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Gila A. Schauer

Teaching and Learning English in the Primary School

Interlanguage Pragmatics in the EFL Context

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Dedicated to primary school EFL teachers teaching English to young learners everywhere

In memory of Alan Waters, a great educator and teacher trainer

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This book would not exist if I had not chatted with Grit Bergner, who was then based at Erfurt University, while she was preparing materials for her MEd students who were studying to become primary school EFL teachers. I picked up some of the textbooks that she was working with and, while leafing through them, noticed that there appeared to be very little pragmatic input. When I shared my impression with Grit, she agreed that this would be an interesting research topic, so I then began talking to some MEd students, who were planning to become primary school teachers, and some in-service primary school teachers about my idea, and the project grew from these discussions and the issues that were raised in them.

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Contents

Abbreviations

A	Speaker/Writer that provides the initial turn in a conversation or starts the written exchange
B	A's Interlocutor
BFLA	Bilingual First Language Acquisition
BNC	British National Corpus
CC	Communicative Competence
CCSARP	Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project
CHILDES	Child Language Data Exchange System
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
COPT	Cartoon Oral Production Task
DCT	Discourse-Completion Task
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a Second Language
FL	Foreign Language
GSL	German as a Second Language
H	Hearer
ICC	Intercultural Communicative Competence
ILP	Interlanguage Pragmatics
L1	First Language, Native Language or Mother Tongue
L2	Second or Foreign Language
MFLA	Monolingual First Language Acquisition
NS	Native Speakers
NNS	Non-native Speaker
S	Speaker
SEBD	Social, Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TEFL	Teaching English as a Foreign Language
TEYL	Teaching English to Young Learners
TL	Target Language

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1
Introduction

Abstract According to EUROSTAT data from 2014, nearly 80% of all primary school pupils in the 28 EU countries are learning English at the primary school level. In Germany, foreign language education has to be offered in primary schools in all states and is compulsory for everyone from grade 3 onwards (Kultusministerkonferenz, Fremdsprachen in der Grundschule: Sachstand und Konzeption. https://www.kmk.org/themen/allgemeinbildende-schulen/unterrichts-faecher/fremdsprachen.html. Accessed 30 Oct 2017, 2013, p. 5).

Although a number of publications are available that provide helpful ideas and information on what teaching approaches and materials may be most suitable for teaching a foreign language to young learners (e.g. Klippel, English in der Grundschule: Handbuch für einen kindgemäßen Fremdsprachenunterricht. Cornelsen, Berlin, 2000; Kirsch, Teaching foreign languages in the primary school. Continuum, London, 2008; Schmid-Schönbein, Didaktik und Methodik für den Englischunterricht. Cornelsen Scriptor, Berlin, 2008; Maynard, Teaching foreign languages. Routledge, Abingdon, 2012), very few research monographs exist to date (e.g. Brunsmeier, Interkulturelle Kommunikative Kompetenz im Englischunterricht der Grundschule: Grundlagen, Erfahrungen, Perspektiven. Narr, Tübingen, 2016) that examine the teaching and learning of English as a foreign language (EFL) in the primary school contexts from different angles. This book aims to provide a more detailed picture of EFL teaching in the primary school context by analysing data from multiple sources, such as textbooks, children's books, teachers' views on a variety of primary EFL issues that were collected with an online survey, and finally young learners' data that were elicited with spoken and written tasks.

Keywords Interlanguage pragmatics · Young learners · EFL learners · Survival English · Input materials · EFL teacher's views · Teaching a foreign language at primary school

G. A. Schauer, *Teaching and Learning English in the Primary School*, English Language Education 18, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-23257-3_1

As I mentioned in the acknowledgments, the idea for this monograph which addresses a variety of issues relevant to teaching young L2 learners[1] originated from conversations with colleagues teaching MEd students majoring in English as a foreign language (EFL), as well as with students enrolled on MEd primary education programs, and in-service teachers with and without a qualification in English that were teaching EFL in primary schools.

These informal discussions then resulted in the design of this research project, which while mainly focusing on interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) – the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in a second or foreign language (L2) and to comprehend the L2 even if indirect or conventional expressions are used (cf. Sects. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2) – also addresses some other issues, such as the four skills, differentiation, and general materials selection in the field of teaching English to young learners (TEYL).

When conceptualizing this book, the target audience that I had in mind were MEd students, MA students in applied linguistics, in-service teachers, as well as teacher educators and researchers interested in interlanguage pragmatics, English language teaching (ELT) and second language acquisition (SLA). Since not all of these groups may have detailed or much previous knowledge of applied linguistics and pragmatics as relevant to TEYL, I have provided a very detailed review of the literature in Chap. 2 so that individuals not yet familiar with this field and its concepts and terminology get a thorough and accessible introduction to key issues.

While analysing the data, I realized that certain speech acts I was investigating had not received much attention in pragmatics and that it was therefore necessary to add to existing frameworks or develop new categories (cf. for example response to requests in Sect. 3.5.2 and expressing feelings in Sect. 3.5.7). Because of these theoretical contributions, the present monograph may also be of interest to students and researchers in the wider area of pragmatics (e.g. cross-cultural, first language or variational pragmatics).

Depending on the individual reader's background and interests, they may wish to not read the monograph chronologically but instead focus on the issues that address their main interests. In the literature review Chap. 2, I have included suggestions on what readers from different backgrounds may wish to concentrate on in Sects. 2.1 and 2.2. In addition, I have included several signposts (e.g. "as explained in Sects.

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[1] In the results chapters of this book (i.e. Chaps. 4, 5, 6, and 7), the materials, activities and tasks are intended for young learners of English attending either grade 3 or 4 of German primary school, i.e. learners aged between 8 and 10. However, it needs to be noted that *young learners* can also refer to other age groups, i.e. slightly younger or older children. While Cameron (2001) and Enever (2016) agree that *young learners* tends to encompass children aged between 5 and 12 years, Enever also points out that younger children aged between 3 and 4 could also fall into this category if pre-primary settings are included. Regarding primary education, Elsner (2018, p. 18) notes that "the average age for beginning with learning a foreign language is 7,7 years" in Europe. Thus, while my own analysis will focus on children aged 8–10, I will also refer to studies involving slightly older and younger primary school children in the review of the literature in Chap. 2. The age range of the children will be mentioned for all studies that I review in detail in the literature review.

2.1.5 and 3.5.2") throughout the book to enable readers to find relevant information on issues closely related to the content of the chapter or section they are currently reading.

The research project reported on in this book is based on three distinct data sets:

1. a detailed analysis of 10 speech acts in input materials (textbooks and children's books[2] used in EFL primary schools in Germany),
2. a comprehensive survey of EFL primary school teachers,
3. a comparative analysis of young L2 learners' written and spoken output in English.

Speech acts (cf. Sect. 2.1) are a way of looking at language based on its functions. In this book, I will investigate if and to what extent young EFL learners are exposed to 10 different speech acts (requests, responses to requests, greetings, leave-takings, expressions of gratitude, responses to expressions of gratitude, apologies, suggestions, responses to suggestions and expressions of mental or physical states) in *eight German EFL textbooks for the primary school* representing four textbook series (Bumblebee, Ginger, Playway, and Sunshine).

As Limberg (2015, p. 701) notes "the textbook is a primary source of language input and practice for foreign language learners". In primary school contexts in which teachers are expected to cover a wide variety of subjects including their pupil's native language, mathematics, general studies and a foreign language, teachers may not have specialist knowledge in all subjects, as they may not have studied them at all or not in great depth at university. Textbooks can be very valuable for teachers, as they provide teachers with lesson plans and all necessary materials to teach a lesson in a subject that primary school teachers may not be very familiar with and/or feel somewhat uneasy about. Textbooks are also a valuable source of L2 input for young EFL learners because children tend to have access to them and can therefore engage with the textbooks in the lessons and at home.

In addition to textbooks, *picturebooks* are another valuable source of L2 input in EFL classrooms. Kolb (2013, p. 33) points out that "stories and picturebooks play a widely accepted role in the teaching of English as a foreign language in primary schools (Ellis et al, 2002; Enever et al. 2006)". Because children's books are frequently employed in primary school L2 classrooms (cf. Sect. 6.11), I also included them in the research project and examined the same 10 speech acts that I have also focused on in the textbook analysis in the 22 picturebooks investigated in this project.

The 10 speech acts were selected because they are included as compulsory elements in the curriculum for English as a foreign language in primary schools in the German state of Thuringia in which the study is situated in (Thüringer Ministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur 2010). In addition, they form part of my notion of *Survival English* which I am introducing in writing here for the first time:

[2] In this book, I will be using the terms children's books and picturebooks interchangeably.

Survival English

My view is that young and/or beginner level L2 learners should be equipped with linguistic means that enable them to survive in an emergency situation in the first years of their L2 learning process, i.e. *Survival English*. What constitutes Survival English depends to a degree on the age of the L2 learners, as it is closely tied to their own real-life contexts and the emergency situations they may find themselves in as a result. For example, while adult L2 learners may travel on their own, drive cars or have children who may fall ill in a foreign country, young L2 learners are likely to be in the company of responsible adults when abroad who (under normal circumstances) take care of their needs.

Thus, for young L2 learners an emergency may be different in some respects than for teenagers or adults. Children may need to use Survival English when they have become separated from their parents or guardians (e.g. in an airport, train station, city centre, shopping mall, zoo or on the beach). In addition, young L2 learners may need to use Survival English when they or their family members / responsible adults have had an accident, have fallen ill or have been the victim of aggression and violence and need medical treatment because of this.

If these incidents occur in a country where the young learner's first language is not widely known and spoken, then using English to obtain assistance is likely to be the L2 learners' best option.

They will therefore need to know how to make simple requests (e.g. *Help!* or *Can you help me?*), understand and respond to requests they are likely to encounter in an emergency situation (e.g. *What is your name? Where are your parents? What do your parents look like? What is your mother's first name?*), tell people about their physical or mental states (e.g. *I'm thirsty. I feel sick.*). In addition, it would be advantageous if they were also able to use simple thanking expressions (e.g. *thank you*) to show gratitude to the person that is assisting them and to apologize (if necessary) for any inconvenience caused. In addition to these core Survival English speech acts, young and/or beginner level learners should also be able to use and respond to simple everyday greetings (e.g. *hello*) and leave-takings (e.g. *bye*), understand suggestions (e.g. *Let's look for your parents then.*) and be able to respond to them (e.g. *Ok*), and also to understand responses to expressions of gratitude (e.g. *you're welcome*) directed at them.

In addition to the 10 speech acts that I investigated in the textbooks and picturebooks, I also analysed *data from in-service primary EFL teachers*. All EFL primary school teachers working in the German state of Thuringia were contacted via their schools and asked to participate in an online survey. The survey addressed 11 topics: components of the lesson; assessment; skills, knowledge and competence areas;

grouping pupils: classroom activities; pragmatic routines; rituals; differentiation; special needs; homework; textbooks; picturebooks and songs.

The final data set of the research project consists of *young L2 learner data*. For this part of the project, data were elicited from two very different teaching contexts: a) a private international school in Thuringia in which teaching takes place in English and which therefore represents an immersion context and b) a typical state primary school also situated in the German state of Thuringia, in which children receive 2 hours of English instruction per week. Children in both schools completed two sets of tasks: a *written task* containing word matching exercises as well as an illustrated Discourse Completion Task (DCT), and a *spoken task*[3] in which the young learners interacted with a research assistant. By analysing written and spoken data from the same participant groups, this study also contributes to the general debate about suitable and representative data elicitation methods in interlanguage pragmatics.

To obtain a better understanding of a specific teaching context, the German state of Thuringia was chosen as the *research site*. This means that all data (excluding some pilot study data which had deliberately been collected in a neighbouring German state, cf. Chap. 3) were either collected in Thuringia or had some kind of connection[4] to Thuringia. This triangulated approach in a specific setting was chosen to obtain deeper insights into interlanguage pragmatics and related issues in EFL primary classrooms.

In the following, I will provide a detailed review of the literature in Chap. 2. In Chap. 3, I will first provide background information on the research site, Thuringia, and the German education system (Sect. 3.1). This will be followed by information on the young L2 learners (Sect. 3.2) and EFL teachers (Sect. 3.3) who participated in the research project. Subsequent to this, I will provide background information on the textbooks and picturebooks (Sect. 3.4). I will then describe the speech act categories and strategies that will be used for the analysis of all speech acts in this study in Sect. 3.5. This will be followed by an analysis and discussion of the textbook and picturebook data in Chaps. 4 and 5 respectively. In Chap. 6, I will analyse the teachers' survey data. This will be followed by the analysis of the young L2 learners' data in Chap. 7. The conclusion is then presented in Chap. 8.

[3] The spoken task consisted of several different elements, some of which addressed features of learners' pragmatic competence (e.g. greetings, leave-takings, requests, responses to requests, responses to expressions of gratitude), while others focused on other areas, such as knowledge of numbers, colours, and general vocabulary.

[4] The textbooks and picturebooks investigated in this research project are connected to Thuringia because they were either used by Thuringian primary EFL teachers or because Thuringian MEd students had encountered them during their studies.

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Chapter 2
Literature Review

Abstract One aim of this book is to examine if, how, and to what extent pragmatic features are included in four textbook series in Germany that are published by the major school book publishing houses Cornelsen, Klett and Schrödel, as well as in picturebooks used in primary schools, and to what extent young EFL learners attending primary school are able to use simple pragmatic features. In contrast to other subdisciplines of linguistics, such as grammar or lexicography, pragmatics is often not as well known among teaching professionals and also tends to be less focused on in publications exploring issues in English language teaching, teaching English to young learners or second language acquisition. This is very unfortunate because pragmatics is a key component of successful communication and therefore needs to be taught to second or foreign language learners to equip them with the means to achieve their communicative goals in an appropriate and efficient manner (cf. Cohen, Learning pragmatics from native and nonnative language teachers. Multilingual Matters, Bristol, 2018).

In this chapter, I will first provide a definition of pragmatics and explain some key areas of pragmatics that are relevant for this book, such as speech act theory and various speech act frameworks. I will then discuss the concepts of communicative competence, culture and intercultural competence. This will be followed by a discussion of different learning contexts, the noticing hypothesis and considerations relevant to teaching young learners of English.

Keywords Pragmatics · Interlanguage pragmatics · Speech acts · Requests · Greetings · Leave-takings · Thanking · Reactive speech acts · ELT · SLA

2.1 Pragmatics

As this book was written with different audience groups in mind, not all sections may be relevant to all audience groups. In Sects. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2, I explain key concepts and terms in pragmatics. These sections are intended for readers with little or no background knowledge of pragmatics, e.g. undergraduate students, pre-service or in-service teachers who have not attended seminars or lectures on pragmatics.

G. A. Schauer, *Teaching and Learning English in the Primary School*, English Language Education 18, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-23257-3_2

Section 2.1.3 provides a contrastive review of different speech act frameworks. This section may be of interest to students and researchers specialising in pragmatics. Readers not interested in a detailed theoretical discussion of speech act frameworks but unfamiliar with pragmatics may only wish to read the beginning of the chapter in order to familiarize themselves with some important speech act terminology. The subsequent sections on individual speech acts, i.e. Sects. 2.1.4, 2.1.5, 2.1.6, 2.1.7, 2.1.8, 2.1.9, and 2.1.10, can be read individually and – in most parts – in no specific order depending on the reader's interest, although it would help to read them in sequence if the reader is interested in all of the speech acts discussed as this makes it easier to see how the speech acts – and research on them – are connected. Sections 2.1.10, 2.1.11, 2.1.12, 2.1.13, and 2.1.14 may be of particular interest to pre- and in-service teachers and students and researchers interested in interlanguage pragmatics.

2.1.1 Defining Pragmatics

I would like to begin with a definition of pragmatics that is frequently used in linguistics to explain what pragmatics focuses on.

Definition
Crystal defines *pragmatics* as "the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication" (Crystal 1985, p. 240).

This definition shows that pragmatics places great emphasis not only on the producer (e.g. speaker/writer) of an utterance,[1] but also on the receiver (e.g. listener/reader). In addition, the word *participants* shows that not only the intended recipient of the utterance is of interest in pragmatics but also other individuals, who may happen to overhear/also read what the producer said or wrote. I will come back to this important point below, but will now first return to the beginning of Crystal's (1985) definition.

Crystal writes about the user and this encompasses a large variety of individuals and potentially also animals, but since the focus of this book is on human interaction

[1] According to Huang (2007, p. 11) "an *utterance* is the use of a particular piece of language – be it a word, phrase, a sentence, or a sequence of sentences – by a particular speaker on a particular occasion." Thus, examples of utterances are *Help!*, *I'll call you back in a minute* or longer stretches of text, e.g. a text of paragraph length. It needs to be noted that the term *text* itself is defined as a "continuous stretch of written or spoken language" (Mullany and Stockwell 2010, p. 19).

I will from here on concentrate on human to human communication only. *Users* can be young or old, native speakers or L2 learners, individuals with fully functioning brains or those that do not have fully functioning ones (e.g. people who have suffered a stroke), etc. Depending on who these users are, they may have different linguistic options at their disposal. For example, it would be very surprising if a 3-month-old baby could produce *I would like some milk now, please*, because infants at this age typically only vocalize, coo and laugh with production of complete sentences starting considerably later (Clark 2009; Rowland 2014; cf. also Sect. 2.1.13). Therefore, the repertoire of linguistic and pragmatic options of different user groups may vary considerably.

In his definition, Crystal (1985) also mentions the *constraints* language users encounter when using language. This can refer to not (yet) having a well-developed and comprehensive repertoire of different linguistic options to achieve a communicative aim, such as asking someone for something and not having acquired the necessary grammar and lexis to say *Would you mind passing me the sugar, please?* and instead having to resort to *Give me the sugar*. This also nicely illustrates that pragmatics (the choices that are made in a specific context) is often linked to other areas such as grammar[2] and lexis (Culpeper and Schauer 2018).

The constraints mentioned in Crystal's definition can, however, also refer to other phenomena, such as when the language producer is under the influence of medication (e.g. when waking up after surgery) or drugs (e.g. when having consumed a specific amount of alcohol), when the producer is in intense pain (e.g. after having had an accident) or in shock (e.g. after having witnessed something traumatic) or when the user is involved in an emergency situation (e.g. user's child has had an accident) or has just been informed of some very positive news (e.g. having won a prize). All of these events may have an impact on an individual's ability to produce language.

Crystal's definition clearly demonstrates that pragmatics does not solely focus on the producer of an utterance, but that the *effect* of the language used is also a central concern. This means that researchers in pragmatics are not only interested in choices of those that produce language, but are also very much interested in how the producer's utterance is being perceived. Thus, pragmatics research addresses both what a speaker/reader/signer[3] is actually producing and how it relates to the individual context of the social interaction and also how a listener/reader/recipient of sign language is perceiving and interpreting what is being said/written/signed to them.

[2] For empirical interlanguage pragmatic studies that address the relationship between pragmatics and grammar see Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998), Niezgoda and Röver (2001) and Schauer (2006, 2012). See Bardovi-Harlig (2003) for an overview chapter that addresses interlanguage pragmatics and grammar. See Ariel (2008) for a perspective on pragmatics and grammar that is not closely connected to interlanguage pragmatics.

[3] The term signer here refers to users of sign language, such as American, British or German sign language, i.e. individuals that may have no or limited hearing. It is a "visual-gestural language which is used by many deaf people […] as their native language" (Deuchar 1984, p. 1).

One of the key issues in pragmatics is the context in which language is being used and whether (and to what degree) the language being used is considered appropriate in that specific situation. Quite often this means that issues concerning politeness and impoliteness are also addressed (cf. 2.1.11 on pragmatics and politeness).

Cohen (2010, pp. 3–4) provides a helpful summary of how pragmatics relates to the four skills (listening, reading, speaking and writing):

> *Listening*: As listeners, we need to interpret what is said, as well as what is not said, and what may be communicated non-verbally. These verbal and non-verbal cues transmit to us just how polite, direct or formal the communication is and what the intent is (e.g. to be kind, loving, attentive, or devious, provocative, or hostile). (…)
>
> *Reading*: As readers, we need to comprehend written messages, identifying the rhetorical structure of the message and catching sometimes subtle indications of tone or attitude in the communication (e.g. anything from humorous, sincere, sympathetic or collaborative tone to one that is teasing, sarcastic, angry, …)
>
> *Speaking*: As speakers we need to know how to say what we want to say with the proper politeness, directness, and formality (…). We also need to know what not to say at all and what to communicate non-verbally. (…)
>
> *Writing*: As writers, we need to know how to write our message intelligibly, again paying attention to level of politeness, directness and formality (…)

As Cohen's overview illustrates, using the four skills successfully, efficiently and appropriately always entails considering aspects that belong in the area of pragmatics. Thus, teaching learners of English as a foreign language (TEFL) should automatically involve addressing pragmatic issues. An area of pragmatics that beginner level learners and young learners tend to and should encounter is the area of speech acts which I will address in Sects. 2.1.3, 2.1.4, 2.1.5, 2.1.6, 2.1.7, 2.1.8, 2.1.9, and 2.1.10. In the following Sect. 2.1.2, I will provide some background information on the origins of pragmatics and will then explain concepts and terms that are particularly important for this study.

2.1.2 Historical Background and Important Concepts and Terms

Pragmatics is one of the younger disciplines in linguistics compared to, for example, lexicography (Fontenelle 2011). Linguistic pragmatics has its origins in the field of language philosophy. The term itself goes back to Peirce (1905, p. 163), who was inspired by other philosophers such as Kant, and who wrote about his new theory of pragmatism that "the most striking feature of [it is] its recognition of an inseparable connection between rational cognition and rational purpose". The first publications on pragmatics that are frequently referred to in the literature and that contain more detailed discussions on how pragmatics relates to language go back to the mid-twentieth century (e.g. Morris 1938; Austin 1962).

Morris proposed a three-way distinction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics as core components of semiotics (the study of signs and symbols). He argued that "pragmatics presupposes both syntactics and semantics" and that "it would attempt to develop terms appropriate to the study of the relations of signs to their users and to order systematically the results" (1938, p. 33). He thus emphasized the connection of pragmatics to other subdisciplines of linguistics, and also called for a systematic study of pragmatics. Furthermore, he noted that *interpreters*, *convention* and *understanding* are important issues to consider when studying pragmatics. *Interpreters* are beings (human or otherwise, e.g. animals) that try to make sense of a sign (e.g. an utterance said to them, a written note, a facial expression) and *understand* what the producer of the sign wishes to convey (e.g. asking for directions, issuing an invitation, showing agreement).

Conventions play an important role in an interpreter's ability to correctly decode what the other person intended to convey. If messages are very direct (e.g. *Please shut the door*), it is generally not difficult for the interpreter to correctly decode the intended meaning of the person they are communicating with (also called their *interlocutor*). If messages are not direct, then it can be more difficult for the interpreter to decode the intended meaning of their interlocutor correctly. For example, in a study of an adult Japanese learner of English who had emigrated to the United States, Schmidt (1983) wrote that the learner's indirect attempts of uttering a request, such as "You like this chair?" when he wanted his interlocutor to move and vacate the seat were not decoded as requests for moving by American English native speakers. This was because the formula *[Do] you like …* is not conventionally used in English to signal that the other person is asked to vacate their seat. Instead, the utterance is more likely to be interpreted as a polite question enquiring about the interlocutor's level of comfort when sitting on this piece of furniture.

This means that there is a mismatch between the L2 learner's intended meaning and the meaning decoded by his American English interlocutors. Grice (1975) introduced the noun *implicature* that is related to the verb *imply* to refer to a producer's intended meaning of a particular expression. The terms that correspond to what the interlocutor is doing when they are decoding the message are the noun *inference* and the verb *infer*. Thus, while the Japanese learner was implying that the seat should be vacated, his interlocutors were inferring that he was intending to convey something else, such as showing concern about their well-being.

Schmidt argued that the learner of English used this expression because similar indirect requests or *hints* are conventionally used in the learner's native language, Japanese (cf. Rinnert and Kobayashi 1999 on hints in Japanese and English). Employing strategies that are used either in a producer's mother tongue or in any other language that the producer knows and is able to communicate in a second or foreign language, is an activity that is often referred to as *transfer*.[4]

The term *transfer* was introduced into the field of L2 pragmatics by Gabriele Kasper who defined pragmatic transfer as "the influence exerted by L2 learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning of L2 pragmatic information" (1992, p. 207). This definition shows the breadth of pragmatic transfer, as it covers not only use (i.e. production), but also understanding (i.e. comprehension) of pragmatic information

[4] Another term for transfer that is sometimes used is cross-linguistic influence (cf. Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008).

and in addition also addresses the impact of transfer on a learner's learning process (i.e. learning), while explicitly stating that the origins of transfer can be found in languages as well as cultures the learner already knows. Transfer can then be further categorized as either *positive* or *negative*.

Definition
Positive pragmatic transfer happens when L2 learners employ pragmatic strategies in their L2 that originate from the learners' native Language (L1), or another language that the learners know, and that match the L2 target norms, which means that the learners are able to successfully achieve their aim in the L2 and that their utterances are decoded by their interlocutors in the way they were intended. In contrast, *negative pragmatic transfer* takes place when L2 learners employ a strategy from their L1 (or another language that the learners know) and there is no match between the original language norms and the L2 norms, which means that the L2 learners' interlocutors do not decode the utterance correctly and the L2 learners' aims are not successfully achieved. This was the case with Schmidt's (1983) Japanese learner of English, who used a hint to imply to his interlocutors to vacate the seat which would have been inferred as a request for moving by Japanese native speakers but was most likely inferred as a question about their well-being by his American English interlocutors.

The subdiscipline of pragmatics that investigates how certain language functions are typically performed in a particular language and culture and how these performances differ from or are similar to other languages and cultures is called *cross-cultural pragmatics*.

Definition
According to Taguchi and Röver, "the main premise of *cross-cultural pragmatics* is that language use reflects the underlying values, beliefs and assumptions shared by members of the given speech community" (2017, p. 3).

Juliane House, who has been "a leading figure in applied linguistics for several decades" (Blum-Kulka 2013, p. 2562) and who was also involved in one of the earliest and largest international pragmatics studies, the Cross-Cultural Speech Act

[5] The CCSARP was a large study conducted in the 1980s by an international group of researchers that investigated how requests and apologies are performed in a variety of languages, e.g. English, French, German, Hebrew, Spanish. Although a number of articles (e.g. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984) were published that presented the results of the project, the most well-known publication is the book published in 1989 entitled "Cross-cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies" edited by Shoshana Blum-Kulka, Juliane House and Gabriele Kasper.

Realization Project (CCSARP),[5] conducted several studies that compared English and German pragmatic norms. She summarized her findings in an overview article and wrote that "a consistent pattern has emerged: German subjects tend to interact in ways that are more direct, explicit and verbose, more self-referenced and content-oriented; they are also less prone to resort to verbal routines than English speakers" (2006, p. 251).

Regarding a preference for directness on the German native speakers' part, she cited comments from interviews she had conducted with English native speakers about their experiences and feelings when interacting with Germans (2006, p. 255):

> English-speaking respondents say they felt they were 'ordered' around in grocery stores by requests such as: 'Gehen Sie da drüben hin' ('Go over there') or 'Wiegen Sie Ihre Ware da, wo das Obst ist' ('Weigh your goods where the fruit is'). The 'naked' infinitive is often misunderstood by members of Anglophone cultures as being essentially rude and aggressive. One respondent comments: 'German customers don't react to this, but I do'.

These comments also illustrate one of the reasons for why cross-cultural pragmatic studies were conducted, namely to obtain insights into cross-cultural differences that could then inform L2 teaching. The aforementioned examples of German native speakers using a more direct approach when working in supermarkets or shops could be included in textbooks for English learners of German to prepare them for the utterances they are likely to encounter when shopping in Germany.

Another subdiscipline of pragmatics that is of importance for this book is *variational pragmatics*, a relatively new area of pragmatics which was introduced into the field by Anne Barron and Klaus Schneider.

Definition

Variational pragmatics investigates pragmatic variation in (geographical and social) space […] [I]n examining pragmatic variation across geographical and social varieties of language, variational pragmatics aims at determining the impact of such factors as region, social class, gender, age and ethnicity on communicative language use. […] Region in variational pragmatics […] not only deals with sub-national varieties of a language, but also with languages as pluricentric entities (e.g. German German, Austrian German, Swiss German; English English, Irish English, …; Argentinian Spanish, Peruvian Spanish, ….). (Schneider and Barron 2008, p. 1, my emphasis)

Variational pragmatics is important for studies focusing on L2 learners because in the case of some languages, such as English, there is more than one variety of the language that is of international importance and that L2 learners should be aware of. This is also why textbook publishing houses for intermediate – advanced L2 learners in secondary education tend to include stories and characters from different countries in which the language is spoken to make learners aware of differences and similarities in the varieties of the same language. For example, book 2 of Green Line New for

Bavaria (Ashford et al. 2004), an EFL textbook for grammar schools in the German state of Bavaria, includes information on different words used for a season (*autumn* in British English and *fall* in American English).

While it is often vocabulary items and spelling differences that textbook writers focus on, some textbook writers also present pragmatic expressions that differ in varieties of the language, such as the greeting *G'day* included in a primary EFL textbook for year 4 (Ehlers et al. 2017), which is clearly associated with a pupil from Australia. Thus, when writing a textbook, textbook writers and publishers need to consider what pragmatic information they should provide for learners. Quite often geographical location may play a role when it comes to deciding which particular variety of a language to first expose learners to or to mainly focus on. With regard to the German context, the main focus of beginner level books in EFL school settings has so far tended to be on Great Britain. This is also why the default variety of English in this book is British English. Should more than one variety of English be discussed, the varieties will be clearly labelled and differentiated.

The subdiscipline of pragmatics that focuses on L2 learners is called *interlanguage pragmatics*.

Definition
Researchers working in *interlanguage pragmatics* are interested in a variety of issues that relate to L2 learners and their ability to (a) produce utterances that are appropriate and effective and therefore achieve their communicative aims, (b) understand L2 utterances that they encounter correctly. While some researchers tend to focus on how instruction (e.g. the use of particular teaching materials or instructional approaches) can help L2 learners produce appropriate language and enable them to correctly decode language directed at them, others are interested in how L2 learners' pragmatic skills develop outside of formal instructional contexts.

The first word of the term, *interlanguage*, goes back to developments in second language[6] acquisition and more precisely to the linguist Selinker and his view of L2 learning. Mitchell, Myles and Marsden (2013, p. 36) write about *interlanguage*:

> The term interlanguage was coined in 1972, by Selinker, to refer to the language produced by learners, both as a system which can be described at any one point in time as resulting from systematic rules, and as the series of interlocking systems that characterize learner

[6]The linguistic field that researches the acquisition of another language that is not an individual's first language is called *second language acquisition*. It needs to be noted, however, that second language acquisition (SLA) covers both *second* and *foreign* language acquisition. The difference between foreign and second language is the learning context (cf. also Sect. 2.2.4). A foreign language learning context is typically a country in which the target language (i.e. the language that the individual is learning and which is not his or her L1) is not the official language (e.g. Germany for learners of English). In contrast, a second language learning context is a context in which learners are learning the official language of that country (e.g. Great Britain for learners of English).

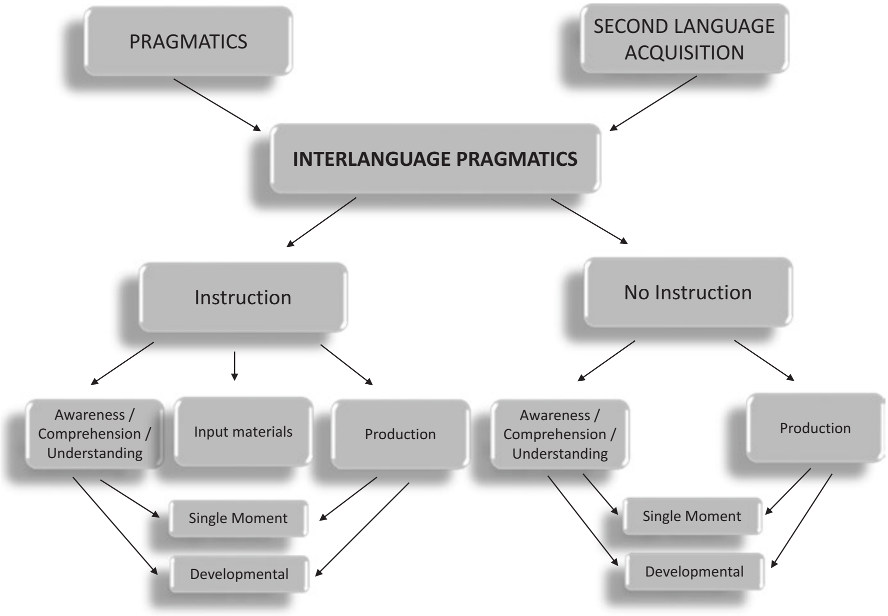

Fig. 2.1 Origins and areas of investigation in interlanguage pragmatics

> progression. In other words, the interlanguage concept relies on two fundamental notions: the language produced by the learner is a system in its own right, obeying its own rules, and it is a dynamic system, evolving over time.

For many years, the term interlanguage pragmatics was the predominant one for the subfield of pragmatics that focuses on L2 learning and teaching, as it demonstrated – via its link to Selinker – that this subfield of pragmatics "lies at the intersection of the study of second language acquisition (SLA) and pragmatics" (Felix-Brasdefer 2013, p. 2801). In more recent years, L2 pragmatics or second language pragmatics, have also been used to refer to the same subdiscipline of pragmatics (cf. Culpeper et al. 2018; Taguchi and Röver 2017). Figure 2.1 schematically illustrates the disciplines of linguistics that provide the foundation of interlanguage pragmatics, pragmatics and second language acquisition, and the different strands of interlanguage pragmatics research.

As was already stated in the definition of interlanguage pragmatics above, the process of learning L2 pragmatics can be investigated by either looking at it from a perspective that examines the effect of instruction on L2 learners' pragmatic *understanding* (also referred to as their *awareness* or *comprehension*) and/or pragmatic *production* (e.g. Martínez Flor and Alcon Soler 2007; Halenko and Jones 2011; Usó Juan 2013; Fordyce 2013; Glaser 2014; Sadeghidizaj 2014). In addition, the pragmatic content of input materials that are used in L2 classrooms, such as textbooks, can be analysed to see what learners are exposed to (e.g. Usó Juan 2007; Ogiermann 2010; Limberg 2015; Aliyoun 2018; cf. also Sect. 2.1.12).

Alternatively, researchers in ILP not focusing on instruction may be examining L2 learners' pragmatic understanding and/or pragmatic production by concentrating on other variables, such as length of stay in a study abroad context, amount of contact with native speakers, or personal feelings regarding L2 norms (e.g. Barron 2003; Felix-Brasdefer 2004; Schauer 2009; Shively 2011; Lai 2013; Osuka 2017).

In both subareas, *instruction* and *no-instruction* focused interlanguage pragmatics, two different kinds of research projects examining understanding and/or production can be differentiated: studies that are conducted at a particular moment in time (called single-moment studies) to obtain insights into L2 learners' ability to produce or comprehend L2 input,[7] or longitudinal developmental studies that examine how L2 learners' pragmatic competence develops over a period of time. An example for a single-moment study is Hassal's (2003) investigation of requests produced by Australian learners of Indonesian and Indonesian native speakers in which he found that – probably as a result of positive transfer from their Australian English native language – the L2 learners of Indonesian mainly used the ability[8] (e.g. *Can you give me the salt*) or the permission (e.g. *May I borrow a pen?*) request strategies and therefore displayed a similar preference as the Indonesian native speakers. Another example of a single moment study is the investigation of two groups of L2 learners of English attending either a German state primary school or an English language private primary school in Germany in this book (cf. Chap. 7).

An example of a developmental study that investigated L2 learners' progress over a 9-month period is my own study (Schauer 2009) that examined the pragmatic progress of German L2 learners of English in the study abroad context at an English university. The results showed that L2 learners' ability to detect pragmatic infelicities (i.e. impolite/inappropriate language) increased significantly during their stay and that the L2 learners stopped using request strategies that were too direct (i.e. imperatives) during their sojourn in Great Britain.

Another example of a developmental study, this time focusing on the effect of instruction, is Sadeghidizaj's (2014) investigation of Iranian L2 learners of English who received explicit, implicit and no pragmatic instruction in their classes. The results of the study showed that explicit teaching of how to perform a request in English had the most impact on Iranian L2 learners' productive pragmatic competence, as the explicitly taught group significantly decreased their use of imperatives and instead increased their use of more complex indirect request formulae, such as "I was wondering if you could give me 50 dollars to do that" (Sadeghidizaj 2014, p. 225).

Many of the examples that I have included in this section are requests, i.e. utterances that are used to ask someone to do or not to do something and which in some form benefit the producer of the utterance. Requests are one of the most frequently investigated utterance types in interlanguage pragmatics and belong to the big area of

[7] These studies frequently focus on a particular proficiency level of L2 learners. L2 learners' output is often compared to native speakers' output.

[8] See 2.1.4 for a detailed discussion of request categories.

pragmatics called speech acts. I will discuss the speech acts that I will examine in this book (requests, responses to requests, greetings, leave-takings, expressions of gratitude, responses to expressions of gratitude, apologies, suggestions, responses to suggestions, expressions of physical and mental states) in Sects. 2.1.4, 2.1.5, 2.1.6, 2.1.7, 2.1.8, 2.1.9, 2.1.10, and 2.1.11. However, before discussing individual speech acts in detail, I will provide some general background on important notions and concepts in speech act theory, as well as relevant speech act frameworks.

2.1.3 Speech Act Theory: Background

As mentioned in Sect. 2.1.2, requests are one of the most frequently investigated utterance types in interlanguage pragmatics. The subfield of pragmatics they belong to – speech act theory – is one of the key areas[9] of pragmatics that has attracted much research in the last 40 years. As Martínez Flor and Usó Juan (2010a, p. 6) note "[w]hile it is true that speech act theory is not the whole of pragmatics, this theory has been established as perhaps the most relevant in this field". Focusing on interlanguage pragmatics, Bardovi-Harlig (2010, p. 219) agrees and writes that "[t]he dominant area of investigation within interlanguage pragmatics has been the speech act".

Speech Act Theory goes back to Ordinary Language Philosophy and in particular to the British philosopher John L. Austin, who worked at Oxford University, and his American student John R. Searle.

Definition
Austin (1962, p. 108) proposed that utterances could be divided into three components or acts:

1. the *locutionary act* [the actual words that the speaker uses]: "which is roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence"
2. the *illocutionary act* [the intention behind the words], "such as informing, ordering, warning […] utterances that have a certain (conventional) force"
3. the *perlocutionary act* [the effect the utterance has on the hearer]: "what we bring about or achieve by saying something, such as convincing, persuading, and even surprising or misleading"

[9] Other core areas of pragmatics are for example implicature, politeness (cf. Sect. 2.1.11), and deixis. The latter is "a technical term from Greek […] which means pointing via language" (Yule 1996, p. 9) and tends to focus on the use of "demonstratives, first and second person pronouns, tense markers, adverbs of time and space and motion verbs" (Huang 2007, p. 133).

For example, a guest at a dinner party may say to another person "It is rather warm in here, isn't it?" (locutionary act). The speaker is saying this with the intention of alerting their interlocutor to the fact that it is uncomfortably warm and that it would be a good idea to open a window (illocutionary act). The perlocutionary act then refers to the hearer's interpretation of what has been said and could result in the hearer opening the window to make the speaker more comfortable.

Of the three speech act components of a speech act (locutionary, illocutionary, perlocutionary), it is the illocutionary act which has received the most attention in pragmatics research. Closely associated with the notion of illocutionary acts is the concept of illocutionary force, "which is the communicative plan or design behind [a] s[peaker]'s remark" (Leech 1983, p. 200).

Apart from arguing that each utterance or speech act consists of the three aforementioned components, Austin also proposed a framework for categorizing utterances according to their function. This grouping of utterances based on functional equivalence is a core concern of speech act theory. In his framework, Austin (1962, p. 151) proposed five categories that utterances could be assigned to:

1. *Verdictives*
    - Typified by the giving of a verdict
    - Examples: estimating, appraising
2. *Exercitives*
    - Exercising of powers, rights, or influence
    - Examples: advising, ordering, warning
3. *Commissives*
    - Typified by promising or otherwise undertaking; they commit you to doing something
    - Examples: promises, declaring an intention
4. *Behabitives*
    - A miscellaneous group […] hav[ing] to do with attitudes and social behaviour
    - Examples: apologizing, congratulating, cursing
5. *Expositives*
    - Difficult to define – they make plain how our utterances fit into the course of an argument or a conversation, how we are using words
    - Examples: "I argue", "I assume", "I illustrate"

Thus, according to Austin, a promise would be classified as a commissive speech act that would then consist of a locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary act, e.g. speaker says *I'll look after your cat while you are away* and intends this as a promise and hearer decodes this as a promise and writes down instructions for speaker on how to care for his cat.

Although Austin developed both the tripart distinction of speech act components (locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary) and also a speech act categorization framework, only the former is still very much referred to. With regard to speech act categories, the framework of his student, Searle, "has been the most influential" (Allott 2010, p. 179) and "is probably the most well-known" (Holtgraves 2002, p. 14).

Searle (1999, pp. 148–149) distinguishes five speech act categories:

1. *Assertives*
   - Commit the hearer to the truth of the proposition
   - Examples: statements, descriptions, classifications
2. *Directives*
   - Try to get the hearer to behave in such a way as to make his [sic] behavior match the propositional content of the directive
   - Examples: commands, requests, orders
3. *Commissives*
   - Committment by the speaker to undertake the course of action represented in the propositional content
   - Examples: promises, vows, contracts
4. *Expressives*
   - Express the sincerity condition of the speech act
   - Examples: apologies, thanks, congratulations
5. *Declarations (declaratives)*
   - Bring about a change in the world by representing it as having been changed
   - Examples: making someone redundant, excommunicating, nominating a candidate

Searle's framework shows clearly that he was influenced by Austin's thinking, as some categories even have the same name (e.g. commissive) and cover the same or similar content. Due to his early death in 1960, Austin's thinking on speech acts is only available to us in a write-up of his lectures and he therefore did not have the opportunity to explain or develop his views and conceptualizations on speech acts further. His student, Searle, in contrast, has contributed to the debates about speech act theory since the 1960s. This, in addition to his somewhat more accessible way of naming and categorizing speech acts, may be the reason for the impact his speech act category framework has had. It needs to be noted, however, that other speech act frameworks have been suggested but have not received the same attention as John Searle's.

Two examples are Bruce Fraser's speech act framework published in 1978 and Kent Bach and Robert Harnish's speech act framework published in 1979. Fraser proposes a framework consisting of five categories (1978, p. 5):

1. *Representative Acts* – the speaker intends the utterance to count as committing him [or her] to the truth of what he [or she] has said. Examples include acts of stating, claiming, admitting, reporting, pointing out, mentioning, testifying and speculating.
2. *Directive Acts* – the speaker intends his [or her] utterance to count as an attempt to get the hearer to carry out the act specified in his [or her] utterance. Examples include pleading, soliciting, requesting, ordering, demanding, urging, suggesting, instructing, commanding, and daring.
3. *Evaluative Acts* – the speaker intends his [or her] utterance to count as a reflection of his [or her] evaluation of the state of affairs specified in his [or her] utterance. Examples include thanking, criticising, praising, condemning, congratulating, applauding, and complaining.
4. *Commissive Acts* – the speaker intends his [or her] utterance to count as committing him [or her] to carrying out the state of affairs specified in his [or her] utterance. Examples include promising, swearing, obligating, and vowing.

5. *Establishive Acts* – the speaker intends his [or her] utterance to count as creating the new state of affairs specified in his [or her] utterance. Examples include authorizing, forbidding, permitting, granting, cancelling, appointing, classifying, excusing and forgiving.

In contrast to Austin and Searle, who are both philosophers, Fraser is a linguist and interested in how his theories can be applied to real life linguistic concerns. This is also one of the reasons why he addressed the issue of general applicability across languages with regard to his speech act framework. He (1978, p. 5) writes that

> [i]n presenting the taxonomy, I assume that although every language may have some of the acts identified above, it need not have them all. Nor is it necessary for each language to embody the degree of subtlety shown in English. Or possibly, a language may reflect other, different distinctions not included in English. Nevertheless, insofar as has been determined, every language organizes its speech acts along the lines indicated.

The approach of Bach and Harnish towards speech act categories is somewhat different to Fraser's. They differentiate between six general categories which are then subdivided further and which are – in contrast to Austin and Searle's framework – explained in more detail. Although acknowledging the work of Austin and Searle, Bach and Harnish write that "a more obvious merit (we hope) of our taxonomy is its comprehensiveness and explicitness" (1979, p. 40). They distinguish between two speech act categories: *communicative* and *conventional* speech acts. According to their framework, *constatives*, *directives*, *commissives* and *acknowledgments* belong to the communicative speech act category and *effectives* and *verdictives* belong to the conventional speech acts.

Bach and Harnish note that "constatives, directives, commissives and acknowledgements […] correspond roughly to Austin's expositives, exercitives, commissives and behabitives, respectively, and closely to Searle's representatives, directives, commissives and expressives, although our characterization of them are different from Searle's" (1979, pp. 40–41). Definitions and examples of their categories are (Bach and Harnish 1979, p. 41):

1. Constatives
    - express the speaker's belief and his [or her] intention or desire that the hearer have or form a like belief
    - Examples: Assertives, Informatives, Responsives
2. Directives
    - express the speaker's attitude toward some prospective action by the hearer and his [or her] intention that his [or her] utterance, or the attitude it expresses, be taken as a reason for the hearer's action
    - Examples: Requestives, Questions, Permissives
3. Commissives
    - express the speaker's intention and belief that his [or her] utterance obligates him [or her] to do something (perhaps under certain conditions)
    - Examples: Promises, Offers
4. Acknowledgments
    - express feelings regarding the hearer or, in cases where the utterance is clearly perfunctory or formal, the speaker's intention that his [or her] utterance satisfy a social expectation to express certain feelings and his [or her] belief that it does
    - Examples: Apologize, Greet, Thank

Effectives and verdictives are very much related to institutions and language use in institutional contexts. The authors (1979, pp. 110–111, original emphasis) argue that

> *Effectives* effect changes in institutional states of affairs; they are necessarily conventional inasmuch as they achieve their effects only because mutually believed to do so. Only thus is a student graduated, a bill vetoed, or a site consecrated. *Verdictives* are judgments that by convention have official, binding import in the context of the institution in which they occur. Thus, to call a runner out, to find a defendant guilty, or to assess a piece of property is not just to make a judgment; given the position and attendant authority of an umpire, a judge, or a tax assessor, it is also to make it the case, if only so far as the relevant institution is concerned, that what is judged to be so is so in fact. Generally speaking, conventional illocutionary acts, whether effective or verdictive, are endemic to particular institutions. In most instances they affect the institutional status of persons or things.

Since this book focuses on speech acts, it is important to discuss the origins of the subject matter which this book will address and to cover relevant theory that provided the foundations of much of interlanguage pragmatics research. As the next sections will show, some definitions used by interlanguage pragmatics researchers refer to technical terms that go back to Austin (e.g. illocutionary force). However, what the discussion of individual speech acts in the subsequent sections will also frequently show is that researchers in pragmatics may not always agree on how frameworks or categories ought to be conceptualized or defined. While this may be somewhat frustrating at times – because it may not occur to the same extent in other disciplines of linguistics – it is important to remember that debates about how to categorize utterances are rather normal in pragmatics and have taken place since the early days of speech act theory, as this section has demonstrated.

In the following, I will introduce and discuss speech acts that are particularly relevant for L2 learners and that will also be focused on in the textbook analysis. As they are one of the most frequently used speech acts, I will begin with requests.

2.1.4 Speech Act Theory: Requests

Requests have received much attention in pragmatics research and according to Ogiermann (2009, p. 190) are "the most frequently studied speech act in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics".

Definition
A very simple definition of a *request* is a speech act in which a speaker or writer asks someone to do or not do something. Safont Jordà (2008, p. 42) notes that "request speech acts are performed by the speaker [or writer] in order to engage the hearer [or reader] in some future course of action that coincides with the speaker's goal".