



universität
wien

DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

„English as a Lingua Franca – Communication
and the Cultural Third Place“

Verfasserin

Katharina Loetscher

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag.phil.)

Wien, 2012

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 190 344 333

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

UF Englisch UF Deutsch

Betreuerin ODER Betreuer:

Hon. Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. H.G. Widdowson

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
1. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.....	4
1.1. What is culture?	4
1.2. The relationship of language and culture	11
1.3. Language, identity and schemata	14
1.4. Summary Chapter 1.....	18
2. THE SECRET TO SUCCESSFUL COMMUNICATION	21
2.1. How does human communication work?	21
2.2. The communication process	24
2.3. From interpersonal to intercultural communication	26
2.3.1. An introduction to communication competence models.....	26
2.3.2. Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM)	26
2.3.3. Relational competence model	28
2.3.4. Competent communicators.....	29
2.3.5. CAT – an alternative model	31
2.4. Conceptualizing intercultural communication.....	33
2.5. Summary Chapter 2.....	37
3. THE NEGOTIATION OF MEANING	39
3.1. Communicative convergence	39
3.2. Finding one's position	43
3.3. Creating an ad-hoc consensus	45
3.4. Summary Chapter 3.....	47
4. IN-BETWEEN CULTURES.....	48
4.1. Bhabha's Third Space	49
4.2. Casmir's Third-Culture Building	51
4.3. Kramsch: The Learner's Third Place	53
4.4. The Cultural Third Place	56
4.5. Summary Chapter 4.....	58

5. ELF-COMMUNICATION	59
5.1. A personal account	59
5.2. ELF as a special case of ICC	60
5.3. Conceptualizing ELF	61
5.4. The location of ELF	64
5.5. Summary Chapter 5	66
6. DATA AND METHODOLOGY	67
6.1. Research objectives and methodology	67
6.2. From forms to functions	68
6.3. The data	70
6.3.1. VOICE	71
6.3.2. Selecting data	72
6.4. Summary Chapter 6	74
7. THE CTP IN ELF-COMMUNICATION – AN ANALYSIS	75
7.1. Cultural diversity and common ground	75
7.1.1. Membering	77
7.1.2. Stereotyping	82
7.1.2.1. Positive stereotyping	83
7.1.2.2. Negative stereotyping	89
7.2. Cultural hybridity and schematic knowledge	95
7.2.1. Code-switching	95
7.2.2. Novel hybrid forms	103
7.3. Summary Chapter 7	109
CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK	111
REFERENCES	112
APPENDICES	124
Appendix A VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1]	124
Appendix B VOICE Mark-up Conventions [2.1]	125
Appendix C VOICE Spelling Conventions [2.1]	133
Appendix D List of conversations included in my data	137
Abstract	139
Deutsche Zusammenfassung	140
Curriculum Vitae	142

FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1.1. The architecture of personal identity	16
Figure 2.1. Sebeok's communication model	24
Figure 3.1. Widdowson's model of communicative convergence	41
Figure 3.2. Example for a married couple's communicative convergence	41
Figure 4.1. Casmir's third-culture building model	51
Figure 6.1. English in continental Europe	70
Table 6.2. Speech event types distribution in VOICE	73

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ELF.....	English as a lingua franca
ENL.....	English as a native language
ESL.....	English as a second language
EFL.....	English as a foreign language
CTP.....	Cultural Third Place
L1.....	First language
VOICE.....	Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English
ICC.....	intercultural communication

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

English as a lingua franca has been and always will be an important part of my life. Thus it has been a privilege to provide an insight into ELF-communication with this thesis by investigating how ELF works in other people's lives.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Henry Widdowson for sparking my interest in ELF and for making me realize the importance of this field, not only for research but also for me personally. Prof. Widdowson always encouraged me to find my own personal way in proceeding with my thesis by focusing on the aspects which interest me most. His unfailing support and patience were an essential motivation to complete my thesis.

I also want to express my gratitude to the VOICE team for creating this ELF corpus and making it accessible to the public. The detailed additional information to each conversation as well as the audio files enabled me to do a holistic analysis. I am especially thankful to all the ELF speakers who agreed to be recorded for this corpus, since without them this thesis would not have been possible.

Finally, I have no words to express how grateful I am to my family and friends who supported and encouraged me throughout this challenging time. I also owe special thanks to my church family for their steady and uplifting encouragement and prayer. But I am most indebted to my dear husband who always believes in me and who is the reason for my continuing love for the English language.

INTRODUCTION

I am Austrian but I speak English to my American husband and my American parents in-law, I speak English to my Austrian friend when her American fiancé is around, I speak English to my friend from London, who is half Austrian, I speak English to my au pair friends from Poland (one of them currently lives in Dublin and the other one in the US), my au pair friends from Slovakia, South Africa (she moved to New Zealand) and even to my au pair friend from Germany (who is half Polish and half German). I post English comments online and most of my friends reply in English – regardless of their origins and mother tongues – and last but not least I speak English to my Austrian students during our English lesson. English dominates my life and I am not the only one.

In 2001 McArthur (2001: 16) estimated that there are approximately between 1 and 1.5 billion speakers of the English language worldwide, who, according to him, are nearly equally divided into the three well-known groups of ENL- (English as a native language), ESL- (English as a second language), and EFL- (English as a foreign language) speakers. Thus he made clear that the people who use English as a second or foreign language already outnumbered people who use English as a native language. Today, 11 years later, this number could have only been growing as according to Crystal (2004: 40) “there has never been such a period of rapid and fundamental change since the explosions of development that hit the language in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance”. Now, “more people [are] using English in more places than at any time in the language’s history” (Crystal 2004: 40).

This spread of the English language has also kindled an increasing interest in researching the use of English between speakers who do not speak it as their mother tongues, i.e. the use of English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF). In 2006, after some research in ELF had already been done, Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl (2006: 21) expressed the “urgent need for significantly more qualitative studies” in the field of ELF and this request did not remain unheard. In the last few years a development in ELF studies in general and specifically in ELF studies which focus “on the purpose of the talk and on their interlocutors as people rather

than on the linguistic code itself" (Seidlhofer 2010: 157)¹ could be observed. It is my intention to contribute to this pool of already existent ELF studies with this thesis by providing a small but (I hope) relevant insight into the creation of Cultural Third Place (henceforth CTP) in ELF-communication.

Chapter 1 provides an overview on the relationship of language, culture and identity by conceptualizing these notions as dynamic concepts which are subject to change and development. I will try to explain how language, culture and identity are connected with one another and how this might influence behavior in ELF-communication.

In chapter 2 various models to successful communication will be presented, compared and analyzed in relation to my study focus. This short review of existing models aims at providing a theoretical framework for the rest of this paper and it will reveal that approaches to interpersonal communication can be applied to intercultural, and, more specifically, ELF-communication. This background knowledge will aid me in defining intercultural communication and it leads me to decide which communicative strategies will be relevant for my study. Further description of these strategies will be the objective of chapter 3.

Chapter 3 introduces three existing models which explain the negotiation of meaning in communication, namely communicative *convergence* (Spolsky 1998, Ogay & Giles 2005, Widdowson 2007), the process of *positioning* (Widdowson 2007), and the creation of an ad-hoc *consensus* (Blommaert 1991). Parts of these notions as well as the strategies of *linguacultural* and *intercultural labelling* (Pölzl 2005) will provide the conceptual basis for my analysis.

Chapter 4, then, can be considered the heart of my theoretical framework as it will present Bhabha's, Casmir's and Kramsch's views on cultural in-betweenness. Their models and thoughts have inspired me to introduce the Cultural Third Place (CTP) as a hybrid form of the existing approaches.

The conceptualization of ELF-communication will be the objective of chapter 5

¹ For a list of recent ELF studies see Seidlhofer (2010: 157).

and I will attempt this by defining ELF as a special case of intercultural communication. My personal experiences with ELF-communication will be illustrated at this point as they have a crucial influence on how I perceive ELF. The fact that ELF does not have any native speakers and therefore cannot be owned by anyone will also be discussed in this chapter.

The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (henceforth VOICE) will be introduced in chapter 6 as this corpus provides the source for my data. I will explain my choice of data as well as my methods for approaching the analysis.

Finally, in chapter 7, I will apply the identified strategies and concepts to my data and try to use the selected examples to provide an answer to my research question of *how linguaculturally different individuals successfully position themselves and others in the CTP while using English as a lingua franca*. The elements of the CTP I want to focus on are *cultural diversity* and *cultural hybridity* as well as the *negotiation of common ground* and the *negotiation of schematic knowledge*. These components of the CTP become salient when ELF-speakers use certain communicative strategies. My analysis will give examples to illustrate and explain the usage of four selected strategies, namely *membering*, *stereotyping*, *code-switching* and *the creation of novel forms*.

1. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

1.1. What is culture?

It is well known that in ELF-communication some form of intercultural interaction takes place. But what does *intercultural* mean and how could *culture* be defined? In this chapter I will discuss various definitions and theories of culture and try to establish some clarity in this rather confusing field of intercultural communication.

Many scholars across various disciplines have attempted to define culture and thus it is not surprising that definitions are numerous and diverse. Almost a decade ago, Apte (1994: 2001) formulated this dilemma as follows: “Despite a century of efforts to define culture adequately, there was in the early 1990s no agreement among anthropologists regarding its nature.” And although many years have passed, this chapter will show that his statement is still valid today.

The first approach to make sense of culture is to commence with the word itself. The Latin root *colere* can be translated into German “bebauen, bestellen, pflegen [to cultivate]” (Maletzke 1996: 15, my translation), which describes very generally the way people shape their lives (Maletzke 1996: 15). Another related term is *coulter*, which stands for “the blade of a ploughshare” (Eagleton 2000: 1). Similarly to Maletzke (1996: 15), Kramsch (1998a: 4) translates *colere* with “what has been grown and groomed” but she adds meaning by contrasting it with *nascere*, which “refers to what is born and grows organically”. She thereby points towards the traditional comparison between culture and nature, which started already in the 17th century (Maletzke 1996: 15). Eagleton (2000: 1) agrees that “culture, etymologically speaking, is a concept derived from nature” but he takes this further by realizing that the relationship between culture and nature is an interactive one: “Nature produces culture which changes nature” (Eagleton 2000: 3). Some take this view to an extreme and claim that there is nearly no real nature left today but “what exists as ‘nature’ is almost wholly a direct or indirect product of long human manipulation” (During 2005: 208).

I do not want to discuss this rather philosophical question of culture and nature any further but I do believe that it is important to stress culture’s constructedness.

The fact that culture is created lies in the semantics of the word itself and is thus included in most definitions of culture. However, “culture is not something we have at birth” (Fisher et al. 2007: 41). We learn about it while growing up and we are constantly part of shaping and constructing it. This is what makes up our schematic knowledge (see section 1.3.)

The original meaning of *culture* as referring to “the finest of human activities from labour and agriculture, crops and cultivation” (Eagleton 2000: 1) is still in use today but numerous meanings have since been added. From the 16th century until the late 19th century culture was mainly used to refer to the process of cultivating one’s body as well as one’s mind. (Goddard 2005: 53-54) This meaning was then extended to “a general state of human intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development (roughly comparable to ‘civilization’)” (Goddard 2005: 54), which was recently followed by the addition of the artistic dimension “referring to such things as music, literature, painting, theatre and film” (Goddard 2005: 54), giving rise to popular culture.

Longhurst et al. (2008: 2-4) attempt to group the variety of different meanings and thereby distinguish three senses of culture, namely (1) “culture with a big ‘C’”, i.e. the artistic dimension; (2) “culture as a way of life”, i.e. the social and symbolic dimension; and (3) “culture as a process and development”, i.e. the historic dimension. The humanities are mostly concerned with the first sense of culture, research in anthropology and sociology tries to investigate the social dimension of culture, while the third sense is frequently considered by historians (Longhurst et al. 2008: 4). An ethnographic perspective would be to see culture in terms of communicative patterns. Whereas sociolinguists are usually interested in linguistic forms,

ethnographers are concerned with how communicative units are organized and how they pattern in a much broader sense of ‘ways of speaking’, as well as with how these patterns interrelate in a systematic way with and derive meaning from other aspects of culture. (Saville-Troike 2003: 10-11)

The vast amount of definitions makes it difficult to grasp the concept of culture and I have to agree with Williams (1976: 76) that “[c]ulture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language”. The complexity of this

term mirrors the nature of culture itself. Culture is dynamic and never stable and in the same way the meaning of the word has been changing over time, cultures will continue to be altered and shaped by us. There is no one correct definition of culture and this is also due to the fact that scholars tend to define this concept according to their needs, appropriate for their disciplines. Maletzke (1995: 15) points out that because of the fact that there is no universal definition of culture, when researching cultural aspects it is necessary to clearly define the overlying concept, namely culture. And therefore I will try to ascertain the aspects relevant for my definition of culture.

Spencer-Oatey & Franklin (2009: 15, my emphasis) summarize the main aspects which make up culture as follows:

- Culture is manifested through different types of *regularities*, some of which are more explicit than others.
- Culture is associated with *social groups*, but no two individuals within a group share exactly the same cultural characteristics.
- Culture affects people's *behaviour* and interpretations of behaviour.
- Culture is *acquired* and/or *constructed* through interaction with others.

Although most definitions refer to culture as being “shared by a group of people” (Spencer-Oatey 2008: 3), I only found few explicitly stating that this shared “set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors [...] [is] different for each individual” (Matsumoto 1996: 16). This might be due to the fact that including this individual dimension provokes ambivalent reactions. For example Thurlow (2000) argues that “culture is by very definition and experience always a shared (i.e. group) phenomenon”. So how can a group of people share norms if they are different for every member of the group? Why do we even talk about culture as a whole if it really is “culturally unique” (Humphrey 1998, cited in Thurlow 2000) individuals who communicate?

This paradox shows, in my view, why culture is so difficult to conceptualize. Due to the fact that a society consists of many individuals and that each individual has various socio-cultural identities, i.e. every person is a member of many social groups, norms might be shared up to a certain point but never completely. I

propose, though, that the individual and the group aspect of culture are not mutually exclusive. It cannot be an either/or decision but both aspects have to be part of the definition and, as already cited above, Spencer-Oatey & Franklin (2009: 15) describe this best when saying that “culture is associated with social groups, but [that] no two individuals within a group share exactly the same cultural characteristics”.

I have been talking about culture being associated with social or cultural groups but can a social group also be considered a culture in itself? And what exactly is a social or a cultural group? This terminology issue is usually avoided and what makes it even more difficult is the fact that scholars use various terms interchangeably. I do not intend to solve this problem, but for the readability of this paper I have to clarify what I mean by these concepts. This will be especially relevant when discussing the difference between inter- and intracultural communication.

When talking about certain cultures one usually refers to “large, superordinate categories” (Scollon & Wong Scollon 1995: 125) but Holliday objects to the one-sided concept of large cultures, which is usually associated with entire nations or specific ethnicities, and advocates the alternative notion of “small cultures” (Holliday 1999: 237). He defines *small cultures* as “any cohesive social grouping” (Holliday 1999: 237) and stresses the contrast to *sub-cultures*, which suggest subordination to larger, e.g. national, cultures (Holliday 1999: 238-239). Holliday (1999: 239) exemplifies that, unlike *sub-cultures*, *small cultures* “can [...] run between as well as within related large cultures”. In this context he also refers to *middle cultures*, which are “created for long or short duration[s] to provide ground on which the dealing between the two parties takes place” (Holliday 1999: 239). This is reminiscent of the notion of the CTP, which will be discussed in detail below (see chapter 4.). It is noteworthy, though, that Holliday (1999: 239) himself falls back into the large culture paradigm when he restricts his *middle cultures* to be “formed across national boundaries”. Holliday (1999: 260) claims that

[o]n the one hand, the small culture approach is most appropriate for a world which is increasingly multi-cultural at every level. On the other hand, it is the only way to illuminate full inter-cultural complexity in any world.

So why does the creation of *middle cultures* have to be limited to nationality? Can these *middle cultures* not exist between all kinds of *small cultures* even within one nation? I suggest they can but I shall come back to this issue later when dealing with intercultural communication (see chapter 2).

So far I have noticed an accumulation of various terms when referring to cultural groups. Besides Holliday's (1999: 237) "small cultures" and the frequent usage of "sub-cultures" (Thornton 1997: 2; Gelder 1997: 84-85) as well as "cultural groups" (Spencer Oatey & Franklin 2009: 40), many labels include the term *community*, e.g. "speech community" (Saville-Troike 2003; Carbaugh 2007; Philipsen, Coutu & Covarrubias 2005), which is frequently used in ethnographic studies; "discourse community" (Foucault 1972; Lehtonen 2000); and "community of practice" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1999; Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999; Wenger 1998). Nevertheless, each of these concepts, with a slightly varying focus, refers to the same phenomenon, namely a group of people who share patterns in a certain way. Culture's terminology-maze just became more complex.

Avruch (1998: 17-18) provides a list of possible cultural groups that exist within and across societies and thereby illustrates that there is no one culture within one society.

Individuals are organized in many potentially different ways in a population, by many different (and cross-cutting) criteria: for example, by kinship into families or clans; by language, race, or creed into ethnic groups; by socioeconomic characteristics into social classes; by geographical region into political interest groups; and by occupation or institutional membership into unions, bureaucracies, industries, political parties, and militaries.

One could probably continue this list infinitely but the point is that "*each of these groups and institutions can be a potential container for culture*" (Avruch 1998: 18, author's emphasis). But when would a *group*, then, turn into a *culture*? Spencer-Oatey & Franklin (2009: 40) reply that "where members of any group share patterns of regularity in some way [...], they can be regarded as belonging to a cultural group". Cultures are commonly related to entire nations, which might be warranted in some cases for certain purposes, but this view usually involves overgeneralizations, stereotyping as well as reductionism (Spencer-Oatey &

Franklin 2009: 46-47). One always has to be aware of the fact that realistically there is no one culture that can be assigned to one nation.

Nevertheless there are boundaries between cultural groups and especially when referring to in-group and out-group identities these boundaries might be intentionally strengthened or weakened (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 48). If there were not any boundaries there would be no need for this paper as intercultural communication as such would not exist. However, it is important to note that these boundaries are always fuzzy and never clear-cut and that cultures usually spread beyond their assigned borders.

In line with Avruch (1998: 18) and Spencer-Oatey & Franklin (2009: 40), I believe that any group which shares certain attributes can be considered a culture on its own and therefore I will be using the terms *culture* and *cultural group* interchangeably. There might be a tendency of using *culture* when talking about the abstract phenomenon per se, while *cultural group* points to the actual group of people and their shared characteristics. Due to the fact that language, as representing the speakers' identities, is the primary focus of my study I also need to find a way to talk about this abstract phenomenon. Fantini's (1995: 149) notion of *linguaculture* reflects the inherent relationship between language and culture² within a certain cultural group and I will adopt his term to emphasize the intrinsic connection an individual feels towards the cultural group(s) and language(s) they grew up in.

I also want to stress again that although, when talking about culture, I am referring to groups of people, the individual dimension is always included, which means that

- (1) within a cultural group no individual shares the exact same cultural traits and that
- (2) "people are simultaneously members of many different cultural groups" (Spencer-Oatey 2009: 46).

If, however, citations in this paper include other terms, I will not specifically point to this problem again but treat them as being synonymous to *cultural groups*, unless the authors try to convey a completely different concept. An example

² See section 1.2. for more discussion on the relationship between language and culture.

would be the term *speech community*³, which is used quite a lot by sociolinguists. I would like to clarify that this term is not restricted to people who speak the same language as Americans and English people certainly belong to different speech communities. On the other hand members of one speech community do not have to speak the same primary languages. In line with Yule (2006: 205), I see *speech community* synonymously with *cultural group* or *linguaculture*, namely “a group of people who share a set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language”.

Most definitions of culture point to the importance of experiences and stress the connection to the past. The reference to values and traditions suggests a fixed structure. However, rarely the dynamic and changing nature of culture is stressed. These conflicting views led to the formation of two opposing schools of thought. Traditional approaches to intercultural communication represented by Edward T. Hall ([1973]) and Geert Hofstede (2001; Hofstede & Hofstede 2005), for instance, assume culture to be “something that can be identified in every society and that is relatively stable and homogeneous” (Kalscheuer 2009: 33). Thus in a structuralist approach “culture is seen as a fixed category of place and identity” (Kramsch 2009b: 244). Other scholars, such as Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars (2000) and Lewis (2000) also hold this structuralist view of culture.

Contrary to this, Fiske (2011), like Kramsch (1993; 1998a; 2009a; 2009b), Casmir (1999), Bhabha ([1998], [2006], 2009) and many others, takes on a post-structuralist position and purports that culture is now seen “as an individual's subject position that changes according to the situation and to *the way he/she chooses* to belong rather than to the place [he/]she belongs” (Kramsch 2009b: 245, author's emphasis).

Culture is *not* a relatively harmonious and stable continuum from dominant to deviant, but a confrontation between groups occupying different, sometimes opposing positions in the map of social relations. (Fiske 2011: 46-47, my emphasis)

Fiske (2011: 47), thus, describes the process of culture to be “a social struggle, as different groups struggle to establish meanings that serve their interest”.

³ For a more detailed account of the term see e.g. Spolsky (1998: 24-30); Saville-Troike (2003, 14-17).

Although I agree with Fiske to the extent that he acknowledges culture's dynamic structure, I would not identify culture as *struggle* or *confrontation* since these terms evoke negative connotations. I do not consider the establishment of meanings between cultural groups a struggle, but rather a process of negotiation that leads to the creation of the CTP (see chapter 4). Casmir (1999: 103) also refers to this when defining culture "as a dynamic, changing human creation [...] [and] as the result of communication within a collection of numerous sub-cultures, which produce third-cultures as organic entities". Casmir (1999: 91), too, heavily criticizes traditional models of intercultural communication as they describe "culture as an organized orderly endstate". This clearly stands in contrast with Casmir's post-modern *third-culture* building model, which is similar to Kramsch's notion of the *third place*⁴. These models are based on chaos theory and therefore allow room for unpredictable change, which is one of the main characteristics of intercultural communication. However, before defining intercultural communication, which will be the objective of chapter 2, a discussion must take place to suggest what the above definition of culture brings to bear regarding language.

1.2. The relationship of language and culture

Language and culture take on a dominant position in applied linguistics today. As the "use of language in real-world circumstances" (Hall, J. 2002: 8) is increasingly becoming important to applied linguistics, a movement from the *linguistics applied* perspective⁵ of concentration on forms towards a focus on "how language is used to construct our sociocultural worlds" (Hall, J. 2002: 8) has taken place.

The most frequently cited view of the relationship between language and culture is probably the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* (Whorf 1978, Sapir 1956). Following Humboldt's (1973: 21) view of language as the representation of one's socio-cultural worldview, Sapir and Whorf confirm this inseparability of language and

⁴ For an introduction and comparison of Casmir's *third-culture* and Kramsch's *third place* as well as Bhabha's *third space* see chapter 4.

⁵ See Widdowson (2000) for a more detailed account of the differences between linguistics applied and applied linguistics.

culture. They claim that different languages represent social reality in different ways which assumes an untranslatability of certain linguistic structures. Whorf (1978: 252) expressed this view by arguing that

[...] every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyses nature, notices or neglects types of relationships and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness.

The language we speak, therefore, has a strong influence on the way we see and live our lives and it even shapes our consciousness. It seems obvious that the language and culture we grow up with plays an important role and has a formative effect on us. However, as we will see in the course of this paper, this does not mean that we have to be stuck in a certain culture but, on the contrary, over time our cultural and social identities change according to our experiences. Pölzl (2005: 12, author's emphasis) calls the language which is intrinsically related to a certain culture *lingua culturae*⁶.

When a particular culture is represented by a particular language with which it is inseparably related we speak of a *lingua culturae*. During the enculturation process the individual acquires a particular culture through a particular language.

Kramsch (1998a: 3) argues that “[l]anguage is the principal means whereby we conduct our social lives. When it is used in contexts of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways.” Saville-Troike (2003: 28) also points to the “correlation between the form and content of a language and the beliefs, values, and needs present in the culture of its speakers”. Vocabulary and grammar of a certain language should therefore inform us of how reality is organized in a certain culture. However, as Pölzl (2005: 12) points out, this is not as clear as it seems since “[t]he concept of one language and one culture is naturally idealised”.

Hence a Sapir-Whorf view of language and culture does not account for the fact

⁶ Fantini's (1995: 149) term “linguaculture“ should not be confused with Pölzl's (2005: 12) “lingua culturae“. While the latter refers to the *language* used by a certain community, the former describes the *cultural group* connected to this language, i.e. „any kind of community [...] which uses language as a basis for identification and distinction“ (Pölzl 2005: 12).

that many individuals grow up with more than one language and multiple cultures. Do those people then acquire various worldviews with separate realities or do they somehow combine everything into their own way of thinking? If it is possible for bilingual or multilingual people to relate to different worldviews, why should this be denied to foreign language learners? I believe that there is undoubtedly a connection between the languages and cultures one grows up with and this enculturation process considerably influences and shapes one's "linguacultural identity" (Pölzl 2005: 94)⁷, but, as the above usage of plural suggests, the notion of *linguaculture*, as I see it, accounts for multiple languages and cultures, i.e. the entire individual background, which oftentimes is not limited to a single culture and a single language. As a result, mirroring the concept of culture, this is not a static, stable and closed system. While the languages and cultures of enculturation present the foundation of one's linguacultural identity, this identity continues to be altered and shifted, even more so through interactions with individuals of varying linguacultures. As my data will show, one's linguacultural identity might be stressed intentionally in intercultural communication by emphasizing one's language, origins, values, beliefs, etc. I will refer to this kind of positioning by using Pölzl's (2005: 190) term "linguacultural labelling" (see chapter 7)

However, in the same way primary languages and cultures are intrinsically connected, they can be separated from one another when needed. And this is exactly what happens when English, or any other language, is used as a *lingua franca*, i.e. as a common language for communication. (see chapter 5 on ELF)

When language is being learned for auxiliary functions in another speech community, as a *lingua franca* for international communication or merely for access to information in a technological domain (i.e., as a library language), the culture of its native speech community is largely irrelevant and is likely to be unwanted as well. (Saville-Troike 1996: 362)

Thus the language is separated from the culture with which it was originally associated with and consequently the speaker's own linguacultural identity can be expressed through it. While the culture of the language's native speech community becomes less important, the culture of the respective domain the

⁷ also see schema theory below (section 1.3.)

lingua franca is used in becomes increasingly relevant (e.g. the culture of the technological domain). Confirming Saville-Troike's statement above, studies (e.g. Pölzl 2005; Bowers 1999) have shown that English language learners and ELF-users are able to change English according to their needs so that their own linguacultural identity is affiliated with it, and not "the culture of its native speech community" (Saville-Troike 1996: 362), e.g. American, British, or Australian culture. In so doing, they will manage to "develop their own small cultures" (Bowers 1999: 243) in intercultural communication. And then this can open up doors for something entirely new, which is created between interlocutors of different linguacultures. This is where the CTP comes in, which is created by negotiating common ground in intercultural communication. (see chapter 4.)

Saville-Troike (2003: 30) concludes that

[a]lthough language is unquestionably an integral part of culture, to assume that specific cultural experiences and rules of behavior will invariably correlate with specific linguistic skills is a naïve oversimplification of the relationship of language and culture.

Thus it is indisputable that there exists a link between language and culture, especially during the process of enculturation. However, when considering language learning it should be brought into question which language must be associated with which culture and vice versa. In the case of English, there is still this idea around, visible in most textbooks, that English has to be taught in the context of a certain culture, which explains why most of the material used in textbooks is situated in the American or British context. When considering the use of ELF in a global context, however, I suggest that English does not have to be coupled with a certain culture, but every non-native speaker of English can use this language to express the linguaculture he or she chooses to identify with.

1.3. Language, identity and schemata

In the above sections I have tried to lay out different approaches to explain the relationship between language and culture and I pointed to the assumption that in ELF-communication English can be separated from its original culture and might

be used to express the speaker's own cultural identity. Even when ELF-interactions take place in an English native speaker setting, where ELF-speakers tend to conform to the surrounding culture and might choose not to dissociate English from its native speakers' culture, this behavior still expresses their own extended cultural identity.

As Pözl (2005: 11, my emphasis) exemplifies, speakers can use a language in three ways to express various identities:

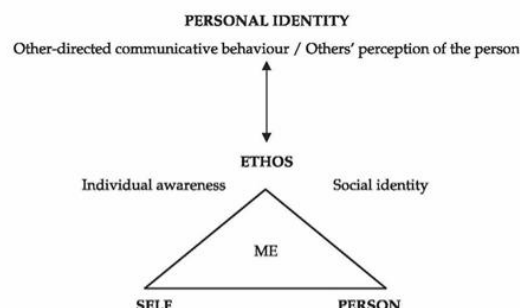
- (a) A language is used to construct a particular *native cultural identity* which fully reflects the speaker's worldview.
- (b) A language is *dissociated from its original culture and converted* in order to represent the *additional cultural identity* of a speaker who was born into a different language and culture (the additional language is part of the identity repertoire).
- (c) A language is used to *translate the original cultural identity* of a speaker and make it perceivable and accessible to others.

In (a) language and culture are inseparable as the language “expresses the cultural identities which are associated with it” (Pözl 2005: 11). This function of language Pözl refers to as *lingua culturae*, i.e. first language. In (b) and (c), however, language expresses the cultural identities “which are normally dissociated from it (i.e. foreign ones)” (Pözl 2005: 11). In Pözl's terminology (b) would therefore refer to *lingua converta*, i.e. second language and (c) to *lingua franca*. When English is used as a *lingua franca* the speaker's original cultural identity is usually retained and ELF takes on the function of expressing this identity to someone else using a language which is neither of the interlocutors' mother tongues. However, no identity is clear-cut and how language is used always depends on the context of the situation and the individual needs and objectives of the speakers. Identity management is a highly complex process which is subject to change and modification and in any communication, especially if there are unknown interlocutors involved, identity has to be negotiated.

The process of negotiating one's identity is nothing restricted to ELF-communication, but it occurs in any type of interaction since “[s]ocial identities [...] are constructed in and through discourse” (Riley 2006: 297). Identity is a very sophisticated phenomenon and a detailed account would go beyond the scope of

this paper but I briefly want to touch upon Riley's approach to identity, which he adopted from Vygotsky (1978) and Mead (1934).

Figure 1.1. The architecture of personal identity (Riley 2006: 297)



According to Riley (2006: 306), personal identity is formed by “a communicative and epistemic autobiography consisting of the experiences and knowledge acquired as a member of that configuration of groups”. This is what Widdowson (2007: 53) calls “schematic knowledge” (see following chapter). Identity, therefore, comprises *ethos*, the *self* and the *person* (see figure 1.1.). The aspect I would like to focus on is *ethos*, which Riley (2006: 298, my emphasis) describes as follows:

Ethos is *communicative identity*. It is an amalgam of *speaker identity* (who I am and who I want to be taken for) and *perceived identity* (who you think I am and who you take me for).

This approach takes into account the “interactive nature of the production of identities” (Riley 2006: 316) as identities shift depending on who we talk to and what intentions we have. And this is what has to be negotiated in interaction. This process of negotiating identity or, in Widdowson’s terms, the process of positioning oneself is first of all managed by the use of *communicative virtues*, i.e. “socially valued characteristics of discourse [...] such as ‘clarity’, ‘competence’, ‘pleasantness’, ‘helpfulness’ or ‘niceness’” (Riley 2006: 302) and Riley (2006: 302) claims that “[t]he presence of these characteristics contributes to a positive perception of ethos by hearers and to a successful negotiation of identities and outcomes”. *Membership strategies* and *identity affirmation strategies* (Riley 2006: 306-309) help speakers to position themselves inside or outside a certain social group and to claim their identity.

When trying to grasp the complex notion of identity, schema theory has to be considered. In 1932 Bartlett ([1997]: 201) redefines schema, after emphasizing his concerns with former definitions and expressing his resentment towards the term *schema* itself, as follows:

‘Schema’ refers to an active organization of past reactions, or of past experiences, which must always be supposed to be operating in any well-adapted organic response. That is, whenever there is any order or regularity of behavior, a particular response is possible only because it is related to other similar responses which have been serially organized, yet which operate, not simply as individual members coming one after another, but as a unitary mass.

In a nutshell, “schema is a construct of familiar knowledge” (Widdowson 2007: 28). People relate new information to concepts they are familiar with in order to make sense of it. This linguaculturally but also individually shaped *schematic knowledge* is acquired during one’s enculturation process and “represent[s] the customary and conventional ways in which [...] [one’s] socio-cultural reality is structured” (Widdowson 2007: 53), but it continues to be shaped and formed throughout life. Although “schemata are relatively stable knowledge structures or states of mind, customized or conventionalized as normal in a particular community” (Widdowson 2007: 40), they, like all cultural concepts, are at the same time open to adjustment if the situation requires it.

According to Widdowson, schematic knowledge is made up of two types of schemata, namely *ideational* and *interpersonal schemata*, both of which are culture-specific. The former refers to “representations in the mind of what is familiar or customary” (Widdowson 2007: 31) and the latter is used to describe not the concepts but the actual interpersonal interaction, i.e. “customary ways in which we engage with second persons” (Widdowson 2007: 33). Differences in schematic knowledge have to be negotiated in any type of communication. Even more so in ELF-communication for linguaculturally different individuals tend to show stronger distinctions in their schematic knowledge than people within one cultural group. In which ways culture-specific ideational as well as interpersonal schemata influence ELF-communication will be part of my analysis.

Apart from the importance of schematic knowledge, Widdowson (2007: 53) also

points to another type of knowledge which is essential to comprehend the meaning of a text, namely *systemic knowledge*, i.e. “knowledge of what is encoded in the language system itself”. This includes the ability to recognize *cohesion*, i.e. to identify how linguistic items connect with each other within the text, and *coherence*, i.e. to be able to understand the pragmatic meaning of the text as a whole and to relate it to our frame of reference. Schematic and systemic knowledge play an important role in interpreting discourse since one can only make sense of a text by relating it to familiar concepts.

As cultural constructs, schemata are relevant to any type of intercultural study since one has to always consider what is known and what is normal in a certain cultural group to be able to understand or interpret meaning correctly. In my study I will not always know about the interlocutors’ schematic nor their systemic knowledge.⁸ However, I will try to derive these schemata and make assumptions about them based on the speakers’ behavior. As ELF should offer space to translate one’s own cultural identity into English, this might give insight into the interlocutors’ culture-specific schemata.

1.4. Summary Chapter 1

In this first chapter I have tried to find my way through various definitions of culture and the complexity of this concept mixed with the terminology confusion across scholars and disciplines led me to the conclusion that a fixed and stable view of culture is not appropriate for the study of natural language use and therefore also not suitable for the study of ELF. Although it may seem easier to work with a closed system, represented by generalizations and stereotypes, this cannot be part of a critical study.⁹ While the stable concept of culture has advantages for research and language teaching as it is a closed unit, which is easily accessible, the dynamic view of culture “presents a challenge for foreign language education and for applied linguistic research” (Kramsch 2009b: 245).

⁸ see also Pitzl’s (2011: 174) “‘emic-etic dilemma’ of interpreting 3rd person data”

⁹ However, to ascertain in which ways interlocutors use stereotypes to position themselves and others will be part of my study.

Nevertheless, it is my objective to meet this challenge and therefore for my study I intend to take on a post-structuralist perspective.

To me it is obvious that culture cannot be stable but must always be dynamic and subject to change for there are no homogenous cultural groups but heterogeneity is implied in the concept of culture. I, like Casmir (1999: 94), intend to look at intercultural communication as the “process between human beings with different backgrounds, experiences and interpretative or value systems”. Pölzl’s terms *linguaculture* and *linguacultural identity* will help me to express these abstract and complex concepts. Therefore in my study every interlocutor is treated as a linguacultural individual, who is on the one hand shaped by the language(s) and culture(s) they grew up with but on the other hand free to express their identity according to their needs, which leaves room for change and development. How this negotiation and positioning of linguacultural identities is achieved in ELF-communication is my main research question.

In the second part of this chapter I discussed the relationship between language and culture, which most scholars have viewed as being intrinsic. However, for second language learners this relationship is dependent on their needs concerning the use of their second or foreign language. It has been noticed that when a language is used as a lingua franca the associated culture of native speakers becomes irrelevant to the language learner since interaction with other non-native speakers does not require any adaption or submission to the language’s native culture. Hence, the language is dissociated from its original culture and now belongs to the non-native speakers, who are free to form and shape it according to their needs.

The relationship between language and culture is relevant for my study as I believe that in ELF-communication the prevailing assumption of *one language-one culture* can be challenged since ELF can be molded to fit to anyone’s culture. It is my hypothesis that in any type of intercultural communication the interlocutors can choose which culture they want to identify with. They might adapt to the linguacultures of their co-participants, but they might also want to represent their own linguaculture and through this process of positioning and negotiation they might establish something new, a common culture of their own,

which is represented in the CTP.

In the last section of this chapter I have considered how language and identity relate to each other by taking a closer look at the concept of identity and schemata. One's linguacultural identity is shaped by enculturation and consequently influences one's schematic knowledge. Despite this fact, identity is not a stable concept but continues to change and develop. ELF should offer insights into the speakers' varying linguaculturally molded schemata which have to be negotiated in the CTP.

The following chapter will be used to conceptualize communication itself and deal with defining successful communication as well as the negotiation of meaning, which leads us to further discuss the CTP in chapter 4 and finally turn towards ELF-communication in chapter 5.

2. THE SECRET TO SUCCESSFUL COMMUNICATION

2.1. How does human communication work?

The history of the word *communication* leads back to the Latin root *communicare* which means “‘to share’, ‘to make common’” (Rosengren 2000: 1). Rosengren (2000: 1) explains that “[w]hen we communicate, we make things common. We thus increase our shared knowledge, our ‘common sense’ – the basic precondition for all community”. Hence, to Rosengren, the aim of communication is *to share knowledge*.

Casimir (1999: 94), on the other hand, defines communication very generally as “that which happens, symbolically, between human beings as they do things together”. While some models of communication focus more on the message-transfer and see communication as a “process involving the exchange of messages and the creation of meaning” (Gudykunst 1991: 24), others stress the interactive function of the communication process by saying that “[c]ommunication is a social activity requiring the coordinated efforts of two or more individuals. [...] Only when a move has elicited a response can we say communication is taking place” (Gumperz [1995]: 1). While Gumperz stresses the fact that communication only occurs when a message also evokes a reply, Riley (1985b: 50) sees communication as something that can also be produced by just one person and therefore he differentiates between interactive and non-interactive discourse. Regarding interactive discourse, he also defines “*alternation*” (Riley 1985b: 50, author’s emphasis), i.e. turn-taking or floor-sharing, as the distinctive characteristic and also points to the importance of acknowledging “rights to the floor” (Riley 1985b: 50), which are especially relevant when considering unequal power relations in communication.

Some scholars (e.g. Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009) prefer the term *interaction* to *communication* as it highlights its active as well as the dynamic dimension. Riley (1985b: 50, author’s emphasis), in his article on communication breakdown, focuses on one specific aspect of interaction, namely “the set of actions and reactions which are realized by *turns* (‘taking the floor’)”. Linguists (e.g. Holec

1985; Sinclair & Coulthard 1975; Widdowson 1977) tend to use *discourse* synonymously to *communication* or *interaction*, in the sense of “verbal and non-verbal text used by an actor to address his interlocutor for communicative purposes” (Holec 1985: 23). But because the meanings of the concept of *discourse* are again manifold and would only add to the vast terminology range, I will continue to use the term *communication*. In line with Riley (1985a: 1), I see communication as “a process whereby we create, negotiate and interpret personal meanings”.

Gudykunst (1991: 24) remarks that communication by itself “does not imply an outcome” but that the outcome is dependent on the match of intended meaning of the message and its interpretation by the hearer. When “the other person attaches a meaning to the message similar to what we intended” (Gudykunst 1991: 9), this is what Gudykunst calls effective communication. But like Gudykunst, Sebeok (1991: 31) claims that “[t]he message received (and at last interpreted) by the destination is in practice, never identical to the message sent after having been formulated by the source¹⁰”. This mismatch of implied and received meaning gives the cue for Austin’s (1975) distinction between locution, illocution, and perlocution:

- Locution:** **the actual form of the utterance**
 (what is actually said)
 - Illocution:** **the communicative force of the utterance**
 (what was intended by the speaker in making the utterance)
 - Perlocution:** **the communicative effect of the utterance**
 (what the hearer interprets as the meaning intended by the utterance)
- (Bowe & Martin 2007: 15, authors’ emphasis)

Many studies on communication are interested in investigating the relationship between “what a speaker says, what a speaker actually means, and what the hearer thinks the speaker means” (Bowe & Martin 2007: 9) but, beside the actual utterances, these aspects usually remain inaccessible to the observing researcher. What is relevant for my study now is to ascertain how speakers manage to communicate effectively despite the gap between locutionary,

¹⁰ Source and destination refer to sender and receiver of a communication process. (see following section)

illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect. When considering ELF-communication where linguaculturally different speakers interact, this gap is bound to be even greater and therefore the question arises how the interlocutors manage to still communicate effectively using English as a lingua franca. As Thomas (1995: 1) puts it: “[I]f speakers regularly mean something other than what they say, how is it that people manage (as on the whole they do) to understand one another?”

Thomas (1995: 22, my emphasis) provides a possible answer to her own question by listing the three main components of the meaning-making-process:

[...] [M]eaning is not something which is inherent in the words alone, nor is it produced by the speaker alone, nor by the hearer alone. Making meaning is a dynamic process, involving the *negotiation of meaning* between speaker and hearer, the *context of utterance* (physical, social and linguistic) and the *meaning potential* of an utterance.

Thus she identifies (1) the *negotiation of meaning*, (2) the *context of the utterance*, and (3) its *meaning potential* as key elements of successful communication. As researchers, we might not grasp the true received as well as intended meaning of an utterance¹¹, but when considering these three aspects carefully, they provide a useful basis for analysis.

Similar to Thomas’ observations, Pitts & Giles (2010: 15) also notice that “[e]veryday communication can be problematic, but we are relatively good at managing it.” But this is nothing new. Already as early as in the 1940s Austin, his student Grice and their group of “ordinary language philosophers” (Thomas 1995: 29) observed that people are able to communicate effectively without major difficulties.

So, how come we manage to communicate successfully most of the time if the process itself seems so complex and problematic as it is influenced by numerous external as well as internal factors? This is exactly what Austin was interested in, when in reaction to the Oxford-based philosophers (e.g. Moore and Russell), who considered everyday language inferior and full of errors, he argued that “[i]nstead of striving to rid everyday language of its imperfections [...] we should try to

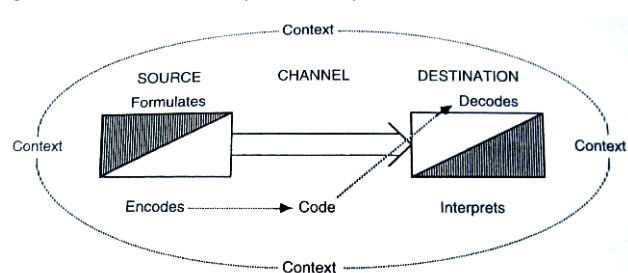
¹¹ see also Pitzl’s (2011: 174) “‘emic-etic dilemma’ of interpreting 3rd person data”

understand how it is that people manage with it as well as they do” (Thomas 1995: 29). But before I can try to find an answer to this question, I first need to take a closer look at the communication process itself.

2.2. The communication process

There exist numerous models of communication, some of the most famous ones are probably Karl Bühler’s *Organon model*, Jakobson’s *communication functions*, and Schulz von Thun’s *four ears model*. However, there is no single perfect model of communication as each model has its own focus, its own advantages as well as limitations. Many communication models represent communication as a linear process. Sebeok (2006: 51), for instance, claims that “all communication systems [including his own] are [...] not just dynamic but adaptive”, however, the visual representation of his model (see figure 2.1.), similar to most other models, fails to convey this. Although he points to this limitation and refers to internal and external context, feed processes, and noise (Sebeok 2006: 51-52) as factors that influence locution, illocution and perlocution, his model clearly does not account for interaction.

Figure 2.1. Sebeok’s (2006: 50) communication model¹²



Sebeok’s communication model focuses on the transfer of messages. He points out that there are various reasons for the formulation of a message and according to him the most basic function of a message is “to be ‘transferred’ to another entity” (Sebeok 2006: 47). Widdowson, on the other hand, takes communication past the act of transferring and answers Sebeok’s question of why someone decides to formulate a message as follows:

¹² modified after Sebeok (1985: 155, figure 1)

Communication is called for when the language user recognizes a situation which *requires the conveyance of information to establish a convergence of knowledge*, so that this situation can be changed in some way. This transaction *requires the negotiation of meaning through interaction*. (Widdowson 1984: 108, my emphasis)

Widdowson thus sees communication as a dynamic and interactional process which entails change, convergence by means of negotiation. Because the relationship between language and its assigned meaning is arbitrary, meaning has to be negotiated in interaction to be understandable for everybody involved. Hence, “interactivity is a necessary condition for the enactment of any discourse” (Widdowson 1984: 108).

Knowing that communication is a “phenomenon basic to all human beings” (Rosengren 2000: 2), we tend to forget the complex process that lies behind the exchange of messages. However, we are reminded of it as soon as problems in communication occur, when communication breaks down, or when we are misunderstood. Due to the fact that in communication “the output of the channel isn’t at all tantamount to the input” (Sebeok 2006: 52) we should actually expect misunderstandings very frequently. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that language is ambiguous and meaning is constructed.

The meanings we exchange by speaking and by writing are not given in the words and sentences alone but are also *constructed* partly out of what our listeners and our readers interpret them to mean. (Scollon & Wong Scollon 1995: 6, my emphasis)

How is it then that despite all the apparent barriers and difficulties throughout the communication process, we still manage to communicate and understand each other most of the time? Why does communication even between linguaculturally different interlocutors hardly ever break down completely and how are misunderstandings usually so smoothly and easily solved? This brings us right back to my research question of how we manage to communicate successfully in intercultural interaction. I will try to approach this question by determining first how effective interpersonal communication works in general before turning to intercultural communication.

2.3. From interpersonal to intercultural communication

2.3.1. An introduction to communication competence models

Due to the fact that intercultural communication is a special case of interpersonal communication, basic concepts and theories of interpersonal communication have to be discussed before dealing with intercultural communication. This should be helpful for it is not necessary to start from scratch as many studies have shown that findings can be transferred and adapted from interpersonal to intercultural communication with a certain shift in focus. I first want to present various interpersonal communication competence models as introduced by Gudykunst (1993) and Wiseman (2002) and connect them with intercultural communication to ascertain which aspects might be relevant for ELF-communication. CAT (Communication Accommodation Theory) should be seen as alternative to communication competence models as it moves away from the acquisition of certain competences and represents a holistic approach of positioning and negotiation.

2.3.2. Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM)

Many scholars (e.g. Sarbaugh 1979; Gudykunst & Kim 1984; Gudykunst 1993; Cupach & Imahori 1993) agree that intercultural and intracultural communication is based on the same communication process, namely an interpersonal one, with the only difference being that cultural aspects are more salient in intercultural communication. Gudykunst (1993: 37), for example, argues that “the process underlying communication between people from different groups (including cultures and ethnicities) is the same as the process underlying communication between members of the same group”. He refers to a “stranger-ingroup relationship” (Gudykunst 1993: 37) and his anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) – theory explains how to successfully deal with new communication situations, i.e. the interaction with strangers, be they interlocutors from the same cultural group or not. The management of one’s anxiety and uncertainty is interesting for intercultural communication as Gudykunst (1993: 38) points out

“[i]nteracting with people from other cultures and/or ethnic groups is a novel situation for most people [and] [n]ovel situations are characterized by high levels of uncertainty and anxiety”. For ELF-communication Gudykunst’s AUM-theory might also be relevant, even though there seems to be less anxiety concerning the language use, as compared to interaction between English native speakers and non-native speakers of English. Pölzl (2005: 106) argues that in ELF-communication interlocutors can be considered equal concerning their language use as “[e]verything is conducted in the lingua franca whose repertoire needs to be appropriated by the interacting participants”. In contrast to this, communication with native speakers of English is usually connected with some sort of adaptation and anxiety. However, the unpredictability of cultural differences and the confrontation with the *unknown*, which frequently occurs in ELF-communication, might require AUM.

Gudykunst promotes mindfulness for effective communication since awareness towards the interlocutor is necessary to moderate uncertainty and anxiety to the appropriate level. According to Langer (1989: 62) being mindful is expressed in three ways: “(1) creation of new categories; (2) openness to new information and (3) awareness of more than one perspective”. These categories are in line with Spitzberg & Cupach’s (1984) model of interpersonal competence, which comprises three aspects, namely *motivation*, *knowledge*, and *skills*. Gudykunst (1993: 44) adopts these components for his AUM-theory but acknowledges that “[t]he specific motivation, knowledge, and skills we possess do not ensure that we will be competent in any particular interaction”.

In line with Gudykunst’s (1993: 68) argument that AUM can be adapted for communication across cultures, Wiseman defines intercultural communication competence by referring to Gudykunst’s (1993: 38) three “superficial causes”:

[...] ICC [intercultural communication] competence involves the *knowledge*, *motivation*, and *skills* to interact effectively and appropriately with members of different cultures. (Wiseman 2002: 208, my emphasis)

Motivation, knowledge, and skills are, to Gudykunst (1993: 37), “superficial causes”, which influence – in interaction with uncertainty and anxiety – effective communication. But to achieve effective communication it is necessary to

carefully manage one's uncertainty by being mindful of the process of communication. (Gudykunst 1993: 38-43)

2.3.3. Relational competence model

The relational competence model, which has been, among others, represented by Spitzberg (1989) and Hammer (1989), adds *context* to Wiseman's (2002) three components of ICC competence (i.e. knowledge, motivation, and skills), as presented above:

A person who is *motivated* to communicate, *knowledgeable* in communication, *skilled* in communicating, and sensitive to the *context* is more likely to be viewed as competent and to achieve desired objectives (outcomes). (Spitzberg & Hurt 1987: 29, my emphasis)

But what type of behavior is necessary to be considered *competent*? Spitzberg & Cupach (1984) identify interactional management, altercentrism, expressiveness, and composure as components of interpersonal competence. Milhouse lists concrete examples of *competent interpersonal behavior* which have been researched by Spitzberg & Hurt (1987), Coker & Burgoon (1987), and Bochner & Kelly (1974).

- [...] [C]ompetent (appropriate and effective) use of
- (a) interaction management is evidenced by fewer vocalized pauses, good speech coordination, and topic follow-up;
 - (b) altercentrism is communicated by greater other-references, good body orientation, and supportiveness;
 - (c) expressiveness is provided through appropriate use of humor, non-monotone voice, and greater use of vocal variety; and
 - (d) composure is communicated by fewer speech blockages, greater response relevance, and less object manipulation or fidgeting.
- (Milhouse 1993: 185)

Milhouse's (1993) study supports the hypothesis that the model of relational competence can be used for research in intercultural communication as well. However, to me her list seems way out of reach. I wonder which native speaker would be able to master all of these components at all times during communication. And how could a language learner then ever reach this goal in

ELF-communication? Is this list of skills really a desirable goal for any speaker? Since Milhouse's description of competent interpersonal behavior seems too prescriptive and lacks to offer any room for individual creativity, I will need to look at other ways on how to define a competent speaker in the following chapter.

2.3.4. Competent communicators

Participants in Arasaratnam & Doerfel's (2005: 159) study described "[c]ompetent communicators [...] as *polite*, able to relate at the *level* of the other, and able to save *face* of the other" (Arasaratnam & Doerfel 2005: 158, authors' emphasis). Their study also shows that interpersonal communication skills, such as "willingness to listen, and other-centered messages" are relevant for intercultural communication. But it should be noted at this point that even though aspects like politeness are universal, i.e. members of every cultural group know what it means to be polite, the way concrete politeness behaviors are expressed varies considerably across cultures.

Concerning Arasaratnam & Doerfel's (2005) study it should be mentioned, though, that their semantic network analysis makes it very difficult for the reader to reconstruct the participants' utterances as they only provide lists of key words and therefore total dependence on the authors' interpretation is required. However, their study still gives interesting insight into interculturally experienced laymen's thoughts of what is considered *good communication* in their respective cultures as well as their opinions on what constitutes a competent intercultural communicator. The results suggest that interpersonal communication competence could be seen as a requirement to intercultural communication competence since the basic communication processes are the same but cultural aspects are more salient in the latter.

Wiseman's (2002: 209) criteria for competent communication are "effectiveness and appropriateness". He conceptualizes communication competence as being "a matter of successfully negotiating mutually acceptable identities during the process of interaction" (Wiseman 2002: 217) and applies this theory to

intercultural communication competence via the notion of facework:

Competent intercultural communicators must be able to reconcile three dialectical tensions:

- (1) supporting one's own face or other's face,
- (2) supporting competence face (e.g., ingratiation, empowerment) or autonomy face (e.g., respecting other's privacy, independence), and
- (3) confirming other's separate cultural identity (heightening cultural differences) or negotiating a mutually defined cultural identity (minimizing separate cultural differences).

(Wiseman 2002: 217).

Thus, face plays an important part in interpersonal as well as intercultural communication and this will be an aspect I also want to consider when dealing with ELF-communication. Wiseman's third category will be an integral part of my analysis as the negotiation of a "mutually defined cultural identity" (Wiseman 2002: 217) could be seen as a component of the CTP. Wiseman (2002: 217) further highlights, in line with post-structuralist cultural theories, that "face, facework, and dialectical orientations are never static – they are constantly in flux and must continually be renegotiated if the relationship is to stay healthy".

Contrary to the belief that certain skills are essential for interpersonal as well as intercultural communication competence, Hammer (1989: 251) claims that

it is not the communication skill per se that contributes to the various adaption and/or effectiveness outcomes [...] Rather it is the individual interactants' judgments of self and other competence based upon the communication performances engaged in that influence the individuals' success in achieving cross-cultural adaption.

However, it is not necessarily the desired objective of an individual to adapt to another culture but to ascertain what is accurate and appropriate in a certain context. Thus, Kramsch (1998b: 27) claims that it is

not the ability to speak and write according to the rules of the academy and the social etiquette of one social group, but the adaptability to select those forms of accuracy and those forms of appropriateness that are called for in a given social context of use. (Kramsch 1998b:27)

She calls this "the competence of the 'intercultural speaker'" (Kramsch 1998b:

27), who has to be able to negotiate meaning “at the border between several languages or language varieties, manoeuvring his/her way through the troubled waters of cross-cultural misunderstandings” (Kramsch 1998b: 27).

Kramsch (1998b), Wiseman (2002), and Hammer (1989) already move away from a common focus on certain prescribed communication *skills* and point towards a post-modern perspective of positioning, which gives space to individuality and creativity. I, therefore, would like to present one last model of interpersonal communication, namely communication accommodation theory (CAT)¹³.

2.3.5. CAT – an alternative model

Spolsky (1998: 42) claims that “[i]t is common to find your speech – choice of vocabulary, grammatical forms, and even pronunciation – moves towards that of your interlocutor”. This process of moving closer together in communication is called *converging*, which might be caused by unequal power relations or by the desire to belong to a certain cultural group. But the opposite phenomenon has also been noticed, namely *diverging*, which might have to do with representing one’s own identity or identifying with a certain different cultural group.¹⁴ Perceptions on power relations, in-group/out-group memberships as well as high/low prestige groups determine these behaviors as has been shown in terms of pronunciation accommodation in Labov’s well-reported case of social stratification in New York City as well as his study of Martha’s Vineyard. (Spolsky 1998: 39-43) Harwood, Soliz & Lin (2006: 22) associate *convergence* with “seeking affiliation, social approval, compliance, communication effectiveness” and *divergence* with “seeking distinctiveness [and] expressing social disapproval”.

The one-sided focus in interpersonal research is criticized by Pitts & Giles (2010: 16), who advocate a dyadic perspective for they argue “it is the dynamic interplay between people in relationships that should be explored, as this is where the

¹³ For a detailed account of CAT see Gallois, Ogay & Giles (2005).

¹⁴ This is obviously related to Widdowson’s communicative convergence. (see section 3.1.)

primary relational functions are being managed and negotiated". Pitts & Giles (2010: 20) argue that these "larger social forces (context, relationship, conversational direction)" have been mostly neglected in communication research.

CAT, I would argue, provides this new perspective by seeing communication as process which is shaped and negotiated by all participants and it thereby accounts for the "larger social forces" (Pitts & Giles 2010: 20) like shifts and developments which occur during interactions. Objectives and plans frequently change during a conversation and often outside influences affect the focus and/or motivation of the interlocutors. (Pitts & Giles 2010: 20) While CAT in its early stages focused mainly on speech accommodation, it was expanded to address communicative behavior as a whole, including psychological dimensions. Gallois, Ogay & Giles (2005: 136, my emphasis) identify three assumptions of CAT:

- A.1: Communicative interactions are embedded in a *sociohistorical context*. [...]
- A.2: Communication is about both *exchanges of referential meaning and negotiation of personal and social identities*. [...]
- A.3.: Interactants achieve the informational and relational functions of communication by *accommodating their communicative behavior* through linguistic, paralinguistic, discursive, and nonlinguistic moves, to their interlocutor's perceived individual and group characteristics

CAT, thus, takes into account the communicative context, acknowledges negotiation of meaning and identities, and considers communication successful when some kind of accommodation, i.e. convergence or shared ground, is established. CAT is based on social identity theory¹⁵ and motivation is identified as the main influence in all of the communication processes involved. Accommodation and non-accommodation in communication are seen in relation to power and the broad socio-historical context of each individual. Due to the fact that CAT focuses on intergroup aspects of communication, i.e. the desire to belong to a certain cultural group or to distance oneself from it, it provides an alternative to the communication skills models which are frequently but often unsuccessfully used in intercultural training programs. (Gallois, Ogay & Giles

¹⁵ See section 1.3. on identity.

2005, 121-143)

So, based on CAT, intercultural communication is set “in the context of an intergroup as well as an interpersonal history, and in the context of different (and sometimes contradictory) social norms” (Gallois, Ogay & Giles 2005: 143) and effective communication depends on these factors. CAT, therefore, provides a starting point for understanding how intercultural communication works, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. The concept of accommodation or convergence hints at what I will be referring to as the CTP. However, it should be noted that the CTP is not only a place for adaptation but a place for finding similarities as well as differences in intercultural communication where something new can develop.

2.4. Conceptualizing intercultural communication

In the last sections common aspects of intercultural and interpersonal communication have been considered and it is now time to ascertain components specifically relevant for intercultural communication which will aid in attempting a definition of intercultural communication.

When considering aspects of competent interpersonal communication (as conceptualized in the previous sections), like appropriateness and effectiveness (Wiseman 2002: 209), negotiating face (Ting-Toomey 1988), and politeness (Brown & Levinson 1978), the issue in intercultural communication is that all of these aspects are considered important but, due to varying linguacultural identities, these universal features of communication will be expressed in different ways (Wiseman 2002: 217), which might make communication more difficult. Wiseman stresses that “[t]hese salient and separate cultural identities need to be negotiated, maintained, and/or supported by both actors” (Wiseman 2002: 217) and he thereby hints at the concept of the CTP, where this negotiation of identities is given space.

First, the terminology has to be clarified as in the literature various terms are used parallel and/or synonymously to each other. *Cross-cultural*, for instance, frequently occurs when talking about the adaption of a minority culture to a

certain majority culture (e.g. Kim 1995; Bremer et al. 1996). Cross-cultural research often deals with the comparison of cultural communication practices, stressing cultural differences (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey & Wiseman 1991: 284) and promoting the “cultures-collide’-perspective” (Blommaert 1991: 19). This perspective suggests that “cultural differences harm the communication process between members of divergent cultures” (Kalscheuer 2009: 32) and misunderstandings are to be avoided, disregarding that “trial-and-error negotiation” (Cupach & Imahori 1993: 124) proves to be very effective. I also believe that cultural differences are not to be seen as obstacle in communication but simply require mindful negotiation.

Cupach & Imahori (1993: 123) consider *trial-and-error negotiation* an essential part of successful intercultural communication as it helps interlocutors to “discover the aspects of their identities that they mutually share”, taking a positive standpoint towards deviations from the norm: “Rule violation (with attendant sanctioning) is perhaps the most common method of obtaining rule knowledge” (Cupach & Imahori 1993, 123). The prevalent focus on cultural differences lets the obstacle of intercultural communication seem insurmountable and I agree with Kalscheuer when she points out that “most publications on intercultural communication evoke the impression that cultural differences are unbridgeable” (Kalscheuer 2009: 32). Therefore *trial-and-error negotiation* offers an alternative to this prevailing negative view of cultural differences.

Compared to studies on *cross-cultural* communication, *international* communication research predominantly deals with national cultures or “country cultures” (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005: 47), presupposing that cultures conform to national borders and this term is often used in connection with mass media (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey & Wiseman 1991: 284). However, this view of equating one nation with one culture is problematic.

Besides pointing out the limitations of *cross-cultural*, Thurlow (2000) also criticizes the term *intercultural* by claiming that it gives the wrong impression of two or more cultures communicating with each other and not individuals. Thurlow (2000, author’s emphasis) concludes that all prefixes to -cultural, such as “*cross, trans, inter, multi*” are superfluous since communication is cultural per se and

does not require any further specification. However, he suggests that *transcultural* could most appropriately express the fluid and moving notion of cultural encounters. This, then, also allows for spaces in-between¹⁶, considering that *trans* also means *beyond*. (Thurlow 2000)

Regarding Thurlow's criticism of the term *intercultural* above, Scollon & Wong Scollon (1995: 125, my emphasis) argue that "all communication is *interpersonal* communication". But even though I understand that "[c]ultures do not talk to each other" (Scollon & Wong Scollon 1995: 125), I disagree with their claim that "all communication is interpersonal communication and can never be intercultural communication" (Scollon & Wong Scollon 1995: 125). Thurlow also rejects this claim by stating that "either all communication is intercultural or no communication is intercultural" (Thurlow 2000) but at the same time he puts into perspective "that which is commonly called 'intercultural communication' is in the eye of the beholder anyway" (Thurlow 2000).

It is, however, confusing that Scollon & Wong Scollon (1995) reject the term *intercultural communication* for the reasons mentioned above but they still continue to use it throughout their book, which is surprisingly also titled *Intercultural Communication*. It is the lack of definitions and the inconsistent terminology that make it very difficult to compare different standpoints and this obviously adds to the already existing terminology-confusion.

I intentionally decided to continue to use the term *intercultural* as this term is most appropriate for the context of my present paper. Furthermore, I do not want to contribute to the present confusion and therefore chose to use a term which is most commonly known because I believe this will contribute to this paper's readability. Referring to Thurlow (2000) I do not think one has to use the prefix *trans* to be able to make room for the spaces in-between, or, as I have called them, Cultural Third Places because these places are established whenever they are necessary and desired by the interlocutors, regardless of which term is used.

To me *interpersonal communication* acts as an umbrella term and in this respect I agree with Scollon & Wong Scollon (1995: 125) as I also consider all

¹⁶ See Bhabha's ([2006]) notion of Third Space in section 4.1.

communication between human beings to be interpersonal. But I also believe that all communication has the potential to become intercultural in the sense that each of us carries along their own individual socio-cultural and historical baggage. These baggages can be very similar but none of them are alike. Therefore I would like to adopt the following working definition of intercultural communication for my paper:

Whenever the parties to a communication act bring with them different experiential backgrounds that reflect a long-standing deposit of group experience, knowledge and values, we have intercultural communication. (Samovar & Porter 1972: 1)

Thurlow (2000) raises a valid objection to the above definition and asks where, then, to draw the line between intercultural and intracultural communication but I come to the conclusion that in the same way as culture is not a fixed and stable concept, the borders between inter- and intracultural communication are fuzzy as well. Kalscheuer (2009: 43) suggests that “the difference lies in the degree of experienced heterogeneity” or in the degree of “cultural distance” as Spencer-Oatey & Franklin (2009: 3) put it.

While *intercultural* means “between cultures” (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin 2009: 3), *intracultural*, I suggest, means *within cultures* and thereby assumes little resistance in communication. But what type of cultures are we talking about?¹⁷ Do we mean “large, superordinate categories” (Scollon & Wong Scollon 1995: 125) or are we referring to Holliday’s (1999: 237) “small cultures”? Following Žegarac’s (2007: 41) differentiation between inter- and intracultural communication, Spencer-Oatey & Franklin (2009: 3) offer the following explanation:

An intercultural situation is one in which the cultural distance between the participants is significant enough to have an effect on interaction/communication that is noticeable to at least one of the parties.

As argued above, intercultural and intracultural interaction is based on the same communication process and I agree with Gudykunst & Kim (1984: 14) when they say that “[t]he two ‘forms’ of communication are not different in kind, only in

¹⁷ See chapter 1 for a detailed discussion of culture and cultural groups.

degree [...] [for] the variables influencing intracultural and intercultural communication are the same, but some variables have more impact in one situation than another.”

I believe, like Humphrey (1998, cited in Thurlow 2000), that each individual is “culturally unique” but Thurlow (2000) argues that this goes against the definition of culture, which is a phenomenon shared by a certain group of people. However, as has been discussed at length in the first chapter, culture is defined by a shared set of norms but even within this shared system there can be variations especially when thinking about power distribution, social roles, generations, occupations, etc. So within a larger cultural system there exist various cultural groups and each individual has many cultural and social identities and therefore belongs to many of these cultural groups. Therefore, any communication can be considered intercultural depending on the degree of distance and on how people position themselves in the CTP.

2.5. Summary Chapter 2

Chapter 2 has dealt with various models of communication and led to the question of how the mismatch of intended and received meaning can be managed in communication. The paradox that this apparent barrier in the communication process most times does not result in serious breakdowns and misunderstandings (not even in intercultural communication) has evoked my research question, namely to investigate *how linguaculturally different individuals manage to communicate successfully while using English as a lingua franca*. To me communication is “a process whereby we create, negotiate and interpret personal meanings” (Riley 1985a: 1) and these three aspects (*creation, negotiation, and interpretation*) will be relevant for my study.

In the second part of this chapter I intended to provide a link between common interpersonal communication models and intercultural communication. After presenting various models and theories of successful interpersonal communication and relating certain aspects to intercultural, and, more

specifically, to ELF-communication, I have arrived at the conclusion that intercultural and intracultural interactions rely on the same communicative processes and differ only in degree of cultural distance. In ELF-communication, being a special case of intercultural communication¹⁸, this results in a greater need for negotiation.

Finally, I have defined that intercultural communication takes place whenever the interlocutors “bring with them different experiential backgrounds that reflect a long-standing deposit of group experience, knowledge and values” (Samovar & Porter 1972: 1). In other words, when their schematic and systemic knowledge¹⁹, i.e. their knowledge of the world, is not shared in certain aspects and thus requires negotiation.

The communicative strategies I consider relevant for my study on ELF-communication are the processes of *convergence* and *divergence* in interaction, which are responsible for *negotiating meaning*, *creating consensus* and, thus, *positioning* each other in the shared CTP. These strategies will therefore be subject of the following chapter.

¹⁸ See chapter 5 on ELF-communication.

¹⁹ See section 1.3. on schema theory.

3. THE NEGOTIATION OF MEANING

3.1. Communicative convergence

Since Hymes' *communicative competence* we know that there is more to appropriate communication than grammatical knowledge (i.e. linguistic competence). To follow Hymes' ([1979]: 278) "rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless" one has to consider whether an utterance is possible, feasible, appropriate and/or actually performed (Hymes [1979]: 281).

Hymes ([1979]: 282) claims that

[t]here is an important sense in which a normal member of a community has knowledge with respect to all these aspects of the communicative system available to him. He will interpret or assess the conduct of others and himself in ways that reflect knowledge of each [...]

So, can we say that one *knows* a language if one can judge an utterance according to these aspects? But *who* is Hymes talking about? Who is this *normal member*? Widdowson (2012: 20) argues that Hymes is referring to native speakers here. When dealing with ELF-communication, which was not Hymes' intention, these factors take on new dimensions. It is noteworthy that research in ELF-communication has shown that "[t]he possible is generally subordinated to the feasible and the appropriate, and what is, or more strictly has been, actually performed becomes irrelevant" (Widdowson 2012: 20).

While Hymes' notion of communicative competence leaves many questions unanswered, Grice, with his four conversational maxims, provides a more detailed account of how to communicate effectively, which is based on the *cooperative principle*:

Make your conversational 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: 45)

In general, within a cultural group we can more or less expect from each other to be able to rely on Grice's maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner. Violations of these maxims do exist but they frequently have a certain, usually

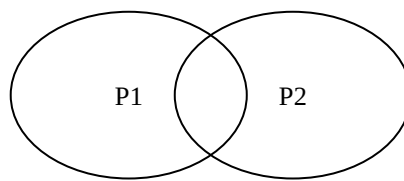
purposely intended, effect (e.g. sarcasm). If one was not aware of these internalized norms in interpersonal communication, violations, which require a new level of interpretation, would probably go unnoticed. (Thomas 1995: 62- 63) This might be the case in ELF-communication where a common set of norms first has to be negotiated as linguaculturally different speakers usually do not share all aspects of their communicative practices.

Although Hymes and Grice's theories offer a good start of how to communicate effectively, as already mentioned above, they do not account for managing intercultural communication since norms differ across cultures. In intercultural communication expectations are usually formed according to one's own linguacultural experiences and therefore are prone to clash with the other's expectations. Despite following the cooperative principle of a certain culture, we might at the same time violate maxims of another culture's communicative practices, which then could lead to misunderstandings. Issues like this have been the subject of many linguistic studies (e.g.: Fisher 1980, Ulijn & Gorter 1989, Helmolt 1997, Knapp 2002) which try to emphasize the problematic, uncooperativeness, and conflict laden nature of intercultural communication. However, my data did not show many instances of conflict or uncooperativeness and varying interpretation of the maxims did not seem to present an overt problem for the speakers as they carefully negotiated differences and avoided misunderstandings.

Another approach to effective communication is presented by Widdowson, who argues that for communication to take place "some kind of common agreement" (Widdowson 2007: 54) has to be negotiated. When talking to one another the most natural way to solve problems is by "negotiating meaning 'on-line'" (Widdowson 2007: 54). Widdowson (2007: 54) suggests that one might "ask for clarification, or elicit additional information, or let the problem pass" to negotiate convergence. Other strategies on the side of the sender might be: "elaborating on the message, or reformulating it in different terms" (Widdowson 2007: 54).

Widdowson (2007: 54) claims that when "there is some convergence between the two [parties]" communication can be considered effective and he illustrates this with the following diagram:

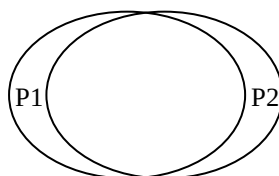
Figure 3.1. Widdowson's (2007: 54) model of communicative convergence²⁰



This is obviously an extremely simplified model because, as Widdowson (2007: 53) points out, schematic and systemic knowledge²¹ of one person are never “fixed [...] [but] they are subject to modification”. Nevertheless, it clearly illustrates the intersection without which communication would not be possible. In the same way this overlap is not as clear-cut as it might seem in the illustration. In communication P1 and P2 might converge further and thereby increase the area of correspondence or they might diverge and even decrease their common ground. As mentioned above, other scholars have also pointed to this concept of converging and diverging in communication, e.g. Spolsky (1998); Ogay & Giles' CAT (2005).

In general it can be assumed that the higher the convergence, the less communication is needed and the smaller the convergence, the more communication will be required. Imagine a couple which has been married for 50 years.²² Their level of convergence might look like this:

Figure 3.2. Example for a married couple's communicative convergence



If this level of convergence is achieved, very little overt language behavior is required and little has to be negotiated as, for instance, compared to the interaction between two people who have just met for the first time. If these interlocutors then come from different countries and on top of that speak different languages, their initial convergence is probably relatively small and meaning has to be negotiated along the way. What this negotiation might look like, what strategies can be used and how interlocutors find their positions in the CTP will

²⁰ P1= first-person party (the sender), P2=second-person party (the receiver)

²¹ see schema theory (section 1.3.)

²² I thank Prof. Widdowson for this vivid and straightforward example.

be discussed in the following chapter.

Another important aspect to consider when dealing with communicative convergence is that what we achieve in communication is not usually determined by our ability but by our willingness to converge. Therefore, “the degree of convergence that we seek to achieve is regulated by the purpose of our communication” (Widdowson 2007: 55). To communicate effectively, the first step simply is to want to communicate, i.e. the *need* to communicate as will be presented in Casmir’s *third-culture building* model below (see section 4.2.). Since without this basic desire to communicate, no cooperation and no negotiation will ever have a chance to take place.

Finally I would like to mention that Widdowson’s model fails to convey that the area of convergence is not simply a blend between P1 and P2²³ but it also entails the creation of new meaning “that do[es] not have a prior existence within the discrete world of any single culture or language” (Bhabha [2006]: xiii). The CTP, as discussed in the following chapter, represents an alternative model which not only offers room for shared meaning but also for the creation of something entirely new.

As demonstrated above, many scholars (e.g.: Spolsky (1998); Widdowson (2007); Gallois, Ogay & Giles’ CAT (2005)) have identified strategies which reflect convergence and divergence in communication. Although these strategies were not originally intended for intercultural communication, they work just as well and have thus been adopted by linguists for intercultural analysis; however, again, varying terminology is used for the same concept. Wiseman (2002: 17), for example, considers a competent intercultural communicator to be able to heighten and minimize cultural differences. Whereas Blommaert (1991: 25) refers to this concept as “developing a situation-specific consensus” in intercultural communication, which again asks for “suppressing certain culture-specific features and emphasizing others” (Blommaert 1991: 25). Finally, Pölzl (2005: 190) terms this phenomenon *linguacultural* and *intercultural labelling* (see chapter 7) and I consider her terminology appropriate for my study as they stress the

²³ The labelling of P1 and P2 also gives the wrong impression of only two people being involved in convergence. However, the CTP is not restricted to a certain amount of people but can be established between any number of interlocutors who are interacting with each other.

linguacultural aspect of ELF-communication which distinguishes this type of communication from intracultural communication. Linguacultural and intercultural labelling are essential strategies for the process of positioning, which will be explained in the following section.

3.2. Finding one's position

The above models among many others have conveyed the importance of negotiating identities in communication, especially when diverse linguacultural beings²⁴ are at work. However, in all my research I have not found a clearer and more straightforward concept for managing communication than Widdowson's (2007) *model of positioning*, which seems to be a suitable model for ELF-communication and therefore appropriate for my analysis.

To protect our own or the interlocutor's territory, we often do not conform to Grice's rules of cooperation. These violations usually have a certain purpose which is determined by the way we position ourselves in the conversation, or rather in the CTP. This is best explained by Widdowson himself (2007: 63, my emphasis), who relates the concept of positioning to strategies of convergence and divergence:

In communication two parties co-operate to converge on common ground. For this to happen there has to be some give and take on both sides: each party has to *concede* some ground of their own. This ground represents his/her own individual reality, a sense of self, a personal territory of identity, which it is their natural instinct to assert and protect. Co-operation necessarily involves some *encroachment* on this individual life space, and the area of convergence is always a potential site of contention between self and other.

The need to cooperate and the desire to protect one's own ground are therefore in constant conflict with each other. Widdowson (2007: 64) terms these two counteracting forces "co-operative imperative" and "territorial imperative". The continual process of trying to resolve this conflict goes hand in hand with the process of positioning and is necessary in any type of interaction, more so in

²⁴ or in Bloomaert's (1991: 25) terms: diverse "ethnic habitus"

ELF-communication where cultural identities are usually further apart from one another. The speakers have to decide what amount of encroachment into each other's territories is allowed in a specific situation and can thereby try to establish their positions. So, this process of positioning does not only involve the negotiation of meaning but also the negotiation of human relations (Widdowson 2007: 64). In general, it is assumed that "mutual respect for face and the territorial rights of the other" (Widdowson 2007: 64), or in other words: being polite and considerate, is a desirable way of communicating, even if this is done at the expense of violating Grice's maxims of cooperation. Therefore to "maintain good relations" (Widdowson 2007: 64) is usually given priority over cooperative maxims if the situation requires it.

As already mentioned above, Grice's maxims are not universal and cannot necessarily be relied on in ELF-communication. Therefore they have to carefully be negotiated and cooperative and territorial imperative play an important role in this process of positioning. Pölzl adapts this model of positioning for ELF communication where this dual-identity-conflict is especially salient. Her data provide many examples of instances where "[p]articipants want their linguacultural differences to be validated and simultaneously be part of a common ingroup" and she refers to these two conflicting but necessary forces which balance the individual's dual identity as *linguacultural* and *intercultural labelling* respectively (see chapter 7). This process is so important in ELF-communication as it enables participants be part of the intercultural community but at the same time they remain authentic by communicating their own cultural identity through ELF.

Finally I want to present Blommaert's (1991) model of creating an *ad-hoc consensus* since it provides possible insight into how negotiation of meaning could be structured and it further can be related to the concept of creating CTP

3.3. Creating an ad-hoc consensus

Blommaert (1991: 13) poses the question “How much culture is there in intercultural communication?” and he comes to the conclusion that three aspects of culture play a role in intercultural communication:

- (a) The ‘ethnic habitus’ of the interlocutors, i.e. the way in which the interlocutor is at any time and in any form of social praxis a cultural being. [...]
 - (b) The two-way process of developing a situation-specific consensus by suppressing certain culture-specific features and emphasizing others [...]
 - (c) The use of ‘culture’ as a strategic argument in discourse [...]
- (Blommaert 1991: 25)

Blommaert (1991: 20) rejects the *cultures collide* perspective for intercultural communication research as it usually presents one culture as being superior to another, retains a static view of culture, and only allows one-way adaption but does not account for mutual accommodation. He therefore suggests that because people with different socio-cultural backgrounds meet in intercultural communication, there will always be certain concepts and meanings which cannot be deciphered or understood. Therefore “[t]he possible set of exchangeable meanings has to be constructed in the course of [the] interaction” (Blommaert 1991: 22). He simply calls this process “creation of an ad-hoc consensus” (Blommaert 1991: 26) which is a spontaneous, context and situation-dependent construct. Thus, Blommaert (1991: 23) advocates a dyadic perspective because “[t]he process of accommodation is a two-way process in which both interlocutors (consciously or not) have an active input”. Similar to Gallois, Ogay & Giles (2005: 143), Blommaert also criticizes traditional intercultural training programs that focus on the teaching of specific communicative practices by arguing that “‘awareness’ and ‘sensitiveness’ are no miracle solutions, since every consensus is subject to situation-specific negotiations between the participants” (Blommaert 1991: 23).

Based on this negotiated consensus, Blommaert identifies three phases in intercultural communication. First comes the “scrutinizing phase” (Blommaert 1991: 24), which is when the interlocutors realize a problem and communication comes to a halt. This is followed by the “search for common ground phase”

(Blommaert 1991: 24), where repair strategies might be used and meaning has to be negotiated. The final step is the “dialogue phase” (Blommaert 1991: 25), where communication can continue because the respective meanings have been successfully negotiated and a consensus has been reached. Whereas many researchers stop their analysis after Blommaert’s first phase of scrutinizing to emphasize the problematic aspect of intercultural communication, this approach seems more realistic when compared with my data where difficulties in communication hardly ever remain unsolved. For a holistic analysis phase two and three must be taken into consideration as well. I have noticed that even if meaning can’t be negotiated entirely, i.e. the search for common ground phase was not completely successful, communication does not break down since repair strategies, such as mitigation, let-it-pass (Firth 1996: 243), and topic-shifting are used to maintain the interaction.

Blommaert’s model of establishing an *ad-hoc consensus* in intercultural communication provides a good example of how meaning is negotiated in interaction. Nevertheless, his view of consensus seems like an intersection of the interlocutors’ cultures. Although he states that this intersection can be expanded, e.g. by sharing cultural knowledge (Blommaert 1991: 23), the reached consensus still is restricted to their cultures and does not seem to leave room for new creations. In the following chapter, based on Bhabha’s, Kramsch’s, and Casmir’s concepts, I would like to propose something which can be regarded an extension of Blommaert’s negotiation-process by providing not only room for the interlocutors’ cultures but also for something new – a novel culture or, as I will call it, the Cultural Third Place (CTP). This is a place where meanings are negotiated and where interlocutors can converge and diverge not only by finding commonalities or differences in their own cultures but by creating an entirely new sphere of communication.

3.4. Summary Chapter 3

This chapter has outlined strategies to negotiate meaning in communication. The three models I have presented are communicative *convergence* (Spolsky 1998, Ogay & Giles 2005, Widdowson 2007), the process of *positioning* (Widdowson 2007), and the creation of an ad-hoc *consensus* (Blommaert 1991).

Relating these strategies of positioning to ELF-communication, Pözl creates the terms *linguacultural* and *intercultural labelling* to refer to processes of divergence and convergence in intercultural interaction. These strategies are also used by the ELF-speakers in my data in order to position their linguacultural identities in the CTP. I therefore consider it appropriate to use Pözl's terminology for analyzing the negotiation of meaning in my data.

The third approach presented in this chapter was Bloomaert's (1991) ad-hoc consensus, which is already set in intercultural communication. Thus, it seems appropriate to investigate this process of meaning-negotiation further in ELF-communication by positioning it in the CTP and thereby allowing for the creation of novel forms and meaning.

4. IN-BETWEEN CULTURES

Throughout the last chapters I have been addressing concepts and theories which point towards the creation of a shared space in-between cultures in intercultural communication. *Accommodation*, *convergence*, *positioning* and *consensus* are only few of many concepts presented in the literature that go beyond the highlighting of cultural differences and misunderstandings and allow for negotiation and creation of new meanings in the intercultural communication process. Bhabha ([2006]: 56, author's emphasis) explains that to him it is this "*inbetween* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture". Starosta & Chen (2000: 279) call this space of negotiation "realm between" and there are many other scholars who hint in the direction of this concept (e.g. Cupach & Imahori's (1993) *relational identity*, Blommaert's (1991) *ad-hoc consensus*, Koole & Thijs's (1994) *pragmatic system C*).

Kramsch (2009b: 233-254) offers an extensive overview of existing approaches which express and explain the place in-between cultures – a phenomenon that she herself refers to as *third culture* or *third place* and later conceptualizes it *symbolic place*. Scholars from various disciplines have attempted to describe this phenomenon with varying foci but similar names, e.g. *thirdness* (Peirce 1955), *the third meaning* (Barthes 1977), *thirdness of dialogue* (Bakhtin 1990), *third space* (Bhabha 1994), *third culture* or *third place* (Kramsch 1993), *third-culture* (Casmir 1999), *middle cultures* (Holliday 1999), *thirling* (Kostogriz 2002), and *symbolic place* (Kramsch 2009a).

As the fields of cultural studies and foreign language education are relevant for this thesis, I will turn to Bhabha and Kramsch as well as Casmir and take a closer look at their theories of *third space*, *third place* and *third culture*.

4.1. Bhabha's Third Space

In 1990 Bhabha introduced the phenomenon of *third space*, which represents the interlocutors' shared space in communication. Widdowson (2007: 54), among others, calls this shared space *convergence* (see chapter 3) and identifies it as prerequisite for effective communication. Convergence, thus, implies a third space, which is established in interaction, and offers room for new creations.

The concept of third space is based on Bhabha's view of culture being influenced by the "discursive practices of speakers and writers living in post-colonial times in complex industrialized societies" (Kramsch 2009b: 236). As already mentioned above (chapter 1), he thereby takes on the post-structuralist view of culture, which emphasizes that "cultures are never unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic in the relation of Self to Other" (Bhabha [2006]: 52). Thus, he rejects the view of culture as a stable system and proposes the concept of the third space which "ensure[s] that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha [2006]: 55).

This is in line with Bhabha's concept of *cultural hybridity* which "gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation" (Bhabha [1998]: 211). He puts *hybridity* on a level with *third space* when saying,

But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge. (Bhabha [1998]: 211)

Thereby he stresses once again that third space is not a plain mixture of two cultures but it is "an eminently heterogeneous, indeed contradictory and ambivalent space in which third perspectives can grow in the margins of dominant ways of seeing" (Kramsch 2009b: 237). And it is this "*inbetween* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (Bhabha [2006]: 56).

It is maybe interesting to note that Bhabha ([2006]: x) growing up in Bombay as a Parsi, i.e. the Persian minority, experienced "unresolved tensions between

cultures and countries”. This undoubtedly shaped his view of culture and he became even more fascinated with this concept of living in-between cultures through V. S. Naipaul's novels. To Bhabha ([2006]: xiii, my emphasis) Naipaul's characters represent

a culture of survival that emerges from the other side of the colonial enterprise, the darker side. Naipaul's people are vernacular cosmopolitans of a kind, moving in-between cultural traditions, and *revealing hybrid forms of life and art that do not have a prior existence within the discrete world of any single culture or language.*

This idea of creating something entirely new while moving from a space of non-belonging to the establishment of cultural negotiation is exactly what Bhabha's concept of third space tries to convey. According to Bhabha (2009: x) the “site of in-betweenness becomes the ground of discussion, dispute, confession, apology and negotiation”. It is of great interest to me when investigating ELF-communication to find these hybrid forms that are novel, not simply a fusion of various interacting linguacultural identities, but something that has not existed before.

Pölzl (2005: 104) uses Bhabha's term for her study and explains the establishment of third space in ELF-communication as follows:

[W]hen two different life worlds cross as in ELFIC [ELF as a special case of intercultural communication], rather than mixing both intersubjective realities, participants search for a more objective reality. This reality is created by negotiating and making accessible parts (i.e. meanings and practices) of all interacting life worlds.

ELF-communication is always hybrid as different linguacultural individuals meet and their shared space is prone to new creations since ELF does not conform to standards and is therefore subject to change.

4.2. Casmir's Third-Culture Building

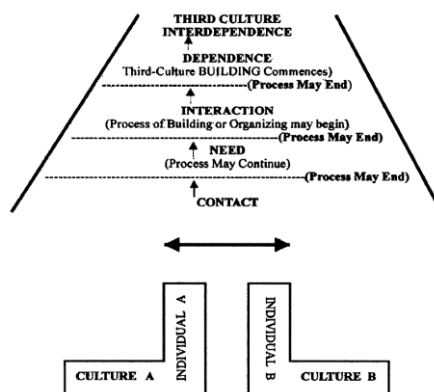
The term *third culture* was introduced by Casmir in 1978 to counteract the prevalent focus in intercultural studies of the stranger's adaptation to the host country's culture. This "stranger-host dichotomy" (Lee 2010: 41) is problematic because it usually considers the host culture to be dominant and therefore Casmir proposes the phenomenon of the third culture "beyond interactants' original cultures" (Lee 2010: 41).

Casmir & Asuncion-Lande's (1989: 294, my emphasis) definition of third culture is reminiscent of Bhabha's view of the third space as they also see this phenomenon as being something greater than the mixture of two cultures.

The conjoining of their separate cultures, a third culture, more inclusive than the official ones, is created, which both of them share. Third culture is not merely the result of the fusion of the two or more separate entities, but also *the product of the harmonization of composite parts into a coherent whole*.

Casmir's model of *third-culture building* (see figure 4.1.), contrary to Blommaert's (1991: 26) "ad-hoc consensus", shows that only in long-term relationships, which allow the development of dependence and interdependence between the interlocutors, third-culture has a chance to exist. The model illustrates that not every conversation has to lead to the creation of a third-culture and that the communication process can be interrupted any time. If, in phase two, no mutual need to continue the conversation is felt, it is very likely that the process is terminated before the third-culture building has even started.

Figure 4.1. Casmir's (1999: 109) third-culture building model



I agree with Casmir concerning the necessity of a need to communicate a prerequisite for third-culture building as without this basic need no communication would be taking place at all. Furthermore, I believe, in line with Casmir, that third-culture can be shaped and developed in a more sophisticated way over time. However, contrary to Casmir's third-culture building model, Bhabha's third space is not limited to long-term relationships but can also be established in spontaneous encounters as long as there is a mutual need or motivation to communicate.²⁵ Pölzl's (2005) as well as my data proves Bhabha's proposal as it shows that already in first-contact situations a CTP can be created, e.g. via membering (see chapter 7).

Meierkord (2002: 125) points out that the concepts of third culture and third space as presented by Casmir (1999) and Bhabha ([2006]) arose from "issues of identity in diasporas" (Meierkord 2002: 125) and studies in this area mainly focus on migrant communities where individuals feel the desire to represent their identity in the foreign language. Meierkord (2002: 125) poses the critical question whether this "need to convey feelings, moods and identity in a language different from their mother tongue" is also relevant to ELF-speakers. My data shall answer her question as it presents ELF as a language that allows speakers to remain linguaculturally authentic and create a CTP through positioning themselves as well as the others via linguacultural and intercultural labelling (see chapter 7).

Although Meierkord is critical towards the creation of a third place in ELF-communication, she acknowledges the existence of hybridity. Hence, she concludes that lingua franca communication is "both a linguistic masala and a language [129:] 'stripped bare' of its cultural roots" (Meierkord 2002: 128-129). But she argues that the amount of culture and hybridity a speaker wishes to express is dependent on the purpose and setting of the conversation as well as the speaker's own schematic and systemic knowledge²⁶. Her study showed that ELF-speakers tend to avoid culturally laden items to ensure mutual intelligibility and therefore prefer to use neutral rather than culture-specific language, partly also due to a lack of language competence. Nevertheless, she acknowledges that lingua franca speakers can be "'just themselves' and free to choose whatever

²⁵ This could be due to the fact that Bhabha is referring to variation whereas Casmir is talking about change.

²⁶ See section 1.3. on schema theory.

aspect of communication is of primary concern to them in a given situation” (Meierkord 2002: 129).

Although I agree with Casmir’s standpoint that third culture is not simply the fusion of two or more separate cultures, I will not use his term third-culture for this paper as it is usually associated with the concept of long-term third-culture building which is not the focus of my study. Meierkord (2002: 122) also argues that Casmir’s approach represents “an idealized situation conceptualization of participants as peace-seeking individuals” and opts for a more realistic concept for cultural contact, i.e. the “concept of hybridity provided from literature and cultural studies discussing post-colonial multi-cultural societies” (Meierkord 2002: 122). Furthermore, I agree with Pölzl (2005: 110) when she criticizes that third-culture building, similar to Widdowson’s (2007) model of communicative convergence (see chapter 3), gives the wrong impression of involving only two cultural beings (as presented in figure 4.1.). Although Casmir & Asuncion-Lande (1989: 294) mention the possibility of “more [than two] separate entities” being involved in third-culture building, their model fails to account for the fact that multiple linguacultural individuals can altogether create a place of common ground. Due to the fact that Casmir’s approach does not seem appropriate for my study I will move on to explore the next model of cultural in-betweenness.

4.3. Kramsch: The Learner’s Third Place

The third approach I would like to present is Kramsch’s *third place* or *third culture* (these two terms are used interchangeably by Kramsch), which she defines as “a symbolic place that is by no means unitary, stable, permanent and homogenous” (Kramsch 2009b: 238). What is new is that Kramsch sees this phenomenon in connection with second language learning as she considers *third place* something “that grows in the interstices between the cultures the [language] learner grew up with and the new cultures he or she is being introduced to” (Kramsch 1993: 236). She takes a critical stance on teaching methods which only provide learners with native-speaker patterns and social practices to help them

accommodate to the target culture. She argues that this approach underestimates the competences of a language learner

because foreign language learners will ever find new ways of making their own hypotheses, of understanding (and misunderstanding) cultural material, of using the foreign language *to express their own unique meanings*. (Kramsch 1993: 237, my emphasis)

She therefore sees the *third place* of the learner “as a place where he or she *creates meaning*” (Kramsch 1993: 236, authors’ emphasis) and this view very much reflects that of Bhabha’s *third space*. However, it is important to note that there seems to be a crucial difference between the two concepts as Kramsch’s notion of *third place* is mainly located in the language classroom and therefore it does not require a contact situation between linguaculturally different individuals, which is necessary for my definition of the CTP (see section 4.4.). To Kramsch, however, (1993: 9, my emphasis) *third culture* is “the creation, *in and through the classroom*, of a social, linguistic reality that is born from the L1 speech environment of the learners and the social environment of the L2 native speakers, but is a third culture in its own right”. She argues that the target culture will always restrict the language learner who cannot escape being subordinate to it and its native speakers. This view might hold true for most language learning but it differs to a great extent from what happens in ELF-communication. When learning Japanese, for example, one naturally wants to also be familiar with cultural practices and conventions which are common in Japan.²⁷ However, there is no target culture for ELF and ELF does not have any native speakers. Therefore in ELF-communication none of the speakers have to feel subordinate but they are all equal in the sense that each of the participants is using English as a lingua franca, “which enables them to share traces of their culture and at the same time to become something new” (Pölzl 2005: 106). ELF offers this possibility of expressing one’s own identity and constructing personal meanings in a foreign language without having to adapt to anyone else’s culture.

Even though Kramsch recognizes the interdependence between the language learner and the target culture, she sees *third culture* as an opportunity to help learners “discover[...] their own national, ethnic, and personal identity through a

²⁷ I thank Prof. Widdowson for this example.

language that is not the one they grew up with” (Kramsch 1993: 256). The language learner, trying to integrate his or her own culture with the experiences of the learned one and vice versa, creates his or her own personal culture. Kramsch trusts that language learners will always try to challenge the meanings of the target culture they are confronted with as well as their own social practices and they will thereby construct their own new meanings, no matter how hard language teachers try to impose the target culture on them. And these new meanings are created in what Kramsch calls the *learner’s third place*. (Kramsch 1993: 236-239)

Kramsch (2009b: 244) realizes that it might be problematic to simply see *third place* “as a place of contact or encounter between speakers from two different cultures [...] [since] intercultural communication gives little attention to issues of power differential and conflict within and between cultures”. In line with this, Kalscheuer (2009: 39) also identifies the neglect of power relations in intercultural communication research as a major issue. She points out that “like interculturalists, Bhabha (and other postcolonialists, too) does not pay enough attention to aspects of power and the unequally distributed chances of articulating one’s very own interests” (Kalscheuer 2009: 39). Although the aspect of unequal power relations in ELF-communication seems very interesting and requires further research, there will be no room for this in my analysis since my data did mostly provide examples of fairly symmetrical power relations between speakers.

Kramsch (2009a: 200) later revises her concept of *third place* by arguing that

the term ‘third place’ or ‘third culture’ too often ignores the symbolic nature of the multilingual subject – both as a signifying self and as a social actor who has the power to change social reality through the use of multiple symbolic systems.

She criticizes “[t]he spatial metaphor of third place [as being] too static for a relational state of mind” (Kramsch 2009a: 200) and fights the simplistic way of seeing *third place* as a mixture of first place, i.e. the country of origin, and second place, i.e. the host country. This one-sided way of interpreting *third place* might result in the host country taking advantage of this phenomenon as “third place can be easily romanticized as some hybrid position that contributes to the host

country's ideology of cultural diversity" (Kramsch 2009a: 200). Hence, she opens up the concept of *third place* by renaming it *symbolic place* or *symbolic competence*, which highlights a "more dynamic, flexible and locally contingent competence" (Kramsch 2009a: 199). Although I agree with her criticism, I also believe that when terminology becomes too abstract, it does not contribute to the readability and coherence of a paper. Kramsch's idea of *symbolic place* is appealing to me and my study, however, the term she chose is in my view very difficult to grasp and. Seidlhofer (2009: 40) argues that new phenomena ask for new categories and therefore I decided to term the place, where cultural negotiation in ELF-communication occurs, Cultural Third Place, which will be further explained in the following section.

4.4. The Cultural Third Place

I have now presented three approaches to cultural in-betweenness which use slightly varying terminology and I could identify differences as well as similarities. Due to the fact that, in my view, none of the above approaches is completely applicable to ELF-communication, and in line with Seidlhofer's (2009: 40) call for new categories, I suggest a novel and hybrid term, which entails parts of the above approaches. Thus, I decided to term this phenomenon *Cultural Third Place* (CTP) because I want to highlight the cultural and therefore dynamic dimension of this concept. One should not imagine this CTP as a clear-cut and well-defined place with sharp margins but, on the contrary, CTP should be seen as a very fuzzy and constantly changing area which is different and unique for each intercultural encounter. This is due to the fact that the CTP is a place of negotiation and convergence which establishes room for maneuver and realignments of meaning.

When considering the terminology in the outlined approaches, I realized that Bhabha's concept of *third space* offers essential components for my CTP. However, I decided not to use his term because his concept of *third space* is set in a post-colonial context, where adaption to superior cultures is the starting point for creating third spaces. This seems not appropriate for my study on ELF-

communication since my data shows linguaculturally different individuals coming together in various locations and the common language they use is free from any cultural submission. Furthermore, my concept of CTP differs from Kramsch's *third place* in that sense that I do not restrict it to the language classroom but want to investigate its creation in actual intercultural encounters, to be more exact ELF-encounters. As already mentioned above I also don't see CTP as being dependent on long-term relationships, like Casmir's *third culture*, but on the contrary, CTP can be created spontaneously²⁸ and temporarily. In fact, I believe third places exist in any kind of communication where some sort of agreement, i.e. convergence, is reached. Thus, this is not a phenomenon unique to ELF-communication.²⁹ However, when this concept is positioned into intercultural communication, the degree of cultural hybridity grows and, thus, more negotiation might be required. Not to lose sight of the essential issues of this paper, I have termed this phenomenon *Cultural Third Place* to emphasize the cultural diversity as well as hybridity, which is at work in ELF-communication.

Despite the above-mentioned discrepancies, the presented models offer certain aspects I would like to adopt for the CTP in ELF-communication, namely (1) the representation of *cultural diversity* by means of linguacultural labelling (divergence), (2) the *negotiation of common ground* via intercultural labelling (convergence), and (3) *cultural hybridity* expressed through the creation of novel meanings and code-switching. Thus, like Bhabha and Kramsch, I also see CTP as more than simply the fusion of two or more cultures but as a place where new meanings are established, which are then available to all of the participants. In addition to these three points, another important aspect, which was not explicitly mentioned in any of the presented models, is (4) the *negotiation of schematic knowledge* in the CTP, i.e. how ELF-speakers make sense of varying schemata.

These four components of the CTP are all related to processes of positioning, which I have identified as crucial strategy for managing communication. It is necessary now to set my initial research question within the realm of the CTP and, thus, to ask: How do linguaculturally different individuals *successfully*

²⁸ see Bloomaert's (1991) ad-hoc consensus

²⁹ I thank Prof. Widdowson for this valuable comment.

position themselves and others in the CTP while using English as a lingua franca?

4.5. Summary Chapter 4

Chapter 4 aimed at introducing three approaches to cultural in-betweenness, namely Bhabha's *third space*, Casmir's *third-culture*, and Kramsch's *third place*. Their terms are almost identical at first sight, but after outlining these three concepts, I was able to identify their differences and similarities. In a next step, I presented my model, namely the *Cultural Third Place* (CTP), which is a hybrid form of existing approaches with an emphasis on cultural diversity and hybridity.

The CTP is a place of negotiation and positioning and I have identified its essential components for this study as follows:

- (1) cultural diversity*
- (2) negotiation of common ground*
- (3) cultural hybridity*
- (4) negotiation of schematic knowledge*

I have argued that *third places* are not unique to ELF-communication or other types of intercultural communication but occur every time interlocutors interact to establish convergence. For this study, though, I position my concept of CTP within ELF-communication as it provides the appropriate framework for analyzing how ELF-speakers negotiate meaning in communication. This led me to revise my research question, which now focuses on the process of positioning in the CTP.

In the following chapter I will turn to ELF-communication and describe this phenomenon by defining it as a special case of intercultural communication.

5. ELF-COMMUNICATION

5.1. A personal account

Speaking from personal experience, I used English as a lingua franca very frequently during my stay in Minnesota, USA, where, as an au pair I had almost more contact with other au pairs than to Americans. Due to the fact that I stayed for two years, I saw many au pair friends come and go. And they came from all over the world, for instance Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Japan, and South Africa. Although many of them had only limited knowledge of the English language, for most of us, this was the only common language and somehow we managed to use it to communicate successfully.

Even though I had no idea about the concept of ELF at that point, I already experienced its advantages. When speaking to non-native speakers of English, like my au pair friends, I was never afraid of making mistakes and caught myself trying out new vocabulary and practicing my pronunciation. In contrast to that, I usually kept quiet around English native speakers and only uttered things I was completely certain of to avoid any mistakes.

Of course this is only my personal experience but I am certain that I am not alone with these feelings. Many foreign language learners experience similar feelings of uncertainty or even subordination when being confronted with native speakers of the target language. These feelings might cause a reduced or simplified foreign language use only to avoid mistakes.

However, in ELF-communication this is usually not the case since all interlocutors are non-native speakers of English and therefore equal in this aspect. (Lesznyák 2004: 235-236, Pölzl 2005: 106) Although ELF competences might differ, the so-called expert, i.e. the English native speaker, is not present and therefore no superior language-knowledge has to be adapted to. This image of the English native speaker being the expert is of course an idealized one but it still prevails for most English language learners as well as teachers.

Because English is separated from its original culture in ELF-communication

there is no specific culture ELF-speakers have to adapt to. Interlocutors using ELF tend to carefully negotiate each other's linguacultural identities in the CTP. I could also witness this during my time in the US but in my case the surroundings also played an important role as most au pairs stayed for at least one year. Thus, although the established CTP in ELF-communication is usually neutral, it seems to be influenced by the surrounding language and culture.

During these two years as au pair ELF-interactions became a major part of my life and had a considerable impact on me. It shaped my own linguacultural identity as well as my schematic knowledge and consequently kindled my interest to investigate this phenomenon further.

5.2. ELF as a special case of ICC

In the first chapters of this paper I have touched upon some general models of communication and came to the conclusion that any type of interpersonal communication is to a certain degree intercultural for the process of negotiating one's position is the same in all communication.

In line with Lesznyák (2004: 235), I see English as a lingua franca (ELF) – communication as “a special case of intercultural communication”. Roberts (1996: 23) points out that in intercultural communication “linguistic and cultural resources are unevenly distributed”, which is of course also the case in ELF-communication. However, what is distinct about ELF-encounters is that there are no English native speakers present³⁰ and therefore they “do not involve two unequal cultures (an expert NS [native speaker] and a nonexpert NNS [non-native speaker] culture)” (Lesznyák 2004: 235). This means that although in ELF-communication we are always confronted with different cultures and diverse systemic and schematic knowledge (see section 1.3.), ELF-interlocutors are still considered equal as they have one thing in common: they are all non-native speakers of English. Hence, “the psychological posture of interactants is more favourable than it is in other types of intercultural communication” (Lesznyák

³⁰ It should be noted that VOICE (see chapter 6) does include encounters with English native speakers into their ELF data as long as the number of English native speakers is below 50 % of the participants.

2004: 235-236). However, before going into more detail, the term ELF needs to be conceptualized.

5.3. Conceptualizing ELF

The term *lingua franca* originally “referred to a variety that was spoken along the South-Eastern coast of the Mediterranean between appr[oximately] the 15th and 19th century” (Meierkord & Knapp 2002: 9). This original *lingua franca*, which literally means the “language of the franks” (Kahane & Kahane 1976: 26), was a pidgin language, i.e.

an auxiliary language with a reduced structure and lexicon which develops to meet the communicative requirements of speakers of mutually unintelligible languages, mainly for rudimentary transactions in trade, seafaring, or the management of labour in general (Schendl 2001: 59).

Hence, *lingua franca* was a language created to enable communication between speakers of different native languages for specific purposes (Meierkord & Knapp 2002: 9) and this is exactly what the function of English as a *lingua franca* is.

Meierkord & Knapp (2002: 9) point out that *lingua francas* have most likely already existed before the 15th century, only under different names. Today the terminology for the phenomenon *lingua franca* still varies. Meierkord & Knapp sum up Samarin’s (1987) wide range of expressions with the following list: “contact language, contact vernacular, marginal language, auxiliary language, trade language, trade jargon, Verkehrssprache, vehicular language, international language and world language” (Meierkord & Knapp 2002: 9)

In this paper I will adhere to the term *lingua franca* the way it was used in the original sense and in line with Firth (1996: 240, author’s emphasis), I want to define ELF as

a ‘contact language’ between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen *foreign* language of communication.

As my study deals with ELF-communication, I would also like to provide House's (1999: 74) definition of ELF interaction since it offers a straightforward and clear description.

ELF interactions are defined as interactions between members of two or more different *linguacultures* in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue.

It can be inferred from Firth's and House's³¹ definitions that, like any *lingua franca*, English as a *lingua franca* does not have any native speakers.³² However, this might be hard to conceptualize as "the notion of a language is so closely and automatically tied up with its native speakers" (Seidlhofer 2004: 212). Considering the English language, one immediately thinks about the standard varieties which a learner of English is often supposed to conform to. But outside the classrooms there are different rules and it has been observed that "[m]any interactions in English are between participants who do not control standard grammar and whose lexis and pronunciation do not conform to any recognized norm" (Seidlhofer 2004: 212). ELF is not standard British, Australian or American English, it does not have any native speakers and therefore it does not need to comply with any prescribed norms. Seidlhofer (2004: 212) refers to this as "process of internationalization and destandardization". So, if ELF does not have any native speakers who then can consider this language their own?

To answer this question one has to look at the bigger picture, namely the development of English into a "global language" (Crystal 2003) which lead to ELF becoming "the world's largest *lingua franca*" (Saraceni 2010: 1) and, according to Seidlhofer (2009: 39), "the only genuinely global *lingua franca*". This means that speakers who use English as a second or foreign language are outnumbering native speakers of English. Gnutzmann (2000: 357) refers to Beneke (1991: 54) when claiming that 80% of ESL- or EFL-interactions occur in absence of English native speakers. Graddol (1997: 13) confirms this by saying that "there may already be more people who speak English as a foreign language than the

³¹ Note that despite Firth and House's emphasis on *different linguacultures* my data does include ELF-conversations where some speakers share their *linguacultures*, e.g. two Austrian speakers are talking to a Serbian speaker. I still consider this to be ELF-communication.

³² Note that Seidlhofer includes English native speakers in her ELF-corpus (VOICE) as will be explained in section 6.3.1.

combined totals of those who speak it as a first and second language”. Almost ten years later Graddol does not use any hedging devices anymore but is now certain of the development of the English language into the world’s lingua franca. He speaks of ELF as a “new language” (Graddol 2006: 11) calling it “English in its new global form” (Graddol 2006: 11). As the following citation illustrates, Graddol does not see ELF with English native speaker eyes but he sees something entirely new that cannot be claimed by English native speakers anymore.

[T]his is not English as we have known it, and have taught in the past as a foreign language. It is a new phenomenon, and if it represents any kind of triumph it is probably not a cause of celebration by native speakers. (Graddol 2006: 11)

Seidlhofer (2010: 148) adds that language adaption, however, is not a new phenomenon per se as a language does not “settle into a fixed state transmitted over time, but is continually in flux, exploited and adapted in response to changing circumstances”. Thus, Seidlhofer (2010: 148) considers “the emergence of ELF [...] an entirely natural adaptive process”.

But, nevertheless, “control over the norms of the language still rests with speakers for whom it is the first language” (Seidlhofer 2004: 209), even though English native speakers do not own the English language in this new form. But “its non-English majority of users are increasingly claiming ownership of it” (Toolan 1997: 3) and justifiably so since “the very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it” (Widdowson 1994: 385), which answers the above question on the ownership of English. While ELF cannot be owned by anyone, in ELF-communication each individual is free to *make* it their own, i.e. to form and shape it according to their own needs and desires. This paper aims at showing that ELF-communication works without always conforming to the rules and norms of Standard English and how the CTP opens doors for creativity. Now the next questions arise: If no one owns ELF, where then do we find ELF? Where can it be located in the world? The following section attempts to answer these questions.

5.4. The location of ELF

Pözl (2005: 8-45) provides a detailed account of the spread and development of English in the world, conceptualizing English as a world language, i.e. a *lingua mundi*, by distinguishing between English as a native language, i.e. a *lingua culturae*, English as a second language, i.e. a *lingua converta*, and English as a *lingua franca*.

When connecting Pözl's terminology, which focuses on function, with Kachru's (1992) concept of the Three Circles of English, which are nation-based, we could set English as a *lingua culturae* into his *Inner Circle*, i.e. the countries where English is used as a native language and English as a *lingua converta* would be placed in the *Outer Circle*, i.e. the countries where English is used as a second language (Kachru 1992: 356-357). Pözl (2005: 10), then, locates English as a *lingua franca* in the third of Kachru's Concentric Circles, i.e. the *Expanding Circle*, where English is used as a foreign language, thus, between speakers whose native languages are not English.

However, it is worth mentioning that Kachru's model has been criticized by many (e.g. Mollin 2006b; Seidlhofer 2009). Mollin (2006b: 41), for instance, sees its deficits in the mixture of categories "since nations, types of speakers, functions of English as well as types of variety are all referred to". She also criticizes the fact that Kachru's Inner Circle, namely the native speakers of English, prescribes the norms which the Expanding Circle has to conform to. (Mollin 2006: 41-42) While the Outer Circle is seen as being "norm-developing" (Mollin 2006b: 42) the Expanding Circle does not have the privilege of developing its own varieties but is "norm-dependent" (Mollin 2006b: 42). Although she acknowledges the importance of Kachru's model, she urges for a revised model which gives space to the new concept of ELF. Nevertheless, Mollin, similar to Pözl (2005: 10), situates ELF, "as a specific function of English, particularly in the Expanding Circle" (Mollin 2006b: 54).

Although Mollin (2006b: 42) recognizes that "English has acquired a new dominant function world-wide [namely] that of a *lingua franca* between all three circles", she still focuses mainly on ELF in the Expanding Circle. Seidlhofer

(2009: 49), on the other hand, goes further and does not locate ELF in any of Kachru's three Circles.

The existing categories of ENL, ESL and EFL are not necessarily relevant, as ELF is seen as not fitting any of the three Circles but cutting across them – this is also why ELF has its own acronym.

I agree with Seidlhofer (2009: 49) that ELF cannot be located in any single Circle but “cut[s] across them” since it can take place anywhere in the world between any non-native speakers of English. However, I would like to differentiate between locations and speakers since ELF-communication can be set in an Inner Circle-country but as soon as English native speakers are present, to me, we are not dealing with ELF anymore as this goes against its definition.³³ The interlocutors would then be unequal in the sense that not all of them are non-native speakers of English, which might result in a certain pressure to conform to the respective standard variety of English.

But Seidlhofer is not the only one who tries to advocate new ways of dealing with the conceptualization of the English language. In 1985, the same year Kachru published his Three Circle model as a continuation of Strang's tripartite model from 1970 (Mollin 2006a: 25), Sinclair (1985: 251) already pointed out that “[t]he categories and methods we use to describe English are not appropriate to the new material”. Although Sinclair was referring to native speaker English, the “need to overhaul our descriptive systems” (Sinclair 1985: 251), which he expressed 27 years ago, can be related to Seidlhofer's (2009: 40) request for the description of ELF.

What is required is the drawing of new maps, perhaps the devising of new ways of describing features of landscapes not previously encountered. [...] Forcing findings into preconceived categories is always likely to obstruct an understanding of new phenomena.

But it is surprising that we still adhere to these models from over four decades ago although Saraceni (2010: 10) proposes to drop these categories altogether as “they are divisive, encourage constructs of inequality and are, therefore, ultimately misleading”.

³³ Note that ELF definitions vary and that Seidlhofer includes English NS into her VOICE data.

While I acknowledge the need for new models and categories to grasp the growing spread of English as well as the phenomenon of using English as a lingua franca, I believe that for the present study it is not necessary to put ELF into any categories as long as its definition is clear. Mollin (2006b: 42), however, remarks that ELF definitions vary and fail to be precise enough. She is unsatisfied with definitions that simply see ELF as a new name for English as a foreign language (Jenkins 2003: 4), or call ELF a variety (Mauranen 2003: 514, Meierkord & Knapp 2002: 19) or, more precisely, a register (Widdowson 2003: 55) of English and advocates more clarity in the conceptualization of ELF. Although I agree with Mollin to a certain extent, I also believe that Firth's and House's definitions provided above are sufficient for my study.

Nevertheless, in this paper I would like to take one small step towards this pressing need of new categories by introducing the concept of the CTP, which intends to provide space for new features in ELF-communication.

5.5. Summary Chapter 5

This chapter aimed at providing a working definition of ELF for this paper and connecting it with the CTP. While I have outlined the questionability of trying to squeeze ELF into existing categories, such as Kachru's Three Circle model, I have recognized ELF as a unique phenomenon in itself, which does not require any preset models. Thus, I believe that a clear definition of ELF is sufficient for this paper.

As presented in this chapter, I view ELF as "a special case of intercultural communication" (Lesznyák 2004: 235) and, thus, conceptualized it in line with House (1999: 74) and Firth (1996: 240) as *a language non-native speakers of English, who grew up in varying linguacultures, choose to use in order to communicate with one another.*

I further illustrated the paradox that although ELF cannot be owned by anyone, ELF-speakers can *make* this language their own by expressing their identity and remaining authentic according to their needs. This process of positioning takes place in the CTP, which can be seen as a small step towards the request for a different conceptualization of the use of English.

6. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

6.1. Research objectives and methodology

Although studies on ELF-communication have been markedly increasing since 2006 (Pitzl 2011: 15)³⁴, this research is still in its beginnings. Hence, my paper aims at providing a small contribution to the understanding of ELF-interactions.

The way I approached my data can be compared with Schegloff's suggestion on how to use conversational analysis for interactions between non-native speakers of English. During an interview with Wong and Olsher, Schegloff claims,

I think the most productive way to work is to take your data and try to make observations just as you would with native-native speaker talk. I don't think there's anything different. [...] I think you work on it the same way. [...] You make observations about what you are examining even if you have no idea what significance or further thinking it will set off, if any. You write them all down. You see some things start to pop up recurrently; you notice something happening over and over again. (Schegloff quoted in Wong & Olsher 2000: 119)

In line with Schegloff, I believe that the way you initially deal with ELF-data does not differ from approaches to native speaker data. His following statement reflects my main feelings and thoughts when I started examining my data.

You sit down; you make observations; you try to describe them as carefully as you can. You keep on doing that, and you keep on doing that. And you keep on doing that, and then hopefully you start to find, "Oh I've seen something like that before!" [...] You get some embryonic notion of what that thing is, and you try to get more instances. You have no idea of where it's going to end up. (Schegloff quoted in Wong & Olsher 2000: 119)

However, as I continuously read the transcripts, listened to the audio files and took notes, I started to get an idea of "where it's going to end up" (Wong & Olsher 2000: 119). I noticed the reoccurring need of linguaculturally different participants to emphasize their distinctiveness while at the same remaining cooperative members of the intercultural group. The hybridity, which emerged from this cultural diversity, struck me as unique and sparked my interest. Due to their

³⁴ See Pitzl (2011: 12-19) for an overview on ELF studies and findings.

differences, the positioning processes became much more salient but nevertheless, despite their linguacultural diversity, they were willing to negotiate common ground in the CTP. I decided to use Pölzl's model of linguacultural and intercultural labelling (see section 7.1.) to describe this constant interplay of cooperative and territorial imperative (see section 3.2.) related to their linguacultural identities.

In addition to that, another phenomenon caught my attention, namely the creation of novel hybrid forms in the CTP. The negotiation of new forms and meanings turned out to be a result of differing schematic knowledge, which is again more salient in ELF-communication due to linguacultural diversity.

Hence, my research objective is to investigate how meaning is negotiated and how and when processes of positioning occur by means of analyzing and describing the selected examples. I do not intend on defining any universal features of ELF-negotiation as this would go beyond the scope of this paper. However, my analysis aims at providing insight into ELF-negotiation processes in the CTP and thereby aids in establishing a better understanding of why ELF-communication works in such a cooperative and effective way.

6.2. From forms to functions

When analyzing the data, I first focused on striking language forms but soon the underlying meaning of these forms caught my interest. I started wondering "what actually motivates the production of these forms, how they are being used by interlocutors to express their meanings and relate to each other" (Seidlhofer 2009: 40).

I agree with Seidlhofer (2009: 49) when she points out that "quantitative approaches may be necessary but are certainly not sufficient in our attempts to achieve a better understanding of ELF". Similar to Seidlhofer, Pölzl (2005: 126) suggests concentrating "on the negotiation of culture and identity rather than on specific linguistic or discoursal phenomena".

Therefore my focus will not be on the forms of ELF alone, but I intend on adopting an “endonormative approach” (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006: 9) for this study, which requires further consideration of how forms function in certain situations. This approach is mainly concerned with questions, such as: “How do ELF speakers communicate? What seems important [or] useful to them?” (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006: 9) rather than asking, “How do ELF speakers differ from ENL speakers? [...] Which, or how many, mistakes do they make?” (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006: 9).

I consider an endonormative approach more appropriate for my study as I want to turn away from pointing out deficiencies in ELF-communication and move towards an emphasis on investigating how successful communication is achieved. This does not necessarily require conforming to English native speaker norms as long as respective meanings and forms are negotiated in the CTP.

In accordance with Seidlhofer’s (2009: 49) comment above, I decided not to conduct a quantitative study, e.g. by counting the occurrence of certain features, but rather to qualitatively analyze a few specific examples with regards to the function certain reoccurring phenomena have in these conversations and how the interlocutors’ cultural backgrounds influence these features. Hence, I want to concentrate on “developing an understanding of how ELF users exploit the resources of the language to achieve their communicative outcomes” (Seidlhofer 2009: 49).

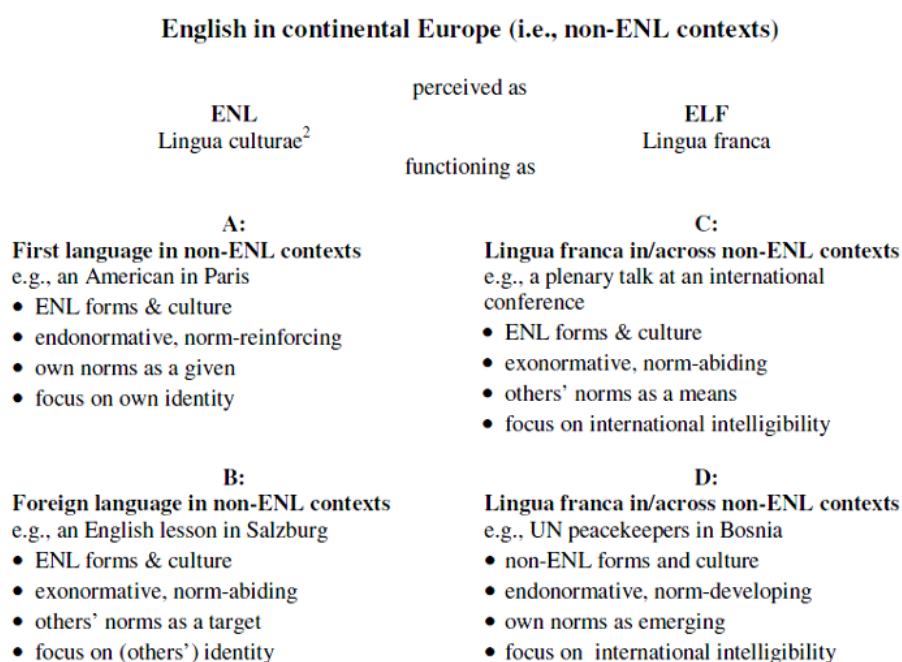
The notion of the CTP as well as the shift in analysis from ELF-forms to functions should contribute to the understanding of how ELF-communication works and how common ground is established between interlocutors from different linguacultures.

6.3. The data

I would like to put an emphasis on finding examples that show how ELF-speakers position themselves and others in the CTP by selecting strategies of stressing linguacultural diversity and hybridity.

I have chosen to limit this research to spoken examples of ELF as, compared to written language, change and deviation from the norm tends to occur earlier and more frequently in spoken interaction. To Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl (2006: 9) spontaneous spoken ELF interaction can take place “whenever there is no possibility of ‘online’ editing by ENL speakers” and they put these conversations in the category of “lingua franca in/across non-ENL contexts” (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006: 8, see figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1. English in continental Europe (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006: 8)



In contrast to situations where ELF abides to ENL norms (area C), I am especially interested in interactions where no conformity to ENL forms and culture is required (area D), which consequently offers room for new norms to develop. This study is meant to contribute to the need for more research in this specific area of ELF-communication.

6.3.1. VOICE

Besides VOICE, two other ELF-corpora have been completed recently, namely ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) and TELF (Tübingen English as a Lingua Franca). In addition to that, another ELF-corpus is in the making at the Hong Kong Institute of Education, namely ACE, the Asian Corpus of English³⁵. This increasing interest in collecting data shows how ELF has developed, as Seidlhofer (2009: 37) puts it, “from an outlandish idea to a massive new research agenda”.

I decided to use examples from VOICE for my data as this corpus is “the first general ELF corpus to be made publicly available” (Pitzl 2011: 135). It is easily accessible, free of charge and furthermore provides the appropriate data for my study, namely “naturally-occurring, non-scripted, face-to-face interactions” (VOICE 2011: Corpus Header). Similar to Pölzl (2005: 65), I want my focus to be “on investigating those practices that enable participants to pursue a culturally authentic exchange.” Thus, I consider it necessary to work with naturally-occurring data, as provided in VOICE, since “authentic data collection is infinitely the most valuable for the study of more salient discourse phenomena” (Neil 1996:74). The fact that 23 out of the 151 interactions in VOICE are accompanied with the respective audio files enhanced my understanding of how to read the transcripts as well as contributed to a holistic approach for analysis and interpretation.³⁶

VOICE includes interactions of “753 identified individuals from 49 different first language backgrounds using English as a lingua franca” (VOICE 2011: Corpus Header). It should be noted, though, that VOICE’s definition of ELF includes native speakers of English as long as they comprise less than 50 percent of the interactants. However, in sum, the number of words produced by English native speakers only amount to less than 10 percent of the entire corpus (Pitzl 2011: 139).

³⁵ See <http://www.ied.edu.hk/rcleams/view.php?secid=227> for an outline of ACE.

³⁶ Transcription conventions (mark-up and spelling) are provided in the appendices A-C.

The data comprised in VOICE was collected on the basis of the following seven criteria:

- English as a lingua franca (operationally defined as involving speakers of different first languages who use English as a common means of communication and for the majority of whom it is an additionally acquired language)
 - Spoken
 - Naturally occurring
 - Interactive
 - Face-to-face
 - Non-scripted
 - Self-selected participation (i.e. the speakers decided for themselves that they are capable of using ELF to accomplish specific participant roles in the speech event they are taking part in)
- (VOICE 2011: Corpus Header)

The corpus data is divided into three main domains, namely educational, leisure, and professional³⁷, which are further grouped into various speech event types, such as conversation, interview, meeting, etc.³⁸ (VOICE 2011: Corpus Header)

This made it possible to select data according to the desired context, which will be the subject of the following section.

6.3.2. Selecting data

When browsing through VOICE, I noticed that interactions with a predefined purpose and a certain goal often foreground the process of fulfilling a task rather than the positioning of linguacultural identities³⁹. I, thus, decided to limit my samples to the speech event type of *conversations* since “[t]he main goal in casual conversations is to establish rapport, to maintain relationships (e.g. friendships) or to discuss topics of common interest” (Pölzl 2005: 236).

In VOICE 36 interactions which are marked as conversations can be found. They make up 15.45% of the entire corpus in terms of the number of words (see table 6.2.).

³⁷ The professional domain is further divided into professional business, professional organizational, and professional research and science domain.

³⁸ See table 6.2. for the speech event types distribution in VOICE.

³⁹ This is, for instance, the case in part of EDcon496. (see section 7.1.1.)

Table 6.2. Speech event types distribution in VOICE

Speech Event Type	Number of Speech Events	Wordcount	Percent of Words
con (conversation)	36	158,071	15.45
int (interview)	16	36,364	3.55
mtg (meeting)	20	273,438	26.73
pan (panel)	10	92,721	9.06
prc (press conference)	5	17,582	1.72
qas (question-answer session)	10	27,538	2.69
sed (seminar discussion)	6	63,617	6.22
sve (service encounter)	11	14,894	1.46
wgd (working group discussion)	19	181,047	17.7
wsd (workshop discussion)	18	157,855	15.43

(Statistics VOICE 1.1. Online:

http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/stats/voice11_domains_spets#voice11_spets)

The majority of the conversations are located in the leisure domain, namely 21 out of 36.⁴⁰ I further excluded all the conversations with English native speakers since this does not match my definition for ELF-communication as provided in chapter 5.⁴¹ Thus, my data includes 31 conversations with speakers from various L1 backgrounds⁴².

Chapter 7 provides a few selected examples of these 31 conversations which intend to give an insight into how linguaculturally different individuals position themselves and others and negotiate meaning in the CTP.

⁴⁰ For a more detailed corpus statistics see <http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/stats/>.

⁴¹ However, I included conversations with bilingual speakers who stated English as *one* of their first languages, which was the case in EDcon250, EDcon496, LEcon329, LEcon547, and LEcon548. (also see appendix D for more detailed information on my data)

⁴² A list of the conversations included in my data is provided in appendix D.

6.4. Summary Chapter 6

While research objectives have already been touched upon in the previous chapters by specifying my research question and introducing the concept of the CTP, this chapter aims at introducing the way I approached my data. After following Schegloff's suggestions for conversational analysis, I discovered reoccurring strategies for expressing linguacultural diversity as well as hybridity in my data, which will be illustrated and analyzed in chapter 7.

Attempting to move away from a focus on forms, I opted for an endonormative approach, which considers how forms function in conversations and tries to investigate the underlying reasons behind successful communication. Thus, I intend to shift from an emphasis on mistakes and difficulties in ELF-communication to an illustration of effective processes of negotiation and positioning in the CTP.

Furthermore, I have provided a short introduction to VOICE, which is the corpus I used for selecting my data. The speech event type *conversation* proved to be most suitable for my study and I therefore limited my data to the 31 conversations in VOICE which do not include English native speakers⁴³. It will be the objective of the following chapter to analyze a few selected examples which illustrate the negotiation as well as creation of meaning in the CTP.

⁴³ With the exception of five conversations that include bilingual speakers who stated English as *one* of their first languages.

7. THE CTP IN ELF-COMMUNICATION – AN ANALYSIS

In chapter 4 I have identified the essential components of the CTP for this study, namely (1) *cultural diversity*, (2) *negotiation of common ground*, (3) *cultural hybridity*, and (4) the *negotiation of schematic knowledge*. Now, I have finally arrived at the point where I can connect these elements with my data and give examples of conversations taken from VOICE which will show the way ELF-speakers position themselves and negotiate meaning in the CTP. This shall also provide an answer to my research question.

I have divided this chapter into two sections: (1) cultural diversity and common ground and (2) cultural hybridity and schematic knowledge. And although I have tried to sort my examples according to these criteria, overlaps occur very frequently since all of the four components are part of the positioning process and cannot be seen as separated from each other. My extracts can never be squeezed into a single one of these categories as there always are multiple forces at work at the same time. Thus, the examples will frequently provide links to the other components of the CTP.

7.1. Cultural diversity and common ground

Although the first two components of CTP, namely cultural diversity and common ground, seem very contradictory at first glance, I have noticed that these two forces commonly interact with each other in the conversations of my data. The act of expressing diversity is often linked with the establishment of shared meaning. Thus, the initial divergence, i.e. when speakers set themselves apart by stressing their linguacultural identities, is often followed by convergence, i.e. when speakers concede territory by stressing group membership and sharing meaning.

Pölzl (2005: 192) calls this process of divergence *linguacultural labelling* and the process of convergence *intercultural labelling*. She explains the importance of linguacultural labelling by relating it to the act of positioning (as presented by

Widdowson 2007: 63-64).

[I]f participants do not claim space in the TS [Third Space]⁴⁴ as linguaculturally distinct individuals, the hybridity through which the TS emerges, would not come into existence. The TS cannot be created by means of total assimilation to 'foreign' cultural conventions with which ELFIC [ELF as a special case of intercultural communication] participants cannot identify (e.g. British or US). Rather they need to remain linguaculturally authentic when using ELF and this they can achieve *by positioning themselves and their co-participants in the TS as who they linguaculturally are*. (Pölzl 2005: 228, my emphasis)

In her study Pölzl (2005: 192-193) mainly focuses on linguacultural labelling as she considers it to be more salient in ELF-communication than intercultural labelling. However, as already mentioned above, the way I view intercultural labelling is connected with linguacultural labelling since “[p]articipants want to be accepted into the intercultural community for who they are linguaculturally” (Pölzl 2005: 193). Thus, these two opposing forces of conceding and claiming territory⁴⁵ are in permanent interaction with each other and therefore cannot be separated from one another. My data shows that processes of linguacultural labelling often lead to intercultural labelling and proves that these strategies of positioning interact in a cooperative way.

Pölzl (2005: 194, author's emphasis) identifies three relevant strategies for linguacultural labelling, namely “*membering* (ascribing group membership), *stereotyping*, and *evaluating*”. This approach has been adapted from Hausendorf's (2000: 106) “Modell zur Beschreibung sozialer Kategorien [model to describe social categories]“ in which he describes three tasks for establishing membership: “*Zuordnen*, *Zuschreiben* und *Bewerten* [identifying, ascribing, and evaluating]” (Hausendorf 2000: 111). While *Zuordnen*, i.e. identifying membership to a certain social group, is the minimum requirement for expressing membership, *Zuschreiben*, i.e. ascribing group-specific traits and behavior, and *Bewerten*, i.e. expressing certain attitudes towards the identified member of a certain social group, are dependent on the initial act of *Zuordnen*. (Hausendorf 2000:111)

⁴⁴ Pölzl (2005) uses Bhabha's term to refer to what I have named the CTP. (see chapter 4 for an explanation of my terminology choice)

⁴⁵ See section 3.2. on co-operative and territorial imperative.

In the following sections I will concentrate on *membering* and *stereotyping* as strategies of linguacultural labelling and at the same time I want to indicate acts of intercultural labelling wherever they are part of the negotiation process.

7.1.1. Membering

Membering, “the most basic form of linguacultural labelling” (Pözl 2005: 195), is the process of identifying oneself or others as being part of a particular cultural group, e.g. by referring to one’s “nationality, race, gender, religion, language, profession” (Pözl 2005: 195), etc. It can be expressed via self-labelling or other-labelling and usually takes place in situations where people meet each other for the first time as membering is a necessary process to position the self and the other (Pözl 2005: 196) and thereby claim territory in the CTP.

The following extract is a conversation between three business students at the university library in Amsterdam, who are working on a presentation for the following day. Here, membering is initiated towards the end of the conversation, by means of “enquir[ing] about their co-participant’s linguaculture” (Pözl 2005: 197) when the Spanish male speaker S1 asks the Guyanese female speaker S2 where she is from.

Extract 1a (VOICE 2011: EDcon496)

S1=L1:spa-VE, male (P568), S2=L1:eng-GY, dut-NL, female (P569), S3=L1:ind-ID, male (P570); voice style, audio available

- 612 S2: and then you have like trinidad and (.) and guyana (1) they have like indian accents?
613 S1: **and you're from?** (.)
614 S2: guyana and barbados and born in suriname sweetie
615 S1: oh you're born in su- so see that's why i'm so confused about you.
616 S3: @@ (.)
617 S2: yes everybody is. (1)
618 S1: so but where (.) <8> **where does </8> your family live right now** (.)
619 S3: <8><yawns></8>
620 S2: in suriname and guyana? (.)

621 S1: **where does your mom live** (.)
 622 S2: in suriname and guyana? (1)
 623 S1: **she lives what on the border of both?** (.)
 624 S2: no: cos we <4> have a house in each <@> country?</@></4>
 625 S3: <4> @@@@ </4> @@ <5> @@ </5> @@ <6> @@@@ </6> @
 626 S1: <5><@> okay </@></5>
 627 S2: <6><@> and from time to time </@> she's in </6> guyana or she is
 in suriname?
 628 S1: okay (.)
 629 S3: just move one feet and you're in <@><7> another </7> place </@>
 @@
 630 S1: <@><7> yeah </7></@>
 631 S1: sure i'm a suriname <1> i'm a guyana </1>
 632 S2: <1> she can't </1> she ca:n't live on the border hh cos <fast><@>
 they're FIGHTing about the border </@></fast>{S2 bangs the table}

Although membering tends to happen more often at the beginning of a conversation in an initial contact situation, it can also take place at any point of the interaction when it is “topic related” (Pözl 2005: 200), i.e. when a certain aspect of the interlocutor’s linguacultural identity is negotiated, despite the fact that the participants already know each other to a certain extend. This is the case in this example. The topic of nationality suddenly becomes relevant as S1 realizes that he is unsure about S2’s nationality and expresses the need to clarify this lack of knowledge.

It is unclear how well the participants know each other, but it is certain that they are not meeting for the first time as they refer to the class they attend together. However, the fact that they go to the same class and are working on a presentation together does not necessary mean that they are familiar with each other’s linguacultural identities. The conversation prior to this extract reveals that when focused on a certain task, i.e. the preparation for a presentation, linguacultural labelling is not necessarily required. This might have caused the membering to shift to a later point in the interaction, where their work is finished and they can focus on communicating *with* each other and *about* each other.

S1’s question concerning S2’s nationality and origin is initiated when S1 tells a story about his Jamaican roommate and they start discussing, describing and imitating various English varieties, e.g. Bajan (an English-based Caribbean creole

and Barbados' vernacular language (Blake 2004: 501), St. Lucian English, and Jamaican English⁴⁶, which is illustrated in extract 1b below.

Extract 1b (VOICE 2011: EDcon496)

S1=L1:spa-VE, male (P568), S2=L1:eng-GY, dut-NL, female (P569), S3=L1:ind-ID, male (P570); voice style, audio available

- 593 S1: i used to live with a jamaican in the states.
594 S2: hh bo:y yeah <5> but they </5> speak erm (.)
595 S1: <5> you you </5>
596 S2: you have like <pvc> baji </pvc> <pvc> baji </pvc> english that's
ba<6>jan </6> for the CLAssy caribbean <7> bajan </7> the
bahamas and (.)
597 S1: <6> yeah </6>
598 S1: <7> okay </7>
599 S2: then you have erm (.) the french accent for saint saint lucia saint
<1> kitts </1> and so
600 S1: <1> yeah </1>
601 S1: yeah
602 S2: cos they live (.) close to martinique <2> and </2> guadeloupe
603 S1: <2> yeah </2>
604 S1: yeah? (.)
605 S2: and then you have like the raw english from jamaica?

This passage directly precedes the membering-sequence, which might have been triggered by this conversation on varieties and nationalities. S1 might have realized that he does not exactly know S2's origins and therefore has not yet been able to position her.

S1's surprised reaction "oh you're born in su-" (u 615) gives the impression that he had already made an assumption about S2's origins, which might have then been corrected by her reply: "guyana and barbados and born in suriname" (u 614). But when he immediately adds "see that's why i'm so confused about you" (u 615), he expresses his ongoing uncertainty. As he is unsatisfied with her reply, he continues to ask questions about her origin, this time specifying his request by inquiring: "where does your family live right now" (u 618). The time component *right now* is used to limit the possible answers. However, S2 remains ambiguous when she states that her family lives "in suriname and guyana" (u 620). The

⁴⁶ When S2 says "raw english from jamaica" (u 605), she probably refers to Jamaican Creole rather than Jamaican English, as S1's examples point to informal and oral situations (Devonish & Harry 2004: 450).

negotiation continues in a humorous way for it seems as if S2 purposely does not give a clear answer and proceeds to intentionally confuse S1. S1's insistence shows how important it is to him to be able to position S2 in the CTP. It is very interesting that he initially does not accept her apparent multiple national-identity which he later emphasizes by a sarcastic imitation: "i'm suriname i'm guyana" (u 631). S1 is confused by the fact that S2 actually proposes to have three national identities by saying that she is from "guyana and barbados and born in suriname" (u 614) and therefore continues to require more information to make sense of this concept.

This might be an indicator of the fact that the concept of multiple national identities is not part of S1's schematic knowledge and therefore he needs to negotiate her identity in order to position his interlocutor. To S1 origin apparently has a different meaning than to S2 and this is a perfect example of how communication, as defined by Widdowson (1984: 108) above (section 2.2.) "requires the negotiation of meaning through interaction". To achieve greater convergence in this conversation, the diverging views of the notions of origin and nationality have to be negotiated.

According to S1's reaction, S2 has violated the Gricean maxim of manner and quantity as she seems to give ambiguous and unclear answers. One could assume that she does not conform to the cooperative principle; however, the problem here is of a different kind. S2, according to her own schematic knowledge, actually presents a very straightforward reply and completely respects the maxim of quantity since she does not give any more information than required. By stating where she is from as well as where she was born, she provides all the information S1 had asked for, however, only according to her own schemata. S1 obviously understands the locutionary act of her reply, but since their concepts of origins do not match, S1 is not satisfied and the speaker's intended meaning (i.e. the illocutionary force) does not match the listener's interpretation. While S2 intends to give a clear answer, S1 cannot interpret it correctly and therefore negotiation of meaning is required.

I have already mentioned that the conversation continues in a somewhat humorous way, which gives room to another level of interpretation, namely the

intentional violation of the quantity maxim for the purpose of humor or sarcasm. S2 might have realized that her interlocutor requires more information to grasp this concept of dual- or triple-nationality, but she purposely withholds additional explanations, simply for humorous reasons. This assumption can be supported by the fact that she repeats her answer “in suriname and guyana” (u 620, u 622) twice although it is obvious that S1 is unsatisfied with this reply.

S1, however, does not surrender but uses a very effective strategy by formulating more and more specific questions and thereby increasing his precision. Starting with his initial question “and *you’re* from” (u 613), he moves from “where does your *family* live *right now*” (u 618) to “where does your *mom* live” (u 621). Finally he asks, “she lives what on the *border* of both” (u 623), which leads to S2’s resolving answer: “no cos we have a house in each country” (u 624) followed by her explanation about her mother’s living situation: “and from time to time she’s in guyana or she is in suriname” (u 627). The fact that all three participants laugh at this point of the conversation is another indicator for the intended violation, which successfully had a humorous effect.

Although S1 finally accepts S2’s answer and seems to close the negotiation of meaning with an affirmative “okay” (u 628), it is unclear how much convergence really took place. It will always be the researcher’s dilemma not to be able to read the participants’ minds as this type of interpretation will always remain partial. Pitzl (2011: 174) terms this the “‘emic-etic dilemma’ of interpreting 3rd person data”. However, when S1 states “i’m a suriname i’m a guyana” (u 631), he might suggest an understanding of this to him new concept of feeling affiliated with more than one country. When S2 further explains that her mom “can’t live on the border cos they’re fighting about the border” (u 632), S1 reacts with another “okay” (u 633) and immediately changes the topic back to his Jamaican roommate, who had originally started this membering process. This either means that he is satisfied with her answers and has been able to identify her membership in terms of nationality and origin or he has simply lost interest in the discussion and therefore changes the topic.

Although it is impossible to know the intentions behind these utterances as well as the exact shape of the CTP, it is certain that linguacultural labelling took place

in this interaction by means of enquiring and identifying national membership. Through the negotiation of meaning a new concept might have been established which maybe became part of their shared CTP. As a consequence of the present divergence in this conversation, which took place by stressing linguacultural diversity, convergence occurred. The interlocutors were able to share new meanings, establish common ground and position themselves and the others anew in their CTP. But at the same time they managed to validate each other as linguaculturally different individuals. Thus, this example shows how linguacultural and intercultural labelling work together in ELF-communication. These two apparently counteracting forces seem to actually cooperate. Pölzl (2005: 198) further illustrates this by connecting the functions of linguacultural labelling with the process of joining intercultural membership as follows:

First, participants want to know who their co-participants are, and second in clarifying his[/her] identity they accept [...] [him/her] as a new member into the intercultural community.

In the interaction above S1 clearly enquires who S2 is, by specifically asking where she is from and where her family lives. After having clarified S2's identity, S1 might position her differently than he had done before and their common ground, thus, is likely to have increased. Consequently, S2 can be accepted in the intercultural community in her newly acquired position.

7.1.2. Stereotyping

The other strategy Pölzl (2005: 208) identifies relevant for linguacultural labelling is *stereotyping* which also occurs very frequently in my data. According to Hausendorf (2000: 111), *Zuschreiben*, i.e. stereotyping, means to ascribe certain character traits to an individual which are typical for the linguaculture they were inculturated in. Stereotypes, thus, frequently occur in relation to nationalities and origins, but certain characteristics can also be ascribed to a country itself, as the first example will illustrate. These stereotypes can be positive or negative and, similar to membering, they can be directed towards oneself (self-labelling or self-stereotyping) as well as towards others (other-labelling or other-stereotyping).

It is also important to note that in casual conversations between participants of a shared intercultural community stereotyping is commonly connected with humor⁴⁷ and therefore mitigated and less likely to lead to conflict. (Pölzl 2005: 212) The process of negotiating stereotypes commonly reveals the intrinsic relationship between individuals and their linguacultures as they frequently feel the need to correct inappropriate stereotypes or even defend their linguacultures. Thus, negative as well as positive evaluation of nationalities, countries, gender, race, etc. can be taken very personally if the individual identifies with the affected cultural group.

I have divided this section into positive and negative stereotyping. The selected examples will show how these strategies are implemented in the conversations and how the speakers manage to negotiate diversity and simultaneously turn it into common ground.

7.1.2.1. Positive stereotyping

The following conversation, which is set in Vienna, takes place between two female speakers, an Italian (S1) and an Austrian (S2) exchange student who have just met for the first time. They talk about tourism in Venice, which is S1's hometown, and about its university. Then they switch to a topic which is common among people who are not very well acquainted, namely the weather, and this is where the stereotype occurs.

Extract 2 (VOICE 2011: LEcon405)

S1=L1:ita-IT, female (P164), S2=L1:ger-AT, female (P165); voice style

- 93 S1: today (.) this morning (.) i walk around the: (.) city (.) i visited er er
<un> xx </un> (.) but er (.) the s- (.) the weather is not good a:nd
94 S2: mhm
95 S1: and er (.)
96 S2: it was so nice last week
97 S1: yes?
98 S2: <@> it was wonderful </@>
99 S1: but also yesterday:

⁴⁷ This is what Pölzl (2005: 212) refers to as *humourtyping*.

100 S2: mhm
 101 S1: the sun: er (.) and =
 102 S2: = but then it was raining again
 103 S1: yes (.) but no (2) i've been {S1 makes gestures} @@
 104 S2: @@@ (1)
 105 S1: yes (1)
 106 S2: i hope it's getting better @@
 107 S1: yes (1) in italy: is- er: (.) the sun and (.) these days er (.) erm we've quite a lot of (.) hot (.) the weather is hot (1)
 108 S2: mhm (3) **one always thinks that it's always nice in italy** @
 109 S1: <@> ah yes </@>
 110 S2: and **always the <@> sun is shining </@>** @
 111 S1: not not <@> always </@> @
 112 S2: @@
 113 S1: but e::r it's autumn is good and (.) a good season and er (.) not er (.) a bit e:rm (.) <LNger> regnerisch? {rainy} </LNger> (.) yeah
 114 S2: mhm =

The utterance “one always thinks that it’s always nice in italy” (u 108) is an example of other-labelling since the stereotype about Italy, S1’s country of origin, is expressed by the Austrian speaker S2 by ascribing the attribute *nice* to the weather in Italy. The adverb *always* suggests that this is a stereotype since it reflects overgeneralization. This positive stereotype also entails a validation of S1’s origins and Pölzl (2005: 198) argues that “[v]alidating a co-participant’s linguaculture is an important function behind establishing rapport in casual conversations”. By assigning a positive characteristic to S1’s home country, S2 expresses praise and appreciation for this country and thereby also for S1’s linguacultural identity since a person usually feels connected to their country of origin. Thus, S1’s first reaction to this positive evaluation of the weather in Italy being “always nice” (u 108) is an affirmative one, namely “ah yes” (u 109). However, the fact that the stereotype as well as the reply are accompanied by laughter gives the impression that these statements are not entirely seriously.

When S2, in the following utterance, extends her overgeneralization by saying, “and always the sun is shining” (u 110), S1 feels the need to disagree and mitigates the stereotype with the more realistic answer “not always” (u 111) followed by a more detailed explanation of the weather in Italy during the current season. Again, their mutual laughter might indicate that they are both aware of the fact that they are using stereotypes. This example also proves that even

positive stereotypes are corrected if the speaker feels that this favorable evaluation is inconsistent with reality. The speaker might also do so to simply share their genuine linguacultural knowledge with the linguaculturally different individual. Thus, by expressing diversity, i.e. by saying that the weather in my country is different from the weather in your country, this knowledge is shared at the same time and becomes part of the CTP.

The following part of a conversation is another example of positive stereotyping. Because of the fact that the participants know each other fairly well, as the conversation later reveals, they are couple and seem to be well acquainted, the strategy of membering is not required anymore. While membering to establishing rapport is usually found in first-contact conversations, *stereotyping* can be expressed in almost all types of communication at any point of the interaction.

This conversation is set in London in the kitchen of the couple's apartment. While the German speaker S1 and the Italian speaker S2 are having lunch, they start a discussion on national cuisines, which leads to positive stereotyping.

Extract 3a (VOICE 2011: LEcon566)

S1=L1:ger-DE, male (P731), S2=L1:ita-IT, female (P730); voice style, audio available

- 37 S1: like german CHEFS . are supposed like the **GOOD GERman chefs**
even the <1> ones </1>
38 S2: <@><1> yeah </1> tell me about the good german chefs </@>
39 S1: THEY have to train for certain time in FRANce as part of (.) what
constitutes good (1) <2> german chef </2>
40 S2: <2> ah that's too </2><fast> bad that they don't train in Italy i
</fast><@> mean **what's the purpose </@> (.) of training in
FRANCE .**
41 S1: beCAUS:E (.) the french cuisine and the german or northern french
and german is actually (.) more or less the SAME except **the
french is more sophisticated?** maybe?
42 S2: mhm.

In this passage S1, who is German, emphasizes his linguacultural identity by introducing the topic of German chefs. When he ascribes the attribute *good* to

them, he indicates a distinction between German chefs who are good and German chefs who are not good. Thus, this is not a classic stereotype as S1 acknowledges that not all German chefs are good.

S2, who is Italian, immediately reacts to this with irony and challenges his expression “good german chefs” (u 37) as she might not consider this to be a valid characteristic for German chefs. For S2 this is not part of their shared space and she requires further explanation when saying, “tell me about the good german chefs” (u 38). However, this is obviously not a serious request as her laughing indicates that she is teasing S1 and humorously questions his linguacultural identity. Nevertheless, S1 further explains his concept of a good German chef to introduce it to the CTP and familiarize his interlocutor with this information. When he states that good German chefs “have to train for a certain time in france” (u 39), she counters this other-stereotyping of considering France a suitable place to learn how to cook and now foregrounds her own linguacultural identity by saying “that’s too bad that they don’t train in italy” (u 40). Her laughing and her following comment “i mean what’s the purpose of training in france” (u 40) could indicate that she is again sarcastic. But although she later acknowledges the fact that France is known for its exquisite cuisine (see u 42), she feels the need to stand up for her own linguacultural identity in regards to national cuisine.

In this passage both of the participants’ linguacultures are made salient by means of self-labelling and thereby cultural diversity in their CTP is created. When S2 remarks that German chefs should train in Italy, she validates her own linguaculture and thus claims territory in the CTP. She uses humor and sarcasm to do so.

The negotiation continues and S1 again answers S2’s question which could have been considered rhetorical, maybe because he feels the need to explain himself and does not want his interlocutor to misunderstand him. He, thus, explains that he considers Northern French and German cuisine to be rather similar “except the french is more sophisticated” (u 41). By adding “maybe” (u 41) to the end of his utterance, he either expresses uncertainty or he wants to give his interlocutor an opportunity to react to his statement. This shows his awareness and respect

towards her linguacultural identity. He expresses the stereotype of French cuisine being more sophisticated, but because of the way S2 previously reacted to his comment about France, he decides to mitigate this stereotype. In doing so, he offers to concede territory and shows willingness to negotiate meaning. However, in this case negotiation proves to be not necessary since S2 simply agrees with him by uttering “mhm” (u 42) which indicates that her previous statement was not serious.

In the subsequent passage the couple continues to negotiate the meaning of typical Italian cuisine. Due to the fact that S2 is Italian, she occupies the expert position, but S1 challenges this by using his predominantly stereotypical and therefore limited knowledge of his interlocutor’s linguaculture. By code-switching (“canederli”, u 51) into the other participant’s language, i.e. Italian, S1 emphasizes his knowledge of S2’s linguaculture. Considering S1 and S2 are a couple, it is probable that S1 is very familiar with the Italian culture and therefore views this to be already shared meaning. However, as the conversation shows, they don’t agree on whether Northern Italian and Southern Austrian/German cuisine is the same or not and therefore negotiation is required, so that they can both make sense of these concepts in their CTP.

Extract 3b (VOICE 2011: LEcon566)

S1=L1:ger-DE, male (P731), S2=L1:ita-IT, female (P730); voice style, audio available

- 43 S1: where(as) **itALian is a different STOrY.** (.)
- 44 S2: comple:tely. @@@
- 45 S1: know what i mean.
- 46 S2: @@
- 47 S1: is not SAYing that (2) <8> germans always </8> ado:re (.)
- 48 S2: <8><whispering> (it's all) <un> xx </un></whispering></8>
- 49 S1: italy and italian culture and all of THAT ? (.) <slow> but **it's quite**
 </slow> **different.** (1)
- 50 S2: no come on (.)
- 51 S1: you have canederli. and stuff like that <3> but that's (an) </3>
 (imports) like the north yeah? hh but is that even <4> (if it's) </4>
- 52 S2: <3> ye:ah </3>
- 53 S2: <4> no **north</4>ern italian and southern: (.) austrian and**
 german (.) is the same. (1) <5> well it's not the same very </5>
 similar. (.)
- 54 S1: <5> no? (.) no </5>

- 55 S2: we GOT the same ingredients (.) like <7> canederli and </7>
 56 S1: <7> for example north</7>ern french er use er more butter and milk
 and things like <soft> THAT </soft>
 57 S2: y:eah.<fast><1> but ALSO </1> northern Italy.</fast> (2)
 58 S1: <1> whereas </1>
 59 S2: also northern <2> italy uses </2> more <8> bu</8>tter (.)
 60 S1: <2> hm </2>
 61 S1: <8> (well) </8>
 62 S2: yah yah (1)
 63 S1: BUT i mean what do you think is **typically italian** it's more like olive
 oil lots of tomAtoe:s hh =
 64 S2: = YEAH but that's <3> **the stereotypical </3> idea <4> of (.) an**
italian </4> cuisin:e (.)
 65 S1: <3> erm </3>
 66 S1: <4> courgettes </4>
 67 S2: <soft> (some think) ?</soft> (3) {sound of children playing, maybe
 outside (2)}
 68 S1: maybe yeah (1) {sound of children playing, maybe outside (1)}
 69 S2: mhm. (2) <smacks lips> li:ke **a typical dish that my MOther**
prepares when it's co:ld is like this [...]

While S1 continues to insist on the fact that Italian and German cuisine are different, S2 claims that “northern italian and southern austrian and german [food] is the same” (u 53) or at least “very similar” (u 53). S1 causes divergence as he sets Italian and German cultures apart from each other, whereas S2 tries to converge by pointing out the similarities. They try to negotiate their differences by matching ingredients and certain food items with the respective countries. The fact that they cannot agree leads to S1’s enquiry about what, then, can be defined as being “typically italian” (u 63). But before S2 has a chance to answer, he suggests “olive oil [and] lots of tomatoes” (u 63) to be typical Italian ingredients. S2 agrees but points out that this is “the stereotypical idea of an italian cuisine” (u 64). She thereby indicates that this rather positive stereotype is an image most linguaculturally different people, including S1, associate with Italian cuisine, but it does not entirely correspond with reality. S2 has difficulties thinking of a typical Italian dish and this could be due to the fact that she is a member of the Italian linguaculture and thus knows about all the variety and diversity within Italy as well as about similarities to other countries, like Austria and Germany. Hence, she cannot or does not wish to define a certain typical Italian ingredient or dish as she could not do this without overgeneralization. However, she solves this problem by referring to “a typical dish that [...] [her]

mother prepares” (u 69). Since her mother is a member of the Italian linguaculture, her dish can be seen as representative of the Italian cuisine. At the same time S2 is able to avoid the use of a stereotype, but her answer is satisfactory to S1 (at least for the time being).

This above passage shows how stereotypes can be challenged and negotiated in the CTP. S1 continuously tries to stress the distinctiveness of German chefs and German cuisine and thereby defends his own linguaculture. But at the same time he also enquires about the Italian cuisine and thereby expresses interest and acknowledgement. He concedes territory to S2 by asking her to share her schematic knowledge. S2 on the other hand is very reluctant concerning the usage of stereotypes and, thus, replaces them with a concrete and personal account. Consequently, she is able to avoid stereotyping but still remains linguaculturally authentic. Here again, the forces of divergence and convergence are at work simultaneously and help to create common ground.

7.1.2.2. Negative stereotyping

The same conversation as presented above (LEcon566) also provides an example for negative stereotyping. Although S2 addresses a sensitive topic, her other-stereotyping does not lead to conflict because it is connected with humor⁴⁸.

Extract 3c (VOICE 2011: LEcon566)

S1=L1:ger-DE, male (P731), S2=L1:ita-IT, female (P730); voice style, audio available

- 407 S1: say your boyfriend FORCed you to go to another party
 408 S2: @ @ <8> @ </8>
 409 S1: <8> yeah?</8>
 410 S2: <imitating> **my boyfriend is a GERman** </imitating> (2) e:rm
 411 S1: <soft><un> xx </un> in german </soft>
 412 S2: no? but i was thinking (.) like erm:<smacks lips> (2) erm
 <whispering> the word doesn't come </whispering> (2) <loud>
 dictatOriol </loud> that's what i was think<@>ing </@> @@ (2)
 {S1 and S2 kiss}
 413 S1: but i'm not {S1 and S2 kiss}

⁴⁸ Pölzl (2005: 212) refers to this as *humourtyping*.

414 S2: you are
 415 S1: **it is not very GERman to be dictatorial** is it? (1)
 416 S2: no?
 417 S1: well hitler was. (.) but that's why now men can't be dictatorial any
 MORE . (.) because otherwise. (they're) <un> xx </un> (like) to
 hitler
 418 S2: @@@@ {S1 and S2 kiss}
 419 S1: no i mean <soft> i don't know </soft> @
 420 S2: @@@@ (.) {S1 and S2 kiss} @ (4) so i've looked through this book
 (5)

In this extract the stereotype is introduced by other-labelling, namely S2 ascribes the attribute *dictatorial* to Germans, and explicitly to S1 as she states in the preceding utterance, “my boyfriend is a german” (u 410). Although laughing and kissing mitigate this negative evaluation, S1 feels the need to clarify this stereotype. By saying “but i’m not” (u 413), he clearly diverges from this assigned group membership and positions himself in the CTP as linguacultural individual who does not belong to the cultural group of dictatorial Germans. He distances himself from this overgeneralization, but this could also mean that he accepts it as existent; however, he does not want to associate himself with this group. When S2 does not agree with the way S1 positioned himself, his attitude changes and he now challenges the stereotype by saying, “it is not very german to be dictatorial is it” (u 415). He thereby clarifies that he does not agree with this stereotype and even offers an explanation by referring to Hitler. This person is obviously very commonly associated with Germany and Austria and when S2 utters “dictatorial”, Hitler is probably the first connotation that comes to mind. However, Germans are also often stereotyped as being very correct and exact and it is impossible to know whether S2 was originally thinking about Hitler or not. Nevertheless, this is a sensitive topic for many Germans, maybe also for S1, and this causes him to renegotiate the stereotype. He argues that because of the fact that Hitler was dictatorial “now men can’t be dictatorial anymore because otherwise they’re like to hitler” (u 417). This utterance is again followed by S2’s laughter and a kiss, which shows that even the negotiation of sensitive stereotypes is possible without conflict between members of an intercultural group who know each other. S1 expresses his disapproval towards S2’s other-stereotyping and defends his position as German but not dictatorial individual in

the CTP. Whether S2 acknowledges this negotiation of meaning or not remains unclear as her only reply is laughter followed by a kiss. However, the fact that she does not question his explanation might indicate that she at least accepts and respects his opinion. It is interesting to note that before the topic is shifted to the cook book, S1 again mitigates his argument by saying “no i mean i don’t know” (u 419) and thereby admitting that even though he is a representative of the German linguaculture, he might also have only limited knowledge. Thus, he again gives room to other meanings in the CTP and does not completely claim this space for himself. S2 closes the negotiation with another laughter and kiss and after a short pause (four seconds) she changes the topic. Whether this means that she agrees with him and accepts his positioning or that she still disagrees, but simply lets it pass to avoid conflict remains covert to the researcher. However, in the course of the conversation it was noticeable that S2 frequently challenged S1’s statements, even if only for sarcastic and humorous reasons. Hence, it can be assumed that her lack of verbal reply indicates her satisfaction or at least acceptance and validation of her interlocutor’s positioning.

Another example of negative stereotyping can be found in the following conversation which takes place in a Viennese club where two acquainted international students, i.e. an Austrian female speaker (S1) and a Spanish male speaker (S2), interact.

Extract 4a (VOICE 2011: LEcon229)

S1=L1:ger-AT, female (P895), S2=L1:spa-ES, male (P469); voice style

- 281 S2: **spanish people** you you know (.) every place er people think that we are er (.) e:r (.) ma- ma- <pvc> machists {macho} <ipa> matistθ </ipa> </pvc> (.) <pvc> **machos** </pvc>
- 282 S1: <pvc> MACHOS </pvc>
- 283 S2: that's true.
- 284 S1: <@> that's true </@>
- 285 S2: yeah i i: (.) **i need to say that that's (.) absolutely true.** (.) we're like a <pvc> machos </pvc> ? (.) and er (1) so (.) <9> i'm looking </9> for a woman to feed me. (1)

Here the stereotype *Spanish people are machos* is expressed via self-stereotyping by the Spanish speaker himself. The phrase “every place er people think that [...]” (u 281) clearly suggests an overgeneralization. He immediately confirms his own evaluation by stating “that’s true” (u 282) and reinforcing his agreement by repeating “that’s absolutely true” (u 285). The use of “we” (u 281, u 285) indicates that S2 not only agrees with this stereotype but also positions himself as member of the cultural group of “spanish people” (u 281), who are machos. By emphasizing this linguacultural membership, he sets himself apart from the intercultural group, which indicates divergence. S1, his Austrian co-participant, reacts by imitating S2’s affirmation “that’s true” (u 284). However, her statement is accompanied by laughter, which suggests that she considers this to be a joke.

In reaction to S2’s comment “i’m looking for a woman to feed me” (u 285), S1 accepts the provocation and enquires about “the spanish woman” (u 287). S2 subsequently replies with another stereotype and thereby ascribes two attributes to Spanish women, namely that they “feed the spanish men” (u 288) and that “they are very good” (u 288).

Extract 4b (VOICE 2011: LEcon229)

S1=L1:ger-AT, female (P895), S2=L1:spa-ES, male (P469); voice style

- 286 S1: <9> and er </9>
 287 S1: <@> and the spanish WOman?</@>
 288 S2: **the spanish women: er feed the spanish men. (.) <12> er they are very </12> good er (.)**
 289 S1: <12> @@@@ </12>
 290 S2: <13> woman </13> (.) it's (.) <@> perfect.</@>
 291 S1: <13> @@@ </13>
 292 SS: @@
 293 S2: <@> i love it </@> i love them.
 294 S1: you love the SPANish and the FRENCH woman
 295 S2: **i love the: FEED woman (1)**
 296 SX-f: @@@@
 297 S1: <@> the woman who likes <pvc> machos </pvc> you think?</@>
 298 S2: yeah (.) the woman who: likes feed f- <1> men </1>
 299 S1: <1> @@ </1> but you
 300 S2: span<10>ish men </10>

S2’s blunt stereotyping causes both participants to laugh, which indicates a

relaxed atmosphere where stereotypes can be negotiated without causing conflicts to arise. However, it still remains unclear whether S2 is serious or only playing with these stereotypes. The fact that he is stereotyping his own linguaculture while no other Spanish speakers are present, mitigates the situation as the other speaker, who is Austrian, does not feel offended by his stereotyping. However, the second stereotype on Spanish women is also strongly connected to gender and due to the fact that S1 is female this might be potential for conflict.

As the conversation proceeds, S1 starts to show her disagreement. She challenges S2's stereotype by reminding him that he also loves the French women, referring to an earlier utterance of this conversation which is not part of the extract. S2 counters, "i love the feed woman" (u 295), which I consider an instance of novel form creation (see section 7.2.2.). The Spanish speaker thereby expresses that he loves any woman who feeds him, no matter if she is French, Spanish or of other origin. But instead of using a defining relative clause or a modifying participle, i.e. the *feeding* woman, S2 creates a new form, namely "the feed woman" (u 295). He rids this phrase of any redundancy and makes it simple but straightforward. However, due to the fact that this is an entirely new expression, which was just introduced to the CTP, S1 requires clarification and asks if a *feed woman* is "the woman who likes machos" (u 297). S2 agrees and adds that it is "the woman who likes [to] feed men [...] spanish men" (u 298, u 300). His correct use of a defining relative clause proves that his newly created form was not done due to limited language competence but, to me, it illustrates context-related humorous creativity.

As the conversation continues, it takes an interesting twist when S1 again challenges S2's stereotype by positioning him outside the assigned group of Spanish machos.

Extract 4c (VOICE 2011: LEcon229)

S1=L1:ger-AT, female (P895), S2=L1:spa-ES, male (P469); voice style

- 301 S1: <10> you </10> (.) <@> **you're <2> not </2> a macho </@> (.)**
 302 S2: <2> me </2>
 303 S2: **yeah i AM . (.) i'm er <11> spanish (.) i ca:n't </11> refuse my: (.)**
 my: identity
 304 S1: <11> @ @ </11>

305 S1: <@> yes? (.) but **you don't look like one @** and i don't think you
 (.) er you're really @ the er </@> the (.) erm (2) to the s- <12> to
 </12>
 306 S2: <12> o</12>kay (.) that's why =
 307 S1: = to be macho =
 308 S2: = that's while **i'm in: aust- austria I need a mask to: to be: KIND**
 and er (1)
 309 S1: O:H <13> and </13> whe- **when you back in spain** you:<4>
 you:</4> (.)
 310 S2: <13> i </13>
 311 S1: <soft><4> yeah </4> yeah </soft>
 312 S1: erm (.) **your real identity is come com<14>ing </14> out?** =
 313 S2: <14> yeah.</14>
 314 S2: = i look a woman to feed me
 315 S1: ts (2)
 316 S1: @ <5> @ </5>

When S1 starts showing disapproval of S2's stereotypes by assuring, "you are not a macho" (u 301), S2 insists on being part of this cultural group. He explains, "yeah i am i'm er spanish i can't refuse my my identity" (u 303) and thereby expresses the intrinsic connection and even a certain responsibility he feels towards his linguaculture. He sees this stereotype as representative of his linguacultural identity. But S1 continues to express her doubts: "but you don't look like one" (u 305) and S2 further explains that he is only suppressing his identity while he is in Austria: "while i'm in aust- austria I need a mask to to be kind" (u 308). S1 concludes that, thus, his real identity is only revealed when he goes back to Spain.

The above negotiation of stereotypes illustrates that even negative stereotypes can be desired if they are closely connected with the individual's linguacultural identity. It remains unclear whether S2's stereotyping is a sincere act of self-labelling or if there are sarcastic, humorous or even provoking intentions behind his behavior. The fact that S1 continues to laugh throughout the conversation and tries to counter S2's negative evaluations of Spanish men and women, suggests a playful and relaxed atmosphere. Although S2 repeatedly tries to emphasize his distinct linguacultural identity, he admits to showing some type of accommodation when in Austria, which indicates an act of divergence. And it is exactly this utterance (see u 308) which, to me, conveys the impression that S1 might have been playing with his linguaculturally-rooted stereotypes all along.

7.2. Cultural hybridity and schematic knowledge

Hybridity in the CTP emerges from cultural diversity (see section 7.1.), which is a defining characteristic of ELF-communication, and therefore these two concepts are very closely connected with each other. Again, this phenomenon is not unique to ELF-communication, but it can be argued that these forces grow and become more salient when linguaculturally different individuals interact. There appears to be a correlation between these two components since the increase of diversity in communication causes a rise in hybridity. Hence, I have defined cultural hybridity as an essential part of the CTP.

The interlocutor's world knowledge always influences the conversations since schematic and systemic knowledge is shaped by the respective linguacultures. As the examples will show, hybridity in the CTP is also expressed by the fact that ELF-speakers connect their familiar schemata with new information and thereby create novel forms and meaning.

The two aspects of hybridity in the CTP I want to focus on are *code-switching* and the *creation of novel hybrid forms* since these components are very apparent in my data and occur frequently. Although I put them into separate sections, they should not be seen as isolated elements, but in relation to each other as well as in connection to the other parts of the CTP. Code-switching, in fact, often causes the creation of novel meanings and I will refer to this connection wherever my data suggests it. The focus of my analysis is on creativity rather than deficiencies since to me the creation and negotiation of cultural hybridity is a creative process which offers ways of remaining linguaculturally authentic while opening up doors to something new.

7.2.1. Code-switching

The most overt form of linguacultural hybridity is the mixing of languages. Meierkord (2002: 124) confirms this statement by equating code-switching with "communicative hybridity". She explains that hybridity "refers to the fact that speakers may choose to switch from one normative system to another whenever

communicative needs arise, which can be more easily met in the other system” (Meierkord 2002: 124) and thereby puts these two concepts on the same level. Although she acknowledges hybridity in lingua franca communication, her own data does not provide any examples of code-switching, apart from some minor L1-inserts of single words which do not affect understanding (Meierkord 2002: 124). Nonetheless, McArthur (1994: 241) purports that, what he calls, hybridization of English, i.e. code-switching between English and other languages, “is profoundly common throughout the world [...] [a]nd it appears to be increasing.” He challenges models which try to categorize world English, such as Stevens’ (1980) world map of English, his own “Circle of World English” (McArthur 1987), Görlach’s (1990) circle model, and Kachru’s (1992) Concentric Circles of English (see section 5.4.) since these models cannot account for the hybrid character of ELF. Hence, McArthur (1994: 239) suggests that “we must go beyond English as conventionally understood to whole new worlds of hybridization”.

Pölzl (2005: 17) considers code-switches an extreme form of signaling differentiation. It is undisputed that lingua franca communication, like any other communication, in general seeks to establish common ground, but I don’t believe that code-switches necessarily impede understanding. Many ELF-speakers are multi-lingual and the additional language which is used is often already part of their shared meaning and therefore does not amount to any difficulties at all. If the code-switching, however, does not entail shared meaning, it initially might suggest differentiation, but my data shows that this is usually immediately resolved through a process of negotiation and explanation. I therefore believe that hybridity in terms of code-switching is an integral part of ELF-communication as it emphasizes the speaker’s linguaculturally different identity but simultaneously establishes common ground through the negotiation of meaning. As a result, the new meaning becomes part of the CTP.

The following passage is taken from one of the above conversations (LEcon566) and it shows a significant amount of code-switching into one’s own and into the other participant’s L1. These are examples of divergence and convergence at the

same time since switching into one's own L1 sets oneself apart from the intercultural group if the other participants do not share this language. Nevertheless, when the foreign expression is then explained in ELF and thereby made available to the other participants, it is definitely an act of intercultural labelling, which leads to the establishment of shared meaning and, hence, to convergence. If an L1-expression remains unexplained and is not translated into ELF, this is either done for reasons of differentiation or the respective form is simply already shared by the intercultural group and does not require further explanation. Another possibility is that the meaning is only assumed to be shared⁴⁹ and the interlocutors let it pass despite their lack of knowledge. However, this does not necessarily have to result in misunderstandings or communicative breakdown since the meaning of unfamiliar forms can often be inferred from the context or it is simply not essential for understanding the gist of the message.

The opposite scenario, i.e. switching into the other participant's L1, usually expresses validation of the other's linguaculture and also shows a certain degree of accommodation. This constant shift from divergence to convergence and vice versa goes in line with Widdowson's (2007: 63-64) model of positioning and the permanent tension between the cooperative and territorial imperatives.

This extract of the lunch conversation between the couple continues where extract 3b has left off (section 7.1.2.1.). The Italian female speaker and the German male speaker have been discussing differences and similarities between their national cuisines and S2 decides to exemplify typical Italian food by describing a dish her mother prepares.

Extract 3d (VOICE 2011: LEcon566)

S1=L1:ger-DE, male (P731), S2=L1:ita-IT, female (P730); voice style, audio available

- 69 S2: mhm. (2) <smacks lips> li:ke a typical dish that my MOther prepares when it's co:ld is like this erm <L1ita> **come si chiama** {what's it called} </L1ita><smacks lips><soft> god i forgot </soft> (2) <L1ita> **pizzoccheri** {type of pasta} </L1ita> hh AND there's like

⁴⁹ Schütz & Luckmann (1975: 74) call the assumption of shared perspectives "Reziprozität der Perspektiven" [reciprocity of perspectives].

- (.) LOADS of BUTTer this CHEESE from the north of italy? hh and then: potatoes? and s- e:rm <smacks lips><L1ita> **erbette** {beet tops} </L1ita> like erm <smacks lips> they're like er (.) like spinach leaves. but they're not spinach? like really: big leaves? that you COOK hh AND it's thick pasta (.) which is made of e:rm (.) a special flour (1) and you cook it ALL together? (3) and it becomes like a s:- cre:amy: chee:sy pasta <fast> you put it in the oven </fast> i'm sure there is something corresponding (.) like =
- 70 S1: = like (.) in a white (.) thingy in the ov- like (.) it has =
- 71 S2: = it's more like erm <smacks lips> yeah i mean: VARious ingredients. and then you put it a bit in the oven to: mend the whole thing together (.) <fast><5> but you don't really </5></fast> (.)
- 72 S1: <5><L1ger> **auflauf** {casserole} </L1ger></5>
- 73 S2: (n-) yeah. but you don't necessarily put cheese on top <6> the cheese is <loud> inside </loud></6>
- 74 S1: <6> not <L1ger> bei auflauf {with casserole} </L1ger> doesn't </6> mean you have to put cheese on top.
- 75 S2: ah okay. =
- 76 S1: = <L1ger> auflauf {casserole} </L1ger> is hh (.) whatever you put like is slightly <pvc> liquidy </pvc> but not like a soup and you put in in in <un> xx </un> (oven)
- 77 S2: hm.
- 78 S1: it's typically if you <slow> look at that german </slow> cook book? there is lots of those (.)

[...] [S2 is getting the German cook book and S1 is washing the dishes]

- 89 S2: yeah (.) shall i prepare a DESSERT ? (2)
- 90 S1: i'll do it. (9) (4) like this. (3) it's <3> more </3> like gratin (.)
- 91 S2: <3> yeah.</3>
- 92 S1: i mean but you could have more liquidly (1) <soft> than this </soft>
- 93 S2: it is <4> slightly </4> more sou<5>py </5>
- 94 S1: <4> yeah </4>
- 95 S1: <L1ger><5> AUF</5>lauf {casserole} </L1ger> (.)
- 96 S2: y:eah.
- 97 S1: but it doesn't NEED a (.) cheese crust on top (1) <soft> yeah </soft><6> like </6> this like this (1)
- 98 S2: <6> yeah.</6>
- 99 S1: it's quite (.) (a typical) (2) but the french version would be this.<LNfre> xx xx </LNfre><7> surreal </7>
- 100 S2: <7><LNger> **kartoffelgratin** {potatoes au gratin} </LNger></7> but this is more <8><un> xx </un></8>
- 101 S1: <8> gratin </8> is different to <L1ger> auflauf {casserole} </L1ger> actually <L1ger> auflauf {casserole} </L1ger> is more <pvc> liquidy </pvc> (.) yeah
- 102 S2: <LNger> **fischauflauf mit spinat** xx x **nur** {fish casserole with spinach xx x only} </LNger> **four hundred nineteen** <LNger> **kalorien** (1) kaloRIEN {calories} </LNger> (2) (sure) (2) hh @@

- 103 S1: actually that's not <L1ger> auflauf {casserole} </L1ger> because it isn't <pvc> liquidy? </pvc> (.) i think that's where they (.) make the distinction
- 104 S2: <smacks lips> yeah <clears throat> =
- 105 S1: = **how do you call this in italian** (.)
- 106 S2: <smacks lips> (.) **fish in the oven?** (.)
- 107 S1: <soft><ono> də də də </ono></soft> THIS like
- 108 S2: <L1ita> x xxx.</L1ita> (.) <soft> i think it's more like erm </soft>
- 109 S1: **casserole** is that in english or not
- 110 S2: hm:
- 111 S1: i've never heard of that (.) <2> before you </2> said it? (4)
- 112 S2: <2> no hm </2>
- 113 S2: also. (1) <L1ita> **pesce** {fish} </L1ita> (bu- l-) er <L1ita> **pesce in forno.** {fish in the oven} </L1ita>
- 114 S1: <LNita> **in FORno** {au gratin} </LNita>
- 115 S2: ye:ah i don't know i mean in <un> x </un> (2) {S2 clears away the dishes (2)}
- 116 S1: you see all of those dishes are actually done (.) cooking? (hm)
- 117 S2: hm. (2) {S2 produces a lot of noise clearing away the dishes (2)}<3> yeah.</3> and then you put them in the oven (1)
- 118 S1: <3> like </3>
- 119 S1: <4> well </4>
- 120 S2: <4> after</4>ward(s)

I would like to start with the instances of code-switching in the above passage where the participants switch into their own L1. Pölzl (2005: 117) describes this act as “extreme form to diverge” from the intercultural community. However, the following examples will show that this form of code-switching only initially causes divergence since this is usually followed by the negotiation of meaning through paraphrasing, explaining, and translating which then leads to convergence. Furthermore, if an L1-expression is already part of the participants’ shared space, code-switching emphasizes one’s linguacultural identity but does not result in divergence or differentiation.

The passage starts with S2 searching for the English equivalent of a certain Italian dish (it is unclear if she is looking for the Italian or English word) and she indicates her dilemma by saying, “come si chiama [what’s it called] god i forgot” (u 69). There are three possible reasons I could identify why S2 switches into her L1, i.e. Italian, here. First, this Italian phrase could already be shared by the participants and therefore does not cause divergence. The fact that S1 does not ask for a translation goes in line with this assumption of already existent common

ground. Second, S2 might assume that this is shared meaning⁵⁰, but although S1 is not familiar with it, he lets it pass. This could be caused by the fact that the Italian phrase is not necessary to understand the gist of the message and the approximate meaning can be inferred from the context. The third possibility is that this phrase is not intended for S1, but S2 is more or less talking to herself. Maybe she does not even intentionally switch into Italian, but this expression just slips out without further notice. One way or another, this code-switching does not cause any apparent difficulties and communication does not break down because S2 simply continues to talk.

S2 solves the problem of not being able to identify the name of her mother's dish with the strategy of paraphrasing and she starts listing the essential ingredients. In doing so, she uses two Italian expressions, i.e. *pizzoccheri* [type of pasta] and *erbette* [beet tops⁵¹]. It is unclear if S1 is familiar with these words but before he can express any possible lack of knowledge, S2 explains both of the Italian words by saying that *erbette* are "like spinach leaves but they're not spinach like really big leaves that you cook" (u 69) and *pizzoccheri* is "thick pasta which is made of erm a special flour" (u 69). It is not surprising that S2 has difficulties translating certain ingredients and dishes for these are concepts which are very much connected to the respective linguacultures. Sometimes no equivalent translation in the other language can be found simply due to the fact that a certain type of dish or ingredient does not exist in the other linguaculture.

An example from my own life would be trying to find *Topfen* in the US. Although there is a translation for *Topfen*, i.e. *curd cheese*, it is nearly impossible to get this product at a store. When I finally found something called *German quark*, which should be the equivalent to Austrian *Topfen*, at an organic grocery store, it turned out that this product was not at all what I had expected. Consequently the Austrian dish I prepared did not go according to plan. Some products are simply not available in other countries; hence, there might not be a direct translation or the translation might not refer to the same product.

⁵⁰ Schütz & Luckmann (1975: 74) call the assumption of shared perspectives "Reziprozität der Perspektiven" [reciprocity of perspectives].

⁵¹ "Beet tops" is the given translation in VOICE, however, I am more familiar with the term "Swiss chard" (German "Mangold").

Another reason for S2's code-switching might simply be lack of knowledge. Certain names for vegetables, such as *beet tops*, require the knowledge of rather technical vocabulary, which might not be part of the participants' active ELF-vocabulary. In the case of pasta, I have noticed that other linguacultures often use the original Italian names or simply provide descriptions of the pasta but, with the exception of traditional pasta types, often no direct translations are available. Due to the fact that I also was not able to find a direct translation for *pizzoccheri*, it is not surprising that S2 uses code-switching.

After S2 has explained how her mother's dish is prepared and what the main ingredients are, she still feels the need to find an English expression for this dish by saying "i'm sure there is something corresponding" (u 69). S1 suggests the German word "auflauf" (u 72), which she seems to understand, but, as the conversation shows, the exact meaning of this term still needs to be negotiated.

S1 defines two characteristics of *Auflauf*, namely that it does not require cheese on top and that it has a liquid consistency before you put it into the oven. Although S2 replies with the affirmative backchannels "ah okay" (u 75) and "hm" (u 77), S1 suggests to look into the German cook book to ensure that German *Auflauf* is the appropriate translation for her mother's dish.

While looking through the cook book they continue to negotiate the meaning of *Auflauf* and S1 tries to achieve common ground by describing the differences to the French *au gratin*. It also seems as if he needs to clarify the concept for himself as he also is unsure of its exact definition, which is expressed by his statement: "i think that's where they make the distinction" (u 103). Finally the English equivalent *casseroles* is mentioned by S1: "casseroles is that in english or not" (u 109). Although this seems to be the word S2 was looking for when she described her mother's dish, her reaction "hm" (u 110) does not confirm this assumption. So, either she had meant something different or she already forgot her original question. The fact that this conversation never leads back to her mother's dish suggests the latter.

When S1 enquires about the Italian term for *Fischauflauf* by asking "how do you call this in italian" (u 105), S1 first directly translates the Italian expression into

English “fish in the oven” (u 106) before she provides the Italian term “pesce in forno” (u 113). However, she is unsure of the Italian expression as her hesitation as well as the phrases “i think it’s more like” (u 108) and “yeah i don’t know” (u 115) indicate. She also mentions an unintelligible Italian expression first before replacing it with “pesce in forno” (u 113). This again shows the intrinsic connection between a linguaculture and its typical dishes for which most of the time no direct translations are possible.

These are all examples where the interlocutors switch into their own L1s, even though this might be considered divergence, the extract shows that these code-switches do not hinder effective communication but contribute to the negotiation of shared meaning in the CTP. What could be viewed as lack of vocabulary knowledge turns out to be an essential part of the positioning process. By naming and explaining their linguaculturally specific terminology, the participants emphasize their linguacultural identities and express their schematic knowledge, while at the same time these new forms are shared in the CTP and they are made available to the both participants.

Whether new meanings become part of the CTP especially becomes apparent when the other speakers start using these novel forms and thereby try to make them their own. This is the case when the German speaker S1 switches into his interlocutor’s L1, namely Italian, and repeats the Italian expression “in forno” (u 114). The fact that he had asked about the translation of this specific expression proves his willingness for a greater convergence. He, thereby, shows interest in S2’s linguaculture and while German expressions have dominated the conversation, he now concedes territory to S2. Furthermore, he does not only ask for the Italian expression but also repeats it. This repetition indicates an attempt to learn and remember the Italian phrase, which provides validation of the foreign language and culture.

More code-switches into the other participant’s L1 occur when the Italian speaker S2 says “kartoffelgratin” (u 100), “fischauflauf mit spinat” (u 102), and when she mixes the two languages within the same utterance: “nur *four hundred nineteen* kalorien” (u 102). These code switches are due to the fact that S2 is reading out of a German cook book. It is unclear how advanced her knowledge of the

German language is but, as mentioned earlier, this cook book provides pictures for every dish, which probably helps her to identify the respective meanings. Her nearly correct pronunciation (which the audio file reveals) also proves an at least basic knowledge of the German language. She reads out the German expression and does not consider it necessary to find a translation as S1 clearly knows what she is referring to and the pictures illustrate the required information. It can be assumed from the beginning of the passage, where the meaning of *Auflauf* and *gratin* has already been negotiated, that these concepts are now shared in their CTP and do not need any further explanation.

Hence, S2 does not seem to require any translations of the German expressions, but strikingly it is S1 who asks, “how do you call this in italian” (u 105) and “casserole is that in english or not” (u 109). By clarifying the English term, he extends their convergence and ensures the establishment of common meaning.

7.2.2. Novel hybrid forms

The second aspect of cultural hybridity I would like to exemplify is the creation of novel forms and meaning. In line with Bhabha ([1998]: 211), I believe that hybridity “gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable”. It is my intention to use the examples from my data to illustrate what this new thing, which arises in the CTP, might be.

The following example takes place in a student’s room in Glasgow where the German speaker S2 and the Czech speaker S3 are telling the Austrian speaker S1 about their trip to Scotland while looking at the pictures they took during their visit. The conversation starts with a sequence on negotiating the English translation for the German word “Zecke”, which is solved by S3 who probably looks up the word in an online dictionary. This sequence is then followed by S1’s creation of novel meaning in the form of a play on words.

Extract 5 (VOICE 2011: LEcon420)

S1=L1:ger-DE, female (P461), S2=L1:ger-AT, female (P462), S3=L1:cze-CZ, male (P463); voice style, audio available

- 7 S1: and what was the name?
8 S2: the sign is that <3> you have </3> er you get a red <4> spot </4>
and it a really big one (.)
9 S3: <3><LNger> zecke {tick} </LNger></3>
10 S1: <4> no the:</4>
11 S1: the english one
12 S3: the english one? (.) no it was the german one (.) i was e:rm
13 S1: do you know what's the english word for <L1ger> zecke? {tick}
</L1ger>
14 S2: erm bug i thought
15 S1: bugger?
16 S2: BUG
17 S1: <@> bug </@> @@@@
18 S2: <6> bug </6>
19 S3: <6> n-n n-n </6> that's the ge<7>neral that's </7> general =
20 S2: <7> it's not yeah </7>
21 S2: = it's just =
22 S1: = what bug?
23 S3: that's the general word <2> for any (.) tick </2>
24 S1: <2><spel> b u g </spel></2>
25 S2: mhm {S3 points at the computer}
26 S3: it's tick (1)
27 S1: t<4>ick </4>
28 S2: <4> ti</4>ck (1)
29 S1: tick? (.)
30 S3: mhm
31 S1: @@@@ hh (1) **i have a tick** @@
32 S2: @@ <5> @@@@ @@@@ </5> @@ <6> @@ </6>
33 S1: <5><@> in german it's something else </@></5>
34 S3: <@><6> yeah </6> anyway </@> i i'm [S3] so: erm (.) just to
introduce me (.)

The conversation starts with S1, the German female speaker, looking for the name of an insect which causes you to “get a red spot” (u 8). Surprisingly S3, the Czech male speaker, knows the German word *Zecke* but S1 insists on the English translation. This is not something which is required for mutual understanding as all of the speakers apparently are familiar with the German word, but S1’s question might be driven by mere interest to broaden her English vocabulary, maybe caused by the English-speaking surroundings of the Scottish city Glasgow. The true intentions behind her request remain unknown.

The speakers, then, infer the specific term *tick* from the umbrella term *bug*. The researcher's comment "S3 points at the computer" (u 25) might indicate that he used an online dictionary to find the English translation. S1 seems not to be familiar with either one of the terms. She initially mishears *bug* for the word *bugger*, which indicates that it is not part of her familiar vocabulary knowledge, and she later asks "what bug" (u 22) to clarify its meaning. She repeats the word *tick* twice, the second time with a rising intonation, giving an interrogative and doubtful impression, which is followed by laughter. When she connects the new vocabulary item *tick* with her familiar knowledge, namely the German word *Tick* [quirk] she creates a comical sentence with a double meaning. Consequently, the utterance "i have a tick" (u 31) was created by S1 by translating the German phrase *einen Tick haben* [to have a quirk] into English, using the newly acquired term *tick* as a replacement for German *Tick*. Someone who is not part of their CTP would not be able to grasp the double meaning of this utterance. S1 is playing with the new terminology by relating it to a familiar phrase. To S1 and S2 the phrase "i have a tick"⁵² (u 31), when viewed as hybrid expression, figuratively means *to have a quirk* but in a literal sense it could also mean *to have a tick* (e.g. somewhere on your body). S2, who shares her L1 with S1 (they speak different varieties of Standard German), break out into laughter as a consequence of this wordplay and thus it can be concluded that S2 understood the double meaning of S1's utterance. Immediately S1 tries to explain to S3 that "in german it's something else" (u 33), but although he also laughs and offers the affirmative response "yeah" (u 34), he does not show any further interest in S1's little joke and changes the topic by introducing himself to the researcher, who is recording the conversation.

Again, it is impossible for me, as analyst, to know the true intentions behind his reaction but to me the possibilities are twofold. Either he already shares the meaning of the wordplay or he simply has no interest in negotiating the meaning of S1's utterance. His use of "zecke" (u 9) at the beginning of the extract as well as his positive response "yeah" (u 34) at the end of the extract, however, point to

⁵² Note that there is a slight meaning difference between "to have a tic", which refers to the uncontrollable movement of muscles, and "to have a quirk", which is a peculiarity of behavior or a specific character trait. According to my knowledge the latter resembles the meaning of the German "einen Tick haben" in this context more correctly.

the former assumption.

Another novel hybrid form is created during the following conversation which is set in a Viennese pub where eight European students spend their evening and talk about their experiences in Vienna. Some of the students have just met for the first time and the sequence below is used to exchange phone numbers.

Extract 6 (VOICE 2011: LEcon560)

S3=L1:nor-NO, female (P685), S4=L1:dan-DK, female (P686), S5=L1:dut-NL, male (P687); voice style [S1, S2, S6-S10 are not part of this extract]

- 1643 S3: what is your number. (1)
1644 S5: i've got yours (.) already (.)
1645 S3: o:h you do (.) <9> but (.) i have a norwegian </9> (.)
1646 S4: <9> i <un> xxxxxx </un></9>
1647 S5: <1> o:h (.) yeah </1>
1648 S3: <1> i have my nor</1>wegian
1649 S5: i'll give you a call (1)
1650 S3: no (.) but it's (.) it's my norwegian number
1651 S5: o:h it's another:<un> x </un> it's another e:r (.)
1652 S3: no not austrian (.) <soft> but i was </soft> =
1653 S5: = a:h okay (.) {parallel conversation between S1 and S2 starts (30)}
but erm i i'll fi- i'm gonna (.) take a look **i don't know it m- from my head** (2) it's it's (1) it's the (1) what? (2) yah she's got my number
(1) here (1) it's here (1) [thing2] [thing3] (4)
1654 S4: <to S3> hey [S3] i only got your e:r </to S3>
1655 S3: i know but i don't (.) we'll we'll exchange it tomorrow <2><soft><un>
x </un></soft></2>
1656 S4: <2> right </2> right (1) {parallel conversation between S1 and S2 ends}

When being asked for a phone number, S5, the Dutch male speaker, introduces an idiom⁵³ which does not exist in Standard English in this form. The phrase “i don't know it m- from my head” (u 1653) does not cause any overt misunderstandings and is accepted by the co-participants without further comments. The meaning can be inferred from the context, especially from the preceding statement “i'm gonna take a look” (u 1653), which already points to the fact that S5 does not know the number by heart. The novel phrase *to know*

⁵³ For a detailed account on the use of idioms and metaphors in VOICE see Pitzl (2011).

something from your head might have emerged from translating a Dutch idiom into ELF, since Dutch is S5's L1. I am not familiar with Dutch, but this phrase strongly reminds of the German *etwas aus dem Kopf wissen*, which means to know something by heart. If the Dutch idiom is similar to this, it is understandable why S5 uses this direct translation. Even if he is familiar with the English idiom, he might intentionally choose to use the familiar concept of the *head* as this is more closely related to his schematic knowledge. In his world the *heart* is not associated with memorizing something and thus this idiom would not be able to express his feelings in a genuine way.

Idioms are commonly very closely connected to the linguaculture they originated in and translations often cannot account for their true meaning. Thus, it is not surprising that linguaculturally shaped idioms and metaphors are often directly translated into ELF. This gives the individuals the possibility to remain authentic and express their feelings and emotions in a common language and thereby they make them available to the other participants.

Of course S5's expression could also be regarded as a lack of knowledge since he does not use the *correct* English idiom, i.e. to know something by heart. We cannot know whether S5 purposely decided to use this expression or if he used it because he did not know the English equivalent. One way or another, this phrase proves creativity to me. S5 connects his L1 with ELF, thereby expresses his own schematic knowledge and manages to communicate successfully.

I would like to present a final example of novel meaning. This conversation between the Italian speaker S1 and the German speaker S2 precedes the conversation in LEcon566 (see section 7.1.2.). The couple is in their apartment in London and they are talking about what to cook for lunch. When S1 talks about the jar of pesto, which she left at her office, she remembers her encounter with a mouse.

Extract 7(VOICE 2011: LEcon565)

S1=L1:ita-IT, female (P730), S2=L1:ger-DE, male (P731); voice style [same speakers as in LEcon566, but S1 and S2 are switched]

- 380 S1: <@> and i start </@> SCREAMing. and **the mouse** i think was erm
<smacks lips> (1) was scared as WELL ? because **HE** just RA:N
back <@> from <1> where **he** </1> came from </@> and i couldn't
FIND **it** <2> any more.</2>
- 381 S2: <1> @@ </1>
- 382 S2: <2> of course </2> the mouse was scared?
- 383 S1: yeah (.) s:o er <smacks lips>
- 384 S2: oh the poor thing (.)
- 385 S1: poor THING . poor ME :.
- 386 S2: poor you as well

The focus in this short passage is on S1's use of the cohesive devices *he* and *it* to refer to "the mouse" (u 380). As this mouse clearly is no pet, the correct personal pronoun to use in English would be *it*. However, S1's choice *he* reflects her linguacultural systemic knowledge of how to link these parts of her utterance. She, thereby, translates that in Italian a mouse encodes the semantic feature of male, which is different to English as well as to German where a mouse is female. In ELF S1 can express her schematic knowledge of a male mouse without causing misunderstandings, maybe also because S2 is sensitive and mindful of the fact that nouns are attributed varying grammatical gender in different languages.

The lack of grammatical gender in English causes a problem for many English language learners whose L1 is a language with grammatical gender since they feel the need to adhere to these familiar concepts. If their linguaculturally shaped knowledge of the world tells them that a table is male and the sun is female, these concepts become part of their linguacultural identity. ELF offers the possibility to remain authentic and share these linguaculturally distinct concepts with the intercultural community without having to conform to any rules of Standard English. However, if a speaker wishes to conform, they may do so, as S1's switch to the personal pronoun *it* at the end of her utterance suggests.

I would like to conclude with an anecdote of my own life which illustrates a

positive attitude towards norm violations. When my American husband came to Vienna and started to learn German, he had some difficulties with the fact that German is a language with grammatical gender. So, he started to notice that when communicating in English, Austrians would frequently replace the cohesive device *it* with the appropriate gender-specific pronoun, i.e. *he* or *she*, and he started to use this to his advantage. While I tried to correct the *mistakes* of friends and family, my husband expressed that he was in favor of them since their translation of the respective German pronouns into English helped him to connect the appropriate grammatical gender with the nouns. This positive stance on mistakes by viewing them as representations of linguacultural identities, which, once introduced to the CTP, can be used to expand one's own cultural as well as linguistic knowledge, has been appealing to me ever since.

7.3. Summary Chapter 7

This chapter has aimed at providing selected examples of conversations taken from VOICE which illustrate the manifestation of the CTP in ELF-communication. My focus was on the components of *cultural diversity* and *cultural hybridity* in the CTP, while the *creation of common ground* and the *negotiation of schematic knowledge* were referred to in relation to the two main elements.

All the identified components of the CTP are in constant interaction with each other due to the two main counteracting forces of the cooperative and territorial imperatives. For this analysis I decided to sort them according to the identified communicative strategies. As mentioned above, my examples can never be squeezed into a single category and therefore I provided links to other components of the CTP wherever necessary and appropriate.

The strategies I identified to express **cultural diversity**, i.e. linguacultural labelling, are *membering* and *stereotyping*, which I always viewed in connection with intercultural group membership, i.e. intercultural labelling. My examples illustrated that these opposing processes, in fact, cooperate as part of the positioning act. While individuals emphasize their own linguacultural identities

and position themselves and others in the CTP (divergence), they simultaneously become part of the intercultural community by negotiating differences, establishing common ground, and accepting and validating each other as linguaculturally distinct individuals (convergence).

The second element of the CTP, i.e. **cultural hybridity** has become visible in my data through *code-switching* and the *creation of novel forms and meanings*. The examples have illustrated that cultural hybridity stems from cultural diversity and is always related to the respective schematic knowledge of the linguacultural individuals. Here, processes of positioning (divergence, convergence) also play an important role, but they are taken further and give rise to new forms and meanings. I have tried to emphasize that these novel forms should not be considered lack of competence or knowledge but they should be viewed as instances of creativity. They do not impede understanding and communication does not break down, but, on the contrary, they enhance the CTP by sharing culture-specific world knowledge. Individuals use novel forms to express their feelings in a way they can relate to, which is connected with their linguacultural identity, and thereby they manage to remain authentic and genuine.

These strategies are commonly connected with laughter in casual conversations, as my examples illustrated, which has a mitigating effect, especially relevant for the negotiation of sensitive topics, such as stereotypes. The relaxed and open atmosphere of these conversations offers space for negotiating diverse opinions, while at the same time remaining mindful and considerate of the co-participants' linguacultural identities.

My examples have illustrated that ELF-speakers manage to communicate successfully in the CTP by using strategies for expressing their linguacultural distinctiveness (linguacultural labelling) as well as for establishing common ground and shared meaning (intercultural labelling). As a result, cultural hybridity emerges in the CTP and opens doors for creativity.

CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

In conclusion, this study has shown that the CTP in ELF-communication is a place for expressing identity by means of negotiating and sharing meaning. Due to the dynamic and modifying character which the CTP has shown in my data, other researchers might find it more suitable to use different terminology in future studies in this field, since *place* gives the impression of a definite and preset area. However, I decided to work with this term, as I believe it is important to position this complex phenomenon somewhere more tangible than in the abstract spheres of, for instance, Kramsch's (2009a) symbolic competence. To me the CTP indeed is a *place* of negotiation, but at the same time it represents an area of communication that is subject to modification and change.

Cultural diversity and hybridity, which are essential components of the CTP, have shown to be more than just converging and diverging processes. My findings hint at the possibility of ELF being able to enhance intercultural understanding. Strategies, such as code-switching (and the subsequent explanations and negotiations) and the creation of novel forms, which are always connected with specific linguaculturally shaped schematic knowledge, might contribute to a better understanding of foreign linguacultures.

I believe that these findings could be useful for intercultural competence research as well as English language teaching. It would be interesting to see if a greater emphasis on ELF in English language classrooms could increase the students' intercultural knowledge and competence. My data only provides a small insight into how ELF is used to express one's own individual identity but I believe that it could be a motivation for English language students to see how to use ELF successfully and remain authentic at the same time.

REFERENCES

- Apte, Mahadev L. 1994. "Language in sociocultural context". In Asher, Robert E. (ed.). *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics. Vol 4: Int-Lux*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 2000-2010.
- Arasaratnam, Lily A.; Doerfel, Marya L. 2005. "Intercultural communication competence: Identifying key components from multicultural perspectives". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29, 137-163.
- Austin, John L. 1975. *How to do things with words*. (2nd edition, ed. by J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Avruch, Kevin. 1998. *Culture and conflict resolution*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Bakhtin, Michail M. 1990. *The Dialogic Imagination: four essays*. (ed. by Michael Holquist). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barthes, Roland. 1977. "The Third Meaning". In Barthes, Roland. *Image-Music-Text*. (transl. by Stephen Heath). New York: Noonday Press, 52-68.
- Bartlett, Frederic C. 1932 [1997]. *Remembering. A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beneke, Jürgen. 1991. "Englisch als lingua franca oder als Medium interkultureller Kommunikation". In Grebing, Renate (ed.). *Grenzenloses Sprachenlernen. Festschrift für Richard Freudenstein*. Berlin: Cornelsen, 54-66.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994 [2006]. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1990 [1998]. "The Third Space. Interview with Homi Bhabha". In Rutherford, Jonathan (ed.). *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 207-221.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 2009. "In the Cave of Making: Thoughts on Third Space". In Ikkas, Karin; Wagner, Gerhard (eds.). *Communicating in the Third Space*. New York: Routledge, ix-xiv.
- Blake, Renée. 2004. "Bajan: phonology". In Schneider, Edgar W.; Burridge, Kate; Kortmann, Bernd; Mesthrie, Rajend; Upton, Clive (eds.). *A Handbook of Varieties of English: a multimedia reference tool. Vol. 1: Phonology*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 501-507.
- Blommaert, Jan. 1991. "How much culture is there in intercultural communication?" In Blommaert, Jan; Verschueren, Jef. (eds.). *The Pragmatics of International and Intercultural Communication*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 13-31.

- Bochner, Arthur P.; Kelly, Clifford W. 1974. "Interpersonal competence: Rationale, philosophy, and implementation of a conceptual framework". *Speech Teacher* 23(4), 279-301.
- Bowe, Heather; Martin, Kylie. 2007. *Communication Across Cultures. Mutual understanding in a global world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowers, Roger. 1999. "Whose culture does the English language learner want? Two case studies". In Gnutzmann, Claus (ed.). *Teaching and Learning English as a Global Language. Native and Non-native Perspectives*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 221-244.
- Bremer, Katharina. 1996. "Causes of understanding problems". In Bremer, Katharina; Roberts, Celia; Vasseur, Marie-Thérèse; Simonot, Margaret; Broeder, Peter. *Achieving understanding: Discourse in intercultural encounters*. London: Longman, 37-64.
- Bremer, Katharina; Roberts, Celia; Vasseur, Marie-Thérèse; Simonot, Margaret; Broeder, Peter. 1996. *Achieving understanding: Discourse in intercultural encounters*. London: Longman.
- Bremer, Katharina; Simonot, Margaret. 1996. "Joint negotiation of understanding: procedures for managing problems of understanding". In Bremer, Katharina; Roberts, Celia; Vasseur, Marie-Thérèse; Simonot, Margaret; Broeder, Peter. *Achieving understanding: Discourse in intercultural encounters*. London: Longman, 181-206.
- Brown, Penelope; Levinson, Stephen C. 1987. *Politeness. Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carbaugh, Donal. 2007. "Cultural discourse analysis: Communication practices and intercultural encounters". *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 36, 167-182.
- Casnrir [sic!]⁵⁴, Fred L. 1999. "Foundations for the study of intercultural communication based on a third-culture building model". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 23(1), 91-116.
- Casmir, Fred L.; Asuncion-Lande, Nobleza C. 1989. "Intercultural communication revisited: Conceptualization, paradigm building, and methodological approaches". In Anderson, James A. (ed.). *Communication Yearbook 12*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 278-309.
- Coker, Deborah A.; Burgoon, Judeek K. 1987. "The Nature of Conversational Involvement and Nonverbal Encoding Patterns". *Human Communication Research* 13(4), 463-494.

⁵⁴ Please note that this article shows a spelling error in the author's last name (Casnrir instead of Casmir). To avoid confusion, I will nevertheless use the correct spelling of *Casmir* when citing this article in my paper.

- Crystal, David. 2003. *English as a Global Language*. (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, David. 2004. *The Language Revolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cupach, William R.; Imahori, Tadasu T. 1993. "Identity Management Theory. Communication Competence in Intercultural Episodes and Relationships". In Wiseman, Richard L.; Koester, Jolene (eds.). *Intercultural Communication Competence*. Newbury Park: Sage, 112-131.
- Devonish, Hubert; Harry, Otelemate G. 2004. "Jamaican Creole and Jamaican English: phonology". In Schneider, Edgar W.; Burridge, Kate; Kortmann, Bernd; Mesthrie, Rajend; Upton, Clive (eds.). *A Handbook of Varieties of English: a multimedia reference tool. Vol. 1: Phonology*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 450-480.
- During, Simon. 2005. *Cultural Studies: a critical introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Eagleton, Terry. 2000. *The idea of culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Eckert, Penelope; McConnell-Ginet, Sally. 1999. "New generalizations and explanations in language and gender research". *Language in Society* 28, 185-201.
- Ellingsworth, Huber W. 1977. "Conceptualizing intercultural communication". In Ruben, Brent D. (ed.). *Communication Yearbook 1*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 99-106.
- Fantini, Alvino E. 1995. "Introduction – language, culture and world view: exploring the nexus". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 19(2), 143-153.
- Firth, Alan. 1996. "The discursive accomplishment of normality: On 'lingua franca' English and conversation analysis". *Journal of Pragmatics* 26, 237-259.
- Fisher, Glen. 1980. *International Negotiation. A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.
- Fisher, Simon; Ludin, Jawed; Williams, Steve; Abdi, Dekha I.; Smith, Richard; Williams, Sue. 2007. *Working with Conflict. Skills and Strategies for Action*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Fiske, John. 2011. *Reading the Popular*. (2nd edition). London: Routledge.
- Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. (transl. by A. M. Sheridan Smith). London: Routledge.
- Gallois, Cindy; Ogay, Tania; Giles, Howard. 2005. "Communication Accommodation Theory". In Gudykunst, William B. (ed.). *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 121-148.

- Gelder, Ken. 1997. "Introduction to Part Two". In Gelder, Ken; Thornton, Sarah (eds.). *The Subcultures Reader*. London: Routledge, 83-89.
- Gnutzmann, Claus. 2000. *Lingua Franca*. In Byram, Michael. *The Routledge encyclopedia of language teaching and learning*. London: Routledge, 356-359.
- Goddard, Cliff. 2005. "The lexical semantics of culture". *Language Sciences* 27(1), 51-73.
- Görlach, Manfred. 1990. "The Development of Standard Englishes". In Görlach, Manfred (ed.). *Studies in the history of the English language*. Heidelberg: Winter, 9-64.
- Graddol, David. 1997. *The future of English?* London: British Council.
<http://www.britishcouncil.org/learning-elt-future.pdf> (28 July 2012)
- Graddol, David. 2006. *English next. Why global English may mean the end of 'English as a foreign language'*. London: British Council.
<http://www.britishcouncil.org/learning-research-english-next.pdf> (28 July 2012)
- Grice, Herbert Paul. 1975. "Logic and conversation". In Cole, Peter; Morgan, Jerry L. (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics Vol. 3: Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press, 41-58.
- Gudykunst, William B. 1991. *Bridging Differences. Effective Intergroup Communication*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Gudykunst, William B. 1993. "Toward a Theory of Effective Interpersonal and Intergroup Communication. An Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Perspective". In Wiseman, Richard L.; Koester, Jolene (eds.). *Intercultural Communication Competence*. Newbury Park: Sage, 33-71.
- Gudykunst, William B.; Kim, Young Yun. 1984. *Communicating with strangers: An approach to intercultural communication*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Gudykunst, William B.; Ting-Toomey, Stella; Wiseman, Richard L. 1991. "Taming the beast: Designing a course in intercultural communication". *Communication Education* 40, 272-285.
- Gumperz, John J. 1982 [1995]. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, Edward T. 1959 [1973]. *The Silent language*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Hall, Joan K. 2002. *Teaching and Researching Language and Culture*. London: Pearson Education.
- Hammer, Mitchell R. 1989. "Intercultural communication competence". In Asante, Molefi K.; Gudykunst, William B. (eds.). *Handbook of international and intercultural communication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 247-260.

- Hampden-Turner, Charles; Trompenaars, Fons. 2000. *Building Cross-Cultural Competence: How to Create Wealth from Conflicting Values*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Harwood, Jake; Soliz, Jordan; Lin, Mei-Chen. 2006. "Communication Accommodation Theory: An Intergroup Approach to Family Relationships". In Braithwaite, Dawn O.; Baxter, Leslie A. (eds.). *Engaging Theories in Family Communication. Multiple Perspectives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 19-34.
- Hausendorf, Heiko. 2000. *Zugehörigkeit durch Sprache. Eine linguistische Studie am Beispiel der deutschen Wiedervereinigung*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Helmolt, Katharina v. 1997. *Kommunikation in internationalen Arbeitsgruppen. Eine Fallstudie über divergierende Konventionen der Modalitätskonstituierung*. München: Idudicium.
- Hofstede, Geert. 2001. *Culture's Consequences. Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*. (2nd edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hofstede, Geert; Hofstede, Gert Jan. 2005. *Cultures and Organizations. Software of the Mind. Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival*. (2nd edition). New York: McGraw Hill.
- Holec, Henri. 1985. "You did say 'oral interactive discourse'?". In Riley, Philip (ed.). *Discourse and Learning. Papers in applied linguistics and language learning from the Centre de Recherches et d'Application Pédagogiques en Langues (C.R.A.P.E.L.)*. London: Longman, 21-34.
- Holliday, Adrian. 1999. "Small Cultures". *Applied Linguistics* 20(2), 237-264.
- Holmes, Janet; Meyerhoff, Miriam. 1999. "The community of practice: theories and methodologies in language and gender research". *Language in Society* 28(2), 173-183.
- House, Juliane. 1999. "Misunderstanding in intercultural communication: Interactions in English as a lingua franca and the myth of mutual intelligibility". In Gnutzman, Claus (ed.). *Teaching and learning English as a global language*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 73-89.
- House, Juliane. 2002. "Developing pragmatic competence in English as a lingua franca". In Knapp, Karlfried; Meierkord, Christiane (eds.). *Lingua Franca Communication*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 245-267.
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von. 1973. *Schriften zur Sprache*. (ed. by Michael Böhler). Stuttgart: Reclam.

- Humphrey, D. 1998. "Culture as noun, culture as verb, national culture or individual culture: which approach?" In Killick, David; Parry, Margaret. (eds.). *Languages for cross-cultural capability: Promoting the discipline: Marking boundaries and crossing borders*. Proceedings of the 3rd Cross-cultural Capability Conference, 12-14 Dec. 1998. Leeds: Metropolitan University.
- Hymes, Dell H. 1972 [1979]. "On communicative competence". In Pride, John B.; Holmes, Janet (eds.). *Sociolinguistics. Selected Readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 277-286.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2003. *World Englishes. A Resource Book for Students*. London: Routledge.
- Kachru, Braj B. 1992. "Teaching World Englishes". In Kachru, Braj B. (ed.). *The Other Tongue. English Across Cultures*. (2nd edition). Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 355-365.
- Kahane, Henry; Kahane, Renée. 1976. "Lingua Franca: The Story of a Term". *Romance Philology* 30(1), 25-41.
- Kalscheuer, Britta. 2009. "Encounters in the Third Space: Links Between Intercultural Communication Theories and Postcolonial Approaches". In Ikas, Karin; Wagner, Gerhard (eds.). *Communicating in the Third Space*. New York: Routledge, 26-46.
- Kim, Young Yun. 1995. "Cross-Cultural Adaption: An Integrative Theory". In Wiseman, Richard L. (ed.). *Intercultural Communication Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 170-193.
- Knapp, Karlfried. 2002. "The fading out of the non-native speaker. A case study of unco-operative lingua franca communication". In Knapp, Karlfried; Meierkord, Christiane (eds.). *Lingua Franca Communication*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 217-244.
- Koole, Tom; Thijs, Jan D. ten. 1994. *The construction of intercultural discourse. team discussions of educational advisers*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Kostogriz, Alex. 2002. "Teaching literacy in multicultural classrooms: Towards a pedagogy of 'Thirdspace'". Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Brisbane.
<http://www.aare.edu.au/02pap/kos02346.htm> (02 August 2012).
- Kramsch, Claire. 1993. *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kramsch, Claire. 1998a. *Language and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kramsch, Claire. 2009a. *The Multilingual Subject. What Foreign Language Learners Say about their Experience and Why it Matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Kramersch, Claire. 1998b. "The privilege of the intercultural speaker". In Byram, Michael; Fleming, Michael (eds.). *Language Learning in Intercultural Perspective: Approaches through drama and ethnography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 16-31.
- Kramersch, Claire. 2009b. "Third Culture and Language Education". In Cook, Vivian J.; Wei, Li (eds.). *Contemporary Applied Linguistics. Vol.1: Language Teaching and Learning*. London: Continuum, 233-254.
- Langer, Ellen J. 1989. *Mindfulness*. Cambridge, Mass.: Perseus Books.
- Lee, Suman. 2010. "Somewhere in the Middle: The Measurement of Third Culture". In Cai, Deborah A. (ed.). *Intercultural Communication Vol. IV. Managing Intercultural Communication*. London: Sage, 41-51. (Source: 2006. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 35(3), 253-264.)
- Lehtonen, Mikko. 2000. *Cultural Analysis of Texts*. London: Sage.
- Lesznyák, Ágnes. 2004. *Communication in English as an international lingua franca. An exploratory case study*. Norderstedt: Books on Demand.
- Lewis, Richard D. 2000. *When Cultures Collide: Managing Successfully Across Cultures*. London: Nicolas Brealey.
- Longhurst, Brian; Smith, Greg; Bagnall, Gaynor; Crawford, Gary; Ogborn, Miles; Baldwin, Elaine; McCracken, Scott. 2008. *Introducing Cultural Studies*. (2nd edition). Harlow: Pearson.
- Maletzke, Gerhard. 1996. *Interkulturelle Kommunikation: zur Interaktion zwischen Menschen verschiedener Kulturen*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Maletzke, Gerhard. 1976. "Intercultural and international communication. In Fischer, Heinz-Dietrich; Merrill, John C. (eds.). *International and intercultural communication*. New York: Hastings, 409-416.
- Martin, L. John. 1976. "The cultural communicator". In Fischer, Heinz-Dietrich; Merrill, John C. (eds.). *International and intercultural communication*. New York: Hastings, 417-423.
- Matsumoto, David. 1996. *Culture and Psychology*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publications.
- Mauranen, Anna. 2003. "The Corpus of English as Lingua Franca in Academic Settings". *TESOL Quarterly* 37(3), 513-527.
- McArthur, Tom. 1987. "The English languages?" *English Today* 3(3), 9-13.
- McArthur, Tom. 1994. "Organized Babel: English as a global lingua franca". In Alatis, James E. (ed.). *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1994. Educational Linguistics, Crosscultural Communication, and Global Interdependence*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 233-242.

- McArthur, Tom. 2001. "World English and world Englishes: Trends, tensions, varieties, and standards". *Language Teaching* 34, 1-20.
- Mead, George H. 1934. *Mind, self & society*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Meierkord, Christiane. 2002. "'Language stripped bare' or 'linguistic masala'? Culture in lingua franca communication". In Knapp, Karlfried; Meierkord, Christiane (eds.). *Lingua Franca Communication*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 109-133.
- Meierkord, Christiane. 2005. "Interactions across Englishes and their Lexicon". In Gnutzmann, Claus; Intemann, Frauke (eds.). *The Globalisation of English and the English Language Classroom*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 89-104.
- Meierkord, Christiane. 2007. "Coherence Devices in the Englishes of Speakers in the Expanding Circle". In Kraft, Bettina; Geluykens, Ronald (eds.). *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics and Interlanguage English*. München: LINCOM Europa, 201-219.
- Meierkord, Christiane; Knapp, Karlfried. 2002. "Approaching lingua franca communication". In Knapp, Karlfried; Meierkord, Christiane (eds.). *Lingua Franca Communication*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 9-28.
- Milhouse, Virginia H. 1993. "The Applicability of Interpersonal Communication competence to the Intercultural Communication Context". In Wiseman, Richard L.; Koester, Jolene (eds.). *Intercultural Communication Competence*. Newbury Park: Sage, 184-203.
- Mollin, Sandra. 2006a. *Euro-English: Assessing Variety Status*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Mollin, Sandra. 2006b. "English as a Lingua Franca: A New Variety in the New Expanding Circle?" *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5(2), 41-57.
- Neil, Deborah M. 1996. *Collaboration in intercultural discourse: examples from a multicultural Australian workplace*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Peirce, Charles S. 1955. *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*. (ed. by Justus Buchler). New York: Dover Publications.
- Philipsen, Gerry; Coutu, Lisa M.; Covarrubias, Patricia. 2005. "Speech Codes Theory: Restatement, Revisions, and Response to Criticism". In Gudykunst, William B. (ed.). *Theorizing about intercultural communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 55-68.
- Pitts, Margaret J.; Giles, Howard. 2010. "Social Psychology and personal relationships: Accommodation and relational influence across time and contexts". In Antos, Gerd; Ventola, Eija; Weber, Tilo (eds.). *Handbook of Interpersonal Communication*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 15-31.
- Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2011. "Creativity in English as a lingua franca: Idiom and metaphor". PhD thesis, University of Vienna.

- Pölzl, Ulrike. 2005. "Exploring the third space. Negotiating culture in English as a lingua franca". PhD thesis, University of Vienna.
- Riley, Philip (ed.). 1985a. *Discourse and Learning. Papers in applied linguistics and language learning from the Centre de Recherches et d'Applications Pédagogiques en Langues (C.R.A.P.E.L.)*. London: Longman.
- Riley, Philip. 1985b. "When communication breaks down". In Riley, Philip (ed.). *Discourse and Learning. Papers in applied linguistics and language learning from the Centre de Recherches et d'Applications Pédagogiques en Langues (C.R.A.P.E.L.)*. London: Longman, 47-66.
- Riley, Philip. 2006. "Self-expression and the negotiation of identity in a foreign language". *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 16(3), 295-318.
- Roberts, Celia. 1996. "A social perspective on understanding: some issues of theory and mind". In Bremer, Katharina; Roberts, Celia; Vasseur, Marie-Thérèse; Simonot, Margaret; Broeder, Peter. *Achieving understanding: Discourse in intercultural encounters*. London: Longman, 9-36.
- Rosengren, Karl Erik. 2000. *Communication. An Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Samarin, William J. 1987. "Lingua franca". In Ammon, Ulrich; Dittmar, Norbert; Mattheier Klaus J. (eds.). *Sociolinguistics. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. Vol.1*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 371-374.
- Samovar, Larry A.; Porter, Richard E. 1972. *Intercultural communication: A reader*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Sapir, Edward. 1956. *Culture, Language and Personality. Selected essays*. (ed. by David G. Mandelbaum). Berkely: University of California Press.
- Saraceni, Mario. 2010. *The Relocation of English. Shifting Paradigms in a Global Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sarbaugh, L. E. 1979. *Intercultural Communication*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication. An Introduction*. (3rd edition). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel. 1996. "The ethnography of communication". In McKay, Sandra Lee; Hornberger, Nancy H. (eds.). *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 351-382.
- Schendl, Herbert. 2001. *Historical Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schütz, Alfred; Luckmann, Thomas. 1975. *Strukturen der Lebenswelt*. Darmstadt: Luchterhand.

- Scollon, Ronald; Wong Scollon, Suzanne. 1995. *Intercultural Communication. A Discourse Approach*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sebeok, Thomas A. 1985. *Contributions to the Doctrine of Signs*. (2nd edition). Lanham: University Press of America.
- Sebeok, Thomas A. 1991. *A Sign is Just a Sign*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Sebeok, Thomas A. 2006. "Communication". In Cobley, Paul (ed.). *Communication Theories. Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*. Vol. 1. London: Routledge, 43-56. (Source: Sebeok, Thomas A. 1991. *A Sign is Just a Sign*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 22-35.)
- Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2004. "Research Perspectives on Teaching English as a Lingua Franca". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24, 209-239.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2009. "Orientations in ELF Research: Form and Function". In Mauranen, Anna; Ranta, Eline (eds.). *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 37-59.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2010. "Giving VOICE to English as a lingua franca". In Facchinetti, Roberta; Crystal, David; Seidlhofer, Barbara (eds.). *From international to local English – and back again*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 147-164.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara; Breiteneder, Angelika; Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2006. "English as a Lingua Franca in Europe: Challenges for Applied Linguistics". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 26, 3-34.
- Sinclair, John McHardy. 1985. "Selected Issues". In Quirk, Randolph; Widdowson, Henry G. (eds.). *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 248-254.
- Sinclair, John McHardy; Coulthard, Malcolm . 1975. *Towards an analysis of discourse. The English used by teachers and pupils*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Spencer-Oatey, Helen. 2008. *Culturally Speaking: Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory*. London: Continuum.
- Spencer-Oatey, Helen; Franklin, Peter. 2009. *Intercultural Interaction. A Multidisciplinary Approach to Intercultural Communication*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Spitzberg, Brian. 1989. "Issues in the development of a theory of interpersonal competence in intercultural context". *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 13, 241-268.

- Spitzberg, Brian H.; Cupach, William R. 1984. *Interpersonal Communication Competence*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Spitzberg, Brian H.; Hurt, H. Thomas. 1987. "The measurement of interpersonal skills in instructional contexts". *Communication Education* 36(1), 28-45.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 1998. *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Starosta, William J; Chen, Guo-Ming. 2000. "Listening Across Diversity in Global Society". In Chen, Guo-Ming; Starosta, William J. (eds.). *Communication and Global Society*. New York: Peter Lang, 279-293.
- Stevens, Peter. 1980. *Teaching English as an International Language. From practice to principle*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Thomas, Jenny. 1995. *Meaning in Interaction: an Introduction to Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Thornton, Sarah. 1997. "General introduction". In Gelder, Ken; Thornton, Sarah (eds.). *The Subcultures Reader*. London: Routledge, 1-7.
- Thurlow, Crispin. 2000. "Transcultural communication: A treatise on trans". <http://faculty.washington.edu/thurlow/research/transculturalcommunication.html> (24 July 2012).
- Ting-Toomey, Stella. 1988. "Intercultural conflicts: A face-negotiation theory". In Kim, Young Yun; Gudykunst, William B. (eds.). *Theories in intercultural communication*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 213-238.
- Toolan, Michael. 1997. "Recentering English: New English and Global". *English Today* 13(4), 3-10.
- Ulijn, Jan; Gorter, Tjerk. 1989. "Language, culture and technical-commercial negotiating. In Coleman, Hywel (ed.). *Working with Language. A Multidisciplinary Consideration of Language Use in Work Contexts*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 479-505.
- VOICE. 2011. *The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (version 1.1 Online). Director: Barbara Seidlhofer; Researchers: Angelika Breiteneder, Theresa Klimpfinger, Stefan Majewski, Ruth Osimk, Marie-Luise Pitzl. <http://voice.univie.ac.at> (30 July 2012).
- Vygotsky, Lev S. 1978. *Mind in society*. (ed. by Michael Cole). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of practice: learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1978. *Language, Thought, and Reality. Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. (ed. by John B. Carroll). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Widdowson, Henry G. 1984. *Explorations in Applied Linguistics 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 2003. *Defining Issues in English Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 2007. *Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1977. "Approaches to discourse". In Gutknecht, Christoph (ed.). *Grundbegriffe und Hauptströmungen der Linguistik*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 236-260.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 1994. "The Ownership of English". *TESOL Quarterly* 28(2), 377-389.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 2000. "On the Limitations of Linguistics Applied". *Applied Linguistics* 21(1), 3-25.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 2012. "ELF and the inconvenience of established concepts". *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1(1), 5-26.
- Williams, Raymond. 1976. *Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana Press.
- Wiseman, Richard L. 2002. "Intercultural communication competence". In Gudykunst, William B.; Mody, Bella (eds.). *Handbook of international and intercultural communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 207-224.
- Wong, Jean; Olsher, David. 2000. "Reflections on Conversation Analysis and Nonnative Speaker Talk: An Interview with Emanuel A. Schegloff". *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 11(1), 111-128
- Yule, George. 2006. *The study of language*. (3rd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Žegarac, Vladimir. 2007. "A cognitive pragmatic perspective on communication and culture". In Koffhoff, Helga; Spencer-Oatey, Helen (eds.). *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 31-54.

APPENDICES

Appendix A VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1]

Source: http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/transcription_general_information
(30 July 2012)

Transcription conventions in a project like VOICE are of particular importance and need to *reconcile three main requirements*: 1) they need to capture the reality of spoken interactions as precisely as possible, 2) they need to be replicable, i.e. the scheme must be usable without further explanation by other researchers, 3) they need to make sure that the resulting transcriptions are computer-readable. As with any other transcription conventions, the reconciliation of these different requirements calls for compromise and some aspects of spoken interaction, for example, many of its non-vocal paralinguistic features, necessarily fall outside its scope.

The VOICE transcription conventions, which are the result of our extensive experience in applying these criteria to a wide range of ELF data, are of two kinds: mark-up and spelling. The [VOICE mark-up conventions](#) are specifically designed to reflect what seem to be the most significant features of ELF interactions. For instance, the nature of our data prompted us to devise a fairly detailed set of descriptors for pronunciation variations and coinages, for code-switching, for onomatopoeic sounds and for laughter, not only as such but as a prosodic feature of speech. The [VOICE spelling conventions](#) are designed to render the diversity of ELF speech in a standardized way.

These transcription conventions are, of course, subject to revision as our research proceeds. They are made available here with a view to facilitating the understanding of VOICE transcripts. However, other ELF researchers are invited to make use of the conventions for their own research.

Appendix B VOICE Mark-up Conventions [2.1]

Source: http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/documents/VOICE_mark-up_conventions_v2-1.pdf (30 July 2012)



TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS [2.1]

Mark-up conventions

The **VOICE Transcription Conventions** are protected by copyright. Duplication or distribution to any third party of all or any part of the material is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your personal research use in electronic or print form. Permission for any other use must be obtained from VOICE. Authorship must be acknowledged in all cases.



Mark-up conventions

Version 2.1 June 2007

1. SPEAKER IDS	
S1: S2: ... SS:	Speakers are generally numbered in the order they first speak. The speaker ID is given at the beginning of each turn. Utterances assigned to more than one speaker (e.g. an audience), spoken either in unison or staggered, are marked with a collective speaker ID SS .
SX:	Utterances that cannot be assigned to a particular speaker are marked SX .
SX-f: SX-m:	Utterances that cannot be assigned to a particular speaker, but where the gender can be identified, are marked SX-f or SX-m .
SX-1: SX-2: ...	If it is likely but not certain that a particular speaker produced the utterance in question, this is marked SX-1 , SX-2 , etc.
2. INTONATION	
<u>Example:</u> S1: that's what my next er slide? does	Words spoken with rising intonation are followed by a question mark “?” .
<u>Example:</u> S7: that's point two. absolutely yes.	Words spoken with falling intonation are followed by a full stop “.” .
3. EMPHASIS	
<u>Example:</u> S7: er internationalization is a very IMPORTANT issue	If a speaker gives a syllable, word or phrase particular prominence, this is written in capital letters.
<u>Example:</u> S3: toMORrow we have to work on the presentation already	
4. PAUSES	
<u>Example:</u> SX-f: because they all give me different (.) different (.) points of view	Every brief pause in speech (up to a good half second) is marked with a full stop in parentheses.
<u>Example:</u> S1: aha (2) so finally arrival on monday evening is still valid	Longer pauses are timed to the nearest second and marked with the number of seconds in parentheses, e.g. (1) = 1 second, (3) = 3 seconds.

5. OVERLAPS	
<u>Example:</u> S1: it is your best <1> case </1> scenario (.) S2: <1> yeah </1> S1: okay	Whenever two or more utterances happen at the same time, the overlaps are marked with numbered tags: <1> </1>, <2> </2>, ... Everything that is simultaneous gets the same number. All overlaps are marked in blue.
<u>Example:</u> S9: it is it is (.) to identify some<1>thing </1> where (.) S3: <1> mhm </1>	All overlaps are approximate and words may be split up if appropriate. In this case, the tag is placed within the split-up word.
6. OTHER-CONTINUATION	
<u>Example:</u> S1: what up till (.) till twelve? S2: yes= S1: =really. so it's it's quite a lot of time.	Whenever a speaker continues, completes or supports another speaker's turn immediately (i.e. without a pause), this is marked by "=".
7. LENGTHENING	
<u>Example:</u> S1: you can run faster but they have much mo:re technique with the ball	Lengthened sounds are marked with a colon ":".
<u>Example:</u> S5: personally that's my opinion the: er::m	Exceptionally long sounds (i.e. approximating 2 seconds or more) are marked with a double colon "::".
8. REPETITION	
<u>Example:</u> S11: e:r i'd like to go t- t- to to this type of course	All repetitions of words and phrases (including self-interruptions and false starts) are transcribed.
9. WORD FRAGMENTS	
<u>Example:</u> S6: with a minimum of (.) of participa- S1: mhm S6: -pation from french universities to say we have er (.) a joint doctorate or a joi- joint master	With word fragments, a hyphen marks where a part of the word is missing.
10. LAUGHTER	
<u>Example:</u> S1: in denmark well who knows. @@ S2: <@> yeah </@> @@ that's right	All laughter and laughter-like sounds are transcribed with the @ symbol, approximating syllable number (e.g. ha ha ha = @@@). Utterances spoken laughingly are put between <@> </@> tags.

11. UNCERTAIN TRANSCRIPTION	
<u>Example:</u> S3: i've a lot of very (generous) friends <u>Example:</u> SX-4: they will do whatever they want because they are a compan(ies)	Word fragments, words or phrases which cannot be reliably identified are put in parentheses ().
12. PRONUNCIATION VARIATIONS & COINAGES	
<u>Example:</u> S4: i also: (.) e:r played (.) tennis e:r <pvc> bices </pvc> e:r we rent? went?	Striking variations on the levels of phonology, morphology and lexis as well as 'invented' words are marked <pvc> </pvc>.
<u>Example:</u> S9: how you were controlling such a thing and how you <pvc> (avrivate) </pvc> (it)	What you hear is represented in spelling according to general principles of English orthography. Uncertain transcription is put in parentheses ().
<u>Example:</u> S6: what we try to explain here is the foreign direct investment growth (2) in a certain industry (.) and a certain <pvc> compy {company} </pvc>	If a corresponding existing word can be identified, this existing word is added between curly brackets { }.
<u>Example:</u> S2: anyway i make you an a total (.) <pvc> summamary {summary} <ipa> sʌmə'mæri </ipa> </pvc> of destinations	Particularly when it comes to salient variations on the level of phonology, e.g. sound substitution or addition, a phonetic representation should be added between <ipa> </ipa> tags.
13. ONOMATOPOEIC NOISES	
<u>Example:</u> S1: it may be quite HARMLESS and at the end of the day you (.) <ono> dʌʃ dʌʃ dʌʃ </ono> (.) somebody	When speakers produce noises in order to imitate something instead of using words, these onomatopoeic noises are rendered in IPA symbols between <ono> </ono> tags.
14. NON-ENGLISH SPEECH	
<u>Example:</u> S5: <L1de> bei firmen </L1de> or wherever	Utterances in a participant's first language (L1) are put between tags indicating the speaker's L1.
<u>Example:</u> S7: er this is <LNde> die seite? (welche) </LNde> is	Utterances in languages which are neither English nor the speaker's first language are marked LN with the language indicated.
<u>Example:</u> S4: it depends in in in <LQit> roma </LQit>	Non-English utterances where it cannot be ascertained whether the language is the speaker's first language or a foreign language are marked LQ with the language indicated.
<u>Example:</u> S2: erm we want to go t- to <LNvi> xx xxx </LNvi> island first of all	Unintelligible utterances in a participant's L1, LN or in an LQ are represented by x's approximating syllable number.
<u>Example:</u> S4: and now we do the boat trip (1) <L1xx> xxxxx </L1xx> S3: mhm	Utterances in a language one cannot recognize are marked L1xx, LNxx or LQxx.

<u>Example:</u> S3: <L1fr> oui un grand carre {yes like a big square} </L1fr> (.) i <fast> think it would </fast> be better if we put the tables a <soft> different way </soft>	If possible, translations into English are provided between curly brackets { } immediately after the non-English speech.
15. SPELLING OUT	
<u>Example:</u> S1: and they (3) created some (1) some er (2) JARGON. do you know? the word JARGON? (.) <spel> j a r- </spel> <spel> j a r g o n? </spel> jargon	The <spel> </spel> tag is used to mark words or abbreviations which are spelled out by the speaker, i.e. words whose constituents are pronounced as individual letters.
16. SPEAKING MODES	
<u>Example:</u> S2: because as i explained before is that we have in the <fast> universities of cyprus we have </fast> a specific e:rm procedure <fast> </fast> <slow> </slow> <loud> </loud> <soft> </soft> <whispering> </whispering> <sighing> </sighing> <reading> </reading> <reading aloud> </reading aloud> <on phone> </on phone> <imitating> </imitating> <singing> </singing> <yawning> </yawning>	Utterances which are spoken in a particular mode (fast, soft, whispered, read, etc.) and are notably different from the speaker's normal speaking style are marked accordingly. The list of speaking modes is an open one.
17. BREATH	
<u>Example:</u> S1: so it's always hh (.) going around (2) yeah	Noticeable breathing in or out is represented by two or three h's (hh = relatively short; hhh= relatively long).
18. SPEAKER NOISES	
<coughs> <clears throat> <sniffs> <sneezes> <snorts> <applauds> <smacks lips> <yawns> <whistles> <swallows>	Noises produced by the current speaker are always transcribed. Noises produced by other speakers are only transcribed if they seem relevant (e.g. because they make speech unintelligible or influence the interaction). The list of speaker noises is an open one.
<u>Example:</u> S1: yeah <1> what </1> i think in in doctor levels	These noises are transcribed as part of the running text and put between pointed brackets <>.

S7: <1> <clears throat> </1>	
<u>Example:</u> SX-m: but you NEVER KNOW when it's popping up you never know S3: <coughs (6)>	If it is deemed important to indicate the length of the noise (e.g. if a coughing fit disrupts the interaction), this is done by adding the number of seconds in parentheses after the descriptor.
19. NON-VERBAL FEEDBACK	
<nods> <shakes head>	Whenever information about it is available, non-verbal feedback is transcribed as part of the running text and put between pointed brackets < >.
<u>Example:</u> S3: but i think if you structure corporate governance appropriately you can have everything (1) S7: <soft> mhm </soft> <nods (2)>	If it is deemed important to indicate the length of the non-verbal feedback, this is done by adding the number of seconds in parentheses.
20. ANONYMIZATION	
	A guiding principle of VOICE is sensitivity to the appropriate extent of anonymization. As a general rule, names of people, companies, organizations, institutions, locations, etc. are replaced by aliases and these aliases are put into square brackets []. The aliases are numbered consecutively, starting with 1.
<u>Example:</u> S9: that's one of the things (.) that i (1) just wanted to clear out. (2) [S13]?	Whenever speakers who are involved in the interaction are addressed or referred to, their names are replaced by their respective speaker IDs.
<u>Example:</u> S6: so: (1) either MYself or mister [S2/last] or even boss (.) should be there every year	A speaker's first name is represented by the plain speaker ID in square brackets [S1], etc. A speaker's last name is marked [S1/last], etc.
<u>Example:</u> S8: so my name is [S8] [S8/last] from vienna	If a speaker's full name is pronounced, the two tags are combined to [S1] [S1/last], etc.
<u>Example:</u> S2: that division is headed by (1) [first name3] [last name3] (1)	Names of people who are not part of the ongoing interaction are substituted by [first name1], etc. or [last name1], etc. or a combination of both.
<u>Example:</u> S5: erm she is currently head of marketing (and) with the [org2] (1)	Companies and other organizations need to be anonymized as well. Their names are replaced by [org1], etc.
<u>Example:</u> S1: i: i really don't wanna have a: a joint degree e:r with the university of [place12] (.)	Names of places, cities, countries, etc. are anonymized when this is deemed relevant in order to protect the speakers' identities and their environment. They are replaced by [place1], etc.

<u>Example:</u> S8: he get the <L1cs> diplom {diploma} </L1cs> of [name1] university (.) and french university can give him also the <L1cs> diplom {diploma} </L1cs>	Other names or descriptors may be anonymized by [name1], etc., as in e.g. Charles University.
<u>Example:</u> S3: erm i- in the [thing1] is very well explained. so <2> i can </2> pa- <3> er pass you this </3> th- the definitions. S4: <2> aha </2> S4: <3> okay </@> okay </@> </3>	Products or other objects may be anonymized by [thing1], etc.
21. CONTEXTUAL EVENTS	
{mobile rings} {S7 enters room} {S2 points at S5} {S4 starts writing on blackboard} {S4 stops writing on blackboard} {S2 gets up and walks to blackboard (7)} {S3 pours coffee (3)} {SS reading quietly (30)} ... <u>Example:</u> S3: one dollar you get (.) (at) one euro you get one dollar twenty-seven. (.) S4: right. {S5 gets up to pour some drinks} S3: right now at this time (3) S1: er page five is the er (4) {S5 places some cups and glasses on the desk (4)} S1: i think is the descritip- e:r part of what i have just explained (.)	Contextual information is added between curly brackets { } only if it is relevant to the understanding of the interaction or to the interaction as such. If it is deemed important to indicate the length of the event, this can be done by adding the number of seconds in parentheses. <u>Explanation:</u> The pause in the conversation occurs because of the contextual event.
22. PARALLEL CONVERSATIONS	
<u>Example:</u> S1: four billion <spel> u s </spel> dollars. (.) S4: quite impressive (.) S1: er <to S2> not quite isn't it </to S2> (.) i understand some other countries we handle	To indicate that a speaker is addressing not the whole group but one speaker in particular, the stretch of speech is marked with (e.g.) <to S1> </to S1>, choosing the speaker ID of the addressee.
<u>Example:</u> S7: i've i've found the people very stressed SS: @@@ S7: that's (.) i don't know how many of you study here but it's VERY important to push the close the door button in that elevator. this is something i've never <3> seen in sweden </3> {parallel conversation between S1 and S3 starts} or anywhere else <4> but it's very	Wherever two or more conversational threads emerge which are too difficult to transcribe, as a general rule only the main thread of conversation is transcribed. The threads which are not transcribed are treated like a contextual event and indicated between curly brackets { }.

important to push this button </4> SS: <3> @@@@ </3> SS: <4> @@@@ @@@@ </4> @@ S7: <5> i never even saw this button in another el- elevator </5> SS: <5> @@@@ @@@@ @@@@ </5> {parallel conversation between S1 and S3 ends} @@@	
23. UNINTELLIGIBLE SPEECH	
Example: S4: we <un> xxx </un> for the <7> supreme (.) three </7> possibilities S1: <7> next yeah </7>	Unintelligible speech is represented by x's approximating syllable number and placed between <un> </un> tags.
Example: S7: obviously the the PROCESS will <un> x <ipa> 0eɪj </ipa> </un> (.) w- w- will (.) will take (.) at least de- decade	If it is possible to make out some of the sounds uttered, a phonetic transcription of the x's is added between <ipa> </ipa> tags.
24. TRANSCRIPTION BORDERS	
<beg CD1_4_00:35>	The beginning of the transcript is noted by indicating the CD number, the track number and the exact position of the respective track in minutes and seconds.
<end CD1_21_01:27>	The end of the transcript is noted in the same way.
<end CD1_19_01:27> (gap 00:06:36) {multiple parallel conversations, hardly intelligible} <beg CD1_21_02:03>	A gap in the transcription is indicated in parentheses, including its length in hh:mm:ss. Curly brackets { } are used in order to specify the reasons for or the circumstances of the gap.
<end CD1_24_3:02> (nrec 00:00:45) {change of minidisk} <beg CD2_1_00:00>	An interruption in the recording is indicated in the same way, but abbreviated as " nrec " (i.e. non-recorded). The length you indicate will normally be a guess.

In addition to the regular mark-up, transcribers supplement the transcripts with Transcriber's Notes in which they provide additional contextual information and observations about other features of the interaction not accounted for in the transcript.

For a detailed discussion of specific aspects of the transcription conventions cf. Breiteneder, Pitzl, Majewski, Klimpfinger. (2006). "VOICE recording – Methodological challenges in the compilation of a corpus of spoken ELF". *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 5/2, 161-188.

Appendix C VOICE Spelling Conventions [2.1]

Source: http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/documents/VOICE_spelling_conventions_v2-1.pdf (30 July 2012)



TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS [2.1]

Spelling conventions

The **VOICE Transcription Conventions** are protected by copyright. Duplication or distribution to any third party of all or any part of the material is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your personal research use in electronic or print form. Permission for any other use must be obtained from VOICE. Authorship must be acknowledged in all cases.



Spelling conventions

Version 2.1 June 2007

1. CHARACTERS a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z	Only alphabetic Roman characters are used in the transcript. No diacritics, umlauts or non-roman characters are permitted in the running text.
2. DECAPITALIZATION <u>Example:</u> S8: so you really can <@> control my english </@>	No capital letters are used except for marking emphasis (cf. mark-up conventions).
3. BRITISH SPELLING British spelling	British English spelling is used to represent naturally occurring ELF speech. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD), 7th edition, is used as the primary source of reference. If an entry gives more than one spelling variant of a word, the first variant is chosen. If there are two separate entries for British and American spelling, the British entry is selected.
4. SPELLING EXCEPTIONS center, theater behavior, color, favor, labor, neighbor defense, offense disk program travel (-l-: traveled, traveler, traveling) <u>Example:</u> S2: we are NOT quite sure if it will REALLY be (.) privatized next year	The 12 words listed on the left and all their derivatives are spelled according to American English conventions (e.g. colors, colorful, colored, to color, favorite, favorable, to favor, in favor of, etc.). In addition, all words which can be spelled using either an <i>-is</i> or an <i>-iz</i> morpheme are spelled with <i>-iz</i> (e.g. to emphasize, organizations, realization, recognized, etc.).
5. NON-ENGLISH WORDS <u>Example:</u> S1: <L1de> wieso oesterreich? {why austria} </L1de> <u>Example:</u> S3: <LNfr> c'est ferme? {is it closed} </LNfr>	Non-English words are rendered in the standard variant of the original language (i.e. no non-standard dialect). The roman alphabet is always used, also in the case of languages like Arabic or Japanese. No umlauts (e.g. NOT österreich), no diacritics (e.g. NOT fermé) and no non-roman characters are permitted.

6. FULL REPRESENTATION OF WORDS	
Although words may not be fully pronounced or may be pronounced with a foreign accent, they are generally represented in standard orthographic form. <u>Example:</u> S7: the students that (.) decide freely to enter (.) this kind of master knows (.) for example that he can (.) at the end achieve (.) sixty credits	Explanation: S7 is Italian and pronounces the <i>he</i> in <i>he can</i> as /ɪ/, swallowing the initial h. Nevertheless, this is regarded as a minor instance of L1 accent and therefore represented in standard orthography (<i>he</i>).
7. FULL REPRESENTATION OF NUMBERS, TITLES & ABBREVIATIONS	
oh/zero, two, three, ... one hundred, nineteen ten, eighteen twenty-seven, ...	Numbers are fully spelled out as whole words. British English hyphenation rules apply.
missis (for <i>Mrs</i>), mister, miss, mis (for <i>Ms</i>), doctor, professor, ...	Titles and terms of address are fully spelled out.
et cetera, saint thomas, okay,...	Forms that are usually abbreviated in writing, but spoken as complete words are fully spelled out.
8. LEXICALIZED REDUCED FORMS	
cos gonna, gotta, wanna	Lexicalized phonological reductions are limited to the four on the left. All other non-standard forms are fully spelled out (e.g. /hæftə/ = <i>have to</i>).
9. CONTRACTIONS	
i'm, there're, how's peter, running's fun, ... i've, they've, it's got, we'd been, ... tom'll be there, he'd go for the first, ... we aren't, i won't, he doesn't, ... what's it mean, where's she live, how's that sound ... let's	Whenever they are uttered, all standard contractions are rendered. This refers to verb contractions with <i>be</i> (<i>am</i>, <i>is are</i>), <i>have</i> (<i>have</i>, <i>has</i>, <i>had</i>), <i>will</i> and <i>would</i> as well as <i>not</i>-contractions. Additionally, 's is used to represent <i>does</i> when reduced and attached to a <i>wh</i>-word. It is also used to represent the pronoun <i>us</i> in the contracted form <i>let's</i>.
10. HYPHENS	
<u>Example:</u> S3: more than thirteen years of experience er working in (.) er (.) design and development (.) er of (1) real-time software (.) er for industrial (.) implications	Hyphens are used according to British English hyphenation rules. The OALD, 7th edition, is used as the primary source of reference.

<u>Example:</u> S2: we would allow that within er an international cooperation (.)	If an entry gives more than one spelling variant of a word, the first variant is chosen.
11. ACRONYMS	
<u>Example:</u> S10: for the development of joint programmes within the unica networks.	Acronyms (i.e. abbreviations spoken as one word) are transcribed like words. They are not highlighted in any way.
12. DISCOURSE MARKERS	
	All discourse markers are represented in orthography as shown below. The lists provided are closed lists. The items in the lists are standardized and may not represent the exact sound patterns of the actual discourse markers uttered.
yes, yeah, yah okay, okey-dokey	Backchannels and positive minimal feedback
mhm, hm aha, uhu	(closed sound-acknowledgement token) (open sound-acknowledgement token)
no n-n, uh-uh	Negative minimal feedback
er, erm	Hesitation/filler
huh	tag-question
	Exclamations
yay, yipee, whoohoo, mm:	joy/enthusiasm
haeh	questioning/doubt/disbelief
a:h, o:h, wow, poah	astonishment/surprise
oops	apology
ooph	exhaustion
ts, pf	disregard/dismissal/contempt
ouch, ow	pain
sh, psh	requesting silence
oh-oh:, u:h	anticipating trouble
ur	disapproval/disgust
oow	pity, disappointment
<u>Example:</u> S3: <L1ja> he: </L1ja>	What are clearly L1-specific discourse markers are marked as foreign words. Due to the wide range of these phenomena in different languages, the L1-list is open-ended. A translation is added whenever this is possible.
<u>Example:</u> SX-m: <L1de> ach ja {oh yes} </L1de>	

For a detailed discussion of specific aspects of the transcription conventions cf. Breiteneder, Pitzl, Majewski, Klimpfinger. (2006). "VOICE recording – Methodological challenges in the compilation of a corpus of spoken ELF". *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 5/2, 161-188.

Appendix D List of conversations included in my data

Event ID ⁵⁵	Number of participants ⁵⁶	L1 backgrounds ⁵⁷
educational domain		
EDcon4	3	pol-PL, rum-RO, mac-MK
EDcon250	5	ger-AT/eng-US, ger-AT, slo-SK, tur-TR, slo-SK
EDcon496 (audio available)	3	spa-VE, eng-GY/dut-NL, ind-ID
EDcon521 (audio available)	10	nor-NO, dut-NL, swe-SE, rus-RU, fre-CH, pol-PL, lav-LV, est-EE, slo-SK, alb-AL
leisure domain		
LEcon8	5	kor, kir-KG, kir-KG, alb-AL, spa-PE
LEcon227	2	dut-BE, dan-DK
LEcon228	2	nor-NO, fin-FI
LEcon229	2	ger-AT, spa-ES
LEcon329	4	mlt-MT, mlt-MT, scc-RS, mlt-MT/eng-MT
LEcon351	7	spa-ES, spa-AR, ger-AT, ger-AT, ger-AT, ger-AT, spa-AR
LEcon352	7	spa-ES, ger-AT, spa-AR, ger-AT, ger-AT, spa-AR, ger-AT
LEcon353	5	ger-AT, spa-AR, ger-AT, spa-AR, spa-ES
LEcon405	2	ita-IT, ger-AT
LEcon417	4	ger-DE, nor-NO, ita-IT, ger-AT
LEcon418	2	nor-NO, ger-DE
LEcon420 (audio available)	3	ger-DE, ger-AT, cze-CZ

⁵⁵ In VOICE each event ID includes the abbreviation for the speech event type, the domain abbreviation, and a number, e.g. LEcon496 (leisure domain, speech event type: conversation).

⁵⁶ The number of participants only includes identified speakers who are neither researchers nor non-participants.

⁵⁷ Please see http://www.loc.gov/standards/iso639-2/php/code_list.php for language abbreviations and http://www.iso.org/iso/home/standards/country_codes/iso-3166-1_decoding_table.htm for country abbreviations.

LEcon547	4	mlt-MT, mlt-MT, scc-RS, mlt-MT/eng-MT
LEcon548	5	mlt-MT, mlt-MT, scc-RS, mlt-MT/eng-MT, mlt-MT/eng-MT
LEcon560	8	pol-PL, spa-ES/cat-ES, nor-NO, dan-DK, dut-NL, ger, ger-AT, ger-AT
LEcon565	2	ita-IT, ger-DE
LEcon566 (audio available)	2	ger-DE, ita-IT
LEcon573	2	ger-DE, ita-IT
LEcon575	2	ita-IT, ger-DE
professional domain		
PBcon594	3	scc-RS, ger-AT, ger-AT
POcon543	6	dan-DK, cat-ES, hun-HU, fin-FI, fin-FI, dan-DK
PRcon29	4	ger-IT, spa-ES, ger-AT, spa-ES
PRcon531	2	tur-TR, ice-IS, ger-AT
PRcon534	2	ger-DE, tur-TR
PRcon535	2	ita-IT, ice-IS
PRcon550	2	fre, slv-SI
PRcon599	4	ger-IT, kor-KR, ger-DE, ger-DE

Abstract

This thesis intends to be a contribution to the growing number of qualitative studies in the field of English as a lingua franca (ELF). I believe that the understanding of this phenomenon will increase as more naturally-occurring ELF-conversations are described and analyzed.

In this study ELF is not considered a threat to the development of the English language, but it is seen as a phenomenon in its own right, where mistakes and deficiencies are secondary. My focus lies on the establishment of mutual understanding and the negotiation as well as the creation of meaning. As my study shows, this process of negotiation is given space in the *Cultural Third Place* (CTP) where linguaculturally different individuals meet to establish common ground.

In the first part of my thesis I outline several approaches to interpersonal as well as intercultural communication models which lead me to the conclusion that the negotiation of meaning in the CTP is best represented by the concept of positioning by means of communicative convergence and divergence. Thus, my main research question is how linguaculturally different individuals successfully position themselves and others in the CTP while using English as a lingua franca. This question is narrowed down by specifying four aspects of the CTP which are relevant for my study, namely *cultural diversity*, *cultural hybridity*, the *negotiation of common ground*, and the *negotiation of schematic knowledge*.

The analysis of selected ELF-conversations taken from the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) makes up the second part of my thesis where the above components of the CTP are exemplified. The ELF-speakers in my sample position their linguacultural identities by using strategies such as *membering*, *stereotyping*, *code-switching*, and the *creation of novel forms*. The CTP is marked by a constant shift between speakers claiming and conceding territory by emphasizing their cultural distinctiveness as well as establishing common ground and shared meaning.

It becomes clear through my analysis that the CTP provides room for maneuver and negotiation. The component of cultural diversity and hybridity, where cultural-specific schematic knowledge is translated into ELF to make it accessible to the other speakers, can be seen as contribution to the enhancement of intercultural understanding. The ELF-speakers in my sample thus manage to express their own identities and remain authentic.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit leistet einen Beitrag zu der wachsenden Zahl an qualitativen Studien im Bereich English as Lingua Franca (ELF). Ich glaube, dass die kontinuierliche Beschreibung und Analyse von natürlich vorkommenden ELF-Gesprächen das Verständnis über dieses Phänomen vergrößern kann.

ELF wird in dieser Studie nicht als Bedrohung für die Entwicklung der englischen Sprache angesehen, sondern als selbständiges Phänomen, das seine eigene Berechtigung hat, wobei Fehler und Mängel hier nur sekundären Stellenwert haben. Mein Hauptfokus liegt darauf, wie die Gesprächsteilnehmer zu gegenseitigem Verständnis kommen, indem sie Bedeutungsunterschiede aushandeln und neue Sinnbezüge kreieren. Wie meine Studie deutlich macht, wird diesem Verhandlungsprozess im *Cultural Third Place* (CTP) Raum gegeben, wo Individuen, die sich in Sprache und Kultur unterscheiden, einen gemeinsamen Nenner finden.

Im ersten Teil meiner Arbeit stelle ich einige Ansätze zu interpersonellen sowie interkulturellen Kommunikationsmodellen vor, die mich zu dem Schluss bringen, dass die Bedeutungsaushandlung im CTP am besten durch das Prinzip der Positionierung anhand von kommunikativer Konvergenz und Divergenz repräsentiert wird. Es stellt sich daher die primäre Forschungsfrage, wie kulturell und sprachlich unterschiedliche Individuen sich selbst und andere erfolgreich im

CTP positionieren, während sie English als Lingua Franca verwenden. Diese Frage wird weiter eingeschränkt, indem ich vier Aspekte des CTP festlege, die relevant für meine Studie sind, nämlich *kulturelle Diversität*, *kulturelle Hybridität*, die *Verhandlung von Gemeinsamkeiten* und die *Verhandlung von Schemata*.

Die Analyse von ausgewählten ELF-Gesprächen aus dem Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) stellt den zweiten Teil meiner Arbeit dar, worin die oben genannten Teile des CTP durch Beispiele veranschaulicht werden. Die ELF-SprecherInnen in meiner Stichprobe positionieren ihre kulturellen und sprachlichen Identitäten, indem sie Strategien, wie *membering*, *stereotyping*, *code-switching* und das *Kreieren neuer Formen* anwenden. Die SprecherInnen verteidigen einerseits ihr eigenes Territorium im CTP, aber gestehen den anderen TeilnehmerInnen andererseits auch deren Platz zu. Dies wird durch einen ständigen Wechsel zwischen der Hervorhebung von kultureller Diversität und der Entstehung von Gemeinsamkeiten bewerkstelligt.

Durch meine Analyse wird klar, dass der CTP einen Raum zum Manövrieren und Verhandeln schafft. Die Bereiche der kulturellen Diversität und Hybridität, wo kulturspezifische Schemata mithilfe von ELF übersetzt werden, um sie den anderen SprecherInnen zugänglich zu machen, können als Beitrag zur Verbesserung interkulturellen Verstehens angesehen werden. Die ELF-SprecherInnen in meiner Stichprobe sind dadurch in der Lage ihre eigene Identität auszudrücken und authentisch zu bleiben.

Curriculum Vitae

Personal Information

Name: Katharina Loetscher
Date of birth: 30 July 1985
Place of birth: Vienna
Nationality: Austrian

Education

03-2006 – present English and German education studies (focus: German as a foreign language), University of Vienna
06-2003 *Reifeprüfung* (school-leaving examination), with honors
1995 – 2003 High school St. Ursula, Vienna (focus: piano and music)
1991 – 1995 Elementary school Rohrwassergasse, Vienna

Current positions

09-2011 – present Teacher for English and German at high school
BG/BRG Mödling Keimgasse, Lower Austria
02-2011 – present Teacher for piano and recorder at community college
VHS Brigittenau, Vienna

Previous positions

11-2010 Internship at ActiLingua Academy, Vienna (German language school)
02-2006 – 06-2011 Private tutor for English, German and mathematics
01-2004 – 01-2006 Au Pair in Minnesota, USA

Additional qualifications

03-2006 ECDL Certificate (European Computer Driving Licence)
07-2005 TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language)
06-2003 Level 1 Cambridge Certificate in English (ESOL)