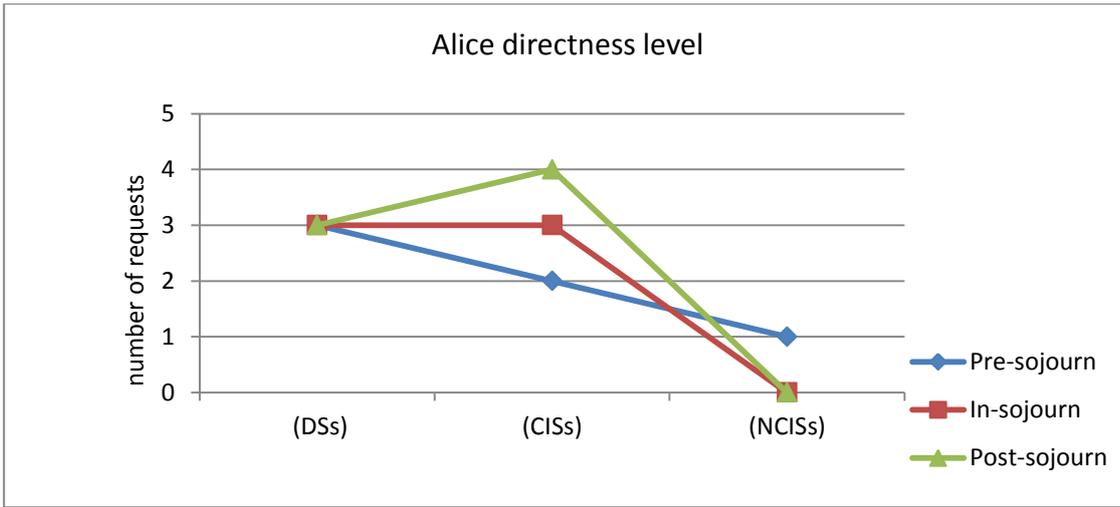


Figure 4.8 Alice directness level

When looking at her request variation data (Fig. 4.9), she uses four different sub-strategies request strategies. Alice uses three different kinds of requests pre-sojourn and then acquires a new type, a want statement, in-sojourn. With the exception of strong hints, she resorts to her pre-sojourn request type choice after her year abroad.

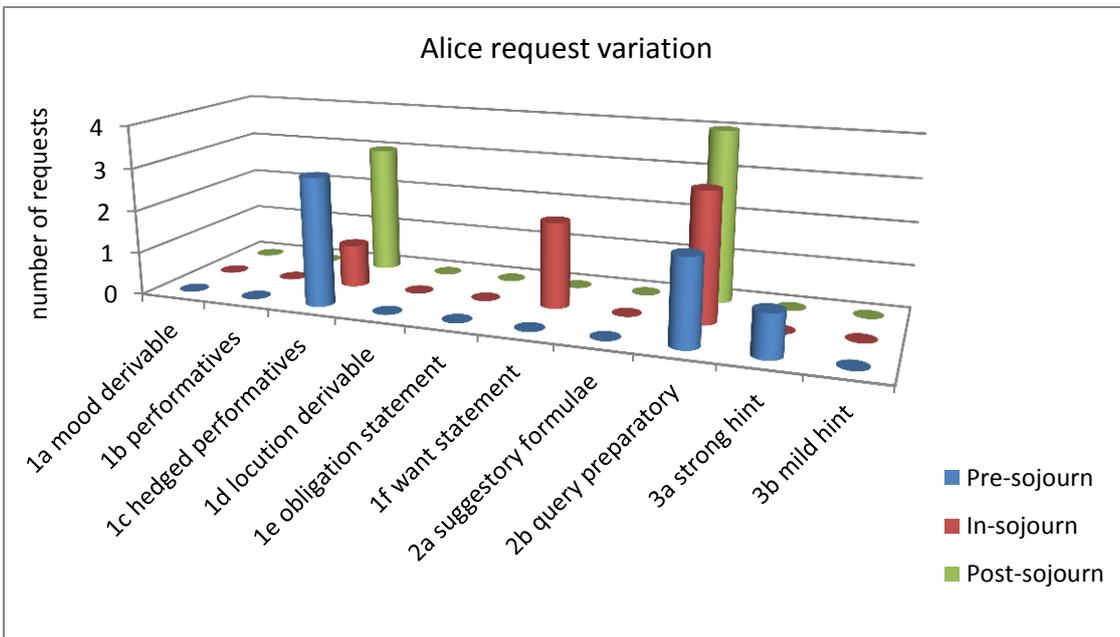


Figure 4.9 Alice request variation

George

George's pre- and post-sojourn data are identical with regards to directness while his in-sojourn data reflect the general tendency of an increased use of DSs (Fig. 4.10).

The three-dimensional graph (Fig. 4.10) shows clearly that pre-and post-sojourn data are identical.

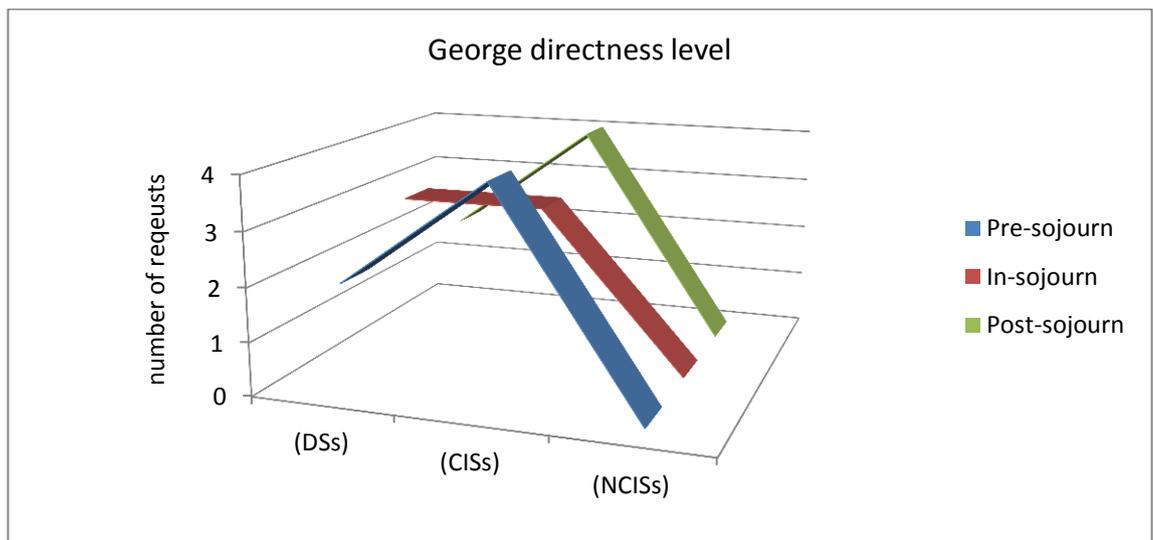


Figure 4.10 George directness level

Regarding request variation (Fig. 4.11), George uses three different sub-strategies request strategies altogether, and only uses one new request type, an obligation statement, post sojourn.

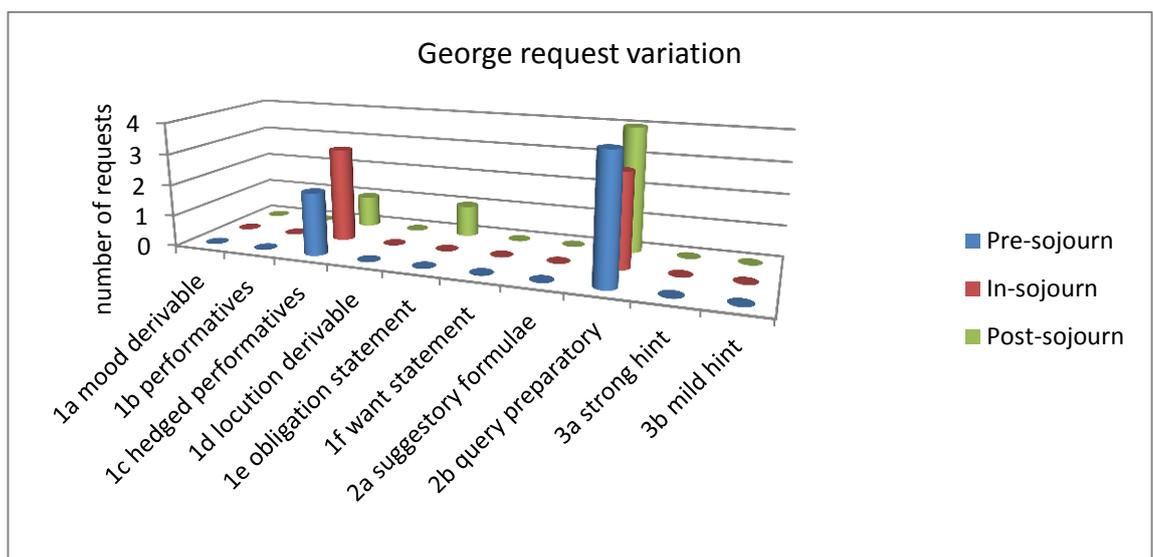


Figure 4.11 George request variation

Lucy

The reversal in the use of DSs between pre-and in-sojourn is also clearly visible in Lucy's data (Fig. 4.12). While she uses more CISs than DSs pre-sojourn, the number of CISs in-sojourn plummets to one while she uses five DSs. Lucy is also the only student who uses NCISs in-and post-sojourn.

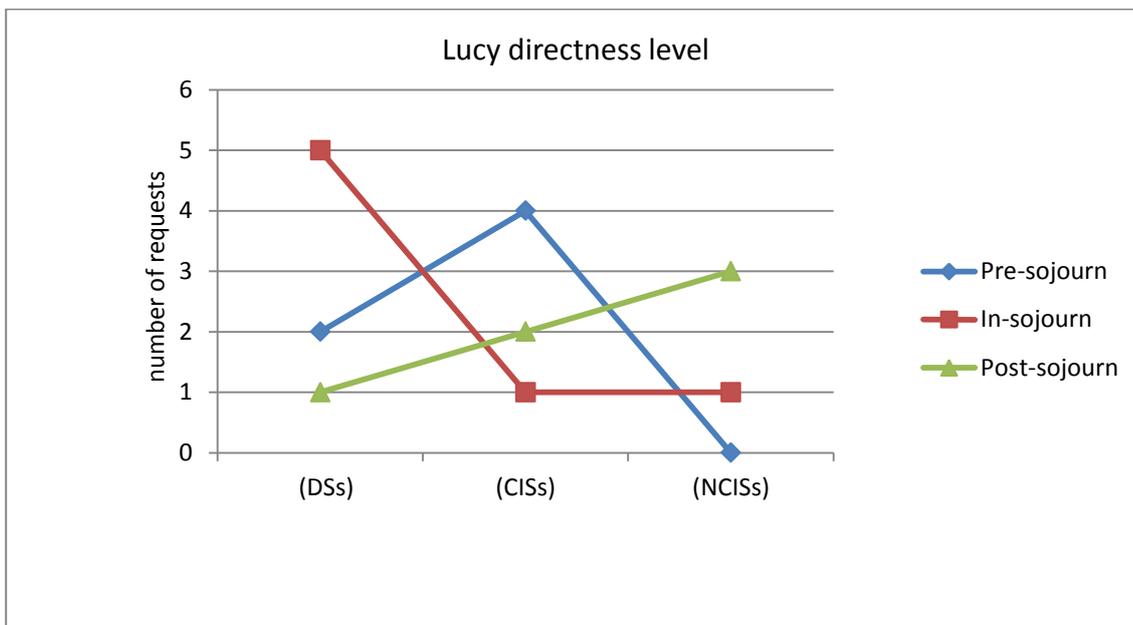


Figure 4.12 Lucy directness level

Concerning variation at the sub-strategies request strategy level (Fig. 4.13), Lucy uses three different request strategies pre-sojourn and learns three new strategies when abroad. In her post-sojourn data, she uses three different strategies. She thus uses a total of seven different sub-strategies request strategies.

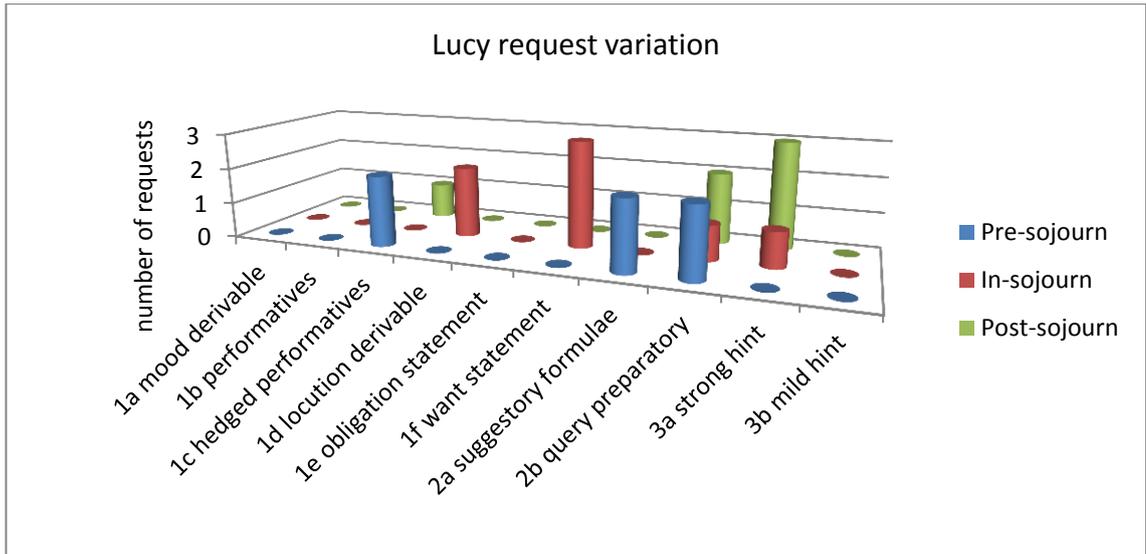


Figure 4.13 Lucy request variation

Emma

Emma’s pre-and post-sojourn data are virtually identical with the exception of one NCIS she uses post-sojourn (Fig.4.14). Her in-sojourn data though show a drastic rise in direct strategies (from zero to five) and a pronounced decline in CIS strategies (from six to two).

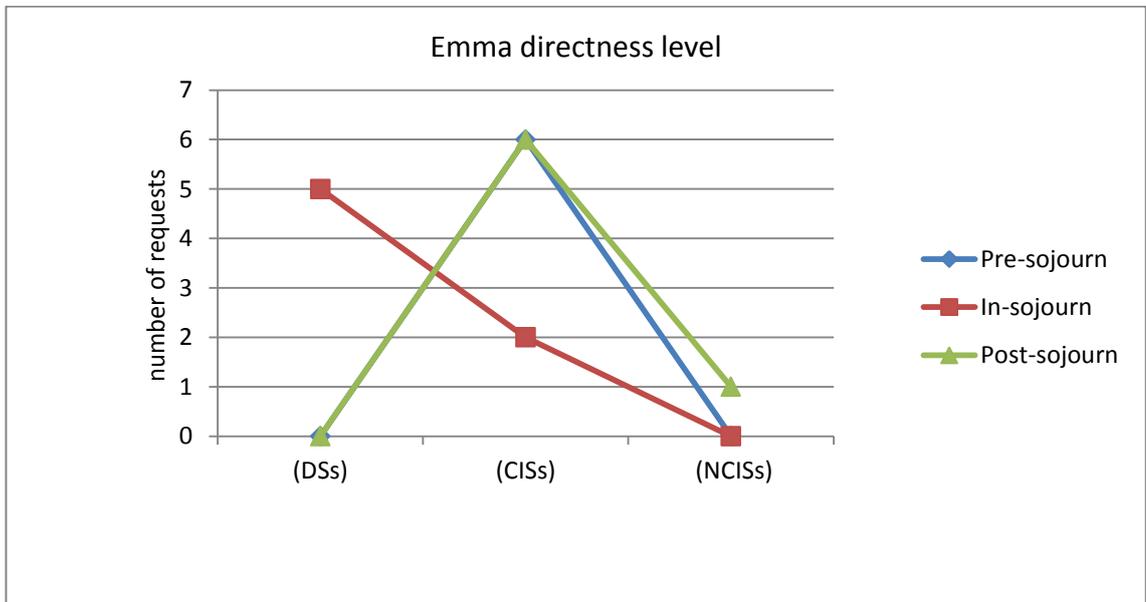


Figure 4.14 Emma directness level

With regards to request variation in detail (Fig. 4.15), Emma starts off using only query preparatories pre-sojourn. In-sojourn, she acquires two new sub-strategies request

strategies: hedged performatives and want statements, both of which are DSs. Post-sojourn, she resorts to mainly using query preparatories in addition to a new NCIS, a strong hint. Emma uses four request types altogether.

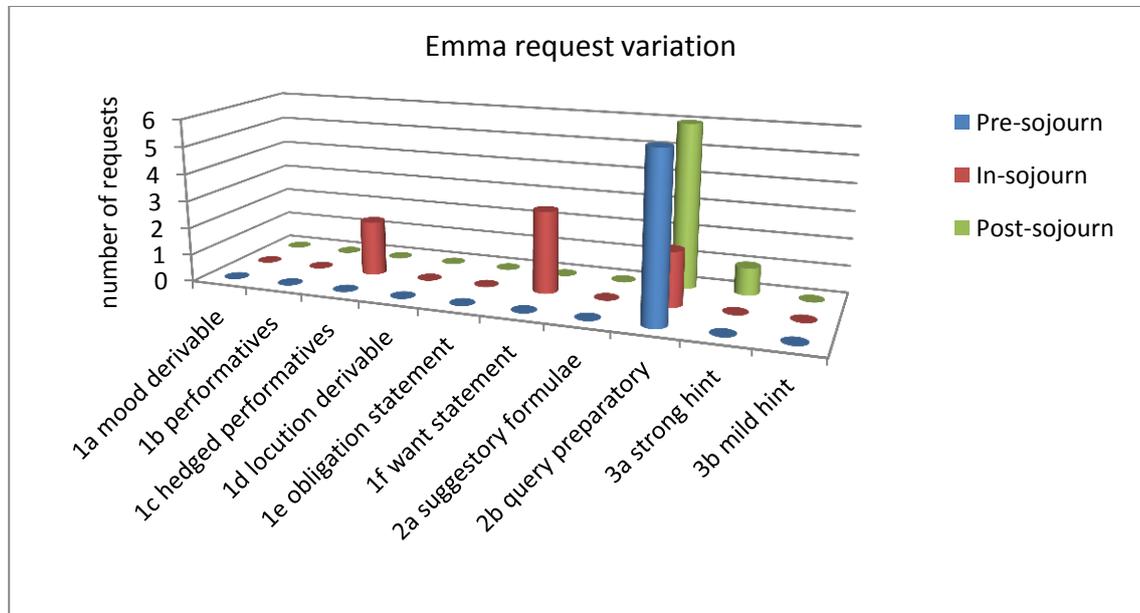


Figure 4.15 Emma request variation

Andrew

In Andrew's case (Fig. 4.16), the use of DSs goes up by five between pre- and in-sojourn, a number only matched by Emma. At the same time, his use of CISs decreases in-sojourn. While many other participants return to pre-sojourn directness behaviour, Andrew's post-sojourn data take this a step further since his use of DSs drops to two (three pre-sojourn) and the number of CISs rises to five, as compared to four pre-sojourn.

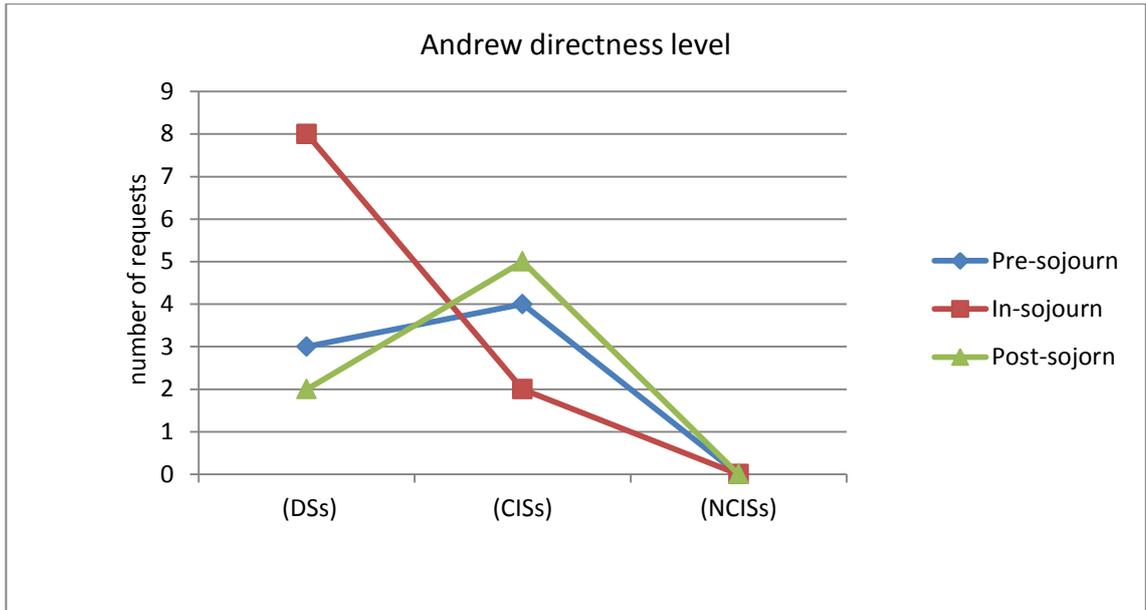


Figure 4.16 Andrew directness level

Andrew's detailed request variation is shown in Figure 4.17. He uses eight different sub-strategies request strategies altogether. Starting with five strategies pre-sojourn, he then learns three new strategies in-sojourn and retains three strategies he already used pre-sojourn. Surprisingly, he only uses two different request types post-sojourn.

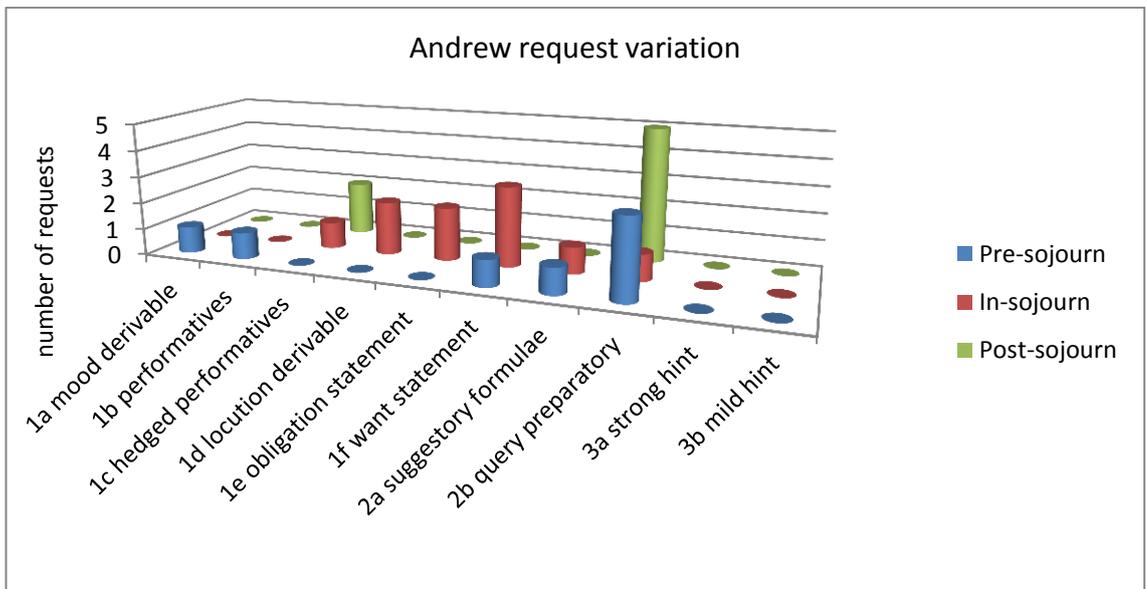


Figure 4.17 Andrew request variation

4.2 Analysis of request perspectives

The CCSARPs coding manual states that “a request can be realized from the viewpoint of the Hearer, the Speaker, or both participants, or any explicit mentioning of the agent can be (deliberately) avoided” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:278). The authors further determine that “in cases of embedded structure, coding relates to the verb in the Head Act” (p 278). For examples of all request perspectives see appendix F. All requests made in the present study were coded for request perspectives based on these four types.

4.2.1 Hearer dominant strategies (HDSs)

Table 4.6 shows the use of HDSs at all data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of HDSs pre-sojourn.

Table 4.6 HDSs at all data collection points

Student (stage)	Number of HDSs pre-sojourn	Number of HDSs in-sojourn	Number of HDSs post-sojourn
Lucy (5)	4 >	1 <	3
Anna (5)	4 >	2 <	3
Emma (5)	4 >	2 <	4
Andrew (6)	4 >	2 <	4
George (5)	4 >	2 <	4
Christine (4)	4 >	3 <	5
Sonia (5)	5 >	3 >	2
Alice (5)	5 >	3 <	7
Overall tokens	34 >	19 <	32

All students use fewer HDSs in-sojourn than pre-sojourn, and with the exception of Sonia, the use of HDSs increases again post-sojourn.

4.2.2 Speaker dominant strategies (SDSs)

Table 4.7 shows the use of SDSs at all data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of SDSs pre-sojourn.

Table 4.7 SDSs at all data collection points

Students (Stage)	Number of SDSs pre-sojourn	Number of SDSs in-sojourn	Number of SDSs post-sojourn
Sonia (5)	0 <	2 =	2
Alice (5)	1 <	2 >	0
Emma (5)	2 <	3 >	1
Christine (4)	2 <	3 >	1
Anna (5)	2 <	3 >	2
Lucy (5)	2 <	4 >	2
George (5)	3 <	4 >	2
Andrew (6)	3 <	5 >	2
Overall tokens	15 <	26 >	12

All students use more SDSs in-sojourn than pre-sojourn, and with the exception of Sonia, the use of SDSs decreases again post-sojourn.

4.2.3 Speaker and hearer dominant strategies (SHDSs)

Table 4.8 shows the use of SHDs at all data collection points.

Table 4.8 SHDs at all data collection points

Students (Stage)	Number of SHDSs pre-sojourn	Number of SHDSs in-sojourn	Number of SHDSs post-sojourn
Sonia (5)	0	0	0
George (5)	0	0	0
Christine (4)	0	1	0
Andrew (6)	0	1	0
Lucy (5)	0	1	0
Alice (5)	0	1	0
Emma (5)	0	1	1
Anna (5)	0	2	0
Overall tokens	0 <	7 >	1

Two students, Sonia and George, do not use SHDSs at all. The rest of the participants do not use them pre-sojourn but begin to do so in-sojourn, albeit only to a very small extent. Post-sojourn, nobody uses them apart from Emma.

4.2.4 Impersonal strategies (ISs)

Table 4.9 shows the use of ISs for all three data collection points, starting with the students who used no ISs.

Table 4.9 Impersonal request strategies for all data collection points

Students (Stage)	Number of ISs pre-sojourn	Number of ISs in-sojourn	Number of ISs post-sojourn
Christine (4)	0	0	0
George (5)	0	0	0
Alice (5)	0	0	0
Emma (5)	0	0	1
Anna (5)	0	0	1
Andrew (6)	0	1	0
Lucy (5)	0	1	1
Sonia (5)	1	1	2
Overall tokens	1 <	3 <	5

Three students (Christine, George, and Alice) do not use impersonal strategies at all. Andrew and Lucy both use one strategy in-sojourn as opposed to zero pre-sojourn, while Sonia's use remains unchanged at one strategy between pre-and in-sojourn but doubles post-sojourn. Emma and Anna, on the other hand, do not use ISs pre-and in-sojourn but start using them post-sojourn. Overall, there is a steady increase in the use of impersonal strategies starting at one strategy pre-sojourn, rising to three in-sojourn and culminating in five strategies post-sojourn.

In summary, five out of eight participants use hearer oriented request strategies pre-sojourn but then switch to speaker oriented approaches in-sojourn. The exception to this are Sonia, Christine and Alice who are either non-native English speakers (Christine and Alice) or bilingual (Sonia)

4.2.5 Research question 1c

How do the request realisations of advanced students of L2 German change over time (i.e. before, during and after a sojourn abroad) regarding the change in request perspectives?

Pre-and post-sojourn use of request perspectives is virtually identical, with hearer dominance being the most frequently used perspective, followed by speaker dominance, while speaker and hearer dominance and impersonal perspectives are barely applied. In-sojourn, the roles of hearer dominant and speaker dominant perspectives are reversed, with speaker dominance being the most commonly used strategy followed by hearer dominance. The two remaining perspectives, speaker and hearer dominant strategies and impersonal perspectives are also used in-sojourn while they are hardly used pre-sojourn and to a much lesser degree post-sojourn. Figure 18 shows the overall use of request perspective pre-in-and post-sojourn.

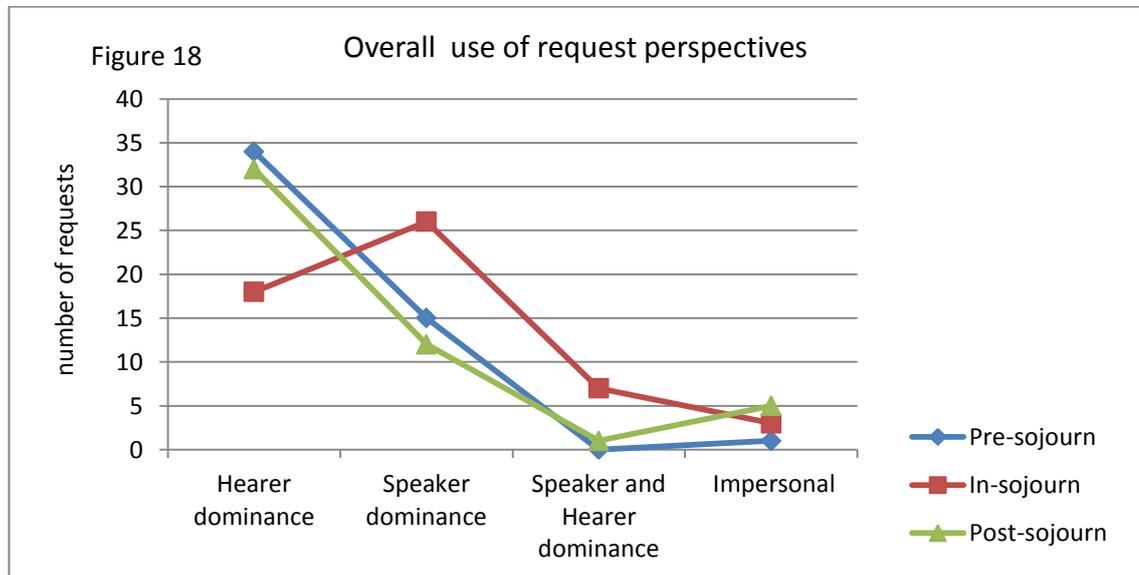


Figure 4.18 Overall use of request perspectives

Table 4.10 Overall use of HDs, SDs, SHDs, and ISs pre-, in, and post-sojourn

	HDs	SDs	SHDs	ISs
Pre-sojourn	34	15	0	1
In-sojourn	18	26	7	3
Post-sojourn	32	12	1	5

The most commonly used perspectives, hearer dominance and speaker dominance change significantly in-sojourn. While 34 HDs are used pre-sojourn, this number drops to 18 in-sojourn and rises to 32 post-sojourn. SDs, on the other hand increase from 15 pre-sojourn to 26 in-sojourn just to drop to 12 strategies post-sojourn.

SHDs are not used pre-sojourn at all yet in-sojourn seven strategies are applied, a number that drops to one post-sojourn.

A similar development can be seen in the use of impersonal request perspectives (one pre-sojourn, three in-sojourn, five post-sojourn), the only difference being that the post-sojourn number is higher than the number of strategies uses in-sojourn.

4.2.6 Individual participant discussion

In the following section, the use of all request perspectives will be analysed for every participant in order of ascending proficiency.

Christine

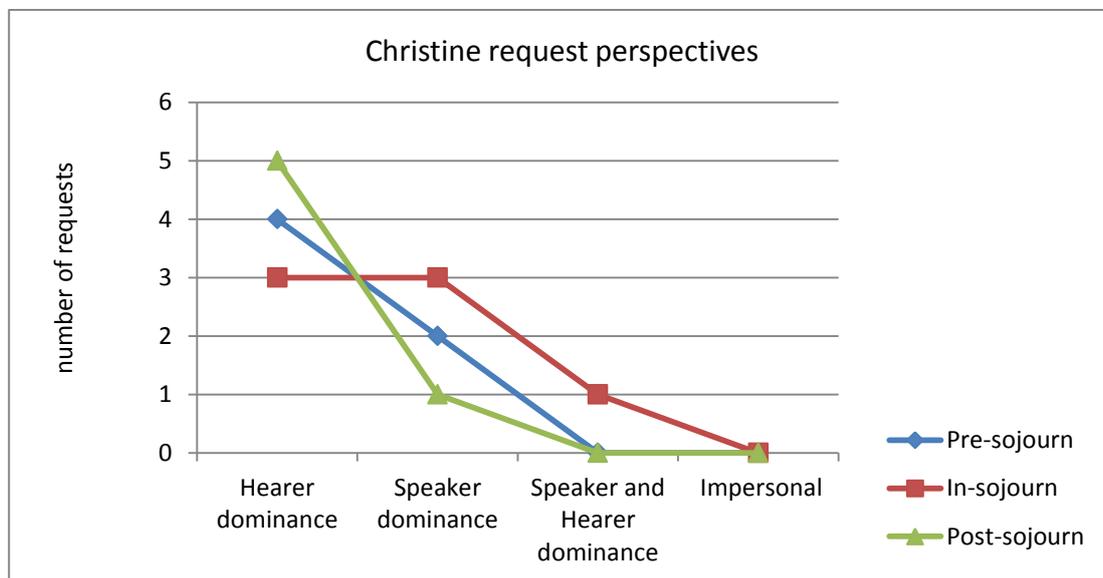


Figure 4.19 Christine request perspectives

Christine's use of HDSs is representative of most participants' request perspective data. She starts out using four HDSs, a number that drops to three in-sojourn and rises to five HDSs post-sojourn. Her speaker dominant strategy data show that she uses two SDSs

pre-sojourn, three in-sojourn and only one post-sojourn. Her in-sojourn data is also quite different from her pre-and post-sojourn request perspectives in that she uses one SHDS and the same number of HDs and SDs.

Anna

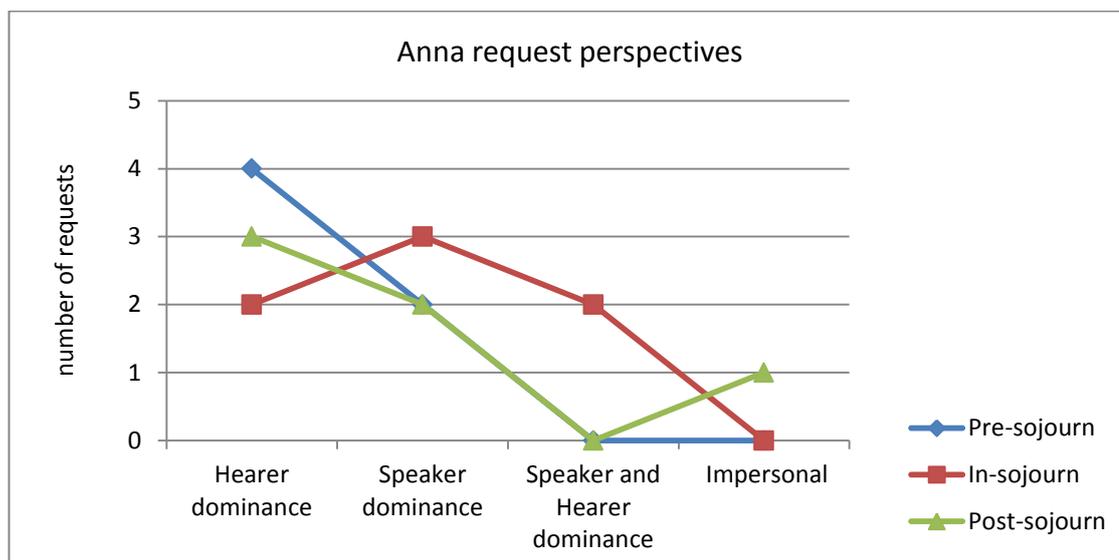


Figure 4.20 Anna request perspectives

In Anna's case, the decrease in HDSs pre-to in-sojourn is more pronounced. While she uses four HDSs pre-sojourn, this number drops to two in-sojourn and rises to four post-sojourn again. Her SDSs, on the other hand, increase from two pre-sojourn, to three in-sojourn and then drop to two post-sojourn again. Anna is one of the few participants who also use SHDSs (two in-sojourn) and one IS post-sojourn.

Sonia

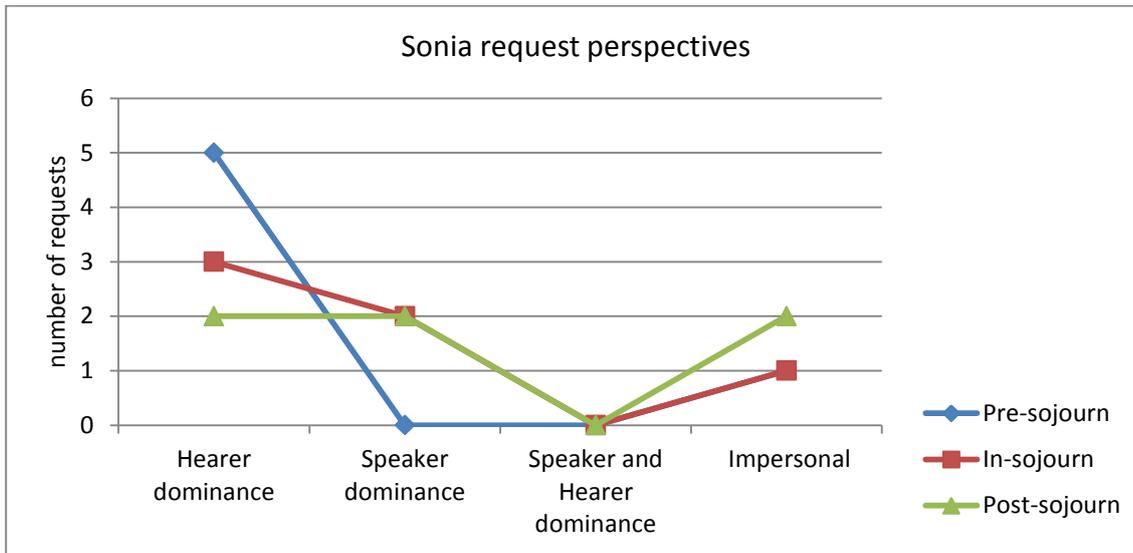


Figure 4.21 Sonia request perspectives

Sonia starts with a very pronounced hearer orientation pre-sojourn and although she still uses more HDS than SDS in-sojourn, there is a clear rise in SDS which she did not use at all pre-sojourn. The overall tendency to resort to speaker orientation in-sojourn is visible in this case, too, although hearer orientation is still the dominant strategy in-sojourn. Sonia uses ISs pre-in-and post-sojourn, starting at one (pre- and in-sojourn) and two post-sojourn.

Alice

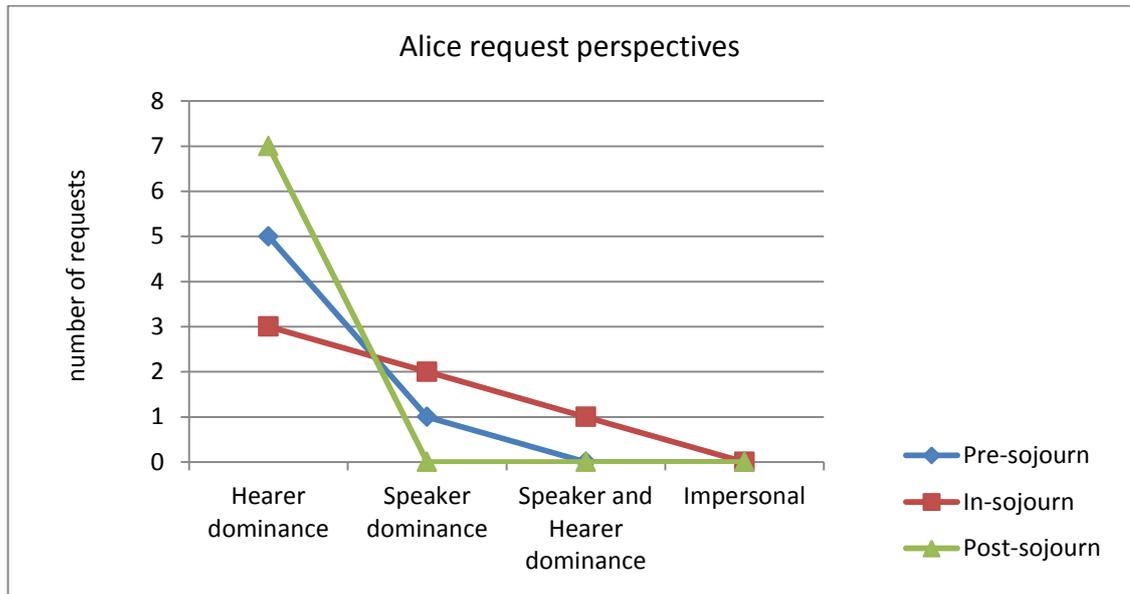


Figure 4.22 Alice request perspectives

Alice's data is very similar to Sonia's in that hearer-orientation is the dominant strategy in-sojourn but much less so than pre-sojourn. While Alice uses HDS and SDS pre-sojourn, she also uses one SHDS in-sojourn. Yet post-sojourn, Alice exclusively uses hearer orientation.

George

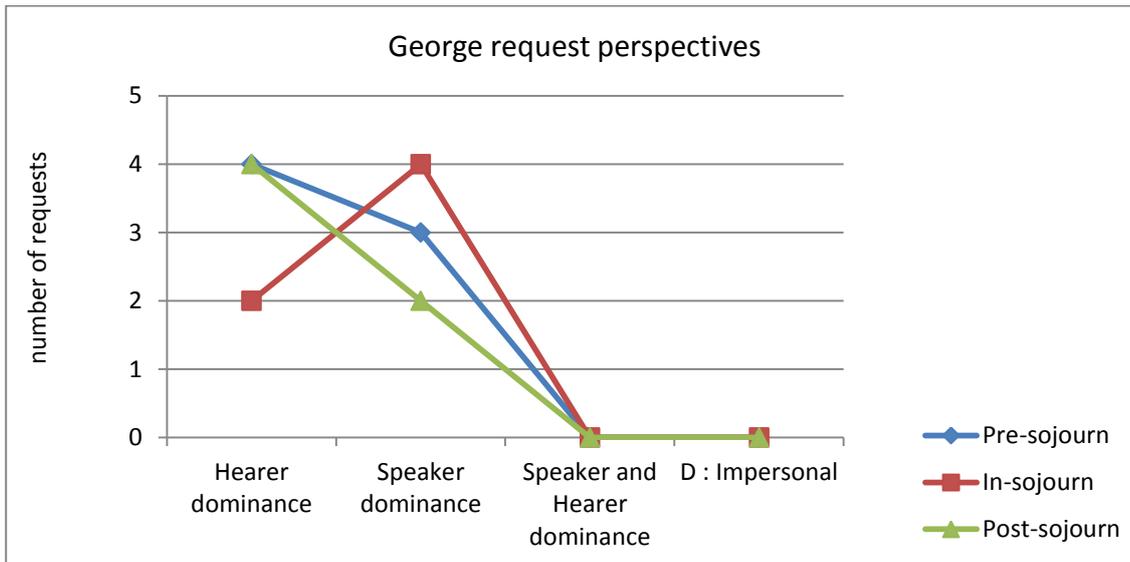


Figure 4.23 George request perspectives

George does not use SHDSs and ISs. His number of HDSs decreases in-sojourn from four to two strategies and goes back up to four strategies post-sojourn while his SDSs increase in-sojourn.

Lucy

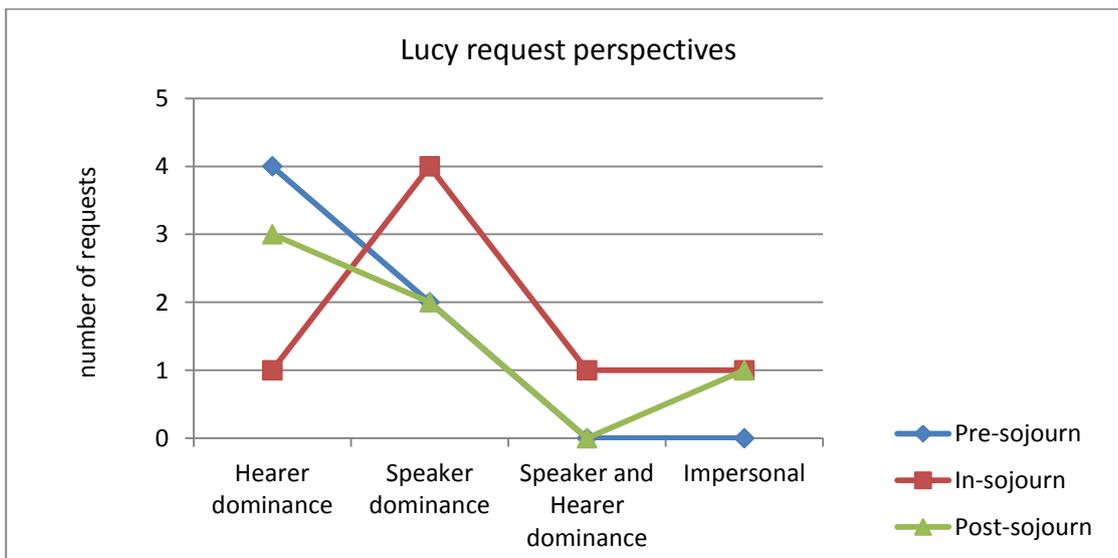


Figure 4.24 Lucy request perspectives

Lucy uses all four request perspectives although SHDSs occur only in-sojourn and impersonal strategies in-and post-sojourn. While Lucy's HDSs dramatically decrease from four to one strategies pre-in-sojourn, her number of SDSs increases from two (pre-sojourn) to four (in-sojourn). Post-sojourn, both her use of HDSs as well as SDSs resemble her pre-sojourn use.

Emma

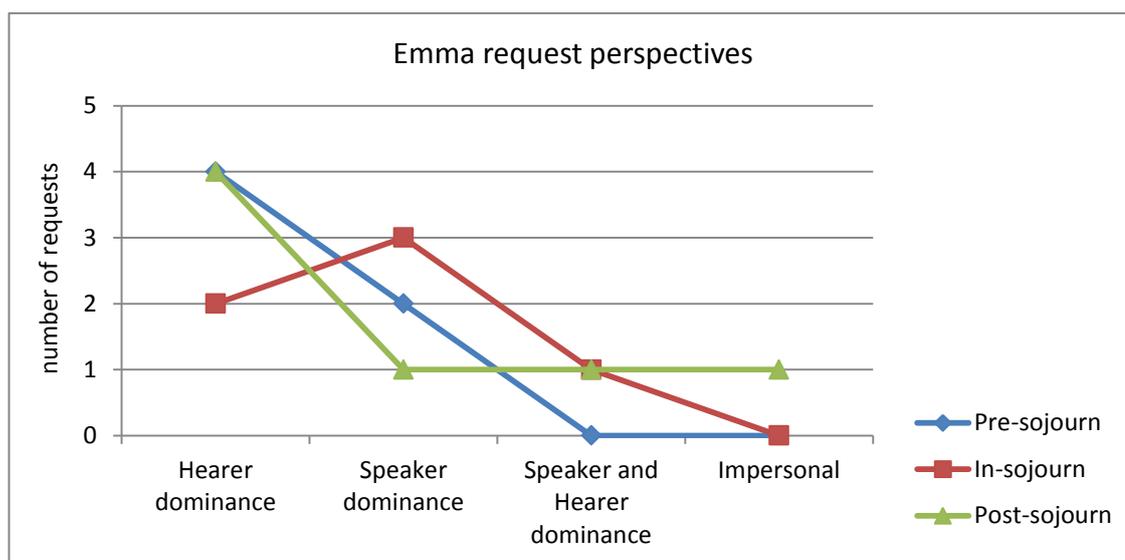


Figure 4.25 Emma request perspectives

Emma's data reflect the general trend of a decrease in hearer dominance in-sojourn with four HDSs pre-sojourn, two in-sojourn and four post-sojourn while her use of SDSs increases from two pre-sojourn to three tokens in-sojourn and then drops to one strategy post-sojourn. Emma does use SHDSs in-and post-sojourn (one token each), and one IS post-sojourn.

Andrew

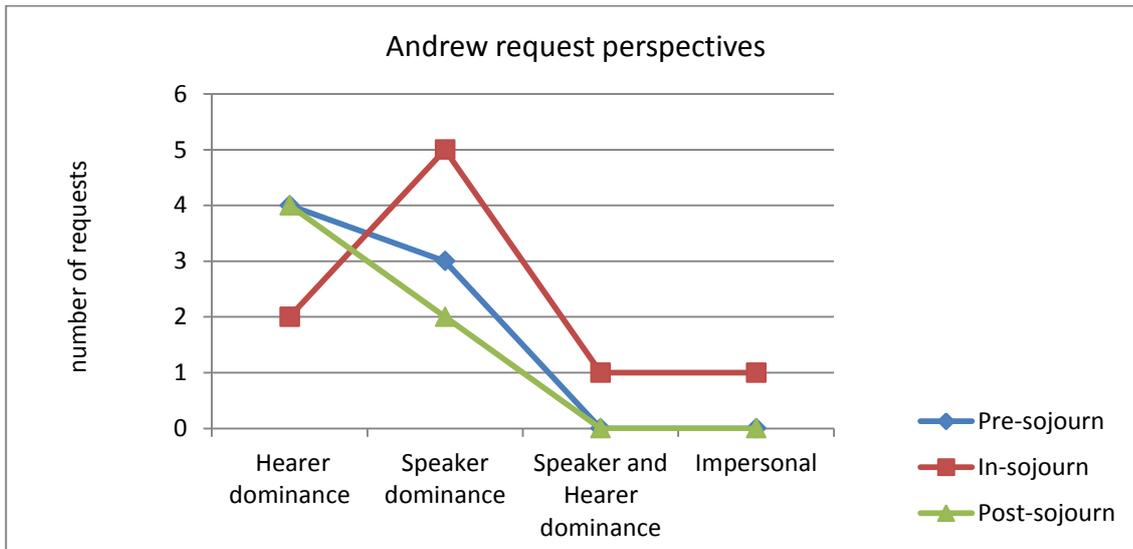


Figure 4.26 Andrew request perspectives

Andrew, too, uses fewer HDSs in-than pre- and post-sojourn (four strategies pre-sojourn, two in- and four post-sojourn). At the same time, his use of SDSs increases from three strategies pre-sojourn, to five in-sojourn and then drops to two post-sojourn. He also uses one SHDS and one impersonal strategy in-sojourn.

4.2.7 Link between request directness and perspectives

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), requests can be made using one of four possible perspectives (see 3.5.4.4): hearer dominance, speaker dominance, hearer and speaker dominance, and impersonal strategies. The last two strategies were barely used and are thus not included in the following analysis which is arranged in order of ascending proficiency.

The request perspectives appear in italics and are placed below the request direct strategy they mimic.

Table 4.11 Christine: Link between request directness and perspectives

Christine (4)			
	Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
Direct strategies	2 =	2	0
<i>Speaker dominant</i>	2 <	3	1
Con. Indirect strategies	4 =	4	5
<i>Hearer dominance</i>	4 >	3	5

Although Christine's use of DSs does not increase in-sojourn, her use of request perspectives does. There is an increase in speaker dominance from two to three strategies and a decrease in hearer dominance from four to three. Post-sojourn, her use of speaker dominance decrease by two and her hearer dominant strategies go up by two thus reflecting pre-sojourn behaviour. Christine's use of CISs remains relatively stable.

Table 4.12 Anna: Link between request directness and perspectives

Anna (5)			
	Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
Direct strategies	1 <	4	1
<i>Speaker dominant</i>	2 <	3	2
Con. Indirect strategies	5 >	3	4
<i>Hearer dominance</i>	4 >	2	3

Anna's data show an increase of speaker dominant strategies in-sojourn (two, pre-sojourn, three in-sojourn, and two post-sojourn) and a definite decrease in hearer dominant strategies (four pre-sojourn, two in-sojourn, and three post-sojourn). As is the

case with six out of eight participants, the most common request strategies in-sojourn are direct with speaker dominance as opposed to pre-sojourn where she preferred CISs with hearer dominance.

Post-sojourn, Anna resorts to pre-sojourn behaviour. Her use of DSs and speaker dominance declines while she starts using more CISs with hearer dominance again.

Table 4.13 Sonia: Link between request directness and perspectives

Sonia (5)			
	Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
Direct strategies	0 <	3	4
<i>Speaker dominant</i>	0 <	2	2
Con. Indirect strategies	6 >	3	2
<i>Hearer dominance</i>	5 >	3	2

The increase in DSs (zero pre-sojourn, three in-sojourn, and four post-sojourn) and speaker dominance (zero pre-sojourn, two in-sojourn, and two post-sojourn) and the decrease in CISs (six pre-sojourn, three in-sojourn, and two post-sojourn) and hearer dominance (five pre-sojourn, three in-sojourn, and two post-sojourn) is clearly visible in Sonia's case, too.

Post-sojourn, she uses one more direct strategy than in-sojourn (4Ds) and her speaker dominant strategies remain the same as in-sojourn (2 strategies).

Sonia post-sojourn use of CISs and hearer dominance shows that she resorts to pre-sojourn behaviour. She uses two CISs and two hearer dominant strategies post-sojourn.

Table 4.14 Alice: Link between request directness and perspectives

Alice (5)			
	Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
Direct strategies	3 =	3	3
<i>Speaker dominant</i>	0 <	1	0
Con. Indirect strategies	2 <	3	4
<i>Hearer dominance</i>	5 >	3	7

Although Alice's use of DSs remains the same pre- in-and post-sojourn (three strategies), her speaker dominant strategies increase from zero pre-sojourn to one-in-sojourn and then drop to zero post-sojourn.

Alice uses more CISs in-than pre-sojourn and the number continues to rise post-sojourn (two pre-sojourn, three-in-sojourn, and four post-sojourn). Yet her use of hearer dominant strategy use reflects that of all other participants in that it declines in-sojourn. She uses five HDSs pre-sojourn, only three in-sojourn, and seven post-sojourn.

Table 4.15 George: Link between request directness and perspectives

George (5)			
	Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
Direct strategies	2 <	3	2
<i>Speaker dominant</i>	3 <	4	2
Con. Indirect strategies	4 >	3	4
<i>Hearer dominance</i>	4 >	2	4

George's number of DSs and speaker dominant strategies both increase in-sojourn and drop again post sojourn. He uses two DSs pre-sojourn, three in- and two post-sojourn. His use of speaker dominant strategies mirrors this development, increasing from three pre-sojourn, to four in-sojourn. Post-sojourn, the number drops to two again. George uses four CISs pre-sojourn, three in-sojourn, and four post-sojourn, a development that is reflected in his use of hearer dominant strategies (four pre-sojourn, two in-sojourn and four post-sojourn).

Table 4.16 Lucy: Link between request directness and perspectives

Lucy (5)			
	Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
Direct strategies	2 <	5	1
<i>Speaker dominant</i>	2 <	4	2
Con. Indirect strategies	4 >	1	2
<i>Hearer dominance</i>	4 >	1	3

Lucy's data again show the predominant trend of using more DSs in combination with speaker dominance in-sojourn, and more CISs and hearer dominance pre-sojourn. Post-sojourn, she resort to pre-sojourn request behaviour.

Table 4.17 Emma: Link between request directness and perspectives

Emma (5)			
	Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
Direct strategies	0 <	5 >	0
<i>Speaker dominant</i>	2 <	3 >	1
Con. Indirect strategies	6 >	2 <	6
<i>Hearer dominance</i>	4 >	2 <	4

The same can be said for Emma although her data show an even more pronounced increase in DSs and decrease in CIS strategies in-sojourn. The first goes hand in hand with an increase in speaker dominance in-sojourn and the latter with a decrease in hearer dominance in-sojourn.

Post-sojourn, she resorts to pre-sojourn behaviour in all four categories.

Table 4.18 Andrew: Link between request directness and perspectives

Andrew (6)			
	Pre-sojourn	In-sojourn	Post-sojourn
Direct strategies	3 <	8	2
<i>Speaker dominant</i>	3 <	5	2
Con. Indirect strategies	4 >	2	5
<i>Hearer dominance</i>	4 >	2	4

Andrew's use of DSs shows the same increase in-sojourn as his use of speaker dominant strategies. Both decrease post-sojourn. His number of CISs and hearer dominant strategies declines in-sojourn and increase again post-sojourn thus mimicking pre-sojourn behaviour.

With the exception of Christine (4) and Alice (5), all participants use more direct strategies in combination with a speaker dominant perspective in-sojourn. There is a clear trend showing the shift from predominantly conventionally indirect request strategies (CISs) in combination with hearer dominant pre-sojourn to DSs and speaker dominance in-sojourn.

All participants use more SDs in-than pre-sojourn and fewer HDs in-than pre-sojourn. In six out of eight participants, this is linked to the use of direct or conventionally indirect strategies. The exceptions to this are Christine and Alice who both use the same

number of DS pre-and-in-sojourn. Christine’s CIS use does not change between pre-and-in-sojourn , either while Alice’s goes up by one.

4.3 Analysis of internal mitigation strategies (IMSs)

As described in section 3.5.1, the three main internal mitigation categories identified in the data are lexical and phrasal downgraders, upgraders and syntactic downgraders. In this section, I am going to talk about the use of these main categories pre-, in- and post-sojourn, as well as the variation expressed through the sub-strategies which together make up these main categories. I am going to refer to lexical and phrasal downgraders as LPDs and to syntactic downgraders as SDs. For a detailed list of all possible mitigation strategies with examples see Appendix G.

4.3.1 Syntactic downgraders (SDs)

Table 4.19 shows the use of syntactic downgraders in the role-play data at all data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of SDs pre-sojourn.

Table 4.19 SDs at all data collection points

Students (stages)	Number of SDs pre-sojourn	Number of SDs in-sojourn	Number of SDs post-sojourn
Sonia (5)	0 =	0 =	0
Christine (4)	1 =	1 <	12
Andrew (6)	2 <	4 >	2
Anna (5)	3 >	2 >	1
Alice (5)	3 >	2 <	5
Emma (5)	6 >	4 =	4
Lucy (5)	9 >	4 >	3
George (5)	13 >	10 >	5
Overall tokens	37 >	27 <	34

Five of eight students use fewer SDs in-sojourn than pre-sojourn (Alice, Anna, Emma, Lucy, and George). In Anna and Lucy’s case, the number further decreases post-sojourn. The others either use more SDs post-sojourn again, or the number of SDs remains the same, both in-and post-sojourn (Emma).

4.3.2 Lexical and phrasal downgraders (LPDs)

Table 4.20 shows the use of lexical and phrasal downgraders at all data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of LPDs pre-sojourn.

Table 4.20 LPDs at all data collection points

Students (stages)	Number of LPDs pre-sojourn	Number of LPDs pre-sojourn	Number of LPDs pre-sojourn
Emma (5)	2 =	2 <	8
Christine (4)	2 <	8 >	0
George (5)	3 <	5 =	5
Alice (5)	5 >	4 >	3
Anna (5)	7 >	4 <	6
Lucy (5)	8 >	1 <	2
Andrew (6)	8 >	4 =	4
Sonia (5)	10 >	6 <	7
Overall tokens	45 >	34 <	35

Five students (Alice, Anna, Lucy, Andrew, and Sonia) use fewer LPDs in-than pre-sojourn.

Five participants also use fewer LPDs in-sojourn than post-sojourn (Alice, Anna, Andrew, Lucy, and Sonia). In two cases (Alice and Andrew), the number of LPDs either decreases post-sojourn or remains the same as in-sojourn). The remaining three students (Anna, Lucy, and Sonia) produce more LPDs post- than in-sojourn.

Christine, on the other hand, uses four times as many LPDs in-sojourn than pre-sojourn and none at all after her year abroad. Emma uses the same number of LPDs (two) pre- and in-sojourn but four times as many post-sojourn, and George uses more LPDs in-sojourn than pre-sojourn. His post-sojourn number remains the same as in-sojourn.

Both LPDs and SDs are used less frequently in-than pre-sojourn. While the use of SDs generally further decreases post-sojourn (four students use fewer SDs post-than in-sojourn, one student does not use DSs at all and only two students use more DSs post-than in-sojourn), the number of LPDs overall increases post-sojourn (four participants use more LPDs post-than in-sojourn, two use the same number of LPDs in- and post-sojourn, and only two students use fewer post-than in-sojourn).

This means that the participants do not only use more direct request strategies in-than pre-sojourn, but also that they mitigate their request less internally which contributes to the feeling of increased directness.

4.3.3 Upgraders

Table 4.21 shows the use of Upgraders at the three data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of upgraders pre-sojourn.

Table 4.21 Upgraders at all data collection points

Students (stages)	Number of upgraders pre-sojourn	Number of upgraders in-sojourn	Number of upgraders post-sojourn
George	0 =	0 =	0
Emma	0 =	0 <	1
Alice	0 =	1 >	0
Christine	0 =	1 =	1
Andrew	0 =	4 >	0
Sonia	0 =	4 >	0
Lucy	0 =	6 >	2
Anna	2 <	3 >	1
Overall tokens	2 <	19 >	5

Upgraders are sparingly used by the participants, perhaps because they reinforce requests. Pre-sojourn, only Anna uses them, yet in-sojourn six out of eight students used Upgraders, the highest number being six Upgraders (Lucy). Three students (Christine, Lucy, and Anna) use Upgraders in-and post-sojourn. Emma does not use any Upgraders pre- or in-sojourn, yet post-sojourn she uses one.

In summary, six students (Alice, Christine, Andrew, Sonia, Lucy, and Anna) use more Upgraders in-sojourn than pre-sojourn. While the use of both LPDs and SDs decreases in-sojourn, the use of Upgraders increases thus creating more directness on a sub-strategies level. The fact that Downgraders are used less in-than pre-sojourn (see 4.3.1) and the increased use of Upgraders in-sojourn reinforce the predominantly direct strategy use in-sojourn.

The participants use a total of 84 IMSs pre-sojourn, 80 in-sojourn and 74 post-sojourn.

4.3.4 Variation of Internal mitigation sub-strategies

Table 4.22 shows the use of different internal mitigation sub-strategies (IM sub-strategies) in ascending order, starting with the students who used the least number pre-sojourn. It includes all IM sub-strategies used within the three main IMS types (LPDs, SDs and Upgraders).

Table 4.22 Different IM-sub-strategies at all data collection points

Student (stage)	Number of different IM sub-strategies pre-sojourn	Number of different IM sub-strategies in-sojourn	Number of different IM sub-strategies post-sojourn	Number of <u>new</u> IM sub-strategies used in-sojourn	Number of <u>new</u> IM sub-strategies used post-sojourn
Sonia (5)	3	4	3	2	0
Emma (5)	3	4	6	2	3
Christine (4)	3	6	3	4	1
Alice (5)	5	4	4	1	0
George (5)	5	4	5	0	1
Anna (5)	5	4	6	0	2
Lucy (5)	5	6	5	5	0
Andrew (6)	5	9	3	5	0
Overall tokens	34 <	41 >	35	19	7

Comparing the pre- and in-sojourn data, five students (Emma, Sonia, Christine, Lucy, and Andrew) use more varied IM sub-strategies in- than pre-sojourn. Alice, George, and Anna use fewer different IM sub-strategies in- than pre-sojourn. Comparing the in- and post-sojourn data, Emma, George, and Anna use more varied IM sub-strategies post- than in-sojourn. Sonia, Christine, Lucy, and Andrew use fewer different strategies post- than in-sojourn, while Alice uses the same number in-and post-sojourn.

4.3.5 Research question 2

2a) To what extent are student requests internally mitigated before, during and after their sojourn abroad?

2b) Does the variation of internal mitigation strategies change during study abroad?

Regarding question 2a) the degree of overall internal mitigation decreases from 84 strategies pre-to 80 strategies in-sojourn and the number continues to fall to 74 post-sojourn (see Table 4.26 for overall frequency counts).

An opposing trend can be observed in sub-strategy variation in-sojourn. Between them, the participants use 34 different IM sub-strategies pre-sojourn, 41 in-sojourn, and 35 post-sojourn. This development is also reflected in the use of 19 completely new strategies in-sojourn and only another 7 post-sojourn. So while the students use fewer IMSs in-sojourn, the range of different IM sub-strategies in-sojourn increases.

4.3.6 Individual participant discussion

Again, data for individual students are presented at two levels of analysis: in each case the first Figure shows information for the main IMS categories, while the second shows the detailed individual sub-strategies used.

Christine

Christine starts out with very little internal mitigation (Fig. 4.27). She only uses two LPDs and one SD pre-sojourn. Yet in-sojourn this changes quite dramatically with the number of LPDs rising to eight. She also uses one Upgrader and retains the SD. Post-sojourn, the category of LPDs disappears while her use of SDs goes up to twelve.

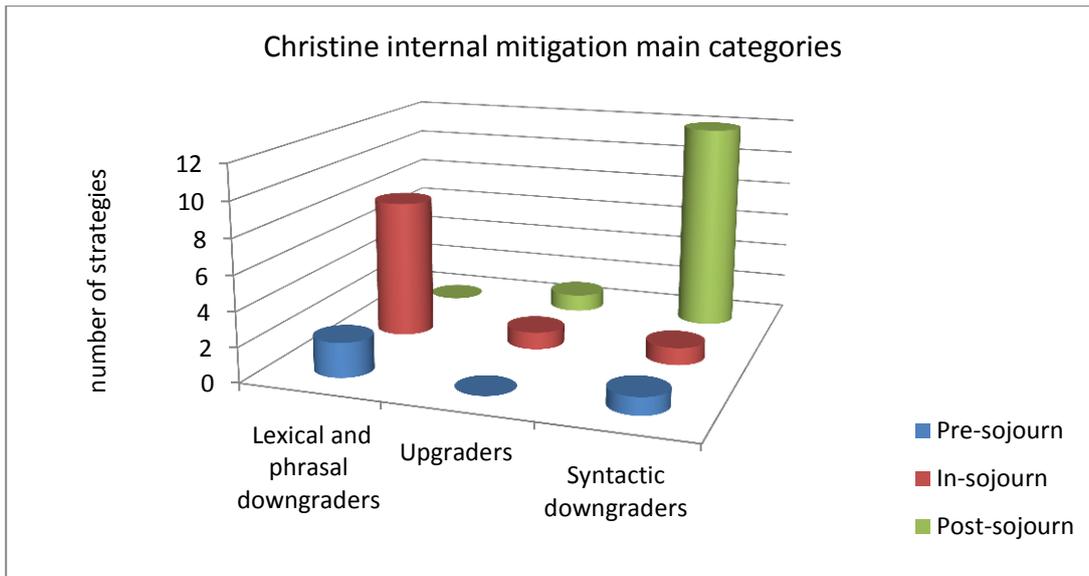


Figure 4.27 Christine internal mitigation main categories

With regards to variation at the more detailed sub-strategies analysis level (Fig. 4.28), Christine uses a total of eight different strategies. Most variation occurs in-sojourn with six different strategies as opposed to pre- and post where she uses three.

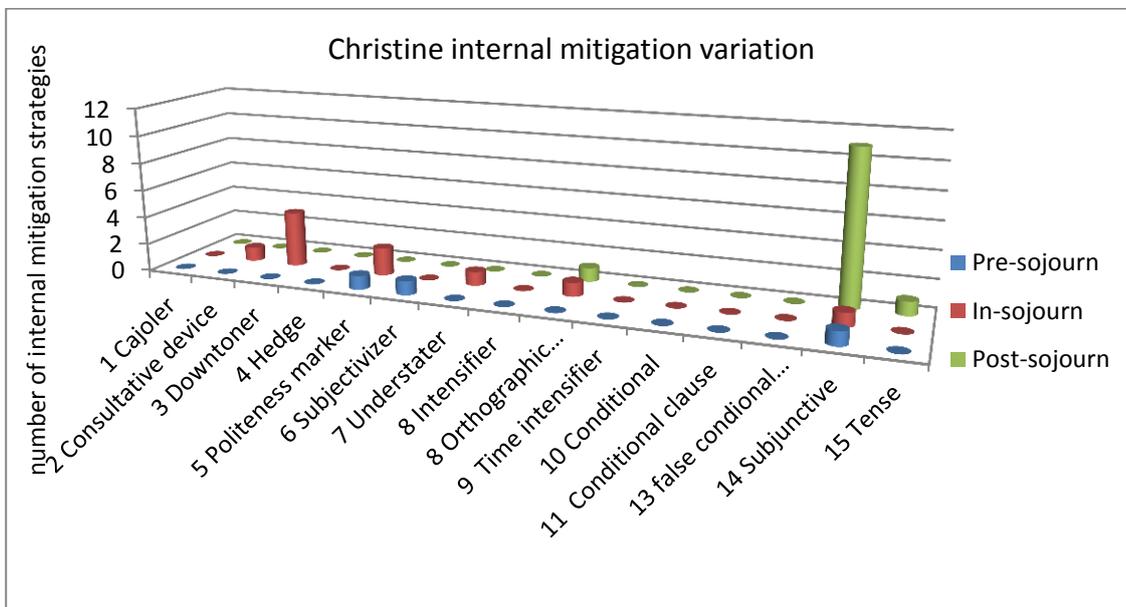


Figure 4.28 Christine internal mitigation variation

Anna

Anna uses all three main IMS categories pre-, in- and post-sojourn, yet her data show a preference for LPDs (Fig. 4.29).

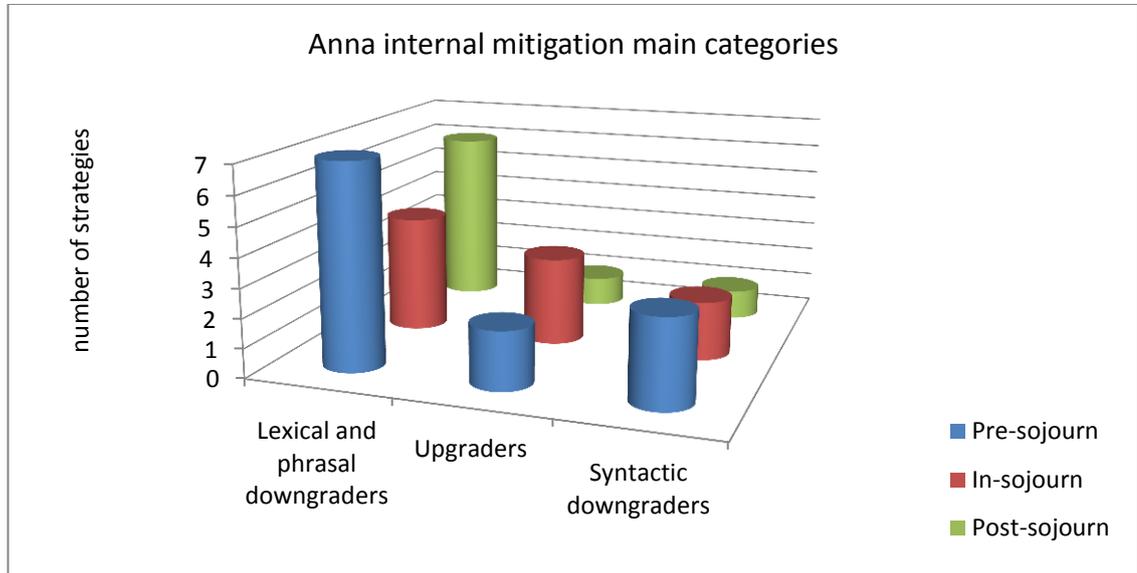


Figure 4.29 Anna internal mitigation main categories

With regards to variation (Fig. 4.30), Anna's data is quite uniform, with five sub-strategies pre-sojourn, four in-sojourn and six post-sojourn.

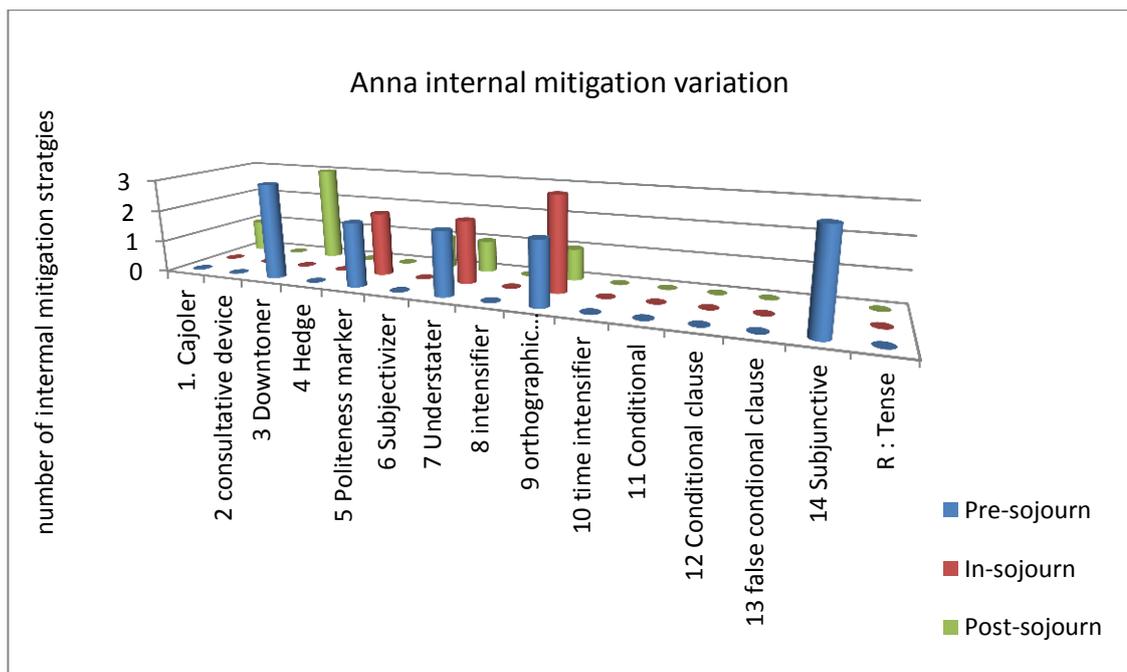


Figure 4.30 Anna internal mitigation variation

Sonia

What is surprising in Sonia's case is the fact that she does not use SDs at all (Fig. 4.31).

What is noticeable though is her use of four Upgraders in-sojourn.

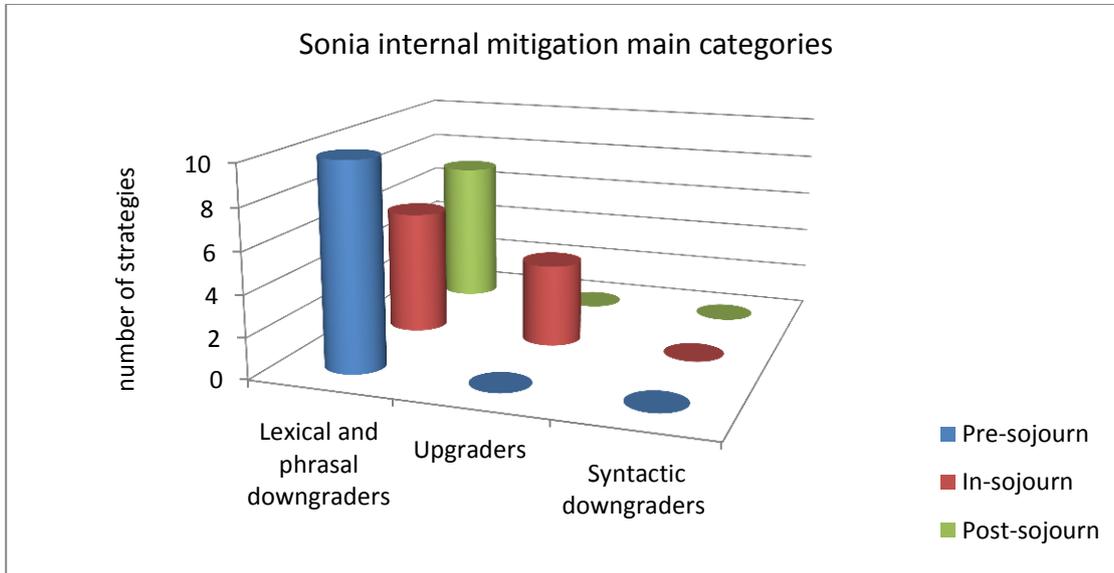


Figure 4.31 Sonia internal mitigation main categories

Her variation data (Fig. 4.32) show most variation pre-sojourn (five strategies), three strategies in-sojourn and a slight increase post-sojourn again (four strategies).

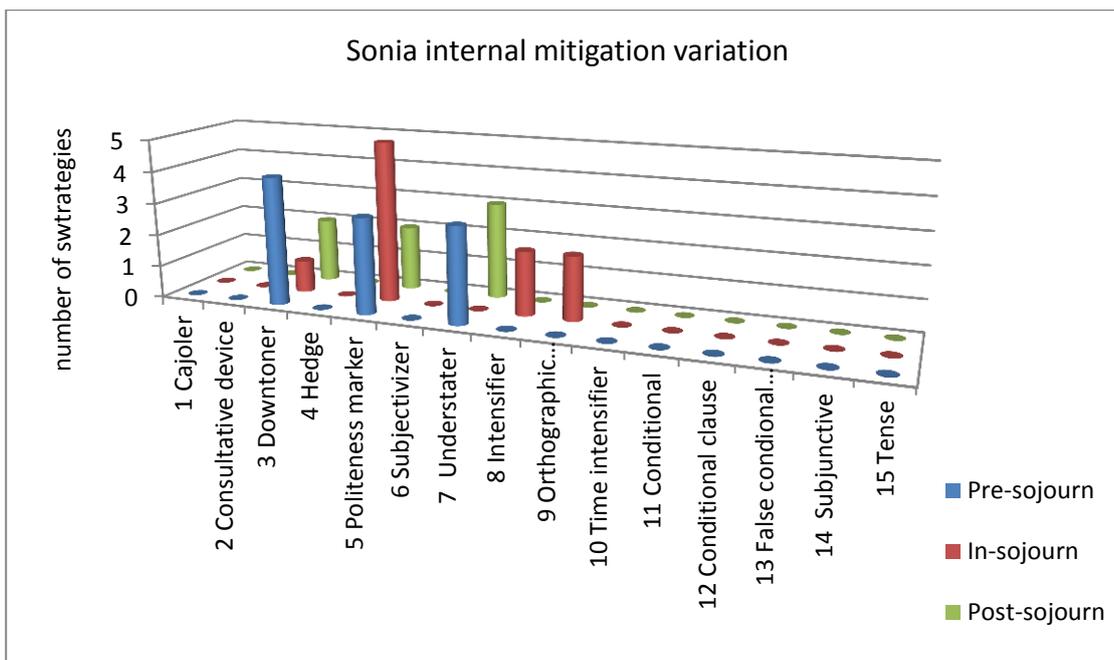


Figure 4.32 Sonia internal mitigation variation

Alice

Alice starts off using five LPDs and three SDs pre-sojourn (Fig. 4.33). In-sojourn, she applies one Upgrader and post-sojourn she resorts to her pre-sojourn strategies although she now uses more SDs (five) than LPDs (three).

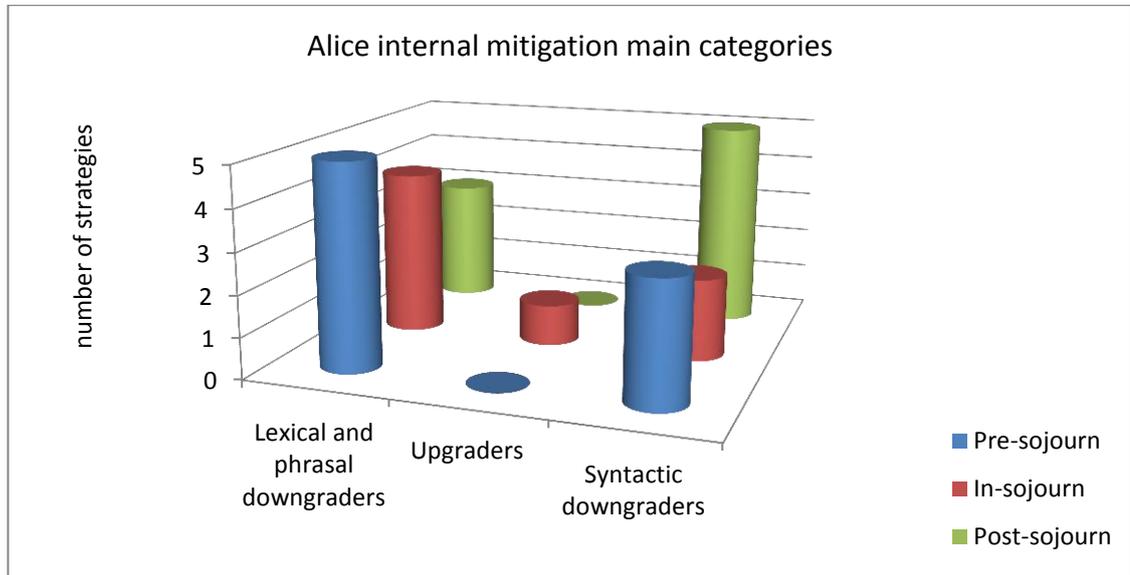


Figure 4.33 Alice internal mitigation main categories

Alice's range of sub-strategies is shown in Figure 4.34. She uses five different strategies pre-sojourn, four in-sojourn and four post-sojourn. The strategies applied pre- and post-sojourn are identical apart from the downtoners which she does not use at all post-sojourn. She uses one intensifier in-sojourn, a strategy which she does not use pre-or post-sojourn.

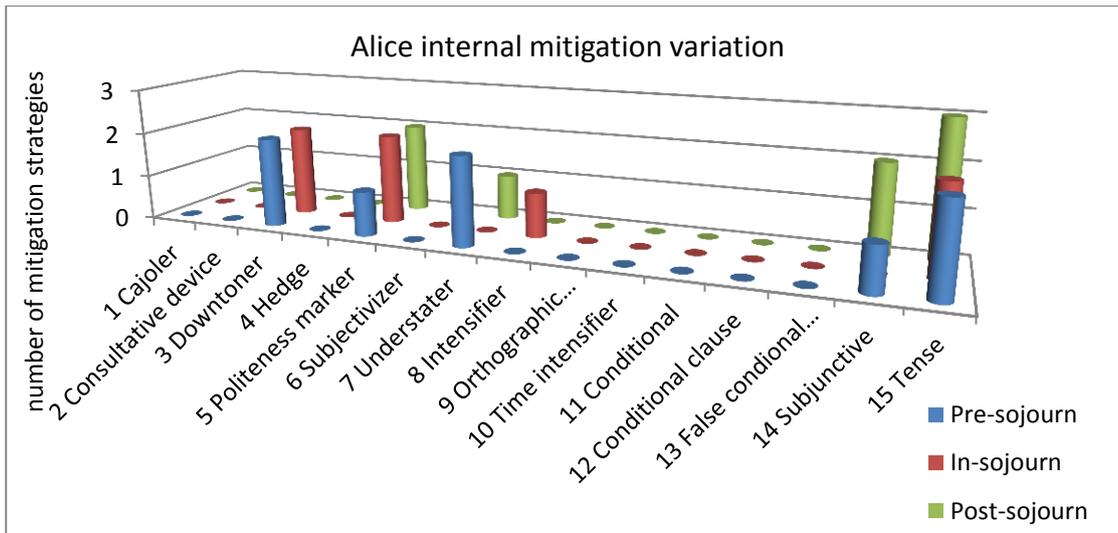


Figure 4.34 Alice internal mitigation variation

George

George shows a pronounced preference for SDs, especially pre-sojourn where he uses thirteen but also in-sojourn with ten (Fig. 4.35). His use of LPDs is very balanced with three pre-sojourn and five in-and post-sojourn.

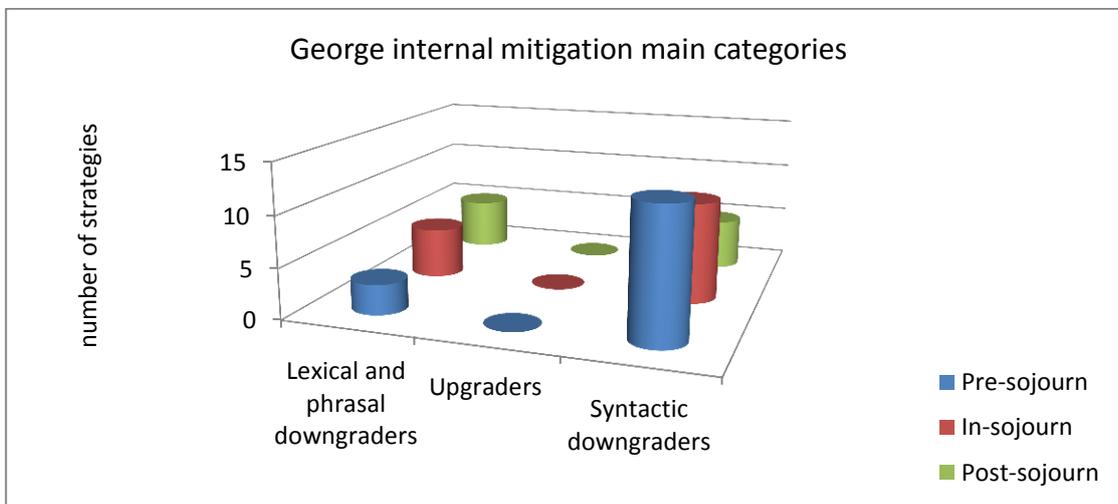


Figure 4.35 George internal mitigation main categories

With regards to sub-strategy variation (Fig. 4.36), George uses six different strategies, but apart from two hedges post-sojourn and one false conditional clause pre-sojourn, he re-uses the same four strategies.

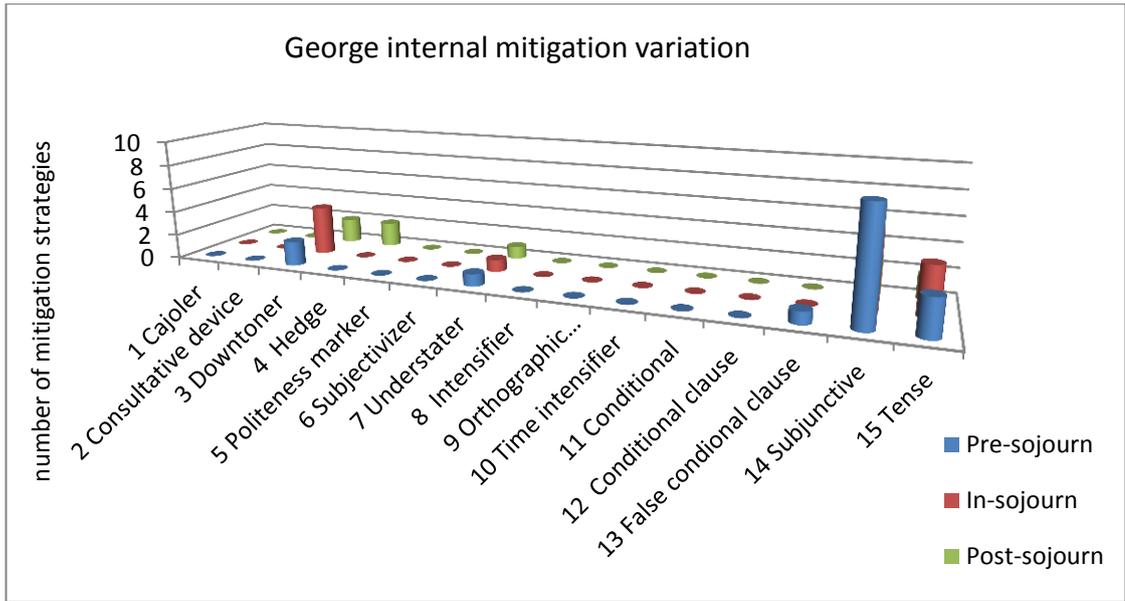


Figure 4.36 George internal mitigation variation

Lucy

Lucy’s pre-sojourn data (Fig. 4.37) show that she uses eight LPDs and nine SDs. In-sojourn she starts using Upgraders (six in total), while the number of LPDs decreases by seven. Post-sojourn she uses two LPDs, the same number of Upgraders and three SDs.

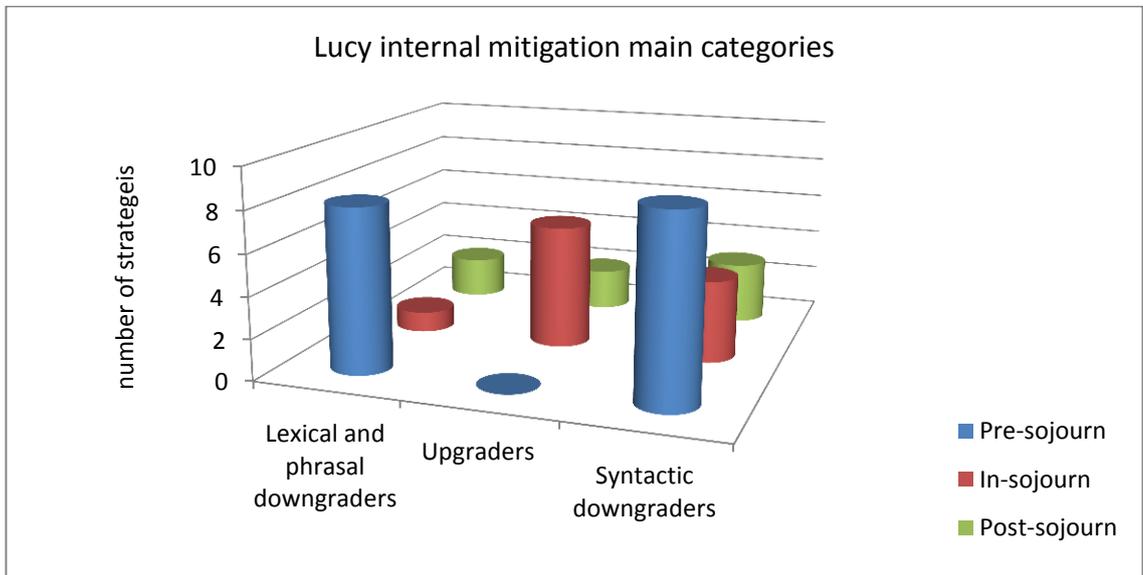


Figure 4.37 Lucy internal mitigation main categories

Her variation data are shown in Figure 4.38. Lucy starts out using five different sub-strategies mitigation strategies pre-sojourn. She uses two more types in-sojourn. While

her pre-sojourn strategies are all Downgraders, she uses six Upgraders - two intensifiers and four orthographic emphasis strategies - in-sojourn. Her post-sojourn data show a drop in internal mitigation usage yet she still uses the same categories of Upgraders, albeit fewer (one intensifier and one orthographic emphasis strategy).

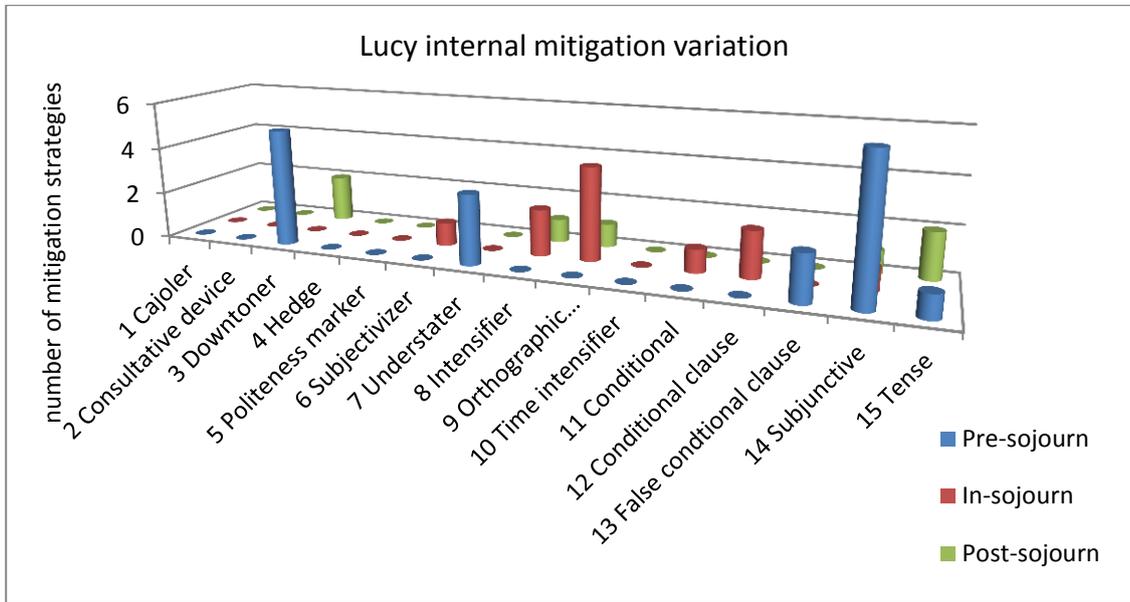


Figure 4.38 Lucy internal mitigation variation

Emma

In Emma's case (Fig. 4.39), it is her increased use of LPDs post-sojourn which stands out. While she only uses two LPDs pre- and in-sojourn, post-sojourn this number goes up to eight. She also uses one Upgrader post-sojourn.

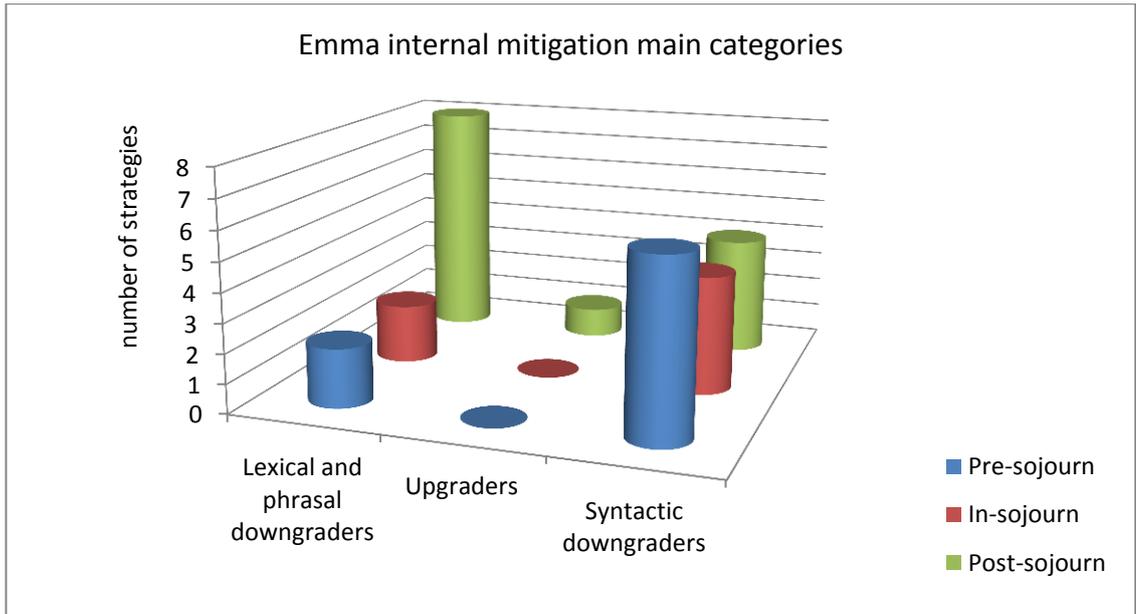


Figure 4.39 Emma internal mitigation main categories

Figure 4.40 shows how Emma uses a total of seven different sub-strategies internal mitigation strategies. She picks up two new strategies in-sojourn and starts using another two post-sojourn.

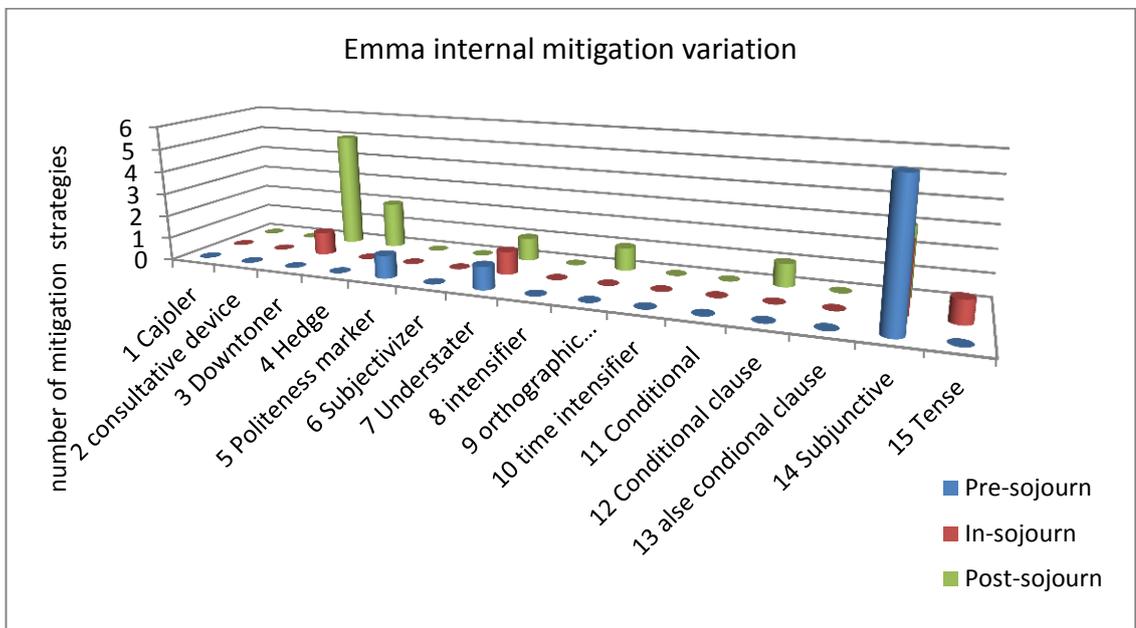


Figure 4.40 Emma internal mitigation variation

Andrew

Andrew uses eight LPDs and two SDs pre-sojourn (Fig. 4.41). In-sojourn he starts using the same number of upgraders (four) as LPDs and SDs. Post-sojourn, he resorts to his pre-sojourn categories albeit in slightly reduced form, with four LPDs and two SDs.

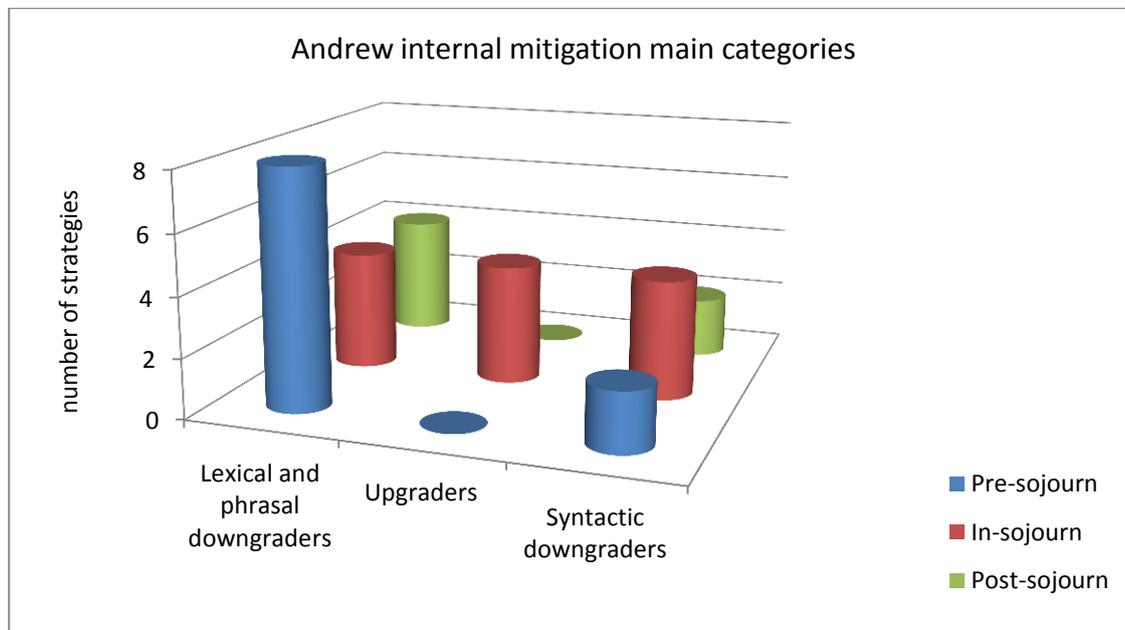


Figure 4.41 Andrew internal mitigation main categories

Andrew uses many more different sub-strategies mitigation strategies in-sojourn than pre- or post- (Fig. 4.42), i.e. he uses five different strategies pre-sojourn, nine in-sojourn and three post-sojourn.

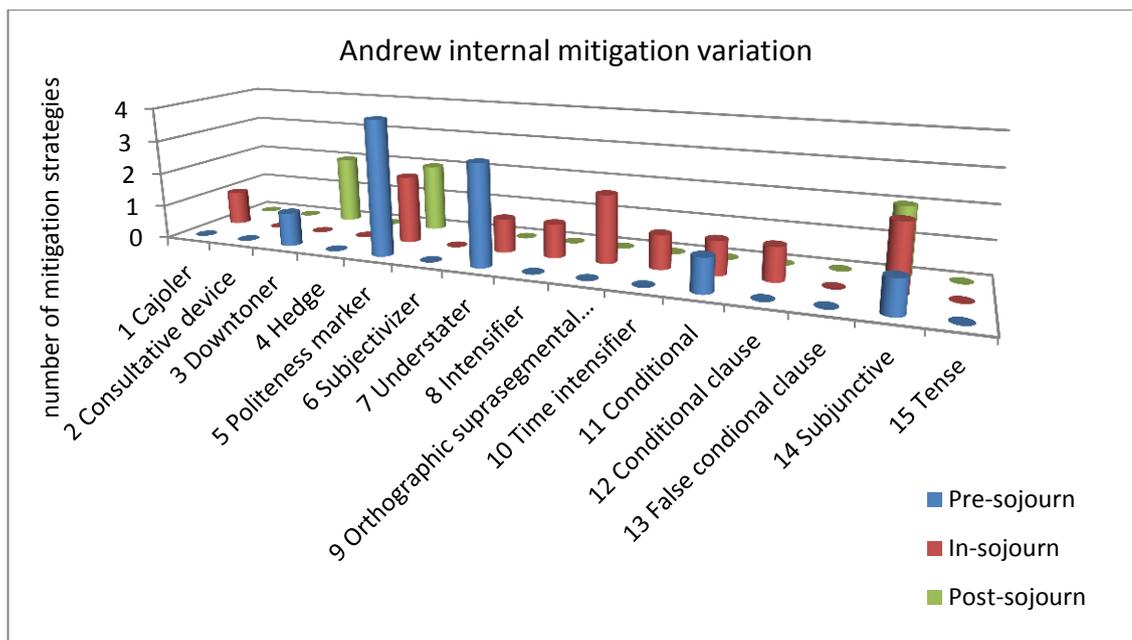


Figure 4.42 Andrew internal mitigation variation

4.4 Analysis of external mitigation strategies (EMSs)

An external mitigation strategy or supportive move is “a unit external to the request, which modifies its impact by either aggravating or mitigating its force” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:276). The two main categories of supportive moves, mitigating supportive moves (MSMs) and aggravating supportive moves (ASMs) again comprise several different subcategories: preparatory, getting a precommitment, grounder, disarmer, promise of reward, imposition minimizer are MSMs while ASMs include insults, threats, and moralizing. For examples of all categories see Appendix H. In the present section, the overall use of supportive and aggravating moves used by the participants will be discussed.

4.4.1 Mitigating supportive moves (MSMs)

Table 4.23 shows the use of MSMs at all data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of MSMs pre-sojourn.

Table 4.23 Number of MSMs at all data collection points

Student (stage)	Number of MSMs pre-sojourn	Number of MSMs in-sojourn	Number of MSMs post-sojourn
George (5)	5 <	9 >	5
Anna (5)	6 <	17 >	10
Emma (5)	8 <	12 <	13
Alice (5)	9 <	14 >	12
Christine (4)	9 <	17 >	9
Sonia (5)	11 >	9 <	10
Andrew (6)	12 >	9 <	15
Lucy (5)	18 >	13 >	7
Overall tokens	78 <	100 >	81

Five out of eight students (George, Anna, Emma, Alice, and Christine) use more MSMs in-sojourn than pre- sojourn, but Emma’s usage further increases post-sojourn while the rest of this group use fewer MSMs post-sojourn again. Sonia, Andrew and Lucy use fewer MSMs in-sojourn than pre-sojourn. Sonia and Andrew’s use increases post-sojourn again while Lucy’s further declines. Thus, the overall number of MSMs increases in-sojourn.

4.4.2 Aggravating supportive moves (ASMs)

Table 4.24 shows the use of ASMs at all data collection points, starting with the students who used the least number of ASMs pre-sojourn.

Table 4.24 Number of ASMs at all data collection points

Student (stage)	Number of ASMs pre-sojourn	Number of ASMs in-sojourn	Number of ASMs post-sojourn
Alice (5)	0	0	0
Sonia (5)	0	0	0
Anna (5)	0	0	0
Emma (5)	0 <	1 >	0
Andrew (6)	0 <	1 >	0
George (5)	0 <	1 >	0
Lucy (5)	0 <	1 >	0
Christine (4)	1 <	2 >	0
Overall tokens	1 <	6 >	0

Table 4.24 shows that Alice, Sonia, and Anna used no ASMs whatsoever. Emma, Andrew, George and Lucy only used one ASM in-sojourn. Christine was the only participant who used ASMs pre-and in-sojourn. Thus, the number of ASMs increases in-sojourn with five students (Emma, Andrew, George, Lucy and Christine) using both more ASMs in-sojourn than pre-and post-sojourn.

Overall, the participants used 79 EMSs pre-sojourn, 106 in-sojourn, and 81 post-sojourn.

4.4.3 Variation of external mitigation sub-strategies

Table 4.25 shows the use of different external mitigation sub-strategies (EM sub-strategies) at each data collection point, starting with the students who used the least number of strategies pre-sojourn. EM sub-strategies consist of both supportive moves and aggravating moves.

Table 4.25 The use of EM sub-strategies at each data collection point

Student (stage)	Number of different EM sub-strategies pre-sojourn	Number of different EM sub-strategies in-sojourn	Number of different EM sub-strategies post-sojourn	Number of <u>new</u> EM sub-strategies used in-sojourn	Number of <u>new</u> EM sub-strategies used post-sojourn
George (5)	1	3	2	2	1
Sonia (5)	2	3	3	2	0
Alice (5)	3	3	4	1	1
Emma (5)	3	4	3	1	0
Anna (5)	3	5	4	2	0
Andrew (6)	4	4	3	1	0
Christine (4)	4	5	2	1	0
Lucy (5)	4	5	3	2	0
Overall tokens	24 <	32 >	24	12	2

Comparing the pre- and in-sojourn data, it can be seen that six students (George, Sonia, Emma, Anna, Christine, and Lucy) use more different EM sub-strategies in- than pre-sojourn. Alice and Andrew use the same number pre-and in-sojourn. In-post-sojourn, George, Alice, Anna, Andrew, Christine and Lucy use fewer EM sub-strategies than in-sojourn. Only Alice uses one more EMS post -than in-sojourn and Sonia's in-sojourn number remains the same post-sojourn.

Regarding overall variation, there is a definite increase in sub-strategy variation in-sojourn. Together, the group use 24 different EM sub-strategies pre-sojourn, 32 in-sojourn, and 24 again post-sojourn. This development is also reflected in the use of 12 completely new sub-strategies in-sojourn and only two post-sojourn.

4.4.4 Research question 3

- 3.a) To what extent are student requests externally mitigated before, during and after their sojourn abroad?
- b) Does the variation of External Mitigation Strategies change during study abroad?

Both the extent of external mitigation and the variation of sub-strategies increase in-sojourn and decrease again post-sojourn.

Regarding question 3a) the participants use a total of 79 EMSs pre-sojourn, 106 in-sojourn, and 81 post-sojourn. The answer to question 3 b) is a definite increase in-sojourn in EM sub-strategy variation. The participants used 24 different EM sub-strategies pre-, 32 in-, and 24 post-sojourn.

4.4.5 Individual participant discussion

In the following section, the use of MSMS and ASMs is analysed for every individual participant and compared to the variation data at the sub-strategies of individual strategies. The order of participants is based on ascending proficiency.

Christine

Throughout, Christine uses more MSMs than ASMs (Fig. 4.43). In fact, she only uses three ASMs altogether, one pre-sojourn and two in-sojourn. The greatest difference can be seen in-sojourn, where her use of MSMs goes up to 17 from an initial nine MSMs pre-sojourn. At the same time, Christine uses one more ASM in- than pre-sojourn.

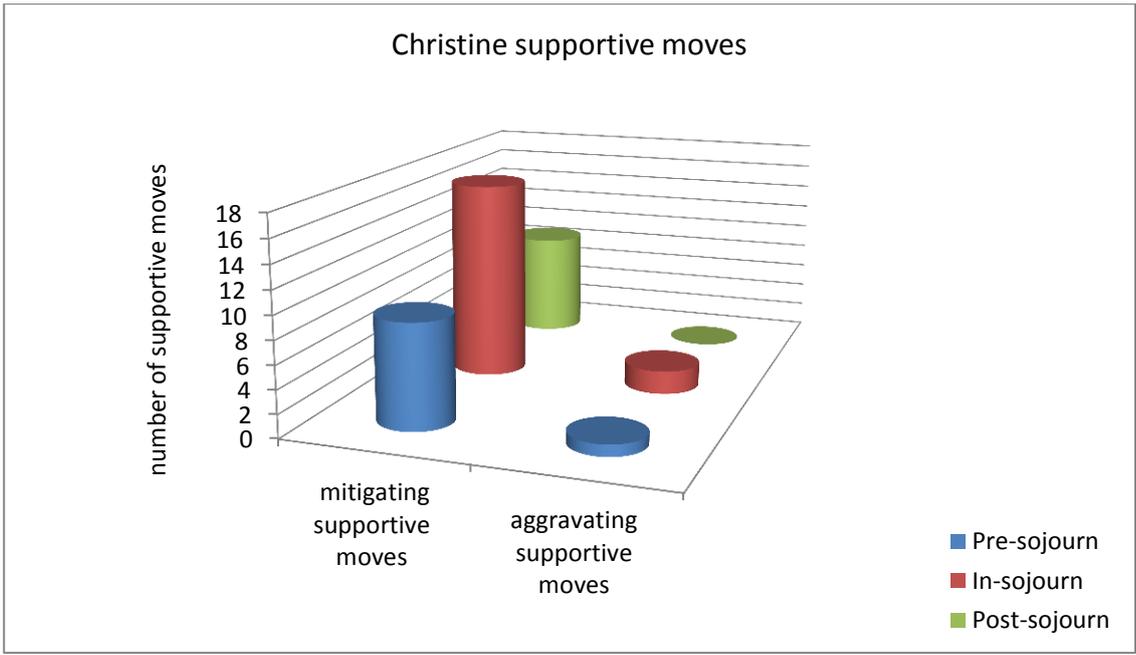


Figure 4.43 Christine supportive moves

With regards to the variation of her individual supportive moves (Fig. 4.44), Christine starts off using four different moves, one of them being an ASM (moralizing). In-sojourn she learns one new MSM (preparator), yet post-sojourn she only uses two MSMs, namely grounders and one preparator.

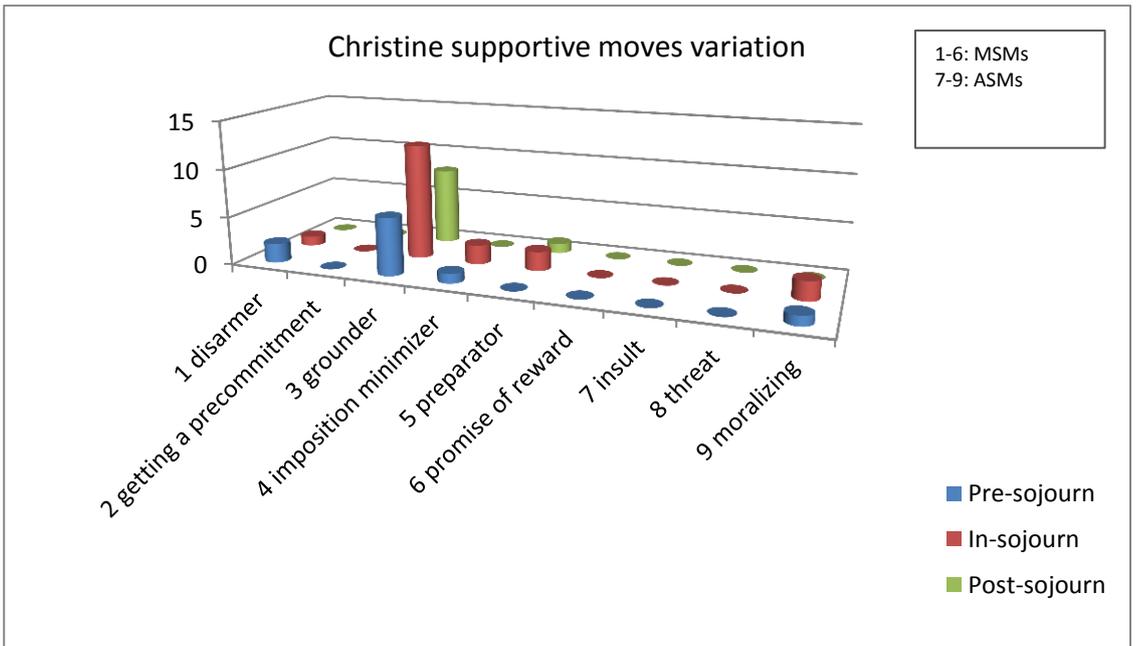


Figure 4.44 Christine supportive moves variation

Anna

Anna does not use ASMs at all. Her use of MSMs shows a sharp increase in-sojourn, rising from six pre-sojourn, to 17 in-sojourn followed by a subsequent drop to 10 post-sojourn.

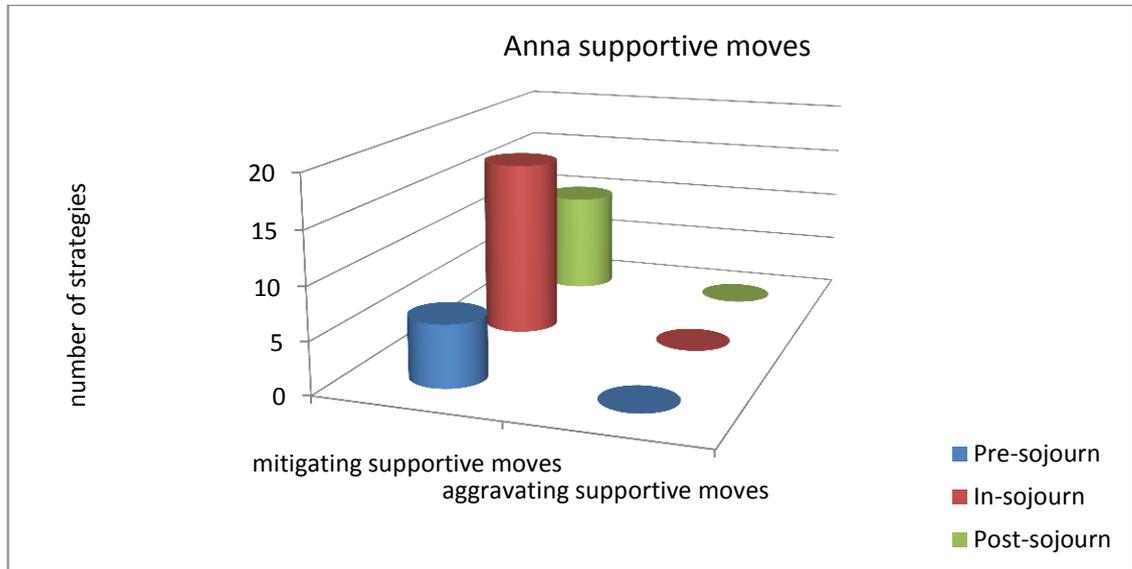


Figure 4.45 Anna supportive moves

Anna's sub-strategies supportive moves variation data (Fig. 4.46) show that she adopts two new strategies in-sojourn (getting a precommitment and promise of reward) in addition to the three she already uses pre-sojourn. She retains four strategies post-sojourn.

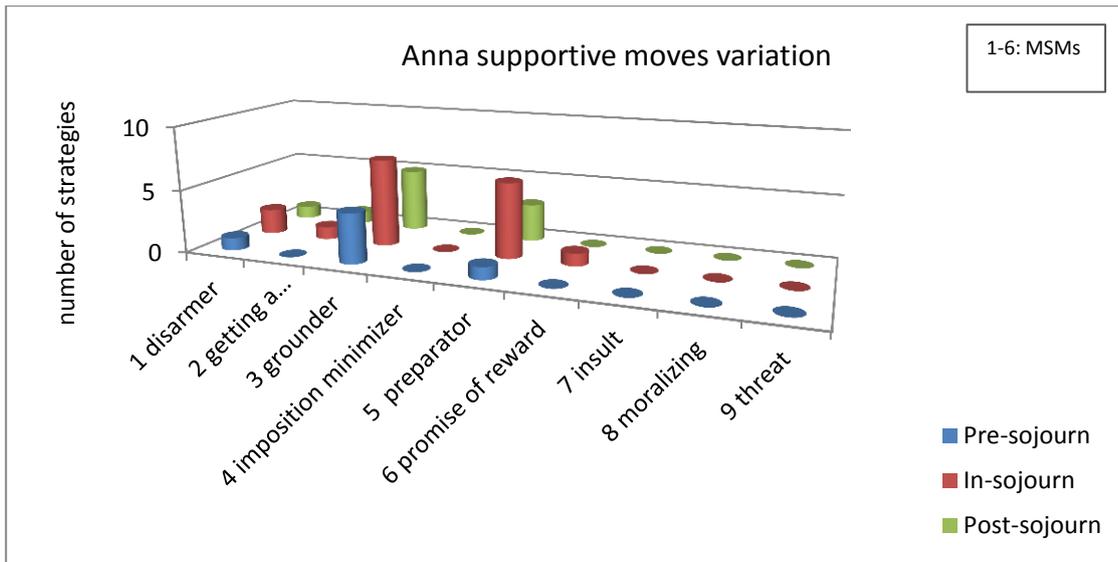


Figure 4.46 Anna supportive moves variation

Sonia

Sonia does not use any ASMs either. Yet unlike Alice, her number of MSMs slightly declines in-sojourn (nine strategies) to go back up post-sojourn (ten supportive moves).

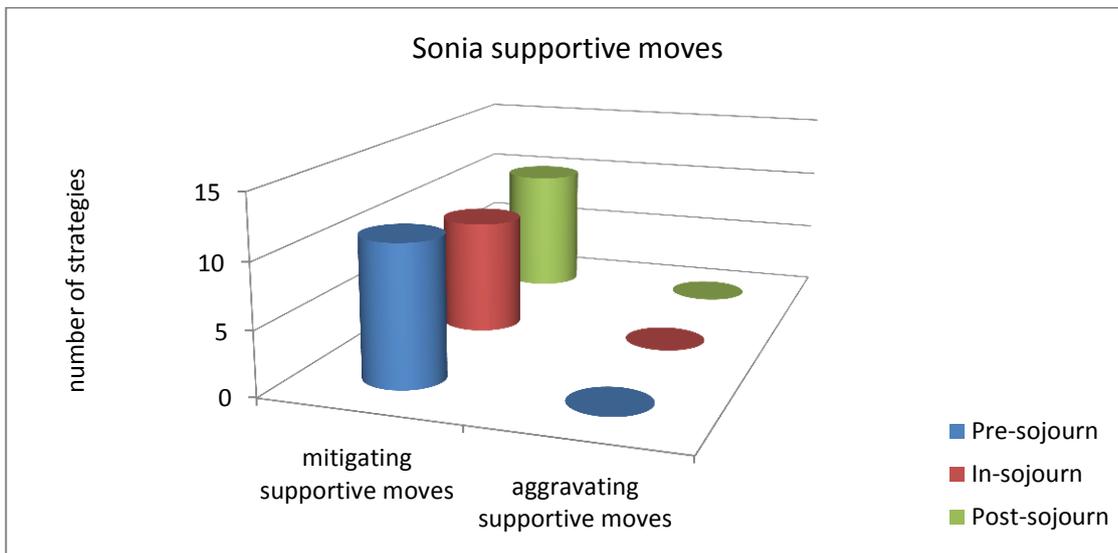


Figure 4.47 Sonia supportive moves

Sonia's variation data (Fig. 4.48) show that she only uses two different moves pre-sojourn. While she keeps on using grounders in-sojourn, she has also learned two new supportive moves, namely imposition minimizers and preparators. Post-sojourn, she

uses three different supportive moves, yet the number of grounders remains much higher.

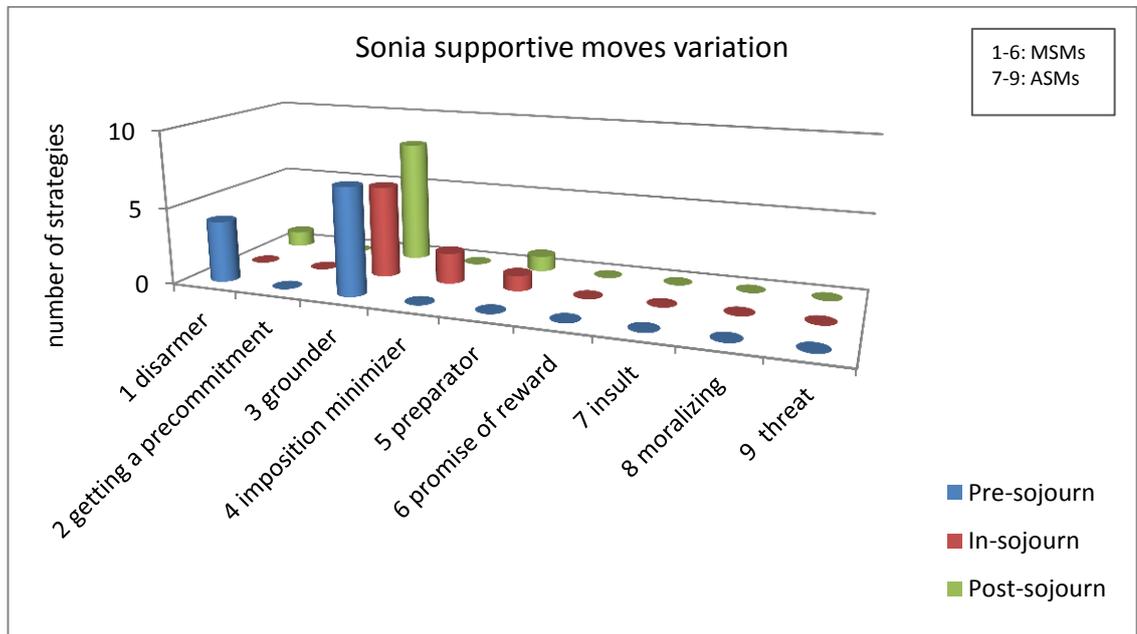


Figure 4.48 Sonia supportive moves variation

Alice

Alice does not use ASMs at all. Her MSMs data show a pronounced increase from nine strategies pre-sojourn to fourteen in-sojourn. Post-sojourn, the number of MSMs decreased by two.

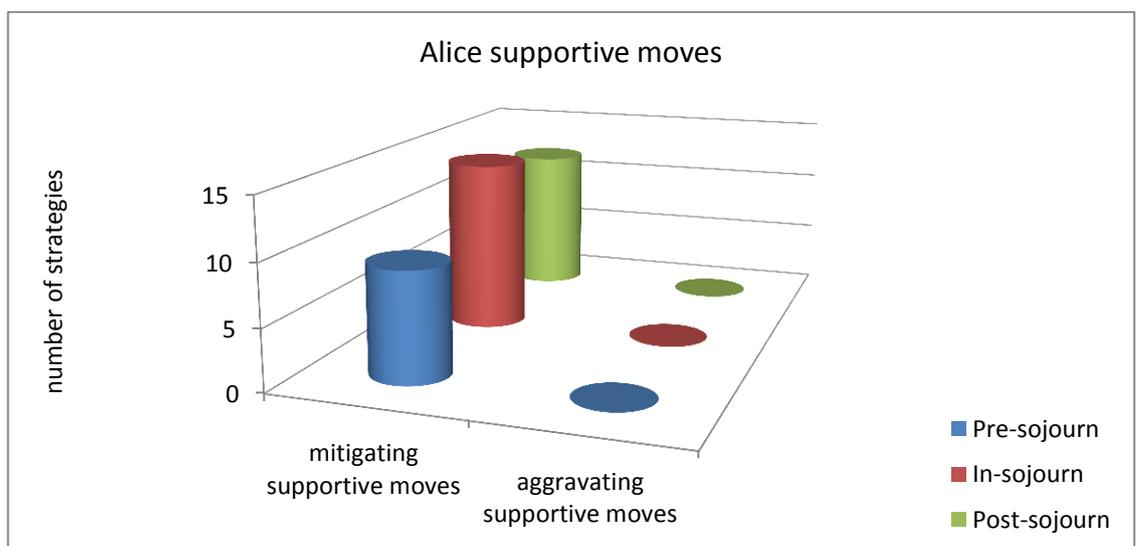


Figure 4.49 Alice supportive moves

Alice uses a total of three different MSMs before going abroad (Fig. 4.50). In-sojourn, she uses one new MSM (imposition minimizer) and stops using disarmers. She uses one completely new move - getting a precommitment - post-sojourn.

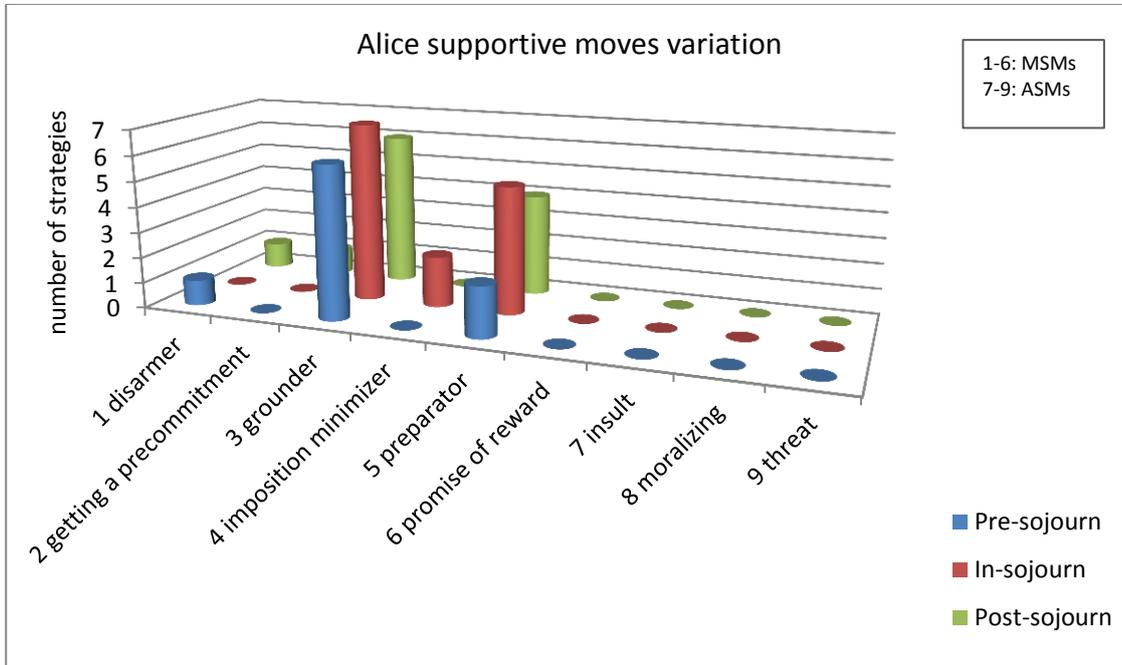


Figure 4.50 Alice supportive moves variation

George

George is among those who use ASMs in-sojourn. His data do differ from that of all other participants though in that he only uses a total of five MSMs pre-sojourn. This number increases by four in-sojourn and drops to six post-sojourn.

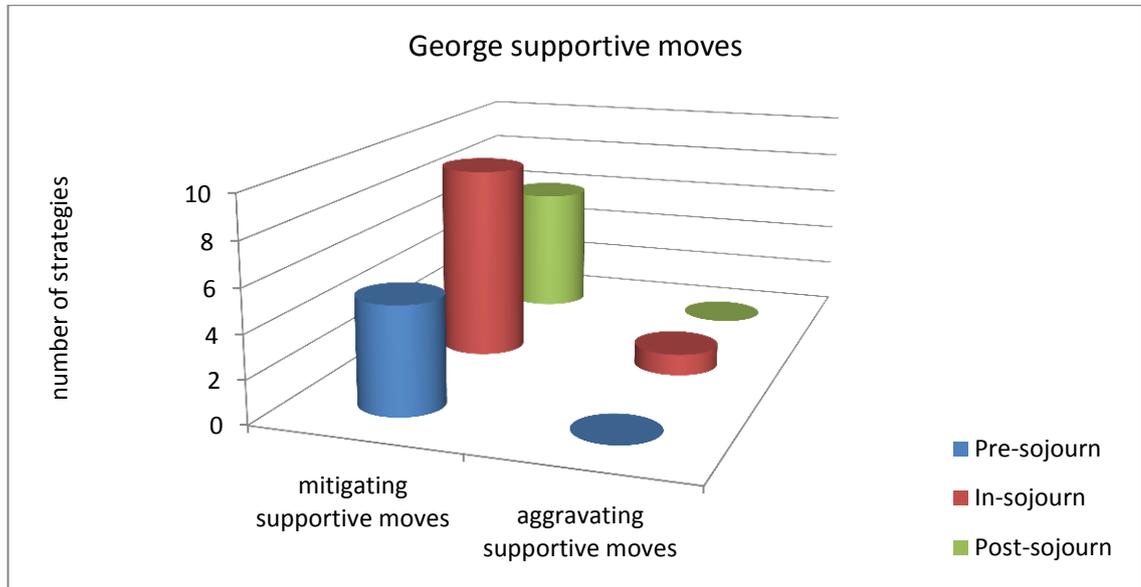


Figure 4.51 George supportive moves

Pre-sojourn, George only uses grounders. In-sojourn, he starts using two other types of supportive moves: preparators and moralizing, yet post-sojourn he returns to grounders only (Fig. 4.52).

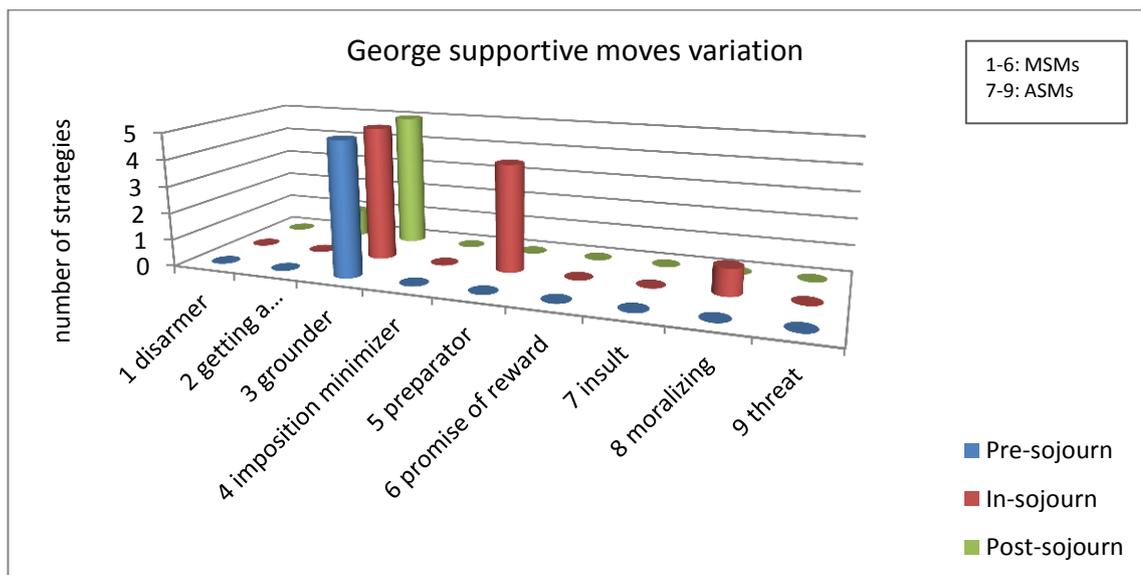


Figure 4.52 George supportive moves variation

Lucy

Lucy's supportive move data is extraordinary in that she uses the highest number of MSMs (eighteen) of all participants pre-sojourn. However, her use of MSMs also shows a downwards trend and Lucy ends up using only seven supportive moves post-sojourn. She uses one ASM in-sojourn.

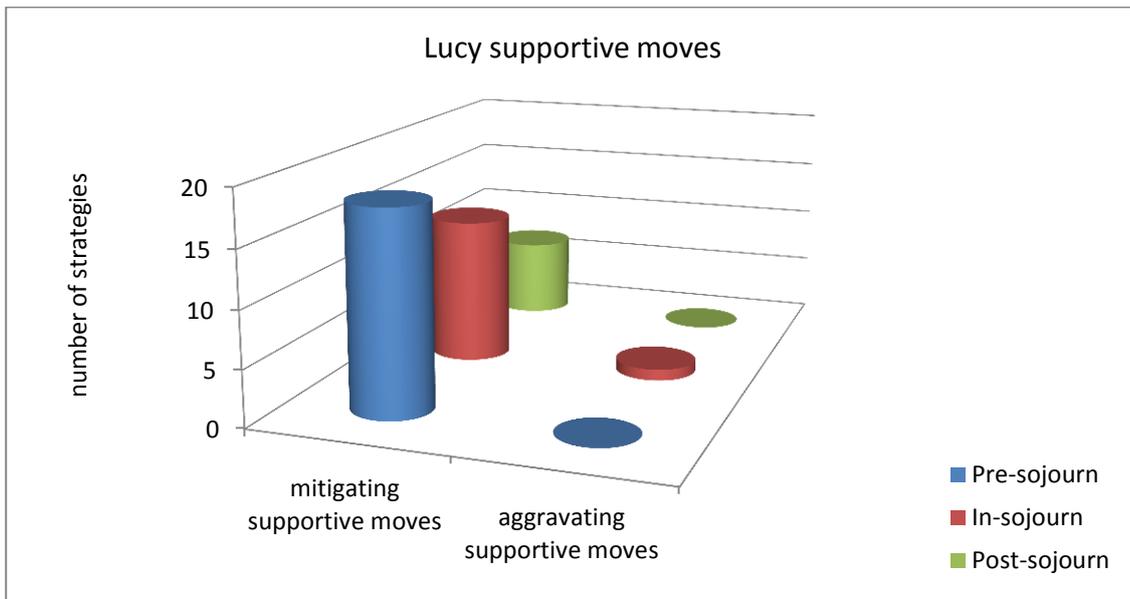


Figure 4.53 Lucy supportive moves

Lucy's supportive move variation data (Fig. 4.54) reveals that she uses four strategies pre-sojourn, five in-sojourn, two of which are newly learned moves and three strategies post-sojourn.

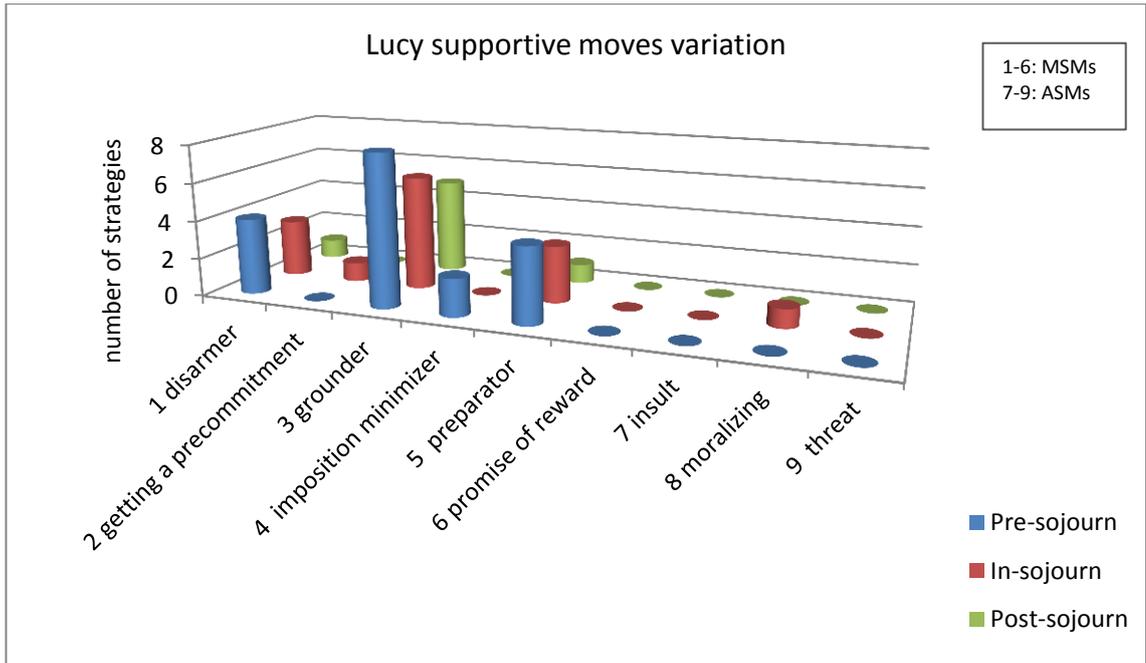


Figure 4.54 Lucy supportive moves variation

Emma

Emma’s use of MSMs shows very little change between pre-, in- and post-sojourn. She uses eight MSMs pre-sojourn, a number that only slightly increases in-sojourn where she uses 12 strategies. Post-sojourn, the number of MSMs increases. Apart from one ASM in-sojourn, Emma does not use ASMs at all.

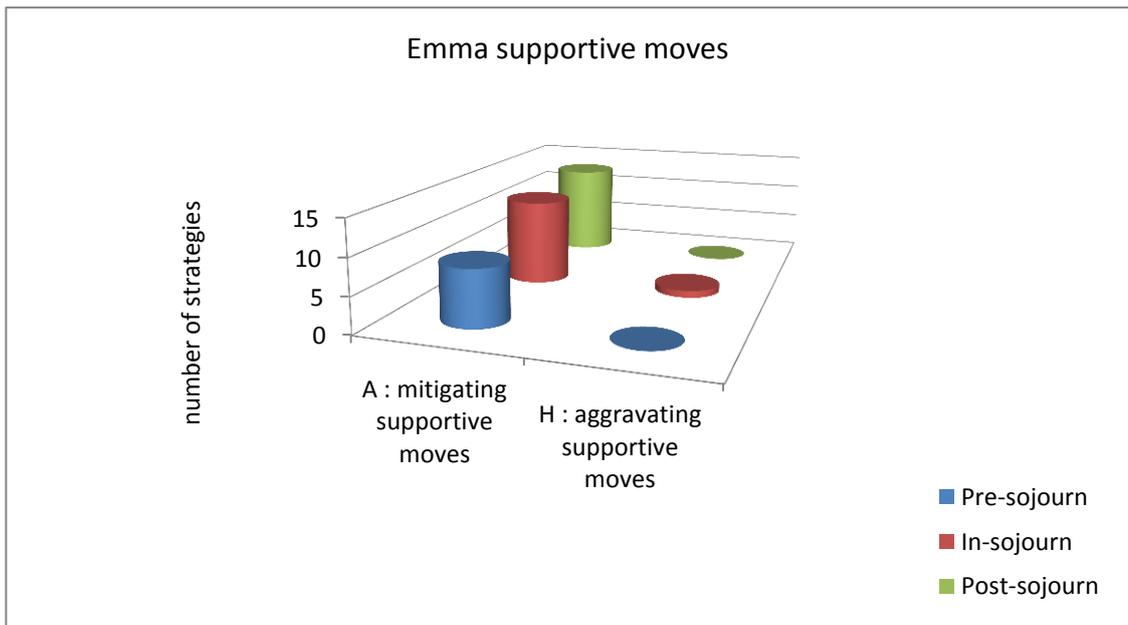


Figure 4.55 Emma supportive moves

Regarding supportive move variation (Fig. 4.56), Emma uses the same categories pre- and post-sojourn (disarmers, grounders, preparators) with the exception of an additional ASM in-sojourn (moralizing).

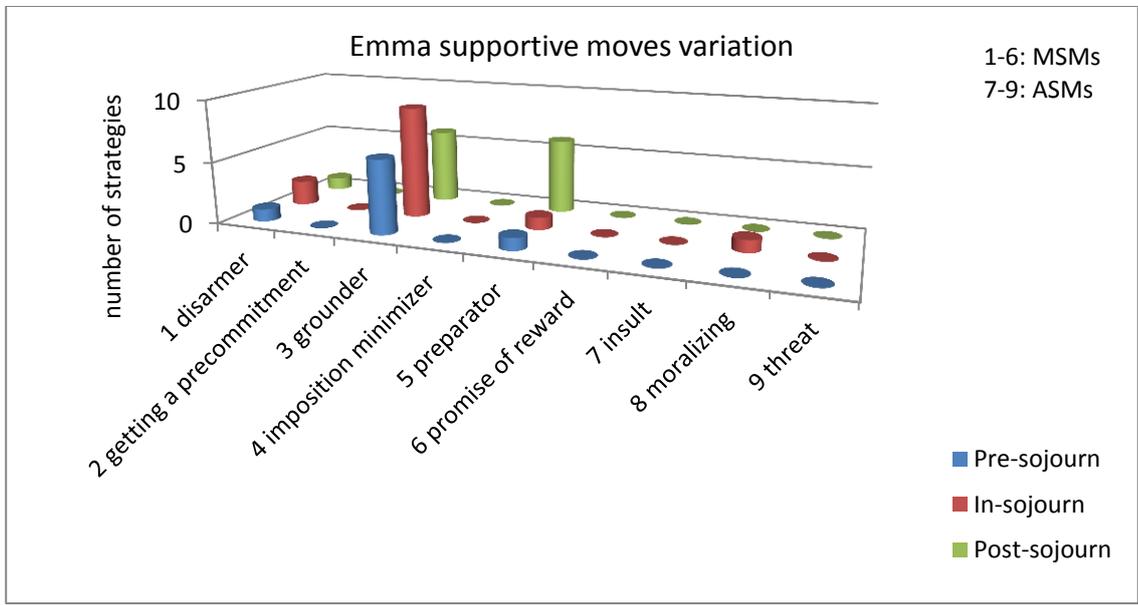


Figure 4.56 Emma supportive moves variation

Andrew

Andrew’s number of MSMs stands at twelve pre-sojourn, drops to nine in-sojourn, and increases again to fifteen post-sojourn. He only uses one ASM altogether in-sojourn.

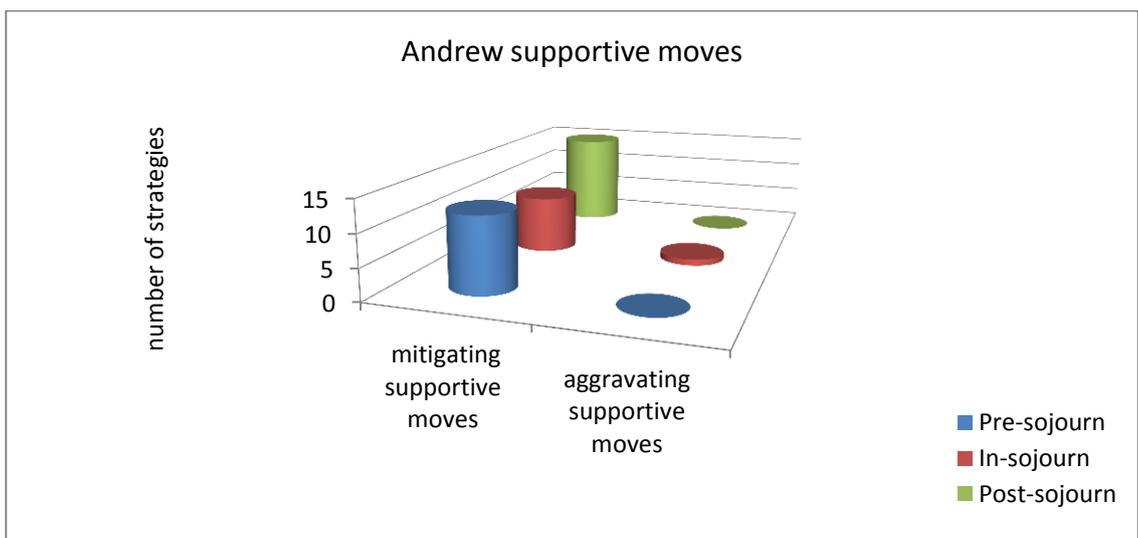


Figure 4.57 Andrew supportive moves

His variation data (Fig. 4.58) show that he starts out using four different moves pre-sojourn. In-sojourn he stops using “imposition minimizers” and adds “moralizing”, an ASM to his repertoire. Post-sojourn he only uses three move types in total (from among those used pre-sojourn), albeit by far the highest number of supportive moves overall.

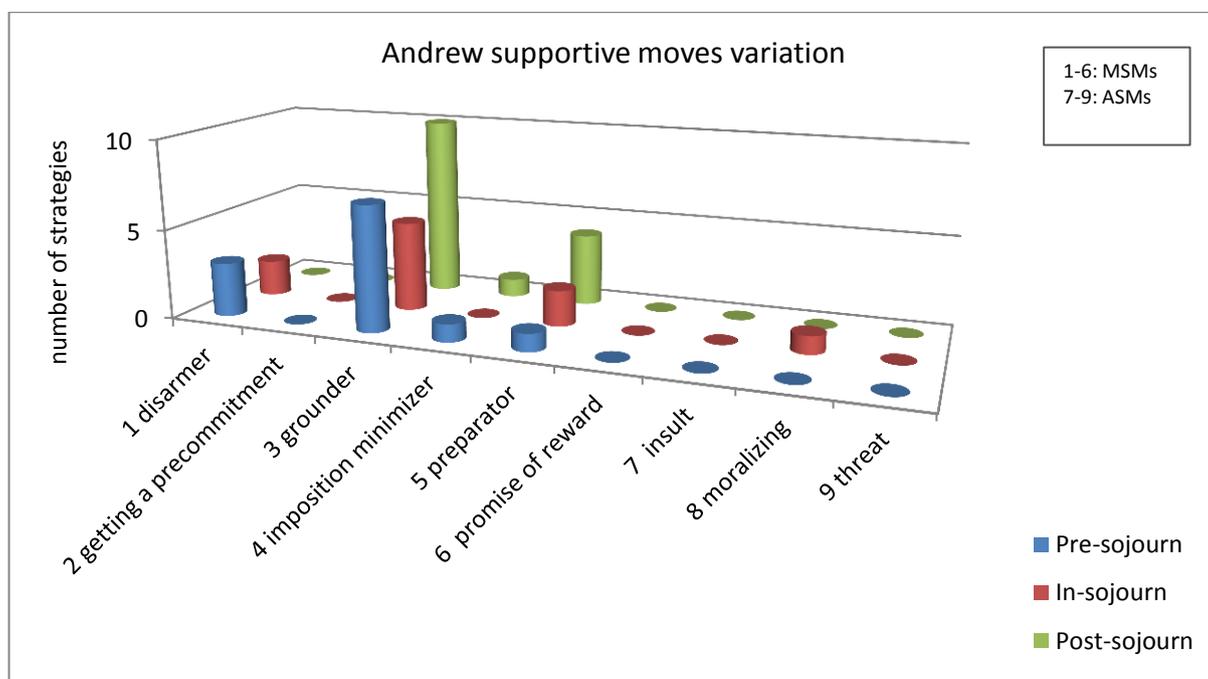


Figure 4.58 Andrew supportive moves variation

In summary, the use of supportive moves to either soften or reinforce the impact of the requests made looks as follows: Anna, Alice, and Sonia used no aggravating supportive moves at all. While Anna and Alice used significantly more mitigating supportive moves in-sojourn than pre- or post-sojourn, Sonia’s usage of MSMs slightly declines in-sojourn. The rest of the participants use at least one aggravating supportive move. With the exception of Christine who uses one ASM pre-sojourn, two in-sojourn and none post-sojourn, the remaining four students (Emma, Andrew, George, and Lucy) each use one aggravating supportive move in-sojourn and none pre- and post-sojourn.

With regards to MSMs, the following developments can be observed: Christine, Emma, and George use considerably more mitigating moves in-sojourn than pre-and post, yet Andrew’s use of MSMs drops significantly in-sojourn. Lucy starts out using the highest number of MSMs of all participants pre-sojourn while her use of this strategy type steadily declines in-and post-sojourn.

4.5 Overall frequency counts for all strategies

Table 4.27 presents a summary of all token frequency counts carried out in the present study, to get a better understanding of all developments regarding internal and external mitigation and directness. An in-sojourn increase is indicated with < (greater) and a decrease with > (lesser) symbols.

Table 4.26 Frequency counts for all strategies

All strategies*	Number of strategies pre-sojourn	Number of strategies in-sojourn	Number of strategies post-sojourn
Request directness			
DSs	13 <	33 >	13
CISs	35 >	21 <	32
NCISs	1 =	1 <	6
Internal mitigation			
LPDs	45 >	34 <	35
SDs	37 >	27 <	34
upgraders	2 <	19 >	5
External mitigation			
MSMs	78 <	100 >	81
ASMs	1 <	6 >	0
Request perspectives			
HDSs	34 >	19 <	32
SDSs	15 <	26 >	12
SHDSs	0 <	7 >	1
ISs	1 <	3 <	5
Request directness variation			
DSs, CISs, NCISs	21 <	26 >	19
Internal mitigation variation data			
LPDs, SDs, upgraders	34 <	41 >	35
External mitigation variation data			
MSMs, ASMs	24 <	32 >	24

***Request directness**

DSs: direct strategies

CISs: conventionally indirect strategies

NCISs: non-conventionally indirect requests

Internal mitigation:

LPDGs: lexical and phrasal downgraders

SDsSDs: syntactic downgraders

External mitigation:

MSMs: mitigating supportive moves

ASMs: aggravating supportive moves

Request perspectives:

HDSs: hearer dominant strategies

SDSs: speaker dominant strategies

SHDSs: speaker and hearer dominant strategies

ISs: impersonal strategies

To sum up the overall pattern of findings, as can be seen in Table 4.27, the number of DSs increases in-sojourn while the frequency count for CISs decreases. At the same time, requests are less internally and more externally mitigated and there is shift from HDSs to SDSs in-sojourn. In-sojourn requests are more varied in all categories, ranging from request strategies to internal mitigation.

4.6 Analysis and comparison of the sequence organisation of authentic request data and selected role-play data

In the present study, the students' recordings of authentic data were compared with the request preference structure in the role-play data. This was done to answer research question 4 (What differences are there in the way the participants "orient to the preference structure for requests" (Kasper, 2009:34) in role-plays and in authentic exchanges?), thus providing a cross check on the criterion related validity of the role-play data, and also exploring whether a CA analysis based on sequence organisation would shed light on different aspects of the exchanges than the coding based on the CCSARP categories. As described in section 3.5.6, the preference structure for requests refers to the joint construction of the request sequence, with the requester hedging and thus delaying the actual request, for example, and the interlocutor uttering go-aheads or disguising insert-expansions as preferred second pair parts.

The participants were asked to record service encounters and long recordings with friends or colleagues at work. They were asked to record a minimum of three exchanges. Since the long recordings did not yield any requests, they were excluded from the analysis. Only three participants were able to get permission to record a service

encounter. As the purposes of the service encounters were more similar to those of the role-plays, the sequence organisation of the service encounters could be compared to that of the same number of role-plays carried out by the same participants. The role-plays were selected from pre-, in- and post-sojourn recordings in an attempt to match the degree of imposition and social distance of the authentic recordings, but also to see whether there were any changes regarding the sequence organisation of requests within the role-plays over time.

The transcription was primarily based on the transcription conventions introduced by Coates (1996) in “Women talk: Conversation between women friends”. Points 10 and 11 were taken from Eleanor Ochs in Ochs (1996).

1. [?] A question mark is used at the end of a “chunk of talk” which I am going to interpret as a question irrespective of prosody.
2. A slash / indicates the end of a tone group
3. [-] A hyphen indicates an incomplete word or utterance
4. (.) Pauses are indicated by a full stop in brackets if they last for less than 0.5 seconds (.) and a dash — if they last longer than 0.5 seconds
5. [] Square brackets show the start (but not the end) of overlaps between utterances/
6. An equals sign = at the end of one speaker’s utterance and at the start of the next utterance indicates the absence of a discernible gap (latching)/
7. (()) Double round parentheses indicate that there is doubt about the accuracy of the transcription.
8. ((xx)) Unintelligible material is represented as ((xx))
9. <Angled brackets> give additional information like <laughs> etc/
10. [ː] One or more colons represent an extension of the sound syllable it follows ;
co::ld (Gumperz and Levinson, 1996:433)
11. Underlining indicates emphasis (Gumperz and Levinson, 1996)
12. ↑ Rising intonation
13. ↓ Falling intonation
14. % encloses words or phrases that are spoken very quietly/
15. .hh speaker takes a sharp intake of breath
16. ..hh exhales sharply
17. [...] material has been omitted

4.6.1 Emma: authentic data versus role-play data

The first service encounter to be examined (Emma health insurance) is quite long and was recorded by Emma when visiting an office of the German National Health Insurance. On her interaction information sheet, Emma says: “I needed to ask about my health insurance, I wanted a copy of the health insurance certificate to take to my new boss. I had previously only been given one certificate, which i had already handed in to the international office of the uni.”

Emma, April 2012

S.....student (Emma)

E: employee

- 1 S: Hallo
- 2 E: Hallo
- 3 S: Ahm ich weiß dass es (.) eine komische Frage is aber — wäre es — in
- 4 Ordnung wenn ich diese Interaktion aufnehme↑? (.) weil ich (.) ahm — an
- 5 einer Studie teilnehme↑(.) und (.) sie wollen meine ehm —
- 6 Sprachverbesserung — ehm (.) prüfen — also ich will (.) ((xx))-über ehm
- 7 — meine Krankenv-versicherung sprechen aber is es Ok wenn ich das
- 8 aufnehme↑?
- 9 E: Achso↓— ja wofür is es? ↑ für die Universität?
- 10 S:Ja — also meine Hau- meine Heimatuniversiät — <extracts paper from
- 11 bag> ich hab dir (.) so ein — <more tearing> ((xx)) Informationsblatt
- 12 <laughs> — <employee reads participant information sheet>
- 13 E: Ja
- 14 S: Ja↑? ..hh —[dankeschön
- 15 E: [(klar doch)) mhm
- 16 S: Ok dann ehm (.) ich bin: bei Ihnen versichert↑=
- 17 E: =Ja[::
- 18 S: [ah::m — und ich (.)
- 19 bin so (.) vor (.) zwei Monaten oder so hergekommn=
- 20 E: =ja=

21 S: =..hh ah:m — aber (.) Sie habn
22 mir nur (.) eine Kopie:↑ (.) der B-estätigung gegeben↑(.) und ich hab die:
23 ahm (.) in (.) ehm — akademischen Ausl((ands))amt — gefracht↑ (.) aber
24 ich brauch noch eine Kopie weil ich hier arbeiten will — [und
25 E: [mhm — OK/ (.)
26 sind Sie wirklich bei uns versichert↑?=
27 S: =Ja
28 E: = oder:: (.) haben Sie Ihre
29 Versichertenkarte dabei↑?
30 S: Ja also i-i- na ja ((xx)) hab diese — europäische (.) Union (.) ka[rte
31 E: [dann sind
32 Sie noch in— in England versichert/
33 S: Naja ((aber)) ich — also ich war hier (.) im Wintersemester [—
34 angemeldet↑
35 E: [mhm
36 S: und dann ich bin (.) ja hier gekommen um (.) mich (.) für ehm — das::
37 Sommersemester anzumelden/ (.) und Sie haben mir nur (.) ehm eine
38 [Kopie von— [von dieser Bestätigung
39 E: [mhm [genau
40 S: gegeben↓/=
41 E: =genau=
42 S: =also sollte ich zurück zum (.) akademischen
43 Auslandamt gehen? ↑ und
44 E: Nein — nein (.) weil (.) das was ich Ihnen mitgegeben hab↑— [das is nur
45 zur Vorlage an
46 S: [ja
47 E: der Universität — [bestimmt/— [das ist nicht zur Vorlage beim
48 Arbeitgeber bestimmt/
49 S: [ah:: O[k
50 S: Ok
51 E: und in dieser Beschei↑nigung hab ich reingeschrieben hier steht auch UK
52 — ehm: (.) das halt ne Versicheru:ng in dem: (.) in Grossbritannien
53 vorliegt↓
54 S: Oka[:::y

55 E: [das ist das was die Uni wissen muss/↓
56 S: Ah[a
57 E: [wenn Sie jetzt hier arbeiten gehen wollen↑
58 S: Ja↑
59 E: müssen Sie mit Ihrer Versicherung klären↑
60 S: mhm
61 E: ob das möglich ist ob Sie was dazuverdienen dürfen↓/— oder ob sich die::
62 Versicherung in Grossbritannien (.) dann — schliesst/ oder beendet wird/↓=
63 S: =mhm=
64 E: = weil Sie Geld verdienen/
65 S: Okay
66 E: Wenn die sagen — ja (.) Ihre Versicherung wird beendet↑ dann müssen
67 Sie sich hier versichern/
68 S: Okay/ und das kostet ((extra)) ((x[x]))
69 E: [das kostet extra/
70 S: Okay [<laughs>
71 E: [<laughs wie alles so am im Leben <lau[ghs>
72 S: [mhm <laughs]
73 E: Einmal für Krankenversicherung vierundsechzig siebenundsiebzig↑=
74 S: =Mhm
75 E: und dann ist es altersabhängig noch f-also Pflegeversicherung/ entweder
76 elf Euro vierundsechzig oder dreizehn Euro
77 S: [((xx)) das im — im Monat? ↑ [oder::
78 E: [((im)) Monat (.) mhm=
79 S: = im Monat↓ —
80 [ah (.) okay <laughs> ..hh okay/
81 E: [mhm
82 S: Ja also ich hab auch eine private::↑(.) Krankenversicherung — ehm (.) in
83 England — und auch diese: — europäische Union:versicherung[:::sdng/ (.)
84 ahm — okay also ich muss::
85 E: [<clears her throat>
86 S: (.) den Arbeitgeber fragen— wie das dann geht/ ((na))? ↑=
87 E: =ne/ Ihre
88 Krankenversicherung in Grossbritannien/=

89 S: = hm — ja also ich (.) ich
90 muss nur fragen ob sie das (.) akzeptieren oder nich?/
91 E: Genau=
92 S: =Okay=
93 E: =und wenn die sagen nein↑
94 S: dann muss ich bezahlen↓/ [<laughs>
95 E: [Genau weil Sie eh-eh nein wir akzeptieren das
96 nicht↑ weil Sie ein Einkommn habn↑
97 S: Okay[::
98 E: [deswegen is Ihre Versicherung nicht mehr kostenlos↑=
99 S: =Aha
100 E: Ah::m — und dann müssen Sie sich hier versichern/ und dann bekommen
101 Sie auch die Mitgliedsbescheinigung [für den Arbeitgeber/=
102 S: [okay =
103 okay
104 E: Ja::? ↑=
105 S: =okay
106 E: ((xx)) mal Unterlagen dazu mitgebn? ↑
107 S: Ja::/ das wäre [hilfreich
108 E: [ja? ↑ <opens drawer>
109 S: Ja
110 E: Eh::m <looks in several drawers> ((nach schon alles) <shuffles paper
111 around>
112 E: So ((okay)) is Ihr Vorname?
113 S: Eh::: Emma/ E (.) m (.) m (.) a
114 E: <types name into computer> E (.) m (.) m (.) a
115 S: Ja=
116 E: =Nachname?
117 S: Smith/ S (.) m (.) i (.) t (.) h/
118 E: S (.) m (.) i (.) t (.) h/ — wo wohnst du hier in Deutschland? ↑
119 S: Eh (.) in der ((Forststrasse::))
120 E: Nummer?
121 S: Eh: (.) einundvierzig— und dann (.) ehm — Strich ehm —
122 dreiundvierzig/

123 E: ((ha?))

124 S: Ja ehm::

125 E: sieben eins? ↑

126 S: Sieben eins↓ —genau↑— und dann ((Hildxxxx)) ehm also WG— eh::m

127 — achtundzwanzig punkt zwei/

128 E: ((mhm)) <types on her computer>

129 E: Wann: — sind Sie geboren? ↑

130 S: Am ersten Oktober neunzehnhundertneunzig/

131 E: %Okay% — %nein% <talks to herself while filling in things on the

132 computer> —%Student% —((xx)) — ((xx)) — %okay% — %und das noch%

133 E: Seit wann studieren Sie? ↑ seit ersten:: Oktober dann na? ↑[((xx)) Jahr —

134 mhm

135 S: [in

136 Deutschland? ↑ ja↓/

137 E: Und m-m-studieren Sie hier komplett? ↑

138 S: Ja al- —als ERASMUS Studentin [also

139 E: [achso— okay/ also Sie gehn dann

140 auch irgendwann wieder zurück/k/

141 S: [ja genau — ja/(.) ((am)) Ende September/

142 E: <prints something> Als was wolln Sie hier arbeiten? ↑

143 S: Als Kellnerin [<laughs, embarrassed>

144 E: [achso (.) wo denn?

145 S: Im Cafe Hayder↑

146 E: Ja[: — da war ich letzte Woche um erstenmal gewesen↑

147 S: [mhm

148 S: Ja↑

149 E: und war total erstau[nt/

150 S: [Ja ja — ich hab gestern — ahm eine Probeschicht↑(.)

151 gemacht↑

152 E: J[a

153 S: [((die)) war total cool [ja

154 E: [ja

155 S: =die Leute sin so nett↑ und ((x[x])

156 E: [mhm

157 S: [(xx)) — mal
158 gucken <laughs>
159 E: Ich war da zu Montagsbrunch und kannte das gar nicht [(xx))=
160 S: [ja
161 E: =ich
162 dachte Montags/ naja: sind alle arbeit[en/ is bestimmt nicht voll aber es war
163 s[O voll ((xx))
164 S: [mhm ja: gestern war Sonntagsbrunch ((und das war)) — ((xx)) das—
165 sieht so gut aus <laughs>/ — aber ich konnte gar nicht kosten↓/
166 E: Ne? ↑=
167 S: =<laughs> ((nein))
168 E: So::: <closes drawer, staples sheets together> — ich mark halt immer
169 noch —die wichtigen Stellen an/
170 S:Okay
171 E: Ich möchte Mitglied werden ab↑
172 S: A[ha
173 E: [wäre dann Tag der Beschäftigung/↓
174 S: Okay
175 E: ((Handy)) email↑— Adresse habn wir — nGeburtsort brauch ich noch:/
176 — das Ende der Versicherung in Grossbritannien↑/—Bafog werden Sie
177 nich bekommen na? ↑ =
178 S: =mhm <negativn sound>
179 E: %Ach das gehört noch mit dazu%/— Einzugs((ermächtigung)) <writes>
180 —zack zack <writing noise> — es brauchn wa noch schnell (.) die andern
181 zwei ((xx)) — ((xx)) <writes> — es is komisch/ meistens wenn: (.) ehm
182 englischsprachige Studenten herkommn=
183 S: =mhm
184 E: dann —w-wird automatisch in Englisch gesproch[en/↓
185 S: [Ja?↑
186 E: weil die meisten halt nich so gut Deutsch können↑=
187 S: = ja::=
188 E: = und dann sagt
189 man halt oka:y so[::/ ich erklär dir das alles in Englisch↓/(.)oder (.) man
190 versuchts zumindest/ und is

191 S: [Ja:
192 E: jetzt gra[de ungewohnt fuer mich↑ dass Sie sagen — [((also))
193 S: [Ja: [ja alle sind
194 normalerweise so erstaunt dass ich — Deutsch — kann/ also ein bisschen
195 Deutsch kann [<laughs>
196 E: [Ja
197 S:Auch wenn- also (.) g-gestern als ich gearbeitet habe: — habn sie gedacht
198 (.) was — du kommst aus England↑ du kannst Deutsch?
199 ↑[<laughs>
200 E: [Ja::genau — weil die meisten verlassn sich halt auf ihr Englisch
201 [na↑/ <highlights something on the printouts>
202 S: [Ja:: — das mach ich nicht gerne/<laugh[s>
203 E: [Find ich [gut/
204 S: [<laughs>
205 E: Denn so lern Sie ja nebenbei noch — eine zweite Fremdsprach[e↓
206 S: [Gen[au
207 E: [oder ((xx))
208 erste Fremdsprache/↓— so:: — den können Sie sich [auch mitnehme[n↑
209 S: [okay (.)
210 danke[schön↑
211 E: [Das/
212 E: Genau dann — m-klären Sie das mal mit Ihrem [Arbeitgeber↑
213 S: [Ja:: also ich werd
214 heute mit den Arbeitgeber↑ sprechen und dann — ja:: (.) genau/
215 E: Bis zum Ende der Woche is hier niemand mehr/
216 S: Okay/=
217 E: = ((Ich)) bin heute noch bin zwei da↑ und dann (.) auch nich mehr↑
218 und ab nächstn:: (.) Montag is meine Kollegin da↓/
219 S: Okay— %okay%=
220 E: =Ja? ↑
221 S: Okay dankeschön↑
222 E: Gerne [((xx))
223 S: [für Ihre Hilfe]
224 E: <laughs>

225 S: Tschü::ss

226 E: Tschü::ss↑

The interaction starts with a greeting sequence in lines 1 and 2. Emma needs permission to record the exchange. This is her first request in lines 3 and 4, which she has to utter right away. Even so, she hedges it by saying I know this is a weird question but would it be OK to record this? She proceeds with a lengthy explanatory account (lines 4-7, because I am participating in a study and they want to check the improvement of my language skills. Well, I want to talk about my health insurance but...) which leads to the repetition of the actual request at the end of line 6 (Is it OK if I record this?)

Regarding the preference structure of requests, the situation in which the request has to be made virtually forces Emma to utter the request relatively early on. Yet her attempt at hedging it, the ensuing account and the repetition of the request reflect the preference structure for requests (see 3.5.6) and also unmarked, or in this case “appropriate” behaviour (Locher and Watts, 2005:12) since she fulfils conversational expectations. The employee cannot pre-empt the request by making an offer since she has no way of anticipating what it will be about. Although she could have granted it right away, the situation almost begs for a more in-depth explanation which could also be interpreted as interest in the project. Accordingly, she utters an insert-expansion in line 9 (Ah Ok. What is this for? Your university?) By starting her insert-expansion with a turn-initial marker (Ah Ok) , she defers the dispreferred SPP - the insert expansion - to the end of her utterance (Schegloff, 2007:69).

In lines 10-11, Emma explains that it is for her home university and that she has an information leaflet which she hands over to the employee. After having read it, the employee grants the request with a simple yes. Granting a request is a preferred SPP which is “likely to be short and to the point” (Schegloff, 2007:65) and is usually uttered without turn-initial delay (p 67).

This seems to somewhat surprise Emma who repeats the yes with rising intonation followed by a sharp intake of breath and then thanks the employee. This exchange has prepared the stage for the actual request Emma needs to make.

She starts in lines 16, 18, and 19 with an account as pre-expansion. (I have a health insurance with your company). The interlocutor utters go-aheads in lines 17 and 20.

Emma then tries to explain why she is here by using accounts (But you only gave me one copy of the confirmation and I asked at the foreign exchange office: lines 21-23). The request itself (But I need another copy) followed by an account (Because I want to work here) is uttered in line 24. Up to this point, both participants follow the expected preference structure for requests; Emma by delaying the actual request and the employee by encouraging her through go-aheads. In this particular situation, the employee cannot anticipate what the request is going to be, so she cannot make an offer. Having heard the request, she is also not able to grant it right away since she needs additional information regarding Emma's insurance. So in the insert-expansion (lines 26, 28, and 29), the interlocutor is trying to find out if Emma really does have an insurance with them and to make sure, she asks for the insurance card in lines 28 and 29. When Emma says she has a European Union card (line 30) the interlocutor states that in this case she is not insured with them (lines 31,32). This could be and is read as a rejection of Emma's request to get another copy of her insurance. Usually dispreferred SPPs such as the rejection of requests would be carried out with turn-initial delays and accounts but the interlocutor does not seem to feel the need for this here because the rejection of this request takes the form of a statement of an official fact, and cannot be interpreted as the interlocutor's unwillingness to grant it.

In lines 33 and 34 Emma explains that this cannot be so because she already had health insurance coverage in the winter semester. Since she is openly contradicting what the interlocutor just said, she is trying to mitigate this by offering to go back to the student exchange office and clarify things with them (lines 42, 43). The employee is very encouraging and keeps on uttering go-ahead (lines 35, 39, and 41) although Emma seemingly proves her wrong. The employee claims that Emma must still have an English insurance, yet when Emma says Well, but I was here in the winter semester and I came again to enrol in the summer semester (lines 33,34), she says "Genau" (Exactly). In the course of the sequence it becomes clear that the one copy of the insurance Emma received was for her university only and that she would need a different copy for her future boss. Yet it turns out that Emma would

only have to get insurance in Germany if her English insurance company does not cover her anymore once she has a job in Germany. In the end, the employee cannot really grant Emma's request but she does clarify all questions and provides her with an information leaflet on German health insurance if she should need it (line 107).

The following sequences are dedicated to getting Emma's background data and giving her information leaflets on a new form of insurance she will need if she works in Germany. While the employee is getting all the data and leaflets, she starts talking to Emma about what kind of job she is going to do (line 145) and later on about her own experiences with English speaking students (line 185).

When asked what job she is going to get, it is clear that the employee is making small talk and does not need this information to choose the correct information leaflet for Emma and her future boss. Emma somewhat embarrassedly answers "Als Kellnerin" (As waitress, line 146). The employee's answer in line 147 (Really? Where?) shows genuine interest and when Emma names the café, they start talking about what a nice place it is and how much they both like it.

The second point introduced by the employee in lines 185 and 189 is her statement that she usually has to speak English to English speaking students. She indicates that she is perfectly willing to do so but in line 168 she indirectly pays Emma a compliment by saying that the other students do not speak German *So well*. They engage in small talk about language learning and Emma learns that even in a seemingly official situation it is permissible to fill the occasional conversational gap with small talk. From a language socialisation point of view she firstly learns that small talk is allowed but also what degree of privacy is appropriate. Both topics are directly linked to the matter at hand yet the employee's interest gave them a more personal note which was reflected in Emma's answers when sharing her experiences regarding English speaking students or her excitement at working at the "cool" café Hayder.

In the role-play, which was acted out by the researcher and Emma during her sojourn abroad, Emma had to ask one of her university teachers three weeks into the semester if she could still change courses although the legal two week deadline was over already. Her teacher is not happy about this because she had explained about the deadline at the beginning of the semester.

E: Emma

R: Researcher

- 1 E: Ah (.) entschuldigung He::rr Professor Humboldt↑
2 R: Ja bitte was gibts↑?
3 E: Eh::m — also:: ich w-weiß↑ dass: ahm (.) man kann nu:r nach zwei↑ (.)
4 Wochen — die Kurse wechsln↓ — und ich weiß dass es jetzt drei Wochen
5 ist/ —a:ber ich:: — finde dieses Kurs es ist nicht für mich/es ist nicht was
6 ich erwartet habe (.) und eh::m (.) ja ich möchte ein andre(.) nehmen/
7 R: Ahm:: wie Sie ja wissen und ich am Anfang des Semesters gesagt habe (.)
8 ist die Frist nach zwei Wochen um: (.) und da sind wir fast rechtlich
9 gebunden/haben Sie denn schon einen anderen Kurs (.) im Visier↑? Haben
10 Sie einen anderen Kurs ausgewählt stattdessen↓/
11 E: Ahm: ja also es gibt ein andere Kurs (.) in:: (.) eh::m (.) Linguistik↑ den
12 ich— gerne nehmen würd/—ich finde das passt besser zu [—
13 R: [mh[m
14 E: [meine
15 Interesse und mein Studium/
16 R: Haben Sie mit dem Professor von diesem Kurs gesprochen↑?
17 E: Eh ja↑ und: — ehm er hat gesa:gt (.) er wird ein Ausnahme machen
18 ((weil)) ich ERASMUS Student (.) bin: (.) und vielleicht (.) so das System
19 nicht so gut kenne↓/— dann (.) wär OK/
20 R: OK (.) wenn er Sie nimmt↑— dann entlass ich Sie aus diesem Kurs/↓
21 aber bringen Sie mir zuerst seine Unterschrift↓ (.) Ok? ↑
22 E: Ja (.) klar (.) — vielen Dank Frau [((xx))
23 R: [gern

The exchange begins with an adjacency pair similar to a greeting to attract the interlocutor's attention. Emma (line 1) says *Excuse me, Professor Humboldt*, whereupon she gets a go-ahead answer (*Yes, what can I do for you?*). In lines 3 to 6 Emma embarks on a quite lengthy pre-expansion, first trying to pre-empt any objections Professor Humboldt may have by saying that she was aware of the two week

deadline and that it was three weeks into the semester already, and secondly by giving an account why she wants to change courses (This course is not for me. I thought the course would be different). This pre-expansion finally leads to the request in lines 6 and 7 (Yes I would like to take another course).

So far, Emma's request reflects the typical overall preference structure for requests in that she utters the request as late as possible and uses an extensive pre-expansion. It is not possible for the interlocutor to pre-empt Emma's request and grant it because the role-play instructions prevent the interlocutor/ researcher from doing so, but also because Emma does not give her the chance to say anything during her pre-expansion. This may be due to her fear of being interrupted and rejected before she can make the actual request and explain why she wants to change courses in the first place.

Although the interlocutor reminds Emma of the fact that she had mentioned the two week deadline at the beginning of the semester and that this deadline was Almost legally binding (lines 9 and 10), she proceeds by asking Emma two question in lines 10 and 11 (Have you already decided on a new course? Have you already chosen a new course?) Instead of rejecting her request, she turns her insert-expansion into a request for further information. The interlocutor thus orients to "the preference structure of requests" (Kasper, 2009:34) in that she disguises her insert-expansion as question, which Emma can answer.

Emma's answer in lines 18 and 20 is in the affirmative. She says yes, there is another course she would like to take. This first part of her explanation overlaps with an interlocutor go-ahead in line 14 (mhm). In line 17, the interlocutor further enquires whether she has already spoken with the professor of the new course she is interested in, another question Emma can answer in the affirmative (lines 18-20). She also says that the new professor is ready to make an exception for her since she is an ERASMUS student and does not know the system well enough.

The request is finally granted in lines 21 and 22, where the interlocutor says that she is ready to let Emma go if the other professor accepts her as a student, but that Emma would have to show her a signed drop slip first. The exchange ends on a positive note, with Emma thanking the interlocutor (line 23).

Although the request was neither pre-empted nor granted right away, both participants orient to the preference structure of requests; Emma by using a pre-expansion to delay the utterance of the actual request (lines 3-7), and the interlocutor by

disguising a potentially negative insert-expansion as a series of questions (lines 10 and 11), thus creating a series of question and answer adjacency pairs which finally lead to the granting of the request.

The role-play scenario was quite demanding, with Emma having to make a high imposition request and the interlocutor not being happy about it, but by jointly constructing presequences and orienting towards the preference structure of requests, the interlocutors created “interconnected interactional methods for affiliative alignment, that is, for doing facework” (Kasper, 2009:31).

Although the authentic exchange comprises small talk which is missing in the role-play – possibly due to the different character and setting of the exchanges - both clearly show a similar preferred structure for requests. This not only confirms the validity of the role-play data but also sheds light on structural similarities the CCSARP coding scheme does not register.

4.6.2 Lucy: authentic data versus role-play data

The second authentic recording of a service encounter was made by Lucy who was trying to have her boots repaired.

- 1 L: Der Reisverschluss is — tota::l kaput[t↓
- 2 A: [ja der is [kaputt
- 3 L: [und dann — ist das —
- 4 möglich z- (.) eine neue↑ ein z[u
- 5 A: [ja:: (.) ja:: (.) das ma machn↓/
- 6 L: Und wie viel↑ —ungefähr [wird das kostn↑?
- 7 A: [ach— das ist teuer↓
- 8 L: [Ja
- 9 A: [%oh det is total kaputt%=
- 10 L: =ja
- 11 A: ja aber das is ja auch sehr viel Arbeit↓ da müssen Sie mit (.)
- 12 achtunddreissig Euro rechnen↓
- 13 L: Mhm

- 14 A: Ja
- 15 L: Ja ich glaub es is vielleicht billiger (.) einfach ein neue laughs
- 16 A: Bitte?=
=Es —
- 17 L vielleicht billiger eine neue Paar Stiefl zu kau[fen↓
- 18 A: [b-neu↑e Stiefl is billiga ↓?
- 19 L: Ja:: auch die warn nich so teu[er
- 20 A: [ja: ja: (.) gut
- 21 L: [also (.) dann
- 22 L: Okay — aber — danke (.) [trotzdem
- 23 A: [bitte tschü:::

Lucy starts the exchange in line one with a pre-announcement stating that her zipper is broken. The preferred answer to a pre-announcement, which in context can be interpreted as a pre-request, would have been an offer to repair it (3.5.6), yet the shop assistant only confirms that it is indeed broken (line 2) and thus forces Lucy to actually utter the request in lines 3 and 4. In this context it is understandable that the shop assistant would not pre-empt Lucy's pre-request since it was unclear what exactly it was Lucy wanted.

She asks if it is possible to have a new zipper sewn in and this question/ request is answered in the affirmative in line 5 where the shop assistant says *Yes, that's possible*. The first part of the exchange thus mirrors the preference structure for requests.

Although Lucy strictly speaking does not make another request anymore, she asks a question (How much is this going to cost me?) in line 6, which in context can be interpreted as a request for information.

Now this time the shop assistant knows that she will have to utter a dispreferred SPP, or, as might be more fitting in this context, she will have to convey bad news. The ensuing exchange demonstrates what Kasper (2009:31) calls the “practice of pursuing a preferred response”. In line 7, the assistant announces that this repair is going to be expensive. Lucy utters *Yes* as go-ahead in line 8. The assistant still seems to feel that a justification for the price is needed and as a way of explanation says *It's completely broken* (line 9). Lucy again gives a go-ahead “yes” in line 10. A third

justification (*And it's a lot of work, too*, line 11) is used to hedge the final announcement that the repair is going to cost 38 Euros (lines 11 and 12). This final announcement can also be interpreted as an offer in which case the preferred answer would have been acceptance (Schegloff, 2007:59), yet Lucy utters a non-committal *mhm* in line 13 which is followed by the shop assistant's *Yes* in line 14. Whether she does not realise the pragmatic need for immediate acceptance or she simply needs some time to process what has been said is unclear yet given the extensive hedging by the assistant to mitigate the possible impact of the high repair costs, Lucy's filler *mhm* in line 13 takes on a slightly disappointing quality for the employee in that it is not in keeping with the "practice of pursuing a preferred response" (see above) and can thus also be interpreted as negatively marked, and in this particular case "inappropriate" behaviour (Locher and Watts, 2005:12). It also puts the shop assistant in the somewhat uncomfortable position of not quite knowing what to say (*Yes*, line 14) since the pragmatically expected response to her explanation would have been an utterance similar to the one Lucy, somewhat belatedly, makes in line 15 where she states that it might be cheaper to buy a new pair of boots. Although Lucy's delayed reaction to the employee's offer in lines 11 and 12 can be interpreted as an attempt to mitigate the dispreferred SPP in line 15, an utterance such as *Mhm* (line 13), would only have mitigating function if used as a turn-initial marker, meaning if it had been used as introductory element to the utterance in line 15. The fact that it stands alone and is followed by the employee's *Yes* in line 14 turns it into a pragmatically inadequate reaction to the highly mitigated FPP (line 11). This final rejection of the offer in lines 11 and 12 is a dispreferred second pair part which has been disguised as simple statement (line 15). Unfortunately, Lucy speaks very quietly and the shop assistant does not understand what she has said (*Pardon?*, line 16). This is an other-initiated repair (Schegloff, 2007:101) which results in Lucy's attempt at self-repair in lines 17 and 18. Yet again the assistant is not quite sure she understood correctly and repeats *Buying new shoes is cheaper?* (line 19). Lucy answers in the affirmative and adds that the ones she wanted to have repaired had not been that expensive either (line 20). This now is the response that absolves the shop assistant of any responsibility she might have had in conversational terms with regards to her former announcement (line 11). Her answer (*Yes, yes, good*, line 21) overlaps with Lucy's statement in line 20. So Lucy's first pragmatic problem is not solved in line 15 but in lines 20 and 21.

Since Lucy does finally say (line 15) what would have been appropriate as immediate response in line 13, it is obvious that she is aware of what is pragmatically appropriate and she also has the linguistic resources to express it. In spite of the problems experienced in the second half of the exchange, it still becomes clear that both parties are determined to end it on positive terms.

The same can be said for the pre-sojourn role-play Lucy carries out with Karen, one of the two German native speaking teachers who volunteered to do the pre-sojourn role-plays.

Lucy pretends to be an ERASMUS student in a lecture at a German university. She has to approach the lecturer after class to ask him to speak more slowly. The lecturer is not aware of having spoken too quickly.

K... Karen

L... Lucy (student)

- 1 K: Hallo↑ guten Tag/
- 2 L: Ah hallo ehm eh Entschuldigung ah haben Sie ah ein (.) bisschen Zeit mit
- 3 mir zu sprech- kurz zu spre[chen?
- 4 K: [Ja natürlich was gibts?
- 5 L: Ehm — in dieser Vorlesung ehm (.) ah es gibt ziemlich viel ah Erasmus
- 6 Studenten die ehm nicht Deutsch als Muttersprache sprechen ah und ah
- 7 obwohl wir diese eh Klasse eh sehr interessant finden finden wir es auch
- 8 ein bisschen schwer zu ver- zu verstehen/ ehm ich denke(.) dass Sie ein
- 9 bisschen zu schnell sprechen/ — ah — ich glaube dass es OK ist für alle die
- 10 deutsche Studenten aber(.) ja wir haben ein bisschen Schwierigkeiten ↑/ —
- 11 also eh wir wollten eh wissen ob es möglich ist wenn Sie ein bisschen (.)
- 12 ehm langsamer sprechen könnten?
- 13 K: Ah (.) Wirklich↑? Also ich hab gedacht ich sprech also (.) völlig klar und
- 14 auch langsam genug/ Tut mir leid/
- 15 L: Danke schön/
- 16 K: Bitte/

After a greeting sequence in lines 1 and 2, Lucy asks Karen if she has time to talk to her (lines 2 and 3). This is a pre-pre, or a preliminary to preliminaries, since it is not actually followed by a request, but – after an interlocutor go ahead in line 4 – by an extensive pre-expansion (lines 5-10) before the actual request in lines 11 to 12. In the pre-expansion, Lucy says that there are Rather a lot of ERASMUS students whose mother tongue is not German. We find it a bit difficult to understand. I think you talk a bit too quickly. I think that's OK for all German students but we have some difficulties. In the actual request, Lucy asks if it would be possible for Karen to speak a bit more slowly.

So far, both participants follow the preference structure of requests, Lucy by embarking on a long pre-expansion to delay and hedge the request, and Karen by giving her a go-ahead in line 4. Ideally, Karen would now grant Lucy's request but the role-play instructions tell her to act surprised and pretend she had not been aware of having spoken too quickly.

In lines 13 and 14, Karen says Ah Really? And I thought I speak very clearly and slowly enough. I am sorry. This is supposed to be an insert-expansion yet by adding I'm sorry, Karen seemingly admits to having made a mistake and Lucy interprets the utterance as the granting of the request. She then thanks Karen in line 14 and Karen closes the exchange with You are welcome (line 16).

Although Lucy's interpretation of Karen's insert-expansion as the granting of the request is understandable and it could indeed have been meant as such, the situation is still "expansion-relevant" (Schegloff, 2007:117) since Karen end her turn by saying she is sorry (line 13). Schegloff (2007:117) claims that situations are "closure-relevant" if the second pair part is a preferred response – in this case the granting of the request. This is certainly the way Lucy interpreted it yet the fact the Karen apologises would require a form of acknowledgement from Lucy, probably in the form of taking all the blame for not being able to follow the lecture. Lucy's Thank you in line 15 is not pragmatically appropriate, especially since it can also be seen as a thank you for Karen's apology and her admitting that she did indeed talk too quickly.

In summary, Lucy and her interlocutors, both in the authentic exchange and in the role-play do orient to the preference structure of requests (see 3.5.6) but Lucy faces pragmatic difficulties in both situations. The exchanges still end on positive terms yet her failure to react pragmatically appropriately cause an uncomfortable moment in the

shoe shop scenario (see 4.6.2, pages 173 and 174) and lead to a somewhat abrupt ending in her role-play data.

4.6.3 Alice: authentic data versus role-play data

The third student who managed to get permission to record an authentic exchange is Alice. Alice spent her year abroad in Frankfurt working at an international company. In her authentic recording, Alice wanted to find out which bus she would have to take to get to the airport in Frankfurt Hahn.

- 1 A: Okay— okay können Sie bitte:: — ja↑ also Sie:: nehmen teil un[d
2 E: [ja:: ich
3 nehme sehr ge[rne
4 A: [Okay— dankeschön/
5 E: [teil↓
6 A: Also ich wollte einfach wissen ah: wie da Bus von hier bis
7 Frankfurt %halt% funktioniert↑
8 E: Mhm
9 A: Muss ich hier das Ticket kaufen oda::
10 E: (.) nein das Ticket kaufen direkt beim Bus↑
11 A: Okay↑
12 E: <smacks lips> das heißt Sie müssen erst zur Bushaltestell[e↓
13 A: [mhm
14 E: das heißt Sie gehn zurück zu den Gleis↑[sn
15 A: [okay
16 E: gehn dann einmal nach link[s
17 A: [mhm
18 E: und dort is dann der Sued:aus[gang↓/
19 A: [Okay — ja
20 E: Sie folg'n dann bitte der Hauptverkehrsstra[ße nach recht[s↑
21 A: [mhm [Okay
22 E: und auf der linken Seite ist [dann direkt↑ die Bushaltestelle
23 A: [okay
24 E: von — Bo[r↑ Omnibus[se↑
25 A: [ja [okay
26 E: und das ist der Bus der nach [Frankfurt [Han fährt↓

27 A: [okay [ja↑
 28 A: Okay gut↑ mA:: (.) okay
 29 E: Mh[m↑
 30 A: [((xx)) sehn die (.) Zeichen↑
 31 E: ganz genau↓ [das sind die Abfahrtszeit[n↑
 32 A: [Okay [ja↑
 33 E: bitte:: eh darauf achten dass Sie zwei Stundn [nach Frankfurt [Hahn
 34 brauch[n↓
 35 A: [mhm [ja [mhm
 36 E: und Sie zahln vierzehn↑ Euro direkt beim Fah[rer↓
 37 A: [okay— okay— ja
 38 E: Ja? ↑
 39 A: Das ((xx)) okay/ — das is [alles
 40 E: [das in Ordnung? ↑
 41 A: Ja —[dankeschön
 42 E: [Super

She starts the exchange in line 1 by asking the employee to please state that he is willing to participate in the study (Okay, could you please - that you participate?). There clearly seems to have been a preceding more in-depth explanation of what was going to be recorded since Alice utters a very short request and the employee grants it immediately without asking for any form of clarification. This counts as Alice's first request which is granted right away in lines 2, 3, and 5. So far, both participants follow the expected preference structure for requests in that the request, once made, is granted as soon as possible.

In line 6, Alice says she simply wanted to have some information regarding the bus to Frankfurt. While this is not an obvious request, it can still be interpreted as a request for information. The employee utters a go-ahead in line 8 (mhm) because Alice's question is still too vague. She elaborates in line 9 asking whether she has to buy the ticket here. The employee now has to utter a dispreferred second pair part and does so with a turn initial delay (No, you buy the ticket on the bus). Alice acknowledges this information in line 11 by saying OK with rising intonation thus signalling that she expects more detail. The employee complies in line 12 where he

starts a long explanation (lines 12-26) of where Alice can find the bus stop. Although Alice seems to think that her constant use of go-aheads (lines 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, and 25) has an encouraging effect on the employee, she uses them sometimes not only in overlapping sentence final positions but also halfway through an interlocutor utterance, as in line 25, where the employee hesitates, starts to say something, stops and finishes his utterance by saying *busses*. Line 26 signals the end of the employee's explanation and Alice is somewhat taken by surprise and repeats her overlapping go-ahead in line 27 *Okay - yes* in line 28 *Okay, good, okay*.

The employee utters a go-ahead *mhm* in line 29 which then leads to another of Alice's questions, this time on departure times. Lines 36 to 38 show that Alice finds it difficult to end the exchange and thus obliges the employee to do so in line 37. He says *Yes*, meaning is everything clear, which Alice answers in the affirmative. Whether Alice lacks the linguistic means to end the exchange, or whether she does not recognise the employee's utterance in line 37 as his exit line which would have obliged her to thank him and leave, is unclear but her behaviour can definitely be seen as "inappropriate" in the negatively marked category (Locher and Watts, 2005:12)

This authentic exchange clearly shows that both Alice and the employees adhere to the usual preference structure of requests and also to that of dispreferred SPPs, with the exception of Alice's exaggerated use of go-aheads and her inability to end the exchange in line 36, where instead of thanking the interlocutor, she again uses go-aheads which are not always preferred utterances.

The following exchange is an excerpt of the in-sojourn role-play Alice carried out with the researcher. Alice is supposedly trying to get out of her mobile phone contract which has been extended since she forgot to cancel it after one year. The employee (the researcher, R) explains that contracts are automatically extended if the customers do not terminate them in writing.

1 R: Gu↑tn Ta::[g
2 A: [Guten Tag hallo↓—ah↑::m ich hab ein Problem und weiß
3 nicht ob Sie: (.) mir helfen können? ↑ — aber ah:m::: ↓ (.) ich bin — eine
4 Studentin↑(.) hier in — in Deutschland↑ — un:: ich ein- (.) vor ein↑ Jahr ein
5 Vertrag mit äh:: euch↑=
6 R: =mhm
7 A: <smacks lips> aber:: jetzt↑ äh (.) würde diese:: Vertrag verlänger[t↑
8 R: [m[hm
9 A: [aber
10 brauche ich (.) den (.) Vertrag nicht meh[r
11 R: [mhm
12 A: [und wollte fragen ob Sie— den
13 ah:m— äh::m — stornie↑ren könnte oder:
14 R: Aha:: (.) ↑das heißt (.) Sie haben:: ↑ (.) einen Jahres[vertrag
15 ab[geschlossn↑
16 A: [ge- ja
17 R: und jetzt hat das zweite Jahr begann[en↑
18 A: [ja
19 R: aber Sie haben vergessn zu [kündigen↓
20 A: [genau (.) ja
21 R: <smacks lips> ach↓— ja: — das is ein Proble[m↑
22 A: [m[hm
23 R: [weil— was passie↑rt ist
24 wenn Sie nicht↑ kündigen nach [einem Jahr↓
25 A: [okay
26 R: schriftlich [kündigen ↓ (.) wird Ihr Vertrag automatisch onli[ne↑
27 A: [mhm [ja
28 R: [für noch ein Jahr [verlänge[rt
29 A: [okay [mhm [ja
30 A: Ja ich war-ich hab das äh:: (.) bemerkt↑[und äh::m— ich habe ein-
31 einfach↓
32 R: [ja
33 A: also (.) ich musste::ah: — umziehen:↑(.) und viele Sach erle↑digen
34 deswegen hab ich vergessn↑—[ahm (.) schriftlich ähm (.) zu kündigen↑

35 R: [ja

36 R: Ja[::

37 A: [deswegen weiß ich ob eine andre Weg es (.) g[ibt↑

38 R: [ja:: ↓(.) äh darf ich Sie

39 fragen:: ah wie viel überfällig sind Sie? ↓ Ist das jetzt zwei Wochn↑ zwei

40 Mo↑[nate im: zweiten Jahr: ↓

41 A: [ah:::

42 A: Zwei Woch[en↑

43 R: Zwei[Wochn↑

44 A: [Ja

45 R: Ja:: ↓ also i↑nnerhalb des erst[n Monats

46 A: [mhm (.) okay

47 R: gibt es die Möglichkeit dass Sie eine dreißig Euro Storniergebühr

48 [zahlen↑

49 A: [okay ja

50 R: ähm: (.) wär das okay für Sie[:?: ↓

51 A: [Ja: ↓— ja ja das wär okay un wie (.) muss

52 ich äh diese:: (.) Gebühr bezahlen?

After an interlocutor initiated greeting sequence in lines 1 and 2, Alice starts a pre-expansion (lines 2-10) which is interspersed with interlocutor go-aheads (lines 6, 8, and 11). She explains that she has a problem and does not know if the employee can help her. I am a student here in Germany and I have a contract with you (lines 3-5), but now the contract has been extended (line 7) and I don't need it anymore (lines 9-10). The actual request is uttered in lines 12 and 13 (And I wanted to ask if I can still get out of it).

The exchange follows the preference structure for requests in that Alice strongly hedges and delays her request and the employee utters go-aheads to encourage her to proceed. Although the preferred answer to a request would be the immediate granting of it, the employee cannot do that since she needs more information to be able to help Alice. In lines 14-28, the employee and Alice jointly construct a question and answer sequence regarding the contract and why Alice would have had to cancel it in writing after one year. Alice signals willingness to cooperate by answering promptly (in lines 16, 18, and 20) and uttering go-aheads in lines 22, 25, and 27. After that (see lines 30, 33, and 34), Alice explains why she forgot to cancel the contract (I had to move and had to do so many things, line 33). In line 37, she asks if there would be another way to sort this out. The remainder of the exchange is dedicated to the attempt to find a solution to Alice's predicament. Since she is only two weeks overdue, she can get out of her contract by paying a 30 Euro fine.

Based on the role-play instructions, the employee would only have had to say that she did not know if anything could be done at this point in time because once the customers forget to cancel in writing, the contract is automatically renewed online. Yet both participants follow the preference structure for request sequences and although the employee still feels she cannot simply grant Alice's requests, she finds a loophole out of the contract by making her pay a fine (line 47/48, You could pay a 30 Euro fine to get out of it).

Although go-aheads are necessary to jointly construct sequences, Alice uses them to a degree that might in some place be called excessive. Not only does she utter a total of 17 go-aheads in the course of the exchange but almost all of them overlap with what the employee is saying at that particular moment. While an overlap is perfectly normal, her choice of go-aheads and the fact that she utters them every single time the employee speaks deviates from the way the other participants employ them. In line 24,

f.ex., she uses the go-ahead *okay* which overlaps with the employee's explanation of what happens if the clients does not cancel the contract after one year (lines 24, 26 and 28). In this case, the use of a go-ahead is almost disruptive and *okay* does not fit in with the meaning of the explanation. The same can be said for line 27, where she first says *yes* to the employee's explanation that her contract is extended automatically online if she does not cancel it (lines 24,26, 28) and then *okay mhm yes* to the fact that it is extended by one year (see line 29).

Alice's authentic as well as her role-play data both show an attempt to adhere to the preference structure of requests, yet she is highly dependent on the interlocutor in that she repeats words and chunks of talk used by her interlocutors and seems to be restricted to the utterance of go-aheads which often seem out of place or pragmatically inappropriate. A possible explanation may be sought in her relatively low level of German, which seems to prevent her from actively participating in these exchanges.

4.7 General discussion

When comparing the role-plays to the authentic data recorded by Emma, Lucy, and Alice, it becomes clear that the preference structure for request is clearly visible in both kinds of data thus confirming the validity of the role-plays. Yes there are significant differences in how pragmatically successful the exchanges are, the main distinguishing factor being language proficiency. Although all three participants are stage 5 students, meaning they all attended the same level of language classes before their year abroad, Alice is the least proficient, followed by Lucy and Emma.

In Alice's case it seems that her lack of proficiency prevents her from engaging in a pragmatically successful conversation. She is largely dependent on her interlocutors, both in the authentic exchange as well as the role-plays. She tries to compensate for her modest language skills by overusing go-aheads which is at times detrimental for the development of the request sequence (see 4.6.3).

Both Lucy and Emma are sufficiently proficient to contribute more proactively to the exchange. In her authentic conversation, Emma shows that she is able to adjust to conversational nuances. She negotiates her right to ask for a "Krankenversicherung", explains why she needs it and offers to go to another office to find out whether she is entitled to a German Krankenversicherung, or not (see 4.6.1). Later on, she engages in

small talk with the employee thus showing once more that she has the ability to react to her interlocutor's questions and expectations in a pragmatically appropriate way. The same can be said for Lucy although she has to overcome minor pragmatic difficulties in her authentic exchange (see 4.6.2) and fails to recognise the need for a closing sequence in her role-play data. Both students contribute their part to each conversation, while Alice finds it difficult to utter the request in the first place and then works her way through the exchanges (both authentic and role-play versions) largely by uttering go-aheads and relying on the interlocutor to do all conversational work.

When comparing the analyses based on CA to those carried out using the CCSARP coding scheme, it becomes obvious that they cover different aspects of politeness behaviour. The CCSARP coding scheme allows for a linguistic classification of the actual head act (see 3.5.3), as well as the elements which mitigate it externally and internally. It cannot be used for larger stretches of talk but is restricted to the request per se. It can thus only be used to answer research questions 1-3.

CA is needed to answer research question 4 (see 2.4) since the preference structure of any exchange can only be determined by looking at the sequence organisation of the data for which longer stretches of talk are needed.

Alice differs from Emma and Lucy in terms of her ability to co-construct an appropriate request sequence. The question whether she differs from them also on aspects of the CCSARP analysis, in other words are there aspects of the coding scheme which align with appropriacy as reflected in the CA analysis has to be answered in two steps. Firstly, Alice does differ from Emma and Lucy in that her overall linguistic change as measured by the CCSARP coding scheme is very low while both Emma and Lucy are high change participants. Although the coding scheme is limited to categorising speech acts and pragmalinguistic behaviours and tracing change in these categories, this change stands for an adaptation to target community specific language behaviour and can as such be seen as a part of politeness. Secondly, there is no overlap between the CA and the CCSARP analysis yet both forms of analysis show similar results in that Emma and Lucy have much fewer problems carrying out their authentic exchanges than Alice (CA analysis) and Emma and Lucy are also high change participants with regards to linguistic change (CCSARP analysis) while Alice is not.

Both kinds of analyses track different aspects of target specific pragmalinguistic behaviour, yet the results can be related coherently, a finding which supports the validity of the role-play data.

4.8 Chapter conclusion

Overall, the use of direct request strategies increases in-sojourn and decreases again post-sojourn. At the same time, the request perspectives change from predominantly hearer dominant strategies pre-sojourn to mostly speaker dominant strategies in-sojourn and hearer dominant strategies post-sojourn. Regarding RS variation, there is a sharp increase in-sojourn and a subsequent drop post-sojourn (see 2.4, RQ 1).

Both EMS strategy variation and use increase in-sojourn (see RQ 3), while the opposite development can be observed regarding internal mitigation where only strategy variation increases in-sojourn, but the frequency with which these strategies are used declines (see RQ 2).

The participants thus move from mostly internally mitigated conventionally indirect request strategies pre-sojourn to externally mitigated direct request strategies in-sojourn. Post-sojourn they resort to pre-sojourn request behaviour on all levels but internal mitigation, which decreases even further.

Regarding the preference structure of requests in authentic and role-play data, it can be seen that all three participants (Emma, Lucy, and Alice) adhere to the request preference structure outlined by Kasper (2009) in both the authentic and the role-play data, though with varying degrees of success (see RQ 4).

5 Results 2: Identity, politeness, and communities of practice

5.1 Chapter outline

In this chapter, I am going to answer research question 5 (Do learner identity, the engagement in communities of practice and/ or the participants' perception of politeness when abroad influence pragmalinguistic developments?). First, the linguistic change data for all strategies including variation, previously presented in detail in Sections 4.1 to 4.5, will be summarised in section 5.2. This is followed by an analysis of questionnaire and interview data (see 5.2 and 5.3) to explore the contextual and identity factors which may have led to linguistic differences for the group as a whole. In section 5.4, all data are presented for each individual participant, and there is a discussion of the overall relationships between the various contextual and identity factors and their influence on linguistic change on the two different levels of requesting behaviour investigated in this study.

5.2 Overall linguistic change data

This section presents an overview of the change between the pre-and in-sojourn linguistic data for all participants. The overall development including all data collection points was discussed in depth in chapter 4. These data showed that there was a definite in-sojourn change regarding all levels of analysis while the participants largely resorted to in-sojourn behaviour post-sojourn. Since one of the underlying assumptions of this research project is the idea that study abroad benefits students linguistically, it was felt that the change between pre-and in-sojourn data was the most significant one for this study. This information is summarised in Table 5.1, which captures in general numerical differences between pre- and in-sojourn frequency of different strategy and sub-strategy types, or in the case of the variation data a) how many new strategies the participants used in-sojourn and b) the difference in the number of different sub-strategies used pre-and in-sojourn.

The abbreviations used in Table 5.1 are explained below:

Column I: RSs (request strategies): the difference between the pre-and in-sojourn numbers of all request strategies including direct, conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect strategies.

II: RSvar/new (request sub-strategy variation): Number of new request sub-strategies used in-sojourn.

III: RS var difference: the difference between the numbers of different request sub-strategies used pre-and in-sojourn.

IV: IMSs (internal mitigation strategies): the difference between the pre-and in-sojourn numbers of all internal mitigation strategies including syntactic downgraders, lexical and phrasal downgraders and upgraders.

V: IM sub-strategy var/new (internal mitigation sub-strategy variation): Number of new IM sub-strategies used in-sojourn.

VI: IMS var difference: the difference between the numbers of different IM sub-strategies used in-and pre-sojourn.

VII: EMSs (external mitigation strategies): the difference between pre-and in-sojourn numbers of all external mitigation strategies including mitigating supportive moves and aggravating supportive moves.

VIII: EM sub-strategy var/new (external mitigation sub-strategy variation): Number of new EM sub-strategies used in-sojourn.

IX: EM sub-strategy var difference: the difference between the number of different EM sub-strategies used in-and pre-sojourn.

1

¹ (NOTE on the difference between Column VIII ‘sub-strategy variation new’ and Column IX ‘sub-strategy variation difference’:

A student could have used sub-strategies A, B, C pre-sojourn and A, B, D, E in-sojourn. This means that he used two new sub-strategies D and E in-sojourn. Depending on the type of sub-strategy, this information can be found in columns II, V, and VIII. The frequency counts regarding sub-strategy variation in this case amount to three different sub-strategies pre-sojourn (A, B, C) and four (A, B, D, E) in-sojourn, meaning the student used one sub-strategy more in-sojourn (see columns III, VI, and IX). This information was analysed in depth in chapter 4 in the “variation of sub-strategies” sections, where it was shown that the frequency counts for all sub-strategy variation data, as well as the overall number of new sub-strategies used, both increase in-sojourn.)

X: RPs (request perspectives): the difference between the pre-and in-sojourn numbers of all request perspectives including hearer dominant strategies, speaker dominant strategies, speaker and hearer dominant strategies, and impersonal request strategies.

XI: Overall change number in strategy use. Sum total of columns I, IV, and VII.

XII: Variation1: overall change number in the use of new sub-strategies in-sojourn. Sum total of columns II, V, VIII.

XIII: Variation 2: overall change number in sub-strategy variation. Sum total of columns III, VI, and IX.

Table 5.1: Difference between all linguistic frequency and variation types pre-and in-sojourn

Table 5.1 Difference between all linguistic frequency and variation types pre-and in-sojourn

	Columns I- XIII												
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
Student (stage)	RSs	RSvar/ new	RS var difference	IMSs	IMSvar/ new	IMS var difference	EMSs	EMSvar/ new	EMS var difference	RPs	Overall change number in strategy use (columns I, IV, VII, X)	Variation 1	Variation 2
Christine (4)	0	0	1	7	4	3	9	1	1	3	19	5	5
Anna (5)	5	2	1	3	0	1	11	2	2	5	24	4	4
Sonia (5)	6	2	1	0	2	1	2	2	1	4	12	6	3
Alice (5)	2	1	0	1	1	1	5	1	0	4	12	3	1
George (5)	2	0	0	1	0	1	5	2	2	3	11	2	3
Lucy (5)	7	3	1	6	5	1	4	2	1	7	24	10	3
Emma (5)	9	2	2	2	2	1	5	1	1	4	20	5	4
Andrew (6)	7	3	1	2	5	4	2	1	0	6	17	9	5

Table 5.1 shows overall changes between pre-and in-sojourn data. As indicated above, column I shows the numerical difference between the total of request strategies applied pre- and in-sojourn.

Table 5.2 shows in detail, how totals in column I, Table 5.1 were arrived at. The table does not provide the actual number of any strategy used by the participant but the difference in numbers between pre-and in-sojourn. The numbers in the column named “overall count per student” (Table 5.2) are the total of the columns a-c. Anna (Table 5.2), f, ex. used three more DSs in-than pre-sojourn (+3) but two less CISs in-than pre-sojourn (-2) and there is no difference between her NCIS number pre-to in-sojourn (0). These numerical differences, in Anna’s case three, two, and zero are then added and appear in the overall count per student column, or in column I, Table 5.1. The +and- signs are ignored when adding these numbers because they are irrelevant to measuring the extent of change. They were only provided to indicate whether the participants used more or fewer of each respective strategy.

Table 5.2 Differences between pre-and in-sojourn totals for all request strategies

	Column a	Column b	Column c	Column d
Student (stage)	DSs	CISs	NCISs	Overall count per student
Christine (4)	0	0	0	0
Alice (5)	0	+1	-1	2
George (5)	+1	-1	0	2
Anna (5)	+3	-2	0	5
Sonia (5)	+3	-3	0	6
Lucy (5)	+3	-3	+1	7
Andrew (6)	+5	-2	0	7
Emma (5)	+5	-4	0	9
Christine (4)	0	0	0	0

Regarding the overall change number in strategy use (column X1 in Table 5.1), Table 5.3 shows that George (5) changed the least (11 tokens) and Lucy the most (24 tokens). George is also the student who changed the least with regards to the overall change number in the use of new sub-strategies (Table 5.1, Column XII) and Lucy and Andrew changed the most (10 and 9 new strategies respectively).

Alice is at the bottom of the list (one strategy) concerning the overall change number in sub- strategy variation (Table 5.1, Column XIII) yet the differences between students

are not as pronounced in this category as before, with numbers ranging between one to a maximum of five (Andrew).

Table 5.3 Summary of all linguistic frequency types and variation pre-in-sojourn

	I		II		III
Student (stage)	Overall change number in strategy use		Overall change number in the use of new sub-strategies in-sojourn (variation 1)		Overall change number in sub-strategy variation (variation 2)
George (5)	11	George (5)	2	Alice (5)	1
Sonia (5)	12	Alice (5)	3	George (5)	3
Alice (5)	12	Anna (5)	4	Sonia (5)	3
Andrew (6)	17	Christine (4)	5	Lucy (5)	3
Christine (4)	19	Emma (5)	5	Anna (5)	4
Emma (5)	20	Sonia (5)	6	Emma (5)	4
Lucy (5)	24	Andrew (6)	9	Christine (4)	5
Anna (5)	24	Lucy (5)	10	Andrew (6)	5

Table 5.3 has been included to give a final overall picture of pre-in-sojourn changes in all major categories. Column I shows the difference in pre-to in-sojourn numbers including all strategies. Column II and III show the difference in variation 1 and 2 between pre-an in-sojourn. George and Alice change very little in all three categories. Lucy and Andrew represent the highest change students in all categories (see Lucy column I and II) and Andrew column II and III). For the rest of the participants there is certain tendency to show comparable degrees of change in at least two categories. Christine, f.ex. changes moderately in columns I and II, yet a lot in III. Emma shows moderate change in all three categories. Sonia changes relatively little in column I and III, yet moderately in II.

Questionnaire analysis: Participants' engagement in German social interaction

In the language engagement questionnaire (see Appendix C), the participants were asked to state how often and in which context they used German, English, or other languages they were studying during their year abroad. The present analysis focuses selectively on four of the 26 questions: How often do you do the following in German: 1. Engage in service encounters, 2. Engage in small talk, 3. Engage in long casual conversation, and 4. Participate in organised social activities. These four areas were felt to be likely to provide the most relevant language use information, with regards to

possible influence of participation in CofPs on the development of sociolinguistic and politeness skills. It was believed that the answers to these questions might thus help to explain what differences there are in the way the participants “orient to the preference structure for requests” (Kasper, 2009:34) in both the role-plays and in the authentic exchanges (research question 4).

Table 5.4 shows the interaction patterns of all eight participants, as reported in their questionnaire responses. The responses of Anna, Andrew, and Christine suggested that they formed a subgroup among the participants, with intensive patterns of German language use. As seen in Table 5.4, Anna and Andrew both ticked “everyday” 3 times, and Christine chose it twice. Anna and Christine engaged in service encounters “several times a week”; Christine chose the same option for organised social activities, and Andrew participated in these “a few times a week”.

Lucy, Emma, Alice, and Sonia formed a second group who claimed to use spoken German somewhat less intensively. They ticked “everyday” for only one question (engaging in small talk). Lucy, Emma, and Alice chose “several times a week” for service encounters and long casual conversations. The only difference between Emma’s data and Lucy and Alice’s is the fact that Emma participated in organised social activities “a few times a week” and Lucy and Alice only “a couple of times a month”. Sonia ticked “Several times a week” for long casual conversations and engaged in service encounters and organised social activities “A few times a week”.

George reported that he only engaged in small talk “Everyday”. He ticked “A few times a week” for both service encounters and long casual conversations. George claimed he only participated in organised social activities “A couple of times a month”

Table 5.4 Language engagement questionnaire responses

	Everyday	Several times a week	A few times a week	A couple of times a month	Rarely	Never
Engage in service encounters (buy something in a shop etc.)	Andrew	Anna Christine Emma Lucy Alice	Sonia George			
Engage in small talk	Anna Andrew Christine Emma Lucy Alice Sonia George					
Engage in long casual conversations	Anna Andrew Christine	Emma Lucy Alice Sonia	George			
Participate in organised social activities (eg, clubs, church, sports, etc)	Anna	Christine	Andrew Emma Sonia	Lucy Alice George		

Overall, the analysis of the questionnaire data shows that the participants roughly fall into three interaction groups: Anna (stage 5), Andrew (stage 6), and Christine (stage 4) interact the most. Lucy (stage 5), Emma (stage 5), Alice (stage 5), and Sonia (stage 5) could still be called moderately high interactors while George (stage 5) interacts relatively little.

The level of interaction as reflected in the questionnaire does not seem to be linked to language proficiency, since the high interactor group comprises students of all levels, ranging from stages 4 to 6. Pluricultural backgrounds also do not seem to influence the frequency with which students interact in the target community. Anna and Christine are pluricultural students by origin (see Appendix A), but Alice (who belongs in the moderately high interactor group) is the most pluricultural student and yet she claims to interact less than Andrew who is monocultural. The same holds true for Sonia

who – apart from Alice – is one of the most pluricultural students yet she only belongs in the moderately high interactor group.

To explain why some students interacted more than others, in the following sections, I am firstly going to present the findings concerning interview question 5, and then concentrate on the rest of the interview questions regarding polite speech behaviour and how student perception of politeness may have influenced their linguistic output.

5.3 Interview analysis

5.3.1 Identity in the host community

The in-sojourn interview and its conduct were described previously in Chapter 3. Of the initial ten in-sojourn interview questions, five were deemed most important when trying to explain interaction patterns or perceptions of politeness (see 3.5.1), and thus ultimately to answer research question 5. In this section, I am going to focus first on interview question 5 (“How do you see yourself in this society? What place do you have?”), since the answers to it are crucial when trying to find an explanation for the extent to which students interacted with the target community. The answers to the other four interview questions on politeness are analysed in section 5.3.2.

From their interview responses it seems that three students, Christine, Anna, and Lucy feel they are part of German society. Christine works at a well-known German school and feels that her job makes her a legitimate member of her workplace CofP and of wider German society:

I think I'm, I feel very included in my work place. Because I'm working I feel very included in the city as well and I feel very included in Germany in general because it's very similar to France in, I find it a lot more similar to France than England. I don't feel like a tourist that much here because the culture isn't that strange to me. But I do feel included thanks to the work where I'm working because all the activities I'm doing like the work ((xx)). All the activities I'm doing, I'm doing volleyball and like my Führerschein and they are in the ((xx)) as well and when I say where I work, everyone knows where it is so they know where – like - where I'm

from kind of thing what I'm doing so in that sense I feel like I belong to – ((xx)) or I belong to – I don't feel like a stranger.

Anna was scared she might be seen as a foreigner but by living with German students she reports that she is first and foremost treated as if she was German herself. Lucy feels at ease in German society because of the relaxed way people dress. She also has a German boyfriend who spent a semester in England while she was in Germany.

The situation is slightly different in Alice and Emma's case. Although they don't feel alien in German society, their identity is somewhat different from that of the first group. Alice sees herself as a foreigner who is trying to live in Germany and learn German. She is comfortable with this identity and sometimes uses it as an excuse if she does not understand what people are saying. Emma sees herself as a student who speaks German and can interact with German people yet she does not think she is seen as a legitimate member of any local CofP:

I kind of see – well, I see myself as student here in Germany who may not be German but who is able to speak German and can interact as a German person would. I don't think I'm seen that way. I still kind of feel like I'm seen as a tourist. Sometimes, like if – people, cause obviously people can tell that I'm not native German and sometimes, well I'll speak in German and they'll reply in English and things like this and it's kind of annoying. They sometimes assume that you can't speak German properly and that kind of annoys because I can. So I don't think I'm seen in the same way that I see myself.

Alice and Emma are different in that Alice does not mind her status as foreigner since it can sometimes be helpful while Emma tries to participate in local CofPs but believes she is still seen as marginal, i.e. as a tourist.

George and Sonia both do not feel part of German society. George sees himself as an ERASMUS student outside the German speaking student CofP. He is an “outsider” even though the German students are very welcoming:

Yes, I still obviously see myself as an ERASMUS students, so outside of the German speaking student group. Yeah maybe a bit of an outsider.

While George has no problem with his status as outsider, Sonia admits that she dislikes her ERASMUS experience in Germany to the point where she does not even want to try and fit in. She sees herself as a student but not the typical member of an ERASMUS CofP, because she does not live in student halls, but instead she lives in a flat. She does not lead a typical ERASMUS student life with parties etc.

Andrew is in a category of his own. He has enjoyed his time in Austria and even has an Austrian girlfriend. However, he feels very much like an ERASMUS student. It is very clear he is British and he likes it that way. He gets on well with everybody and he and another student who is also called Andrew are known as the British Andrews. He feels he and the other ERASMUS students are all “in the same boat together”, i.e. he specifically claims membership of an ERASMUS CofP:

I would say very much like an ERASMUS student. I feel like a Brit abroad, you know. I feel like I get on with people here but it's very clear that I'm British and I definitely feel that but I don't know. People can identify me as one of the two British Andrews. There's me and another guy called Andrew and ERASMUS and we are known as the British Andrews. He is from South London and we hang out most of the time. It's cool.

When asked if he was happy with this position, Andrew replied:

Very much, yeah, I love it. We are all ERASMUS and we can identify with each other. It gives us a sense like we are all in the same boat together. It's something that we all got in common.

The responses to this interview question help explain why some students may have interacted more than others. Two students of the high interactor group (Anna and Christine, see Table 5.4) both feel they have membership of local (German-using) CofPs, either through their jobs or the fact that they live with Germans (see 5.3.1, Anna and Christine interview excerpts). Although Andrew does not see himself as part of the Austrian society at all, he clearly enjoys membership of an Erasmus CofP. As well as having an Austrian girlfriend, he moved back to Austria to teach English after his year abroad.

Lucy, Emma, and Alice did not claim membership of local CofPs as Anna and Christine did, but all three seemed to have found at least a marginal place in German society. Alice thought that her identity as foreigner was an advantage when trying to explain why she did not understand something. Emma successfully occupied a niche as a foreign student although people sometimes still treated her like a tourist and spoke English with her, and Lucy felt an affinity with German culture because it was more relaxed concerning the way people dressed. Sonia, who also belonged in the intermediate interactor group, saw herself as an ERASMUS student but not a member of any ERASMUS CofP, since she lived in her own flat and did not go out to party. She was also the only participant who mentioned in her in-sojourn interview that she disliked Germany and German culture and would be happy to go back to England.

The lowest interactor group consisted only of George who was a very shy and rather introverted student. He saw himself as “an outsider” (see 5.3.1, p197) although he said he was not treated as such. When answering interview question 5, he stated that he saw himself as an ERASMUS student outside the German speaking student group.

In summary, the factors which mostly influenced the extent to which the participants engaged with local CofPs were their identity abroad, and personal characteristics such as being extroverted or introverted. Whether the degree of interaction, student identity in the host community or the awareness of differences in linguistic politeness influences linguistic developments will be analysed in Table 5.5.

5.3.2 Participant understanding of politeness

The following analysis is based on responses to four of the ten original interview questions, intended to explore the participants’ developing understanding of politeness, a further factor seen as having a possible role in influencing certain speech behaviours in the authentic and role-play data.

Question 1: Tell me what you think polite speech behaviour is?

Question 2: What have you discovered about German politeness so far?

Question 3: Is polite speech behaviour understood differently in Germany and Britain?

Question 4: Have your German “politeness” skills changed since you arrived?

Regarding question 1 “Tell me what you think polite speech behaviour is”, two factors were mentioned by most of the participants: 1. context appropriate language use, 2. adequate social behaviour. The majority of participants mentioned both categories.

Context appropriate language use:

Anna, George, Lucy, and Andrew state that the knowledge of what language to use in certain situations is a part of politeness for them. They mainly remark on the linguistic differences they have noticed in dealing with customer in shops or restaurants. Lucy, f.ex. shared her experiences in German restaurants:

In German you say “you are welcome” if someone says “Thank you”. In England you get a smile while in Germany it is verbalised. In German restaurants, they say “Bitteschön” when they put down your plate in front of you, while in England they probably wouldn’t say anything.

Andrew makes a similar point when explaining the difference between the use of “please” and “thanks” in England and Austria:

In England it’s about saying “Please, thank you very much” and all that. Here it’s using the “ich möchte Sie höflichst fragen, ob Sie bla bla bla machen”, even if it’s a complaint. For example I was at a party. I got there at about maybe half past eight. And when I got there the police had just come along because apparently there had been a noise complaint because at eight thirty in the evening for a party. I was like are you kidding me. I mean if it was ten o’clock, fair enough but no, it was eight thirty and so I got there and the woman who complained talked to my friend and she just kept on saying “Ich möchte Sie höflichst bitten, ob Sie ruhiger sein könnten, weil ich muss morgen arbeiten.” She was completely over the top polite even though she’d phoned the police which you wouldn’t expect. She was the peak of politeness which I found weird. I’m an Englishman and we know courtesy but this was very much “ich möchte Sie höflichst fragen” which I found a bit funny because it was polite but, you know, a complaint. And they don’t use “bitte” as much as in England here. I say the main difference is the “Sie”.

One part of context appropriate language use is the knowledge of when to use T/V forms. Anna, Sonia, Lucy, Emma, and Andrew consider the correct use of German T/V forms an essential part of politeness (see Andrew's comment above). In Emma's case, this is the only aspect she mentioned when asked question 1.

I guess it's the difference between "du" and "Sie". So like with – at uni it's always "du" and in like uni pubs and clubs it's always "du". And with people under sixteen it's "du", I believe. And with lecturers and people that you don't really know, everything outside the uni circle are "Sie", like people in shops and things like that.

Another interesting aspect is the fact that Sonia mentions tone of voice as an important aspect of politeness.

Please and thank yous, tone of voice, the content of what you are saying as well, using Sie instead of du.

Although the participants were asked about polite "speech" behaviour, Christine, Alice, Anna, Sonia, and George also mentioned broader, generally social aspects of politeness such as "being friendly to everyone" (Anna), "social behaviour in society" (Christine), "making sure you don't come across as rude" (George) or "to say something that doesn't offend the other person" (Alice). Christine commented:

It's when you want something, when you wish something, and you have to say it in a way not to insult another person and it's all like social behaviours in our society like we can't just – when we don't know people or when we are in certain situation we have to use a certain kind of speech, and this speech is it's useful because we can't or else everyone would be talking to each other maybe in a horrible familiar way and then yeah, have distance with other people. It's load of things, but yeah not to insult people, keep a certain distance and it's because of all these social situations like we've been taught all this, that's we have to act this way or our society would get probably really violent or I don't know what would happen. Make the world run smoothly – it's politeness.

The answers to question 2 “What have you discovered about German politeness so far?” partly overlap with those to question 1. What is noticeable in Sonia and Alice’s answers is that they both view this question from an exclusively social perspective not mentioning linguistic components at all. Alice feels that there is not much of this “social” politeness in Germany, or if there is, it is different from that in the UK. As an example, she states that in Germany people correct her mistakes “right away, without saying anything first”. Sonia thinks that Germans “are neither very friendly nor very unfriendly”.

The rest of the participants mainly compare linguistic behaviour in the UK to that in Germany/Austria. George, for example, noticed increased directness stating that it was “less formal” than he had thought, and that people would just say “zahlen bitte” in restaurants instead of “the bill please”. Andrew particularly noticed the use of “Sie”, even in informal situations:

I say the main difference is the “Sie”. Even like someone would say to me “Sie” like if I was on the train and if there was someone maybe like thirty years old might come and say ‘Sie” to me. Even if it’s kind of informal like even if it’s people the same age they might say “Sie”. As far as the difference between German and Austrian politeness goes, I haven’t noticed any particular difference between those two forms of politeness. The use of “Sie” is politeness.

Emma gave one of the most detailed and in-depth linguistic answers:

I don’t know if it’s to do with politeness but things like at the end of a text message or a message on facebook you don’t put kisses. I don’t know if that’s politeness or if that’s just a norm here but yeah, you don’t do that here and I think people found that a bit weird when I first started writing kisses at the end of messages.

Emails- I would always start off, OK so say it was my first encounter with a lecturer, like I haven’t met them before, then it would be “Sehr geehrter” bla, bla, bla and at the end it would be “mit freundlichen Grüßen” and once you’ve had a lecture with them, then it changes to “Liebe” bla bla bla and “Viele Grüße”. And with one of my teachers it’s

actually changed to “du” now cause she initiated it cause we do this colloquium. So it’s sort of students and teachers who come together to talk about research and it’s gonna help me with my dissertation. So it’s because more informal between us, it’s changed to “du” now.

I guess when you buy something in a shop or something, they always say “Schönen Tag noch” or something like that and then I always say “Ebenfalls” in return.

I guess the things you say among your close friends like “Drück dich” and things like that. I guess that’s also polite. Yeah, sort of, between close friends, the little things that you say when you, you know when you are on facebook and you got to say good bye.

Oh another little, thing like when someone bumps into you or something it’s “O Entschuldigung” and then you say like ah “Nichts passiert”, or something like that. Yeah, things like that that I didn’t really know before I came. I wouldn’t really know what to say.

Christine mentions both social and linguistic aspects of politeness although she finds the question difficult to answer at first:

It’s very important because I think people take things pretty, not very well. I don’t know, in German, here, politeness. I think they do it in the same way. This is a difficult question. I think there is a way of doing it and they all do it and maybe they don’t mean it – but it’s just they all do the same way. How do they go about it? They got specific phrases, I think. I always – I would have – naturally I wanted to say “Ich möchte” or something and then I realised they say a lot “Ich hätte gern” or like ehm well like what else would they say. [...]

Anna is the only student who feels that Germans are more polite than the British:

[...] But I also found that on a day to day basis German people seem a little bit more polite than we are in England. You say Good morning to people on the train or everyone you pass in the corridor you say Good morning to. Or the staff from the canteen wish you a good meal and say how are you? Things like this

wouldn't happen this much in the UK. Maybe there is this consciousness about it that you are using this polite form and therefore you are more polite to people?

In response to Question 3 "Is polite speech behaviour understood differently in Germany and Britain", Christine, Alice, Lucy, and Andrew claim that people are more direct in Germany. Christine says the following:

They excuse themselves less than England, definitely. It's more direct here, I don't know why but I feel more direct here than in England. I feel like in England they are more blab bla blab a word around, while in Germany I feel it's more to the point, yes. I don't know how I could explain that.

Andrew claims that Austrians tend to just say "Second cashier, please" when shopping while in England the phrase would be more hedged. When asked whether polite speech behaviour is understood differently in Germany and Britain, he responds:

Yes, loads. In England we use "please" and "thank you" the whole time. We go round the houses to get to somewhere. For example, I was in a shop the other day and in England you might say "Excuse me, could we have a second cashier please?" One of the customers [said] just like "Zweite Kasse bitte". That seems a bit more forced and a bit more direct. It's like straight to the point which is great, saves time. Why fluff around with all these extra words.

Although directness can be interpreted as less polite, these students do not explicitly say so.

Emma, on the other hand, thinks that Germans are less polite because when being given handouts in class, German students just "snatch them" while English students would say "thank you".

I think I noticed like, I think we are kind of more polite in England. Maybe to an extent where it's overly polite. For example, in class when they hand out the hand-outs. The German students kind of snatch them,

that's just how they do it. Like, if you gave me that piece of paper I'd say "Oh, thank you". Yeah, they don't really say thank you. It's understandable, like it's like, why am I, you haven't done anything so why am I saying thank you but I still accidentally say "Danke" when I get given something. Or, like if you are passing a drink they just kind of take and drink it and then give it back to you. In England it would be "oh, thank you". Though unnecessary and an over politeness, really.

Anna feels that Germans are more polite than the English on a daily basis because they say "Good morning" to people and wish you a "Good meal" in the cafeteria". She also thinks that the use of T/V forms makes them even politer.

Question 4 is: "Have your German politeness skills changed since you arrived?" Alice, Sonia, and George answer this question with "no". Alice claims she does politeness the same way she did it in England. Sonia seems to equal politeness skills in German with saying thank you and please but adds that she might have more "vocab to express things." George feels his politeness skills have not changed but might do so if he stayed longer. Christine, on the other hand, feels her politeness skills have changed but she "still makes mistakes". She says she uses "Entschuldigung" too much. She is trying to imitate German phrases but not the lack of "sorry". When asked whether her German politeness skill have changed she says:

Yes I think I am but still I feel sometimes I am not polite enough but because they can see I'm not German I'm excused. But still I can tell that sometimes I want to say it in a certain way and it's not coming out exactly like I want it to sound, but yeah, it's improved.

The second part of the question "Are you doing politeness differently now?", Christine answered as follows:

Yes, but I am still saying a lot like "Entschuldigung" and stuff and then they always...it's about like "Macht nichts". I'm trying. I am still thinking maybe too much in French in English or I don't know what it is yeah because they definitely I think say sorry less. I'm trying to imitate

the phrases, definitely. Probably not the not saying sorry but definitely the phrases. I've noticed I repeat things.

Lucy had similar experiences. She thinks she has learned what to say in certain situations but she was not ready to give up her use of "excuse me".

Emma goes back to equating politeness with the correct use of T/V forms:

Yeah, I think they have changed or improved. Before I'd always get confused between "du" and "Sie", like I would, I'd know the difference but in real life I'd get confused or muddled up and I'd start saying "Sie" and then I'd change back to 'du' just because yeah, you are used to saying "du" in England because you are only really taught German in class and with your classmates it's always "du" and you never really get a chance to use "Sie". Only with your German teacher, obviously, and even the it's kind of borderline in England because we call our teachers by their first names, so it's like, do I call you "du" or do I say "Sie". So sometimes I would say "du" to Karen and sometimes I'd say "Sie".

Andrew mainly equates politeness skills with being more direct and to the point:

[...] if you say "bitte" too much here, you come across as a bit like "Oh, he is being a bit like too weak, or arty-farty, or a bit pretentious perhaps". So I've learned to not say it in quite the British way. I'm getting more direct to the point which is much more the German way here, from what I've seen.

Overall, it can be said that Sonia and Alice are the two participants who stand out with regards to their view of politeness. While the rest of the participants provide a wealth of examples of linguistic politeness, Sonia and Alice both mainly concentrate on the social aspect of politeness. In Sonia's case there is a certain unawareness of the changing nature of target specific linguistic politeness, an attitude which becomes particularly apparent when asked if she thinks her linguistic politeness behaviour has changed since she came to Germany. Her answer to this question is that she does not think it has changed since she has always been polite; this shows that she is not fully aware of what

could be done differently. Although she then adds she thinks she might have a broader vocabulary to express things, it does not seem she fully understands the somewhat more holistic nature of politeness. Alice's case is slightly different in that she seems to prefer the way politeness is lived in the UK. Although she does not say so explicitly, her feeling that there is "not much politeness" in Germany supports this conclusion. There might be an underlying unwillingness to adapt to a form of politeness that is seen as wanting and this may have influenced her decision, albeit unconsciously, to do politeness the same way she did it in England.

5.4 Overall profiles of individual participants

In this section I relate the contextual factors just described in Sections 5.2-5.3 to participants' linguistic development pre-sojourn to in-sojourn.

Table 5.5 shows profiles for all individual participants, relating the degree of change in use of overall linguistic strategies excluding variation data (Column I) from pre- to in-sojourn to the three contextual factors (Self-assessed identity, degree of interaction with host community, and awareness of politeness: Columns II-IV), plus time spent in Germany pre-sojourn (column V). In this table, the order of participants is based on ascending overall linguistic strategy change numbers, pre- to in-sojourn.

Table 5.5 Participant profiles: overall linguistic strategies excluding variation

	I	II	III	IV	V
	Change of all linguistic strategies used, pre- in sojourn	Self-assessed identity in host community	Degree of interaction with host community	1.Awareness of differences in linguistic politeness 2.Self-assessed change in politeness skills	Time spent in German speaking countries before year abroad
Data source	Role play data	Interview	Questionnaire	Interview	Questionnaire
George (5)	11 Little change	Outsider	low	1. Limited 2. No change	2 weeks
Sonia (5)	12 Little change	Outsider	Moderately high	1.Limited 2. No change	4 months
Alice (5)	12 Little change	OK with foreign identity	Moderately high	1. Limited 2. No change	n/a
Andrew (6)	17 moderate change	Feels like a happy ERASMUS student	high	1. Yes 2. Moderate change: he only mentions his determination not to say “bitte” too much and that he has become more direct	3-4 months
Christine (5)	19 Moderate change	Part of German society	high	1. yes 2. Yes, but still needs improvement.	1 month
Emma (5)	20 Moderate change	Trying to fit in with foreign identity	Moderately high	1. Yes 2. Yes, but she only mentions t/v forms	40 days
Anna (5)	24 High change	Part of German society	high	1. Yes 2. Yes	5 years
Lucy (5)	24 High change	Part of German society	Moderately high	1. Yes 2. Maybe (she mentions many things she has learned and other she is not willing to do)	1 week

When looking at the data overview for each individual participant, it becomes clear that all participants change albeit in different areas. The first factor which may have influenced linguistic change is the identity the students assumed in the host community (Table 5.5, column II). George and Sonia, for example, both feel like outsiders and show very little linguistic change. Alice, on the other hand, is comfortable with her ‘foreign’ identity, saying that her status as foreigner is quite useful in certain situations. As reported in 5.3.1, Alice worked as an assistant at a company where mainly English was spoken. She liked her job but seemed to spend most of her free time with Sonia who lived in the same city. Alice did not have a problem with her identity as a foreigner because she claimed it helped her when she did not know what to say or how to behave. Although she seems to have used her foreign identity to her advantage, there are elements of German culture and behaviour she finds truly surprising, or even bewildering. For example, in her in sojourn interview she told the researcher that her colleagues at work shook hands with her for her birthday when she had been expecting to be hugged. Overall, she gives the impression of a somewhat emotionally removed outside observer. There seems to have been very little effort on her side to try and carve out a more target community specific identity, and this is reflected in a low level of linguistic change.

Andrew, Christine, and Emma belong in the moderate change group linguistically. Andrew and Christine managed to assume an identity in the host community they were comfortable with, Andrew as a happy ERASMUS student who loved his time in Austria, and who – compared to f.ex. Alice – actively participated in Austrian society, and Christine who felt part of German society through her work at a school. Emma, on the other hand, was slightly annoyed at the fact that people sometimes still treated her as a tourist. Her rejection of a “foreigner/ outsider” identity may have thus led to the more pronounced linguistic change her data show.

The high change group in terms of linguistic behaviour comprises Anna and Lucy, who both feel part of German society.

Overall therefore, there seems to be a systematic relationship between identity and linguistic change, seen most clearly in the associations between feeling an “outsider” and low levels of linguistic change (George and Sonia), and those between feeling a “member of German society” and high levels of change (Anna and Lucy).

When trying to determine the influence of the degree of interaction with the host community on linguistic change, the picture becomes less clear (see Table 5.5, column

III). George, Sonia, and Alice change very little linguistically yet Alice interacts frequently with the host community and so does Sonia. Andrew, Emma and Christine show moderate linguistic change yet Andrew and Christine belong in the high interactor group and only Emma belongs in the moderately high interactor group. Anna and Lucy change a lot linguistically yet Lucy only belongs in the moderately high interactor group.

In summary, student identity in the target community seems to have a greater influence on linguistic change than the extent of reported interaction with the host community.

The factor which seems to have the clearest relationship with linguistic change is the participants' awareness of differences in linguistic politeness (see Table 5.5, column IV). The three participants (George, Sonia, and Alice) who show very limited awareness and self-assess their change in politeness skills with "no", also show very little linguistic change. Andrew and Christine who belong in the moderate change category linguistically, are both aware of differences in politeness, but in their self-assessment they show that they are either over-focused on one particular strategy (Andrew), or that they still have a lot to learn (Christine). Emma, who also belongs in the moderate change category, is perfectly aware of differences in politeness yet when asked if her politeness skills have changes she only mentions her improved knowledge of the use of t/v forms.

The remaining high change participants (Anna and Lucy) are very aware of linguistic differences in politeness. When asked whether they think their politeness skills have changed they said "yes" (Anna) or "maybe" (Lucy) yet the examples they provide are very detailed and show the depth of their understanding of target specific politeness (see section 5.3.1 for examples).

The last factor mentioned in Table 5.5, column V, the time spent in German speaking countries before going abroad, seems to have effectively no influence on the overall linguistic development during participant's year abroad. Lucy, f.ex, a high change student only spent one week in Germany before her year abroad, while Sonia, who changed very little, spent four months in Austria and Germany pre-sojourn.

Tables 5.6 and 5.7 present further profiles of all participants, in this case relating change in the range of different request and mitigation strategies (variation) used pre- to in-sojourn to the main contextual factors (identity, the degree of interaction with the host community, and the awareness of differences in linguistic politeness). Table 5.6 relates the overall change number in the use of new sub-strategies (variation 1, also see

columns XII, Table 5.1) to the contextual factors mentioned above, while Table 5.7 does the same for the overall change number in sub-strategy variation (variation 2, also see column XIII, Table 5.1).

Table 5.6 Participant profiles: variation 1

	I	II	III	IV
	Overall change number in the use of new sub-strategies in-sojourn (variation 1)	Self-assessed identity in host community	Degree of interaction with host community	1.Awareness of differences in linguistic politeness 2.Self-assessed change in politeness skills
George (5)	2 Little change	Outsider	low	1. Limited 2. No change
Alice (5)	3 Little change	OK with foreign identity	Moderately high	1. Limited 2. No change
Anna (5)	4 Little-moderate change	Part of German society	high	1. Yes 2. Yes
Christine (5)	5 Moderate change	Part of German society	high	1. yes 2. Yes, but still needs improvement.
Emma (5)	5 Moderate change	Trying to fit in with foreign identity	Moderately high	1. Yes 2. Yes
Sonia (5)	6 Moderate change	Outsider	Moderately high	1.Limited 2. No change
Andrew (6)	9 High change	Feels like a happy ERASMUS student	high	1. Yes 2. Moderate change: he only mentions his determination not to say “bitte” too much and that he has become more direct
Lucy (5)	10 High change	Part of German society	Moderately high	1. Yes 2. Maybe (she mentions many things she has learned and other she is not willing to do)

George and Alice both change very little on this dimension, i.e. in terms of their adoption of new politeness sub-strategies, yet George feels like an outsider and Alice is fine with her identity as a foreigner and has even learned to use it to her advantage (see 5.3.1). Anna, Christine, Emma, and Sonia, who change little to moderately have identities ranging from outsider (Sonia) to part of German society (see Table 5.6, columns II). High change people such as Andrew and Lucy have more established identities in the target community.

The degree of interaction with the host community (Table 5.6, columns III) seems to be of more importance concerning variation in sub-strategy selection, since all participants belonging in either the moderately high or high interactor groups also show moderate to high change in variation and those who interact very little (George) also change little with regards to variation. The exceptions to this trend are Alice and Anna who are both (moderately) high interactors yet change little.

The awareness of differences in linguistic politeness (Table 5.6, column IV) also seems to influence changes in the in-sojourn use of new sub-strategies in some participants. George and Alice are only partly aware of differences in linguistic politeness and they also change very little, yet Anna is fully aware of differences in politeness and still only changes little to moderately. Christine, Emma, and Sonia change moderately but while Christine and Emma are both aware of differences in linguistic politeness, Sonia's awareness is very limited. The two high change students, Andrew and Lucy, are both aware of changes in their own behaviour.

Column I in Table 5.7 shows the overall change number in sub-strategy variation, including all different sub-strategies, not just the new ones used in-sojourn.

Table 5.7 Participant profiles: variation 2

	I	II	III	IV
	Overall change number in sub-strategy variation (variation 2)	Self-assessed identity in host community	Degree of interaction with host community	1.Awareness of differences in linguistic politeness 2.Self-assesed change in politeness skills
Alice (5)	1 little change	OK with foreign identity	Moderately high	1. Limited 2. No change
George (5)	3 little-moderate change	Outsider	low	1. Limited 2. No change
Sonia (5)	3 little-moderate change	Outsider	Moderately high	1.Limited 2. No change
Lucy (5)	3 little-moderate change	Part of German society	Moderately high	1. Yes 2. Maybe (she mentions many things she has learned and other she is not willing to do)
Anna (5)	4 moderate change	Part of German society	high	1. Yes 2. Yes
Emma (5)	4 moderate change	Trying to fit in with foreign identity	Moderately high	1. Yes 2. Yes
Christine (4)	5 moderate change	Part of German society	high	1. yes 2. Yes, but still needs improvement.
Andrew (6)	5 moderate change	Feels like a happy ERASMUS student	high	1. Yes 2. Moderate change: he only mentions his determination not to say “bitte” too much and that he has become more direct

Again, there are no clear trends with regards to L2 identity and overall change. Alice, who is fine with her identity as foreigner and does not try particularly hard to fit in, changes very little. George and Sonia, who both feel like outsiders, show little to moderate change but Lucy, who feels like a part of German society, also falls in this category.

Anna, Emma, Christine, and Andrew show moderate change. Anna and Christine feel like a part of German society, Emma makes a conscious effort to fit in and Andrew has found his place in the host community as happy ERASMUS student. Although it could be argued that the moderate change participants have all found their place in the L2 community, are trying to fit in or are happy with their identity as ERASMUS student, the overall picture regarding identity and sub-strategy variation does not show any clearly discernible trends.

The degree of interaction with the host community seems to have a greater influence on variation 2 as all moderate change students apart from Emma report high levels of interaction. Those participants who belong in the little or little-moderate change group only show low to moderate interaction levels.

The last contextual factors, awareness of differences in linguistic politeness and self-assessed politeness skills (column IV, Table 5.7), influence variation 2 numbers in some students. With the exception of Lucy, all students who are aware of differences and who feel their politeness skills have changed (Anna, Emma, Christine, and Andrew), at least to some degree, show moderate change in overall sub-strategy variation. Those whose awareness of differences in politeness is limited and who feel their politeness skills haven't changed, show little, or little to moderate change regarding overall variation 2 numbers.

In summary, the degree of interaction with the host community and awareness of differences in linguistic politeness seem to have a greater influence than L2 identity on the numbers for pre- to in-sojourn variation 1 and variation 2. Regarding the overall linguistic change from pre- to in-sojourn though, awareness of differences in linguistic politeness and L2 identity are the most influential contextual factors, while interaction with the host community seems relatively unimportant. Chapter 6 is going to examine how these findings relate to the theories introduced in chapter 2.

6 Discussion

6.1 Chapter outline

Chapter 6 starts with an overview of the findings and how they relate to the theories introduced in chapter 2. The main focus of this section is on how the findings on pragmalinguistic development are related to identity theory (Norton Peirce, 1995), CofP (Lave and Wenger, 1991), and politeness theory (Locher and Watts, 2005, Kasper, 2009). In sections 6.4 and 6.5 the limitations of the study are summarised and recommendations for further research are given.

6.2 The original contribution of the study

In this study, new findings are presented on the relationship between language use, identity, and the use of requesting strategies and sub-strategies, in the context of a study abroad sojourn. The analysis of student requests elicited either through role-plays or in authentic service encounter exchanges has shown that request behaviour changed in-sojourn albeit on different levels. The most discernible trends are a change from conventionally indirect strategy use pre-sojourn to direct strategy use in-sojourn, accompanied by a shift from hearer orientation to speaker orientation. At the same time, requests are less internally mitigated in-than pre-sojourn, while the extent of external mitigation increases in-sojourn as compared to pre-sojourn. Frequency counts for all sub-strategy variation and the use of new sub-strategies increased in-sojourn compared to pre-sojourn, showing that the participants learned new request strategies as well as different ways of internal and external mitigation. However, the overall changes in in-sojourn request behaviour have been interpreted as an attempt to adjust to target community specific pragmalinguistic behaviour.

A comparison of the authentic exchanges to the role-play data (see 2.4, RQ 4) showed that both kinds of data are based on the preference structure for requests as outlined in Kasper (2009). This confirms the validity of the data elicited through role-plays and offers interesting insights into how participants do politeness through affiliative alignment (Kasper, 2009), but also where and why pragmatic problems occur.

The variables which mostly influenced the change from pre- to in-sojourn request development were the awareness of differences in linguistic politeness (see Table 5.5, column IV) and the successful establishment of an L2 identity. This challenges assumptions of past research, in that it has commonly been assumed that an L2 identity and language skills can only develop through interaction with members of the target community (Norton Peirce, 1995, Lave and Wenger, 1991), a process which starts at the periphery of a community of practice and gradually takes the speakers farther towards the centre. In the course of this journey, the new member is assumed to develop an identity while being socialised into the group by expert members, a process which is also reflected in the development of language skills. The prerequisite for this process is assumed to be the interaction with expert members of a group.

In the present study, however, it was the awareness of differences in linguistic politeness and the creation of an L2 identity which mostly influenced the change from pre- to in-sojourn request behaviour while interaction with the host community played a lesser role. It is possible that reported interaction with the host community was not the most decisive variable since most of the participants were already relatively advanced speakers of German, who were strongly motivated to spend a year abroad as part of their university degree, and used German regularly in varying ways while abroad. Even so, the requests of the participants who were most aware of differences in linguistic politeness and most successful at establishing an L2 identity changed to a greater extent than those of the other students.

6.3 Overview of findings

Research questions 1-4 were answered in detail in chapter 4, and RQ5 was addressed in chapter 5. This section provides an overview of the results to help the reader understand how identity issues and awareness of pragmalinguistic differences may have influenced linguistic change, pre- to in-sojourn. In-sojourn, the results showed a shift towards increased directness and speaker orientation. At the same time, requests were less internally and more externally mitigated. Regarding the variation of different request sub-strategies, 62.5 % of all students used more varied request sub-strategies in-than pre-sojourn, 25% used the same variation for their sub-strategies, and

12.5% used less varied sub-strategies. Of the total number of different request sub-strategies (26 sub-strategies, see table 4.5) used in-sojourn, 50% were completely new sub-strategies. The following paragraphs briefly comment on in-sojourn sub-strategy variation numbers as well as the overall frequency count of all strategies. For request strategies, this means the following: overall, 49 request strategies including CIS, DS, and NICIS, were used pre-sojourn, 55 in-sojourn and 51 post-sojourn. These numbers represent the overall frequency count of the respective strategies. In the case of request strategies, the increased count only means that the participants started using double heads (see chapter x, page y) abroad but it can still be said that both the overall frequency count and request sub-strategy variation increase in-sojourn.

Concerning the variation of IM sub-strategies, 62.5% of all participants used more varied IM sub-strategies in-than pre-sojourn and 37.5% used fewer different sub-strategies. Of the total number of different IM sub-strategies (41 IM sub-strategies, see table 4.22) used in-sojourn, 46.3% were completely new. Both IM sub-strategy variation and the overall IM frequency count increased in-sojourn.

Regarding EM sub-strategy variation, six students (75% of all participants) used more varied EMSs in-than pre-sojourn and 25% used the same degree of variation for their sub-strategies pre-and in-sojourn. Of the total number of different EM sub-strategies (32 sub-strategies, see table 4.26) used in-sojourn, 37.5% were completely new. Overall, both EM sub-strategy variation and the frequency count of EMSs increased in-sojourn.

This means that sub-strategy variation increased for the majority of students in-sojourn irrespective of whether the overall frequency count of the strategy increased (see EMSs) or not (see IMSs).

In the present study, politeness was mainly defined as the attempt to adjust to target community specific language behaviour (chapter 2, p18). This endeavour to blend in and produce pragmatically appropriate language is what Locher and Watts (2005) call politic or unmarked behaviour. The shift towards increased request directness in-sojourn in combination with less internal mitigation, increased speaker dominance and sub-strategy variation and the use of more new sub-strategies shows an adaptation to host community appropriate language behaviour. Yet not all participants changed in the same way or to the same extent. It was hypothesised that interaction with the host community and the subsequent attainment of varying degrees of legitimacy within CofPs (Wenger, 1998, Lave and Wenger, 1991), learner identity development (Norton

Peirce, 1995) and the participants' developing perception of difference in politeness (Locher and Watts, 2005) may have influenced the overall linguistic development.

The data show that linguistic change (excluding variation) can primarily be linked to awareness of differences in linguistic politeness and self-assessed change in politeness skills (see Table 5.5, column 1). The second most influential factor is student identity in the target community followed by interaction with the host community (i.e. membership of CofPs).

Norton Peirce (1995) f.ex. claims that L2 language speakers must successfully establish an identity in the host community to improve their language skills. One factor which influences the process of creating an L2 identity is motivation, or as Norton-Pierce calls it "investment" (1995:17). This locally oriented identity would enable them to communicate with expert speakers of the language, to participate in social events in the host community, and in turn, to gain access to valuable pragmalinguistic input needed to improve language skills. This theory partly overlaps with CofP theory which claims that all learners have to first gain access to a community, a process which starts at the periphery. In order to become a fully accepted member of any group and thus move from the periphery towards the centre, one must gain legitimacy (Wenger, 1998). Both approaches claim that gaining legitimacy is the first necessary step, the prerequisite for establishing an L2 identity which gives them the right to speak in the host community (Norton Peirce, 1995), or enable them to gain access to authentic input (Lave and Wenger, 1991). In both cases, gaining legitimacy and the subsequent establishment of an L2 identity imply interaction with the host community and the acquisition of relevant skills.

In the present study, however, the creation of an L2 identity does not seem to be directly linked to the degree of interaction with the host community, but rather to the awareness of differences in linguistic politeness, in that participants who successfully established an L2 identity also show awareness of linguistic differences in politeness, though they do not necessarily show high degrees of interaction. Awareness of linguistic politeness and an L2 identity mostly influence overall linguistic change and not, or to a much lesser extent, the degree of interaction with the host community.

Students who see themselves as outsiders in German society (George and Sonia), or who are not actively trying to establish an identity abroad (Alice) have very limited awareness of differences in politeness. Those who try to create an L2 identity (Emma) or who found it easier due to their work placements or living arrangements to fit in

(Andrew, Christine, Anna, and Lucy), show a much greater degree of awareness concerning differences in politeness and consequently also of the skills they still lack.

It is this awareness which seems to have the greatest impact on the overall linguistic change, since all students who show awareness and whose change in politeness skills was assessed as “moderate” to “definitely” there, also change considerably linguistically.

It seems that there is a link between successful identity establishment and awareness (see table x, page y) which suggests that those people who managed or wanted to establish an L2 identity seem to have been aware of certain features in the input (even without extensive interaction with the host community) while others were not. Sonia, f.ex., belongs in the moderate interactor group but was so negatively invested that she did not form a successful L2 identity, which seems to have resulted in very limited awareness of politeness differences. The successful establishment of an L2 identity, which is based on the desire to fit in and the agency to do so, seems to sensitize students with regards to pragmalinguistic features in the input.

What seems to be the case in the present study is that students arrived with a partly pre-formed L2 identity based on their status as ERASMUS students. It was clear to all of them that they were only going to stay for 10 months, a situation which is quite different from that of an immigrant who might spend his entire life in the host community. Once arrived, however, the exposure to the host community led to identity changes. While some students showed more agency or investment when establishing this identity (e.g. Emma), others were more complacent (Alice) or were so negatively invested (Sonia) that they did not try very hard to fit in.

Of those students who did not (try to) establish an L2 identity (George, Sonia, and Alice), two (Sonia and Alice) were moderately high interactors while George interacted very little. The rest of the participants, who managed to establish a successful L2 identity – all fell in the moderately high to high interactor group. Although the degree of interaction was not the decisive factor in the formation of an L2 identity, it can be said that none of the high investment students had low interaction ratings. What seems to be the case though is that Sonia, and Alice – the participants who did not fit in but were moderately high interactors – also had very little to no awareness of politeness differences.

This seems to indicate that the kind of identity one assumes in the target community has an influence on what features are noticed in the input. Sonia and Alice

both have a decent amount of interaction with the target community yet fail to develop sufficient knowledge of linguistic differences with regard to politeness. All other participants managed to establish an L2 identity and thus seem to have been more receptive concerning politeness features in German; their level of awareness with regards to linguistic differences in politeness and is very pronounced. Pragmalinguistic differences seem to be more salient for those participants who are positively invested and had the agency to establish an L2 identity. The need to fit in may have sensitized them with regards to politeness issues. In summary, the factors which mostly influence change in the participants' broad choices of linguistic strategies in the present study (Table 5.5) are the awareness of differences between politeness styles and to a lesser degree student identity in the target community.

The two aspects of variation – the overall change in the use of new sub-strategies in-sojourn (variation 1) and the overall change in sub-strategy variation (variation 2) (see chapter 5, Table 5.6 and 5.7) are more dependent on interaction with the host community and the awareness of differences in linguistic politeness. The establishment of a successful L2 identity seems less important in this case. Variation refers to the use of different sub-strategies while the overall linguistic change refers to the frequency count of all sub-strategies, irrespective of whether they are different or new strategies. Variation numbers reveal a different aspect of learning, namely the acquisition of new sub-strategies or the use of a range of different sub-strategies. It seems that the variation aspect of linguistic change is more dependent on interaction with the host community and the awareness of politeness differences than on L2 identity, suggesting that the participants needed to be socialised into using different sub-strategies pragmatically appropriately.

In summary it can be said that the extent of reported interaction while abroad seems to have been a relatively unimportant influence on participants' requesting behaviour on the first linguistic level (frequency counts of all linguistic strategies used, pre- in sojourn) investigated in this study. Regarding variation 1 and 2, interaction was much more important.

The approach toward politeness in the present study was based on the CCSARP model (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), the preference structure of requests (Kasper, 2009, Schegloff, 2007)), and the idea of relational work as introduced by Locher and Watts (2005). The linguistic data show that all participants changed in-sojourn. Even if this change sometimes took place in different areas, there were overall trends, such as the

use of more DSs and less internal/ more external mitigation in-sojourn, which seem to indicate an adaption to target community specific pragmalinguistic language behaviour. Since the students mostly adapted to the speech norms of the host community, they were using politic/appropriate behaviour which, according to Locher and Watts (2005), is unmarked. To investigate where they diverged from this behaviour, the exchanges were analysed based on CA. In the present study, appropriate/politic requesting behaviour was equated with whether and to what extent students “orient to the preference structure for requests” (Kasper, 2009:34). Both the CA analyses, for the role-plays and the natural speech data, showed an overall adherence to the preference structure for requests although some pragmatic problems did occur. These were then interpreted as negatively marked and within this category as non-politic/inappropriate (Locher and Watts, 2005:12). In contrast to other approaches towards politeness, Locher and Watts (2005) claim that negatively, positively, and unmarked behaviour are just parts of relational work. While Brown and Levinson (1987) equate the directness of requests with politeness, Locher and Watts see requesting behaviour as unmarked as long as it is appropriate. In the present study, pragmatic problems in the request sequences were judged as negative or non-politic/inappropriate.

6.4 Limitations of the study

The present study is based on data from eight participants who were visited once by the researcher to gather in-sojourn data. If extensive participant observation of a larger number of students had been possible, the socialisation process and ensuing L2 identity development could have been observed and documented in much more detail. The membership in CofP which was reinterpreted as interaction with the host community could also have been tracked in more detail (e.g. video filming) and evidence would not have been restricted to interviews and one questionnaire.

Another limitation of the present study is the fact that the researcher did not study “German” politeness in Germany. While the research was informed throughout by the researcher’s own intuitions regarding “German” politeness, no data were gathered from other German native speakers to determine how they carry out requests and what their preferred directness and mitigation strategies are. An obvious next step would be to investigate what native German speakers think about the sojourners’ request behaviour and if they notice any identity shift in the participants.

Most of the data collection in this study is based on open role-plays carried out with German native speakers. Although all role-plays pre-in-and post-sojourn were designed to have a similar degree of social distance, degree of imposition, and power, these criteria are often very subjective and can vary depending on the individual participant’s view of a situation thus leading to different language behaviour. While the pre-sojourn role-plays were carried out by Susi and Karen, two German speaking lecturers at university, the in- and post-sojourn role-plays were conducted by the researcher herself. This may have led to a certain degree of subconscious bias with regards to the data elicited from the students, since the researcher knew what she was particularly interested in. Other disadvantages of using role-plays (see chapter 3, p. 9) include the students’ awareness that this is no real life situation, or that the researcher is trying to elicit certain kinds of data which can lead to participants trying to produce what they believe is expected of them. This was one of the reasons why the students were asked to record authentic exchanges in shops which served as validity check for the role-plays. It can, of course, also be argued that these exchanges are not truly authentic either, with both the student and the interlocutor being aware of being recorded. However, the CA analysis of the sequence organisation of both kinds of

exchanges showed almost identical structures (see chapter x, p x), thus reinforcing the validity claims which could be made for the role play data.

Concerning the semi-structured interviews and the language engagement questionnaire, the same bias as in the role-plays existed, yet both the interviews and the language engagement questionnaire were carried out in a very relaxed atmosphere so as to reduce the pressure the participants might have felt with regards to answering the questions.

Although the researcher set out to investigate the influence of communities of practice on linguistic change, CofP were very loosely defined as interaction with the host community. Originally, Wenger (1998:4) defined communities of practice as “groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly” (for a more detailed description see 2.2.4). This shared area of interest, or domain, was not a major consideration in the language engagement questionnaire which mainly focussed on interaction and exposure to the second language.

Although the present study had been designed to elicit authentic data in addition to the role-play data, only three students succeeded in getting permission to record authentic service encounters with strangers. More authentic data (e.g. obtained through participant observation) would have allowed for an even more in-depth CA analysis of request sequence organisation and pragmatic problems.

Finally, despite the small number of participants and limited “field” data, one of the main limitations of this study was the amount of generated data and the fact that there was only one researcher. This made it necessary to determine which parts of the data were most relevant for addressing the research questions and then carry out an in-depth analysis of the chosen data.

6.5 Recommendations for further research

Although there has been a lot of research on identity improvement in a study abroad setting, and also on linguistic improvement during SA, there has been only limited research so far which combines the two (Kinging, 2009). The data gained in the present study suggests that ERASMUS students might be either less invested in carving out an L2 identity because they know that their stay abroad is limited or their status as

ERASMUS/ exchange student might make it easier for them to fit it since it does not really threaten their identity as English or international students (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002).

ERASMUS students are socially accepted exchange students. It is known that they only stay for a limited period of time and that they do not come with the intention of actually living in the country. Their language proficiency is usually much higher than that of f.ex. the immigrant women Norton Peirce (1995) accompanied in their endeavour to establish an identity in Canada. Further research is needed to investigate to what degree a sense of entitlement, which may be linked to certain social roles in the host country, influences the creation of an L2 identity (Kinging, 2008, Kinginger, 2004). L2 learners who feel they have a right to be in and interact with the host community seem to fit in more easily initially. Yet even in this particular case, as shown by the data, negative investment (Sonia) or the lack of a real need to fit in (Alice) can hinder the successful establishment of an L2.

While the differences in L2 establishment between the present ERASMUS students and Norton-Pierce's immigrant women could partly be explained with the different place they occupy in the target society, the social status and acceptance attached to this position and L2 proficiency, further research is needed to investigate what factors influence the investment and agency of ERASMUS students who seemingly occupy a much more homogenous position.

It would also be interesting to study German politeness in Germany and have native German speakers judge the exchanges with the participants and whether they notice any differences in pragmalinguistic behaviour after the students spend some time in the host community. The same study design could also be tested on participants other than study abroad students to determine if and why there are any differences in pragmalinguistic development.

7 Appendix A

Student Background Questionnaire (I-survey)

Section 1. BASIC INFORMATION

Question 1.1

Age:

Question 1.2

Gender:

- Male
- Female

Question 1.3

Year at university:

- 1st year
- 2nd year
- 3rd year
- 4th year

Question 1.4

What is the name of your degree programme?

Question 1.5

What are your name and surname?

Section 2. LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

Question 2.1

What is your native (first) language? If you have more than one native (first) language, please specify:

Question 2.2

If one or both of your parents are native speakers of a language (or languages) other than English, please indicate what their native language(s) are:

103821

Mother:

Father:

Question 2.3

If your parents are native speakers of languages other than English, did they speak those language with you at home?

- Yes
 No

Section 3. LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Question 3.1

Age at which you started studying German in school:

Question 3.2

For how many years, at each of the levels below, have you studied German?

Infant school (age 4-7)	<input type="text"/>
Junior school (age 7-11)	<input type="text"/>
Secondary school (age 11-16)	<input type="text"/>
College (age 16-18)	<input type="text"/>
University	<input type="text"/>
Other	<input type="text"/>

Question 3.3

Which university German modules did you take during the summer semester 2011?

Question 3.4

List all of the university-level German modules you have taken:

Question 3.5

In your German classes at any level, what national dialect(s) of German did your tutors speak? "National dialects" refer to dialects of German from different countries, for example, German spoken in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, or Lichtenstein.

Question 3.6

Other languages you have studied formally (e.g., in school) at any level:

Spanish

Question 3.7

For each language you have studied, please rate your current knowledge as Beginner, Intermediate, or Advanced, e.g., Spanish (Intermediate)

Section 4. FOREIGN STUDY AND TRAVEL

Question 4.1

Have you ever **previously** studied, travelled or lived in a German-speaking country?

If you answered "no" to this question, then you are finished with this survey.

Yes

No

Question 4.2

In total, how many months have you spent studying, travelling and/or living in a German-speaking country or countries?

Question 4.3

For each of the times you have studied, travelled or lived in a German-speaking country (up to three separate trips), indicate (1) whether you took German language classes, and (2) how often on average you had an extended conversation (i.e., for 30 minutes or more) in German with native or fluent speakers of German.

TRIP 1

Country:

Question 4.4

Length of stay:

Question 4.5

Did you take German classes during this trip?

Yes

No

Question 4.6

On average, how often did you have an extended conversation? (i.e., for 30 minutes or more) in German with native or fluent speakers of German?

- Every day
- Every couple of days
- Once per week
- Once per month
- Infrequently

Question 4.7

TRIP 2

Country:

Question 4.8

Length of stay:

Question 4.9

Did you take German classes during this trip?

- Yes
- No

Question 4.10

On average, how often did you have an extended conversation? (i.e., for 30 minutes or more) in German with native or fluent speakers of German?

- Every day
- Every couple of days
- Once per week
- Once per month
- Infrequently

Question 4.11

TRIP 3

Country:

Question 4.12

Length of stay:

Question 4.13

Did you take German classes during this trip?

- Yes
- No

Question 4.14

On average, how often did you have an extended conversation? (i.e., for 30 minutes or more) in German with native or fluent speakers of German?

- Every day
- Every couple of days
- Once per week
- Once per month
- Infrequently

8 Appendix B

Pre-in-and post-sojourn interview questions

Student interview questions – pre-sojourn, based on Shively (2008)

1. What are your expectations concerning your year in Germany/Austria?
2. Do you think that your German skills will improve during your study abroad year? In what ways?
3. What factors in particular do you think would either help or hinder your learning of German?
 - 3.a. Do you think that living with German native speakers would help you improve your learning of German?
4. How do you think politeness works in German? (How would you define politeness, or social skills in German? How is politeness done in German?)
5. Do you think it is important to develop social/politeness skills abroad? In what situations do you think it would be helpful?
 - 5.a. Do you think that going abroad will help you improve those skills?
6. Would you want to speak German like a native speaker? If so, how are you going to try and reach this aim?
 - 6.a. What kind of identity would you like to have during your stay abroad? (the foreign language students trying to improve his German, the near native speaker etc.)
7. Is there anything else that would help me understand your expectations concerning your learning of German during your year abroad?

Student interview questions – in-sojourn, based on Shively (2008)

1. Have your expectations changed regarding your year in Germany/Austria since our first interview? How?
2. How do you see yourself in this society? What place do you have?
3. Have you joined any clubs, reading groups, churches etc.?

4. Who do you mostly speak German with?
5. Do you think that your German skills have changed so far? In what ways?
6. Do you live with a host family, in student housing....?
7. What factors in particular do you think are influencing your learning of German?
Which are obstacles?
8. Tell me what you have discovered about German politeness so far.
9. Have your German “politeness” skills changed since you arrived?
- 9.a. Do you think they would have changed that rapidly had you stayed in England?
10. Is there anything else that would help me understand your experience in Germany/Austria?

Student interview questions – post-sojourn

1. Did your year abroad turn out the way you thought it would? Why/ Why not?
2. Tell me about your daily routine during your year abroad: who did you meet regularly, did you have many German speaking friends, did you work on your German at uni or did you take a language course etc.
3. What did you particularly like/ dislike about your stay in a German speaking country?
4. Do you plan to go back to Germany/ Austria (for a visit, work etc.) ? Why/ why not?
5. Do you have a German boyfriend/ girlfriend?
6. Do you think that your German has improved? If yes, how? If no, why not?
7. Did you feel part of the German/ Austrian society? Did improved language skills help you blend in better, also with regards to politeness?
8. Is there such as thing as “German” politeness, or does politeness depend on the individual speaker?
9. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your year abroad?

9 Appendix C

Language engagement questionnaire (McManus et al., 2014)

How often do you do the following in GERMAN?

	Everyday	Several times a week	A few times a week	A couple of times a month	Rarely	Never
Watch TV						
Watch films						
Browse the internet (eg. read news, etc)						
Use social networking sites (eg. Facebook/ Twitter)						
Read emails						
Write emails						
Listen to music						
Listen to talk radio						
Listen to lectures						
Participate in seminars/ language classes						
Read literature (eg. fiction, poetry, short stories)						
Read magazines						
Read newspapers						
Read academic texts						
Read text messages						
Write text messages						
Write reports (eg. work, academic)						
Write for leisure (eg. journal)						

Use instant messaging						
Have short phone conversations (<5 minutes)						
Have long phone conversations (>5 minutes)						
Teach a class						
Engage in service encounters (buy something in a shop etc.)						
Engage in small talk						
Engage in long casual conversations						
Participate in organised social activities (eg, clubs, church, sports, etc)						

Would you like to comment/reflect on any of your answer? For example, if there is a book you're currently reading or a favourite programme you watch, we're interested in that information. Also, if the television (or radio) is always on in your flat but you're not actively watching it, you can tell us that too.

10 Appendix D

Role plays

Pre-sojourn role plays based on Cohen et al. (2005:346-355) The role plays in italics were acted out by the students.

Situation 1

A required history class taught in German for study abroad students has just ended and you are sitting there feeling frustrated. Your professor, Dr. Huber, has once again spoken too rapidly for you to understand. You check with fellow students and find out that they are having the same problem. So, you get up your courage, go up to him after class, and request that he try to speak a bit more slowly and clearly.

You are Professor Huber, a historian who teaches a required history class for study abroad students. Sometimes, when teaching, you forget that your students are not native German speakers and you start speaking too quickly. One day after class, a student approaches you and asks you to speak more slowly.

Situation 2

You and your friend are on a flight together. You were not able to book adjacent seats on the flight, although you really want to sit together. When you get to your assigned seat on the plane there is an older gentleman, who you think is from the host country, sitting in the seat next to yours. You ask him if he would mind switching seats with your friend, although that would mean he would have to move to another seat at the rear end of the plane.

You are an older gentleman on a flight from London to Frankfurt. Another passenger asks you if you would mind swapping seats with his friend. They had not been able to get adjacent seats but would very much like to sit next to each other. You ask the other passenger where his friend's seat is and he points to a seat right at the rear end of the plane where the noise from the engines is loudest. You are not thrilled and tell him so.

Situation 3

You find a great bargain airfare for this weekend only, which you want to make use of in order to visit good friends in a somewhat distant city. In order to take advantage of this opportunity, you need to ask your professor, Dr. Schmidt, for an extension on an assignment that you were going to work on this weekend, and which is due next week.

You are Dr. Schmidt, a professor teaching at university. One of your student approaches you asking for an extension on one of the assignment. It is usually not your policy to give extensions and you do not feel that visiting friends during the semester is a valid excuse to ask for an extension.

Situation 4

You share a flat with another student from the host community. You generally get on very well with each other but lately your flatmate Martin has been partying a lot while you were trying to study. Since an important assignment is due in a week and you need to be able to concentrate you decide to ask him to be more considerate.

You share a flat with a student from abroad. You generally get on very well with each other but lately you have noticed that you flatmate has become increasingly irritable. One day, your flatmate tells you that he needs to prepare for an exam they following week and that he can't concentrate with you partying away with friends in your room. You offer to party in the living room instead of your room, since the living room is farther away from you flatmate's room

Situation 5

You want to buy a new desk at IKEA and your flatmate Eva has offered to take you there in her car. She is the only person you know in the host community yet that has a car, so you gladly accept. On the day of the shopping trip, Eva is ill but you have already asked 2 other friends to come help you carry the desk to the car and then assemble it. They are not available on any other day, so you really want to get it done that day and decide to ask Eva for her car.

You offered to take your flatmate, an international student to IKEA to pick up a desk. On the day of the shopping trip you feel sick and say you can't go. Your flatmate is really disappointed because he already asked two of his friends who are only free on this particular day to join you and help him carry the boxes to the car and then assemble the desk at home. You flatmate asks you for your car but you are not really comfortable lending it to other people because you don't know if your insurance would cover any potential damage from an accident he might cause.

Situation 6

A close friend, Hannes and you are driving to pick up another friend, Maria, who's broken her leg. When you stop outside Maria's house you ask Hannes to sit on the backseat because Maria needs more leg room for her cast and will want to sit in the front.

You and a close friend of yours are on your way to pick up another friend, Maria, who's broken her leg. When you stop outside Maria's house your friend asks you to sit on the backseat because Maria needs more leg room for her cast and will want to sit in the front.

In-sojourn role-plays

Situation 1

You have signed a one year contract for a mobile phone but after 6 months you find a much cheaper deal and would like to get out of your original contract. You go to the shop where you bought your phone and talk to the salesperson.

You work as a salesman in a mobile phone shop. One day a customer who signed a one-year contract for a mobile phone wants to get out of the contract after 6 months. Based on official guidelines he would have to pay for the entire year.

Situation 2

You are an ERASMUS student who missed the bus to university in the morning. You do not make it to a lecture on time. After the lecture you ask a colleague to lend you his notes from the part of the class you missed.

You are a regular student at university. 30 minutes after the start of a lecture one of the ERASMUS students enters the lecture theatre. You find this interruption annoying and are convinced that the student did not make it on time because ERASMUS students party too much every night. When this particular student approaches you after class and asks you for your class notes for the part of the class he missed, you are not really inclined to give them to him.

Situation 3

You signed up for an introductory lecture on language development. 3 weeks into the course you realize that the class does not cover the material you need and that you should really attend another course. The official deadline for changing courses is 2 weeks and Professor Humbold, who teaches this particular class told you so. Nevertheless you decide to ask him if you can still change courses.

You are Professor Humbold who teaches an introductory lecture on language development. Although you told you undergraduate students that they can only add or drop this class in the first 2 weeks of the semester, a student asks you after 3 weeks if he can still drop the class. You are not thrilled and feel that the student has not been paying attention when you told them about the 2 week deadline.

Situation 4

You are an ERASMUS student in Germany who, during his year abroad, works as an English language TA in a German school. Due to your job you speak English with your students all day but you would very much like to speak mostly German with the English teacher you are working with. You tell him you would prefer it if he spoke German with you because you need to practice.

You are an English teacher at a German school. This year, you have an English speaking TA to help you teach. Although you and the TA only speak English in class, you want to practice your English and keep on speaking English with him after class too. You are very grateful for the opportunity to speak more English.

Situation 5

You work for a company and your new boss is very competent and nice. Although he seems well organized, he only gives you very short notice to accomplish tasks. You find this increasingly stressful and decide to ask him to let you know earlier about important deadlines.

You have just been made project manager of a company. Although you like your new job, there are still many things you need to familiarize yourself with. Sometimes you find out about important deadlines at the very last minute and you know that some of your employees feel pressured when you pass the information on to them.

Situation 6

You share a flat with another student. You have decided on a cleaning plan but the only one who ever seems to do his part is you. This weekend you are expecting two friends and ask your flat mate to really clean the living room before your guests arrive.

You share a flat with another student. Although the two of you have decided on a cleaning plan, you have been very stressed lately and have hardly had any time to clean. This weekend, your flat mate is expecting friends and is asking you to clean the living room before they come. The emphasis with which your flat mate asks you surprises you because you had not thought you had been that messy.

Post-sojourn role plays

Situation 1

You are on a train from Heidelberg to Saarbrücken and have booked a place in a compartment where the use of mobile phones is forbidden. When another passenger sits down opposite you and starts talking on his mobile phone, you are annoyed by his obvious disregard for the “no mobile phone” sign and ask him to please go talk somewhere else.

Sit 1

You are on the train from Heidelberg to Saarbruecken and have just answered an important call on your mobile phone. You are expecting another call, when your fellow passenger reminds you that this is a “no mobile phone” compartment and asks you to please take the call somewhere else. You would like to comply but you know that the reception is by far the best in this compartment.

Situation 2

You are an ERASMUS student and are expecting the monthly installment of your student bursary. When you check your bank account you discover that you haven't received it yet and decide to go and talk to the head of student services to ask if he could have a look what happened to your money.

You have just been made head of the student services centre and you are not familiar with all aspects of your work yet. When a student comes to ask you about why he has not received his bursary this month, you don't know whether you can give him this information or if he needs to talk to payroll.

Situation 3

You and a friend go out for dinner to celebrate your graduation. You booked a table outside and are enjoying the food when a guest leaves the restaurant and starts smoking close to where you are sitting. Since this really bothers both of you, you decide to ask her to move a little farther away from your table.

You are having dinner with friends at a nice restaurant when you decide to go for a smoke. It is already dark outside and since none of your friends are smokers, you have to go outside alone. There are only two other guests outside and because you are scared of being out alone at night, you stay close to their table.

Situation 4

You have been offered a job you would really like to accept, but you would have to start work within one month, yet the period of notice is 2 months at your old work place and they are not prepared to let you go before the end of this period. Since you really want to accept the new job offer, you ask the HR manager if they could wait for another month.

You are the HR manager of a large company and have just told a job candidate that his application was successful. You need the candidate to start work within one month because of the start of a new project he will be involved in. When the candidate asks you if he could start one month later because of his current company's notice period, you are not thrilled.

Situation 5

You are a student on your study abroad year which is drawing to a close. You have been so busy lately that you completely forgot to cancel your mobile phone contract on time and it has now automatically been extended by another year. You go to the shop where you bought the phone and ask the shop assistant if you could get out of this new one-year contract.

You work as a shop assistant in a mobile phone shop. A customer, who has forgotten to cancel his contract on time, asks you if there is any way to get out of the contract because he is moving back to England. You are willing to help but since a contract renewal is done online, you are not sure if anything can be done at this point in time.

Situation 6

The end of your year abroad has come and you are faced with the problem of having to move all your stuff back to England. Mailing would cost a fortune but you are not prepared to leave everything behind. Since the girlfriend of another ERASMUS student is coming to pick him up by car, you decide to ask her, if she could take 2 of your boxes back to England.

You have come to the continent by car to pick up your boyfriend after his year abroad. He has loads of stuff which you can hardly fit into your car when one of his friends asks you if you could take two of his boxes back to England too. You don't want to appear unhelpful but it is not very convenient and you also wonder if he would be willing to contribute something to the cost of the petrol if you tried to squeeze his boxes in.

11 Appendix E

Interaction information sheet

Please answer these questions about the recording you made

Tick the appropriate box:

Service encounter

Talk with friend etc.

Track number:

a. Who did you have this conversation with? What is your relationship with this person like? (friend, colleague, boss, boyfriend , salesperson etc.)

b. Description of the person you talked to (sex, approx. age)

c. How well do you know the person?

d. What was the purpose of the service encounter/ talk? (Why did you want to buy? Why did you talk to the person you recorded?)

e. How do you feel about your use of German in this conversation? For example, were you able to express yourself adequately? Explain.

f. When you think about what “polite speech behaviour” is for you, can your own speech behaviour in this interaction be described as polite in that sense? Can you interlocutor’s speech behaviour in this interaction be described as polite in that sense?

g. What aspects of your part of the interaction would you want to change? Why?

12 Appendix F

The strategies below only comprise those actually used by the participants. For a comprehensive list of all external and internal mitigation strategies, see Blum-Kulka et al., (1989)

Request strategy variation (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)

Main request categories: Direct strategies (DSs), conventionally indirect strategies (CISs), and non- conventionally indirect strategies (NCISs)
DSs consist of mood derivables, performatives, hedged performatives, locution derivables, obligation statements, and want statements.
CISs comprise suggestory formulae and query preparatories.
NICs consist of strong hints and mild hints.

Examples of all strategies:

Mood derivable (DS)

bitte be- sei (.) sei ein bisschen *ruhiger*/

Performative (DS)

Also ich frage dich kannst du bitte ein bisschen ruhiger sein nicht so viel Partys haben?

Hedged performative (DS)

— ich wollte:: (.) Sie fragen ob Sie mir ein bisschen mehr Zeit (.) geben könnte↑ (.)
eh::m — die (.) eh::m — Auf(.) gaben zu fertigen

Locution derivable (DS)

ich brauche mehr Zeit um diese:: Arbeit zu machen/

Obligation statement (DS)

Hey weisst du du bist *dran*::_(.) jetzt zu putzen↓

Want statement (DS)

also ich (.) ich will —diese contract beenden/

Suggestory formulae (CIS)

[Ja:::e-also (.) wie wärs↑ wenn ich deine Notizen von der m: von (.) von der Vorlesung
— ah von dir v-ein bisschen al-ausleihe

Query preparatory (CIS)

also — eh könnte ich — eh (.) deine Notizen↑ — ehm — sehen (.)

Strong hint (NCIS)

es scheint *mehr* als ob ich (.) die *Einzige* bin — dass das — äh-eigentlich *macht*/

Internal mitigation strategies

Main internal mitigation categories: lexical and phrasal downgraders (LPDs) and syntactic downgraders (SDs), and lexical and phrasal upgraders (LPUs)

Lexical and phrasal downgraders (LPDs) comprise politeness markers, hedges, subjectivizers, downtoners, cajolers, understates, consultative devices.

Syntactic downgraders (SDs) consists of subjunctive, conditional, tense, conditional clause, and false conditional clause.

Lexical and phrasal upgraders (LPUs) consist of orthographic supersegmental emphases, time intensifiers, and intensifiers.

Supportive moves

Mitigating supportive moves comprise preparatory, getting a precommitment, grounders, disarmers, promises of reward, imposition minimizers

Aggravating supportive moves: moralizing

Request perspectives

Hearer dominance:

The following two requests were made by Christine in-sojourn. They are examples of hearer dominance.

1. eh (.) eh kannst *du* mir bitte eh die ehm: — die — ((xx)) — die Vorlesung — ((xx)) — eh:: (.) die Vorlesung (.) zettel↑ ((xx)) zettel mir (.) mir geben bitte

Could *you* please give me the lecture notes, please?

2. ist es (.) möglich vielleicht dass *Sie* (.) geben mir die Arbeit (.) vielleicht ein Tag vorher↑ oder zwei (.) zwei Tage vorher/

Is it possible perhaps that *you* let me know what to do one or two days earlier?

Speaker dominance:

The following two examples are two speaker dominant requests made by Emma in-sojourn

1. also ich (.) ich will —diese contract beenden/

I want to end this contract

2. also — eh könnte ich — eh (.) deine Notizen↑ — ehm — sehen (.)

Could *I* have a look at your notes?

Speaker and hearer dominance

Andrew in-sojourn

1. wärs dir gut wenn wir nur auf Deutsch reden können

Would it be OK if *we* speak German?

Alice in-sojourn

2. können wir bitte auf Deutsch↑ (.) mehr sprechen?

Could *we* please speak German?

Impersonal:

Sonia post-sojourn

1. deswe↑gen ich möchte ↑ — ich möchte dir fragen↑— äh:: ob es — v-
vielleicht↑(.) ein bisschen Platz↑ in dein Auto↑ *gibt* (.) für ein paar meiner
Sache↑

That's why I wanted to ask you if *there is* a little space in your car for a couple of my things.

Sonia in-sojourn

2. ich möchte:: ↑ bitte fragen↑ wenn es möglich ist↑ (.) ah:mm in einem anderen
Ku-Kurs↑ zu wechseln

I would please like to ask if it is possible to take another course.

13 Appendix G

Examples of Nvivo coding for internal mitigation strategies (IMSs), including lexical and phrasal downgraders (LPDs), syntactic downgraders (SDs), and upgraders.

The list of LPDs comprises politeness markers, hedges, subjectivizers, downtoners, cajolers, understaters, consultative devices

Examples of LPDs

Name: Cajoler

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Andrew_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded
[0.10% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.10% Coverage

weisst du

Name: consultative device

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Christine_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference
coded [0.12% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.12% Coverage

denkst du

Name: Downtoner

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Christine_roleplay_insojourn> - § 4 references
coded [0.58% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.14% Coverage

vielleicht

Name: Hedge

<Internals\\Post-sojourn roleplays\\Post_Emma_roleplay_postsojourn> - § 2 references
coded [0.21% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.10% Coverage

Irgendwie

Name: Politeness marker

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Christine_roleplay_insojourn> - § 2 references coded [0.17% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.08% Coverage

bitte

Name: Subjectivizer

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Lucy_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.31% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.31% Coverage

ich finde

Name: Understater

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Andrew_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.13% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.13% Coverage

ein bisschen

List of SDs: subjunctive, conditional, tense, conditional clause, and false conditional clause.

Examples of Nvivo coding for SDs

Name: Conditional clause

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Lucy_roleplay_insojourn> - § 2 references coded [5.38% Coverage] Reference 1 - 3.05% Coverage

mit Ihnn (.) würd ic- (.) ich würd das besser finden wenn wir — Deutsch sprechen können

Name: Conditional

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Andrew_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.33% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.33% Coverage

würde Sie (.) höflichst fragen

Name: false conditional clause

<Internals\\Pre-sojourn roleplays\\George> - § 1 reference coded [1.26% Coverage] Reference 1 - 1.26% Coverage

ob ich (.) vielleicht ge::: (.) eine Verlängerung des (.) ehm— des Aufsatz (.) eh: — oder die Aufgabe — ((der)) Aufgabe (.) ehm —könnte?

Name: Subjunctive

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Christine_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.04% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

wär

Name: Tense

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Emma_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.10% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.10% Coverage

wollte:

List of upgraders: orthographic supersegmental emphases, time intensifiers, and intensifiers.

Examples of Nvivo coding for upgraders

Name: intensifier

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Andrew_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.07% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.07% Coverage

jetzt

Name: orthographic suprasegmental emphasis

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Christine_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.07% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.07% Coverage

Küche

Name: time intensifier

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Andrew_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.07% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.07% Coverage

jetzt

14 Appendix H

Examples of Nvivo coding for external mitigation strategies (EMSs), including both mitigating and aggravating supportive moves. MSMs include preparatories, getting a precommitment, grounders, disarmers, promises of reward, imposition minimizers, and ASMs include moralizing.

Examples of MSMs:

Name: disarmer

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Emma_roleplay_insojourn> - § 2 references coded
[3.71% Coverage] Reference 1 - 1.81% Coverage

ich w-weiss↑ dass: ahm (.) man kann nu:r nach zwei↑ (.) Wochen — die Kurse
wechsln↓ — und ich weiss dass es jetzt drei Wochen ist/

Name: getting a precommitment

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Anna_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded
[0.55% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.55% Coverage

Könntest du mir einen riesigen we-Gefallen tun

Name: grounder

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Christine_roleplay_insojourn> - § 12 references
coded [34.77% Coverage] Reference 3 - 1.73% Coverage

ich habe ehm (.) meine Bus vermissteh heute morgen↑ und ich (.) ehm ich war nicht in
eh:m — unsere:m — eh: deutsche Vorlesung

Name: imposition minimizer

<Internals\\Post-sojourn roleplays\\Post_Andrew_roleplay_postsojourn> - § 1 reference coded [0.29% Coverage] Reference 1 - 0.29% Coverage

würde das für Sie passn

Name: preparator

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Christine_roleplay_insojourn> - § 2 references coded [1.85% Reference 2 - 1.32% Coverage]

ich möchte e-eh: (.) eh ich möchte nicht↑ (.) eh Sie stören↓ aber ah:m ich habe nur eine Frage↑

Name: promise of reward

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Anna_roleplay_insojourn> - § 1 reference coded [2.43% Coverage] Reference 1 - 2.43% Coverage

und ich ich — wenn wenn du:: — wenn du ((xx)) ve- — eh eh::m nächste Woche verpasst↑ oder du kannst gern mein nehmn↓(.) von etwas anderes oder wir könn in Englisch sprechen und ein- (.) Englischklassen machen

Examples of Nvivo coding for ASMs including moralizing

Name: moralizing

<Internals\\In-sojourn roleplays\\In_Christine_roleplay_insojourn> - § 2 references coded [3.41% Coverage] Reference 1 - 2.66% Coverage

ich habe den Eindruck ich sage dir: ich sage dir m-eh ehrlich — okay (.) ah::m — dass ich habe den Eindruck dass ich mach alles/ ich putze alles hier in diese Wohnung/ du machst—eh- nicht viel

15 Bibliography

- Al-Gahtani, S. & Roever, C. 2011. Proficiency and Sequential Organization of L2 Requests. *Applied Linguistics* [Online]. Available: <http://applied.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2011/09/23/applin.amr031.abstract> [Accessed September 24, 2011].
- Al-Gahtani, S. M. 2010. *Requests made by L2 learners of Arabic: pragmatic development, methodological comparison, and politeness*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Melbourne.
- Alcón Soler, E., Martínez Flor, A. and Safont Jordá, P. 2005. Towards a typology of modifiers for the speech act of requesting: A socio-pragmatic approach. *RAEL: revista electrónica de lingüística aplicada*, 4, pp.1-35.
- Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bardovi-Harlig, K. and Dörnyei, Z. 1998. Do Language Learners Recognize Pragmatic Violations? Pragmatic Versus Grammatical Awareness in Instructed L2 Learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 32(2), pp.233-262.
- Barron, A. 2001. *Acquisition in interlanguage pragmatics: Learning how to do things with words in a study abroad context*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Bataller, R. 2010. Making a Request for a Service in Spanish: Pragmatic Development in the Study Abroad Setting. *Foreign Language Annals*, 43(1), pp.160-175.
- Bergmann, J. 2004. Conversation Analysis. In: U. Flick, E. V. Kardoff and I. Steinke, eds. 2004. *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage. pp.296-302.
- Block, D. 2007. The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *The Modern Language Journal*, 91(s1), pp.863-876.
- Blum-Kulka, S. 1987. Indirectness and politeness in requests: Same or different? *Journal of Pragmatics*, 11(2), pp.131-146.
- Blum-Kulka, S., House, J. and Kasper, G. 1989. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Pub.
- Bourdieu, P. 1986. The forms of capital. In: J.G. Richardson, ed. 1986. *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The logic of practice*. Stanford University Press.

- Bourdieu, P. and Thompson, J.B. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard University Press.
- Brecht, R., Davidson, D. and Ginsberg, R.B. 1995. Predictors of foreign language gain during study abroad. In: B. F. Freed, ed. 1995. *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. pp. 37-66.
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S.C. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Canale, M. and Swain, M. 1980. Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied linguistics*, 1(1), pp.1-47.
- Carroll, J. 1967. Foreign language proficiency levels attained by language majors near graduation from college. *Foreign Language Annals*, 1(2), pp.131-151.
- Čekaitė, A. 2006. *Turn-taking and learner identity during the first year in an L2 classroom: A novice's changing patterns of participation*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Linköping.
- Cekaite, A. and Aronsson, K. 2004. Repetition and joking in children's second language conversations: Playful recyclings in an immersion classroom. *Discourse Studies*, 6(3), pp.373-392.
- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Vol.11. MIT press.
- Coates, J. 1996. *Women talk: Conversation between women friends*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Code, S. and Anderson, A. 2001. Requests by young Japanese: A longitudinal study. *Language teacher Kyoto JALT*, 25(8), pp.7-11.
- Cohen, A., Paige, M.R., Shively, R.L., Emert, H.A. and Hoff, J.G. 2005. Maximizing study abroad through language and culture strategies: Research on students, study abroad program professionals, and language instructors. *Final Report to the International Research and Studies Program, Office of International Education, DOE*. Minneapolis, MN: Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, University of Minnesota.
- Cohen, A.D. and Shively, R.L. 2007. Acquisition of Requests and Apologies in Spanish and French: Impact of Study Abroad and Strategy-Building Intervention. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91(2), pp.189–212.
- Collentine, J. 2009. Study abroad research: Findings, implications, and future directions. In: M. H. Long and C. J. Doughty, eds. 2011. *The handbook of language teaching*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 218-233.

- Davies, B. 2000. Grice's cooperative principle: getting the meaning across. *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*, 8, pp.1-26.
- Demeter, G. 2007. Symposium article: Role-plays as a data collection method for research on apology speech acts. *Simulation & Gaming*, 38 (1), pp.83-90.
- Dörnyei, Z. 2007. *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Drew, P. and Heritage, J. eds., 1992. *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duff, P.A. 2007. Second language socialization as sociocultural theory: Insights and issues. *Language Teaching*, 40(04), pp.309-319.
- Duff, P.A. 2008. Language socialization, higher education, and work. In: P. Duff and N. H. Hornberger, eds. 2008. *Encyclopedia of language and education: Language socialization*. Vol. 8. New York: Springer. pp.257-270.
- Eelen, G. 2001. *A critique of politeness theories*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Félix-Brasdefer, J.C. 2008. *Politeness in Mexico and the United States: A contrastive study of the realization and perception of refusals*. Vol. 171. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Félix-Brasdefer, J.C. 2010. Data collection methods in speech act performance. In: A. Martinez-Flor, A. and E. Uso-Juan, eds. 2010. *Speech Act Performance: Theoretical, empirical and methodological issues*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Freed, B.F. ed., 1995. *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context*. Vol. 9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Freed, B.F. 1998. An overview of issues and research in language learning in a study abroad setting. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 4(2), pp.31-60.
- Goffman, E. 1967. *Interaction ritual: Essays in face-to-face behavior*. New York: Doubleday.
- González-Lloret, M. 2010. Conversation analysis and speech act performance. In: A. Martinez-Flor, A. and E. Uso-Juan, eds. 2010. *Speech Act Performance: Theoretical, empirical and methodological issues*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

- Grainger, K. 2011. First order' and 'second order' politeness: Institutional and intercultural contexts. *In: Linguistic Politeness Research Group, ed. 2011. Discursive approaches to politeness.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. pp. 167-188.
- Grice, H.P. 1975. Logic and conversation. *In: R. J. Stainton. ed. Perspectives in the philosophy of language: a concise anthology.* Broadview Press.
- Gumperz, J.J. and Levinson, S.C. eds., 1996. *Rethinking linguistic relativity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halleck, G. 2007. Symposium article: Data generation through role-play: Assessing oral proficiency. *Simulation & Gaming*, 38(1), pp.91-106.
- Huebner, T. 1995. The effects of overseas language programs: Report on a case study of an intensive Japanese course. *In: B. F. Freed, ed. 1995. Second language acquisition in a study abroad context.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. pp.171-193.
- Huth, T. 2010. Can Talk Be Inconsequential? Social and Interactional Aspects of Elicited Second-Language Interaction. *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(4), pp.537-553.
- Hymes, D. 1972. On communicative competence. *In: J. B. Pride and J. Holmes, eds. Sociolinguistics.* Baltimore MD: Penguin Books.
- Iino, M. 1996. *Excellent foreigner!: Gaijinization of Japanese language and culture in contact situations. An ethnographic study of dinner table conversations between Japanese host families and American students.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Isabelli-Garcia, C. 2006. Study abroad social networks, motivation and attitudes: Implications for second language acquisition. *In: M. Dufon and E. Churchill, eds. 2006. Language learners in study abroad contexts (Vol. 15). Multilingual matters.* pp. 231-285.
- Kasher, A. ed., 1976. Conversational maxims and rationality. *In: A. Kasher, ed. 1976. Language in focus: foundations, methods and systems: essays in memory of Yehoshua Bar-Hillel.* Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing. pp. 197-216.
- Kasper, G. 1990. Linguistic politeness: Current research issues. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, pp.193-218.
- Kasper, G. 2006a. Speech acts in interaction: Towards discursive pragmatics. *In: K. Bardovi Harlig, C. Felix-Brasdefer, and A. S. Omar, eds. 2006. Pragmatics and*

- language learning*. National Foreign Language Resource Center. Vol.11, pp. 281-314.
- Kasper, G. 2006b. When once is not enough: Politeness of multiple requests in oral proficiency interviews. *Multilingua-Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 25, pp.323-350.
- Kasper, G. 2009. Locating politeness in interaction. *Studies in Pragmatics*,11, pp.21-41.
- Kasper, G. and Dahl, M. 1991. Research Methods in Interlanguage Pragmatics. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 13(02), pp.215-247.
- Kasper, G. and Rose, K.R. 2002. *Pragmatic development in a second language*. University of Michigan:Blackwell Publishing.
- Kinginger, C. 2004. Alice doesn't live here anymore: Foreign language learning and identity reconstruction. In: A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge, eds. 2004. *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. 21(2), pp.219-242.
- Kinginger, C. 2008. Language learning in study abroad: Case studies of Americans in France. *The Modern Language Journal*, 92(s1), pp. 1-124.
- Kinginger, C. 2009. *Language Learning and Study Abroad; A Critical Reading of Research*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lakoff, R.T.1973. The logic of politeness: Minding your p's and q's. In: C. Corum, T. C. S. Stark and A.Weiser, eds. *Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting*. Chicago. Ill.: Chicago Linguistic Society. Chicago.
- Lave, J. 1988. *Cognition in practice: Mind, mathematics and culture in everyday life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J. and Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leech, G.1983. *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Lindblom, K. 2001. Cooperating with Grice: A cross-disciplinary metaperspective on uses of Grice's cooperative principle. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33(10), pp.1601-1623.
- Llanes, À. 2011. The many faces of study abroad: An update on the research on L2 gains emerged during a study abroad experience. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 8(3), pp.189-215.
- Locher, M.A. and Watts, R.J. 2005. Politeness Theory and Relational Work. *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, Behavior, Culture*, 1(1), pp.9-33.
- Magnan, S. and Back, M. 2006. Requesting help in French: Developing pragmatic

- features during study abroad. In S. Wilkinson, ed. 2006. *Insights from study abroad for language programs*. Boston: Heinle. (pp. 22-44).
- Marriott, H. 1995. The acquisition of politeness patterns by exchange students in Japan. In: B. F. Freed, ed. 1995. *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. pp197-224.
- Martinez- Flor, A. and Uso-Juan, E. eds., 2010. *Speech act performance: theoretical, empirical and methodological issues*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Mathews, G. 2000. *Global culture/individual identity: Searching for home in the cultural supermarket*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- May, S. 2012. *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Mcmanus, K., Mitchell, R. and Tracy-Ventura, N. 2014. Understanding insertion and integration in a study abroad context: The case of English-speaking sojourners in France. *Revue française de linguistique appliquée*, 19(2), pp.97-116.
- Murphy-Lejeune, E. 2002. *Student mobility and narrative in Europe: The new strangers*. London: Routledge.
- Norton, B. 1997. Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), pp.409-429.
- NORTON, B. 2000. *Identity and language learning: Social processes and educational practice*. London: Longman.
- Norton Peirce, B. 1995. Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29(1), pp.9-31.
- Ochs, E. 1996. Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. In: J. J. Gumperz and S. C. Levinson, eds. *Rethinking linguistic relativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 407-437.
- Ochs, E. and Schieffelin, B. 2001. Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories and their implications. *Linguistic anthropology: A reader*, pp.263-301.
- Ochs, E. and Schieffelin, B. eds., 1986. *Language socialization across cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Polanyi, L. 1995. Language learning and living abroad. In: B. F. Freed, ed. 1995. *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context*. Vol. 9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp.271-291.

- Regan, V. 1995. The acquisition of sociolinguistic native speech norms. *In*: B. F. Freed, ed. 1995. *Second language acquisition in a study abroad context*. Vol. 9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp.245-267.
- Regan, V., Howard, M. and Lemée, I. 2009. *The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence in a study abroad context*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Richards, K. and Seedhouse, P. 2007. *Applying conversation analysis*. Basingstoke, UK:Palgrave Macmillan.
- Riddiford, N. and Joe, A. 2010. Tracking the Development of Sociopragmatic Skills. *TESOL Quarterly*, 44(1), 195-205.
- Rosendale, D. 1989. Role-play as a data-generation method. *Simulation & Gaming*, 20(4), pp.487-492.
- Saussure, F.D. 1983. *Course in general linguistics*. Translated from French by R. Harris. London: Duckworth.
- Schauer, G.A. 2004. May you speak louder maybe?: Interlanguage pragmatic development in requests. *EUROSLA Yearbook*, 4(1), pp. 253-272.
- Schegloff, E.A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Vol.1. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, J.R. 1976. A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in society*, 5(01), pp.1-23.
- Shardakova, M. 2005. Intercultural pragmatics in the speech of American L2 learners of Russian: Apologies offered by Americans in Russian. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 2(4), pp. 423-451.
- Shively, R.L. 2008. *Politeness and social interaction in study abroad: Service encounters in L2 Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Siegal, M. 1996. The Role of Learner Subjectivity in Second Language Sociolinguistic Competency: Western Women Learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics*, 17(3), pp.356-382.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. 2000. *Culturally speaking: Managing rapport through talk across cultures*. London: Continuum.
- Tannen, D. 1993. What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. *In*: D. Tannen, ed. 1993. *Framing in discourse*. Vol.14. New York: Oxford University Press. pp.14-56.

- Ten Haave, P. 2001. Applied conversation analysis. *In: A. McHoul and M. Rapley, eds. 2001. How to analyze talk in institutional settings: A casebook of methods.* Continuum.
- Teutsch-Dwyer, M. 2001. (Re) constructing masculinity in a new linguistic reality. *In: A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller, I. and M. Teusch-Dwyer, eds. 2001. Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender.* Vol. 6. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. pp. 175-198.
- Thomas, J. 1995. *Meaning in interaction: An introduction to pragmatics.* London: Longman.
- Warga, M. and Schölmberger, U. 2007. The acquisition of French apologetic behavior in a study abroad context. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 4(2), pp.221-251.
- Watts, R.J. 2003. *Politeness.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weedon, C. 1996. *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory.* Cambridge, MA.: Blackwell.
- Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity (Learning in Doing: Social, Cognitive and Computational Perspectives).* Cambridge,: Cambridge University Press.
- Wenger, E. 2007. *Communities of practice: a brief introduction* [Online]. Available at <http://www.ewenger.com/theory/>. [Accessed 19 November 2012].