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**Investigating the role of connotation in communication and miscommunication
within English as a lingua franca and consequent implications for teaching**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

The thesis explores the importance of connotation within English as a lingua franca (ELF) and the implications for teaching ELF. The importance of such research is that should connotative meaning be shown to be of crucial importance, this must be taken into account in the development of a methodology for ELF. This is particularly important as the understanding of ELF is only now emerging, together with a related pedagogy.

As a starting point the thesis explores the views of high school teachers and university lecturers in Thailand as an example of a country where ELF is an important issue for pedagogy. The focus is on issues related to the teaching and use of ELF, including linguistic imperialism. The literature on intercultural communication is then discussed with particular reference to English as a lingua franca. From this discussion a hypothesis is developed for testing, that “successful intercultural communication using ELF cannot take place without a substantial similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse”.

Given that there has been no previous attempt to explore connotative meaning within ELF, one of the contributions of this thesis is the development of the research instruments designed to test the hypothesis. Research instruments used were questionnaires; recorded interviews based on the responses to the questionnaires; video-recorded dialogues between informants; separate tape-recorded “stop-start” interviews of informants whilst viewing the video recordings of the dialogues; semantic differential testing of key words and phrases selected from the dialogues; and word association testing of such key words and phrases. The thesis explains the rationale behind such instruments and their application in a research pilot with subsequent refinements for the main study.

The analysis showed that overall, 81% of the communication events that were able to be categorized provided some form of support for the hypothesis, compared to 19% of such events providing evidence tending to contradict the hypothesis. The conclusion reached was therefore that connotative meaning was indeed, extremely significant in successful communication in ELF and the implications of this finding for theory, research methodology and practice are considered.

Chapter 1: Introduction and background to the study

Abstract: This chapter explains the reasons for my interest in the subject matter of this thesis. It continues to explain the background and rationale of the study and provides the reader with a brief explanation of the theoretical framework of the study. The distinction between EIL and ELF is discussed. The Chapter then concludes with providing an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Introduction: reasons for my interest

As a child my family traveled extensively in Europe and I have no doubt that this began my interest in travel and in other cultures. When I was old enough I traveled prodigiously, hitch-hiking across Canada and taking greyhound buses round North America, hitch-hiking to Greece, cycling to the North of Norway and other adventures. I was fascinated by the people that I met on my travels. I then, having finished a law degree and bar qualification settled into a career in law, although the travelling and the interest I had in other cultures never stopped.

After practicing law for many years I was becoming increasingly unsettled with my life and seeking adventure, which drew me to holidays in Asia and finally, seeking work in Asia. This ultimately led me to working in Thailand. Work was not easy to obtain in the legal field, and so I decided to “take the plunge” and obtain teaching qualifications. Teaching was not a strange field to me as many of my family were teachers, I had many friends who were teachers and in my early years at the bar had taught bar students to supplement my income. I therefore took a CELTA course and taught English in Germany for a period, and then took the PGCE course at Durham, which eventually brought me into contact with Mike Byram who encouraged me to think about the impact of culture in intercultural communication.

Having traveled so extensively I was extremely interested in other cultures and other ways of thinking, also being deeply conscious of my ignorance of both.

What particularly interested me however, and remains of particular interest to me, is what is actually in the mind of the other person or persons in an intercultural encounter and whether any real portion of that mental content is communicated to another person in intercultural communication, beyond the superficial. I was interested in finding some way to explore this “communication gap” between people from different cultures and whether it can really ever be bridged. My experience of English as a lingua franca (ELF) teaching left me rather pessimistic that much ELF teaching and materials seemed extremely simplistic and did not appear to consider any of these fundamental issues.

One of the writers who interested me most on the role of language in this “communication gap” (beyond obvious differences in languages) was Whorf, and, after 5 years of research I still find this passage exciting and illuminating to read:

We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds- and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way-an agreement which holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The Agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees (Whorf, 1956, p.212).

It seems to me that, although I am aware that some of the examples he gave and the “extreme” version of the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis have later been dismissed, much of Whorf’s observation remains true, that our linguistic systems play a huge role in how we perceive the world. Those linguistic systems themselves are built through our membership of a society, a speech community, whose

manifestations are the culture of that society. To be able to talk at all, we need to share such linguistic systems. The question is, how such linguistic systems can be shared by speakers using English as a lingua franca. The implications of such conclusions for intercultural communication in ELF may be that very little actual communication is taking place. Of course, Whorf places great emphasis on the role of language in interpreting the world around us, whereas I would argue that it is culture, rather than language, that explains how we interpret the world. However, as we see in Chapter 3, culture and language share a close connection. What remains intriguing about the ideas of Whorf is the idea that we “cannot talk at all” without subscribing to this agreement, which in my view is both cultural *and* linguistic. My interest was to explore what happens when those differences of thinking are held by interlocutors seeking to communicate in a third language, the lingua franca.¹

Not surprisingly, given his close association with Whorf, my interest was also stimulated by the ideas of Sapir, although I prefer substituting the word “culture” for “social reality”:

Language is a guide to “social reality”. Though language is not ordinarily thought of as essential interest to the students of social science, it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that

¹ The Whorf hypothesis is made up of linguistic determinism and linguistic relativity, linguistic determinism being that languages determine nonlinguistic cognitive processes and linguistic relativity being that the resulting thought processes vary from language to language (Carroll, 1999, p.369). However, Carroll points out that this can be interpreted in “strong” and “weak” versions. The strong version states that “language determines cognition: the presence of linguistic categories creates cognitive categories” No evidence exists for this version and in any event, there is no clear evidence that Whorf himself supported this version. The weak version states that the presence of linguistic categories influences the ease with which various cognitive operations are performed. Some recent research has provided evidence for the weaker version, particularly at the lexical level (Carroll, 1999, p. 375). For example, Levinson (1997, p.39) argues that although semantic representations in language are not homomorphic with conceptual representations, conceptual representations are influenced by semantic representations.

language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the “real world” is to a large extent built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The Worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.

The understanding of a simple poem, for instance, involves not merely an understanding of the single words in their average significance, but a full understanding of the whole life of the community as it is mirrored in the words, or as it is suggested by their overtones. Even comparatively simple acts of perception are very much more at the mercy of the social patterns called words than we might suppose (Sapir, 1970, p.69).

Again, it is not necessary to accept some of Sapir’s stronger statements to find this passage interesting in that it places emphasis on how culture is embedded into language, that it is wrong to see a different “world” as merely the same world with different labels attached- the differences between the worlds of would be intercultural communicators goes much deeper than that. When Sapir describes how understanding a poem requires an understanding of the whole life of a community, this is extremely similar to themes that I later discuss in this thesis from the work of Agar, that words (and discourse) cannot be treated in isolation if there is to be successful communication- it is their connections to other significant words and ideas that give them meaning (see discussion of Agar’s work in Chapter 4 at 4.2.3).

These thoughts led me to consider a number of intriguing possibilities as I was considering the area of research for my study. Was there any real communication in ELF at all? Certainly, from my classes in Germany and later at Northumbria University I had observed many intercultural interactions in the lingua franca, arranging meeting times, discussing whether it was hot or cold that day or what time the next train came, but this was effective communication at only the most basic of levels.

This view of an essential omission in ELF thinking was reinforced when I began teaching at a large university in Thailand. Teaching seemed to be primarily focused on the four skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening as rather separate subjects, divorced from each other. Great emphasis seemed to be placed on particular words and phrases that were required for low-level tourist service industry employment, such as bar staff, hotel receptionists and restaurant staff. There seemed to be little consciousness of the immense cultural barriers to communication, with aspects of culture being dealt with mainly in the “national boundary” sense (see later discussion of culture in Chapter 3). This view of culture in teaching was indeed prevalent amongst Thai university lecturers and high school teachers, as is revealed in Chapter 2.

I was therefore interested in my research in finding a way of understanding more about the actual meaning of the interlocutors when they were seeking to communicate that meaning to other persons in an ELF intercultural encounter in discourse that was more complex than the most basic of interactions, how successfully (or otherwise) that meaning was communicated and to see what the implications of this research would be for teaching and learning ELF in future.

1.2 Background and rationale of study

Research revealed that most studies on intercultural communication did not envisage a lingua franca situation. Indeed, as Gudykunst and Kim observe,

it is apparent that, in the past, the bulk of energy and time of intercultural communication researchers has been directed toward ‘intracultural’ or ‘cross-cultural’ rather than ‘intercultural’ studies of communication (...). The majority of research activities have focused upon communication patterns in specific cultures and on cross-cultural comparisons of communication-related phenomena (Gudykunst and Kim, 1984, p.16).

Meierkord makes a similar point when she states a decade later that:

most of the research on intercultural communication has focused on native-non-native speaker interaction both in the context of immigration and minorities and in intercultural politics and business. Interaction among non-native speakers of a language, however, has not received much attention (Meierkord, 1998, p.1).

I do not deny that some of the conclusions of such studies may be relevant to intercultural communication using English as a lingua franca, but on considering such studies, it seemed to me that they overlooked the essential component of investigating the successful sharing of meaning through language. As an example, Scollon and Scollon develop a theory of intercultural communication that is based on (1) Ideology; (2) Socialization; (3) Forms of Discourse; and (4) Face Systems (Scollon and Scollon, 1995, p.127) but this theory does not attempt to address the mental processes involved in successful communication, nor is the theory designed to describe intercultural communication using English as a lingua franca. Although I accept that this is likely to be because this was not the interest of Scollon and Scollon, it does render their work, for my purposes, interesting as an explanation of many of the other features of intercultural communication and therefore relevant to the lingua franca, but of no assistance in explaining the central question that seems to me to be of critical importance.

Scollon and Scollon are only one example of this tendency. Numerous other theories of intercultural communication have been developed that could be applied to the lingua franca, but again, none deal with the issue that I believe is of critical importance. A detailed discussion of such theories is beyond the scope of this thesis, but some examples are uncertainty reduction theory (predictions and explanations based on cultural variability); attribution theory (differentiating the nature of communication accommodation depending on whether interlocutors have either high or low dependence on the identification with their ingroup); and culture and face negotiation and conflict potential.²

² Gudykunst and Nishida provide an excellent overview of major theories of intercultural communication, including a detailed discussion of the above and other theories (in Asante and Gudykunst (Eds.), 1989, pp. 21-37).

A further general dissatisfaction I had with such theories is that there seemed to me to be a tendency for such theories to treat culture as being contiguous with national boundaries, which seemed to me to be far from the case, as we shall discuss further in Chapter 3. Given the closeness of the relationship between language and culture (discussed in Chapter 4) this added to my general feeling that such theories were unsatisfactory because of a fundamental misunderstanding of a central concept in intercultural communication, that of culture itself. Indeed, Agar refers to culture as the “dirty little secret” of the field of intercultural communication (Agar, 1994 (1), p.224). The approach taken in this thesis was therefore to conduct a detailed review of definitions of culture before development of a hypothesis for testing began, in order to explore this problematic starting point.

Having established that there appeared to be no existing communication theory that was directly applicable to the use of English as a lingua franca, I decided to go back to the basics of investigating theories of how language works in order to develop a hypothesis for testing in a lingua franca scenario. Again, there are so many competing theories of how language works from different disciplinary perspectives that it is impossible to discuss them all in this thesis, however selections are made of a philosophical, linguistic and psychological approach to form a framework for the hypothesis. This discussion can be seen in Chapter 4.

Of course, it would be interesting to seek to develop an entire theory of intercultural communication using English as a lingua franca, but again, the size of such a task makes it unrealistic to attempt in this thesis. The focus of this thesis is therefore the question that I think is central in the issue of any communication, whether in a lingua franca situation or not: is there successful sharing of meaning between those involved in such communication? This involved the development and testing of a hypothesis in a situation where two non-native English speakers of differing nationalities sought to communicate using English as a lingua franca (an ELFNN1-NN2 communication event, where NN1 refers to a non-native speaker of English of one cultural background; and NN2 refers to another non-native speaker of English from a different cultural background).

1.3 Brief explanation of theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of the study is found mainly in Chapters 3 (The Culture in Intercultural Communication) and 4 (Meaning and Understanding in Intercultural Communication). In Chapter 3, various themes of consensus are explored from descriptions and definitions of culture over the last hundred years and drawn together to form a “messy” and “thick” understanding of how culture relates to language and society. It is observed that many such definitions contain elements related to language and communication, in particular the formation of meaning systems; shared knowledge and ways of thinking; and cognitive constructs. Numerous such elements from the definitions of culture discussed are then used to problematize the lingua franca communication event as part of the basis for hypothesis development.

The thesis then moves on in Chapter 4 to discuss some relevant philosophical, linguistic and psychological perspectives on meaning and understanding, seeking to draw the essence of these perspectives together to form an overall view of meaning and understanding that is consistent with these different perspectives. The ELFNN1-NN2 communication event is then analysed in the light of this discussion and of the cultural themes established in Chapter 3. From this analysis the following hypothesis is constructed for testing:

Successful intercultural communication using ELF cannot take place without a substantial similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse.

Having developed the hypothesis, research instruments are then developed to seek to test and to falsify the hypothesis. The research instruments are tested in a pilot for the research, and adapted for further research. Following further research, the data from the pilot and the additional research is combined and analysed. Conclusions drawn on the validity of the hypothesis and implications for the emerging ELF pedagogy considered.

1.4 EIL and ELF

Most of this thesis is concerned with investigating ELF, however, in some parts of this thesis it is more appropriate to refer to the somewhat broader concept of English as an International Language (EIL). In Chapter 2, for example, issues related to both ELF and EIL are discussed and in Chapter 7, both concepts are revisited. It is worthwhile then, at the beginning, to briefly discuss the distinction I have in mind when I refer to ELF and EIL.

Gnutzmann describes a lingua franca as being “a language that is used as a medium of communication between people or groups of people each speaking a different native language” (Gnutzmann, 2000, p.356). In the context of this thesis, the language under discussion is English, although it is right to point out that throughout history, other languages have been used as a lingua franca, for example, Latin in the Roman Empire and French in French colonies. Strictly speaking, non-native speaker -native speaker communication would not be categorized as being in the lingua franca, as the native speaker would have the lingua franca as a native language. This would be a situation in which the non-native speaker was using English as a foreign language (EFL), or as a second language (ESL).

EIL is a broader concept that includes all users of English internationally. This would include native English speakers using English to communicate with non-native English speakers and even non-native English speakers sharing the same native language, who may use English to communicate for professional or technical reasons, even though they share a common language.

The important feature of EIL that makes it an international language, whether used as a lingua franca, foreign language, second language or native language, is the sheer vastness of its use and extent of its influence. As Gnutzmann puts it,

It is not so much the total of 400 million native speakers (Chinese has one billion) that has made English a global language (...) but the political, military and economic power behind the English language and the

countries it is most associated with, above all the United States (Gnutzmann, 2000, p.357).

It is right to point out however, that some of the above distinctions are now frequently being blurred. In the following passage, Jenkins refers to this process and then herself, by failing to distinguish between EIL and ELF, perpetuates this blurring:

We no longer regard English as being taught mainly for communication with its native speakers (the goal of EFL) (...) we acknowledge that the EFL-ESL distinction is beginning to blur as the two merge into English as an International Language (EIL). Nowadays, English most frequently serves as a worldwide lingua franca for vast numbers of non-native users (Jenkins, 1998, 119).

In this thesis however, I use ELF in the specific sense described above, whereas EIL is used in the broader sense of all uses of English internationally. In my view it is particularly important to keep this distinction alive because the ELF distinction emphasizes the fact that the majority of users of EIL are non-native English speakers in the situation considered in this thesis, i.e. where a non-native English speaker of one nationality seeks to communicate with a non-native English speaker of differing nationality, and vice versa. This in turn, has pedagogical implications that we shall return to in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This Chapter is followed by a discussion of the current state of EIL and ELF teaching and learning in Thailand, where the research took place (Chapter 2) and where the issue of ELF is important, as in many other outer circle countries (Kachru, 1992, p. 356; Cangarajah, 1999, p.4), providing a context for the research. This is followed by the analysis of culture (Chapter 3: The culture in intercultural communication), which is then followed by Chapter 4: Meaning and understanding in intercultural communication. The thesis then moves on to explain the research design in Chapter 5: Developing new methods for assessing

connotation in ELF. Chapter 6 provides the research findings and discussion, with supporting Annexes at the end of the thesis. The final Chapter, Chapter 7, provides the conclusion to the thesis, including a discussion of the hypothesis following the research findings and the implications of such findings for the emerging pedagogy of ELF.

Chapter 2: The perspectives of university lecturers and high school teachers on teaching English as an international language in Thailand

Abstract: An account is given of interviews held with two groups of teachers: three university lecturers from a prestigious university in Bangkok, and three high school teachers from a rural high school in North Eastern Thailand. This chapter summarizes their views on a range of issues related to teaching English as an International Language (EIL) (see discussion in Chapter 1 as to the meaning of EIL as compared to the meaning of ELF), ranging from cultural aspects to issues of linguistic imperialism and resource related issues. The chapter concludes with an overall view of the current state of teaching English as an International Language in Thailand and possible future directions and controversies that are emerging.

2.1 The interviews

To place my research in the context of the country in which the research was being conducted, and to gain an additional perspective on English teaching in this part of Asia, discussions were held with two groups of teachers from opposite ends of the educational spectrum. One group of teachers were lecturers at a prestigious university in Bangkok, where many (but not all) of the students came from wealthy and privileged families. The other group of teachers teach at a high school in the North-East of Thailand in a rural market town called Non Din Deng, in the province of Buri Rum. It is hoped that through the discussions and experiences of this cross-section of teachers an accurate picture can be drawn of the current state of teaching English as an International Language in Thailand.

It should be noted that my intention in interviewing the teachers was to obtain an overall impression of teaching EIL and ELF in Thailand in order to contextualize my main research into the role of connotation within ELF. Because of this, it was not viewed necessary to conduct a larger scale exercise as would be expected were the main object of this thesis to investigate this issue.

As a result, two groups of three teachers were selected whose views were nevertheless regarded as being representative of a cross-section of high school and university teachers in Thailand. Because of the size of the sample however, caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions based on their views and more extensive research would be necessary if firm conclusions were to be drawn.

The interviews were tape-recorded and conducted in a group discussion format. I prepared a list of open questions in advance, dealing with the six issues discussed in this Chapter, for example, "What do you think is the purpose of teaching English in Thailand today?". I used each question to begin a discussion of the subject matter of the question between the teachers, and used my role to elicit further information from the teachers or ask them to clarify points that I felt were unclear. In relation to some issues, I was required to explain certain concepts, such as "linguistic imperialism" or "lingua franca", however I strictly avoided being drawn into the discussion myself in order not to influence the data obtained. Following recording the interviews were then transcribed for subsequent analysis.

The discussions were with three teachers on each occasion, and were guided by myself, although I tried to interfere as little as possible with the observations that the teachers were making. In the discussions, I use the Thai term for teacher, 'Ajarn' (this applies to any teacher at any level of the educational system). All of the teachers signed consent forms giving their permission for me to use the recordings of the discussions in my research and for the purposes of anonymity all are given pseudonyms when their views are referred to. The questions I asked were open ones, without suggesting the answers. All teachers were asked when they were talking to distinguish between whether they were talking about the beginner level of students, or intermediate\advanced level of students.

For ease of consideration, the views of the university lecturers and high school teachers have been grouped into the broad areas of discussion that took place, in each case looking at the views of the high school teachers first, followed by those of the university lecturers:

- (1) General impressions of English teaching in Thailand
- (2) The purpose of teaching English in Thailand
- (3) The culture in English teaching in Thailand
- (4) Teaching English in Thailand for use as a lingua franca
- (5) Attitudes towards issues of linguistic imperialism
- (6) Resources and financial matters

The chapter then concludes with comment on the current state of teaching English as an International Language in Thailand and considers future trends, raising some potentially controversial issues that may arise in the future.

2.2 General impressions of English teaching in Thailand

2.2.1 High school

The views of English teachers in the rural high school were generally pessimistic on the current state of English teaching, although there were some positive signs for the future. Thananan summed up the picture in this way:

There are many kinds of students, some students are very good in English but some students don't, don't know anything. We teach in [high school] level, so the students that come to study here, somebody, they can't read, they can't read, they can't write.

The teachers explained that under the usual government system (with some exceptions) English teaching starts at Grade 5, or 10 years old. This means that most students have been studying English for some 2 years before arriving at high school, however, many students still do not know the letters of the alphabet. The high school teachers blame this on the fact that although English teaching begins earlier, the teachers who teach English do not have any training in English language or teaching:

Kitipong: But, but some schools then the students come to our school they don't have the English teacher, at some school, countryside, don't have.

Thananan. Don't have English teacher. The teacher that teach English may be er, they, they education from maths.

Kitipong: Ah, from maths, from science, from [Thai word], from education.

Researcher: So they have no training in teaching English.

Thananan: Right.

Kitipong: Yes, I'm afraid not.

Researcher. So, em, do you think this is good?

Kitipong: Not good.

Thananan: Not good.

Teachers were therefore obviously frustrated with the fact that although English teaching was intended to begin earlier, time was lost as effectively, English teaching had to begin at high school for most students. This perhaps led to the low estimation of the speaking ability of her students by Thananan, expressed at a later stage of the discussion:

Em, my students just only can speak "hello"; "good morning"; "good afternoon"; "thank you"; "yes"; "no"; "ok"; "thank you", this is enough for them (laughing).

However, the teachers observed that students were now beginning to learn English at nursery level, which was seen as a positive development for the future.

A further positive development was that there was generally an atmosphere of greater flexibility in what the teachers were allowed to teach and how they taught it. Teachers were now being allowed to write their own curriculum, which was then approved by the school authorities and games were being adopted as teaching techniques in class. Kitipong in particular, felt that this was a big improvement:

Kitipong: And I will prepare two ideas I have, two idea, I think when I, ah, I um, when I am a student, I was a student, so er, the government, the government write, write the curriculum, ahah.

Nattaya: Curriculum.

Kitipong: To, curriculums, to let the tea, English teacher, long time, long time ago, to let them to teach em, reading, writing, very much.

Researcher: Uhuh.

Kitipong: Ahh, much, much than, than speaking and listening, so I think its, its the same as me because my teacher teach just only reading and writing, I can write very well and read very well, but maybe in....

Thananan: But Thai, but Thai...

Researcher: This is when you were at university?

Kitipong: Ah, when we finish we can speaking, listening, reading and writing.

Nattaya: And to talk with the native speaker very good....

Thananan: Because the teacher in primary school maybe they, they don't fluent in English.

Kitipong: Yeah. But now, the...

Pukipmarn: But now we...

Kitipong: We write the curriculum by ourselves, by ourselves...

Researcher: You write the curriculum at school?

Kitipong: Yeah, we have lesson plans to teach them, its up to them and we have friends, friends, to let students to communicate, maybe English camp, maybe em, techniques, new techniques to teach the students.

Researcher: Uhuh.

Thananan: Games.

Kitipong: Uhuh, we have to go to, maybe we have some, some games, yeah, like this...

The teachers were therefore positive about this development that allowed them greater input in curriculum development and the ability to use newer teaching techniques in class.

All of the teachers, however, felt that one of the biggest handicaps to learning speaking and listening skills in particular, was that there were no native speaking English teachers available to come to the school. I was apparently the only native speaking English teacher who had ever been there. This was felt particularly strongly by Thananan:

I think, if the, if er, have a native speaker come to my, to my school, to teach my students it will be good for every, for them its better for them.

Thananan then proceeded to record the following plea to my professor at Durham:

And I would like Ross to tell your professor that if er, his students want to try some experience, want to try experience to be teacher, how to teach er, how to teach Thai students that live in country, I would like you to tell them that, come to [school named], [polite Thai word added].

However Kitipong was very cynical about the possibility of gaining access to native speaking English teachers, and added “ maybe the second life, that’s very difficult”.

It therefore seemed clear that the teachers had the native-speaker model of English teacher, ‘its better for them’ (See further discussion of this issue in connection with similar attitudes of university teachers at 2.6.2 below)

In general, my impression therefore was that the high school teachers were cheerfully doing their best in difficult circumstances. They had limited resources and there was poor attendance at school, which I shall discuss later. They felt that the students knew nothing of English when they arrived at high school. However they did feel that there were positive changes taking place that would improve things for the better in future. Their holy grail of having a native English speaking teacher was beyond reach however.

2.2.2 University

In general, as might be expected, the overall impression gained from the lecturers at the prestigious university in Thailand was more positive. None of the lecturers mentioned a lack of native speaking English teachers being a problem, as they are well staffed with native speaking English teachers, from the United States and the United Kingdom. The Head of the Department, Rongrak, seemed very contented with the standard of English teaching, the materials they use and the role of being an English teacher in Thailand. Other lecturers, however, were less complacent. Ajarn Pinpam, for example, felt that there were two groups of

students that she taught at university. One group of students were sent by their parents to extra classes and to summer schools abroad, if the parents could afford it. This group of children from more affluent backgrounds tended, not surprisingly, to have better English:

Pinpam: See, and, and it would be very good for Thai people if we could speak English as a second language, something like that.

Researcher: And is this the perception of the students or the perception of the teachers, or both and do you see a difference at all, in their perception?

Pinpam: I would say both, and also parents. You see because parents now send their, if they could, if they can, they would send their, their children to summer schools or, so this group of students, you know, they have very good communication skills, right, and then you have the other group, the other end, right, who cannot speak even the simple sentences, they cannot even read simple sentences.

Interestingly, Visakha had had experience in two different higher educational institutions in Thailand, one a technical college and then the large university where I conducted the interviews. She felt satisfied with teaching conditions at this university, in particular class sizes of fifteen to twenty students. The conditions in the technical college where she had previously taught were far different and she had found them very difficult, in particular the class sizes:

Visakha: ...I enjoy teaching when I am, when I was in class with my students, however, the em, the system, the em, whatever you call it, in Thai, er sometimes made you feel you were doing, not confident with the students and you know, they try very hard, so am I, but other factors really don't promote the learning process.

Researcher: For example, what other factors?

Visakha: For example there are some criticisms, for speaking class, em, it would be very perfect if it had, you know, 15 or 20 students, just like here, then I can say, you know, a sentence to my individual students, you know, and over there its like 50, 50.

Pinpam: That's the reason I said, you know, its not effective. They study a lot, right, but they cannot communicate or anything.

Visakha: And at some point you feel bad, if you cannot help the students, even though its not your fault....

A linked issue that Visakha objected to at technical college was the use of teleconferencing for speaking and listening classes, again, to enable the teacher to "teach" more students:

Visakha:...even worse, some [inaudible] course, we have to teach English, speaking, listening em, via conferencing, er system...

Rongrak: Teleconferencing.

Visakha: Yeah, teleconferencing. Em, that's very, frustrating. So somehow my, my passion for teaching, you know, has been blocked, from time to time, stupidly (laughing) er, but right now I am very happy with my work [inaudible] with everything here, the students are very active and they have good backgrounds, so we enjoy talking about some other things, not just, you know, teaching them...

Visakha's previous experience of teaching in a technical college was therefore very different and much less satisfactory than her current university.

The overall impression gained from this discussion with the lecturers was that they were all satisfied with the state of English teaching at the particular university where they taught, where conditions were generally good with a high lecturer to student ratio, enough resources and plenty of native speaking

teachers. However, it seemed that their view was that this university was not really representative of tertiary education in Thailand and that teaching conditions in less favoured institutions were not conducive to English teaching. Additionally, the picture was complicated by the clear divide in Thai society between the rich and those who struggle; the middle class, although growing, remains small and generally confined to Bangkok. Thus teachers were faced with two groups of students, those from affluent families who had had additional coaching and those who had not. Thus the overall impression gained was a mixed one, with a general level of satisfaction at elitist institutions but real doubts about what was happening below that level. Given that this represents views of English teaching in Bangkok, it may be surmised that English teaching at tertiary institutions in the provinces of Thailand is even less satisfactory.

2.3 The purpose of teaching English in Thailand

2.3.1 High school

The teachers were asked what, in their view was the purpose of teaching English. They were in general agreement that there were two reasons for teaching English. The first reason was to enable the students to communicate with “farangs” (foreigners) and the second reason was to enable the students to obtain employment in restaurants and hotels where English was required. There was no direct intention of teaching the students about English speaking countries, although an element of this was involved, as is demonstrated in the following section of the discussion:

Researcher: And, how do you see teaching English, is, what is the purpose of teaching English, what is your object for teaching English?

Thananan: Er, to, to, I want the students to know the meaning of the words, I want the students can, er, to communicate with another people can talk with farang [foreigner].

Nattaya: Who can talk with....

Thananan: Can do the job, can talk with other people.

Researcher: Er, is it, do you see it as a way of, em, students learning about English speaking countries?

Thananan: Pardon?

Researcher: Do you see it as a way of the students learning about English speaking countries?

Kitipong: Oh, some, some lessons, ok, for, my opinion first, I, when I teach my students to communicate I have to let them to practice in the classroom- too much or very, very much. Uhuh, very much talk, talk, speak and listen, in lab, sound lab room, uhuh.

I pressed further to try and establish what types of communication the teachers intended to teach the students about, with the following response:

Researcher: And you said the vocabulary about communication, so, what communication are you wanting them to do?

Thananan: Oh er.

Researcher: Do you understand what I mean? What communication at the end of the day.

Nattaya: Conversation about speaking, about...

Thananan: About, about [inaudible] in the shops, in the restaurants...

Nattaya: Yes, yes. Conversation about in the restaurants, ok, in the pubs, in the, on telephone...

It has to be said that the teachers seemed rather vague about the purpose of their English teaching and did not have a very clear concept of how the English they taught would be used, except for the most basic service type jobs in the tourist industry. Perhaps this was because the expectations they had of their students were low, but nevertheless realistic, based on their experience. Being located in a small country town in North Eastern Thailand with very few tourists, I was rather skeptical about the opportunities for this kind of service type job that were available to school leavers. On asking more about this point, I received a rather contradictory response. The teachers were clear that they thought there were really no opportunities to use English in North Eastern Thailand, however they then agreed that there was always the possibility of work in hotels and other work. Given that there is only one small hotel in Non-Din Deng with two non-English speaking staff, I remain somewhat doubtful about this explanation, however there is always the possibility that the student might go for work in one of the tourist areas of Thailand or to Bangkok:

Kitipong: In daily life...

Thananan: Mmm.

Researcher: You say, er, in daily life Kitipong...

Kitipong: Uhuh.

Researcher: But here, here in the country, er, will the students actually have a use for English in their daily life?

Thananan: No [emphatically].

Kitipong: No [emphatically], because there are no foreigners...

Thananan: No, no.

Researcher: Could you talk about that a little bit?

Thananan: Because, er, we, we, would like to prepare them when they finish [high school] they maybe they go to work in another place.....

Kitipong: Ahh, yeah, maybe in hotel, or in some, somewhere we use English...

Thananan: Uhuh.

Kitipong: Uhuh, some job. Maybe we teach, we teach them to know about the letter to...

Thananan: To apply for the job.

Kitipong: To apply for the job, yeah?

Researcher: Em, letter writing in English?

Kitipong: Uhuh.

Researcher: So, what jobs might they be applying for in English?

Thananan: Oh, many jobs.

Kitipong: Hotels, maybe hotels, em...

Thananan: Salesman...

Kitipong: Salesman...

Thananan: Secretary...

Kitipong: Company, some company, uhuh. Maybe they used to learn in university uhuh, learn for university.

There did however seem to be some guesswork involved in suggestions for other work where English was essential, as the teachers all agreed that a salesman would need to be able to use English, whereas it is difficult to imagine why a salesman in North Eastern Thailand would need to use English. The conclusion that I came to was that the teachers were not at all clear as to the purpose they were teaching English, but were doing their best in difficult circumstances to ensure that their pupils left school with at least some English speaking and other skills.

2.3.2 University

The university lecturers were much more emphatic on the importance of English and of teaching English, as summed up by Ajarn Pinpam:

Pinpam: Yeah, I think, you know, em, now English is very important in Thailand, getting more and more important....

Researcher: So that's, compared to when? Compared to five years ago when I first started teaching here, or six years ago, or ten years ago, would you like to make a comparison, when, when did this more and more important....

Pinpam: I would say that it has been very important, it started from ten years ago, one hundred years ago, something like that, more and more important.

Researcher: Um.

Pinpam: See, and, and it would be very good for Thai people if we could speak English as a second language, something like that.

Researcher: And is this the perception of the students or the perception of the teachers, or both and do you see a difference at all, in their perception?

Pinpam: I would say both, and also parents.

In Ajarn Pinpam's view, therefore, the drive for learning English was being fuelled by the joint perception between parents and students of the importance of English, shared by their teachers.

Ajarn Rongrak rather contradicted himself when talking about the importance of English. At one stage he was emphatic in saying that it was impossible to survive now in Thailand, especially in Bangkok, without being able to use English:

Rongrak: You know, you, you cannot survive, especially in Bangkok, you know, if you don't know English, if you don't er, have the knowledge to use the computer, using the internet and English is involved.

However later, when asked about the opportunities that students would have for using English on leaving University, he disagreed with Ajarn Pinpam and stated:

Rongrak: In their real life er, I would say not many people, not many students would have, get a chance to use their English.

Researcher: Oh really?

Rongrak: Yeah, you, you know because, a lot er, er, I'm teaching some er, business class, I mean er, extra class in the evening, on, on Saturday, something like that, and er, they said, they just come to class because they want to, to update, to fresh up their English, and er, I used to ask them er, do you use English every day with your colleagues er, also, they said, no, some said yes, because their, their boss is Japanese, their boss is Indian, their boss is American etcetera, a lot of them said, no, they don't get a chance to use English, at all. Just maybe briefly, through the internet, just internet, but right now, internet has er, Thai language, yeah, er, but em, if,

they, they, they couldn't help being exposed to English once in a while, but to communicate directly, with a non-native of Thai, er, its, its not main.

However Ajarn Visakha agreed with Ajarn Pinpam on the general importance of English, even if she was not as emphatic.

The general view appeared to be however that it was important to have English skills to obtain employment in Thailand, even if there might not be opportunities to use those skills every day. For example, when asked whether the main purpose of English teaching was for use in jobs or to communicate with native English speakers, Ajarn Rongrak's response was the comment we have already discussed, that you "cannot survive, especially in Bangkok, you know, if you don't know English...". Ajarn Pinpam viewed it purely in terms of employment:

Pinpam: You see because we contact more with foreigners, jobs also - we have foreign companies here, we have contact something like, we have international companies also like CP, CPF, something like that, not only English now, you know, other languages also like Japanese, Chinese, but English is the, the, the, the most important one.

And although Ajarn Rongrak was skeptical about the actual use of English in employment, it is obvious from the comments of his business students that many of them did actually require a knowledge of English in their employment. Perhaps the reality was best expressed by Ajarn Pinpam in that it was not so much that Thai people had to use English in employment every day, but they were being more and more required to be ready to use English if and when necessary:

Pinpam: You know I, I have found, because I have been teaching outsiders also, I think more and more people have to use English, one way or another, something like, with their bosses er, they have to be ready, to be able to speak English, to er, er a foreigner, something like that, right. I, I, last time, last month I taught a class, this guy, you know, his, his English er, spoken language, was not good but he said he had been using internet

to talk chat er, with his counterparts in, in Malaysia, Singapore, something like that, again he said, he had to be ready to be able to speak English to those people and, and er, his big boss, I think his big boss was Malaysian, something like that, so he had to be ready.

It therefore seemed that the general agreement of the lecturers was that their main object in teaching English was not to enable students to learn more about native English speaking countries or other English speakers, but a much more utilitarian one: as a requirement of employment in Bangkok today.

2.4 Teaching culture In English teaching in Thailand

2.4.1 High school

When asked about teaching culture within English Language teaching in Thailand, the high school teachers acknowledged teaching about English or American culture was a part of their English teaching, but to a limited extent. In general, the examples they gave of the cultural aspects of language teaching fell into four groups: festivals and traditions (Christmas, Halloween, etc); greeting styles (handshakes instead of the Thai wai); impolite questions in English; and in the last year of school, teaching about the history of the British colonies, which through Burma, brought Britain into conflict with Thailand. There was no attempt or apparent awareness of contemporary English culture, or any broader ideas of culture than these categories. Interestingly, these categories were mirrored almost precisely by the University lecturers (see below).

The following passage from the discussion illustrates the approach taken to teaching culture:

Kitipong: We learn about the background of, the, the colony...

Researcher: Could you give me some examples, of...

Thananan: Christmas day....

Kitipong: We learn about, er, Christmas day, we have Christmas party...

Thananan: Umm.

Kitipong: Umm. To compare with Thai cultural and, umm, English cultural, in Western cultural, so they....

Nattaya: Because they are a different culture, Valentines....

Kitipong: Ahh, Valentine's day, Halloween day, or in the body language its cultural?

Researcher: [inaudible]

Kitipong: Some Thai's say sawatdi, yeah, we teach them that the foreigners' greeting, er, hello, we use the hand body language.....

Thananan: The, the, the difference between Thai and English is er, greeting.

Kitipong: Ah.

Thananan: Thai just only say "sawatdi ka", but in English they must to, to keep, to, to greeting in, in time, like, good morning, good afternoon, good evening...

Kitipong: Maybe we teach them about em, what, about cultural, er, some questions we don't ask foreigners.

Thananan: Ah, Ah.

Kitipong: How old are you, maybe its not polite, Thais like to ask how old are you.....

Thananan: How about how much is your salary?

Nattaya: Where are you going?

(laughter)

In general, therefore, only the most basic and stereotypical cultural aspects of broadly North American culture are dealt with in English lessons and then, without any particular attempt at integrating cultural understanding with linguistic understanding.

2.4.2 University

Interestingly, cultural teaching at university did not really appear to be any more developed than it was at high school. The culture of any particular country was certainly not a part of the university curriculum, although elements of culture were taught, this was entirely at the discretion of the teachers and when they felt the opportunity was appropriate.

Ajarn Rongrak, the head of the department, said that he valued his experience in America when doing his PhD because this enabled him to explain cultural issues to his students:

Researcher: And when you say, em, you can use English to teach in your country, teach what?

Rongrak: Er, the language itself and the culture, well, because er, I lived in the er, in American society, in American culture, using English all the time and I used to live in the American family, and I know what they do, I, I think I, I know pretty well what they do. I think er, better than the people who just went to, or go to the United States to study, because I lived there.

However, Ajarn Rongrak's teaching of culture seemed directly derived from his own experience and confined to his own teaching, rather than as a general policy of the department:

Researcher: Em, what aspect of the culture in particular are you interested in teaching?

Rongrak: The way, the way American people live, and er, those kind of festivals, traditions, those things that er, not many Thai people will, will, will, will get to see.

Researcher: And er, we'll, we'll come along to the others in a minute but this is interesting, so em, what, what, what do you think is the particular purpose to your teaching of the culture of, for example, America?

Rongrak: Actually I am not teaching the culture directly, but er, culture is, is in everything you know when you teach language, sometimes, if you don't know the culture, if you don't know with, er, for real, you have to be able to explain to the students how different, they are from American culture and some cultures and if you use your experience that, and you know it quite well and then you can explain to Thai people because, because when, when, when I tell them something that er, that I think er, its interesting, is interesting and he should know and I realize the students, don't appreciate it, you know, because er, they, they have not known it before.

Ajarn Pinpam seemed to take a similar approach to teaching aspects of culture to the high school teachers, although the only example that she gave was of greeting styles:

Pinpam: See, I, I would say er, when I teach English, I just think of Western culture, see something like standard, something like starting from, shaking hands er, hand shaking, because er, Thai students cannot (demonstrates) called dead fish, that's like that, you know, so I teach them

that, we learn that, or, in questions that they should not er, that they shouldn't ask, because I don't know much about Malaysian culture or Singaporean culture, so normally I teach er, Western culture, as they have to know enough, to, to be able to deal with, er, English speaking people.

I asked Ajarn Pinpam if her teaching of cultural aspects of the English language would change when teaching students of higher ability. It seemed that her only concept of teaching culture at a higher level was a more difficult greeting, so instead of a simple handshake she gave the example of a business class in which the student had to meet someone at the airport:

Researcher: And just looking back on what we've talked about, er, today em, do we distinguish at all between er, beginners and the intermediate and advanced level in what we've talked about, er, culture, teaching English and the purpose of teaching English, would you distinguish or not?

Pinpam: I think it depends on the, the, er point, that we teach, you see, something like beginners we can talk about introduction or self introduction, something like that, so we, we, teach, er, some cultural aspects, several cultural aspects but, you know, at high level, or something like, for example, I taught that class in the business explorer, something like that, when someone, has to go to, er, pick up someone at the airport and others, er, someone from abroad so, the conversation would be different, or the content and...

Researcher: Right.

Pinpam: The cultural aspects will be different also in that way.....

Researcher: So the more complicated, er, the beginner level, would be a simpler conversation.

Pinpam: Right, right.

Ajarn Visakha, on the other hand, felt reluctant to express opinions about cultures to her students, as this might involve stereotyping of different cultures. This was perhaps because she confessed that she herself, found cultural issues confusing.

What emerged from the university teachers, therefore, was a rather confused notion of the culture in English teaching. Ajarn Visakha was reluctant to be involved in teaching cultural aspects too much. Ajarn Pinpam was interested in teaching aspects of culture but felt she did not have sufficient materials and had a very limited notion of what culture was. Ajarn Rongrak was satisfied with the situation, but this was confined to his own teaching of American culture, and he did not appear to have any desire to broaden the base of such teaching. There therefore appeared to me to be no coherent strategy for teaching the cultural aspects of English language in the department.

2.5 Teaching English in Thailand for use as a lingua franca

2.5.1 High school

Although I explained the concept of English as a lingua franca more than once to the high school teachers, I remain unsure if they grasped it. To recap, the concept of lingua franca that I was seeking to explain was a language used as a medium of communication between people each speaking a different native language (Gnutzmann, 2000, p.359). The teachers seemed to think that this was a very advanced concept that was far beyond the experience of English teaching and learning in their high school, as is illustrated in the following passage:

Kitipong: We don't understand, again, can you explain please?

Researcher: Ok, the idea of the lingua franca is when people use English who are not English, to communicate.

Thananan: Uhuh.

Researcher: So, for example, if a Japanese person comes to your school, you don't speak Japanese, he doesn't speak Thai....

Thananan: We use English...

Nattaya: We use English.

Researcher: Does that have any influence on your teaching the students?

Thananan: Em, my students just only can speak "hello"; "good morning"; "good afternoon"; "thank you"; "yes"; "no"; "ok"; "thank you", this is enough for them (laughing).

Nattaya: Where do you come from, what is your name, where do you come from....

[all pause]

Kitipong: And goodbye...

[more laughter]

The teachers were therefore unanimous that ideas of a lingua franca were far beyond the level of English that their students had attained, and did not appear to link this in any way to their earlier expressed views that English was useful to obtain work in restaurants, hotels and in the tourist service industry in general. Given that they linked this to the level of language attainment of their students, I asked them about the better students:

Researcher: These are the beginner students...

Kitipong: Uhuh.

Researcher: Ok but, now talking about the more advanced students, the, the, the students that you have that are better at English...

Kitipong: Maybe they can't introduce themselves.

Researcher: You do have some students who are better at English.

Kitipong: Uhuh. Yeah, sure.

Researcher: So, er, does the fact that English may be used in this way, with a Japanese person or a French person, does it affect your teaching at all, does it make any difference, or, when you are teaching, are you always thinking about English is going to be used with someone like me, an English person....

Kitipong: Yes, we....

Researcher: Or an American

[general noises of agreement]

Researcher:....who is a native English speaker...

[more noises of agreement]

Thananan: Right.

Researcher: You know the expression native English speaker?

All. Uhuh.

Researcher: Or Australian, are you always thinking like that?

Kitipong: Yeah, we always, like that, uhuh.

[all pause]

Researcher: Do you understand the...

Kitipong: I understand.

Researcher: Because now English is used to communicate all over the world.

Thananan: All over the world, yeah. And I hope my students can contact English to, to another people, but, but, I and my friends are teachers but we can't use English well (laughing).

Thus at the high school level, it appears that the teachers had not really thought about the role of English as a lingua franca at all. Their only teaching was directed at enabling Thai's to communicate with native speakers of English, together with the limited cultural input.

2.5.2 University

The attitudes of the university lecturers towards English as a lingua franca were similar, but perhaps for different reasons. The university lecturers did not rely on the lack of English knowledge of their students (or their own lack of knowledge) to explain why lingua franca issues were not grappled with, but (1) they appeared not to have thought about the issue very much; and (2) that there was an underlying assumption that as long as the English teaching was effective then communication in the lingua franca would be effective also.

Researcher: So, its clearly, clearly as a, I think you are all familiar with the term, lingua franca?

Visakha: Not really.

Researcher: It's all right, that's just as an, as an international language, so its people, using English who are not native speakers to talk to each other, so that's like the example I gave you earlier, where you, a Thai person talks to a French person, using English, because you don't speak French and the French person doesn't speak Thai, so, does that affect your teaching at all, do you think?

Pinpam: I beg your pardon?

Researcher: Does that affect, affect your teaching at all?

Rongrak: What affects?

Researcher: The, the fact, the fact that the English is to be used er, internationally, with non-native English speakers. Does it make a, a difference, so for example....

Visakha: Are you talking about, em, something like a notion when we teach in class that our students might go out and then communicate with non-native speakers....

Researcher: Yes, that a lot of their communication will be with other non-native speakers.

(All pause)

T. In their real life er, I would say not many people, not many students would have, get a chance to use their English.

All of the teachers seemed initially rather perplexed at the concept of how the subsequent use of English as a lingua franca might change the way they taught English, particularly the cultural input. However, after general discussion and clarification of this approach all of the university lecturers agreed that this would be a good idea. Ajarn Pinpam felt strongly that they should have a good

book on intercultural communication for the university department, however Ajarn Rongrak felt that books were beginning to include more cultural aspects in them.

Researcher: Ok, er, well, thank you very much, is there anything anyone would like to add, or comment on the discussion that you've had today, anything that you'd like to add to what you've said before?

Pinpam: Yeah, I think English books, er, English books would be more interesting if they add cultural aspects of er, English speaking people, not, not only er, American culture or British culture, you know, especially books used in Thailand because we, we deal not only with Westerners, you know, now we've been dealing a lot with er, Chinese, Japanese.

Visakha: And also em, Arab people.

Pinpam: Right, right. Even though we speak English but we still have to know.

Rongrak: Em, some books do and I would like to point this out, I mean, er, its quite impossible, to send everyone who teaches English abroad, to learn everything. I think the best way to, to, to educate yourself is to go to that country, to learn language and then learn the culture er, er, and integrate yourself into the er, society, like like when living in an American family its like, it is rewarding, you know, because you know everything, what American people do, and I can, tell my Thai students, ok, you know, the Americans do this and this and this, they don't do this and this and this.

Pinpam: Yeah, we, we, we might need you know, a good book on intercultural communication, something like that, I'm serious, because you know em, starting with handshaking, something like that, you know we have different levels, different [inaudible] Westerners, until now I still, I'm not used to kissing (laughs) every time when I first meet someone and that happens to me every time, you know when someone kisses me (laughs) I

feel, I feel awkward, but I know, ok, this is ok, this is Western culture, I understand.

Visakha: To me I don't worry much about the culture in the sense of, you know, body language and gestures or traditions, customs, but I think er, things that maybe a few books can offer is er, the cultural, way to see people from the different cultures, you know, the way they greet each other, maybe there are some sensitive things that we should know like not [inaudible] or having eye contact, in the way that they talk, the words that they use or some expressions that they, you know, they use that may be interesting, or, whatever, these kinds of thing.

It should be pointed out that the pedagogy of teaching ELF and the cultural elements of English is still developing. What the university teachers seemed to be concerned about in their teaching, when they addressed these issues at all, was cultural knowledge. There is, however, much more required to be a successful intercultural speaker:

An intercultural speaker needs some **knowledge**, about what it means to be Chinese....However, an intercultural speaker also needs an awareness that there is more to be known and understood from the other person's perspective, that there are **skills, attitudes, and values** involved too (...) which are crucial to understanding intercultural human relationships. As a consequence, the '**best**' teacher is neither the native nor the non-native speaker, but the persons who can help learners see relationships between their own and other cultures, can help them acquire interest in and curiosity about 'otherness', and an awareness of themselves and their own cultures seen from other people's perspectives (Byram et al, 2002, p.10).

There was no evidence from any of the interviews with either high school or university teachers that skills, attitudes and values were being considered at all. In general therefore, although the university lecturers recognized that the English that they taught their students would be used as a lingua franca, it was taught entirely in the context of Western Native English, and not for use as a

lingua franca. It appears that it had not occurred to them that this might raise different teaching issues that they could address.

2.6 Attitudes towards issues of linguistic imperialism

2.6.1 High school

The concept of English linguistic imperialism that was used in the interviews was Phillipson's concept:

[t]he dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages (Phillipson, 1992, p.47).

It was difficult to explain the idea of linguistic imperialism to the high school teachers, who had a limited command of English and were also intimidated by lengthy words. After repeated attempts to explain, they discussed the issue in Thai (which I myself did not understand and was therefore unsure if this was the correct concept), but they were eventually unanimous that the drive towards more English speaking was a "problem for Thai culture", and had the view that difficulties with teenagers dating too early and similar matters were due to Western influence. I do not believe it is possible to state precisely whether in fact, their opinion was that this was general Western influence or Western influence through the English language, however, they were certainly emphatic that this was the case:

Kitipong: I think we have problem.

Thananan: Individual, individual opinion (laughs).

Researcher: Yeah, well give an individual opinion, say your different opinions.

Kitipong: Ah, first, you first.

Nattaya: I think Thai [asks for the English word]

Kitipong: About teenage.

Nattaya: About teenager, because the teenager in Thailand [inaudible] its not good, er, to have modern idea.

Kitipong: Ah, modern idea.

Nattaya: Yes.

Kitipong: Modern style.

Thananan: But now Thai teenager is er, have date, have boyfriend, just only, thirteen years old.

Nattaya: But in Thailand er, have not money so in, er foreign...

Thananan: Yes.

Nattaya: Yes.

Thananan: But in the past old, er, about twenty years old just only, just, to have date...

Kitipong: Umm.

Thananan: About finish education.

Nattaya: Mmm.

Thananan: But now oh! Its very bad, for teenager.

Kitipong: Mmm.

From the above discussion, it was therefore unclear to me whether the teachers were blaming a more general western influence, through entertainment, advertising and news media for example, or more specifically the spread of English language use. I asked more about this point, but the answers remained unclear:

Researcher: Do you see er, any connection...

Kitipong: See what?

Researcher: Do you see any connection between that and er, people speaking more English in the World?

Thananan: Uhuh.

Researcher: What? Can you explain more?

Kitipong: Compare, compare with other countries, or no?

Nattaya: About the?

Researcher: Yeah, you can, its up to you, but you are saying that, you know that Thai teenagers are growing up too, you think they are growing up too quickly....

All. Yes.

Researcher: And they are dating, dating too early, but do you see any connection between that and the em, English being spoken internationally- is this because of English or because of something else.

Nattaya: Family in Thailand don't accept about the teenage, er teenage go to...

Kitipong: Ahh, because its....

Nattaya: To go out...

Kitipong: It's the same as...big, big problem about the cultural, big problem, this, this problem is the big, big problem.

Researcher: In what way?

Kitipong: In, in cultural.

As the answer remained unclear, I tried for a third time to obtain an explanation. All the teachers were adamant that the poor behaviour of teenagers is due to the increased use of English, although they felt that they did not have the English speaking ability to explain why.

Researcher: Well, I want to just ask a little bit more on this point, that, what I am interested in, is em, do you think that the English language being used internationally....

Kitipong: Yeah.

Thananan: Right.

Researcher:....Is connected, connected with this.

Thananan: Uhuh.

Researcher: You think so.

Kitipong: Um yes, we think.

Thananan: I think so.

Researcher: So, could you try and say how you think its connected with it?
Why?

[All pause]

Researcher: If you are not sure its ok.

[more discussion in Thai]

Researcher: Difficult to explain in English.

Kitipong: Mmm. Very difficult.

Thananan: Very difficult, because we (laughing) our students may be not good in English because from their teachers (laughing) because teachers can't listen, can't speak.

The high school teachers were therefore clearly of the view that linguistic imperialism was a problem, however they felt that their own English language speaking ability was insufficient for them to be able to explain why.

2.6.2 University

Interestingly, the university lecturers were also convinced that linguistic imperialism was a problem in Thailand. In discussing issues of linguistic imperialism, lecturers appeared to link poor behaviour of students to Western influence, particularly with those students who had been abroad, and would remind students that merely because they had seen Westerners behave in that way did not mean that Thai people had to behave in that way. There was however, no strategy to deal with issues of linguistic imperialism in the department and the impression I gained was that such matters were rarely

discussed. In fact, the lecturers found it rather amusing, observing to me after the recording that they had noticed that Thai lecturers in the English department tended to be more aggressive, like Westerners, whereas, in the Japanese department, the Thai lecturers tended to adopt Japanese mannerisms and be extra polite. From this they drew the conclusion that the linguistic imperialism affected them, as well as their students.

Additionally, all of the lecturers agreed that the influence of English on the Thai language was a problem, it being regarded as fashionable to pronounce Thai with a Western accent, however that may sound:

Pinpam: Yeah, yeah. Because, if er, have you ever listened to er Grammy, singers of the Grammy company, now pronunciation, Thai pronunciation...

Researcher: Thai pronunciation?

Pinpam: Has, it has changed. When they speak, when they speaking Thai it is kind of Western, right?

Rongrak: Its terrible, because one, once I listened to radio and the guy was singing and said "get out of here" this is real bad Thai language and I hate that very much.

Researcher: So the Thai language itself is being like, Westernized in the music industry

Pinpam: Right, right, something like cool, you know if you have this kind of conversation, you know, you speak with a slight accent or, you know, Western accent, something like that.

The lecturers were also extremely concerned about the influence of internet chat and movie language on the English that students used in the classroom. I was unsure (and remain unsure) whether this can really be described as part of

linguistic imperialism, but the lecturers clearly saw this also as an aspect of linguistic imperialism, perhaps because of the power of these media to influence the language and behaviour of their students:

Visakha: Em, sometimes they er, they take the language, from the movies, or, or [inaudible] or even the chat with foreign friends online they don't produce like, not so perfect language or terms and then er, because they know solely about that thing, its just that, so sometimes they use this in class and I think its not appropriate and if I just let it go maybe, you know, they think its ok to use these words to anybody, so...

Pinpam: For example?

Visakha: For example, I can't remember, but, but, but there was one, one one student used, you know, the word.

Researcher: This, this was a chat word?

Visakha: Yes, also.

Researcher: But that's not linguistic imperialism is it?

Rongrak: Oh.

Researcher: You think so?

Visakha: I think it is, yes, sometimes when they write they use a lot of abbreviations that they use, you know they use in the chat online, instead of writing in the formal, accurate way.

Rongrak: Some students, use the small "i".

Visakha: Mmm. And the "u" as well when they write....

Researcher: Right, ok.

Rongrak: When they present it, on the board I say, I'm not, I'm not going to allow you to use something like that.

This was another example of the tendency to use the native speaker model as English model, which is linked to the preference of having native speaker teachers that the high school teachers expressed, discussed at 2.2.1 above. Kachru refers to this tendency as one of the fallacies about the users and uses of English:

Fallacy 3: That the goal of learning and teaching English is to adopt the native models of English (e.g. the Received Pronunciation, or General American...This claim has no empirical validity. The Inner Circle [U.S.A.; U.K. etc] is a "model provider" in a very marginal sense. In the Outer Circle [Bangladesh; Thailand; etc], the local model has been institutionalized and the educated varieties of such models have always been used in the classroom, in various interactional contexts by the administrators, politicians, educators, and by the legal experts...the concept "native speaker" is not always a valid yardstick for the global uses of English (Kachru, 1992, p.358).

In fact, there appeared to be an inherent contradiction in the attitudes of both the high school and university teachers, that on the one hand, they resented cultural and linguistic changes that they regarded as part of linguistic imperialism, but on the other hand, were deeply wedded to the native speaker model of English and of teachers of English. Perhaps the main reason for this was that the teachers all had the concept of teaching English as a foreign language for communication with native speakers of English, rather than a concept of EIL or ELF. It did seem to me, however, to be rather self-defeating if linguistic imperialism was intended to be resisted. I shall return to this issue in Chapter 7 when I draw conclusions from this study as to possible pedagogical implications of my findings.

Pinpam gave another example of this objection to the use of non-standard English:

Pinpam: Yeah, that happened in my...

Rongrak: And “u” you know “u” not y-o-u, “u”....

Researcher: And they write that down...

All. Yes, yes, yes.

Rongrak: They write it down on the board. I said, no, don’t do that again.

Visakha: Yeah, love, they use “luv” all the time and er, it frightens me because when I point it out, they don’t know what I’m talking about. I thought, this is “you”, you as a pronoun “you” and he said, yes, its “you” [inaudible] or something like this.

Rongrak: A lot, not a lot, some students say they, they went abroad, and they came back with er, with er, almost perfect spoken English, and they write it down like that, like when they speak, and they didn’t realize er, er, how, how bad English is, that way.

The university lecturers were therefore unanimous that linguistic imperialism was a real problem, although I remain doubtful whether this objection was to western influence through the increased use of the English language itself, or whether it was as a result of more general western influence through the media and internet interactions and indeed, the marketing strategies of many Thai companies and advertising agencies. They were most concerned about its effect on Thai behaviour and language. In any event, this appeared to be something that they were aware of, but there was no department policy on how it should be dealt with and it was left to be dealt with by teachers on an ad hoc basis.

2.7 Resources and financial matters

2.7.1 High school

It has to be pointed out that this discussion is against the background of Thailand being a developing or “outer circle” country (Kachru, 1992, p. 356). There is a huge inequality in wealth distribution, both in the population itself and between Bangkok and the provinces. Inevitably, therefore, this means that the experience of the university lecturers in one of the two foremost universities in Thailand when compared to a normal state high school is going to be different. Interestingly, Ajarn Pinpam pointed out that she had noticed that there were two groups of students coming to university, those whose parents had the resources to send their children to extra classes and to summer camps abroad, and those who had not. Class sizes were given as one of the main reasons why teaching was not effective in teaching in high school in Thailand by Ajarn Pinpam, and Ajarn Visakha pointed out this was also a problem in technical colleges. Interestingly, none of the high school teachers mentioned class sizes as being one of their problems, but this was perhaps because this was something so obvious, so much a part of life for them that they were almost unaware of it. Classes of 50 or more students seems to remain one of the major problems in state high schools, and this of course, is the linked question of resources and qualified teacher availability.

Interestingly, Ajarn Pinpam did not agree with me when I observed from my own experience that absenteeism was also a problem in rural areas, but perhaps this was because her experience was in Bangkok. From my own experience and talking to fellow teachers at the high school, the traditional rural problem is common, with male students particularly missing many classes because they are either required to stay at home to work by parents, or themselves see little point in attending school when there is little work for them after they graduate that they connect with anything they might learn in school.

Basic resource issues, such as the availability of Thai-English/English-Thai dictionaries is also a problem in the high school that the teachers were very

concerned about, feeling that there was inequity for their students when compared to more affluent students in Bangkok:

Thananan: It's hard to study when they, when they study in higher level, many problems, and anyhow, when they study in English subject, and er....

Nattaya: Now the students er, they can [inaudible].

Thananan: And can't understand the meaning of the word, and one more problem, one more problem is, they don't have dictionary because our school, the students in our school....

Kitipong: Are poor...

Thananan: So they don't have, er, money to buy for dictionary, to research for the word, to find the meaning from the....

Researcher: Yeah.

Kitipong: Yeah.

Nattaya: The students in the city have er, talking dic...

(Everyone laughing)

Thananan: Right, right, but in our school not money to buy.

Nattaya: They are poor.

It is also fair to observe that the lack of native speaking teachers is also largely a question of resources, as there are many native speaking teachers in Thailand who tend to work in Bangkok where salaries are greater. As Thai salaries are generally low in any event, rural high schools are unable to compete with

salaries offered in Bangkok and any salary offered by a rural high school would be extremely difficult for a native speaking English teacher to live on.

2.7.2 University

None of the lecturers raised the resources issue as a problem at the particular university where they taught, and having taught there myself, I would agree that this is not a central problem. Of course, this can also only be said of this university. There may well be institutions of further education where resources are an issue, and indeed the experience of Ajarn Visakha teaching in a technical college was one such example.

In addition, the important point being made by Ajarn Pinpam was that even in a prestigious university they inherit resource-led problems from the high schools in Thailand with at least some of their students.

2.8 Conclusion

2.8.1 The current state of teaching English

Following discussion with both groups of teachers, it seems that English is not really taught as an international language at all in Thailand. Rather, it is taught as a foreign language. Although, particularly the university teachers, recognize that the language will be used internationally this does not affect the teaching content or methods. Nor does the fact that a large part of the student's use of English may be as a lingua franca. Cultural input is essentially the teaching of stereotypes and extremely limited, left entirely to the discretion of the teachers with no coherent planning or strategy on cultural content or teaching, even at one of the foremost universities in Thailand. Resources remain a real issue for the majority of the population, with the elite being able to take advantage of additional classes and summer schools abroad, whilst students with more modest backgrounds arrive at university with markedly lower English skills. In rural areas, the situation is bleaker, with large classes compounded by absenteeism

and lack of resources. Against this background, English is taught largely for communication with native English speakers.

2.8.2 Future trends in teaching English

Against the somewhat depressing picture I have painted in the above paragraph, it is right to point out that all of the teachers, whether from the high school or university appeared optimistic and enthusiastic about their teaching. It is also right to observe that the government initiative to begin English teaching at a much lower age, at nursery, may result in a generally improved level of English, although the concept of teaching and learning English is still firmly rooted in teaching English for communicating with native English speakers, together with obtaining employment. There was also optimism amongst the high school teachers on designing their own curricula and using new methods for English teaching in class.

However, one development that was pointed to as a positive sign by the university lecturers seemed to me to be reinforcing the divide in Thai society between the rich and poor. This was the increasing establishment of international schools, or international classes within schools. An international school is a school where all of the lessons are taught in English, apart from Thai. Of course, international schools are private and more expensive to attend than other schools, as with international classes. It therefore seems to me that, although this may result in a wider availability of higher quality English education within Thailand, this will still exclude most of society who cannot afford it. It is therefore likely that the division seen by Ajarn Pinpam in her classes will remain or even widen, or perhaps disappear altogether when none of the students who have a lower English ability are able to gain entrance to an already elitist university. The increasing use of private international schools is therefore a problematic issue and will not, in my view, increase general English speaking skills in Thailand significantly except for the privileged, unless such schools become so common that competition between them forces the cost of attendance down to prices that are affordable to people of lower incomes, which is extremely unlikely.

One issue on which there is general agreement between high school teachers and university lecturers is the issue of linguistic imperialism and general detrimental effect of Western cultural values on Thai society. All of the teachers interviewed felt this strongly, although at this stage it was merely being accepted, perhaps as a necessary evil of globalization. However, it will be interesting to see whether more radical views on linguistic imperialism issues emerge as the use of the English language becomes more and more common in Thai society, as it appears is likely to take place. It is not difficult to imagine a strong Thai backlash against such issues at some stage in the future, particularly when aware that Thai people in general have rather xenophobic tendencies towards “foreigners”, a generalization that has nevertheless been borne out by experience on many occasions.

There remains, however, a mystery connected with English language teaching in Thailand, touched on by Ajarn Pinpam in the discussion. Ajarn Pinpam made the point that when she taught certain courses for people who had left university and returned to “brush up” their English, they could hardly remember any of their English:

I also teach er, outsiders, those who graduated, but when they came back to study, you know, some of them, didn't show that they learned English before, that, there's something wrong there, right, we know that English is very important and these people try to come back to study, right, to learn, they still say something like, something like em, “her is fine”, something like that (laughs), instead of “she is fine”, right so, and er, anyway, I like teaching English because I think that will help er, us to be able to contact with er, you know non- English speakers, oh, er, English speaking people.

It was interesting that Ajarn Pinpam, an extremely senior university lecturer, still feels that something was wrong with the system of English teaching and learning. This echoes the ideas of another Thai university lecturer who has recently returned from completing her PhD in the U.K. We were discussing the problem of English teaching in Thailand, and the view she expressed to me was

that she couldn't understand why the general English skills of Thai people who had attended English classes were so low, as many studied English as a unit of their university degrees and attended numerous refresher and other types of English courses. This Thai lecturer had begun to wonder if, in fact, it was connected in some way with the nature of Thai students, of passively attending classes and sitting there, but there was very little actual learning taking place in the classroom. She certainly agreed with Ajarn Pinpam, however, that something was wrong. Answering this question, however, is beyond the scope of this work.

Chapter 3: The culture in intercultural communication

Abstract: This Chapter points out the need to consider carefully what is meant by “culture” in “intercultural communication” in order to build a hypothesis for testing based on an ELFNN1-NN2 communication event. The Chapter takes both a historical perspective and a disciplinary perspective of the development of various definitions and descriptions of culture over the last century and draws a clear distinction between culture and society. The Chapter concludes with the implications for hypothesis development provided by this review.

3.1 The need to consider the meaning of culture in intercultural communication

One of the first difficulties encountered in the development of my hypothesis was the notion of “culture” itself. Indeed, Scollon and Scollon observe that “the subject of intercultural communication is beset by a major problem, since there is really very little agreement on what people mean by the idea of culture in the first place” (1995, p.125). Many of the texts on intercultural communication that I reviewed treated the notion of culture as unproblematic, but it appeared to me that this was far from the case. Underlying such texts, (and particularly texts used for teaching purposes) were many rather confused notions of culture, with a tendency to prefer the simplistic, nation-state view of culture that seems to have been the view of culture shared by the Thai university lecturers and high school teachers that has been discussed in Chapter 2. It seemed to me that it would be impossible to successfully examine ELFNN1-NN2 communication without establishing a clear idea of the forces of culture that were operating within such an event. Although this was not the main object of my research, this therefore necessitated a broad literary review of interdisciplinary research into the meaning of culture.

This research rapidly revealed a confusing array of alternative descriptions and definitions of culture, which at first sight appeared to be conflicting. In order to seek to establish whether there were some patterns of consensus within such research, it was decided to take two different perspectives: firstly, a historical perspective (Table 1 below) and secondly, the perspective given by grouping such definitions\descriptions into two broad disciplinary groups from which they appear to emanate: (1) Sociolinguistic; and (2) Anthropological\Ethnographical (Table 2 below).

It should be pointed out that a great number of different descriptions of culture were considered and it was necessary to be selective in order to make discussion of such definitions\descriptions at all meaningful for the purposes of this thesis. This necessarily means that the selection is subjective, but I have nevertheless sought to make the selection representative of the range of definitions and descriptions that were reviewed. It is interesting to note in this context that the anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn once reviewed several hundred definitions and still remained unsatisfied (Damen, 1987, p.80). Perhaps their dissatisfaction came from their objective to seek a definitive definition of culture. This was not my objective (indeed, this is now generally recognised as an impossible task (Risager, 2006, p. 42)) and I therefore do not share their dissatisfaction, as the review of descriptions of culture provides very real insight into how the problem of ELFNN1-NN2 communication may be approached. I make no apologies for the fact that this insight is “messy” and “thick”, rather than “precise” and “thin”. Given the nature of culture, it would be surprising if there were an easy way to approach the cultural element within ELFNN1-NN2 communication in such a manner and indeed, as is revealed by my discussion of the definition of Hofstede below, my own view is that would be far less likely to be fruitful.

3.2 The historical perspective on the meaning of culture

The following table was developed from the research:

Table 1: The historical perspective on the meaning of culture

Ref No.	Date	Definition
1.	1871	'Culture...taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor, 1871, p.1)
2.	1945	'By culture we mean all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of men.' (Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945, in Linton, 1945, pp.78-106)
3.	1945	'A culture is a configuration of learned behaviours and results of behaviour whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.' (Linton, 1945, p.32)
4.	1949	'Culture... consists in those patterns relative to behaviour and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes' (Parson, 1949, p.8)
5.	1952	'Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action.' (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952, p.47)
6.	1963	'the learned and shared behaviour of a community of interacting human beings' (Useem and Useem, 1963, p.169)
7.	1966	The anthropological view, Boas - Culture refers to the distinctive body of customs, beliefs and social institutions that seems to characterise each separate society (Stocking, 1966, 867-70)
8.	1984	'Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another.' (Hofstede, 1984, p.51)
9.	1984	'Culture neither has an autonomous existence apart from the lives of the individuals nor is it merely a collection of individual experiences. It is only on the basis of a system of meaning existing as a culture that the individual can have subjective experience. The underlying lines of signification in meaning structures ground individual experience and make it understandable to others' (Deetz, 1984, p.216)
10.	1987	' Culture: learned and shared human patterns or models for living; day-to-day living patterns. These patterns and models pervade all aspects of human social interaction. Culture is

		mankind's primary adaptive mechanism.' (Damen, 1987, p.367)
11.	1988	'...we have to recognize three broad active categories of usage....(i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development, from C18; (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general...[and] (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. This seems often now the most widespread use....' (Williams, 1988, p.90)
12.	1990	'A culture is a way of seeing, a way of perceiving, and a way of behaving on the basis of that perception. In order to perceive the world, we must select certain features and order them, thereby constructing a reality that corresponds to the reality 'out there'.' (McOmie, 1990, p.178)
13.	1990	Brislin: ' widely shared ideals, values, formation and uses of categories, assumptions about life, and goal-directed activities that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted as 'right' and 'correct' by people who identify themselves as members of a society' (Brislin, 1990 p.11)
14.	1994	'Although culture is often defined in a way that includes all the material and non-material aspects of group life, most social scientists today emphasize the intangible, symbolic and ideational aspects of culture' (Banks, 1994, p.50)
15.	1994	'a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to it's members.' (Goodenough, in Byram, 1994, p. 139)
16.	1994	Collins English Dictionary: '1. the total of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge which constitute the shared bases of social action. 2. the total range of activities and ideas of a group of people with shared traditions, which are transmitted and reinforced by members of the group.'
17.	1995	'Culture is the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them' (Lederach, 1995, p.9)
18.	1995	Kramersch – Humanities: 'The way a social group represents itself and others through its material productions, be they works of art...social institutions or artefacts of everyday life..' Social sciences: Nordstrand's 'ground of meaning' ' the attitudes and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving and remembering shared by members of that community' (Kramersch, 1995, p. 84)
19.	1995	'Culture is best defined as a set of beliefs and values which are prevalent within a society or a section of society. In some definitions, the term 'culture' is reserved for the most prestigious achievements of a society. More generally, however, culture embraces the habits, customs, social behaviour, knowledge and assumptions associated with a group of people' (Carter, 1995, p. 31)
20.	2000	Kramer : (my paraphrasing) The modern concept of culture is composed of five different elements which came into existence sequentially but still inform our understanding- (1)In the context of cultivation of land, crops and animals (2)Cultivation of the mind (3)The meanings, values and ways of life of particular, highly regarded groups were seen as setting the cultural standard for

		society as a whole. (4) Cultures as ways of life within a particular society and between different societies- the anthropological culture. (5) The semiotic concept- the signs and meanings a particular group shares. (Kramer, 2000, p.163)
21.	2006	Intercultural Studies Project, University of Minnesota: 'the shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization. These shared patterns identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group' (CARLA, 2006) ³

Williams, in his *Keywords* (1988), provides a masterful discussion of the origins and development of the word "culture" until the twentieth century, although he ends his discussion with Tylor and does not really deal with further development of concepts of culture within the 20th Century (Williams, 1988, pp. 87-93). However, it can be seen from Table 1 that at around the beginning of the last Century the view of culture was much more associated with the anthropological view, typified by Tylor. In the mid 20th Century, however, the focus appeared to be on the behaviour of members of a particular society (Definitions 2; 3; 4; 5; and 6). Parson is a good example of this kind of definition. Perhaps it is no surprise that his definition is also closely linked with the earlier, anthropological view of culture:

Culture...consists of those patterns relative to behaviour and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes. (Definition 4, Parson, 1949, p.8)

All such definitions emanate from the forties, fifties and sixties. In the 80's, however (leaving Hofstede aside for later discussion), the focus appears to have shifted more to group meanings and values (Definitions 9; 13; 19; 20), where it remains today, although Williams makes the powerful point (as do a number of

³ On their website CARLA also provide a number of other useful definitions of culture, some of which have been used in this discussion of cultural definitions.

others) that culture continues to be used in a number of different senses. Definition 13 is a typical example of this view of culture:

Widely shared ideals, values, formation and uses of categories, assumptions about life, and goal-directed activities that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted as 'right' and 'correct' by people who identify themselves as members of a society (Brislin, 1990, p.11).

Although general themes have remained fairly constant throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, perspectives have indeed varied. Another important perspective that can be traced has been the development of the psychological perspective on culture, that culture is largely in the mind of an individual, formed and constantly updated by social interaction. This approach to culture is referred to by Risager as "meaning-oriented" (Risager, 2006, p. 44). Hofstede (Definition 8) is the most extreme example of the mentalist view of culture, however, others too take this approach to defining culture (Definitions 12; 14; and 15). This is a perspective on culture that is likely to be particularly significant when we later consider the close connections between culture and language in communication. Risager provides a detailed analysis of differing schools of thought within this "meaning-oriented" tradition, that are beyond the scope of this work (Risager, 2006, pp. 45-51).

Although there clearly has been development in the understanding of culture in the twentieth century, given the broad nature of most concepts of culture it is perhaps dangerous to overemphasize this, because there remain many similarities throughout the last century that can be seen in this comparison. In 1871, Tylor provided one of the first definitions:

Culture...taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871, p.1).

It is interesting to note in fact how similar this “well travelled” definition of culture is to the relatively new and exhaustively researched definition, from the Intercultural Studies Project in Minnesota, although the language used in the latter definition clearly belongs to the time in which it was written:

the shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization.... (Intercultural Studies Project, University of Minnesota, 2006).

The exercise of combining the two definitions for close comparison creates the following result:

the shared patterns (*complex whole*) of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding (*knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits*) that are learned (*acquired*) through a process of socialization (*becoming a member of society*) (Tylor inserted in italicised parenthesis).

This exercise shows clearly that, even though the language used has changed, there remains a high degree of similarity between these definitions demonstrating a degree of consistency over a long period of time in the understanding of culture by those who have made it their business to study the nature of culture. Of course, this does not mean that this understanding is shared by those who have not considered the nature of culture in detail, in particular, practising language teachers, a problem I have already identified. In fact, if Table 1 is considered, this consistent approach can be seen reflected in many of the descriptions of culture: e.g. Parson in 1949 (Table 1, 4); Kroeber and Kluckhohn in 1952 (Table 1, 5); Brislin in 1990 (Table 1, 13) and so on. It would therefore appear that the understanding of culture at the end of the 19th Century was not so very different from that at the beginning of the 21st Century. This is not to say that different authors place emphasis on different aspects of culture, however I would argue that a broad consensus is emerging, with a few exceptions.

Having established a certain degree of consistency in descriptions of culture over the last century, let us now consider perhaps one of the most well known definitions of the latter 20th Century, that of Hofstede (Table 1, 8):

Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another (1984, p.51).

Hofstede mainly focuses on two aspects of culture in his definition:

- (1) The analogy “programming”; and
- (2) the difference that culture creates between people.

Perhaps the computer analogy sprang from the fact that much of Hofstede’s research at the time was with IBM, however I question the usefulness of both of the central elements to his definition. Firstly, the computer analogy may appear superficially attractive, however the nature of a computer programme is that it has logical steps one from the other, working in binary logic and does not change (or shouldn’t) over a period of time. Culture is patently *not* programming in this sense at all, unless the brain can be seen as a bank of computer programmers constantly re-writing the “culture” programme to adapt to and make sense of the world around us. Hofstede’s use of the word “programming” leads the reader away from this important interpretation and re-interpretation of the world around us that is fundamental to how we interact with culture. In addition, it leads to the type of attempts to predict the outcomes of intercultural encounters based on rather stereotypical cultural traits that has dominated the work of Hofstede. We consider more how it is thought that the brain deals with language and culture in Chapter 4 at 4.2.5.

The second aspect of Hofstede’s definition, that of defining culture by way of “different categories of people” (my paraphrasing), clearly belongs to the much older tradition of cultural relativism (Risager, 2006, p.42). I do not see that this provides any useful addition to the debate on the meaning of culture, at least for

our purposes. Of course, culture creates difference, but we need to have a sophisticated understanding of what that difference might be and how that difference may affect the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event if we are to be able to assess the effectiveness (or otherwise) of intercultural communication in such a setting. That difference is certainly *not* a “line in the sand” difference, as our later analysis of inter-Asian ELF communication events show, with shared concepts between informants from different parts of Asia (Thailand and Korea, for example): Confucian values are one clear example. It seems to me that a difficulty with this second aspect of Hofstede’s definition is that it gives the impression of rather clear and nationalistic cultural traits (whether intended or not). Broader definitions provide room for a subtler analysis that is much more consistent with the trend in definitions surveyed over the last century, whereas narrower, Hofstede type definitions do not. This thesis is not the place to enter into a detailed critique of much of Hofstede’s work, however, Hofstede’s approach to examining culture was considered extensively in hypothesis development and research design and rejected as a meaningful approach to testing my hypothesis⁴.

⁴ Note on Hofstede’s work: Hofstede surveyed 116,000 employees in IBM branches and affiliates in fifty countries and three regions. These regions were East Africa: Ethiopia; Kenya; Tanzania and Zambia; West Africa: Ghana; Nigeria and Sierra Leone and Arab Countries: Egypt; Iraq; Kuwait; Lebanon and United Arab Emirates. These employees were in a range of managerial and non-managerial levels. As a result, Hofstede divided the idea of culture into five ‘dimensions’: power distance; collectivism versus individualism; femininity and masculinity; uncertainty avoidance and long versus short-term orientation. Hofstede refers to these dimensions as ‘fundamental issues in human societies to which every society has to find its particular answers’. Numerical scores for each country in these regions were then calculated. For example, 1 would represent the largest power distance, with 53 the smallest, and so on. Such work generated a great deal of literature comparing such “dimensions” within such countries, without significant criticism. However, when the nature of the questions in Hofstede’s survey are considered, it is clear that the work was not designed to be of general application at all, as such questions deal exclusively with the employee-manager relationship. In any event, Hofstede then went on to compile all such results into an extensive table providing scores for all dimensions for each of the countries studied, to be used for comparison. Interestingly, many major works on intercultural communication do not offer critical analysis of the work of Hofstede, however his work has not been referred to at all in recent important works, for example, by Byram in *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence* (1997) and by Damen in *Culture Learning: the fifth dimension in the language classroom* (1987).

Kramersch comments that there are two strands in the approaches that have been taken to culture:

(1) She refers firstly to the approach from the Humanities: 'The way a social group represents itself and others through its material productions, be they works of art...social institutions or artefacts of everyday life..'; and

(2) to the approach of the Social Sciences typified by Nordstrand's 'ground of meaning' 'the attitudes and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving and remembering shared by members of that community' (Kramersch, 1995, p. 84)

The approach of Kramersch is similar to the approach of Byram and Risager, who divide these two strands of thinking into:

- (1) Sociolinguistic (broadly, Kramersch's "Social Sciences" grouping); and
- (2) Anthropological\Ethnographical "conceptualisations of culture" (broadly, Kramersch's "Humanities" grouping):

This conceptualisation of culture [a broad conceptualisation] represents the way modern sociolinguistics usually approaches the cultural field, even if sociolinguists as a rule prefer using concepts like social structure, social system, etc., because the word culture has been reserved for neighbouring disciplines: Anthropology also studies the cultural dimension of social life: values, belief systems etc., and studies of literature and art, which focus on culture in yet another sense (Byram and Risager, 1999, p.150).

Thus having considered the historical development of attempted definitions and descriptions of culture for use in my hypothesis development, the following conclusions may be drawn:

(1) There is a clear general consensus that culture is a complex pattern of learned behaviours, values and ideas that are shared by members of a society which are then reflected tangibly in many different ways;

(2) That an important feature of culture is the psychological aspect of culture, namely that culture is acquired through the process of socialization, i.e. through the internalisation of meanings expressed by people around us and are constantly updated and modified by social interaction and in that sense are shared; and

(3) That the complexity of such patterns means that descriptions of “culture” are necessarily “thick” and “messy”. Seeking definitions that are too precise, whilst being superficially attractive, are liable to lead to error.

Having established these three conclusions, I then went on to seek to gain a further perspective by dividing the definitions and descriptions of culture into the apparent disciplinary basis of each definition\description.

3.3 The disciplinary perspective on the meaning of culture

Having considered descriptions and definitions on a historical basis, they were then examined using the above division proposed by Byram and Risager that of (1) Sociolinguistic; and (2) Anthropological\ Ethnographical “conceptualisations of culture”, using the same reference numbers for each description or definition as in Table 1. It is however, difficult to draw a distinct line between the two approaches- the difference being more a question of emphasis. The sociolinguistic approach uses concepts such as social structure, social values and patterns of behaviour and linguistic systems, whereas the anthropological approach places emphasis on ways of life, embracing an ethnographic approach to social structures, norms, values and beliefs, including studies of literature and art (Byram and Risager, 1999, p.150). It should be noted that Hofstede and others discussed above who take the mentalist perspective on culture are excluded from this table as fitting into neither category.

Table 2: Disciplinary perspective on the meaning of culture

Ref No:	Sociolinguistic	Anthropological\Ethnographical
1.		'Culture...taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor, 1871, p.1)
2.		'By culture we mean all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of men.' (Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945, in Linton, p.31)
3.	'A culture is a configuration of learned behaviours and results of behaviour whose competent elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.' (Linton, 1945, p.32)	
4.	'Culture... consists in those patterns relative to behaviour and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes' (Parson, 1949, p.8)	
5.	'Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action.' (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952, p.47)	
6.	'the learned and shared behaviour of a community of interacting human beings' (Useem and Useem, 1963, p.169)	

7.		The anthropological view, Boas - Culture refers to the distinctive body of customs, beliefs and social institutions that seems to characterise each separate society (Stocking, 1966, p.867-70)
8.	'Culture: learned and shared human patterns or models for living; day to day living patterns. These patterns and models pervade all aspects of human social interaction. Culture is mankind's primary adaptive mechanism.' (Damen, 1987, p.367)	
9.	'...we have to recognize three broad active categories of usage....(i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development, from C18; (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general...[and] (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. This seems often now the most widespread use....' (Williams, 1988, p.90)	'...we have to recognize three broad active categories of usage....(i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development, from C18; (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general...[and] (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. This seems often now the most widespread use....' (Williams, 1988, p.90)
10.	Brislin: 'widely shared ideals, values, formation and uses of categories, assumptions about life, and goal-directed activities that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted as 'right' and 'correct' by people who identify themselves as members of a society' (Brislin, 1990 p.11)	
11.	Collins English Dictionary: '1. the total of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge which constitute the shared bases of social action.2. the total range of activities and ideas of a group of people with shared traditions, which are transmitted and reinforced by members of the group.'	
12.	'Although culture is often defined in a way that includes all the material and non-material aspects of group life, most social scientists today emphasize the intangible, symbolic and ideational aspects of culture' (Banks, 1994, p.50)	
13.	'Culture is the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting,	

	expressing, and responding to the social realities around them' (Lederach, 1995, p.9)	
14.	Kramsch – Humanities: 'The way a social group represents itself and others through its material productions, be they works of art...social institutions or artefacts of everyday life..' Social sciences: Nordstrand's 'ground of meaning' 'the attitudes and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving and remembering shared by members of that community' (1995, p.84)	
15.	'Culture is best defined as a set of beliefs and values which are prevalent within a society or a section of society. In some definitions, the term 'culture' is reserved for the most prestigious achievements of a society. More generally, however, culture embraces the habits, customs, social behaviour, knowledge and assumptions associated with a group of people' (Carter, 1995, p. 31)	
16.	Kramer: (my paraphrasing) The modern concept of culture is composed of five different elements which came into existence sequentially but still inform our understanding- (1) In the context of cultivation of land, crops and animals; (2) Cultivation of the mind; (3) The meanings, values and ways of life of particular, highly regarded groups were seen as setting the cultural standard for society as a whole; (4) Cultures as ways of life within a particular society and between different societies- the anthropological culture; (5) The semiotic concept- the signs and meanings a particular group shares (Kramer, 2000, p.163).	Kramer: (my paraphrasing) The modern concept of culture is composed of five different elements which came into existence sequentially but still inform our understanding- (1) In the context of cultivation of land, crops and animals; (2) Cultivation of the mind; (3) The meanings, values and ways of life of particular, highly regarded groups were seen as setting the cultural standard for society as a whole; (4) Cultures as ways of life within a particular society and between different societies- the anthropological culture; (5) The semiotic concept- the signs and meanings a particular group shares.
17.	Intercultural Studies Project, University of Minnesota: 'the shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization. These shared patterns identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group' (2001)	

It can immediately be seen from Table 2 that the preponderance of definitions over the period surveyed have fallen into the “Sociolinguistic” category. Definitions 9 (Williams) and 16 (Kramer) fall into both categories, as they look at culture from both perspectives. However, the divisions of culture drawn in Table 2 are merely intended to provide an insight of the *perspectives* of different disciplinary groups that have approached the problem of culture, rather than to provide examples of warring champions fighting for a “right” definition of culture. The examples we have already considered are a clear illustration of this point. Tylor was an anthropologist and not surprisingly approaches the notion of culture from that perspective, whereas the Intercultural Studies Project clearly belongs to the “sociolinguistic camp”. However, as I have already demonstrated, there are significant similarities in their descriptions of culture.

It can also be observed that several definitions contain elements of both the sociolinguistic *and* the anthropological approach to examining culture. Thus Parson (Table 2, 4) refers to “patterns of behaviour”, which is taking the sociolinguistic perspective, however then continues to refer to “products of human action”, which takes the anthropological standpoint. Kroeber and Kluckhohn’s definition (Table 2, No. 5) also has elements of the anthropological view, as they refer to the “patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour”, but then continue to refer to “including their embodiments in artefacts”.

For the purposes of this thesis, in my view it was not essential to select which disciplinary approach is “preferable” to the other. It was, however, necessary to use such information in hypothesis development. Because of my interest in the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event, it was therefore inevitable that the *cultural* aspect of hypothesis development depended more heavily on the sociolinguistic definitions of culture than it did on definitions placing greater emphasis on the anthropological perspective.

3.4 Culture and society

Another complicating feature impacting on ELFNN1-NN2 communication that is not always clearly distinguished is the distinction between culture and society. Society and culture are indeed closely linked, but they are not the same. Society is a socio-political organization which tends to be perceived as being homogenous with and identical to a nation-state, whereas in fact there are many different social groupings within a society. Culture is the manifestation of the many different such social groups within a society. A national culture is therefore a collective manifestation of such different social groups, but it can easily be seen that it would be impossible for a representation of such manifestation to be fully representative of all the social groups making up that society. It also needs to be observed that any representation of such manifestation of the different social groups within a society is highly likely to be influenced by power groupings within such society, and the culture of certain sub-groups will not be fully represented in any such description. This presents a particular difficulty in teaching and learning ELF, as it is nearly impossible to predict which society or sub-group within such society the potential interlocutor will come from.

The Collins English Dictionary definition of society is also helpful in distinguishing society from culture:

Society (...) a system of human organizations generating distinctive cultural patterns and institutions and usually providing protection, security, continuity and a national identity for its members (1994, p.1466)

Indeed, many of the definitions we have already considered in a different context are helpful in locating society in relation to culture. Tylor, for example, refers to culture as the "...capabilities or habits acquired by man as a *member of society*" (my italics). The concept of culture as the reflection of the behaviours, habits and concepts of the members of a society (and sub groupings within such society) is therefore consistent with the oldest definition of culture that we have considered.

Interestingly, nearly all of the other definitions of culture also link culture to, but distinguish it from, society. Linton's definition in 1945 refers to "shared learned behaviours (...) *transmitted by the members of a particular society*" (my paraphrasing and italics). Kroeber and Kluckhohn do not use the word society, however they refer to "human groups", clearly encompassing the view of society as social groupings and sub groupings that we have discussed. Useem and Useem refer to culture as "the learned and shared behaviour of a community of interacting human beings". Although Useem and Useem do not use the word "society" the description "a community of interacting human beings" is, in fact, an excellent description of any society and also of sub-groups within a society.

Brislin, in 1989, refers to various "widely shared ideals [and] values (...) that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted as "right" and "correct" by people who identify themselves as *members of a society*". Goodenough refers to "a society's culture". Kramsch, in her summary of the different approaches to describing culture sums up the "humanities" view of culture as "the way a *social group* represents itself and others...", again bringing into clear distinction the concepts of society and culture.

Thus, although there may be no clear consensus on what culture is precisely, there is certainly a clear consensus that culture is *not* society, but is something that members of the society possess and which distinguishes them from members of other societies. This will inevitably involve membership of a nation-state society and therefore a national culture but will also inevitably involve membership of other social groupings and therefore other sub-cultures that reflect the natures of such other social groups. It is in reference to such other social groups that the definitions of culture are perhaps lacking, showing the lingering tendency to equate culture with the culture of the nation state. The reality, as I have observed, is that the national culture is the aggregation of numerous different cultures as reflected by different social groupings and sub-groupings. The difficulty with many of the definitions, even those that are recent, is that reference to "a society" appears to be equated with the society of a state, which is misleading. It is this tendency of equating culture with a nation

state that was exhibited by the Thai university lecturers and high school teachers in Chapter 2, and problematised by Byram and Risager as follows:

A discussion of the relationship between language and culture must therefore take into consideration linguistic and cultural variation within the national boundaries and problematise the national paradigm which is still a strong element of language teacher's discourse, in the form of a tendency to talk about language and culture in nation state terms...(Byram and Risager, 1999, p.145)

Where issues of culture and society appear to become somewhat confused, however, is over issues of social identity. Issues of social identity have been extensively discussed in the work of Jenkins, Barth, Tajfel and others. Broadly, the psychological\philosophical perspective on identity is the idea of identity as being an "individual" person, as compared with the sociological idea of identity coming from being a member of various social groups and being identified by others as well as oneself as being members of such groups. However, in some of this discussion Jenkins seems to blur this distinction. For example, Jenkins refers to the distinction between the individual-personal and the socio-cultural (1996, p.16) and at a later stage in his discussion of "mind", refers to "Mind and selfhood (...) are cultural and social, they operate within and between individuals" (1996, p.49). It seems to me that such a blurring of the distinction is not helpful in obtaining as clear a view as possible of what culture and society are to assess their impact on intercultural communication.

However Kramsch also seems to blur the distinction when she repeatedly refers to "cultural identity", without explaining the term she is using:

Recent studies of multilingual\multicultural discourse communities in Central or Latin America have shown the very complex ways in which languages construct cultural identities (Kramsch, 1999, p. 45).

It is certainly not clear what Kramsch means by cultural identity. She may in fact mean social identity. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine what else Kramsch means by cultural identity other than social identity, as otherwise an individual would have two potentially conflicting identities, one a social identity and one a cultural identity. This is not consistent with our concept of culture as a reflection of the values, ideas, beliefs and behaviours of the members of a society.

For the purposes of my thesis therefore, I draw a clear distinction between culture and society. Culture is imbued in the individual as a member of that society, and this is what has to be addressed in assessing the NN1-NN2 communication event, complicated by use of ELF and therefore the cultural associations of ELF, whatever they may be. In my view, only confusion will arise from seeking to consider issues of cultural identity and even further, seeking to distinguish them from issues of social identity.

3.5 Implications raised for hypothesis development on ELFNN1-NN2 communication

Taylor's definition alone can be usefully used to problematise the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event: how does the knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities or habits acquired by NN1 affect communication with an individual with differing, NN2 knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities or habits acquired by NN2, when such communication occurs through an alien language whose usage is inextricably linked with the knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities or habits acquired by members of NE (native English speakers), a third society? Is the culture of users of ELF some representation of the knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities or habits acquired by members of NE, or is it something less than that, a kind of "interlanguage" culture (Byram and Risager, 1999, p.151), a learner's lesser level of knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities or habits acquired at "interlanguage" level", or is it something rather different altogether, a kind of

ELF knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities or habits acquired by members of the ELF community? Is *meaningful* communication actually possible in such circumstances and if so, how does it take place? These are of course too many questions to investigate in one study, however they usefully demonstrate the complexity of the cultural aspect alone of the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event. It was necessary to consider all such aspects while formulating the hypothesis that was ultimately developed for testing.

The hypothesis that was ultimately developed (See Chapter 4 at 4.4 for Hypothesis Development) was that “successful intercultural communication between non-native English speakers of differing national cultures using English as a lingua franca cannot take place without a similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse”. It is important to remind ourselves of the emphasis, discussed above, placed by those seeking to define culture from the psychological perspective and of the implications that this raises of the systems (the schemata) that people bring to a communication event.

I discuss schemata in detail in Chapter 4 at 4.3.2 (d), however for present purposes schemata can be considered as pre-existing knowledge patterns that are used to make sense of events. The extracts from the cultural definitions below demonstrate how closely such pre-existing knowledge patterns relate to aspects of culture:

“knowledge” (Tylor);

“symbols”, “ideas and their attached values” (Kroeber and Kluckhohn);

“system of meaning”, “lines of signification in meaning structures” (Deetz);

“values, symbols, interpretations, and perspectives” (Banks);

“a way of perceiving” (McOmie);

“shared knowledge and schemes” (Lederach);

“ways of thinking” (Kramsch);

“the signs and meanings a particular group shares” (Kramer); and

“cognitive constructs” (Intercultural Studies Project);

By considering the importance of such words and phrases in the various definitions of culture, it can therefore be seen that, from the perspective of the *nature of culture* alone, the concept of ELFNN1-NN2 communication is an extremely problematic issue. Each communicant belongs to a differing national/state culture. That culture, or more precisely, the people who share it, has its own “shared knowledge and schemes”; “signs and meanings”; “cognitive constructs” and other relevant elements of culture reviewed above. Leaving aside for the present a detailed discussion of the nature of language and communication (for which, see Chapter 3) it is self-evident that an important aspect of communication within CNN1 alone (N1-N1 Communication, where C is culture), for example, is the similarity in such “shared knowledge and schemes”; “signs and meanings”; “cognitive constructs” and other relevant elements of culture. The situation is similar within CNN2 (N2-N2 Communication). One of the difficulties that has been investigated in N1-N2 Communication (where either L1 or L2 is used) is that NN1 and NN2 do not have such “shared knowledge and schemes”; “signs and meanings”; “cognitive constructs” and other similar elements of shared cultural reference points (see Chapter 3).

The ELFNN1-NN2 communication event is even more complex, as messages that are intended to be transmitted from one speaker to the other are filtered through the medium of a language emanating from a third culture. This “ELF filter” is operating in both the sender and receiver of such messages (linguistic and otherwise). It is over-simplistic to refer to this third culture as native English

speaking culture, because it is self evident that there is in fact no single English speaking culture at all, but a series of widely differing native speaking English cultures (American, British, Australian, Indian etc. and the sub-groups within these).

Byram and Risager refer to the problem in this way:

Whereas some people seem to think that for example English is culturally neutral in *lingua franca* communication, we would say that this is completely wrong. It has in fact an enlarged meaning potential coming from two or more macro-contexts. In that way there is greater elasticity in *lingua franca* communication, but also potentially less precision. Even if there exists an enlarged meaning potential, the actual linguistic choice may be more restricted, as interlocutors will orient themselves towards each other in the communication situation in question (“negotiate”), and end up with some *ad hoc* compromise influenced by power relations and the interlocutors’ levels of linguistic and communicative competence. Perhaps it is typically the intersection of the different meaning potentials that is used (if there is an intersection!), so that for example fewer politeness forms are used, and words are used with a meaning strongly influenced by the immediate situation (Byram and Risager, 1999, p. 151).

Be this as it may, the object of my thesis is not to study particular aspects of cultures (whether they be Korean, Thai, Indian, English or even ELF) and to seek to predict the outcome of ELF communication events between members of such cultures. The object of my thesis is much narrower, to seek to examine the whether successful communication within the *lingua franca* (in this case, ELF) is in fact taking place, where interlocutors do not have such cultural “shared knowledge and schemes”; “signs and meanings”; and “cognitive constructs” and they seek to communicate in a language that is “borrowed” from a third culture group(s), with differing “shared knowledge and schemes”; “signs and meanings”; “cognitive constructs” and lacking other similar elements of shared cultural reference points. In Byram and Risager’s terms, to examine the intersection of meaning potentials in the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event.

In this sense, therefore, previous definitions and descriptions of culture are useful, but not for the primary purpose of describing or analysing the cultures of the interlocutors or indeed seeking to establish a “definitive” description of culture. Firstly, they are useful, in addition to further research, in building a hypothesis that is based on an *idea* of culture that is consistent with such a long tradition of thought. Secondly, they are useful in providing guidance in the later analysis of data, where potential reasons for miscommunication or successful communication may be considered using information on the cultural background of the informants.

In concluding the survey of definitions of culture over the last century, it can be seen that several different perspectives have emerged. I do not believe it would be productive to select merely one such perspective as the basis for the later discussion of culture in this study, but rather draw what is useful from each perspective. Perhaps Williams puts it best who, having described culture as being one of the most complex words in the English language, concludes as follows:

Faced by this complex and still active history of the word, it is easy to react by selecting one ‘true’ or ‘proper’ or ‘scientific’ sense and dismissing other senses as loose or confused....[but] in general it is the range and overlap of meanings that is significant...(Williams, 1988, p.91).

This study will therefore endeavour to build on such range and overlap of meanings in later hypothesis development.

Chapter 4: Meaning and understanding in intercultural communication

Abstract: This chapter provides a review of different perspectives that have been taken on language and communication that are applied by analogy to intercultural communication in ELF. The chapter divides these perspectives into philosophical, linguistic and psychological perspectives. The special characteristic of intercultural communication taking place in a “third place” of communication is considered. Significant features of these perspectives are then discussed and compared, from which a hypothesis is developed for testing.

4.1 Background

Having established in Chapter 3 a clear understanding of the different perspectives taken on culture throughout the last century and beyond, the issue of intercultural communication is now considered by examining different approaches that have been taken to language and understanding, dividing these into philosophical, linguistic and psychological approaches, in order to develop a hypothesis for testing that is consistent with such approaches.

It needs to be emphasized that intercultural communication using ELF is *not* the basis of most research on intercultural communication, and therefore such research is not directly relevant to my thesis. Such work relates to intercultural communication taking place in the native languages of at least one of the interlocutors, whereas in the case we are studying, the communication event takes place in the native language of neither. The hypothesis has therefore to be drawn by analogy from research on native speaking communication events and from literature on intercultural communication.

We have already observed in Chapter 3 that one of the major difficulties with the field of “intercultural communication” has been pointed out by Scollon and Scollon: ‘the subject of ‘intercultural communication’ is beset by a major problem, since there is really very little agreement on what people mean by the

idea of culture in the first place' (Scollon and Scollon, 1995, p. 125). Although this may appear to be the case, there are in fact many extremely important common themes inherent in the concept of culture that we have established in Chapter 3. However, in the literature on intercultural communication, there is often neither consideration of what 'culture' really means, or of how culture actually 'fits in' to 'intercultural communication'. Frequently it is merely assumed that intercultural communication occurs between individuals of differing nationalities and therefore different cultures, the limits of their 'cultures' being contiguous with the geographical limits of their nations. Agar refers to culture as the 'dirty little secret' of the field of intercultural communication, because no-one knows quite what it means (Agar, 1994, (1) p.224). He elaborates on this difficulty:

Culture is (...) a highly problematic term (...) Terms from pragmatics, like 'background knowledge,' or from sociology, like 'members resources,' just dress the problems in different clothes. Yet some sort of notion is essential (...) because culture or background knowledge or member's resources are what makes the difference between the speechless master of L2 syntax and the L2 speaker who is communicatively competent in a non-native world (Agar, 1991, p.175).

In a sense, the main object of this thesis is to test whether, in the ELF communication event, we have "speechless masters of syntax" or "communicatively competent" ELF speakers functioning in the ELF world and as a result, provide insight for an improved ELF pedagogy.

The issue that is touched on by Agar is however a very real issue that we shall return to in data analysis. This is a question I have already referred to in Chapter 3 that goes to the heart of my thesis, that is- is *meaningful* communication actually taking place in the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event? This is not merely a concern of my own (see Chapter 1) but a feature of ELF communication that others have been concerned about. In the context of a discussion of EIL including ELF, Seidlhofer, for example, refers to the observations of House of:

the tendency of interlocutors [in EIL] to behave in a fairly ‘self-centered’ way and to pursue their own agendas and of some groups to engage in series of ‘parallel monologues’ rather than dialogues (Seidlhofer, 2003, p.15).

The purpose of this Chapter is to provide a theoretical framework based on our existing knowledge of how language functions from philosophical, linguistic and psychological perspectives that can then be synthesized into a hypothesis for ELF communication that can then be tested, to establish whether such “parallel monologues” are taking place or if not, what communication is effective in the ELF encounter and why.

4.2 Language and culture

A difficult issue to consider at the outset is the relationship between language and culture. We have considered the nature of culture in detail in Chapter 2, in particular focusing on how certain features of such definitions may be relevant to intercultural communication using ELF.

Perhaps Agar puts the connection between language, culture and meaning that is so important for this thesis best, in the following passage:

Language, in all its varieties, in all the ways it appears in everyday life, builds a world of meanings. When you run into different meanings, when you become aware of your own and work to build a bridge to the others, ‘culture’ is what you are up to. Language fills the spaces between us with sound; culture forges the human connection through them. Culture is in language, and language is loaded with culture (Agar, 1994, (2) p. 28).

The relationship between language and culture is considered extensively in Risager’s recent work, *Language and Culture: Global Flows and Local Complexity* (2006). In this work, Risager firstly accepts the closeness of the connection between language and culture:

Since the 1960s, large sections of linguistics (...) have to an increasing extent highlighted the relationship between language and culture. This has led to intensified research into how cultural differences express themselves and are created via various forms of linguistic practice and discourse, how culturally different conceptual systems and world views are contained in the semantic and pragmatic systems of the various languages, and how language development and socialization contribute to the development of the cultural identities and cultural models of the world.

This integrative view of language is one that I share (Risager, 2006, p.1).

I should perhaps point out at this stage that this is a view that I also share. However, Risager then goes on to problematize this development where there is a “too unambiguous focusing on the relationship between language and culture, one that has a tendency to imply a simple identification between language and culture” (Risager, 2006, p.1). Risager explores the possible reasons for this tendency, concluding that the idea of a culture-bound language can be linked to a first-language or native speaker bias within linguistics and that this link becomes loosened in relation to a second language and a foreign language (Risager, p. 10):

This is a very important point in relation to language and culture pedagogy and its conception of the relationship between language and culture (...) Language and culture pedagogy is in the paradoxical situation that it builds on the above-mentioned first-language bias while dealing precisely with language as foreign- and second-language. This has to do with the fact that the ideal for foreign- and second-language teaching is to attain as near first-language competence as possible. For the person who, for example, is learning Japanese, the alleged relationship between the Japanese language and Japanese culture does not exist as a reality but as a norm- and as a norm that is difficult to attain. The idea of a close relationship between language and culture in a descriptive sense does not give any immediate

meaning when the language functions as a foreign language or a late second language (Risager, 2006, p.10).

Where Risager's work may have particular relevance to ELF is in her argument that at the specific level a separation between language and culture is possible, as she describes: "I have sometimes called language a Velcro fastener: language can easily change context and thematic content, but once it has been introduced into a new place and/or is used for a new content, it quickly integrates and 'latches on'" (Risager, 2006, p.196). I would emphasize the wording "new place", because this idea provides support for the notion of the "third place" in ELF, which I discuss in detail at 4.4 below. In the context of ELF, what this suggests is that there may be a loosening of Anglophone cultural associations within ELF and the ability of ELF to become the embodiment of other cultures. In the ELF situation, people therefore have to build their meanings during the interaction and in the process develop their own "small cultures" for the duration of the encounter. I discuss the idea of small cultures when I consider ideas of the "third place" at 4.4 below.

Risager develops the idea of "linguistic flows" in the following passage, using Agar's concept of 'languaculture' as she does so:

When one looks backwards in time, one will then be able to trace co-developments of linguistic/languacultural and discursive practice, especially in first language contexts. When one looks forward in time, this picture will of course develop, and it is important to underline that there is not any determining relation between linguistic practice in a particular language and its potential to refer to specific cultural and social conditions: Linguistic flows can go anywhere and link up with any form of context and discursive content. The languacultural potentials will mix with the languacultures of other languages and change in the process, e.g. by developing the meaning of existing words and by new lexicalisations (Risager, 2006, p.49).

Thus, as Agar states, language builds meanings and is loaded with culture. However, in an ELF situation, cultural slippage or flow may allow the interlocutors to negotiate or build new meanings in the formation of a new culture that is created in the interaction.

4.3 Language and meaning

The next major issue to investigate in order to develop a hypothesis about the presence or absence of dialogue or parallel monologues for an ELFNN1-NN2 communication event is to consider the current understanding of a “simple” communication event, i.e. where the communication event is between two native speakers, or where there is an intercultural communication event that is not in the lingua franca. We can then use such research to hypothesise what may be happening in intercultural communication events when English is used as a lingua franca. In this section I shall firstly deal briefly with some philosophical approaches that have been taken to language and communication. I shall then survey the linguistic understanding of language and communication. Finally I shall look at the current level of psychological understanding of language and communication. This is necessarily an overview of each area of study to provide the groundwork for hypothesis development that may be seen in the final section of this Chapter.

4.3.1 Philosophical approaches

As I discussed in Chapter 3 at 2.5, of central importance to the issue of successful communication (or not) in the lingua franca was whether there was an intersection of meaning, to paraphrase Byram and Risager. I therefore began by investigating different philosophical perspectives on meaning. This approach is necessarily selective, as arguments over the meaning of meaning have raged through the last century and beyond.

Pre Twentieth Century

The issue of meaning was grappled with as far back as Plato. Plato argued that meaning could not be found merely in the similarity between signs and what they signified but that there needed to be a sufficiency of similarity. This sufficiency of similarity was governed by convention (Oxford Companion to the Mind, p.451). Such convention must belong to the society in which such signs are used, or “signifying community” (see previous discussions of definitions of culture in Chapter 3). In the lingua franca situation, therefore, the problem would be whether those seeking to communicate had sufficient similarity of signs (and other linguistic features such as symbols, schemata and so on) when the speakers emanate from different societies with different linguistic conventions. Based on the ideas of Plato, the success of communication would appear to depend on whether sufficient conventions of usage of the lingua franca had been learned by the interlocutors, or whether they are able to create them in the interaction itself.

It is interesting that at such an early stage Plato by implication was stressing the importance of the conventions of usage being of fundamental importance to meaning creation. As I have observed, such conventions can only emanate from the society in which the language is used, a feature that we have already highlighted in our discussion of culture. Plato also placed early importance on the process of signification in meaning formation, a process that we discuss later in this chapter.

Bredella provides a useful historical summary of different concepts of meaning in language. In this summary, he refers to the following famous passage from Locke, the next pre-twentieth century thinker I wish to consider:

And every Man has so inviolable a Liberty, to make Words stand for what *Ideas* he pleases, that no one hath the Power to make others have the same *Ideas* in their *Minds*, that he has, when they use the same Words, that he does (Bredella, 2001, p. 32).

Where Locke appears to differ from Plato, is that meaning here is essentially a private, internal affair, unique to each individual. For Locke it was “unlikely that the words have the same meanings for speakers and listeners” (Bredella, 2001, p.2). I wonder, however, whether this was partly due to the preoccupation of Locke and other 17th Century philosophers with “liberty”, in this case being translated into freedom of thought and expression. In any event, Locke appears to omit the social aspect of meaning, which is instinctively unappealing because it is difficult to imagine how communication takes place at all if the narrow version of what Locke states is used, because everyone would have an entirely different meaning when seeking to communicate.

As Jenkins points out in her discussion of ‘intelligibility’:

As Brown argues, ‘adequate’ communication is regularly achieved, despite ‘the pervasive under-specification of meanings and utterances’. This is because the sheer amount of shared background information enables interlocutors to establish ‘a structure of mutual beliefs’ (Jenkins, 2000, p.71).

Even in native speaker communication therefore, the narrow interpretation of Locke cannot provide an adequate account of meaning and in this sense, the ideas of Plato, where meaning is grounded in a society’s conventions of language usage are more attractive as a theory to seek to apply to the lingua franca. However, on another interpretation, where Locke’s theory does add perspective is to place emphasis on the idea of meaning being at least in part in the mind of the interlocutor.

Twentieth Century

In the twentieth century, there have been four major approaches to the problem of meaning, which may be described as (1) the referential approach; (2) the mentalist approach; (3) the contextualist approach; and (4) the dissolutionist approach (Smith, 1997, p.21-23). It is perhaps useful to consider the understanding of meaning from these different perspectives:

(i) The referential approach

The referential approach is extremely similar to the process of signification, which we discuss in section 4.3.2 (a) below. Smith refers to this approach as seeking to:

specify the meaning of an expression by identifying what it refers to in the extralinguistic world. It thus takes naming as the fundamental case of the meaning relation (Smith, 1977, p.21).

Russell and the early Wittgenstein took this approach to meaning. This approach to meaning was an extension of the ideas of Plato with the idea that meaning could somehow be mapped onto the complete range of items existing in the world.

If we apply this theory to ELF, it would imply that communication would be possible where interlocutors share the same identifying link between words and phrases that they use and what they refer to outside the lingua franca, or are able to negotiate and create such a link in the interaction itself.

However, the difficulty I have with this theory is that it appears to ignore the internal and private aspect of meaning. Although I would not take the extreme Lockean perspective, in my view a satisfactory philosophical explanation must take this into account.

I am also troubled by the apparent separation in this theory between the linguistic and the extralinguistic, as if these were two separate worlds. As we have already seen in our discussion of language and culture, language and culture are closely if not inextricably connected, and therefore the linguistic and the extralinguistic cannot be separated in any sensible manner. The world is part of language, and therefore only at the most basic signifying level can such a distinction be made, as we shall see when we discuss the process of connotation later in this chapter.

In my thesis, therefore, the referential approach will be taken into account not as a basis for a complete explanation of meaning in language, but as part of the referential process in language itself.

(ii) The mentalist approach

The mentalist approach offers an essentially private concept of meaning. Thus meanings are identified with the mental images, concepts or propositional contents:

To the extent that meanings are transmitted, they are conveyed when the utterances of a speaker with certain images or concepts in mind give rise to similar images or concepts in the mind of the listener (Smith, 1977, p.22).

If we refer back to our consideration of Locke, it can be seen that Locke belongs to the mentalist tradition. Later influential mentalists have included Fodor and Jackendoff (Smith, 1977, p.22).

I have already observed that the extreme version of the mentalist approach is unsatisfactory, as it is difficult to imagine how communication takes place at all if such a philosophy is correct. This would seem to be particularly true of an ELF situation, where interlocutors are from entirely different cultural backgrounds. It is difficult to imagine how, in such circumstances, meaning could coincide.

Smith makes a similar criticism in this way:

communication emerges as something of a miracle unless fortified with assumptions about pre-existing conceptual structures shared by speakers and listeners (Smith, 1977, p.22).

I would argue, however, that the concept of pre-existing conceptual structures shared by speakers and listeners is not an assumption at all, that this concept is

based on well established theories of language, in particular the process of connotation, and psychological understanding of language.

If I extend this adapted version of the mentalist approach to the ELF situation, the meaning of each individual interacting in ELF would be the idea or concept that each individual had in their mind and communication is possible because of a certain degree of pre-existing shared conceptual structures, however incomplete these may be. Where communication is difficult, however, would be where there is an absence of such shared pre-existing conceptual structures and a failure to bridge such a gap through negotiation of meaning.

(iii) The contextualist approach

The contextualist approach developed later in the twentieth century. Smith describes this approach as “seeking meaning neither in individual minds nor in the attachment of words to specific entities in the world, but rather in the complex relations between the language user and the language user’s context” (Smith, 1977, p.22).

Thus Wittgenstein introduced the concept of the ‘language game’:

We can think of the whole process of using words (...) as one of those games by means of which children learn their native language. I will call these games “language-games” and will sometimes speak of a primitive language as a language-game (Wittgenstein, 1953, p.5).

For Wittgenstein, the usage of language in society builds up the necessary language rules for playing the language game. If those rules are not followed, a different game will be played and presumably, communication will not be successful. The meaning of a word then becomes its use in language:

For a large class of cases- though not all- which employ the word “meaning” it can be defined thus: the meaning of a word is its use in the language (Wittgenstein, 1953, p.20).

Meaning therefore becomes usage in the social context in which the game is played. The implications for successful communication in the lingua franca are that there is a 'language game' being played in the lingua franca, which may not be the same game as played in native English. If meaning is assumed to be usage, then communication in the lingua franca would appear to be less difficult as the idea of usage provides a more fluid concept of meaning, thus the negotiation of meaning between interlocutors easier to achieve. The complicating feature of such a concept of ELF would be that negotiation of meaning would have to be started afresh, to a certain extent in every ELF situation but certainly where a person is interacting with someone from a different cultural background than previously encountered in ELF.

The difficulty I have with this theory is again the separation that appears to underlie this theory between language and the meaning of the user. Meaning appears to be located entirely in the game itself, rather than in an interaction between the game and the player. I am therefore not satisfied that this provides an adequate account for the psychological aspect of language and meaning (see later discussion at 4.2.4 below).

(iv) The dissolutionist approach

Later in the twentieth century the dissolutionist approach developed, that effectively denied the existence of meaning:

the attempt was made to show that meanings do not exist or that meaning-related phenomena are best handled at some level of discourse that makes no essential use of the concept of meaning. (Smith, 1977, p.23)

The idea of the dissolutionists is that the problem of meaning disappears when considering the relations of language, language user, and world that can be empirically investigated, because "meanings are somehow diffused across complex organism-environment relations" (Smith, 1977, p.23). There is a

superficial attractiveness to this approach, in that “meaning” in the lingua franca could be ignored as a problem for this thesis, but this problem would then only seem to resurface as another problem, couched in terms such as “intention” or “communication”. However, it is difficult to know what role the individual plays in such concepts without reference to the meaning of the interlocutors. In any event, as we observe later in Chapter 5 there is no known way of accessing the brain to discover the thought processes of an interlocutor. I remain unconvinced therefore, that this problem can be empirically investigated without seeking to understand the role of meaning.

(v) The approach in this thesis

As there continues to be controversy over the meaning of meaning, in this thesis I shall adopt an approach that I believe is particularly applicable to the meaning of interlocutors seeking to communicate within ELF, rather than “meaning” as an isolated philosophical concept.

If we take a simple example in ELF, an interlocutor seeking to communicate that he loves his wife. If we adopt the referential approach, this implies that communication in ELF would be possible because “love” and “wife” exist in the extralinguistic world and are referred to, as if they were objects. However, it is difficult to imagine how the individual and personal aspects of this statement will be successfully conveyed, without including aspects of the mentalist approach in which the speaker seeks to convey to the listener the mental image or concept of “love” and “wife” that he has.

Similarly, if we use the same example but instead of adopting the referential approach use Wittgenstein’s “language game”, the meaning of “I love my wife” becomes its use in the language game being played, i.e., the ELF interaction. But will this represent the entire meaning? Different cultures and social backgrounds are involved in the ELF interaction. Concepts such as “love” and “wife” are loaded with socio-cultural, as well as personal significance. It would seem that any meaning that is negotiated in this “language game” way will in fact be meaning constructed out of a compromise between meanings. The

personal and private aspect of the meaning of “love” and “wife”- in the mind of the person seeking to communicate this utterance and the person seeking to understand it- remains unaccounted for.

I would therefore argue that meaning cannot *solely* be found in the mind of the interlocutor, because this ignores the socio-cultural aspect of meaning and the element of meaning being negotiated in discourse. For similar reasons, meaning cannot be found *solely* in the language (and language-culture-society nexus) used by the interlocutor, nor *solely* located in the discourse between one or more interlocutors. In my view, meaning is to be found in the combination of all three factors.

Based on this reasoning we can conclude that, in the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event:

- (1) There must at least be a degree of shared meaning for there to be successful communication;
- (2) That at least part of that meaning goes beyond the mere sharing of signs in ELF, however extensive that may be;
- (3) That part of that meaning is socially produced and shared in the lingua franca; and
- (4) That part of that meaning may be negotiated to a certain extent by interlocutors.

4.3.2 Linguistic approaches

I have argued that there can be no communication in ELF without at least some shared meaning and we have discussed some philosophical approaches to this problem. One of the difficulties of the philosophical approaches is that they do not assist in operationalising the concepts for empirical investigation, which is something that linguistic approaches do. We need therefore to borrow some concepts from linguistics on how meaning is formed through language. In this section we shall consider:

- (a) Meaning and signs;
- (b) Meaning and symbols;
- (c) Denotative and connotative meaning;
- (d) Meaning and schemata; and
- (e) Meaning and discourse.

(a) Meaning and signs

Saussure and Peirce have perhaps been most influential in developing modern semiotics. Saussure's view was that the sign is actually a compound of a signifier and a signified:

I call the combination of a concept and a sound-image a *sign*, but in current usage the term generally designates only a sound-image, a word use, for example (*arbor*, etc.). One tends to forget that *arbor* is called a sign only because it carried the concept "tree", with the result that the idea of sensory part implies the idea of the whole.

Ambiguity would disappear if the three notions here were designated by three names, each suggesting and opposing the others. I propose to retain the word *sign* [*signe*] to designate the whole and to replace *concept* and *sound-image* respectively by *signified* [*signifié*] and *signifier* [*signifiant*]; the last two terms have the advantage of indicating the opposition that separates them from each other and from the whole of which they are parts (Saussure, 1960, p.67).

Barthes, discussing Saussure, states that for Saussure, "The signified is not 'a thing', but a mental representation of the 'thing'" (Barthes, 1964 p.42). The signifier is the word or phrase that was uttered and the signified is the mental concept triggered by that word or phrase.

For Saussure, the relationship between the signifier and the signified was arbitrary, and based on the convention of the sign-using linguistic community,



in a similar manner to the sense in which Plato believed signs were governed by convention:

The word *arbitrary* also calls for comment. The term should not imply that the choice of the signifier is left entirely to the speaker (...) I mean that it is unmotivated, i.e. arbitrary in that it actually has no natural connection with the signified (Saussure, 1960, p.69).

Saussure's concept of the sign suggests that ELF communication can only take place when interlocutors share the same mental concepts (signifieds) for the signifier- they share the same convention-based meaning. The difficulty this creates is that such convention must be social and cultural, which is unlikely to be shared in an ELF situation, or only partially shared. It is therefore difficult to see how ELF interlocutors will share the same signifieds.

Whereas Saussure's concept of signs was based on the relationship between the signifier and the signified, another highly influential semiotician, Peirce, developed a theory based on the representamen (the form which the sign takes), an object (referent) and its interpretant:

A sign stands for something to the idea which it produces, or modifies. Or, it is a vehicle conveying into the mind something from without. That for which it stands is called its object; that which it conveys, its meaning; and the idea to which it gives rise, its interpretant (Peirce, 1931, p.171).

Peirce's ideas are therefore similar to Barthes' point I have discussed above that the signified is not a thing in the world but a mental representation of that thing. In this sense, Peirce's interpretant corresponds to Saussure's signified, however the difference is that the interpretant is itself a sign:

The meaning of a representation can be nothing but a representation. In fact it is nothing but the representation itself conceived as stripped of irrelevant clothing. But this clothing can never be completely stripped off; it is only changed for some more diaphanous. So there is an infinite

regression here. Finally, the interpretant is nothing but another representation to which the torch of truth is handed along; and as representation, it has its interpretant again. Lo, another infinite series (Peirce, 1931, p.171).

Thus Peirce introduces the concept of the significance of the connections between signs allowing meaning to be created, a meaning that is beyond the simple meaning of signifiers and signifieds.

Kramsch describes this process as follows:

[the sign] evokes in the mind of its receiver another sign, which Peirce calls 'the interpretant'. It is through the interpretant that signs have meaning rather than just signification. Over time, (...) signs become reified as conventional symbols; they create paths of expectations that are shared among members of the same signifying community and that allow them to anticipate future events (Kramsch, 1993, p.44).

There is therefore a parallel between the work of Saussure and Peirce in that, for Saussure, what was signified was based on social and cultural convention. So too for Peirce, the chains of interpretants that are attached to signs are social and cultural, being "shared among members of the same signifying community".

Kramsch makes the following application of Peirce's theory of semiotics to what she refers to as 'cross-cultural' communication.

It means:

1. Relating linguistic, visual, acoustic signs to other signs along paths of meaning that are shared or at least recognized as such by most socialized members of the community (...);

2. Relating signs to prior signs whose meanings have accumulated through time in the imagination of the people who use them or see them used (...); and
3. Relating signs to human intentionalities. Because signs are used for a purpose (they are 'motivated'), they are intended to evoke quite specific interpretants in the minds of their recipients. Of course, given the heterogeneity of modern-day societies, they may evoke in different people other interpretants than those intended (...) (Kramsch, 1993, p.44)

Peirce's theory of semiotics is therefore extremely important in placing emphasis on shared paths of meaning and the mental connections between signs. The idea that there are shared paths of meaning plays an important part of hypothesis development and research design because:

- (1) shared paths of meaning are so closely linked to all of our cultural discussion, philosophical discussion and other theories of language that they appear to be a central feature of any communication analysis. Perhaps Street puts it best in his seminal work, 'Culture is a verb' when he states: 'My main intention is to signal (...) the importance of treating culture as a signifying process- the active construction of meaning- rather than the somewhat static and reified or nominalising senses in which culture (...) has come to be used in everyday 'commonsense' language' (Street, 1993, p.23). Street's idea of "the active construction of meaning" is also relevant when considering ideas that in each ELF "small culture" situation the interlocutors negotiate new meanings (see section 4.4 below);
- (2) the mental connections between signs appear to form the basis of connotation which is central to meaning formation (see section 4.3.2 (c) below); and

- (3) the creation of meaning through the mental connection between signs is consistent with the latest theories of cognitive processing of language (see section 4.3.4 below).

Kramsch is not discussing ELF NN1-NN2 communication, but her exposition of Peirce's theory of semiotics is extremely helpful in raising questions for hypothesis development relating to this communication event:

1. What signs may be related to other signs along paths of meaning "shared or at least recognized as such by most socialized members of the community" by the ELF speakers in the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event?
2. How do ELF users relate signs to prior signs whose meanings have accumulated through time in the imagination of people from a differing culture?
3. If signs are intended to evoke quite specific interpretants in the minds of their recipients, do ELF users possess such interpretants to such a degree of specificity and what happens in ELF communication if they do not- does this mean that communication fails, or are ELF users able to negotiate meaning in a way that avoids significant impact on the communication event?

(b) Meaning and symbols

Langer, amongst many others, developed the idea of signs further by distinguishing between signs and symbols. If we recall that the Saussurean sign was composed of the signifier and the signified, in the case of a sign, the signifier, for Langer, bore a close similarity to the signified. However, symbolic meaning is much more closely connected to the individual meaning or surrounding ideas that people have about those objects. As Littlejohn puts it "thus, we have both a logical and psychological sense of symbol meaning, the

logical being the relation between the symbol and referent and the psychological the relation between the symbol and the person” (Littlejohn, 1992, p.68).

Symbols, therefore, are much more closely aligned to the meaning of an individual, whereas, the sign is a mental representation of a “thing” that is much more likely to be similar to the “thing” itself. The consequence of this is that one would predict that in the lingua franca that the more symbolic the language that is used, the greater the likelihood will be that there will be miscommunication, as the meaning will be more closely associated with the idiosyncratic meaning of the individuals.

(c) Denotative and connotative meaning

In considering “meaning” in language, we must distinguish two further terms borrowed from linguistics, namely denotation and connotation. Essentially, the denotative meaning is the literal meaning of the signifier, whereas the connotative meaning represents the associations that the group using the signifier has with the signifier. Denotation is thus the relationship between signifier and signified, whereas the connotative meaning is much broader, incorporating values, judgments and cultural associations. Connotative meaning incorporates the social dimension added by Wittgenstein of shared rules for the language game (see 4.3.1 (iii) above). It also accounts for Kramsch’s “paths of expectations that are shared among members of the same signifying community” and for Peirce’s infinite regression of interpretants. It is therefore connotative meaning that we are considering when we later consider the work of Agar and others on the construction of ‘schemata’ or ‘frames’ (see sections 4.2.2 (d) and 4.2.3 below).

In the context of the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event, the denotative meaning of a word used in such an event will be much more easily acquired, as effectively being the “dictionary meaning” of the word. In communication events that are analysed, one would therefore anticipate that there will be a shared understanding of, at the very least, simple denotative word meanings.

This does not however mean that communication will be successful, except at the simplest of levels.

The connotative meaning of a sign is, however, much more difficult to acquire, because that will vary from individual to individual, relating more to the personal and cultural associations that a person has with the sign: “cultural codes provide a connotational framework” (Chandler, 1994, p.2). Connotation is thus the relationship of the interpretant to the signified and the shared paths of meaning created by the associations between such interpretants. A symbol would be expected to have a greater range of connotations than a sign because of the greater degree of connection with the meaning of the individual using the symbol.

In our discussion of denotation and connotation however, we should remain conscious that, as with the distinction between signs and symbols, the difference is not as clear-cut as it might at first sight appear. Risager makes the point in this way:

Translated into my discourse, one can say that the denotation of a word cannot clearly be demarcated from its connotations; denotation and connotation are analytical concepts. Furthermore, one can say that the meaning potential of a word- denotation(s) and connotations – have developed differently for different language users, depending on the personal and social circumstances (Risager, 2006, p.46).

Risager is therefore discussing the denotative and connotative process as a symbolic process, being both personal and social. From our discussion of denotation and connotation we can therefore draw the following conclusions:

1. Denotative meaning in NN1 and NN2 in ELF will be much more likely to coincide, particularly where words used are signifying rather than symbolic;

2. Connotative meaning is much more personal and shared with others of the same culture and therefore much less likely to coincide in ELF;
3. That an artificial distinction should not be drawn between denotative and connotative meaning; and
4. If the connotative meaning of interlocutors is to be assessed, then tools must be developed in order to seek to assess such connotative meaning.

(d) Meaning and schemata

A further language theory that may be relevant to ELF is the theory of the importance of schemata in comprehension. Schemata are also sometimes referred to as “frames”. The idea of schemata is that they are pre-existing knowledge patterns contained in long term memory that are used to make sense of events which would otherwise require much greater explanation. Schemata are therefore particularly important in verbal communication.

[Schemata] arise from repeated exposure to similar experiences, and are used to make sense of new instances of such experiences. According to schema theory, comprehension involves an interaction between the textual input and the comprehender’s existing knowledge, and successful understanding depends on the availability and activation of relevant schemata (Semino, 2000, p.525).

If one considers a conversation about a supermarket, for example, which refers to purchasing some cheese, paying for it at the check-out and purchasing some wine, this will involve the application of a pre-existing schema for a supermarket, in which cheese is to be found either in a cold-cabinet or fresh cheese section, the checkout involves queueing, paying with cash or cards, items being bagged and the wine may be purchased in the supermarket or an attached off-licence, depending on the type of supermarket. Schemata are used in this context to (1) remove ambiguity; (2) infer implicit information; and (3) make predictions about what will happen next. From our example, it can be seen that

several sub-schemata can also be used, for example, the checkout process, the cheese selection process; and the wine selection process.

As we shall see when we discuss the significance of Agar's "rich points" in discourse, Agar relies on the concept of schemata to explain the complexity of the required background knowledge that is needed in the translation process (see section 4.2.3 below).

What is clear from the composition of schemata, is that they are built up from the connections between different aspects of the item to which the schemata refer. In this manner, schemata would appear to be built from the networks of connections between interpretants in a similar manner to the way in which Peirce described connections between interpretants: "The meaning of a representation can be nothing but a representation (...) Finally, the interpretant is nothing but another representation to which the torch of truth is handed along; and as representation, it has its interpretant again. Lo, an infinite series" (Peirce, 1931, p.171).

One of the major criticisms of schema theory from cognitive psychologists (for discussion on psychological processes, see 4.2.4 below) has been that:

[S]chemata do not exist as separate entities but correspond to groups of units in knowledge networks which tend to be activated at the same time (Semino, 2000, p. 527)

However it seems to me that this criticism is only valid where schemata are treated as discrete entities, rather than as part of an overall picture of a web of schemata built from networks of connections between interpretants. In this sense, schemata can be seen as having "fuzzy" edges, merging one into the other and into sub-schemata. There is therefore no inconsistency with this idea of schemata and the "knowledge networks" of cognitive psychology.

In considering descriptions of schemata, it seems that this is another area of language where the language and culture are inextricably entwined creating a

problematic area for ELFNN1-NN2 communication. If we recall from our definitions of culture considered in Chapter 3, many of the definitions contained the idea of the background knowledge of group members or similar concepts (e.g. shared knowledge and schemes (Lederach, 1995, p.9)). It would seem that schemata are built from this shared background knowledge. The interlocutors in ELFNN1-NN2 communication would not be expected to have this extent of shared background knowledge and therefore be lacking in native speaker schemata.

Returning to our supermarket example, two interlocutors may use ELF to discuss the purchase of wine, where one interlocutor has a schema of wine being selected from the supermarket shelves and paid for at the checkout and the other has a schema of wine being selected and paid for in a separate “off licence” section. The interlocutors may be able to have a general conversation about wine, what wines they like, shopping for wine, etc, but they will actually have different “paths of meaning” in relation to the detail of their conversation and unless something happens in the conversation to make them aware of this difference they may remain under the impression that they have the same concept of purchasing wine at a supermarket. ELF communication may appear to be successful, but in fact only be partially successful. In addition, ELF communication may be successful at a general level, but unsuccessful at a more specific level.

The example given above may seem trivial, but could easily create confusion and misunderstanding if one of the interlocutors, based on the conversation, then went to purchase wine at a supermarket which conformed to the schema of the other interlocutor. Similarly, there will be situations in which ELF is used where the effect of having different schemata is potentially far more problematic- in international negotiations, for example.

It could therefore be anticipated that:

- (1) there will be greater potential for ambiguity in the lingua franca;

- (2) the interlocutors will find the process of making inferences in the lingua franca more difficult than for the native speaker;
- (3) predictions will be more difficult to make for users of the lingua franca than for the native speaker; and
- (4) Whilst communication may be successful at a general level in ELF this may obscure miscommunication at a more specific level.

Schemata are therefore built from the networks of connections between interpretants in the process of connotation. As we shall see later in this thesis, what I will be doing through the operationalisation of connotations is to find a way to measure/quantify the schemata of ELF interlocutors.

(e) Meaning and discourse

This analysis has, this far, dealt largely with separate concepts that are related to signs, symbols, and similar phenomena. However, this should not be taken as ignoring a further fundamental feature of language, that of discourse. As Littlejohn puts it, 'The real significance of language...is not in words, but in discourse' (1992, p.68). Agar also makes this point when he observes, (see 4.2.4, below) "The sentence has lost its privileged status as the primary focus. Discourse is the data; the sentence or utterance is only a special case" (1991, p.176). From the linguistic point of view, when considering intercultural communication with English as a lingua franca, semantics may be of fundamental importance, but we cannot ignore the pragmatic standpoint- "the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (...) and interpreted by a listener" (Yule, 1996, p.3) and the fact that it is ELF discourse in which the communication takes place. As Wierzbicka points out, however, provided that we do not lose sight of the importance of discourse, "there is no conflict between studying the meanings of words and studying everyday discourse and everyday cognition (...) the lexicon is the clearest possible guide to everyday cognition and to the patterning of everyday discourse" (Wierzbicka, 1997, p.

31). Agar too, as we shall see in section 4.3.3 below, places great importance on the significance of particular words used in discourse.

This thesis attempts to take both views into account. Discourse provides much of the raw data that were analysed for testing the hypothesis. I do, however, break down that discourse at the points that are studied in order to assess the connotative meaning of the interlocutor in relation to key words and phrases used in the discourse, because otherwise it would be extremely difficult to imagine how a comparison of such meaning could be made between interlocutors. Furthermore, although the research tools were developed to analyse the meaning of particular words and phrases used in such discourse, the analysis of such words and phrases always takes place in the context of such discourse.

4.3.3 The significance of “rich points” and “key words”

Having considered the possible application of general theories of linguistics to the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event, it is useful to now consider the recent work of two researchers that is directly relevant to this thesis, the work of Agar and that of Wierzbicka. This work is particularly important because it focuses on particular points of language as providing insight into intercultural communication. I have already highlighted the difficulty raised by the question of culture in ELF intercultural communication. However, as we shall see later, in subsequent data analysis the work of Agar and Wierzbicka is used as part of the theoretical basis for studying key words/signs and phrases used in ELF discourse.

In examining the work of Agar we can immediately see that many of the difficulties raised when considering cultural definitions are again raised by Agar when he discusses problems in an accurate translation of signs from one language to another:

[One theme] is the search for pattern. Building an ability to account for events is not currently well enough understood to represent with simple

formalizations. Some recent research suggests words like schemata and frame as labels for the background knowledge that group members bring to events. These schemata are then used as guides to interpretation, and may themselves be modified as a result of that interpretation. But no one knows how to formally specify the structure of such background knowledge or the process of applying it in different situations. What is apparent is that it involves a rich collection of different kinds of information and sentiment and relations among them...(Agar, 1980, p.194).

In his later work, Agar develops his idea of frames further in identifying the following components of discourse:

1. The sentence has lost its privileged status as the primary focus. Discourse is the data; the sentence or utterance is only a special case.
2. When you lift up a piece of discourse, be it a lexical item, utterance, or extended text- interpretive strands of association and use stick to it like putty.
3. The putty is re-shaped by the analyst into interpretive frames, and with 'frames' I mean to call up the elaborate literature in artificial intelligence that deals with knowledge structures (...)
4. The frames, therefore, are built from sources other than the language at hand- from the analyst's best current knowledge about contexts of culture, situation, and speech; and from such strange sources that make the difference between good and mediocre analysis as intuition and insight.
5. From this point of view, then, a key problem for the study of language is the methodology and theoretical basis for the construction and validation of interpretive frames (Agar, 1991, p.176).

For Agar then, a piece of discourse cannot be understood without considering the “putty” that is linked to it. This putty can then be dissected by the analyst into an interpretative frame. Agar states that interpretative frames (or schemata, as discussed previously at 4.3.2 above) are to be found in “best current knowledge about contexts of culture, situation, and speech; and from such strange sources that make the difference between good and mediocre analysis as intuition and insight” (Agar, 1991, p.176).

Agar’s work thus provides useful insight into hypothesis development and into how later data obtained on ELF communication should be treated. From Agar’s work the following may be concluded for my hypothesis and data treatment:

- (1) The data is discourse, from which lexical items may be taken for analysis, or extended text where appropriate;
- (2) Useful analysis of such lexical items or extended text may involve seeking to establish what mental associations / schemata / relationships among interpretants / connotations the user makes with such lexical items or extended text;
- (3) It may not be possible to form a simple “picture” or representation of the meaning or understanding of the interlocutor of such lexical item or extended text. This meaning or understanding may need to be built from a number of different data sources that must be obtained in the course of the study and be available for analysis; and
- (4) A major contribution of this thesis may be to answer, at least in part, Agar’s final point: in providing a theoretical basis and methodology for the analysis of ELF discourse.

Agar develops the idea of interpretive frames further in this 1994 text, where he describes frames as bundles of knowledge:

Frames are bundles of new knowledge- they might be a formalism, a bit of prose, or even a poem- that bridge the difference between the rich points in the new language and the language you brought with you. In the Mexican examples [where much of his research took place on this issue], frames ran from dictionary definitions through speech acts and conversational style up to history, political economy, and basic ideas about how things are (Agar, 1994 (1), p.221).

Again, Agar seems to be referring to schemata when he refers to frames. In the context of teaching and learning ELF, Agar's work poses an immense problem. That is, how such interpretative frames may be taught by the teacher and acquired by the learner? Where should this start? Which "interpretative frames" to start with? Should the interpretative frames belong to ELF "culture", or should they belong to the culture of NN1 and NN2 respectively, if that can be anticipated? Again, these questions cannot be fully answered in this thesis, but a more profound understanding of whether communication is effective within ELF may go some way towards the beginning of an answer, that I seek to provide in Chapter 7.

It seems that for Agar, the best sources of 'frame information' are words or phrases that are almost untranslatable, which he refers to as 'rich points'. These rich points are "surface forms that tap deeply into the world that accompanies language, where that world can be represented by systems of interpretive frames" and, using the Austrian German word *Schmäh* as an example, again describes the characteristics of this rich point:

when we lift *Schmäh* out of Austrian German, the putty that comes with it drags along the raw material for a complicated but coherent set of interpretive frames, with potentially wider links to history and political economy... (Agar, 1991, p.179); and

Schmäh is the surface signal in L2 of what I began to learn as the Viennese culture of native speakers (Agar, 1991, p.179).

One difficulty I have with Agar's 'rich points' is that he appears to argue that it is only the almost untranslatable which are the 'rich points' of the language. I am not sure that this is necessarily true, or that *Schmäh*, for example, is actually almost untranslatable. It merely seems to be a seemingly unique Austro-German concept that requires a great deal of explanation, just as *mai pen rai* (a combination of "it doesn't matter" and "don't worry") or *grenjai* (the idea of "respect" or "deference to elders or seniors") would be in Thai, or indeed 'Zwischenwelt' (a kind of "neither here nor there" or "in-between" world), another "rich point" referred to by Agar. Agar's main point here seems to be that the dictionary, "denotative" meaning does not really convey the real native speaker's meaning of the words and that there is no corresponding sign in other languages - therefore the translation has to involve glossing the word rather than translating it.

For Agar then, it is the connections that signs have with other concepts that enables us to make sense of them, thus the Saussurean model of the signifier\signified relationship does not explain this phenomenon. The Peircean tripartite model of the representamen\object\interpretant comes much closer to fitting what Agar describes, particularly when one considers the limitless range of interpretants described by Peirce. As we have discussed, it would seem that the process of connection between interpretants is the process of connotation. Agar is therefore arguing that such interpretants are used to build schemata. By choosing to study words which have a high degree of connotative meaning, a greater body of connotations will be built in the mind of the learner, thus enabling the learner to communicate effectively rather than at a superficial level, a "speechless master".

Anna Wierzbicka is another major figure who investigates the meanings of "key words" as providing linguistic insight into another culture, stating that the vocabulary of a language is "the best evidence of the reality of cultures in the sense of a historically transmitted system of conceptions and attitudes" (1997, p. 21). In some senses, the approach of Agar and Wierzbicka are similar, in that they both see particular words as being closely connected to other words and ideas within the language. However, Wierzbicka is mainly concerned with using

such words to gain a cultural vantage point, a way of being able to access a particular culture. Agar's concern is communication and translation, not cultural description. Thus in some senses they are both investigating this same phenomenon, but from opposite perspectives.

Be that as it may, there are certainly distinctive similarities in the way both Agar and Wierzbicka treat the relationship of signs to other concepts within the language. If we recall how Agar describes frames (schemata) as follows:

Frames are bundles of new knowledge (...) frames ran from dictionary definitions through speech acts and conversational style up to history, political economy, and basic ideas about how things are (Agar, 1994, p. 221).

It can be seen that what Agar appears, at least in part, to be describing are the cultural associations that make up the schemata. This is extremely similar to Wierzbicka:

a study of a culture's "key words" need not be undertaken in an old-fashioned atomistic spirit. On the contrary, some words can be studied as focal points around which entire cultural domains are organized. By exploring these focal points in depth we may be able to show the general organizing principles which lend structure and coherence to a cultural domain as a whole, and which often have an exploratory power extending across a number of domains (1997, p. 14).

Although Wierzbicka does not expressly refer to "schemata" or "frames", when she refers to "focal points around which entire cultural domains are organized", this would appear to be a very similar idea to Agar's idea of frames as "bundles of knowledge". The link between these two authors is perhaps emphasized even further when Agar, in the following passage, states that "the acquisition of rich points is the acquisition of culture":

The acquisition of rich points is the acquisition of *culture*, in this sense: the higher the level of interpretive frames required to repair the gap between L1 and L2, and the more those frames can be shown to enable communicatively competent discourse among L2 speakers of social identity X, the more we can characterize those frames *as* the culture of X from the L1 speaker's point of view (Agar, 1991, p.180).

Thus for both Agar and Wierzbicka, the use of language is inseparable from the reference to culture. For Agar, by learning the frame information the culture of the target language is also learned.

We shall return to Agar and Wierzbicka at the end of this Chapter in developing a model of ELF communication in order to build a hypothesis for testing. However, it is perhaps worthwhile observing that it seems that many of the writers that we have considered seem to be trying to describe the same phenomenon, but in different ways.

Saussure, for example, emphasized that what was signified by the sign was not identical to the 'thing', but was a mental representation of the 'thing'. To a greater or lesser extent, other views we have been discussing have been developing the idea of the mental representation of "the thing" and in particular, the connections between such mental representations that form meaning. Thus much later, Agar examines this mental representation and argues that it is constructed out of "frame information". Understanding a sign means to understand the interpretative frames that are connected with that sign. Agar therefore goes much further in seeking to explain what this mental representation is, but is still seeking to explain the same problem as Saussure, that the meaning of signs cannot merely be equated with the signifier. What Agar does is that, rather like Peirce and Wittgenstein, he adds a social dimension to Saussure's focus on the individual- because Agar's frames are shared by members of a social group.

It is perhaps here where the additional element of the interpretant added by Peirce becomes most useful, because the Saussurean account does not explain

the connections between signs, which are essential to understand the concepts of connotation and schemata (Agar's frames). Through the introduction of the interpretant with, as Peirce states "an infinite regression" of interpretants (Peirce, 1931, p.171), creating what Kramsch later develops as "paths of meaning" (Kramsch, 1993, p.44) that are shared by members of the community (social group), and explaining how signs are related to other signs. The process of connection between this "infinite regression" of interpretants to the signified, is the process of connotation. As a result, Agar is able to talk about the "putty" (Agar, 1991, p.176) attached to pieces of discourse.

This development of thought has been extremely important in providing a possible explanation for the complex cultural component of language. This component can be demonstrated by Wierzbicka's method of deconstruction and is further explained in considering the concept of schemata or Agar's frames, where cultural knowledge is seen as an essential part of the structure of schemata and is strikingly similar to some of the phrases that were selected from the definitions of culture in Chapter 2 at 2.5: "system of meaning", "lines of signification in meaning structures" (Deetz, 1984, p.216); "shared knowledge and schemes" (Lederach, 1995, p.9); and "the signs and meanings a particular group shares" (Kramer, 2000, p.163).

4.3.4 Psychological perspectives on producing and understanding language

(a) Information processing

An overview of different theories of language to be used as a basis for developing a hypothesis for testing on the NN1-NN2 communication event would not be complete without considering the current state of psychological understanding of the nature of language and its usage.

It is currently thought (Carroll, 1999, p.47; Jackendoff, 2002, p.63⁵) that the following "information processing" model describes how the brain deals with

⁵ Jackendoff does however point out that it is unclear how this process is implemented neurally.

information, including information related to language. Information processing takes place in three memory areas of the brain:

- (a) Sensory stores;
- (b) Working memory; and
- (c) Permanent memory.

Sensory stores are where information first reaches the brain and are triggered for very brief periods of time (between one and four seconds) and contain “information in a literal, unanalyzed form” (Carroll, 1999, p.48). Most of the information in the sensory stores “disappears very rapidly because it is not germane to our current goals”. The information is however retained long enough for certain information to pass into the working memory.

The working memory has both storage and processing functions. It seems that within the working memory there is limited capacity, but the storage function can expand when more storage is required, with a corresponding decrease in the size of the processing function, and vice versa. Selected information from the working memory will be then transferred to the permanent memory.

The permanent memory includes our “knowledge of the world”, personal experiences, childhood memories etc. In Agar’s terms then, schemata or frames would be located in permanent memory, as “the background knowledge that group members bring to events” (Agar, 1980, p.194). Schemata as described by Semino would also be located here, as “groups of units in knowledge networks which tend to be activated at the same time” (Semino, 2000, p.527). Another way of looking at permanent memory is that it contains all retained memory that is not active (when active, it becomes part of working memory). Such permanent memories are used to interpret new experiences and such new experiences may, in turn, be added to permanent memory. Linguistic knowledge is therefore held in permanent memory (Carroll, 1999, p.50).

Based on the information processing model that we have discussed, it is thought that in comprehension of spoken language, the sounds are firstly stored briefly in the auditory sensory store, where *pattern recognition* occurs. Pattern recognition is the process of matching information in a sensory store with information in permanent memory. However, it needs to be noted that working memory can only hold about seven units of information at one time. It therefore seems that words or parts of sentences are grouped together into “chunks” and passed into permanent memory, although it is recognized that this understanding of language processing is incomplete (Carroll, 1999, p.51).

The idea of language information being passed through the information processing model in a linear manner (serial processing) has been largely overtaken by the concept of “parallel distributed processing “PDP”, which introduces the idea of simultaneously processing large amounts of information:

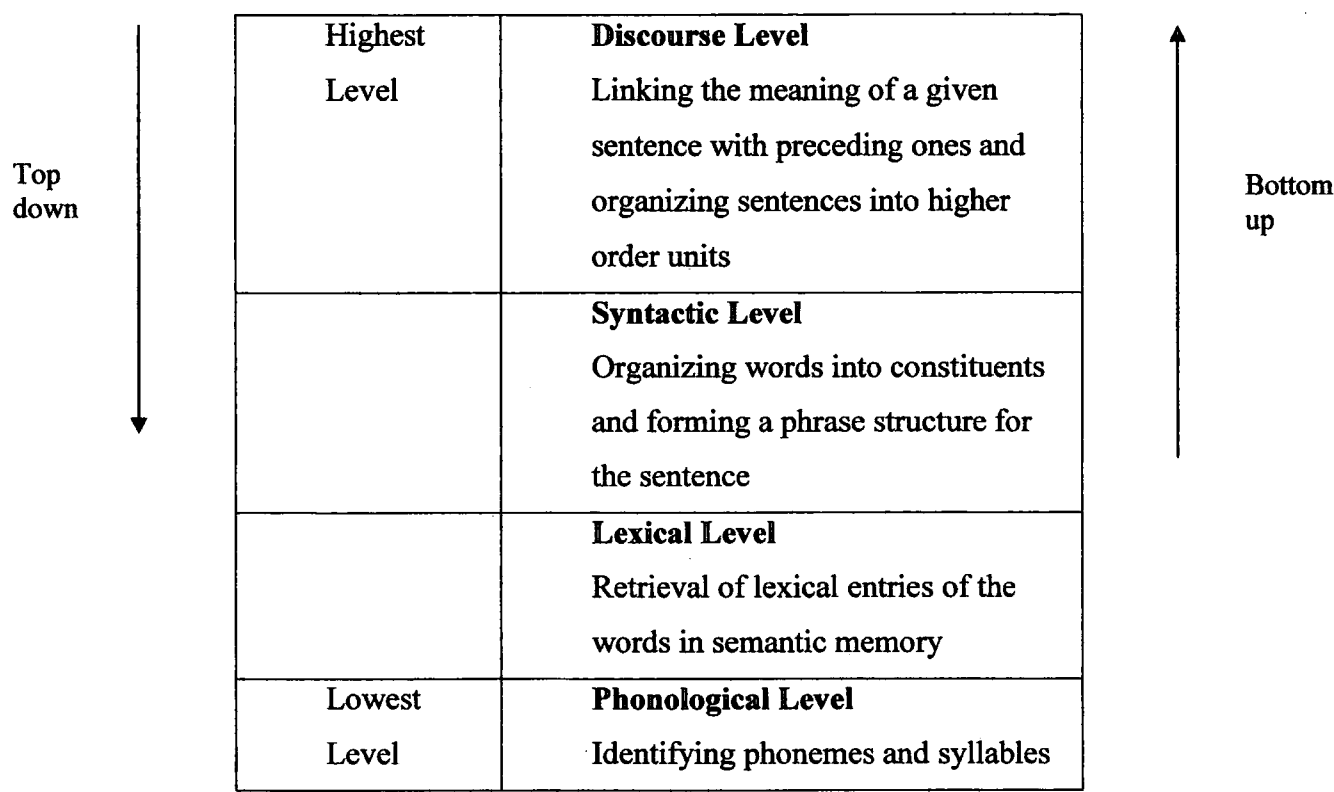
Parallel distributed processing models are neural-like in that they incorporate large arrays of simple units that are heavily connected with each other, like neurons in the brain. Their processing sophistication stems from the simultaneous interaction of large numbers of units (hundreds or even thousands) (Nadeau, 2001, p.513).

Additionally, it is currently understood that such processing appears to be a mixture of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ (Carroll, 1999, p.53). Recent research suggests that the interaction of top-down and bottom-up processing is particularly important in resolving word ambiguity (Gibson, 2005, p. 363). Perhaps it is helpful to represent top-down and bottom-up processing diagrammatically (See Fig. 1 below).

Carroll explains the hierarchy in this way: ‘At the lowest, the phonological level, you are identifying the phonemes and syllables (...) At a higher level, the lexical level, you are using the identification of phonemes and syllables to retrieve the lexical entries of the words from your semantic memory. At the next level, the syntactic level, you are organizing the words into constituents and forming a phrase structure for the sentence. Finally, at the highest level, the

discourse level, you are linking the meaning of a given sentence with preceding ones and organizing sentences into higher order units (Carroll, 1999, p.53).

Fig.1: Model of top-down and bottom-up information processing



(b) The internal lexicon and lexical access

The “internal lexicon” is the representation of words in permanent memory. Of course, there will be different properties that are associated with that word. It is thought that in normal lexical access this may take place in two steps- word retrieval and phonological retrieval:

[T]he interactive two-step theory, an account of normal lexical access (...) the word retrieval step begins with a jolt of activation to the semantic features of the target (...) This activation spreads throughout the network and is concluded by the selection of the most active lexical unit from the

proper grammatical category (...) The phonological retrieval step starts with an activation jolt to the selected word, which would normally be the target...activation spreads again throughout the network, culminating in the selection of the most activated phonemes (Dell et al, 2004, p.69).

However, it remains unclear how this activation spreads through the network. Carroll suggests that lexical access takes place in two ways (1999, p.102):

- (1) by hearing or reading the word itself;
- (2) through other words with related meanings.

Although it is not clear how phonological retrieval fits into this model, based on this model there appear to be two triggers for lexical access to a word and its associations: by recognizing that word itself, which would then appear to trigger “the meaning of the word, its spelling and pronunciation, its relationship with other words, and related information” (Carroll, 1999, p.102). However, the second aspect of lexical access is particularly interesting given our previous discussion of “chains of signs”; “paths of meaning” and interpretative frames. This is that a further form of lexical access is through the connections that the word may have with other words with related meanings. This would therefore seem to suggest that what, from the linguistic perspective, is connotation, from the psychological perspective, provides lexical access to words and their relationships with other words and associated meanings. In other words, linguistic and psychological theories are consistent in the importance they attach to connotation in the process of meaning formation.

(c) The semantic network

Currently the main idea regarding the organization of the internal lexicon is that it is set up as a network of interconnected ‘concepts’ or ‘nodes’. This is consistent with the current neurological evidence that the brain is composed of

neurons that are connected at synapses to other neurons which can be either facilitative or inhibitory, in what can be described as 'neural nets':

[T]he memories (e.g. phonemes, joint phonemes, syllables, rhymes, morphemes, and sentence constituents) are represented in the same neural nets that support processing (Nadau, 2001, p.514).

Earlier models of the semantic network were based on hierarchical models, in the sense that some of the components of the models stood above or below other members of the network. The hierarchical model was essentially based on the idea that the time it took to retrieve information was indicative of the organization of the internal lexicon. Information is retrieved through the activation of a series of nodes within the storage hierarchy. Because of the limited storage space, the principle of 'cognitive economy' meant that it was beneficial to store information at only one place in the network. Thus a taxonomy for Salmon would be: Animal node- Fish node - Salmon node. Each node would store the characteristics of the particular concept associated with the node.

One of the problems with this model was that certain taxonomies did not yield the expected results. Carroll gives the example of Collies, where the taxonomy would be: Animal node-Mammal node -Dog node- Collie node. The difficulty is that reaction times for mammal were slower than that for animal, whereas the mammal node ought to be closer to the Collie node in the hierarchical chain.

The model of the internal lexicon must therefore take account of what is called the 'typicality effect'. This is essentially that the more familiar we are with a concept the faster we can activate its node. Thus the theory was modified with the concept of 'basic-level terms', that is these are terms that children learn first and adults use when asked to name an example of a concept. Basic level terms are stored somewhere in the middle of the hierarchy. Going down the hierarchy from a basic level term adds minor features (Rosch, Mervis, Gray, Johnson and Boyes-Braem, 1976, p. 382). The implication is therefore that it is the middle of the hierarchy that is activated first.

Later ideas have modified the hierarchical model into a network model, with the idea of 'spreading activation' through a network of interconnected nodes (Collins and Loftus, 1975, p. 407). The distance between the nodes is determined by "both the structural characteristics such as taxonomic relations and considerations such as typicality and degree of association between related concepts" (Carroll, 1999, p.114). Information retrieval does not therefore take place through a linear process of intersection search through a network of nodes, but through spreading activation- the activation beginning at a single node and then spreading in parallel throughout the network.

It is interesting how similar the spreading activation theory of information retrieval in the brain is to the theories that we have already considered on meaning formation through the interpretant link that signs have with other signs (see discussion of Peirce at 4.3.2 (a) above and in building schemata (see discussion of Agar at 4.3.2 (d) and 4.3.3 above). It makes sense that the spreading activation of psychological theory also describes the process of connotation, whereby signs are connected by associations of ideas in the form of interpretants, grouped together into frames which represent the area of activation related to a particular sign.

It would appear that from consideration of this psychological theory of language we can draw the following conclusions that are relevant to the ELF NN1-NN2 communication event:

- (1) Information in the communication event will be stored for very short periods of time in the working memories of interlocutors, unless recognized as significant;
- (2) There must be pattern recognition with information from the permanent memory for understanding to take place;

- (3) The brain is simultaneously processing large amounts of information, i.e. it is perfectly possible for the brain to be dealing with many different word associations at the same time;
- (4) Such processing is a mixture of “top-down” and “bottom-up”, i.e. at the phonological, lexical, syntactic and discourse levels;
- (5) Lexical access appears to take place either through pattern recognition or through other words with related meanings, i.e. connotation.
- (6) The semantic network appears to work in a similar manner to connotation, that different areas of the brain that are associated with a particular word or idea are activated in quick succession, beginning with associations that are the most familiar.

4.4 The “third place” of ELF intercultural communication

In this chapter I have reviewed a variety of different approaches that have developed our understanding of language and communication, both in the context of native speaker communication and intercultural communication. However, before using these different approaches to develop a hypothesis for testing on the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event, I would like to look at one last aspect of intercultural communication that is difficult to describe and yet may be particularly relevant to considering the unique aspect of ELF communication.

In my earlier discussion of culture (Chapter 3) I emphasized the importance of having a profound understanding of culture, and from that analysis it became clear that within the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event there was a complex interaction of more than two cultures: C1, C2 and the variety of cultures that influence ELF. Leaving aside issues of language and meaning for the present, it would seem that such communication is taking place in a kind of intercultural mix, where several different cultures are simultaneously influential.

The recent work of Kramsch, Holliday and others in investigating this “intercultural space” may provide further insight into this aspect of ELF. Kramsch refers to this special area of intercultural space as a “third place”. In describing this “third place”, in the following passage, some of Kramsch’s ideas on making sense of intercultural communication are interestingly reminiscent of the ideas of Agar’s rich points and Wierzbicka’s key words, that we have already discussed:

At the intersection of multiple native and target cultures, the major task of language learners is to define for themselves what this ‘third place’ that they have engaged in seeking will look like, whether they are conscious of it or not. For each learner it will be differently located, and will make different sense at different times. For some, it will be the irrevocable memory of the ambiguities of the word ‘challenge’. For others, it will be a small poem by Pushkin that will, twenty years later, help them make sense out of a senseless personal situation. For others still, it will be a small untranslatable Japanese proverb that they will all of a sudden remember, thus enabling them for a moment to see the world from the point of view of their Japanese business partner and save a floundering business transaction. For most, it will be the stories they will tell of these cross-cultural encounters, the meanings they will give them through these tellings and the dialogues that they will have with people who have had similar experiences. In and through these dialogues, they may find for themselves this third place that they can name their own (Kramsch, 1993, p. 257).

It is noteworthy that part of what she describes is the idea that the memory of an untranslatable Japanese proverb may provide insight into a difficult business transaction, which is indeed extremely similar to the ideas advanced by Agar that certain words are almost untranslatable and provide rich insights into the language and culture in question.

What Kramsch appears to be beginning to describe is a feature of language learning I, for one, recognize immediately, that is that somehow in another

language one moves from one's own cultural space into another cultural space. However, that "other" cultural space is not the cultural space of the other language, nor is it a simple synthesis of basic elements of the two cultures. It is some kind of intermediate cultural space, where there is understanding of each culture (to a certain extent), but this place is located in neither culture.

It is interesting to apply this idea to communication within the lingua franca. So far, throughout this thesis, I have problematized the notion of English as a lingua franca as being more complex than a "usual" intercultural communication event, and this is what most major theories of language and culture would seem to indicate, subject to testing. However, an interesting point may be speculated on here that in one sense at least, intercultural communication in ELF may in fact be easier than N1-N2 intercultural communication in L1 or L2, because it provides a kind of "neutral cultural ground" in which communication can take place, where interlocutors are to some extent separated from their own native cultures.

In her 1999 work, 'Thirdness: The Intercultural Stance', Kramsch develops this idea further, providing an interesting analysis of the idea of 'Thirdness', which clarifies her earlier description of the 'third place'. She identifies the roots of a 'third place' in Peirce's semiotics and the work of other linguists discussed above, in Bakhtin's 'Triadic Dialogism' and Homi Bhabha's 'Third Space of Enunciation'. In doing so, she uses Holquist's descriptions of 3 key features of dialogism:

The first aspect of dialogism that she highlights is effectively that we define ourselves in terms of difference- as Kramsch puts it:

We are what others are not. We perceive the world through the time/space of the self (...) but also through the time/space of the other (Kramsch, 1999, p.45).

This aspect of dialogism is clearly consistent with (if not derived from) ideas of social groupings that we have considered in Chapter 3 at 3.4. Social groups tend to define themselves by their difference from other social groups.

The second feature is described thus:

For Bakhtin, cultural and personal identity does not precede the encounter, but, rather, it gets constructed in language through the encounter with others (Kramsch, 1999 p.45).

It is a little difficult to understand what Kramsch means at the beginning of this sentence. What she means by “cultural identity” is unclear, and is probably confused with social identity. The idea that a social identity does not precede the encounter (and of course, a culture reflecting the social group of which the person is a member) seems definitely to be confused and out of step with our discussion of society and social identity. Nevertheless, the point that she seems to be making is that identities develop and that in the encounter itself there is the process of the formation of an altered culture and altered identity, both the self and the social.

Finally, the third aspect of dialogism:

More important than either the utterance or the response taken separately, is the relation between my words and prior words (Kramsch, 1999, p.46).

and as Holquist describes:

The thirdness of dialogue frees my existence from the very circumscribed meaning it has in the limited configuration of self/other relations available in the immediate time and particular place of my life. For in later times, and in other places, there will always be other configurations of such relations, and in conjunction with that other, my self will be differently understood... (Holquist, 1990, p.48).

Thus Kramsch appears to be emphasizing the nature of dialogue in that the interaction with the other person creates change in itself, which means that the dialogue becomes a unique event in which identities themselves may change and develop.

Zarate too hints at this “third place”, although for Zarate, this “third place” would appear to be at an interface between two cultures, inhabited by “the stranger/foreigner”, whereas for Kramsch the third place would appear to be inhabited by all parties to the discourse:

When the relationship to the foreigner is envisaged in such a way that the foreigner is defined first of all in terms of being external to the society whose language he/she is learning, the point of reference is independent of national frameworks. It thus gives priority to intercomprehension situations, to interfaces, to experiences resulting from passing from one cultural system to another (Zarate, 2002, p. 222).

Further support is given to the idea of a unique intercultural space being negotiated between interlocutors by Holliday, with his notion of “small cultures”. Broadly, the idea of small cultures are group cultures with no necessary relationship with the boundaries of national cultures:

The idea of small cultures (...) is non-essentialist in that it does not relate to the essences of ethnic, national or international entities. Instead it relates to any cohesive social grouping with no necessary subordination to large cultures (Holliday, 1999, p.240).

Holliday uses the classroom group as an example of small cultures, and importantly for the purposes of this thesis indicates that in this small cultural setting group members participate in forming meanings, reminiscent of Street’s idea of culture being “the active construction of meaning” (Street, 1993, p.23, discussed at 4.3.2 (a) above):

A good example of this is the classroom group where a small culture will form from scratch when the group first comes together, each member using her or his culture-making ability to form rules and meanings in collaboration with others (Holliday, 1999, p.248).

Holliday criticizes Kramsch's notion of "thirdness" that we have considered, on the basis that this implies a default notion of national culture, however he accepts the parallel that could be drawn with Kramsch's idea (Holliday, 1999, p. 240). For my part, I do not see that Kramsch implies a default notion of a national culture, rather that she is focusing on this unique intercultural space. It is this intercultural space that Kramsch seeks to describe and which forms the close parallel with Holliday, as this intercultural space can be seen as a "small culture" in itself.

We can add to our discussion the concept of "intercultural situations" from Muller-Jacquier, which also carries with it the idea of some kind of "large" cultural detachment and third "small" culture formation:

intercultural situations ('IS') are not simply the merging of two different cultures. The IS are constituted by the co-participants themselves by using various components of the given situation for setting third-cultural grounds and creating a 'situated talk' – a new cultural framework, created ad hoc by the participants and including profitable aspects of several cultural domains for the benefit of the group, the situation and the communication goals (Muller-Jacquier, 2000, p.296).

The idea of an "intercultural situation" is particularly interesting when applied to the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event, in that the interlocutors are likely to be operating on negotiated cultural grounds. These grounds are not merely the merging of two different cultures with additions of the cultures reflected in the lingua franca itself, but a new, "third" culture that is created between them to facilitate communication, in a similar manner to Holliday's "small cultures".

Muller-Jacquier refers to Kool and Ten Thij's concept of 'discursive interculture', which also provides some support for this notion of intercultural communication:

[T]he participants in IS are aware of the culture-bound character of meaning and try constructively (...) to create for themselves a comprehension base for jointly defined frames, meanings, linguistic action and procedures. (Muller-Jacquier, 2000, p.296).

It is perhaps important when considering the notion of a 'third place' to avoid becoming rather romantically attached to an almost magical, special and indefinable location of this third space of intercultural communication. One problem I have with the writing about a third place, is that there is a tendency to conveniently place all the unusual features of intercultural communication in a kind of intercultural soup, within this third place, without breaking down the points of impact of culture as I have been seeking to do. If we extend this thinking to English as a lingua franca, we merely add another couple of ingredients into the recipe for this soup- the English language and associated culture. How culture impacts on language, meaning, identity and self need to be separated out from this soup rather than mixed in together.

Although we should therefore be cautious in the use of the term which may in fact mean very different things, however inextricably linked they may be, what is helpful about the term is that it rightly places emphasis on the fact that there is a sense in which interlocutors are loosened from their usual social identities and cultural ground of meaning in dialogue. That third place cannot however be viewed as some kind of a vacuum, it must be built on the culture and social identities of the individuals within the dialogue.

The idea of a "third place" is, however, an important one, and needs to be borne in mind in subsequent data analysis. This concept may in fact explain some instances of apparent communication where other factors would indicate that communication should not be effective. This point will be returned to later in Chapter 6.

4.5 Using philosophical, linguistic, and psychological theories of language to develop a hypothesis of the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event

4.5.1 Context and purpose

Before dealing more specifically with hypothesis development it is worthwhile reminding ourselves of the context of this study. The interest in the study was originally generated by observation (and to an extent, suspicion) that the effectiveness of ELF was being exaggerated and that many encounters were unsatisfactory in that interlocutors did not really understand the meaning of the other, leading me to the conclusion that effective communication may not be taking place in many instances of the use of the lingua franca. This idea challenges many generally held assumptions on the usage of ELF and raises significant pedagogical problems (See Chapters 2 and 6) on the improvement of teaching and learning of ELF. It should be observed that the study is confined to the use of English as a *true lingua franca*, i.e. between non-native speakers of English of differing national cultures, neither of whom have English as a mother tongue. It also needs to be noted that, because of the vastness of the field of communication study and because of the availability of informants, there are certain limitations to this study that are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

4.5.2 Basis and development of hypothesis

(a) Application of the theoretical background

Although it was clear from a very early stage that the sheer size of the subject of intercultural communication when combined with the added problem of lingua franca usage meant that it would only be possible to study one aspect of intercultural communication, the hypothesis nevertheless had to be consistent with the important research that I have already considered. I was particularly interested in the feature that although the perspectives of many of those who have written on the subjects that I have discussed were extremely different, in many ways they all seemed to be grappling with a similar problem from these

different perspectives, that is: how is meaning communicated, how is the communication of meaning complicated by an intercultural situation. I then want to go a step further in looking at further complexity when the lingua franca is introduced into the intercultural situation. Certain features from our previous discussion that seemed to be of potentially critical importance were therefore central in the development of the hypothesis.

(i) Culture

A number of ideas from the discussion of definitions\descriptions of culture (Chapter 1) were highly influential in hypothesis development, in that aspects drawn from these definitions\descriptions are centrally linked with the perspectives on language that I have been discussing above in section 4.2 of this chapter: “knowledge” (Tylor, 1871, p. 1); “symbols”, “ideas and their attached values” (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 47); “system of meaning”, “lines of signification in meaning structures” (Deetz, 1984, p. 216); “a way of perceiving” (McOmie, 1990, p.178); “shared knowledge and schemes” (Lederach, 1995, p. 9); “ways of thinking” (Kramsch, 1995, p. 84); “the signs and meanings a particular group shares” (Kramer, 2000, p.163); and “cognitive constructs” (Intercultural Studies Project, 2006).

In the ELF situation the interlocutors will come from differing national social groups, as well as other different social groupings to each other. They will come therefore from different cultures, having different “meaning systems”, “ways of thinking” and other cultural features.

(ii) Philosophy

The perspective taken from philosophical approaches to meaning does not adopt any single such approach, because this is an area which remains controversial and none of the approaches discussed in section 4.3.1 above seemed to provide a satisfactory explanation of meaning. The approach adopted is therefore to combine elements of these approaches into three main factors (1) meaning is partly to be found in the mind of the interlocutor; (2) meaning is partly to be

found in the language (into which the language-culture-nexus is factored); and (3) meaning is partly to be found in the discourse itself, i.e., a negotiated form of meaning. Meaning in communication can only be understood by taking all of these factors into account (see section 4.3.1 (v) above).

(iii) Semantics

From my review of signs, symbols and the denotation and connotation processes in language, it became clear that, following the original ideas of Saussure, what was important was not the “object” itself, but the signified, that is, the mental representation triggered in the mind of the interlocutor. As will be seen later, this created problems in research design as to how the mental representations of interlocutors could be established and then compared, but it was clear that it was the mental representation that was important. This was linked very closely to Peirce’s introduction of chains of interpretants and with Kramsch’s discussion of how, within a society (the same signifying community) signs (signifiers and signifieds) create paths of expectations that are shared amongst members of that community.

However, it was clear that the mere denotative meaning of signs was not enough for communication to be successful, except at the simplest level of communication, which was not the level of communication I propose to look at. I am not interested in what meaning is in the minds of both interlocutors when an item such as a “chair” or “table” is referred to, but in a much more advanced level of communication.

Finally, it was clear from the work of Barthes (1964, p.64) and Agar (1991, p.176) that the hypothesis should encompass the fact that the primary level of data analysis should be discourse, without denying the importance of certain keywords in language or in fact the need to break down that discourse into lexical items for analysis.

(iv) Rich points and key words

The work of Agar provides insight into intercultural communication in emphasizing the multiple sources of information and associations that are required for translation, however, his description of this phenomenon seems to me a way of describing connotation itself "it involves a rich collection of different kinds of information and sentiment and relations among them..." (Agar, 1980, p.194), and later by referring to "interpretive strands of association and use", that are then built by the analyst into "interpretive frames". For Agar then, it appears that meaning can be established by the reconstruction by the analyst of a framework of connotation around the text in question.

Similar to Agar's concept of "rich points" is Wierzbicka's concept of "key words", which she refers to as "focal points (...) which often have an exploratory power" (1997, p.14). This concept will be combined with that of Agar's to highlight certain aspects of the discourses that will be later studied for analysis.

(v) Psychology

Referring back to our review of the psychological approach to language processing, it appears that the central feature in such processing is the pattern recognition that takes place when items in from permanent memory are matched with items in the auditory store. However, words are stored in permanent memory linked with their associations with other words, in other words, their connotations. One of the main ways in which lexical access takes place in the brain is through other words with related meanings, i.e. connotations. It is postulated that this lexical access cannot take place if those related meanings do not exist in the mind of the interlocutor, resulting in a failure of communication. A similar argument derives from our current understanding of the spreading activation across a semantic network of connected nodes in the brain. If such nodes are not connected in the brain through pre-existing associations, even if such nodes exist in the context of associations with other words, those nodes will not be activated because the listener will not have the pre-existing

associations that are necessary for the nodes to be “triggered” in response to hearing certain words.

So if one looks at semantics and psychology together, it seems that there is some overlap in what is being said. Lexical access (in psychological terms) takes place by either simple recognition of the word or through other words with associated meanings. It is implied that more complex words and symbols are accessed through other words with associated meanings. This seems to be similar to Peirce’s idea of interpretants being connected together in an infinite series (see 4.3.2 (a) above). It is now thought that such access is happening simultaneously with access to other lexical items. It is also interesting to note how similar this concept of lexical access through other words with associated meanings is to Kramsch’s concept of “relating linguistic, visual, acoustic signs along paths of meaning”.

The idea of lexical access through other words with related meanings can then be expanded into the psychological idea of the semantic network and spreading activation theory, which again would seem to bear a close similarity to Agar’s idea of frames. Perhaps that is not surprising, as Agar himself points out “with ‘frames’ I mean to call up the elaborate literature in artificial intelligence that deals with knowledge structures” (Agar, 1991, p.176) so Agar had the psychological perspective in mind when he was developing his ‘frame theory’. To draw the two approaches together then, it would seem, that what psychologists would call ‘spreading activation’ explains how the process of connotation through chains of interpretants occurs in the brain works. The semantic networks that are activated by this process are extremely similar to schema theory.

(vi) The third place

We have already discussed the work of Kramsch and others in investigating the “unique space” in which intercultural communication takes place, and there is no reason to believe that ELF intercultural communication takes place in any less unique a place. However, I am particularly interested in aspects of

Kramsch's discussion which again, appear to shed light on the process of intercultural communication by emphasizing the importance of what in essence, although she does not use the word, seems to me to have elements of the process of connotation. For example, as we have discussed, in her 1993 work she gives the example of an "untranslatable" Japanese proverb that will enable someone to see the world from the point of view of their Japanese business partner. There is obviously a connection with such a proverb with the problem at hand, a connection that is apparent to the Japanese interlocutor, which is why the proverb "saves the day".

I have already observed that this passage of Kramsch is rather unclear, because Kramsch is trying to discuss an intercultural phenomenon "at the intersection of multiple native and target cultures", however, in my view aspects of the phenomenon she is describing are in fact aspects of connotation and as such her work lends support in hypothesis development.

(b) The hypothesis

It follows from the above research that the hypothesis had to address the differing cultures of the interlocutors and the fact that aspects of a third or even more cultures were reflected in the lingua franca. This was done in 2 ways: firstly, by recognizing in the hypothesis that ELF communication, although different in nature to much intercultural communication, is nevertheless intercultural, primarily taking place between a native speaker of C1 and a native speaker of C2. The second aspect of culture that is incorporated into the hypothesis is much more difficult to identify, that is, the other potential cultural influences, including Anglophone cultures and possible small cultures that are reflected in the connotations of words and phrases used in ELF discourse. The hypothesis (and its testing) was therefore designed to reflect the differing cultures that are operational in the ELF NN1-NN2 communication event.

The phrase "connotative meaning" was included in the hypothesis because, as a result of the review of semantic and psychological theories discussed above, it was felt that it was important to distinguish connotative meaning from

denotative meaning. It was also felt that “connotative meaning” was in fact what many writers in the field, e.g. Kramsch and Agar, were touching on when they were trying to express the unusual features of intercultural communication and was broad enough to encompass ideas such as paths of expectations that are shared amongst members of a community. It also seemed that connotative meaning provided a useful linguistic name for the process of meaning formation within which the psychological processes that we have discussed took place.

The first hypothesis that was therefore developed was:

Successful intercultural communication using ELF cannot take place without a substantial similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors.

This hypothesis was subsequently refined as part of the research design. This was because it was clear from my theoretical discussion of the work of Agar and Wierzbicka that discourse would be the primary level of data analysis. However, key words and phrases would be investigated and tested as lexical items extracted from that discourse. It was necessary therefore to limit the hypothesis to reflect what in fact would be studied.

The hypothesis therefore became:

Successful intercultural communication using ELF cannot take place without a substantial similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse.

The term hypothesis is used in this thesis in the sense of a provisional idea that is formed on the basis of pre-existing knowledge whose merit needs evaluation. Using the device of a hypothesis is useful because it requires a succinct statement of the central concern of this thesis and enables predictions to be made, however tentative they may be, in relation to ELF communication. The testing of the hypothesis also provides a useful focus for the development of research instruments and subsequent data analysis.

It should be noted however, that given the detail of the testing of the informants involved, the size of the sample in this thesis is small (two informants in the pilot and two informants in the main dialogues with three dialogues on each occasion) and because of this the outcome of the testing of the hypothesis should be seen to be provisional rather than conclusive. It could not be said that the hypothesis is proven as a result of this research. In addition, as I discuss in Chapter 6 at 6.1, the method of testing the hypothesis by looking for cases where the null-hypothesis is disproved could not be used here, given the complexity of the communication event being analysed. The sense in which hypothesis testing is used in this thesis is whether the hypothesis provides an explanation of connotation in ELF communication that is a “best fit” to the data, as I shall discuss further in Chapter 7 at 7.2.

In the following Chapter I shall explain the design and development of the research instruments that were used in testing this hypothesis.

Chapter 5: Developing new methods for assessing connotation in ELF

Abstract: This chapter explains the development of new research instruments that were designed to test the hypothesis. An account is then given of the pilot in which the research instruments were tested and observations made on the apparent usefulness of the research instruments. Adaptations to the research instruments are then discussed, for use in subsequent data collection.

5.1 Difficulties in testing the hypothesis

The hypothesis that was developed, as we have seen in Chapter 4 at 4.6.2, was that successful intercultural communication using ELF cannot take place without a substantial similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse.

On considering the hypothesis, it was clear that research instruments had to be identified that would enable a number of features of the ELF communication events to be studied:

- (1) That would record the discourse for future study and reference;
- (2) That would enable key words and phrases to be identified from the discourse;
- (3) That would be able to establish connotative meaning;
- (4) That would be able to establish whether communication was successful or not.

I searched for similar empirical work which fulfilled these conditions and found none. The approach I decided to take was therefore to look for a combination of

established research instruments, with some guarantee of validity⁶ and reliability⁷, that could then be adapted in combination to be used in testing the hypothesis. The intention was to provide a logical design based on the combination of such instruments, to then test them in a pilot and adapt those research instruments for further research following the pilot. The basis for the inclusion of each of the research instruments used in this combination is discussed below in section 5.3.

One of the major difficulties that was encountered was to find a way of establishing the connotative meaning of the interlocutors in relation to the key words and phrases that they used in the discourse. There is no way that the “minds” of interlocutors can be opened at any one stage of the discourse and a data output obtained of what their connotations are in relation to any particular part. Meaning and connotations therefore had to be constructed *ex post facto*, using the best sources of data that were available. I felt at an early stage that to seek to rely on merely one source of data in establishing meaning, for example by interviewing the informants, was inherently unreliable, and so it was decided to use “method triangulation”⁸ and obtain data from multiple sources for use in the reconstruction of connotative meaning in later analysis which could then be compared between interlocutors.

It may be helpful at this stage to give an overview of the research instruments that were developed for eliciting the required data:

(1) Questionnaires;

⁶ In this thesis, the term “validity” used in relation to a research instrument refers to the extent to which the empirical measure accurately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration (Kumar, 1996, 137). In all other contexts the term “validity” refers to the notion of “external validity” or “generalizability” (Merriam, 2002, 27).

⁷ In this thesis, the term “reliability” refers to the extent to which the research can be replicated. Reliability can therefore be conceptualized as “dependability” or “consistency” (Merriam, 2002, 27).

⁸ For detailed discussions of method triangulation, see Bryman (2001, pp. 447-449) and Denzin and Lincoln (2003, pp. 517-518)

- (2) Recorded interviews based on the responses to the Questionnaires in (1) above;
- (3) Three video-recorded dialogues on a range of subject matters;
- (4) Separate tape-recorded “stop-start” interviews of each interlocutor on viewing the video-recorded dialogues;
- (5) Semantic differential testing of key words and phrases selected from the dialogues; and
- (6) Word association testing of the same key words and phrases selected from the dialogues as in (5) above.

As can be seen from the number of research instruments that were required to provide data, as a matter of feasibility it was decided at an early stage that the study would be qualitative rather than quantitative, as a very large amount of data were generated from three dialogues. The data from the pilot were subsequently expanded with the addition of data from the main study. All of the data were then analysed in Chapter 6 (Research Findings and Discussion).

5.2 Selection of informants

As I intended to study the ELFNN1-NN2 communication event, informants were selected from differing nationalities that were non-native English speaking nationalities. Because I had been teaching at a university in Thailand, I used friends at the university to obtain the contact details of individuals who were willing to take part in my research. Because the subject matter that I planned for discussion was aimed at people with an intermediate to advanced level of English, this meant that the informants had to have that level of English (see section 5.3.3 below on the subject matter of the dialogues). Although no formal testing took place, a level of English language ability that fell below a level at which the subject matter of the dialogues could be expected to be discussed

would have been detected in the questionnaire responses and the subsequent interviews based on the questionnaires, which would all take place prior to the dialogues (see sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 below).

A further reason for the selection of informants with intermediate to advanced language ability was that I was hoping to generate discussion in the dialogues that went beyond the basic level. Although I have come across no direct evidence that ELF works at a basic level and not at a higher level of discourse, my investigation of theories of semantics led me to anticipate that this might be the case, as simpler, denotative meanings are not dependent on the complex webs of interpretants that need to be understood when it is the connotative meaning that is required to understand the intended meaning of the speaker (see discussion of denotative and connotative meaning in Chapter 4 at 4.3.2 (c)).

There was no express requirement as to the cultural and social backgrounds of the informants, as a description of that cultural and social background could be obtained from the answers to the questionnaires and interviews based on the questionnaires. Although I have already made the point that culture cannot be treated as meaning the culture of a nation state (see Chapter 3 at 2.4), selection of informants from differing national backgrounds represents the use of the lingua franca in the sense in which it is used in this thesis. Additionally, the theory studied would suggest that the informants would have significantly differing schemata and connotations because of the different social groups to which they belonged.

In the pilot, one of the informants was a Thai teacher of English at a Thai university, with advanced language skills. She was a mother with two young children, and had just finished a PhD in the U.S.A. She was a Buddhist. The second informant was an Indonesian student of anthropology at the same university (but not a student of the first informant). He was studying for his master's degree and was a Muslim.

Both informants gave their written consent to participate in the research and for me to use the results of research in later study at Durham (see Annex Three for

the consent form used). When I discuss the data obtained from the pilot I have changed their names in order to preserve their anonymity, thus in this thesis I refer to the first informant as Nam and the second informant as Putu.

5.3 Developing the research instruments

As I have already pointed out, it was not possible to find one single reliable tool to provide the required data for comparison between interlocutors in order to test the hypothesis. A number of research tools were therefore used, as are discussed below.

5.3.1 Questionnaires

The Questionnaires consisted of fifty-eight questions and were divided into 5 sections (see Annex Four). Section One dealt with contact information. Section Two dealt with the perception of the informant of their national culture and how the individual related to their national culture. Section Three dealt with the educational level of the informant and their exposure to and interaction with native English-speaking cultures. Section Four dealt with the family background and social identity of the informant. Section Five was divided into three subsections: A; B; and C. Each of these subsections was designed to elicit pre-existing attitudes of the informants to the subject matter of each of the three dialogues that would subsequently be video-recorded.

The questionnaires were constructed in this way because the data obtained from the questionnaires were intended for multiple uses: to provide information on the major cultural influences on the informants; to check their language level and obtain information on their exposure to English native speakers; to obtain information on their perception of their social identity; and finally to establish what their attitudes were likely to be towards the subject matter of the dialogues that could later be used as an additional tool in clarifying their meaning in the dialogues. All of this information proved to be extremely valuable in data analysis (see data analysis in Chapter 6).

5.3.2 Interviews on Questionnaires

The interviews on the questionnaires were designed for the purpose of correction or clarification of the answers given in the questionnaires. On some occasions an obvious error would be made on the questionnaire which could be easily corrected in interview, as the informant had merely misread the question. In general, however, the interviews on the questionnaires elaborated on answers that were given in the questionnaires themselves, in order to provide further background information on each of the areas previously discussed (culture; education and exposure to English native speakers; social identity; pre-existing attitudes to each of the 3 dialogues to be video-recorded) for later use in data analysis.

5.3.3 Video dialogues

The dialogues themselves were to be the main source of data. I felt that the dialogues should be video recorded rather than tape-recorded, to enable me to view the non-verbal communication (NVC) of the interlocutors as well as hear their dialogue. I also felt that it would be easier and more interesting for the informants in the “stop-start” interviews to view the video recorded dialogues rather than listen to a tape. This certainly proved to be the case, and the video recording also made subsequent transcription of the dialogues much less difficult than it would otherwise have been.

The subject matter for the three dialogues was designed to be of a different character for each dialogue.

The first topic, Dialogue A, was designed to be provocative, as at the time of the research, the U.S.A. and the U.K. had only recently embarked on the war in Iraq. The intention was to stimulate discussion and therefore data on communication between the informants on this extremely important issue. Although the dialogues were not designed with any specific informants in mind, one of the informants in the pilot was Muslim and I therefore expected a lively discussion of this topic. The questions for the first dialogue were therefore:

Do you think that the USA and the UK were right to invade and take over Iraq?

Do you think that the world has changed as a result of the invasion of Iraq by the U.S.A. and the U.K.?

If you think that the world has changed, how do you think it has changed?

The second dialogue was intended to generate data of a different type, as this dialogue was a role-play. It was felt that this additional feature would make the discussion less personal and the data thus obtained would provide an interesting different perspective on the exchanges between informants. As I was working for an international law firm at the time, I was also particularly interested in exploring the operation of English as a lingua franca in the legal professional situation. I therefore posed a simple contractual problem for the interlocutors to negotiate around, as follows:

You are both lawyers working in Thailand. You each represent a different multinational company jointly conducting a building contract for part of the new Bangkok airport. Before the work began, the companies signed a contract on the following key issues: 1) 50/50 division of profit and 2) 50/50 division of work

The work is to be completed in 12 months. You have already been building for 4 months. One of you now wants to 'tear up' the original agreement and take 75% of the profit, as they claim to be doing 75% of the work. They refuse to do any more work until a new contract is agreed.

This is a serious problem because the project involves a tight timetable. If you and your partner are even a day late in finishing the building contract, you will jointly have to pay very heavy penalties to the airport authority.

Discuss this problem and how you think you may be able to resolve it.

The final dialogue was intended to stimulate discussion by being both personal and political. Politicians in Asia have a generally rather low reputation, whereas the extended family is valued highly. In particular, in Thailand the current Prime Minister had begun referring to “family values”, a term frequently used by Western politicians and no doubt borrowed from them. I hoped that this juxtaposition of a real “Asian” value and the low opinion that Asians generally had of politicians would stimulate some discussion that would generate useful data. This therefore became the final question for discussion in the dialogues:

Politicians often talk of ‘family values’. Do you think ‘family values’ exist in the real world? If you do, what are these values and why do you think they are important?

5.3.4 Stop-start interviews on dialogues

The stop-start interviews were based on the “stop-start” method which is an established method of obtaining comments of informants on video recordings. Olk adapted this method for use in his “think aloud protocol study” (Olk, 2002, pp.121-144), and I based my method on this study. In Olk’s study, students were asked to think aloud whilst translating texts. Following the translation tasks, students were then interviewed about their approaches to translation. The data that were therefore analysed consisted of written translations and the transcripts of their “think-aloud”, in addition to their subsequent comments. Of course, it was not possible to conduct this form of “think-aloud” during the actual video dialogues themselves, so the variation was developed that the informants would be able to stop and comment at will on the subsequent viewing of the dialogues.

The importance of the stop start interviews on the video recorded dialogues was to give the informants an opportunity to comment on their own meaning and what they thought was the meaning of their partner in the discourse, to form part of the data to be used in analysis. As can be seen in Chapter 6, a comment by an informant as to their meaning on a particular occasion is not necessarily reliable as there may be other motives involved in making such comment, however it

can be used as an additional tool in data analysis. It was made clear to informants that they were free to spend as long as they wanted viewing and repeating any part of the video recording that they chose and they both took this opportunity, to a greater or lesser extent. This exercise was tape-recorded in order to obtain an accurate account of the comments made by each informant on viewing the video recorded dialogues.

5.3.5 Semantic differential testing

As I have already observed, I decided that a more reliable approach to establishing the meaning of the interlocutors was through a number of different sources of data. The Osgood semantic differential test was included as one of these sources of data. This test is an established tool that has been widely used. The Osgood semantic differential test was thought to be particularly useful because what was needed was a way of comparing the connotative meaning of the interlocutors.

Osgood's method of establishing connotative meaning on a scale of bipolar opposites seems to me to owe much to the constructivist school of thought of Jesse Delia, George Kelly and others in the 1950's. This was the idea that understanding experience takes place by grouping events according to similarities that are categorised as distinctions between opposites: "A construct is a distinction between opposites, such as tall-short, hot-cold, black-white, that is used to understand events and things. An individual's cognitive system consists of numerous such distinctions. By classifying an experience into categories, the individual gives meaning to the experience (...) [c]onstructs are organized into interpretive schemes, which identify what something is and place the object in a category. With interpretive schemes, we make sense out of an event by placing it in a larger context of meanings" (Littlejohn, 1991, p.119). It is therefore argued that this work supports the use of Osgood's semantic differential as a reliable method of establishing a point of comparison for the meaning that each interlocutor has for different words and phrases used in discourse.

Because of the number of different tests involved and sources of data, it was decided in the pilot to keep the semantic differential testing to a minimum. Informants were therefore tested on the three adjective scales that have been proven to provide reliable measures of the three Osgoodian dimensions for establishing connotative meaning: Evaluation (Good\Bad; Potency (Strong\Weak); and Activity (Fast\Slow) (Heise, 1970, p.235).

In advance of the stop-start interviews, sheets were prepared with the particular key word or phrase selected from the dialogue for testing and the informants were asked to mark on the relevant scale the value they gave to the particular word, from -3 to +3, giving seven possible alternatives for each word. In later data analysis (see Chapter 6), a mean score could then be obtained for each word, giving a numerical figure to compare with the score obtained from the other informant.

5.3.6 Word association testing

I also decided that word association testing should take place in addition to the semantic differential testing as an approach commonly used in psychology to generate associated words. Such response words can then be used to identify “connotatively, intuitively and empirically derived relations to the stimulus words” (Nielsen and Ingwersen, 1999, p.19). In one of the studies Nielsen and Ingwersen consider, free word associations are used to study semantic networks, in a manner similar to the way such connotative networks of associations have been envisaged in Chapter 4 of this thesis. A similar methodology was employed, although stimulus words or phrases were presented to the informants orally. The reasoning behind this was that the stimulus should be as near dialogue conditions as possible, and therefore written forms were not used.

In all of the word association tests a standard introduction and explanation was read to the informant, as follows:

I will read a word or phrase. Please say the first English word or phrase that comes into your mind. Then the second English word or phrase that

comes into your mind. Then the third English word or phrase that comes into your mind. You have 1 ½ minutes. If you don't understand or know the word or phrase just say you don't understand and we will go on to the next one.

Do you have any questions about this?

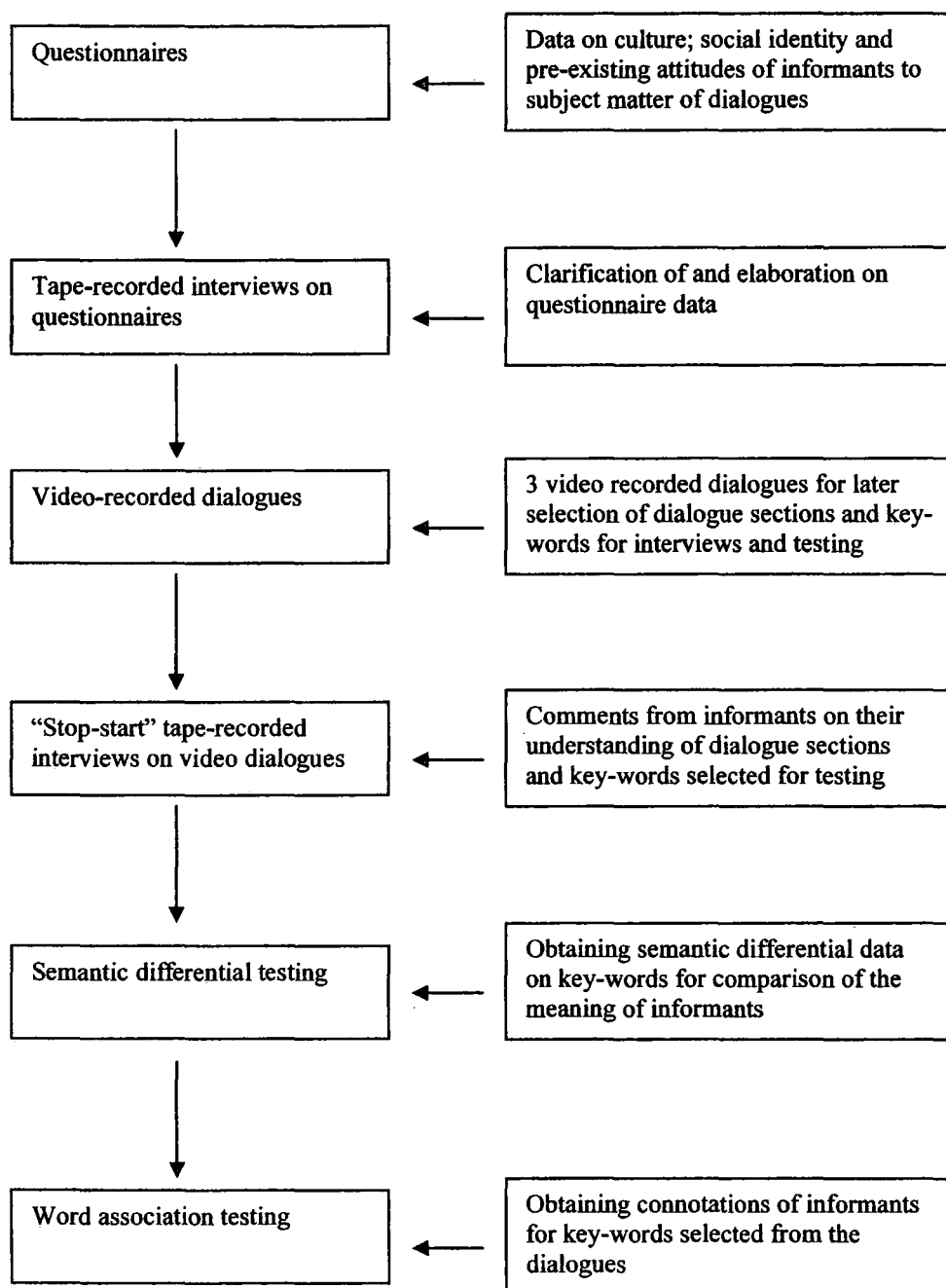
This was important to ensure that the informants were given precisely the same instructions about the word associations testing. The informants were given the same time limit of 1 ½ minutes to make the relevant associations as were used in the studies reviewed by Nielsen and Ingwersen (1999, p.19).

5.4 Pilot objectives

In order to test the research instruments it was necessary to conduct a pilot. Prior to conducting the pilot, a number of objectives were established that I intended to achieve in the pilot, as follows:

- (1) To test the viability of the research instruments;
- (2) To identify problems with the research instruments;
- (3) To refine research methods where necessary prior to further research;
- (4) To identify any practical or ethical issues that had not been addressed prior to the pilot that required addressing before further research;
- (5) To establish whether the discourse that was video-recorded was suitable for the level of detail of data analysis that was required; and
- (6) To establish whether the subject matter that had been chosen as a basis for stimulating conversation in the video-recorded dialogues was suitable in generating data.

Fig.2: Sequence and characteristics of research instruments



As we shall see later in this chapter, all of these objectives were achieved during the pilot which established that, subject to minor variations and refinements, the research instruments were adequate in obtaining the data that were required for analysis.

5.5 Pilot discussion

5.5.1 Informant related issues

The data collection for the pilot began with identifying two informants. This was more difficult than expected, because although it was easy to find two native Thai speakers it was difficult to find a Thai speaker and a native speaker of another non-native English speaking country who were both of intermediate to advanced speaking ability who would be able to perform the necessary tasks in the pilot (see discussion of this requirement at 5.2 above). There was also the difficulty that the study required the informants to spend a substantial amount of time on several different occasions, which was off-putting to some individuals. Having eventually found two non-native speakers of English of differing native languages and cultures who were willing to sacrifice the necessary amount of time, I was ready to begin the process. I was a little concerned that the female informant, Nam, had a level of English that was perhaps too high for my purposes, as she had conducted her PhD in the U.S.A. in English, and had consequently been in a native speaking environment for an extended period, but her level of English language, although advanced, did not approach that of a native speaker. Indeed, such high levels of English language competence and exposure to 'Western' culture are not uncommon in non-native English speakers using English as a lingua franca. I therefore decided to proceed with Nam in the pilot, whilst feeling that perhaps it might reveal more about instances of miscommunication if I were to find an informant of lower competence when it came to the next phase of the study.

5.5.2 Initial meeting with informants

I arranged to meet both informants at a large university in Bangkok at lunchtime on 28th July 2003. I broadly outlined the tasks I was asking them to do, whilst taking great care in not giving them any idea what my interest was in. This was a mistake, I believe, because they were able to chat together and get to know each other a little. The result of this was that when they came, in particular to the third dialogue, Nam assumed a similarity of meaning on their part from common experiences they had had as students away from their homeland which she otherwise would not have known. I, however, did not realise the implications of this mistake until analysing the video of their dialogues.

At the initial meeting I also explained the consent forms to the informants and they were signed (see section 5.2 above). We then arranged that I would send the questionnaires, the first part of data collection, to them by e-mail, which I did later that day. I wanted to encourage them to complete the questionnaires in electronic format for ease of data storage and for discussion, if necessary, with my supervisor in the U.K. This worked well, and I received both the questionnaires back within the loose deadline of a week that we had agreed to.

5.5.3 Questionnaire analysis

There was a good range of data provided by the answers to the questionnaires, so I felt that the questions on the questionnaires were unlikely to be in need of substantial modification subsequently. The information from the questionnaires would be extremely useful in later data analysis, as can be seen in Chapter 6. I was particularly interested in the fact that Putu (not his real name) was a Muslim, as I already knew that Nam, although Buddhist, did not have very strong religious beliefs. Knowing as I did that one of the dialogues was to be about Iraq, I was hoping for some interesting differences in their points of view. This was perhaps more indicative of my own preconceptions of the attitudes of Muslims than of anything else. In the event, I felt that that dialogue, in the light of my opinion over the actions of the U.S.A. and the U.K. in Iraq, was rather

dull. Neither of them seemed to have any great interest in the event, or, as they called it ‘politics’.

5.5.4 Questionnaire interviews

The next step was to interview both informants to elaborate on points that I anticipated might be useful that emerged from the questionnaires. We were able to arrange this fairly soon, and so the interview of Putu took place on 7th August and of Nam on 11th August 2003. The difficulty that emerged was not in the interviews themselves, but with their transcription. The transcription of Nam’s interview was relatively straightforward as she speaks in a clear, rather measured way, and took about 1 day. However, because of Putu’s speaking style, of bursts of speed with many repetitions and self-corrections, together with non-standard pronunciation and variations in volume, the transcription of his interview was very difficult. It should also be pointed out that because the focus of the study was to examine miscommunication at the semantic level it was decided that transcriptions should be into standard rather than phonetic script, but hesitation phenomena were included (“er”) in order to give a more accurate impression of how the dialogue proceeded for the reader of the transcript.

5.5.5 Videotaping the dialogues

There were some difficulties in arranging a time when we were all free to meet to conduct the 3 dialogues. The time eventually arranged was the 24th August. This was the evening, but unfortunately very few rooms were available at university, a problem that I hadn’t anticipated. This means that because of power source requirements for the camera, and the necessity of a reasonably quiet location, we chose Nam’s office at university in which to conduct the dialogues. Whilst in many ways this was an ideal location, I feel this was a mistake, as I felt that neither informant was entirely relaxed in the location. This was perhaps attributable to the power imbalance between the informants. After all, Nam is an ‘ajarn’ (lecturer) at the university, which in Asian cultures commands (and demands) a great deal of deference and respect. On the other

hand, although Putu was a mature masters' student, he was nevertheless a student. Consequently, I felt that Nam's attitude towards Putu and his attitude towards her changed somewhat in the context of her office.

The plan was to give the participants no prior notice of the subject matter of the dialogues, so this was the first time they had seen them. They were, however, allowed as much time as they liked to read the instructions for the dialogues and the dialogue subjects themselves. On reading the dialogues, it readily became apparent that they did not like the subject matter of the first and second dialogues. In relation to the first, they said that they weren't interested in politics and the subject was very 'serious'. I think that Nam felt this to a greater extent than Putu, and this is reflected in the video-recording. This was in fact not such a very great surprise from the Thai cultural point of view. Generally, Thai people like as much as possible in life to be 'sanuk', or fun, and in Thaiglish 'mai serious' (not serious). Having taught in this university and lived in Thailand for nearly 3 years, I recognised this phenomenon. In relation to the second dialogue, they were both apprehensive about it, saying that they were not lawyers and that because it was a role play it was artificial.

The details of the dialogues that took place appear from the data table (Annex One). I was rather disappointed that in the first dialogue, they broadly seemed to entirely understand what each were saying, there were no apparent events of miscommunication. Later closer analysis revealed that this impression gained whilst video recording the dialogues was in fact, erroneous. I was also disappointed in that the subject matter, even with a Muslim participant, did not seem to really spark great interest.

The situation did not appear to get any better in the role-play, the second dialogue. I also felt that Nam cheated rather by bringing the dialogue to a fairly swift conclusion, saying that they should adjourn the discussion to another occasion when a decision could be made. As this was the only dialogue taping session, this meant, of course, that they would never struggle through to a resolution on video, which I had wanted to observe. Indeed, the time allowed

for the dialogue was hoped to be sufficient to allow ample time for discussion, as informants had been given the following instructions:

There is no strict time limit, but it is suggested that you spend about 10 minutes reading this, and then spend 15-20 minutes on each dialogue. There will be about a five-minute break after each dialogue.

When this suggestion was made by Nam, Putu saw his way out of continuing this dialogue that neither liked, and took it, thus ending the dialogue. The result was that this dialogue was the shorter of the three. However, as I shall later observe, the dialogue was not without value. Nam and Putu later told me that they felt that the dialogue was very difficult, as they were not lawyers. I reconsidered the dialogue as a result of their comments, but remained confident that the dialogue represents an extremely simple situation of renegotiating a very basic agreement.

As can easily be seen from the video and the data table, the third dialogue was the most 'successful' in the sense that the informants were interested and engaged with the 'family' subject matter and obviously relished talking about it, thus generating more data. That having been said, they missed the point of the question for discussion, which was intended to elicit a discussion of how politicians 'hijack' so-called family values and use them for their own political purposes. Nevertheless, this did not really matter, as a general discussion of the importance of family ensued, related to their common experience of living as a student abroad, and a large amount of data were generated.

One further point may be made about the dialogues for future research and for those who may have access to situations where ELF is used between non-native speakers in "real-life" who might be willing to participate in a study. The dialogues are obviously artificial and it is unclear whether the informants would communicate in the same way were the situation a real-life interaction. One interesting indicator of this is that on a number of occasions, Putu seems concerned to keep the dialogue going when the dialogue appears to have naturally finished. It is speculated that this could have been as a result of the

desire to talk for as long as the time given for each dialogue, combined with the realisation that I needed the data for my research. However, although I would very much like to see a study conducted in a “real-life” scenario, it would at present be impossible for me to organize and, certainly in the legal context, there would be confidentiality and other obstacles to overcome.

5.5.6 Preparation for the stop-start interviews

In preparation for the recorded viewing of the dialogues using the ‘stop-start’ method, I viewed the video recording of the dialogues many times, perhaps as many as 20 times. This was perhaps the most difficult part of the whole exercise, as the rest of the data (the interview, word association tests and semantic differential tests) all depended on the selection of key words and phrases of the dialogues to focus on, ask questions about and in relation to which prepare the relevant tests. On the first few viewings of the tape, I was very unsure as to what these key words and phrases might be. It also was important that the key words and phrases were not selected in isolation, but as part of the discourse that was taking place (see previous discussion on the importance of discourse in Chapter 4 at 4.2.2 (e)). On repeated viewing, however, I began to feel that there were important sections of each dialogue where something significant seemed to happen that merited further investigation. The key words and phrases were therefore selected from these portions of the dialogue. I remain of the view, however, that this is a difficult part of the whole research process, because once the key words and phrases are selected, most of the remainder of the investigation depends on such selection.

When viewing the video for the selection of these key words and phrases I was therefore entirely focused on observing what I thought the meaning of the sender was and whether the receiver appeared to understand this. What I did not appreciate was that in fact I must subconsciously have also been using the NVC of the interlocutors to assist in taking the decision as to what were the key words and phrases. A good example of this relates to the first dialogue. Putu frowns when Nam observes (about Americans) that ‘they seem to be nice’, after he had related the account of his view of American abuse of power in relation to white

gold mines in Indonesia. Subsequent analysis revealed that this was indeed a point of miscommunication. Nam in fact did not understand what white gold was (although nothing in her language or NVC appears to reveal this) and more importantly, she meant that Americans use niceness (or aid) as a manipulative tool to gain access to resources and power. Putu, however, thought she was saying that obtaining access to the white gold resources of Indonesia would be nice for Americans, which seemed to him a strange and insensitive remark for Nam to make. Just how far this misunderstanding affected their subsequent interaction is unclear, but in his subsequent interview he seemed, not surprisingly, to have been quite offended and astonished by his misunderstanding of what she was saying.

The selection of key words of the dialogues to focus on in interviews and testing was therefore not purely based on the words that were used, but on the behaviour of the interlocutors too. This was a useful lesson to remember in the selection of key words/rich points in the main study.

5.5.7 Recorded viewing of the dialogues using 'stop-start'

The recorded viewing of the video and 'stop-start' interview of Putu took place on 14th September 2003, that of Nam on 27th September. I was a little concerned that the delay in Nam's case might cause a recollection problem, but there was no way of avoiding it due to the times we were both available for the necessary 2-3 hour period and a family bereavement for Nam.

The interviews themselves went very smoothly. My fears of delay causing a recollection problem appeared to be unfounded, as both informants appeared to have a clear recollection of their discussions. Although it was mostly myself who stopped and started the tape, there were occasions when they both asked for a replay to make a point or clarify something. What began to become exciting for me was that, particularly after Putu's interview, it became clear that there certainly were events of miscommunication that had not been initially apparent on video-recording the dialogues themselves. There were also clearly events of successful communication.

5.5.8 The word association tests

The word association tests were tape-recorded. A standard introduction and explanation was read to the informant (see discussion of methodology at section 5.3.6), in which they were told that a word or phrase would be read to them. They then had 1 ½ minutes to make 3 verbal associations. If they did not know the word they should say so. The test on Putu went smoothly, but with Nam I had the strong feeling that instead of articulating the associations that came into her mind, particularly towards the end of the test she was thinking about the word or phrase and then seeking to define it in her associations. It is difficult to know how this can be avoided in an informant who is unwilling to expose his or her first thoughts to the researcher. It seemed that 1 ½ minutes was rather long to produce merely 3 associations and allowed the informant time to consider their response too carefully. Perhaps there would also be an improvement if there were a short example practice session beforehand in which both the researcher and the informant conducted word associations on fairly innocuous words to familiarise the informant with the exercise.

Another difficulty with word association tests is that they only give a very limited insight (at most 3 associations) into the connotations in the mind of the informant. As previously discussed in the theoretical basis for my hypothesis, the process of connotation is thought to be much more complex, with associations being almost infinite (recalling our previous discussion of Pierce in Chapter 4 at 4.2.2 (a)). I was also conscious that the frame (schemata) model described by Agar (see discussion in Chapter 4 at 4.2.3) emphasized the interconnectedness of the associations between signs, paralleled with the spreading activation theory in psychology (see chapter 4 at 4.2.4 (c)). I felt that this was a disappointing limitation on their usefulness and the use of word association tests for this purpose could be improved, whilst recognizing that giving informants greater time to make the associations reduces their value. What I proposed to do in the main study therefore, was to change the association tests in 3 ways. Firstly, ask for five associations. This is a slightly arbitrary figure but recognizes the lower value of such associations given the increase in time. The second change would be to reduce the time allowed for the

test, to one minute. The third adjustment would be to conduct this test a second time, after a reasonable interval of perhaps, two weeks, (1) in order to be able to take into account whether there was consistency between the word association test results; and (2) to the extent that there was variation (if any) in the test results over that period, to take account of that variation in data analysis.

The final difficulty I realised with the word association tests and the semantic differential tests was the sequence in which they were conducted relative to the interviews. This was a point I did not realise in planning the pilot, but when collating the data I realised that immediately prior to these tests I had interviewed each informant in relation to these key points of the dialogues which contained the words and phrases used in the word association and semantic differential tests. Although I took pains not to point out what words or phrases were going to be included in the following tests, I felt that this was an error in that shortly prior to the tests on these words and phrases the informants had been thinking about and commenting on the sections of the recordings that contained these very words and phrases. The solution to this problem is, however, straightforward. In the next phase the improved word association and semantic differential testing had to take place prior to the 'stop-start' interview. I do not think this creates the reverse problem of affecting the data obtained from what would then become the subsequent stop-start interview, because in the interviews it was meant to be quite clear to the informant which section of the dialogue was being discussed, including the relevant key words/rich points.

5.5.9 The semantic differential tests

I have already noted that these tests should be conducted prior to the stop-start interview. I do not think the semantic differential tests would be affected by the word association tests conducted immediately previously, as the tests are of a completely different nature. Where the tests were particularly useful was in providing a direct numerical point of comparison between the interlocutors on one of the key words/rich points. I did however consider whether I had used too few scales of opposites. I made this decision on reading Osgood's commentary and subsequent commentary on his work. Prior to the pilot I was also anxious

that, in addition to the stop-start interview on the video and the word association tests, making the semantic differential tests too long would be too much for my informants. I had therefore chosen the three basic adjective scales that have been found to provide a reliable measure of meaning: evaluation (good/bad); potency (strong/weak); and activity (fast/slow) (see section 5.3.5 above). However, the informants took very little time to do this task and I ultimately felt that it would not have been too onerous to expand these scales which would result in an improvement in the reliability of the data. I therefore later used 9 scales to include more of Osgood's dimensions, as follows: evaluation (good/bad; cruel/kind; honest/dishonest); potency (strong/weak; heavy/light; soft/hard) and activity (fast/slow; active/passive; hot/cold). In addition, I decided that it would also be desirable if I repeated this test with the informants after a reasonable interval, as with the word association tests. This was because I felt that obtaining a mean figure for comparison of these tests on two, separate occasions would increase the accuracy of the data from these tests.

I also felt that the technique used by Byram et al in his earlier research (1991, p.399-400) of using a booklet to 'flick through' the test with a different scale on each page was a better way of dealing with the mechanics of this test. I therefore adopted this technique for the later research.

5.6 Data presentation

Having obtained all the data the next step was to consider what the most useful way of presenting it would be. I felt that a long narrative, or presentation in separate sections would not be very useful. What I therefore experimented with, in a variety of forms, was presentation in the form of a table. My idea was that a reader would simultaneously be able to see and compare:

- (1) The location of the key word or phrase in the video discourse;
- (2) The comments made in relation to the relevant sequence by both interlocutors in the stop-start interviews

- (3) The word associations made by each informant in relation to the relevant key words and phrases; and
- (4) The semantic differential test results in relation to such key words and phrases

The data table for the Pilot is attached as Annex One.

5.7 Adaptations made to the research design as a result of the pilot

As I have already observed in Section 5.4, a number of adaptations were made as a result of difficulties observed with the pilot, or as precautionary measures made following reflection on the pilot. It may, however, be observed that such changes were relatively few and the essential data collection method remained the same for later research. The following is a summary of the changes that were made:

- (1) As I have pointed out in Section 5.5.1 above, it was felt that it would be preferable to have informants whose level of language ability was more in the intermediate range, whereas in the pilot Nam's English language ability was clearly greater than that of Putu. The thinking behind this was that this might produce more events of miscommunication for analysis. There was also an element of "imbalance" in the pilot, created by the extensive English speaking and listening experience of Nam whilst doing her PhD in the U.S., compared to Putu who had never visited a native English speaking country. This very possibly contributed to the "power imbalance" between the informants which I felt was not conducive to more open and flowing dialogues. Informants for the research that followed were therefore selected that were both postgraduate students and of intermediate English speaking and listening ability.
- (2) Linked to the language "imbalance" I have also discussed (see 5.5.5 above) the issue of the "power imbalance" between the informants. I had observed that Nam's behaviour changed when she entered her office and she

immediately went to sit behind her desk as a Thai “ajarn” (university lecturer). As Putu was a student at the same university I felt that this created an unfair imbalance of power between the informants as Nam then assumed a controlling manner throughout the dialogues. This may, in fact have been a feature of Nam’s personality rather than her position as university lecturer, nevertheless I felt it wise to avoid this with the second study and so the informants chosen were both of the same level in the hierarchy.

- (3) It will have been noted from my comments at 5.5.2 above that I felt it had been a mistake to meet together with the informants to explain the nature of the study and obtain their consent, because in normal social pleasantries they were able to exchange information about their backgrounds, thus affecting how they subsequently related to each other in the dialogues. I felt this was the single biggest error in the pilot, as it particularly influenced the third dialogue on family values. In the second study, I met each informant separately for the purpose of outlining the study and obtaining consent.
- (4) I have already outlined at 5.5.8 above the three changes that were made to the word association tests, namely, (a) giving a small example as practice before the test; (b) reducing the length of time for associations from 1 ½ minutes to 1 minute; and (c) repeating the test after an interval, together with the repetition of the semantic differential testing.
- (5) As I have explained at 5.5.9 above, the semantic differential test was changed in two ways. Firstly, the number of differentials tested was increased from 3 to 9 and secondly, this expanded test was repeated on a second occasion to provide a mean semantic differential for the word or phrase tested.
- (6) Whether the subject matter for the dialogues should be changed following the pilot was a matter that was considered carefully in supervision, however ultimately I decided that the dialogues were useful in each stimulating conversation of a different quality. To recap, the dialogues fell into two categories. The first and last were similar in that there was no role-play

involved. The first dealt with a recent controversial political issue, the invasion of Iraq. The third dealt with a social/moral issue, 'family values'. The second was different in nature, as it was a role-play, over a straightforward legal/moral issue of breaking an agreement. The dialogue subjects needed to be planned in advance because the questionnaires were designed to elicit data from the interlocutors that were relevant to the dialogue subjects. The feedback from both interlocutors in the pilot was that they disliked the subject matter of the first and second dialogues strongly, although Nam was more vehement than Putu in this. They also felt 'silly' doing the role-play, because they were pretending to be other people.

This issue was agonized over somewhat. However, there is no doubt in my mind that even though the informants did not enjoy the subject matter of the first two dialogues, they nevertheless result in some extremely interesting and useful data. I remain unconvinced that if I adopted one of the subjects that they suggested should be discussed, "karaoke", whether this would be as useful in generating key points of apparent successful communication or apparent miscommunication for subsequent analysis. This was partly due to my concern that with less difficult subjects the informants might not be challenged in their discussion to attempt to deal with concepts that involved extensive connotative meaning and language schemata for their understanding (see previous discussion at 5.2 above). I also had no idea whether the next pair of informants would feel the same- this was in fact borne out by events as the next pair of informants thoroughly enjoyed each dialogue. An additional aspect to consider is that the data in relation to the role-play has an additional usefulness because of its different quality, because of the very fact that it is a role-play and introduces an element of detachment from the subject matter. It was ultimately decided that the enjoyment of the informants was only relevant in as far as it encouraged them to talk and provide useful data and that this was not enough of a reason to change the nature of the subject matter of the dialogues.

As will have been noted, the selection of key words/rich points (see my earlier discussion of Agar and Wierzbicka in Chapter 4 at 4.2.3) was made

following the recorded dialogues from words freely chosen for use in the dialogues by the informants (see section 5.5.6 above). After the pilot, I considered whether it might be possible to restrict this choice by introducing a number of key words/rich points as part of the subject matter for the dialogue in advance, in the hope that the informants would then need to use such key words/rich points in their discourse. This would certainly be interesting, but I decided that would best be left for a separate study. The reason for this is partly my analysis of Agar's work that it is actually based on the 'connotative' aspect of language and culture that I am interested in, but my point is wider than Agar's, in that I argue that all text used in discourse is effectively a "rich point", not merely certain parts. Secondly, I am not as much interested in the connotative meaning that the native speaker has in the native language, but in the match/mismatch of connotative meaning that the non-native intercultural communicators have in the lingua franca at any significant point of their discourse. This could therefore occur at a point that Agar would not select as a rich point or Wierzbicka would not select as a keyword. Furthermore, it would be impossible to predict prior to the discourse itself where any such point might occur and therefore structure its occurrence. It was therefore concluded that the subject matter of the dialogues should remain the same as in the pilot.

5.8 Reflections on the pilot

I was generally pleased that the research instruments that had been developed as a result of careful consideration of the theories of culture, philosophy, language and psychology that were behind the hypothesis elicited a large amount of data that seemed reliable, relevant and useful. This was particularly satisfying when it was necessarily central to testing the validity or otherwise of the hypothesis to find a way of reconstructing the meaning of the interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in the dialogues. The objectives of the pilot had been satisfied, as we can see by returning briefly to those objectives:

- (1) To test the viability of the research instruments: the research instruments clearly appeared to be viable;

- (2) To identify problems with the research instruments: a procedural problem was identified that required correction, as discussed in 5.7(3) above;
- (3) To refine research methods where necessary prior to further research: refinements were made to deal with the procedural problem discussed in 5.7(3) and further refinements made to the word association and semantic differential tests;
- (4) To identify any practical or ethical issues that had not been addressed prior to the pilot that required addressing before further research: no further ethical issues emerged, however some practical problems emerged over the type and language level of informants emerged that was addressed in the subsequent study (see section 5.7 (1) and (2) above);
- (5) To establish whether the range of communication events that were video-recorded was suitable for the level of detail of data analysis that was required: after consideration it was decided that the range of communication events were in fact suitable for the level of analysis that was required (see section 5.7 (6) above); and
- (6) To establish whether the subject matter that had been chosen as a basis for stimulating conversation in the video-recorded dialogues was suitable in generating such data: it was decided after much thought that the subject matter was indeed suitable and did not require changing for use in further study (see section 5.7 (6) above).

However, as can be seen in Chapter 6 (Research Findings and Discussion), perhaps the greatest difficulty had yet to be encountered. This was that the research instruments generated such a large amount of data (particularly in the second study when the word association tests and semantic differential tests were conducted twice) that the analysis of the data seemed a daunting task indeed. However, we shall discuss this in the following chapter.

5.9 Possibilities for future research

It is worthwhile emphasizing that the combination of research instruments used in my research was experimental in nature because of the lack of previous empirical work in this area. Other researchers may wish to vary aspects of the combination of research instruments that I chose (or introduce research instruments developed by themselves). The following are some possible variations to my approach:

(1) Questionnaires.

It seems to me that the questionnaires were extremely important in obtaining important background cultural and social information in relation to the informants. I do not therefore suggest that they be dispensed with. If anything, the questionnaires could be expanded to form a more detailed cultural and social portrait of the informant. Another variation would be if the keyword-rich point approach that I have already discussed in 5.7 (6) above is taken (also explored at 5.9 (3) below), the questionnaires could be adapted to obtain prior information on the frames/schemata possessed by the informant in relation to the rich points/key words that are incorporated in the dialogue.

(2) Recorded interviews based on the responses to the Questionnaires.

A similar point arises in relation to the recorded interviews based on the responses to the questionnaires, although it needs to be observed that there is a danger of “overloading” informants with tests, as in my main study the informants were clearly relieved when the final series of tests was over. Although the information obtained from the interviews was useful, it might be possible to use slightly more extensive questionnaires and dispense with the recorded interviews in order to lighten the load on the informants.

(3) Three video-recorded dialogues on a range of subject matters.

There is enormous room for variation on the type and range of subjects used for discussion. As I have indicated, I selected the dialogue subject matter based on the premise that a more complex subject matter will produce discussion including signs with a greater level of connotative meaning, however, this may not be the case and could certainly be investigated. I have also mentioned the possibility of including in advance certain key words\rich points in the lingua franca, where presumably the schemata (frames) and connotations are less complete in non-native English speakers, in order to investigate whether there is successful communication at those points. In addition, the dialogues could be adapted for use at a lower-intermediate level, or restricted to speakers who were only at an advanced level, a narrower range of language competency than in this study.

(4) Selection of key words and phrases for testing.

Because of the length of each dialogue and the amount of different forms of testing required of each informant, a limited number of key words and phrases were selected for testing (usually two from each section of discourse, with three sections of discourse being selected from each dialogue). Depending on the willingness of informants to participate in extensive testing, it might be possible to select a greater number of key words and phrases from one section of dialogue, thus forming a much clearer picture of the connotation in the dialogue as a whole. Another way of achieving this would be to reduce the number of dialogues to, for example, two dialogues (or even one dialogue), with the selection of a greater number of discourse sequences for testing.

(5) Separate tape-recorded “stop-start” interviews of each interlocutor on viewing the video-recorded dialogues.

The stop-start interviews are essential to the process, to enable the informant to comment on what was said in the dialogue. Subject to issues of timing, discussed at (8) below, I believe it would be difficult to vary them effectively. The practical point should be made for future researchers that if at all possible a good quality microphone should be used because otherwise (as in my case)

transcription of the interviews is an extremely difficult and time consuming process, as the video recording is playing in the background when many of the comments are made.

- (6) Semantic differential testing of key words and phrases selected from the dialogues.

As I have observed, I initially used a simplified semantic differential scale of Good\Bad; Strong\Weak; and Fast\Slow (see section 5.3.5 above), but extended that scale to all of Osgood's nine dimensions for the later study: Good\Bad; Cruel\Kind; Honest\Dishonest; Strong\Weak; Heavy\Light; Soft\Hard; Fast\Slow; Active\Passive; Hot\Cold. I certainly found the Osgood testing invaluable as a tool for comparing meaning, and where possible was able to use it in combination with the word association test results to explain an event of communication or miscommunication (see Chapter 6). However, it is true that the Osgood test only provides a point for comparison. Unlike word association testing, it cannot provide information that could be used to attempt to form a picture of a frame\rich point. If that were the object of future research, other tools might have to be developed and employed.

- (7) Word association testing of key words and phrases selected from the dialogues.

It is difficult to imagine how this established procedure could be improved on. However, a better picture of the frame\schema might be constructed if the response to the word spoken was also tested, in a series. Thus, if the response to rabbit was hat, hat would then be tested. If the response to hat was coat, coat would then be tested, and so on. This would be consistent with Agar's frame theory and the spreading activation theory of psychology (see 5.5.8 above; Chapter 4 at 4.2.3 and 4.2.4) and might provide an interesting additional perspective to my 'standard' method of word association.

(8) Timing

A difficulty that future researchers should consider is the question of timing of all the research. In my case, it was not possible to fit my research into a neat timeframe, due to my own working commitments and those of the informants. Although I do not feel that this affected the data, the process became rather drawn out. Were the researcher in the privileged position of being able to book the informants for a complete day, or perhaps a weekend, then the entire series of tests could be conducted during that timeframe. This might be possible where a researcher was working with students at school or in a university. In my view, this would be a great improvement.

Chapter 6: Research findings and discussion

Abstract: General observations on the data that were collected are made, followed by an explanation of the development of a taxonomy to detect patterns in the data which support or contradict the hypothesis. The data from the main study are then analysed and discussed, using this taxonomy. The data from the pilot are then re-visited, using the same taxonomy and the results combined and discussed, providing a significant degree of support for the hypothesis.

6.1 Introduction

The data were analysed to test the hypothesis developed as described in Chapter 4 at 4.5.2 that successful intercultural communication between non-native English speakers of differing national cultures using English as a lingua franca cannot take place without a similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse. Although the testing of a hypothesis might usually be done by looking for cases where the null-hypothesis is disproved, this approach could not be taken here. The null-hypothesis would state that successful communication would take place even where there is no similarity in connotative meaning, but this would mean assuming that every part of the dialogue was potentially a locus of dissimilarity in connotations. So I decided to look first at what appeared to be unsuccessful communication to see if there was support for the hypothesis and then secondarily look at likely places of cultural dissimilarity where there was nonetheless successful communication. These would be counter examples and tests of the null hypothesis.

This meant that I was primarily looking for events in the video dialogues where the informants were unsuccessful in communication in that one or both informants failed either partially or completely to understand what the other was seeking to communicate in the lingua franca. As in the pilot, it was difficult to assess prior to testing where in a dialogue there had in fact been miscommunication. A judgment therefore had to be made on viewing the video

recording of the dialogues as to places where there was possible miscommunication. I also analysed events of apparently successful communication. As I explain at 6.10 below, the analysis of events of successful communication provides data that is useful as a source of either support or criticism of the hypothesis. Before looking at the data in detail some general observations on the dialogues and the background of the informants should be made. For ease of reference to the different parts of the dialogues discussed, I refer to the first part of the first dialogue as D.1.1, the second part of the first dialogue as D.1.2, and so on. In similar manner, dialogue sequences from the pilot are referred to as P.1.1, P1.2 and so on. This notation corresponds with the notation in Annexes One and Two, which provide summaries of the data that were obtained in the pilot and the main study. Where I provide extracts from the dialogues, I highlight the keywords or phrases that were tested in bold.

It should be noted at this stage that I searched for similar work in order to compare my findings to the findings of others, but was not able to find any. The consequence of this is that the majority of the discussion of the findings revolves around the findings themselves and their theoretical background. In section 6.24 below I relate the data to some wider issues and research in ELF.

6.2 Cultural similarities

It should be pointed out that in the cases of both the pilot and the main study, although the informants were from different national cultures, all informants had certain similarities in cultural heritage. In the pilot, the informants were Thai and Indonesian, whereas in the main study the informants were Thai and Korean. The nationalities of the informants were largely dictated by chance, depending on the availability of suitable informants who satisfied the selection criteria of being of differing nationalities. The consequence of this was that certain cultural features were shared. Perhaps the best example of this was in the main study, where one informant, Suttichai, was Thai with Chinese ancestry. The other informant, Michael, was Korean but again with a significant historical Chinese influence on Korean national culture. Thus in D.3.2, the “family values” dialogue, a point of successful communication was where Suttichai was

talking about the father having to have moral standards in order to govern his son. The informants clearly appeared to understand each other, however neither referred to Confucius in that part of the dialogue itself, although Confucius had been referred to at the beginning of that dialogue. In the stop-start interview however, Suttichai stated that *“I was trying to explain a bit the concept of Kong Tzu [Confucius]...”*. Michael was already familiar with this concept, and observed in stop-start interview in relation to the same dialogue sequence, *“Its like, em, its Confucius, Confucius value...”* .

It should be noted that this study was not designed to test the effect on communication in the lingua franca of shared cultural concepts or values and the effect of the cultural similarities between interlocutors is unknown, although it can be speculated that associations and meaning are more likely than not to be similar where there are also cultural similarities. However, there is no evidence that this is transferred to the lingua franca. This could possibly be a factor explaining some situations where there was successful communication despite a substantial difference in the meaning measured in the lingua franca keywords (assuming the instruments were effective), but again, this is speculation. It was, however, extremely interesting that this phenomenon was observed, because it suggests that concepts such as Agar’s “frames” (discussed in detail in Chapter 4 at 4.3.3) may also be relevant to communication within the lingua franca. In this case, the “frame” is in the native language, but accessed through the lingua franca trigger by reference to Confucius values. I discuss this possibility further at 6.24.2 below.

6.3 Social similarities

A similar point may be made in relation to certain social similarities between the informants. In the main study, both were students. Michael was an undergraduate exchange student from Korea, studying law. Suttichai was a masters student in South East Asian Studies. Both were from middle class families. Michael was strongly Christian. Although living in a predominately Buddhist country, Suttichai described himself as being Catholic. Michael had served as a U.N. peacekeeper in East Timor for 8 months. Suttichai was about to

leave for Sri Lanka to act as an election observer. Having spent time with them both, it is perhaps not unfair (having been one once) to describe them both as young middle class idealists. Suttichai was more of a political idealist with socialist leanings, clearly regarding Michael as being rather politically naïve, commenting in D.1.1: "I guess that he still not realize about that game". Michael was very much a Christian idealist with a mission to spread Christianity in the World, spending part of his weekends in Thailand preaching.

In the pilot, there were also interesting social similarities between informants, but of a different nature. Nam was Thai, a university lecturer with a doctoral degree, but her family were farmers with little education. She was a Buddhist. Putu was an Indonesian Muslim. He was a master's student and also a teacher at university, also with a modest background.

The social similarities between informants in both the pilot and the main study were entirely coincidental, although the academic connection is explained by the fact that my source of informants was my contacts within the university where I was then teaching. However, as with the issue of cultural similarities between interlocutors, the social similarities of the informants was interesting, particularly recalling Holliday's concept of "small cultures" (Holliday, 1999, p.248), discussed in Chapter 4 at 4.4. This could provide an explanation for points of successful communication where other factors (semantic differential or word association scores, for example) tended to indicate that miscommunication would be expected.

6.4 English proficiency

There are a number of different competencies involved in English proficiency, for example, grammatical, sociolinguistic, pragmatic and there are a number of models of foreign language competence (for discussion see Canale and Swain, 1980; van Ek, 1986). Because of the limited availability of informants and the intensive nature of the dialogue testing, it was felt unrealistic to pre-test informants to select informants with similar such competencies. It was therefore decided that the informants should have a similar, intermediate to upper-

intermediate level of general English proficiency. The level of general English proficiency of the informants was however different in both the pilot and the main study. Nam in the pilot and Michael in the main study could both be described as being of upper intermediate level of general English proficiency, although as Nam readily admitted, her listening skills were rather weaker than her other skills. Both Nam and Michael had also lived in an English speaking country for significant periods of time, creating opportunity for improved English proficiency and greater cultural exposure. On the other hand, both Putu in the pilot and Suttichai in the main study could be described as being of intermediate general English proficiency. Neither had lived abroad in an English speaking country.

I do not believe that the degree of general English ability has any significant impact on this study, because, provided the informants had a level of general English ability (grammatical competence, speaking and listening skills) that enabled them to discuss the subjects that were provided for the dialogues, the testing of the events of miscommunication and communication in the lingua franca was independent of such competencies and focused on semantics. Of course, it may reasonably be assumed that a greater degree of English proficiency and exposure to English native speaking culture would imply a more extensive and similar range of interpretants forming connotative meaning, however this was not what was being investigated.

6.5 Generally successful communication

In the main study, the overall impression was that in general, the informants communicated successfully. This was confirmed by the analysis of the data, the result being that there were only 2 events that were analysed where there was miscommunication, as compared to 8 events of successful communication that were analysed. Communication in the pilot was also generally successful, with 2 events of miscommunication as compared with 4 events of successful communication. However, I would argue that this neither tends to prove nor disprove the hypothesis, because the hypothesis is not concerned with the frequency of events of miscommunication, but rather with what is happening

within such an event. It might be possible in future research to attempt to “reverse engineer” this study to increase the number of events of miscommunication, as we have considered in Chapter 5 at 5.7.6 and 5.9.3. This ~~was~~ a possible approach that was discussed with my supervisor at an earlier stage. This could be done by pre-testing a wide range of potential keywords and then designing the subject matter of the dialogue to include keywords where there was a marked difference in word associations and semantic differential test results between informants. However I can see a number of difficulties with this approach that would need to be addressed in such a study. Firstly, it would be very difficult to control the direction of the dialogues, so that the use of such keywords in the subject matter would not guarantee their use by informants in the dialogue. There would also be a danger that the pre-testing itself could affect the data from the dialogue, as the attention of the informants would already have been drawn to the keywords in the course of pre-testing prior to the dialogues. I would argue that the approach I have taken in my research is preferable, because events of miscommunication occur as naturally as is possible in a structured environment, even if the result of this means that a series of dialogues can be tested where it is impossible to predict whether there will be many events of miscommunication, or none at all.

However, the fact that communication was generally successful does provide some support for those who argue that intercultural communication, in our case in the lingua franca, is taking place in some kind of “third place” or “small culture” (see previous discussion of the “third place” of ELF intercultural communication in Chapter 4 at 4.4, in particular Kramsch (1993, p.257) and Holliday (1999, p.248)). This idea can broadly be summarized as the idea that in the particular setting of the intercultural encounter, interlocutors move towards each other to negotiate meanings that are distanced to some extent from the “large” culture which is an integral part of their being. This process facilitates communication. I discuss this possibility further at 6.24.1 below.

6.6 Unwillingness to admit communication failure

I realised in the pilot and again in the main study that the comments of the subjects themselves need to be treated with caution because of a factor that I did not expect. Three of the four informants in the pilot and the main study seemed extremely reluctant to accept that there had been any misunderstanding at all, although they were more willing to accept the possibility that their partner did not understand them than they were willing to admit that they had misunderstood the other. Nam was particularly adamant about this. A linked point is that in the case of the main study, both Michael and Suttichai were very reluctant to admit that they did not know a word. The best example of this phenomenon was in the word association testing of the word “valid” with Suttichai. I chose this word for testing because Suttichai did not appear to understand it when Michael used it in the “contract” dialogue. Following the test when he could not give an answer he started looking at his passport. I assumed he was checking his visa because he was leaving for Sri Lanka the following day. However the reason was that he had remembered that the word “valid” was printed in his passport and was trying to work out from the context what the word meant. Another example from Suttichai was his production of word associations for a word he did not know, “traitor”, in D.1.2, in an apparent attempt to disguise the fact that he did not know the word.

6.7 Observations on data from the role-play sequence

A role-play was included in the research design because it was felt that there might be a difference in the data obtained from the role-play given that the informants were negotiating a situation they were provided with, rather than exchanging personal views on subjects provided for discussion, as in dialogues 1 and 3. The reasoning for this is discussed in Chapter 5 at 5.3.3. However, there was no apparent difference in the data obtained from the role-play sequence in either the main study or the pilot. In the main study, the three communication events studied from the role-play were categorized according to the taxonomy described in paragraph 6.9 below. One event was categorized as C1 (successful communication with similarity in word associations and semantic differential

scores); one event was categorized as C2 (successful communication with a significant difference between word associations and semantic differential scores); and one event categorized as M1 (miscommunication with significantly differing word associations and semantic differential scores). The data from the pilot were similar, with three communication events studied from the role play sequence. One event was categorized as C1; one event was categorized as C2; and one event categorized as inconclusive: I (an explanation of the taxonomy will be provided below). As this range of results was not significantly different from the results obtained in the non-role-play dialogues this tends to suggest that whether the informant is in a role-play situation or actually expressing their own views does not influence the hypothesis, whether true or false. More extensive research which concentrated on the difference in data obtained from role-play and “real” situations would, however, be needed to confirm this.

6.8 Selection of sections of the dialogues for testing

As can be seen in the data table (Annex Two), in the main study, a total of 11 communication events from the three video-recorded dialogues were selected for testing: 4 were selected from Dialogue 1, the discussion of the U.S. led invasion of Iraq; 3 were selected from Dialogue 2, the role-play contract negotiation; and 4 were selected from Dialogue 3, the discussion of family values. The intention was to select a similar number of events from each dialogue, and the number of events selected was influenced by the length of the detailed subsequent testing of each event with the participants. To some extent I would have preferred to select a greater number of events for testing, because on subsequent analysis it appeared that my selection of certain key words or phrases was not always correct, however this desire has to be balanced with the willingness of the informants to participate in the extensive testing. It was apparent in the main study that at the end of the second round of word association and semantic differential testing that the informants had clearly “had enough”. The selection of the events to be tested was based on repeated viewing of the videotape of each dialogue and my subjective assessment of whether they were events of possibly unsuccessful communication or apparently successful communication. This assessment was not only based on the words and phrases

used by the informants but also on their NVC, for example Michael laughing on Suttichai's apparent misunderstanding of the meaning of a "valid" contract (D.2.3). As previously discussed in Chapter 5 at 5.5.6, I was conscious that the selection of events to be tested was problematic because it was initially based on my subjective assessment, however it was impossible to involve the interlocutors in the selection process because of the risk that the data to be subsequently obtained from them would be corrupted. In addition, ideally, many more words and phrases would have been tested from each dialogue. However, given the number of tests that were required in relation to each key word or phrase, a realistic approach had to be taken as to what was practicable. As it was, it was evident by the final repetition of the semantic differential and word association testing that both informants were extremely relieved that the testing was over.

Of 10 communication events initially selected for testing, 4 were assessed as events of possible miscommunication and 6 were assessed as being of apparently successful communication. After careful consideration I subsequently broke down one of these events into two separate events for analysis, because on further consideration the sequence divided into two and a greater number of keywords had been tested from the sequence (D.3.1/D3.2), making a total of 11 communication events being analysed.

6.9 Developing a taxonomy

Following collation of all the data, the data were analysed to see if any patterns could be seen in the communication events analysed that either supported or contradicted the hypothesis. In order to do this, a taxonomy was developed in order to seek to group the communication events into different categories with shared characteristics. After experimenting with a number of different taxonomies, I decided that the following five categories of communication event best reflected the data, where **M** refers to an event of miscommunication; **C** refers to an event of successful communication; and **I** refers to an event that provides inconclusive evidence:

M1: Events of miscommunication which coincided with significantly differing word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing strong evidence in support of the hypothesis, because if the hypothesis is correct such coincidence would be expected;

C1: Events of successful communication which coincided with substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing weaker evidence in support of the hypothesis. This kind of communication event provides weaker evidence because if the hypothesis is correct, such coincidence would be expected, however it could be that factors other than similarity of connotative meaning account for the successful communication in these cases, discussed further at 6.10 below;

C2: Events of successful communication which coincided with widely differing word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing strong evidence to contradict the hypothesis, because if the hypothesis is correct events of successful communication would be expected to coincide with a similarity in such word associations and semantic differential scoring;

M2: Events of miscommunication which coincided with substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing weaker evidence to contradict the hypothesis, because if the hypothesis is correct, events of miscommunication would be expected to coincide with significantly differing word associations and semantic differential scoring. However, other factors may explain such events, discussed further at 6.10 below;

and

I: Events that did not fall into any of the above categories, providing evidence neither in support nor in contradiction of the hypothesis.

In order to decide on the appropriate classification of each communication event according to the taxonomy, it was necessary to create a consistent method of comparison between the semantic differential test results of the informants. In

the "Osgood" scale that I had used, the maximum possible difference in meaning for any word or phrase tested would have been 7, assuming test scores for the interlocutors of +3 and -3 (zero is also counted). In this case their meanings would be theoretically opposite. Given this maximum, a number of variations were experimented with, for example, assuming a difference of 1 was a significant difference or assuming a difference of 0.5 was significant. I felt a little uncomfortable with both of these approaches, however, because a difference of 1 on a scale of only 1-7 seemed rather large, whereas a difference of 0.5 seemed too small a difference. I eventually decided that a reasonable assumption to make was that a difference in semantic differential of more than 10% (0.7) was a significant difference. Prior to this conclusion, I did however experiment with alternative classifications of the data using 1 and 0.5 as a significant difference but could detect no patterns that would provide a major difference in interpretation of the data. In addition, it should be pointed out that no conclusion is drawn either in support of or in contradiction to the hypothesis based on the semantic differential testing alone, but only when the other data support this.

It would be misleading to suggest that all the communication events neatly fell into each of the categories presented above. As a result, a number of alternate ways of analysing the data were attempted, including (1) using only the semantic differential for comparison as the word associations were sometimes problematic; (2) breaking up the event selected to treat each keyword or phrase that was selected as a separate communication event; (3) further subdividing the taxonomy into events of partial communication; (4) using numbers of identical word associations in further subdivision; and (5) applying the taxonomy rigidly or applying it with some flexibility based on an overall assessment of the communication event. However, after experimenting with these other possibilities I concluded that the M1/C1/C2/M2/I taxonomy described above was most representative of the communication events selected for testing, provided some flexibility was used in categorization. Therefore, where the communication event did not seem to fall clearly into one of the categories on a rigid application of the taxonomy, rather than automatically categorising the data as an "I", I nevertheless included it in one of the categories if in my

judgement it was best represented by that category and that this could be justified. Whether the data tended to support or contradict the hypothesis was irrelevant and was consciously excluded from the categorization.

6.10 The significance of C1, C2 and M2 events

In the taxonomy described above, it should be noted that events of successful communication are categorised as C1: events of successful communication which coincided with substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing weaker evidence to support the hypothesis. Strictly speaking, events of successful communication cannot prove the hypothesis that successful intercultural communication cannot take place without a similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse because it could be that factors other than similarity in connotative meaning of keywords and phrases account for the successful communication in these cases such as context, NVC, back channelling or the co-operative nature of discourse using English as a lingua franca. I would nevertheless argue that such instances can provide weaker support for the hypothesis, in that if the hypothesis is correct, it would be expected that where there is successful communication using the lingua franca there should also be a similarity in connotative meaning for keywords and phrases used in dialogue. This is supported by the significance attached in different ways to keywords in language by the research of Agar and Wierzbicka as discussed in Chapter 4 at 4.3.3. However, if the hypothesis is not correct a significant number of events would be expected where there is successful communication despite a marked difference in connotative meaning in relation to key words and phrases used by the interlocutors. I therefore concluded that a preponderance of C1 events would provide weaker support for the hypothesis.

In relation to C2 events, however, it is difficult to imagine how successful communication may nevertheless occur where there were widely differing word associations and semantic differential scores, if the hypothesis is correct. It was therefore concluded that any C2 events observed would provide strong evidence to contradict the hypothesis.

M2 Events were events of miscommunication that coincided with substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring. It is true that if the hypothesis is correct, events of miscommunication would be expected to coincide with significantly differing word associations and semantic differential scoring (i.e. M1). However, other factors may explain M2 events, for example, the key word or phrase chosen to be tested may not in fact have been of particular importance in understanding the sequence or there may have been difficulties in pronunciation that accounted for the miscommunication (see further discussion of pronunciation issues in ELF at 6.24.3 below). My conclusion was therefore that such events provided some evidence tending to contradict the hypothesis, but that this evidence was weaker than C2 events, where successful communication coincided with widely differing word associations and semantic differential scoring.

6.11 Events where a key word or phrase was not known to one of the informants

There were a number of occasions where a keyword or phrase was not known to one of the informants, for example, Michael did not know the words “Victorianization” and “matrifocality” in D.3.1 and Suttichai did not know the word “traitor” in D.1.2. These sequences are discussed further below, but a decision had to be taken as to how to treat such an occurrence. One argument might be that if there was miscommunication surrounding such an event (and there was on each occasion a keyword was not known to one of the informants), then these events provided strong support for the hypothesis as cases where there was an extreme difference in meaning. However, having considered this argument, I rejected it. When the word was not known to one of the informants, word associations and semantic differential could not be tested. I therefore decided that it was impossible to make any meaningful comparison. It is true that such events provide support for the hypothesis that successful intercultural communication between non-native English speakers of differing national cultures using English as a *lingua franca* cannot take place without a shared knowledge of interlocutors of key words and phrases used in discourse, which to a certain extent is part of my hypothesis, but I decided that such events could not

assist in proving or disproving my hypothesis because a connotative meaning could not be assessed for comparison. I therefore categorized D 3.1 as I, because both of the keywords selected were unknown to Michael. However, in the case of D.1.2, data from another keyword in the sequence was available for comparison and I therefore felt able to properly categorize the event.

6.12 Outcome of classification using the taxonomy

I discuss below the analysis of the communication events, however the reader may find it useful to consider a summary of the outcome of the process of classification before considering the detail, which was as follows:

M1: Events of miscommunication which coincided with significantly differing word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing strong evidence in support of the hypothesis: 2 cases;

C1: Events of successful communication which coincided with substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing weaker evidence in support of the hypothesis: 7 cases;

C2: Events of successful communication which coincided with widely differing word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing strong evidence to contradict the hypothesis: 1 case;

M2: Events of miscommunication which coincided with substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing weaker evidence to contradict the hypothesis: 0 cases;

and

I: Events that did not fall into any of the above categories, providing evidence neither in support nor in contradiction of the hypothesis: 1 case.

It can therefore be observed at this stage that there was some strong evidence to support the hypothesis, however there were an insufficient number of instances to be able to draw any inferences from this with any great confidence in their reliability. However, there was a substantial body of evidence providing weaker support for the hypothesis. I shall consider what conclusions can be drawn from this outcome following a more detailed discussion of the communication events themselves.

6.13 Discussion of M1 events

6.13.1 (Annex Two, D 1.2) This was the sequence in which Michael referred to the people of Iraq regarding the new Iraq government as a traitor. Suttichai interrupted, saying “like a puppet”. Michael agreed. This is the sequence in context:

“M. Yeah, and when I, em, read the newspapers, when I watched the news I saw Iraq people they em, they don’t want to follow their new government.

S. Mmm.

M. I mean because, em, U.S. invaded Iraq and they destroyed their old government, old administration or else were killed, whatever and then they support new, new government.

S. Mmm.

M. But people, Iraq people think that, that new government is like a traitor.

S. Mmm.

M. Because new government they follow the U.S. policy.

S. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

M. They obey so, people they feel very bad and they feel very, they think the new government, they...

S. Like a puppet.

M. Yes, Yes.

S. Like a puppet.

M. Yes, yes. I think its not good, good solution to solve the problem, because, every day I whenever I read the newspaper, Bangkok Post, the Nation, um, often come out like a, like a suicide bomb, bombing or some terr, terror happen, in

Iraq and even that area so, so I think the U.S. failed to er, to how to say, intervene, intervene, in Iraq area."

On viewing the video, it first appeared that there was successful communication in this sequence, however I was not sure, and decided to select this sequence for further investigation. The results were initially confusing, because in the word association testing Suttichai said he did not know the word "traitor" and Michael said that he did not know the word "puppet". However, on the second round of testing, both informants claimed to know each word. This was therefore difficult to assess. After careful consideration of the data, my conclusion is that Suttichai did not know the word "traitor", even though he responded in the second word association test. This is because his word associations appeared to be guesswork, partly influenced by rhyme: "Monster, devil, equator". There was no apparent connection with the word "traitor", nor indeed with any of Michael's word associations: (1) bad guy; anti patriotic; Iraq; U.S.; (2) Iraq; U.S.; bad; negative. In addition, in the stop-start interview conducted following the first round of word association tests, Suttichai could not explain the word "traitor" to me, as this sequence shows:

Q. Ok, I just want to ask you a little bit about that sequence, er, [Michael] says Iraq people think the new government is a traitor, because the new government follow U.S. policy, em, after the word traitor, you make a, a noise, a conversation noise of, of, of er, encouragement, or, er, that you're listening, em, so I think the sequence goes er, "I think the new government is a traitor" and you go, "ahh" like a Thai conversational politeness, em, did you know what he meant when he said "I think the new government is a traitor"? Do you know the word traitor?

"S. (long pause) Invaders?

Q. Er, Its no problem if you don't know the word, but I can't...

S. But its negative word, I guess

Q. Continue with what you think, yes.

S. It's negative word, like em, how to say, like em

Q. You think its something like invader?

S. Something like that.

Q. Yes, because this study I can't explain the word to you yet.

S. uhuh, its negative word, yeah.

Q. Ok, ok, so, and can you just explain to me the, the sound you make, is that intended to indicate, er, agreement, or merely er, politeness that you're listening, what?

S. The sound that I make?

Q. Yeah, the Thai sound, its like a Thai, many people in Thailand use it in conversation.

S. [makes the sound, uhh]

Q. Yeah, just like that a little bit like uhh, uhh, what does that indicate?

S. Its accept, something like er show your acception, accepting your partners [comments]

Q. Yes, it's a little bit more than politeness, its, is it more like er, agreement?

S. Yeah, yeah.

Q. Yeah, yeah. So really, er, in concluding in relation to that sequence, you made the noise of agreement, you weren't sure exactly what the word traitor meant, but you felt that it was a negative word and you agreed with the, in the context with the negative word because you also had a negative view of the invasion of Iraq, sorry the rescue of Iraq, perhaps, depending on your point of view, ok, that's very helpful. Ok, let me just let that sequence finish."

I therefore concluded that Suttichai did not in fact know the word traitor and that his word associations were guesswork. However, although I initially thought that in the same way, Michael did not know the word "puppet", this was not the case. Michael did not recognize the word "puppet" in the first word association test. This was perhaps because of nervousness, or mishearing the word when I read it to him. When asked about this in the stop-start interview, he said that he thought it was a different word when I read the word to him in the word association test, but now realized that the word was "puppet". He admitted that he had not recognized the word in testing *"yeah but I guess when [Suttichai] said, I understood, it was a doll but when I, so that the word and listen and I, I thought the new word, some like the other vocabulary but, but now I just, oh, it's the same he was saying (laughing)"*. This conclusion is supported by Michael's

word association tests on the second occasion for puppet: doll; powerless; not thinking, which clearly confirm that he did in fact know the word.

Having concluded that Suttichai did not know the word “traitor”, but that Michael did in fact know the word “puppet”, I was able to begin the classification of this event, because my point of comparison could be the semantic differential scores for the word puppet. A note of caution should be made here, however, because in Suttichai’s case two semantic differential scores were available to enable me to use the mean for comparison, however as Michael did not recognize the word “puppet” on the first occasion, only the second semantic differential score was available. However, I ignore as a point of comparison the semantic differential scoring for “traitor” because my conclusion is that this was merely guesswork on the part of Suttichai and therefore an unreliable point of comparison.

Suttichai’s mean semantic differential scoring for “puppet” was 0.44. Michael’s scoring on the second test only was -1, giving a substantial difference between interlocutors of 1.44. It should be pointed out that although there was a large difference in semantic differential between the informants, their word associations did coincide in one respect, “doll”, although the remainder of the word associations were very different: Suttichai’s word associations were all connected with children playing, whereas Michael’s were “powerless” and “not thinking”. I found this event very difficult to categorize. I initially considered if this event was inconclusive, but felt that this categorization did not properly describe this event. I finally decided that it fell into category M1 when the combined effect of Suttichai not knowing the word “traitor” and their marked difference in meaning for “puppet” was considered. There was clearly miscommunication. Suttichai did not know the word “traitor” and therefore the idea that the traitor betrays his people was lost. The idea of a doll-like puppet is more neutral and the blame laid much more in the hands of the puppeteer, in this case the U.S.. I was not surprised then by the marked difference in scores for the word puppet, with Michael’s being much more negative. On this interpretation, this event is one with miscommunication and a widely different semantic differential. I accept, however that it could be argued that the one identical word

association places this event in category I, however the other word associations convey a very different meaning and therefore I concluded that this event is properly classified as an M1 event.

6.13.2 (Annex One, D 2.3) In this sequence from the contract negotiation role-play, Michael was explaining to Suttichai that if a new contract is made then the original contract is not valid any more. I selected this sequence because Suttichai did not appear to understand this. I was however unsure whether this was actually the case or whether this was merely a reflection of the negotiating position that Suttichai was taking, because his task was to try and maintain the original equal profit division. The keywords selected from this sequence for testing were “contract” and “valid”:

*“S. We have the original **contract** and we have another contract between us, not between other there.*

*M. (laughing) We represent each company so we have an original one and if we made a new contract the original one is, is just go away, go away, is useless now and the new contract is **valid**, it means new contract is govern.*

S. You want to get er....

M. Its automatically gone because different contract, contract, so new one is cover old one, old contract has to be gone, put it away.

S. We cannot keep it?

M. We cannot.

S. Oh, but the contract is between us, not between us and them.

M. (laughing) You know, this contract doesn't mean like a, like a personal agreement, a promise, because you are official lawyer and I'm official lawyer and you have to consider each company's benefit, interest so, yeah if we make contract it means contract between the company not between us.”

On testing it was clear that Suttichai did not in fact know the word valid, although as I earlier observed, he later recalled seeing it in his passport. I therefore do not take into account the semantic differential score or word association score for the word “valid” on the second occasion, because I regard them as unreliable. However, were they taken into account they would strongly

support the hypothesis, because the word associations and semantic differential score were extremely different from Michael's (see Annex Two, D.2.3). The semantic differential testing for "contract" was interesting. Despite the fact that this was a role-play, the interlocutors also seemed to have a different personal view of the importance of a contract. This was possibly partly explained by the fact that Michael was a law student, however I believe this could also have been influenced by Michael's strong Christian morality. I therefore anticipated a marked difference in their semantic differential for the word "contract". This was in fact the case. The mean of Suttichai's semantic differential was 0.44, whereas Michael's was 1.55. There were no directly shared word associations, but interesting similarities and differences that appear to reflect the difference in semantic differential. One of Suttichai's associations was "paper", compared to Michael's "legal document". Another of Suttichai's associations was "honour", compared to Michael's "duty" and "obligation". I therefore concluded that this event fell clearly within category M1. There was miscommunication over both key words, and in relation to contract, there was a significant difference in semantic differential and word associations.

6.13.3 General observations on M1 events

The two M1 events are slightly different, because in the traitor/puppet sequence there was no acknowledgement in the discourse that there was any misunderstanding. This meant that the informants had no opportunity to correct the miscommunication, as there was no apparent awareness that it had taken place. In the traitor/puppet sequence, this meant that the level of their communication was reduced to the idea that the government of Iraq was something bad, doing what the U.S. wanted, but the idea that the Iraq people regarded the Iraq government as a traitor was lost and the perception of U.S. control was very different. The informants agreed, but this agreement can only have been on the most basic of levels. In the contract sequence, Michael appears to have been aware that Suttichai did not understand what "valid" meant, because he tried to explain it further. But Michael was not aware that Suttichai also had a significantly different understanding of the word, "contract", partly because Michael's understanding of the word was linked to ideas of validity.

Interestingly, both events also included a subsequent attempt by Suttichai to deny or disguise the fact that he did not know the meaning of a key word.

What seems to be happening in both these events is that the impact of the miscommunication is disguised by what Meierkord refers to as the co-operative nature of lingua franca communication (Meierkord, 2002, p.120), even in the role-play where the informants are forced to adopt opposite positions. The lingua franca works, but it appears to be working at a much more superficial level than might first appear, as key words may not be known or may be understood in a significantly different way by interlocutors.

6.14 Discussion of C1 events

The frequency of C1 events was striking (7 out of the 11 events tested in the main study). They were in general also the most straightforward to classify, falling clearly into this category. Because of the large number of such events I shall discuss the most typical instances from this group, in addition to instances that require greater discussion as to the reasons why I concluded that the C1 category best represented the communication event. The relevant extracts from the dialogues and associated test results can be seen in Annex Two at D1.1; D 1.3; D 1.4; D 2.1; D 3.2; D 3.3 and D 3.4.

6.14.1 Within C1, there were frequent cases of extreme similarity or even identical semantic differential scoring. Take the word “believe”, in the following sequence from D.1.1:

“S. One thing is very, very wrong for me because I think U.S.A. try to identify their city, New York City like a capital of the World.

M. (laughing)

S. To let the people to feel like that, to feel that, I, I mean, I mean U.S. people, U.S.A. try, try to invite the people to believe, to follow them...

M. (nodding) Oh, I see...

S. Our [Pope] benefits New York City...

M. Uhuh.

S. Er, World Trade Centre was attacked by terrorism.

M. Uhuh.

S. Something like that, you, you let the people, you know, you can see, something like that and you see the link, the reason to invade someone.

M. Uhuh, yeah, so em when you joined the demonstration, protest for the, er, against the invasion, em, so people, em, what's the the main reason to disagree.

S. Yeah, the main reason that I [inaudible] disagree that we say that its, how to say, broke the rule of U.N. because permission from the U.N. is one thing, and em, because its, its not reasonable, the, the reason to invade, because finally now they can't find any nuclear weapon."

On testing the key word "believe", the difference between the mean scores of the informants was 0.38, however on the first occasion their scores were even closer: 1.56 and 1.67. With such a close correlation in semantic differentials, it is interesting to note that the word associations of Suttichai (in relation to the first occasion- faith; God; father; mother; sister) were also very similar to those of Michael: (religion; faith; essence for living) although on the second occasion Suttichai's word associations seemed more connected with belief as a thought process rather than a religious belief. Although I initially regarded this as an event of miscommunication, on being interviewed, however, Michael clearly understood the main point that Suttichai was making, even though when asked if he understood he was uncertain of this:

"R. E, we'll go back and look at it again, but, em, Mr. Sitta says to you, er, something like-"one thing is very wrong for me, because I think U.S.A. try to identify their city, New York City, like the capital of the world, to let the people feel like that" sorry it is quite a long section "to let the people feel like that, to feel that U.S.A. try to invite the people to believe, to follow them. Our pope benefits New York City, World Trade Centre was attacked by terrorism, something like that, you let the people feel the same, you see the link, the reason to invade somebody". Now, at the beginning of that long section you say yes to Mr. Sitta, yes, like....

S. I agree, yes

R. er, at the end you don't really say anything, but you, er, ask him about a different subject, you ask him about the, what he thinks the main reason people had for joining the demonstration in Thailand, ok, so there are a number of parts of that sequence I'd like to talk about. Em, one phrase he used he said "Our Pope benefits New York City", did you understand what he was talking about?

S. No (strongly)

R....when he said our Pope?

S. At the time I just, er, understood what he said is that like the U.S. try to let people know that the New York is the center of the World, so I agreed that point, but I didn't catch that Pope benefit something, yeah, I didn't catch it.

R. Yeah, and then ,er, do you know actually what Pope means?

S. No, no.

R. And, em, the other section, "you let the people feel the same, you see the link, the reason to invade someone"- did you understand what he was talking about then?

M. Not really.

R. No, er, lets just go back and watch it one more time and then if you want to make any more comments about that section then, er, you can, I'll stop it after its finished, you can make some more comments.

M. ok.

[section replayed]

R. Ok, right, so, er, just thinking about that particular sequence, now you have seen it again and I have asked you about it, is there any other comment you would like to make about that sequence?

M. Em, when I watched again, what I understood, he's like, he wanted to say the er, U.S. try to make the New York is the capital of the World and second, its like em, em, they try to link, I mean, they try to er, the people, the World people think, er the same same sympathy, the same emotion about like World Trade Centre attack, so they invite the World and make them ally, the same side and try to invade Iraq, yeah and what, that's er, what I understood...If I understood correctly, I agree with [Suttichai's] opinion."

Michael therefore clearly understood the main idea of Suttichai that the U.S. was trying to make people believe that New York was the center of the world and that an attack on New York was therefore an attack on the world. With such an obvious similarity in word association and semantic differential test results, this event therefore fell clearly within category C1.

6.14.2 Another typical example of this phenomenon was the key-phrase “Cold War”, used in D.1.4. This was the sequence in which Suttichai explained how Asian countries had frequently been obliged to follow U.S. policy even though they did not agree with it, using the “Cold War” as an example:

“M. Oh yes, many, many, most of people they actually they disagree to support U.S. policy, like in er attack Iraq, but we have no choice, just what you said because we have to follow U.S. policy, if, unless we found U.S. policy very, er, trade off (laughing) U.S. don’t support any more and you have to sacrifice that’s why, er...”

S. I believe especially in South East Asia.

M. South East Asia.

S. Very, because, as we discussed, U.S. try to er, identify Muslim World, like er, terrorism World, something like that, Thailand in South East Asia we have biggest Muslim country in the World here, Indonesia, Malaysia is Muslim, I think after that it affect er, the World, affect it maybe in South East Asia you can see the separatists talk about Jihad Islam talk about bombing Bali, anywhere, in the Philippines also, this, this week, er, the benefits of U.S.A., maybe, er, they get the effects from Iraq war, because wherever that used to be the base of U.S.A., absolutely, for example you have to think about anti-terrorism, follow U.S.A. Thailand also, Malaysia, anywhere.

M. Its quite interesting because I learn, Thai, Thai history, contemporary history always Thailand was stick close to the U.S. [inaudible] support 100%, but now...

S. Yes, like er in during Cold War...

M. The Cold War?

S. Yes, some liberals, communists, now its em anti-terrorism.

M. Anti-terrorism.

S. Anti-terrorism identify with maybe, em non-Muslim countries [inaudible].

M. And er, do you think now is like the violence in the South area....

S. Emm.

M. I heard that its one of the reason is the related with Iraq, Iraq er, invasion or is irrelevant?

S. Er, its, I think it is irrelevant...

M. Yeah...

S. Because yeah, that, that we discussed, the world is not disciplined any more, because U.S.A. cannot control CIA, because Southern Thailand (gestures) we can talk, na? Someone, Muslim in the South they believe that the action is made by CIA.

M. Oh.

S. Support, not directly.

M. Oh.

S. You see, not directly, but the support is CIA.

M. Because CIA made plot?

S. Made plot.

M. (laughing) [inaudible]

S. They used this game long time ago during cold war they use this game until today but I think its lose control something, because now the world is global network, you can link anything, sometimes lose control, beyond your control."

Although Michael's views were not as extreme as Suttichai and he therefore did not entirely agree, it was nevertheless clear that there had been successful communication at this point, from the following passage in Michael's stop-start interview:

"Q. Ok, that was another section that I wanted to ask you about, em, when er, Sitta said, er, "its like during the Cold War", er, "communists. Now anti-terrorism identify with maybe non-muslim countries" what do you think he was saying then, or meaning?

M. Its like er, terrorism, is equate, equate same as just like er Muslim country is terrorism country, that kind of thing, and anti-terrorism like er the rest of them, like er, including U.S., the other allies.....

Q. And what about the, er, connection with the Cold War that he was talking about?

M. Cold War, because, probably because of er, the role of the U.S., because at the time also the U.S. initiated er, kind of er, ideology, and they draw line, and also now they made some ideology, U.S. side and the other side, yeah, like that."

When the key phrase "Cold War" was tested, the mean difference in semantic differentials between informants was 0.39, however on the second occasion both informants produced exactly the same score, 0.33. Their key words were also remarkably similar, both having associations with Russia; America; conflict/fighting; and Asia/South East Asia. This was therefore another clear example of a C1 event.

6.14.3 Another interesting example was the word "process" in the following sequence from D.2.1:

"M. Okay, here is the deal, I think this construction is for 12 months and then we have worked together for 4 months, so, but we work 75% and your company work 25% so I recommend you, em, from now on, for 4 months, your company work 75% and my company is 25% and the last part, 4 months 50/50, so what do you think?

S. Yeah, its quite be, em, its quite be ok, em, but we still keep 50/50.

M. Why?

S. Because of er, we have to follow the er, original contract because we didn't discuss about er, er, how to say, how much work each other do.

M. Yeah, we made a contract like a 50/50 division of profit and 50/50 work division, but the situation changed, the reality was different from the old, er, contract so, the situation changed, so it is possible to negotiate.

S. What?

M. It is possible.

*S. The **process** is, er, how to say, run by the **procedures** itself.*

M. No.

S. Because you didn't control your workers you do much, I didn't control my workers who do less than you, its come, anything run by the process.

M. You mean its impossible to work more, from now on, so you want to keep going 25 (laughing)

S. Because, you know, the running, uh, you, you see that the running of the process, if we change something, we will waste time, yes?

M. Uhuh."

Again, on the second occasion both informants produced exactly the same semantic differential, 0.11, the difference between their mean scores being 0.22. Although word associations were not identical, the ideas were clearly extremely similar: line/steps; output/result; input and output/cause and result.

6.14.4 Perhaps the most interesting example of close correlations in the C1 category, however, was the outcome of the testing in relation to both key words "politics" and "politicians", in the following sequence from D 3.2:

"M. Yeah, yeah, I learned like er Thai, Thai situation, like the King is the father, the Buddhist concept, and the people is like a son or daughters.

S. Yeah, because Buddhism.

M. Yeah, patronage, patronage system, patronage system.

S. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

M. Patronage system, so, yeah politicians, like, as you say, as you said like, politicians like take care of the people.

S. Exactly, it come from Victorianization.

M. Yes, yes.

S. Because basically, its matrifocality we, we respect for our, for our mother and its not, not, you know, different from, from, from what you know about there, its come from, its quite new, its Victorianization, its not [inaudible] its come from Royal Family on top to the...

M. Top to the bottom.

S. Yeah, bottom, but now Royal family change, they didn't involve to politics, change the new one, its er politicians actually, take, they take their role.

M. Yeah, I think politicians make people like er depend on them and...

S. Like Korea.

M. They use.

S. To get power, to keep.

M. So, so what do you think family values really exist in this world?

S. Exist in real world?

M. Not, not politicians said, but real.

S. Yeah, I think its perhaps family values.

M. Is it different?

S. Different?

M. Different meaning?

S. I think different."

For each of these key words, "politics" and politicians", there was an identical scoring for each informant on one occasion. For "politics", each informant produced a score of 0.11 on one occasion, with the difference between their mean scores being 0.17. For "politicians", each produced the semantic differential score on one occasion of -0.67, with the difference between their mean scores being 0.11. There was also a clear similarity between their word associations, the most striking being for "politician" (corruption/corruption; bad/immoral). This was consistent with the views of both informants expressed in their questionnaires at a much earlier stage. Both informants stated that they do not trust politicians. Michael's association "selfish" being consistent with his questionnaire comment, *"they are clever to seek their interests but dull to take care of people"*.

6.14.5 I should point out that although most C1 events fell clearly into this category, this was not always the case. For example, in relation to both extracts D1.3 and D 3.3 after careful consideration I decided that they both fell most appropriately into category C1 even though the semantic differential in relation to one of the key words in each sequence was greater than the 0.7 difference I had selected as a point of reference. The reason for this was that there was clearly good communication in each of these sequences and a very close correlation in respect of one of the keywords or phrases chosen from the

sequence. In D 1.3, the sequence in which the interlocutors discuss the war on terrorism and compare it with the cold war:

"M. Oh yes, many, many, most of people they actually they disagree to support U.S. policy, like in er attack Iraq, but we have no choice, just what you said because we have to follow U.S. policy, if, unless we found U.S. policy very, er, trade off (laughing) U.S. don't support any more and you have to sacrifice that's why, er..."

S. I believe especially in South East Asia.

M. South East Asia.

*S. Very, because, as we discussed, U.S. try to er, identify Muslim World, like er, terrorism World, something like that, Thailand in South East Asia we have biggest Muslim country in the World here, Indonesia, Malaysia is Muslim, I think after that it affect er, the World, affect it maybe in South East Asia you can see the separatists talk about Jihad Islam talk about bombing Bali, anywhere, in the Philippines also, this, this week, er, the benefits of U.S.A., maybe, er, they get the effects from Iraq war, because wherever that used to be the base of U.S.A., absolutely, for example you have to think about **anti-terrorism**, follow U.S.A. Thailand also, Malaysia, anywhere.*

M. Its quite interesting because I learn, Thai, Thai history, contemporary history always Thailand was stick close to the U.S. [inaudible] support 100%, but now...

S. Yes, like er in during cold war...

M. The cold war?

S. Yes, some liberals, communists, now its em anti-terrorism.

M. Anti-terrorism.

*S. Anti-terrorism **identify with** maybe, em non-Muslim countries [inaudible]."*

In the case of D 1.3, there was a close similarity between word associations used in respect of the key word and phrase chosen. The difficulty in classification was created by the difference between the mean scores of the informants of semantic differential for "anti-terrorism" being 0.94. I decided that to classify this event as inconclusive was misleading, because all of the word associations were extremely similar and 2 of the 3 semantic differential test results were

extremely similar. For similar reasons I felt it was not correct to classify this event as C2, because the majority of evidence from this sequence placed this into C1. I therefore decided that to apply the 0.7 difference in semantic differential test results too rigidly could result in miscategorisation. I was also conscious that two of Michael's word associations ("peace" and the "U.N") reflected a more positive meaning for "anti-terrorism", which could explain his more positive semantic differential scoring and his strength of feeling was quite possibly influenced by his background as a UN peacekeeper in East Timor.

6.14.6 I used a similar rationale in the categorisation of the following sequence in D 3.3:

*"S. I mean em, the relationship in the family, its like the members, the function is, they have own duty, something, like er, how to say, ok if you were father you have, you have to have, er the **moral** to govern your, your your son, your daughter something like that, if you broke the rule anyone will broke the rule also (laughs) again you also, you have to, if you still keep the rule anyone will keep the rule [inaudible].*

M. Yes, I agree with that, and em but, yeah, I think I agree to with er existing this family values and I understood, I thought like family value, is this concept, is similar to like what Confucius says, but I think politicians they abuse that concept.

S. Yeah, yeah, I agree with that.

M. And then, like in Korea or Asian country like er, they influenced by Chinese Confucian, Confucius so but I, actually I like the Confucius concept the values because like er the family is kind of like a small and important society and then I like the, the seniority the son and daughter, children respect parents and grandparents and yeah, and then also I like when the parents get old the children take care of them, their parents, and yeah, and I like that, that value...

S. Yeah.

M...to respect and take care of, and love each other yeah and yes, em"

I should point out that there was a large difference between the mean semantic differential scores of the informants of 1.66 for the keyword "moral", despite

extremely similar word associations: religion/religion; god/bible; believe/faithful. However I also took into account the extremely similar scoring for the other key word in this sequence “govern” (0.27 and 0.67). In addition, I had become aware of how acutely religious Michael was. I therefore felt that his high semantic differential readings for moral (2 and 1.67) were influenced by this religious leaning. Given the clear understanding they both shared of the Confucian concept of the father having to keep certain moral standards to govern the son and given the other close similarities I felt it would be misleading to place this sequence into any other category. The fact that one informant would probably set the moral standards very much higher than the other and include a Christian element does not in my view affect this conclusion. It may also be observed that some key words may be more “key” or have more “weight” than others in the context in which they are used, creating a shared understanding and effectively compensating for a difference in understanding of another key word.

This sequence may also provide an interesting example of successful communication in ELF when the interpretive frame exists in the language and culture of each interlocutor, in this case, in relation to Confucian values. I discuss this possible connection with Agar’s work at 6.24.2 below.

6.14.7 In sequence D.3.4, Michael referred to family values becoming confused in Korea because of the mixture of old concepts, Chinese influences, Japanese influence and now Western influence:

“M. And then, like in Korea or Asian country like er, they influenced by Chinese Confucian, Confucius so but I, actually I like the Confucius concept the values because like er the family is kind of like a small and important society and then I like the, the seniority the son and daughter, children respect parents and grandparents and yeah, and then also I like when the parents get old the children take care of them, their parents, and yeah, and I like that, that value...”

S. Yeah....

M. but nowadays it getting changed many, if they like after graduating university they many children they try to, to get independent, separate from

economically, or also they live er, the other place far from their parents [inaudible] it changed and also like, already like extended family changed into like a nuclear family, so...

S. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

M. Now is very...

S. It's the same like Thailand.

M. And seniority also changed, like em, like er, recently the company they used to when they er, pick the, how to say, recruiter, new, new er work, they give priority was like age, more than their ability and their or like, er, pre, pre, precious, prestigious school, or some good hometown, like that, same hometown, but now its changed, more reasonable, rational.

*S. Exactly, it's the same like Thailand, I think its very, er, the **family** value in the East, sometime in, because we prefer democracy, we prefer the concept of equality, but I'm not sure that family values in the East match with the new concept like democracy, or equality, or not, but I think they have, we have, because sometimes people didn't care, didn't think about the role of family values...*

M. Family values.

S. ...if you concern about the role, father have the role, son have the role, daughter have the role and anything will be protect because each other have to respect the role it, it mean that at the same time they respect their status, in others also, I think its problem, I think we can adapt with, em, maybe the concept of democracy or you see, equality, something like that.

M. Uhuh, uhuh, that part.

S. That part.

*M. And, I think like, in Korean situation, the reason why family values like er changed and confused because like er now a transitional period, and old concept and like, er, Chinese influence and Japanese influence and now its **Western influence** and mixed, so its like er, many, many things like mixed so sometimes...*

S. You cannot find the root.

M. Yes, yes.

S. Maybe confused.

M. Yeah, but I think balance is important, like we have to keep good things, like good tradition from family values but at the same time we have to like, er, get good things from the Western, the other countries, make, make it more reasonable, yeah, so."

The overall impression on viewing the video recording of this sequence was that there was good communication throughout this sequence and indeed Michael was describing a phenomenon that Suttichai had also experienced in Thailand. The keyword "family" and key phrase "western influence" were selected for testing. Interestingly, Suttichai's word associations for family were on both occasions linked to friendship and trust. Michael's word associations were more connected with parents and relations, love and blood ties. I therefore anticipated that their semantic differential scores would be similar but that Michael's would be more positive. This was indeed the case as Michael's score was +2, whereas Suttichai's score was 1.44, a difference of 0.67. This was nevertheless a fairly similar score. There were no identical word associations when "western influence" was tested. Suttichai associated "western influence" with colonization and white dominance, whereas Michael's associations were with liberalism, materialism, MacDonalds and KFC. Surprisingly, the negativity of Suttichai was not reflected in his semantic differential testing, as he produced a mean score of 0.89, compared to Michael's mean score of 0.78. The difference between their mean scores was therefore 0.11, a very similar outcome. This section of the dialogue was therefore difficult to categorize. It was possible to categorize this section as I, because there were no identical word associations and there was a significant difference in associations for "western influence". It could not be categorized as M1 or M2, as there was clearly good communication at this point and this was confirmed by each informant in interview and on considering the video. On balance, I decided that it fell in category C1 as there was good communication and very similar semantic differential test results for both of the key words chosen from this sequence, together with a degree of similarity in word associations for "family". I cannot explain the marked difference between the word associations for "western influence", however it may be speculated that at least part of Michael's associations were part of Suttichai's views of western influence, as they would certainly be part of his

everyday life experience in Bangkok and in his interview he did not confine himself to ideas of colonization but also referred to “free sex” being part of western influence, as is shown in the following extract from his stop-start interview:

“S. Er, my understanding is maybe, [Michael] live in Korea, he gets more influence of the Westerner, he see what, what should, should adapt with, with his society.

Q. Yes.

S. Because its formal, formal, er how to say, because Korean is more formal than Thailand.

Q. More formal society?

S. No no I mean in terms of Americanization or Westernization.

Q. Right.

S. Officially, in Korean politics its more formal than Thailand its vis, its er...

Q. Do you mean more obvious?

S. Yeah, visible.

Q. More visible.

S. Yeah, Something like that.

Q. Ok, ok.

S. And he will see more the good points of the West or other cultures, if you compare with Thailand, because in Thailand, anything good (laughing).

Q. (mishearing) Anything goes.

S. Anything good from the West, all goods.

Q. Yes.

S. Free sex, they don't I don't know what is free sex, what is free, I don't know, I think in Thailand didn't realize about what exact the theme or the values of, of from the West, I don't know its just surface, and put the surface to adapt, but maybe Koreans, they understand.”

Although I believe that this event is properly categorized as C1, because of the uncertainty created by the difference in word associations between the informants for “western influence” it should not be regarded as a particularly strong example of the C1 category.

6.14.8 General observations on C1 events

In most C1 events, semantic differential scores were extremely similar and in a significant number of cases, identical. Combined with this, there was a clear similarity of word associations in relation to the key words and phrases tested. Because of the frequency of such events that coincide with events of successful communication, they are very persuasive evidence that where there is successful communication in English as a lingua franca the interlocutors will have a high degree of similarity in connotative meaning in relation to key words and phrases used in the discourse. Of course, it may be argued that numerous other factors that have been proved to influence intercultural communication could account for the success in communication in the lingua franca at such points in the discourse, for example, context in discourse; cultural similarity; social similarity; backchannels; NVC; and so on. It could also be argued that because of the limitations in testing of key words and phrases they are not completely representative of each dialogue. Were other words and phrases selected and tested, they might reveal that there were also wide differences in connotative meaning where there were events of successful communication.

Although I accept that these are valid observations, I would still argue that they do not account for the striking number of such events emerging following testing. Nor do they account for the striking number of occasions where the semantic differential when compared between interlocutors was almost identical or in fact, identical. I would also argue that if such arguments are correct, there would be expected to be a greater number of C2 events, whereas only one was observed and as I discuss below, it is difficult and unsafe to draw any conclusion from that event. I therefore would argue that the frequency and striking similarity of the test results of the C1 events provide significant evidence of the importance of similarity in connotative meaning to successful communication in English as a lingua franca.

This does not prove the hypothesis that successful intercultural communication between non-native English speakers of differing national cultures using English

as a lingua franca cannot take place without a similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse, since it is not a test of the null hypothesis. It does however provide significant support for the hypothesis because if a similarity in connotative meaning is a requirement of successful communication in the lingua franca then it follows that where there is a significant difference in connotative meaning that requirement for successful communication will not be fulfilled and communication in the lingua franca will not be successful.

6.15 Discussion of C2 event

Only one event falls into category C2, tending to contradict the hypothesis, where there appears to be good communication in the lingua franca with a significant difference in semantic differential. (Annex Two, D 2.2) In this sequence Suttichai agreed that his company would pay an additional 25% to Michael's company but would not sign another contract. Michael replied that "its not a contract but just a promise?". This is the transcript of this sequence:

S. What do you think about my offer?

M. Yeah, if you er, if you got er, as you said, if you em keep going, this process, and you work, our company work 75 and your company work 25 so are you sure to pay 25% more, incentive, to our company?

S. Yes, its better its better.

M. So you agree.

S. Yeah, I think it, it, it, it should be ok because we have to consider the, our benefits that you get a big false for we cannot, er you know, finish in time.

M. Yeah, I agree with that, so please sign the new contract.

S. No.

M. Why not, you said no, ok you agree.

S. Yeah I agree, its not a new contract.

M. Why not, it's a new contract, you suggested a new contract.

S. Er, but er, (pause) maybe ok, you can say it a contract, but we still talk about the formal, 50/50, but informal...

M. Informal, you mean its not contract but just a promise?

S. We have the original contract and we have another contract between us, not between other there."

I was unsure whether the informants shared the same meaning for contract so decided to test this sequence further. On testing, the difference between the mean semantic differential for "contract" was 1.11. Their scores in relation to "agree", however were very similar (mean difference of 0.17). Because of the closeness of meaning for "agree", I considered whether this event was really another C1 event, but on balance I decided that it was not, because the difference in semantic differential for "contract" was supported by differences in word associations, Michael's associations being more associated with the contract being a legal document and obligation, whereas Suttichai's were more concerned with signed paper, rather than the significance of the contract and the obligation created by it. Nevertheless, this event was borderline, because in relation to the other key word, "agree", meanings were closely similar. In any event, the difference in semantic differential in relation to the word "contract" would seem not to support the hypothesis, because according to the hypothesis this should be an event of miscommunication. However, it may be misleading to regard the whole of this event as an event of successful communication. For the purposes of the exchange in question, a limited shared understanding of the word "contract" was sufficient, because both informants clearly shared an understanding that a contract was more binding than an agreement or a promise. This is supported by Suttichai's questionnaire comments that a contract is "*The condition that is obligated to something by signature*". I considered whether this sequence really belonged to category I, but rejected this because of the clear difference in meaning for "contract". Regarded as a whole, I therefore decided that this sequence does fall into the C2 category because there was successful communication for the purposes of the dialogue. However, there was in fact an event of M1 supporting the hypothesis in relation to the concept of "contract", where in fact there was an apparent shared understanding but on closer analysis this was not in fact the case. I therefore do not view this event as being either strongly contradictory to the hypothesis or providing strong support.

It is possible that this event is explained by considering the concept of the “third place” in intercultural communication, which I discuss further at 6.24.1 below.

6.16 Discussion of I event

I was unable to categorize one of the communication events tested, D.3.1. This was the sequence in which Suttichai used the keywords “Victorianization” and “matrifocality” to explain his view of the way in which politicians manipulate traditional values, as follows:

“M. Oh, I see, I thought when I, when I see this question I thought that blood tie, I mean, like especially in Asia country that the blood tie, the school tie, like hometown tie is very strong, the same last name the same, same we are extended big family, so if from your family or relative we are like, I think, to be more nice than the other, the other normal people. So I think the reason why the politicians mention family values they, they use that that kinds of characteristic, and yeah, they, they use family ties, blood ties, like er, for example, like in Korea, not now but in the past, like if someone become like er president, the other like army, army chief or police chief, and like some big company chief like er relatives and family.

S. Maybe your father and...

M. Yes, yes, like that, so, that kind of thing, they abuse the blood tie and then control.

S. Yeah, I think that's so because I think like er, my Prime Minister, people think he is our blood father, something like that, if people believe like that they will not, they some kind like, they don't think about er, how to block him, to block the rule, and to bring him down, something like that, because he is our parent.

M. Yeah, yeah, I learned like er Thai, Thai situation, like the King is the father, the Buddhist concept, and the people is like a son or daughters.

S. Yeah, because Buddhism.

M. Yeah, patronage, patronage system, patronage system.

S. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

M. Patronage system, so, yeah politicians, like, as you say, as you said like, politicians like take care of the people.

S. Exactly, it come from Victorianization.

M. Yes, yes.

*S. Because basically, its **matrifocality** we, we respect for our, for our mother and its not, not, you know, different from, from, from what you know about there, its come from, its quite new, its Victorianization, its not [inaudible] its come from Royal Family on top to the...*

M. Top to the bottom.

S. Yeah, bottom, but now Royal family change, they didn't involve to politics, change the new one, its er politicians actually, take, they take their role.

M. Yeah, I think politicians make people like er depend on them and...

S. Like Korea.

M. They use.

S. To get power, to keep."

On testing the keyword "Victorianization", Michael did not know this word and was therefore unable to give a response. The keyword "matrifocality" was wrongly tested on the first occasion as "multifocality", because on listening to the video recording this is the word that I thought had been used, however, Suttichai corrected this when asked about the word he had used. This mistake did not however affect the outcome, because Michael knew neither the word "matrifocality" or the word "multifocality". I was therefore unable to obtain either word association or semantic differential test results from Michael to use for comparison with Suttichai in relation to this sequence. However, although my conclusion was that this sequence must be classified as "I" in accordance with the taxonomy, this sequence nevertheless supports the argument that a shared understanding of keywords are of critical importance in successful communication in the lingua franca- the context, for example, could not rectify this gap in understanding. In this sequence, communication was unsuccessful and both interlocutors agreed that this was the case. When Suttichai was asked if he thought Michael understood the point he was trying to make, his response was:

"S. I don't think so.

Q. You don't think so.

S. No.

Q. Yes, why don't you think that?

S. Em, because maybe, I'm not sure because he is Korean, Korea is different but Chinese, I think Chinese don't have this concept. Because, in Chinese society before coming of Western, its not matrifocality, the status was very low, very low, I think its very, I think he don't understand, but in South East Asia, they can, because me also Chinese, I quite understand what, what he feel, perhaps."

Michael himself agreed that he did not understand what Suttichai was saying:

"M. Actually I have never heard that, those vocabulary so.

Q. But you say yes after he says it.

M. Yes, I see and er, because I try, try to understand because, er unfamiliar with that, that concept, even now, yes...actually I, I felt, he like er, he agree what I said and then added some, the other explanation, but when I watch now, I think he kind of disagree, he, he said the other, the other things, is it, I think he has another, a different opinion?

Q. I don't know, I'll have to ask him.

M. Actually, to be honest I still not clear what is victorianization, that, that word means.

Q. Yeah.

M. Yeah.

Q. What, what was the, er, main point that you were making then that you now think, he didn't agree with you?

M. Oh.

Q. Or you now think he is maybe saying something different. Do you want to watch the sequence again, to help you?

M. Can I?

Q. Sure. Do you want to take the controls- you can do it. Go back to where you want.

[Michael replays the sequence]

M. Yes, er I, I, I mention about like er patronage system or, like the King is like a father and the people is like children and he said, yeah exactly its like, its from Victorianization, so I thought its like a similar concept, the Thai concept and

that Victorianization its from, probably from England em, but he er, he said later now its like a change because the royal family doesn't play along with things because that's now [inaudible] didn't. like er affect the political way that much, yeah em, (laughs) I think at the time and like, not so, em probably I, I couldn't catch his point clearly just I, oh, I guessed because he seems to like, oh, exactly and then he says like oh probably he understood and added something, his opinions, but...

Q. But you didn't really know what he was adding.

M. Yeah, yeah, exactly.

Q. Ok?

M. (Laughs)"

Although therefore this sequence provides neither strong support for the hypothesis nor evidence to disprove the hypothesis, it nevertheless provides a certain degree of indirect support because where there was no shared understanding of these keywords, communication was unsuccessful. It also provides interesting evidence of the co-operative nature of lingua franca discourse, where Michael was saying "yes" following a word that he did not understand as a means of encouragement and of the process of trying to understand, rather than as an expression of agreement or of understanding.

6.17 Revisiting the pilot data

Given the outcome of the analysis of the main data I decided to return to the pilot data to establish whether these data were consistent with the data from the main research. The data available from the pilot were almost as extensive as those from the main research, although without the refinements to the data collection discussed in Chapter 5 at 5.6. The data from the pilot had initially not been classified in accordance with the taxonomy described above because this taxonomy had not been developed at the time of the pilot. The pilot data were therefore analysed again, using the taxonomy, in order to reassess whether they provided further support for or contradicted the hypothesis.

Of the total of 10 communication events selected for testing from the 3 pilot dialogues, 1 communication event fell into category M1, providing strong support for the hypothesis. 3 communication events fell into category C1, providing weaker support for the hypothesis. 1 communication event fell into category C2, providing strong evidence tending to contradict the hypothesis, as there was successful communication despite some difference in test results for the key words. 1 communication event fell into category M2, providing weaker evidence to contradict the hypothesis, because there was miscommunication even though the test results were very similar. 4 further events did not seem to fall into any category, the results being somewhat unclear and were therefore categorized as "I". A lower degree of clarity in the results is perhaps to be expected, as the range of semantic differential testing was broadened considerably following the pilot, in addition to its repetition and use of the mean of the two tests for comparison. The word association testing had also been expanded and repeated in the main research.

6.18 Discussion of M1 Event from the Pilot

6.18.1 (Annex One, P3.1) This sequence was from the last dialogue, on family values. I chose this sequence for testing because in this entire dialogue Nam appeared to assume that she and Putu meant the same when they talked of their family. She stated this quite clearly at the beginning of this dialogue:

"N. Right, so what family means to us might be the same.

P. Yes, er."

However, although Nam appeared confident in this assumption, I was unsure that this was in fact true. This was partly due to the facial expressions of Putu when Nam made this and other similar assumptions which seemed to contradict his verbal agreement, however, at a much later stage of this dialogue Putu pointed out:

"N....two years, er, a few years ago, I made decision to, to bring my children to stay in the States, because at that time I was writing my dissertation and er,

everyone, my husband, my parents, even some of my colleagues told me not to do that, not to tor, er, torture myself, they said its gonna hard, er, its like tough, or I would have a hard time doing that. I know that I would have a, hard time but I was ready for that position. I brought them and I know that I could have died, because er, I had to do everything for them, cooking is not my job when I work in the family, er, cleaning the house, doing dishes or everything, every, everything was messy, I had to manage er, time for study and for their activities, but I kept patient until, er, I was done with my study and it's the same time that my children could speak English very well, they spoke a lot better, better than I, I did at that time, so I feel like, ok, this is the reward for my patience, I feel like, ok this is because of the family, the family or the, the willingness or intention to see their bright futures, and when I talk, er, to my husband about this, we have the same feeling that we can do, we can do everything for the kids even though we might be suffering.

[Putu nodding throughout the above section]

P. Er, yeah, I think I agree with, with, with your, your, idea, but my, er, my experience, I think is different with, with another person's er, experience.

N. Um.

P. Er, I stay here er, er, around five years.

N. Five years, with your family?

P. No, I stay with my family er, only er, start last three months.

N. Oh, ok, you just brought them...."

Nam seemed to assume this because they both had children they would have the same feelings about family, particularly since they had both been separated from their children to further their education abroad. I was particularly interested because Putu did not answer Nam's question directly in the following sequence:

"N. Right, so what family means to us might be the same.

P. Yes, er.

N. Is that important to your success when you want to, do your Masters or to do something like your study here?

P. Talking, er, family, er, er, I have to talk, er, about the past, past time, before, before, er, before I er I marry, so this mean I am single, and, and I feel, er I study, I work, but I don't know.

N. No meaning.

P. No meaning, for who? ..."

I therefore decided to test the keyword "family", to examine whether in fact they did share the same meaning. In interview, it was clear that Putu had understood Nam's question, however unlike Nam, he felt unsure whether they shared the same strength of feeling of the degree of importance of the family in their success. He also stated that he just tried to keep the conversation going:

"Q. when we are talking about family. She says something like, er, we mean the same, is that important to your success, and then you say, talking about family, I have to talk about the past. So, er, I'm not sure if you are answering her question. Do you want to see that part again, yeah?"

[section replayed]

H. So er, I er, understood what she said. But, er, talking family, um er, I cannot talk directly to [Nam], like, wah, its like er, its important for me but, I want to talk, like, to talk about the past, the past time.

Q. Yeah, yeah.

H. So you understand what she was saying.

Q. Yeah, I er understood, yeah I understood.

Q. She said to you we mean the same. So she is saying we must, er agree.

H. Yes.

Q. Did you think you do mean the same?

H. Er, er, I agree with Saneh family important for our success, for our life. But, er, er, in this situation, actually I'm not er, I'm still not exactly er, how far I mean important for, I mean er, to our life so because, er, I don't know but Saneh [inaudible] so I said, oh yes, oh yes, and then its, I tried to er, to make her er, continue because she very, like s, strong belief the family was most important. So I said, yeah [inaudible].

Q. But did you actually feel the same strength of belief the same strong belief that family was as important for you as it was for her?

H. Er, until thi, this part, I still not er, not sure, about we are like er, really like same idea about the importance of the family for us, but I, I just try to, I mean to just to make the conversation going on, like on another occasion, yeah..."

On testing, the results supported Putu's uncertainty over whether he and Nam meant the same thing when they referred to family. Putu's associations for family were literal: wife; children; and parent. Nam's associations on the other hand were entirely emotional: success; love; caring. It is true that there was no miscommunication in relation to the basic meaning of the word "family", but their meaning at a deeper level seemed to be rather different.

The semantic differential test results also demonstrated a marked difference in meaning. Putu's score was +3, compared to Nam's of 1.66, which supports the view that there was miscommunication at this point.

This sequence was therefore particularly interesting because there appears to be miscommunication over one of the most basic concepts, possibly one of the first series of words that was learned by both interlocutors in the lingua franca and yet they both meant something different when they used that word. I therefore concluded that this event supported the hypothesis, miscommunication coinciding with a marked difference in word association and semantic differential test results.

6.19 Discussion of M2 event from the pilot

One of the communication events tested from the Pilot fell into category M2, providing weak evidence tending to disprove the hypothesis. In relation to sequence P1.1, I concluded that there was miscommunication even though there was a significant similarity between the word associations of the interlocutors and their semantic differential scoring. I chose this sequence for testing possible miscommunication because when Nam referred to "divide and rule" Putu changed the subject, as can be seen from the transcript:

"N. I don't know much about, er, the politics or anything related to the politics. But I heard that er, some people said it's not good for er, these two big, er, countries to control any small countries like Iraq or any other countries.

P. Yes, er, I think, er I'm er, also agree with your, er, your idea, because, er man, er, many small country, small countries er, try, I mean to, er, to fight with America and then the last time its Iraq.

N. It is impossible for them to win, these two countries, right?

P. Yes, yes.

*N. I also heard er, another rule, they said **divide and then rule**, er, these two countries want to divide the big one, right, so they took it and then they rule each region, each small region of er, the big er, country later.*

P. But, er, I hear from er, about the, er, about the invasion of America to, to Iraq they have another er, reason for, for, er for UK and, er, America.

N. What reason?

P. Er, many people said they want to get the er, the source of er, oil.

N. Oh, from Iraq?

P. Yeah, from Iraq for future, for future and then they try to, to control the countries, er which have a lot of er, oil.

N. Uh huh, uh huh, uh huh. When they control the country they can use anything from that country, right?

P. Yes, yes, at least.....

N. Legally, or illegally?

P. Er legally because they, they said er, they will develop this country but they ask er, the resources of, er of oil, er, belong to them, er...

N. Oh, that's interesting I have never heard about that before..."

In interview, Putu readily accepted that he did not understand what Nam was talking about when she referred to "divide and then rule":

"Q. Ok, I've got a question for you there. Em, Saneh, er, made a statement about she'd heard er, about divide and rule, and you were listening and nodding on the tape, and then when she finished, you started talking about something else. You started talking about, I've heard, er, some people say, and I think if we remember you go on to talk about oil.

H. Yes.

Q. Er, but she was talking about divide and rule, and you were nodding on the tape, did you understand what she was talking about?

H. About the dividing rules?

Q. Yes.

H. Not really (laughing), yes and, and make er like the conversation er, continuing and then I try to, I mean to, er, how to, to turn, er, to turn the er, conversation to, to er, another, another topic.

Q. Ah, ok.

H. Ok. Er, because, er, suppose, er, er, I [inaudible] what the er, the dividing rule and then I, oh, and then my conversation would have stopped.

Q. Ah, yes.

H. And then, so this way, I well, I talk to, to, to another, another topic but, but I think it still have, er, relative to, to, to er, our topic.

Q. Oh sure, its related.

H. Ahh, yes, yes, yes.

Q. I was just interested in that, in that, in that point, em, do you know what divide and rule means?

H. Not really, not really."

However, on testing the key-phrase "divide and rule", there was a surprising similarity in the results. In word association, they both made the association with "politics", although the other associations were for Putu "dividing power" and "government", whereas those for Nam were "selfish" and "control". Their semantic differential scores for this key-phrase were extremely close, -0.66 for Putu and -0.33 for Nam.

It should also be pointed out that in the broader context, the conversation centred around the exploitation of Indonesian resources by the Americans. The word associations of both informants are consistent with this interpretation. It also needs to be remembered that in the pilot the order of testing was different. The word associations and semantic differential testing took place following the stop-start interview, rather than preceding the interview. There is therefore the possibility that having viewed this sequence again and having already been

interviewed on this sequence, Putu's word associations were more associated with the general meaning of the sequence rather than this particular phrase. This is partly speculation, but this is also what Nam thought:

"Q. Ok [inaudible], yeah, I want to ask you about that section just before, em, because you er, talk about divide and rule, the idea of divide and rule, and em, Hameh is nodding, and then he talks about em, he, what he'd heard, ok? I just want to look at that section again and then ask you a little bit about it.

[section replayed]

Q. Ok, so, you talk about divide and rule, and then he talks about what he's heard. Do you think that he understood what you meant when you were...

S. I think we, we, we meant the same thing.

Q. Uhuh.

S. The same thing because he talked about the, the, the intention for those countries to control or to get properties from Iraq or, or some other countries.

Q. Uhuh.

S. Maybe we have the same meaning but we use different perspectives.

Q. Uhuh, Uhuh.

S. I didn't talk, I didn't mean, er I didn't, I didn't mention the property or the oil itself.

Q. Yes.

S. But I talked about the, the management for the country.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh.

S. But I think we had the same idea.

Q. Uhuh, ok."

If this interpretation of this sequence is correct, the sequence would then be classified as C1, providing secondary evidence in support of the hypothesis. My conclusion is therefore that any evidence offered by this sequence tending to disprove the hypothesis is extremely weak and any conclusions that may be drawn far from certain. In addition, given that this is the only such sequence resulting from the categorization of all the communication events studied in the Pilot and the main study, it is very far from establishing a reliable pattern of communication events where there was miscommunication although there was a

substantial similarity between the word associations and the semantic differential scorings of the interlocutors. I therefore conclude that although my strict classification according to the taxonomy developed is correct as M2, this sequence is ultimately inconclusive.

6.20 Discussion of C1 events from the Pilot

6.20.1 (Annex One, P.1.3) In this sequence Putu mentioned getting a headache when he talked about politics. I chose this sequence for testing because, as before, there seemed to be an abrupt change in direction of the conversation and a comment made that was almost a non-sequitur, because I first transcribed this response as Nam replying “I heard this kind of news”. On viewing the video at a much later stage, I realised that in fact, Nam responded in agreement that “I hate this kind of news”. This sequence is interesting because it provides examples of a number of features of ELF that I discuss at the end of this chapter. This is an example of how pronunciation remains an important issue in ELF, discussed further at 6.24.3 below. Putu’s reaction to Nam’s comment also provides evidence of a “let it pass” discourse strategy, where misunderstandings are ignored, a feature that I discuss further at 6.24.4 below. However, this sequence also provides evidence of the co-operative nature of ELF discourse, a feature that I have already mentioned and is discussed in detail at 6.24.6 below.

This is the sequence:

N. You know a lot, huh.

P. Er, I just listen when, when my friend talking about this politic, actually I...

N. That’s very new to me.

P. Yeah, I lazy to, to to read news about politic because I get a headache, a headache...

N. I hate, I hate this kind of news

P. And then sometime we, changing to er, to think about the person I don’t want to, to, to change er, my opinion about the person about the, the general political issue.

N. Mmm. Mmm.

P. But sometimes think oh wah, America [inaudible] sometimes, I know some Americans but not, not really, er, like normal person like kind, kind.....”

They discuss the bad and good effects of America’s role in the World today, but then return to the subject of getting a headache when thinking about politics at the very end of this dialogue:

*“P. Yeah, talking about political, **politics**, er...*

N. It’s not my favourite at all.

P. Yes. It’s headache [inaudible] Better, better to talk about food.

N. Right. Food or something else. (laughing)

P. Yeah, or music.

N. Karaoke (laughing). Oh, so we are done for the first one?

P. Yes.”

Putu agreed with my initial assessment of miscommunication in his stop-start interview:

“P. Er, Er, I have no idea why why why she she she she talk, er, this sentence, suppose I, er, I think er, she couldn’t understand what I said. I think I said its, I think clear enough I mean I er, I get a, I get a headache when I, I, er, read er, news about poli, politics and I think its very sim, er, simple statement and then, and then, er, she, she, she talk er, er, er, the sentence, but that time I, I, I think I did not recognize, I mean didn’t, didn’t pay attention for for for for this word.”

However, on listening to Nam’s account, I eventually concluded that there was successful communication at this point and I misled the informants with my misinterpretation of what had been said. Although neither informant realised I had misheard what Nam in fact said when they viewed the video, Nam explained:

“S. He said I got an headache, headache, right, and then I said, ok, I hate politics.

Q. No, you say.

S. I hate.

Q. I, I think you say, I heard this kind of news.

S. No, no, not before that.

Q. Oh, really, oh, lets check it and make, make er ...

[section replayed]

Q. Yes, he says I get a headache and you say...

S. I heard.

Q. I heard, I heard this kind of news.

S. It means that I, I think, we have the same opinion we don't like politics, anytime we read newspapers or news about politics we have some bad feeling or, or uninterest in the topics. That's, that's my in, intention at that time because I felt that we have the same opinion on the topics, like what we told you, we like the last one but we didn't like the first two topics, remember that, yeah....

Q. Ok, ok. If you don't mind we will just look one last time at that section and then, if you want to make any more comment, make it otherwise we'll just go on.

S. Ok.

[section viewed again and no further comment made, video playback continued]

Q. You said better to talk about karaoke, do you like karaoke?

S. I was joking, I, I just want to concentrate on the idea that I hate politics.

Q. But you don't even like karaoke?

S. No, it's the way I made a joke, compared to this topic, to politics, anything would be more interesting than (giggling) you, you might feel disappointed.....and I feel that the second, the second got worse for me (laughing) because its more complicated, its difficult for me to, to continue..."

Therefore, although it initially appeared that there was miscommunication at this point, I ultimately decided that there was successful communication that neither informant liked politics or the discussion of politics. Not surprisingly, the word associations of the informants were similar, particularly the idea of "dirty" (Putu) and "disgusting" (Nam). One difficulty in categorization was created by the fact that there was a significant difference between the semantic differential test results of 2, meaning that the result could be argued as being inconclusive. However, on balance it was felt that this was outweighed by the similarity in word associations and therefore the event classified as C1.

6.20.2 I also categorized P2.2 as C1. I was initially interested in this sequence because Putu was obviously seeking to emphasize the disastrous consequences for his company if the profit share previously agreed could not be rearranged. On studying the video, Nam did not appear to register this, but I was unsure whether this was due to a failure to listen or a failure to understand, or merely the role Nam was playing in the roleplay.

"N. Why don't we save this idea for the next project. We, why don't we try to complete this work er, as soon as possible and save this, the idea for, for the next one instead?"

*P. But, the conditions today's, er, er, suppose er, we er, we cannot get increasing er, the profit, we will **bankrupt**.*

N. Uhuh. How about we have a meeting for er, the companies, I mean for your company and for my company. Everyone sit and talk and discuss for the conclusion. Because you are not the representative of your company I am not also, so er, we can make agreement based on the, em, agreement from our companies, not from both of us. How about that? If we set a meeting for this conclusion.

P. Yeah, I think it's, good idea."

I was not sure whether Nam was familiar with the word "bankrupt". However, on word association testing, both informants produced strikingly similar word associations. Putu's were: no money; poor; no activity. Nam's were: poor; no money left; failure. The difficulty in categorization was created by the fact that there was a marked difference in semantic differential results between informants: 1.32, with Putu's score (-0.66) being much more negative than Nam's (0.66). It could be that the difference in semantic differential scores can be accounted for because Nam's view of bankruptcy on interview seemed less negative:

"Q. Ok, what, what is he saying?"

S. He said he wanted to get more profits, more money to, to do the job otherwise he would, I don't know how to explain, the profits would er, decreasing for him,

but for me I didn't believe what he said because I feel like we have to follow the contract. He might have er 10 reasons for this and for that but for me I think we have to follow the contract.

Q. Mmm, and you, you think at this point he is saying it is going to make his profit smaller?

S. Yeah, I think so, something about bankruptcy or something but he didn't use that word, bank something but I, I understood that, I could predict or understand what he means.

Q. What is bankruptcy?

S. He might think that if he didn't get more money he would get less profit and it might affect his financial status of the company."

On balance, I decided that because of the marked similarity in word association results this event should be classified as a C1 event, despite the difference in semantic differential test results. It is right to point out, however, that this is not a particularly strong example because of this.

6.20.3 Event P.3.3 was a stronger example of an event in the C1 category, because of successful communication combined with similar word associations and striking because of the identical semantic differential scoring. The discussion was in relation to the "bright future" of their children. This is the context in which the phrase was used:

"N. I had the same feeling when I, two years, er, a few years ago, I made decision to, to bring my children to stay in the States, because at that time I was writing my dissertation and er, everyone, my husband, my parents, even some of my colleagues told me not to do that, not to tor, er, torture myself, they said its gonna hard, er, its like tough, or I would have a hard time doing that. I know that I would have a, hard time but I was ready for that position. I brought them and I know that I could have died, because er, I had to do everything for them, cooking is not my job when I work in the family, er, cleaning the house, doing dishes or everything, every, everything was messy, I had to manage er, time for study and for their activities, but I kept patient until, er, I was done with my study and it's the same time that my children could speak English very well, they

*spoke a lot better, better than I, I did at that time, so I feel like, ok, this is the reward for my patience, I feel like, ok this is because of the family, the family or the, the willingness or intention to see their **bright futures**, and when I talk, er, to my husband about this, we have the same feeling that we can do, we can do everything for the kids even though we might be suffering.*

[Putu nodding throughout the above section]

P. Er, yeah, I think I agree with, with, with your, your, idea, but my, er, my experience, I think is different with, with another person's er, experience.

N. Um.

P. Er, I stay here er, er, around five years.

N. Five years, with your family?

P. No, I stay with my family er, only er, start last three months.

N. Oh, ok, you just brought them.

P. Yes, the reason, er, er, I worry about my children, suppose they stay here, because, er, er stay here this mean er, I have to stay in apartment.

N. Right, its more expensive, right?

P. Yeah, yeah, expensive and no space, that's er, that's very important, no space.

N. No space and no one to take care of them.

P. No space for them to play in, because they still a child and, er, they love to, to play football, they love to, er, er, er, er, to, to ride bicycle but in Bangkok...

N. There's nowhere.

P. There's nowhere to do, and I felt well, and then also the weather here...."

On word association testing of the key phrase "bright future", Putu's associations were: more money; happy; good attitude. Nam's were along a similar theme, although they seemed to be more descriptions of her meaning rather than word associations: good; a better of life and waiting for something good coming soon. Interestingly, both informants had an identical semantic differential scoring, of +1. I therefore concluded that this sequence was an example of successful communication coinciding with similar word associations and semantic differential, providing support for the hypothesis. It should also be pointed out that this sequence is closely associated with the immediately preceding sequence, P 3.2, categorized as C2. It could therefore be argued that

P.3.2 and P.3.3 are both part of the same sequence and therefore they are both relevant in the interpretation of each other which gives a contradictory and therefore inconclusive outcome. In P 3.2, “reward” and “patience” were tested. The difficulty with P. 3.2, however, as fully discussed at 6.22.1 below, is that although there clearly appeared to be successful communication based on the dialogue and comments of the interlocutors in the stop-start interview, the testing results were rather mixed and ultimately inconclusive.

6.20.4 General observations on C1 events from the pilot

As with the main study, C1 events were the most frequent of the events that were able to be classified (see above discussion at 6.14 and general discussion at 6.14.8). However, it is right to point out that the examples from the pilot fell less clearly in this category, with a larger semantic differential than would be expected for both P.1.3 and P.2.2. Nevertheless, it seems that there remains a significant body of data emerging from the pilot that supports the conclusion from the main study of numerous events of successful communication which coincide with a substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing weaker evidence to support the hypothesis.

6.21 Discussion of C2 event from the pilot

(Annex One, P.2.3) In this sequence from the contract negotiation roleplay, Nam made the statement “shall we listen to everyone’s voice”. This seemed to me more of a literal translation of a Thai concept than an English language concept, so I was interested in testing whether Putu had understood this. This was the sequence:

“N. Uhuh. How about we have a meeting for er, the companies, I mean for your company and for my company. Everyone sit and talk and discuss for the conclusion. Because you are not the representative of your company I am not also, so er, we can make agreement based on the, em, agreement from our companies, not from both of us. How about that? If we set a meeting for this conclusion.”

P. Yeah, I think its, good idea.

N. Yes, you can collect any information, or any, er data to the meeting and then when everyone considers and we can make the final decision later, for that.

P. Ok.

N. Slow but sure.

P. Ok.

N. Yeah, ok, lets, lets set the meeting maybe for, em next week.

P. Next week, ok.

N. Next week, as soon as possible, so that we can finish the work on time.

P. Yes, this is for, for our next, er next project.

N. Right.

P. Yeah, we don't want er, like, er, we just finished the project and feel, oh er, in this project, I hope, we have another project in future.

*N. Right, right, because I myself cannot make any decision er, because I am not the one, the only owner of the company so shall we **listen to everyone's voice**?*

P. Ok. Ok.

N. Right, ok, good."

The phrase "listen to everyone's voice" was therefore tested. Nam's word associations were clear: democracy; final conclusion; and justice. It should however be remembered from the pilot that one of the difficulties that I encountered with Nam was that she resisted making her word associations spontaneously. Her word associations were therefore much more measured than any of the other informants tested in either the pilot or the main study. Putu's word associations were rather different: hear; pay attention; think. Putu understood her to be saying that they should let someone else decide about the situation, as he explained in the stop-start interview:

"Q. Er, Saneh, there says, shall we listen to everyone's voice, and you say ok. What did you think she meant?

H. Er, er.

Q. Shall we listen to everyone's voice.

H. Er, voice, I think, ah, I think, er, she was ok, er, lets er, lets have another person decided about it, about it, about this, about this er, this situation.

Q. Let somebody else decide.

H. Yeah. I think this is just my head, but, er, telling the truth, I'm not sure about, about er, I mean the, the real meaning of [inaudible] this but, er, I try to, to, to make I mean I mean I try to interpretation from, from the context, er, er, er, she mean like, er, er, another person will decide it.

Q. You mean like a judge decide?

H. No, er, er, I think er, she mean, er, like manager, or they will decide it I mean, my, my manager or, or her manager because we is only consultants, right? Something like that so we cannot make a, I think [inaudible]"

In the stop start interviews Nam had a robust view that effectively it was very obvious what she was saying and appeared rather irritated by my questioning:

"S. That's my intention there.

Q. Mmm. Yeah, that's clear.

S. I thought that I don't, I didn't have any right to say yes or no, and he didn't, didn't have any right also so he should go to someone on top and make decision together again.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh.

[video playback continued]

Q. What, do you think he understood when you say, shall we listen to everyone's voice?

S. Why not, why not? It's pretty simple.

Q. What do you mean when you say shall we listen to everyone's voice?

S. I mean we have to listen to anyone's, er, opinion to make the decision or to make the final conclusion.

Q. Uhuh."

Nam and Putu therefore clearly had a similar understanding of what Nam was saying in this sequence- that neither of them had the power to make the final decision, which therefore had to be referred back to others for discussion and a final conclusion. I categorized this event as C2 was because there was no real connection with the word associations of the informants, and there was a significant difference of 2 points between their semantic differential scores. This

event provides possible evidence of the “third place” in intercultural communication, which I discuss further at 6.24.1 below, because there is no apparent reason why communication should be successful at this point when there was such a wide difference in semantic differential scoring and difference in word associations.

6.22 Discussion of I events from the pilot

6.22.1 I was unable to classify four communication events that were tested in the pilot: P1.2; P2.1; P3.2 and P3.4. The problem with P1.2 was that the key-phrase selected, “white gold” was not known to Nam and I was therefore unable to conduct word association or semantic differential testing on her in relation to this sequence. This was the sequence:

“N. So what is your attitude towards er, these two countries. You know some reasons behind, er, their actions?”

P. Er, I’m not, er, I’m not sure about the, about the, er, religious, er issue, but, er, I’m sure about the, the economic, er, political, one.

N. Ok.

P. So I think, yeah, this is possible, like we, er we have in Indonesia, er, like one mine of like er, white gold.

N. Um um.

P. And then, er its very important for, for developed technology in America and America try, try to, to get this, this mine of white gold and then try to, I mean to control the er the leader of, of Indonesia and then, they, they doing many thing and we feel like, wah, Americans so, so attractive to, I mean, to er...

N. They seems er, to be nice, right, to be nice to those countries, but they have something in mind, ok, er, I need to do this or I need to control that, right?

P. Yeah, yeah, yeah, they, er, they said yeah, they would help us on the many, er, er many problem but er they ask the, another to, to, er to be, er, to belong...

N. You know a lot, huh.

P. Er, I just listen when, when my friend talking about this politic, actually I...

N. That’s very new to me.”

I initially chose this sequence because of Putu's facial expression, when Nam commented in relation to the Americans that "they seemed to be nice". In the stop-start interview, Putu did indeed find this comment odd in the context of what he had been saying in relation to the exploitation of Indonesian resources by Americans:

"H. Well, er, er, actually I, er, I want er er continuing my explanation about the, the American role, er, role roles in Indonesia.

Q. Yeah, you were talking about white gold.

A. Yeah, yeah, but actually I am not not, I am not finished, I didn't finish and then [Nam] er, take over the conversation er, and then I want, I want to, actually I'm not finished but I felt like, oh, its not, not so polite, like just let, let her to talk er, another er, I mean continuing er, con continuing the conversation....

Q. It looks like you are thinking why is she saying that they seem to be nice, when I am talking about white gold.

H. Yes, yes, I mean like, er, I talking about er, Indonesian problem, so its not, not, actually not nice at all for Indonesians about the, I mean the American role, about the er, [inaudible] and then she talk, to be nice, and then, and then I just think what's, what's meant to be nice?

Q. Let, lets just look at that bit again. Er, I'll just play and go back.
[section replayed]

Q. So.

H. So I tried to expresses my, I mean my er, er, I mean disagree with er [Nam] er, er, er, opinion er, in er I mean in, in my point of view, I talking about er, Indonesian problem [inaudible] by Americans, er, and then, er, she talk er, about seem to be nice [inaudible] at this point I un, er, I understood [Nam] her say oh, it'll be nice for America to, and then, and then, er, yeah actually I'm, er, er disagree with, with er her, her er, her statement.

Q. So, you, you think she was saying it would be nice for America.

H. Yeah, I think, I think but I'm not sure about [inaudible] I think she said oh, it would be nice, for, for I mean for America [inaudible] nice for America to get the go, er, white gold, for, for their technology."

However, it appears that this was not what Nam meant when she made that comment, and there was in fact communication over the general idea of the exploitation of Indonesian resources, as appeared from Nam's stop start interview in relation to the same sequence:

Q. What, what is he talking about in that section?

S. Er, America wants a mine.

Q. A mine.

S. A mine, yeah, which is in Indonesia.

Q. Uhuh, and what, what is the mine about, is it coal or...

S. Er, I, I don't know what its about but I just know in my, in my co., in my mind know that if some words mentioned about the mine it must be the same thing, minerals, it could be any kind of minerals, it could be coal it could be copper, it could be silver or something else but its still the global minerals that's my concept, so I didn't ask in er, explanation because I, I have anything in the, in one group. Could be c, copper, silver, gold, anything but its still a mine.

Q. So, er, are you saying that you, you feel that you, you understood what he was trying to say.....

S. yeah.

Q. ...Even if some of the words, you weren't sure, em.

S. Words didn't [inaudible] important, yeah, but I got the word "mine" and I got the word "economic" from him that is the reason for those countries try to control Indonesia.

Q. Uhuh.

S. They want something in the mine, maybe any, anything some copper or silver or whatever but its still the mine, from that country.

Q. Ok, thank you, ok, that's great. Ok....

Q. Um. You said they seem to be nice. What did you mean when you said they seem to be nice?

S. They, they, those big countries try to help, pretend to help but they have something in the air, like resources, or power over those countries. It, it, it might be because I have some negative views on those countries because I, when I discuss with my friends I, I heard about this information that...

Q. But do you think he shared your negative views?

S. Umm, I don't know, he, he doesn't look at Americans in a positive way because he said, I don't remember, it might be because I, I feel like, ok, she is, she follows situations all the time so she has lots of information.

Q. Uhuh.

S. But when I, I, I saw some news about America and any countries, it's the same happens, so that convinced me to believe what he said more and more.

Q. Uhuh. And just that section, er, where he has given the example about Indonesia and you say they seem to be nice, you, you interrupt.

S. Right because I understood that er, America trying to help Indonesia but actually they want to get something from that country instead not, not assistance or anything, but the resources as he told me earlier, but I'm, it might not good for me to interrupt what he is saying, right?

Q. Oh, its normal conversation, its not good or bad or...

S. He might mean something else but I understood that it must be the same that I am thinking about."

On reflection, I think that Nam's comment was correct, that she understood that Putu was talking about exploitation of mineral resources by mining. The fact that she did not know what "white gold" was, was irrelevant. I have therefore concluded that in fact, "white gold" was not a key phrase in this sequence. In any event, as I did not test any of the other words because at the time I had concluded "white gold" was a keyword, I am unable to conclude whether this sequence either supports or disproves the hypothesis. The sequence does, however, highlight how misunderstandings that could give rise to offence can easily arise using the lingua franca. In this case, Putu appeared offended by Nam's comment on Americans seeming to be nice, whereas her intention was the opposite and she was in fact agreeing with him. I discuss the implications of this to ELF communication generally at 6.24.4 and 6.24.6 below.

6.22.2 (Annex One, P2.1) In this sequence from the contract negotiation role-play, Putu stated that they had to make a decision soon:

"N. I can finish it by a year also, even though I might spend ten months for the whole work, but I, I the, the point is, I want to er, use less workers, with er, more

profits so that's why I don't pay attention on number of workers because I plan that I can finish, on time, even though I have less workers.

P. But now, er, we, er, we already spent a lot of money, er money, I think more, I think er, double, than, er, than our, our budget, to, to, come for in your [inaudible] actually [inaudible] possible.

N. But I think it's the way you manage your work. Its like you want to invest er, for much money for the work but for me I feel like I can spends er, less money, less worker with more profits at the end.

P. But we now, we have to er, make, er, new agreement, new contract... ..

N. And are you sure that we gonna finish the work on time by, er twelve months.

P. Yeah. Yeah, suppose er, er, now, we have limit, limited time, to, to, to, I mean to finishing our job and then so we have to er, makes, de, er, decision er, soon.

N. Why don't we save this idea for the next project. We, why don't we try to complete this work er, as soon as possible and save this, the idea for, for the next one instead?"

In stop-start interview, both Putu and Nam thought that there was good communication at this point:

"Q. Do you think you were both understanding each other at that point?

H. Er, I think yeah, I think yeah, er, she know er, I need er, I need er, I mean er, more money or more, er, for, for for like er divided I need more, I, I said er, we done 75%, but she done only 20% and then the agreement 50/50 so unfair and I want to get the other 35% belong to me but she said well this is our agreement we can talk on our next project, so like, I, I don't know."

And Nam:

"Q. Er, Hamam is saying, we have to make a decision...

S. But for me I don't believe in his idea because I, I feel like we set the agreement already so we cannot change anything in the middle or during the process we might complete everything based on the agreement so I tried to resist him because of this reason.

Q. But you clearly understood what he, what his meaning was?

S. Yeah.

Q. You just didn't agree with him.

S. But I disagreed with him because I, I might think about the reality that we have to, to do anything stated on the agreement, even though we might, er, find out later that its, it should be something else. So I told him to, to, to follow this idea for the next project, not, not this one."

Because I regarded this to be a point of communication I anticipated there to be a substantial similarity between the word associations of the informants and a closeness in their semantic differential scores. However on testing, their word associations for the keyword "decision" were slightly different combined with a significant (although not extreme) difference in their semantic differential scores of 1. Putu's word associations were: think; agree; and no change. Nam's word associations were: lots of opinions; time consuming; complicated process. I therefore concluded that this event was properly categorized as I. There appears to have been communication over the key word decision, but it cannot be said that although different, there was a marked difference in their word associations. It also needs to be remembered that in the pilot there were only three associations taken on one occasion, and more extensive tests may well have revealed the same associations. Similarly, although there was a significant degree of difference in the semantic differential scoring, I was not confident that this difference was sufficient, when the section was viewed as a whole, to properly categorize this event as C2 (widely differing word associations and semantic differential scoring). I therefore concluded that this event should be categorized as I.

6.22.3 (Annex One, P.3.2) This was the sequence in which Nam referred to the "reward for her patience", as follows:

"So you can face any difficulties for them to be better right?

P. Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.

N. I had the same feeling when I, two years, er, a few years ago, I made decision to, to bring my children to stay in the States, because at that time I was writing my dissertation and er, everyone, my husband, my parents, even some of my

colleagues told me not to do that, not to tor, er, torture myself, they said its gonna hard, er, its like tough, or I would have a hard time doing that. I know that I would have a, hard time but I was ready for that position. I brought them and I know that I could have died, because er, I had to do everything for them, cooking is not my job when I work in the family, er, cleaning the house, doing dishes or everything, every, everything was messy, I had to manage er, time for study and for their activities, but I kept patient until, er, I was done with my study and it's the same time that my children could speak English very well, they spoke a lot better, better than I, I did at that time, so I feel like, ok, this is the reward for my patience, I feel like, ok this is because of the family, the family or the, the willingness or intention to see their bright futures, and when I talk, er, to my husband about this, we have the same feeling that we can do, we can do everything for the kids even though we might be suffering.

[Putu nodding throughout the above section]

P. Er, yeah, I think I agree with, with, with your, your, idea, but my, er, my experience, I think is different with, with another person's er, experience.

N. Um.

P. Er, I stay here er, er, around five years.

N. Five years, with your family?

P. No, I stay with my family er, only er, start last three months.

N. Oh, ok, you just brought them.

P. Yes, the reason, er, er, I worry about my children, suppose they stay here, because, er, er stay here this mean er, I have to stay in apartment.

N. Right, its more expensive, right?

P. Yeah, yeah, expensive and no space, that's er, that's very important, no space.

N. No space and no one to take care of them.

P. No space for them to play in, because they still a child and, er, they love to, to play football, they love to, er, er, er, er, to, to ride bicycle but in Bangkok...

N. There's nowhere.

P. There's nowhere to do, and I felt well, and then also the weather here."

Two keywords were tested from this sequence, "reward" and "patience". On observation of the video, there appeared to be good communication at this point.

Certainly both informants seemed to understand each other, and had a shared desire to improve the future of their children. The test results were however a little confusing. I remain unsure whether Putu recognized or in fact knew the word “reward”, because in the word association testing, his two responses: to think back; talk about the past would appear to have more connection with remember, or reminisce, than reward. Not surprisingly, there was no connection with Nam’s responses which were growing ever more discursive: something good in return for your investment; something for your patience; indicator for your success. What was interesting however is that they scored an identical semantic differential score for the word reward. There are a number of possible reasons for this. It is possible that Putu did not know the word reward, and the semantic differential score was merely coincidence. The other interpretation is that the word associations are unreliable or that he misheard the word in the word association test.

The test results for “patience” were also confusing. Putu’s word associations were: hard; think; action, which again seemed to me to have only a tenuous connection with the word tested. Nam’s associations were more like definitions: something you do because you need something for, the result; a good intention to do that; something related to success. There therefore did not seem any similarity between the word associations of each informant. Added to that, there was a marked difference in the semantic differential test results for the keyword patience, a difference of 2.

Ultimately, I decided to classify this event as I because I was unsure whether there was in fact successful communication or not, even though on viewing the video there appeared to be successful communication. However, even if that decision was incorrect, the word association and semantic differential results were too mixed to be able to draw any conclusions from them.

6.22.4 (Annex One, P.3.4) In this sequence the informants were comparing their experiences of living as students abroad and missing their children. I was interested in testing this sequence, particularly as I had perceived a difference in attitude towards their family in P3.1 and anticipated that this might be a parallel

sequence in which there was apparent communication but in fact a marked difference in meaning. Again, when questioned about this sequence Nam was rather scornful of my question, replying “ok, you have two meaning for miss?”. This is the section of the dialogue:

“P. Er, yeah, I think I agree with, with, with your, your, idea, but my, er, my experience, I think is different with, with another person’s er, experience.

N. Um.

P. Er, I stay here er, er, around five years.

N. Five years, with your family?

P. No, I stay with my family er, only er, start last three months.

N. Oh, ok, you just brought them.

P. Yes, the reason, er, er, I worry about my children, suppose they stay here, because, er, er stay here this mean er, I have to stay in apartment.

N. Right, its more expensive, right?

P. Yeah, yeah, expensive and no space, that’s er, that’s very important, no space.

N. No space and no one to take care of them.

P. No space for them to play in, because they still a child and, er, they love to, to play football, they love to, er, er, er, er, to, to ride bicycle but in Bangkok...

N. There’s nowhere.

P. There’s nowhere to do, and I felt well, and then also the weather here.

N. It’s the same weather from, between your country and Thailand?

P. In, in Bangkok?

N. [makes Thai sound of ‘yes’ in conversation, uur,uur]

P. I think in, er, er, in my country, er, especially in my city, er, cooler, er, cooler than here.

N. Oh really? Oh.

P. And also I stay er, not in a, in a big city, so the, the air pollution, er, er, and better in my country.

N. Right, right.

P. So I worry about their health, and then I felt oh, er, actually I miss them very much, I want them to stay with me but I worry about, about them, about, er, they

will, er, lost their freedom, to, to play football to, er, to, er, to play bicycle and then, yeah, I decided to, I mean, they stay in my country and I stay here."

The key phrase tested was "miss them". As with "family", Putu's word associations were much more literal, or distant: think; remember; call. Nam's associations were more emotional: want to hug them; want to meet them; want to reunion with them. The word associations were therefore not identical, neither were they extremely dissimilar. The difference between their semantic differential scores for this key-phrase was 2, a marked difference. The results for this sequence were therefore inconclusive. On the one hand, there was a significant difference in semantic differential scoring. On the other, the general theme of the word associations was not very different, and there appeared to have been successful communication. In addition, an error in interviewing on my part meant that Putu was not asked about this sequence in the stop-start interview. Overall therefore, I decided that the safest course was to classify this event as I.

6.23 Combining the results from the pilot and the main study

Whilst emphasizing that the results of the pilot are less detailed than the results of the main study I believe that, given the fact that the improvements made for the main study were in the nature of refinements to improve the reliability and accuracy of the data rather than changes to the way the data were collected or the type of data collected, the data from the pilot are nevertheless valuable. I therefore think it worthwhile to consider the hypothesis against the combined outcome of the pilot data and the main data. Although the quantity of data is not crucial to this research, because as I discussed in paragraph 6.1, strict hypothesis testing seeking one counter example cannot be conducted. However, a valuable additional perspective can be gained if the evidence from the pilot data is considered together with data from the main study. The combined outcome of the taxonomy in relation to the 21 communication events tested in the main research and the pilot is as follows:

M1: Events of miscommunication which coincided with widely differing word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing primary evidence in support of the hypothesis: 3 cases

C1: Events of successful communication which coincided with substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing weaker evidence to support the hypothesis: 10 cases

C2: Events of successful communication which coincided with widely differing word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing strong evidence to contradict the hypothesis: 2 cases

M2: Events of miscommunication which coincided with substantially similar word associations and semantic differential scoring, thus providing weaker evidence to contradict the hypothesis: 1 case

I: Events that did not fall into any of the above categories, providing evidence neither in support nor in contradiction of the hypothesis: 5 cases

An interesting additional perspective can be gained by taking the analysis one stage further, by combining the pilot and main study results into broad categories of support or contradiction to the hypothesis:

Primary or secondary evidence to support the hypothesis (M1 + C1): 13

Primary or secondary evidence to contradict the hypothesis (M2 + C2): 3

Inconclusive communication events (I): 5

6.24 Features of ELF that may be seen from the research

Although I observed at the outset of this chapter that I could find no similar research on ELF, certain parts of the data were supportive of some of the features of ELF that have been discussed in the literature and which I now wish to consider.

6.24.1 Third Place

As I have already observed in section 6.5 above, the fact that communication was generally successful in all of the dialogues despite there being significant areas of miscommunication may provide evidence of there being a “third place” in intercultural communication in ELF. We discussed the concept of a third place in Chapter 4 at 4.4, but it is perhaps helpful to review some of the associated ideas. Kramsch emphasizes (1) perception of the world through the time/space of the other; (2) identity being constructed in language through the encounter with others; and (3) the importance of the relationship of words to prior words (Kramsch, 1999, pp.45-46) and Holquist describes the thirdness of dialogue freeing the interlocutor’s existence from very circumscribed meaning (Holquist, 1990, p.48). It may be that in the dialogues we have studied, the explanation for such generally successful communication is because the interlocutors meet in this third space and in that space are able to form meanings that are mutually understood and which are also understood in terms of their relationship to prior words in the discourse.

In addition, this may also provide some explanation for the C2 events observed in the research, events of successful communication coinciding with widely differing word associations and semantic differential scoring. One such event was observed in the pilot (D 2.2, discussed at 6.21 above) and one such event was observed in the main study (P.2.3, discussed at 6.15 above). D 2.2 is not a particularly strong example, however, in P.2.3 both interlocutors clearly understood the phrase “shall we listen to everyone’s voice”, even though there was a vast difference in semantic differential of 2 and no similar word associations. However, if the preceding sequence is considered, it is clear that Nam is proposing a meeting for everyone to discuss the matter and reach a final conclusion (see dialogue extract at 6.21 above).

There are many possible explanations for this result. One is that there is a mistake of some kind in the semantic differential test. Another is that the context makes it clear what Nam was proposing. However, another possibility is precisely what Kramsch and others are suggesting, that in the discourse itself,

the interlocutors are able to create a shared understanding because they move away from their former culture-bound identity into this third space. The meaning, as Holliday would perhaps argue, (discussed in Chapter 4 at 4.4) is collaboratively formed in the small culture created, however briefly, by the interlocutors.

6.24.2 Interpretive Frames

An issue that I discussed extensively in Chapter 4 at 4.3.3 was the extent to which Agar's theory of interpretive frames may apply to ELF: "when you lift up a piece of discourse, be it a lexical item, utterance, or extended text- interpretive strands of association and use stick to it like putty" (Agar, 1991, p.176). The research revealed some evidence of such interpretive frames both within ELF but also somehow through ELF and into the native language. This suggests that in ELF, it may not be necessary to have the entire interpretive frame for mutual understanding, provided that there is sufficient similarity in cultural background of the informants for the concept to exist in their own language and culture. The best example of this was in D 3.2 (discussed at 6.14.6 above).

In this section of dialogue, the informants were discussing family values. Suttichai was explaining to Michael that the father had to have the morals in order to govern the son. This was a section of the dialogue in which there was clearly good communication. In the stop-start interview, both informants independently made clear that they understood that these were Confucian values that were being discussed, as Suttichai observed "I am trying to explain a bit of the concept of [Confucious]" and Michael stated "It's like em, its Confucious, Confucious value". Thus both the informants clearly had a pre-existing knowledge structure in relation to Confucian values that was accessed through words in the lingua franca.

The second aspect of my research which supports the existence of interpretive frames were cases where there was successful communication and a striking similarity in the word associations made by the informants. This supports the existence of interpretive frames because such words would form part of Agar's

“putty”. There are numerous examples of this, but a particularly striking example is in relation to “Cold War” (D1.4, discussed at 6.14.2 above), where both Michael and Suttichai produced similar word associations relating to Russia; America; conflict; and Asia. In this case, the associations are in the lingua franca. Using these associations, part of the interpretive frame of Michael and Suttichai can be reconstructed and it is therefore not surprising that there was good communication at this point. I would therefore argue that such instances support the idea of interpretive frames existing in the lingua franca.

6.24.3 Pronunciation Issues

Jenkins has raised the problem of pronunciation norms and models in ELF and there were occasions in the dialogues where pronunciation difficulties created problems. As Jenkins points out,

Nowadays English most frequently serves as a worldwide lingua franca for its vast numbers of non-native users (...) [h]owever, faced with a lack of clear cut alternatives, we have not been able to move on in any practical way; and this situation has been compounded by the relative neglect that pronunciation teaching has suffered in ELT curricula since the advent of communicative approaches, within whose paradigms it does not sit comfortably (...) two main obstacles prevent the conceptual progress outlined above from being translated into classroom practice. The first is the difficulty in resolving the basic conflict between the practical need to harmonize pronunciation among L2 varieties of English sufficiently to preserve international intelligibility; the second is the social and psychological need to respect the norms of the largest group of users of English, i.e. non-natives (Jenkins, 1998, pp. 119-120).

Possible solutions to this problem will be considered in Chapter 7, however, particularly in the case of Suttichai, pronunciation issues did cause some confusion. A possible example was in dialogue D 1.1 (discussed at 6.14.1 above) where Suttichai appears to say the word “Pope”. I wonder if he intended to say “hope”, but Michael did not understand what he was referring to as the

word “Pope” did not seem to make any sense in this sequence. When interviewed, Suttichai could not remember what he had intended to say. A further example is at D.3.1 (discussed at 6.16 above), Suttichai used the word “matrifocality”, whereas on viewing the tape I understood him to be saying “multifocality” and Michael had not understood what he meant at all.

It has to be observed however, that in general pronunciation was not an issue and importantly, not observed as a general feature of events where communication was not successful. Perhaps this in itself is more evidence of the “third place” of intercultural communication in ELF.

6.24.4 Discourse strategies following lack of understanding

Although discourse strategies are not the main focus of this thesis, one aspect of discourse strategies in the dialogues deserves discussion as this was particularly noticeable and is linked to the issue of misunderstanding. This feature was that there was rarely any reaction when an interlocutor did not understand one of the key words or phrases used in the dialogue. On only one occasion did an informant ask for clarification – this was Nam in the pilot, when Putu referred to “Bush Junior” (i.e. the current U.S. president), Nam said “Could you say that again”.

In all of the other occasions that were observed when an informant did not know a key word or phrase used in the dialogues, that informant did not ask for clarification but ignored the word or phrase. For example, in the pilot, Nam talks about the idea of “divide and then rule”. Putu does not refer to it, but merely changes the subject (P.1.1, discussed at 6.19 above). This tendency was also particularly apparent in the main dialogues, when Michael was not familiar with some of the words that were used by Suttichai. For example, in D.3.1 (discussed at 6.14.4 above) Suttichai used two words that Michael was not familiar with. In relation to the first word, ‘Victorianization’, Michael is talking about politicians using the patronage system. Suttichai’s response is “Exactly, it come from Victorianization”. Michael’s response is “yes, yes”, even though Michael does

not understand the word. Again, when Suttichai refers to “matrifocality” a little later in the dialogue, Michael does not stop but merely continues the discussion.

Bae (2002, p.201) points out that there has been little research on communication strategies for coping with communication failures in the lingua franca and discusses Firth’s three observations of discourse strategies in English as a lingua franca in dealing with such failures:

‘Let it pass’: In case s/he is unable to interpret or understand an utterance, the recipient does not clarify the misunderstanding immediately but leaves it as it is, in the belief that the misunderstanding will either clarify itself during the conversation or become irrelevant;

‘Make it normal’: In case an interlocutor produces some atypical form of linguistic behaviour, the recipient does not react to it explicitly, but rather signals that s/he still has understood the content of the talk and that s/he is following the conversation;

‘Interactional robustness’: The interaction in lingua franca-communication also seems to be characterized by an inherent robustness: atypical linguistic behaviour is better tolerated in lingua franca contexts than is the case in other contexts (Bae, 2002, pp.201-202).

Evidence from the dialogues tends to support the existence of these discourse strategies in ELF, particularly the ‘let it pass’ phenomenon, where the word that is not understood is ignored in the belief that the misunderstanding will clarify itself or become irrelevant. It should also be observed that all of these discourse strategies, and the examples discussed above, provide further evidence in support of the idea of the co-operative nature of ELF discourse, discussed in detail at 6.24.6 below. A note of caution should be added however. Although such strategies and co-operative nature of ELF discourse have been observed, the consequence of such strategies may be that offence may be caused by misunderstanding that is not clarified in the course of the discourse. P 1.2 was an example of such an occasion, where Putu was clearly offended after he had explained to Nam the Indonesian problem of the American role in Indonesia in pursuit of white gold. Nam had responded by saying that the Americans seem to

be nice, which Putu understood as meaning that Americans were nice. Although this was ignored in the dialogue and, as I discuss below, shows again the cooperative nature of ELF discourse, this can lead to serious misunderstanding.

6.24.5 Parallel monologues

One of the concerns that I expressed earlier in this thesis was based on the discussion by Seidlhofer of House's observation of "the tendency of interlocutors [In EIL, including ELF] to behave in a fairly 'self-centered' way and to pursue their own agendas and of some groups to engage in a series of 'parallel monologues' rather than dialogues" (Seidlhofer, 2003, p.15).

An overview of the dialogues does not reveal any significant evidence of this feature, as there appeared to be real dialogue and discussion between the informants. There were, however, personality differences between the informants that tended to make one of the interlocutors a more dominant speaker in each of the dialogue sequences studied. In the pilot, Nam was the more dominant speaker and tended to control the direction of the dialogues. This could also be partly attributed to a greater confidence in using English because of her higher level of competence than Putu and her extensive stay in the United States. As a result Nam had a tendency to interrupt, because she felt she could predict what Putu was going to say. She herself recognized this tendency in the stop-start interview:

"I interrupted right? Because I feel like I, I understand what he is saying and I can predict what he is gonna say next but I might misunderstand his real intention"

and again

"Er, I might predict too much about his intention, because I assume that we have the same status, we have a family..."

In the main study, there was a more equal balance of power between the informants. Michael generally controlled the direction of the dialogues, ensuring that the subject matter had been covered. However, in both the first and the third dialogue, Suttichai had a tendency to lecture Michael on what he perceived to be the real reasons behind the war in Iraq and the behaviour of politicians. I do not interpret this tendency as being evidence of a parallel monologue in any of these dialogues as Michael dutifully listened rather than pursuing a point of his own and indeed, I later observed this tendency of Suttichai in the stop-start interview when he was discussing the dialogues with me.

My conclusion is therefore that there was no evidence found of a tendency of the interlocutors in ELF to pursue parallel monologues.

6.24.6 Cooperative nature of discourse in ELF

The last feature I would like to discuss is that of the co-operative nature of discourse in ELF. Meierkord, in particular, argues that this is particularly apparent in *lingua franca* communication:

Analyses of *lingua franca* interactions have in fact documented that participants display a particular style largely characterized by cooperation leading to successful communication rather than misunderstanding (Meierkord, 2002, p.120).

This element of co-operation was indeed observed in my research. For example, in the second dialogue, the contract negotiation, Michael explained to Suttichai some fundamentals of contract law, as Michael, being a law student, had greater knowledge of this. On the other hand, in the third dialogue, Suttichai, who was extremely interested in political issues, went to great lengths to explain concepts such as “Victorianization” and “matrifocality” that Michael was not familiar with. What was also interesting is that in all of these instances the less informed interlocutor appeared to accept the explanation of the other rather than challenging it in any way.

This feature was also noticeable in the pilot dialogues. For example, in the first dialogue, when Putu explained the possible motivation behind the American led invasion of Iraq, Nam (who later stated that she was not interested in the subject or politics at all) responded by saying “Oh, that’s interesting, I have never heard about that before”. Again, in the second dialogue, Putu needed to resolve the situation there and then and was obviously uncomfortable with Nam’s suggestion of having a further meeting to resolve the problem, nevertheless agreed to this suggestion.

Indeed, although examples are useful to illustrate the point, it should also be observed that in all of the dialogues there was an *atmosphere* of co-operation between interlocutors. The first dialogue in particular created space for starkly differing opinions on the war in Iraq and in the second dialogue the interlocutors were instructed to negotiate from two very different points of view, however there was never any sense of conflict or real disagreement, rather a gentle discussion of different points of view. Even when an interlocutor was offended by what he perceived another interlocutor to be saying, this did not emerge in the discourse but only in further questioning by myself, as was the case in P 1.2, discussed at 6.24.4 above, where Putu had been explaining about the American interest in white gold mines in Indonesia and Nam had expressed the view that “they seem to be nice”. Although Putu strongly disagreed with what he understood Nam to be saying, his response in the dialogue was “yeah”, instead of objecting.

6.25 Conclusion

The hypothesis that successful intercultural communication between non-native English speakers of differing national cultures using English as a lingua franca cannot take place without a similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse would appear to remain intact following intensive testing. The analysis of the data from the main study reveals some strong evidence in support of the hypothesis and a substantial body of data providing weaker support for the hypothesis. It must, however, be noted that although the overwhelming quantity of data support the

hypothesis, one event from the main study (D. 2.2) and one event from the pilot (P 2.3) fall into category C2, providing strong evidence to contradict the hypothesis. However, as previously discussed, neither of these are particularly strong examples of this category and it would be unsafe, based on such instances alone, to conclude the hypothesis disproved.

Looking at the data from another perspective, 81% of the communication events tested in the pilot and the main study which provided evidence either in support or in contradiction to the hypothesis provide some form of support for the hypothesis when compared with 19% of instances providing some form of evidence that is contradictory to the hypothesis. The preponderance of the evidence does, therefore support the hypothesis and importantly, there is no reliable strong evidence tending to disprove the hypothesis. My conclusion is therefore that the hypothesis is supported by a significant quantity of evidence from the communication events within the dialogues that were studied and therefore appears to be valid and not disproved.

It is important to note that in order to analyse the communication events it can be seen that I tried to use quantitative measures, but this still required forming judgments about which category (M1, C1, C2, M2, and I) each communication event properly fell into. This could not be achieved in any automatic sense which demonstrates the complexity of language itself and of ELF in particular. I attempted to be objective in forming these judgments, however it is correct to observe that it is debatable in relation to a number of communication events studied from the discourse as to which category they fell into. In my above discussion, where this is the case, I have pointed out my reasons for including any particular event into any specific category.

In addition, the research provided a number of valuable insights into risks and other aspects of using the lingua franca that can be incorporated into teaching and learning, speaking and listening in the lingua franca. As we have discussed in section 6.24 above, examples of many of the features of ELF identified in previous research can be observed in the dialogue extracts that I have considered, in particular, the phenomenon of the “third place” of ELF discourse;

interpretive frames; typical discourse strategies; and the co-operative nature of ELF discourse. These features can, however, create a situation where there is miscommunication that is not recognized by the interlocutors because neither is willing to admit that they do not understand the point that the other is trying to make. There is also a danger that shared understanding is assumed, particularly when the speaker regards the concepts being discussed as “simple”, when in fact there is misunderstanding. There is also a risk that differing pronunciations can create misunderstanding. There is finally a risk that there is perceived misunderstanding where there is in fact, understanding, which could lead to offence being taken where none is intended. It may be that these are risks inherent in any intercultural communication, whether in a lingua franca or not. However, these risks have emerged from the data considered in this study and should certainly be taken into account by teachers and users of the lingua franca.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Abstract: This chapter begins with an overview of the investigation that is described in this thesis, beginning with the attitudes of teachers in Thailand towards ELF and reviewing the main points that emerged from the investigation of the research literature. The data supporting the hypothesis and other features of ELF are summarized. The implications of the findings are discussed in relation to theory; research methodology; and practice. Limitations of this study are considered, together with potential for further research. The chapter concludes with my reflections on the process of research and thesis production and some final observations on the importance of the findings in relation to how ELF should be taught and learned in future.

7.1 Overview

This thesis represents a journey over the years of my life in which it was researched and written, but also represents a journey through previous academic research having a bearing on ELF, seeking to develop a hypothesis based on that research and then testing that hypothesis in ELF dialogues. The thesis began, as I began, in being stimulated by the ideas of Whorf and Sapir in contemplating the difference of the “worlds” of interlocutors in an ELF communication event and how that might affect the quality of communication that actually took place. I questioned the apparent assumption of educational institutions in which I had taught (when the issue was considered at all) that what was required for effective communication in ELF was merely improving the level of learner’s English skills, speaking and listening skills in particular (see Chapter 1 at 1.1).

As a result of these concerns I began by investigating the attitudes of teachers in an “outer circle” country, Thailand, towards English teaching and ELF in particular. I reviewed the outcome of this research in Chapter 2. What was particularly apparent was that at both high school and undergraduate level English was clearly taught as a

second language, with little or no consideration being made to the language being used as a lingua franca with other non-native speakers. Thus although the majority of English use is as ELF between non-native speakers, teaching was focused on non-native/native speaker communication (see Chapter 2 at 2.2.1 and at 2.6.2).

The reality of what was happening in educational institutions in which I had taught (Germany, England and Thailand) appeared to me to sit uncomfortably with initial investigations of the theoretical background of ELF. To return to Sapir, his example of understanding a simple poem that I discussed in Chapter 1 at 1.1 troubled me when I considered how this might apply to ELF:

The understanding of a simple poem, for instance, involves not merely an understanding of the single words in their average significance, but a full understanding of the whole life of the community as it is mirrored in the words, or as it is suggested by their overtones (Sapir, 1970, p.69).

A major concern that I had was to investigate what was happening between interlocutors in ELF when there was no “full understanding of the whole life of the community as it is mirrored in the words”, words that the interlocutors were using to communicate. This concern was amplified when the results of my research on English teachers in Thailand was considered, because there was no consideration given by teachers to “the whole life of a community as it is mirrored in the words” either the native speaking English community or the community of users of ELF. The only cultural input is sporadic and unstructured, entirely at the discretion of individual teachers and where present, basic and stereotypical, based on festivals, traditions and greeting styles (see Chapter 2 at 2.4).

This concern led me to investigate the importance of culture in intercultural communication, which necessitated considering the nature of culture itself (Chapter 3). A review of definitions of culture over the last century and beyond revealed a confusing array of alternative definitions. In the analysis of such definitions, two

devices were adopted: considering the definitions from (1) a historical perspective; and (2) a disciplinary perspective. Although differences in emphasis were revealed, certain common themes that were surprisingly similar to Sapir's ideas referred to above were detected (Chapter 2 at 2.5). For example, "symbols", "ideas and their attached values" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952, p.47); "system of meaning", "lines of signification in meaning structures" (Deetz, 1984, p.216); "the signs and meanings a particular group shares" (Kramer, 2000, p.163); and so on. These common themes that were detected provided the basis for further concern that where cultural knowledge was absent, the effectiveness of ELF communication would be reduced because of a lack of such meaning structures and systems.

What became apparent was how closely linked (at the theoretical level at least) culture was with the meaning systems of members of a social group (and sub groups) and with the language that they used. The concern this raised for ELF communication and teaching of English in preparation for such communication was that this essential element was not being taught and was not apparently shared in communication events. This provided part of the theoretical basis for querying the real effectiveness of ELF. This concern was reinforced in Chapter 4 when I considered the interconnectedness of language and culture (Chapter 4 at 4.1).

Because of a lack of similar research on ELF, I approached hypothesis development by investigating three major approaches to the issue of meaning and understanding in communication: philosophical; linguistic; and psychological. None of the philosophical approaches considered in Chapter 4 at 4.3.1 seemed to me to be entirely satisfactory. Having considered these approaches, I argued that meaning was to be found partly in the mind of the interlocutor, partly in the language-culture-society nexus and partly in the discourse between interlocutors. Applying this argument to ELF, it was concluded that meaning is partly personal to the interlocutors, partly bound up in the language being used in the discourse and the reflections of culture within that language, ELF, and partly negotiated between interlocutors themselves in ELF discourse.

Support for this approach to meaning was found in the investigation of linguistic and psychological research. I considered in detail the implications of Peirce's theory of signification (Chapter 4 at 4.3.2 (a)), in particular the role played by interpretants, creating chains of interconnected ideas that Kramsch refers to as "paths of expectations that are shared among members of the same signifying community" (Kramsch, 1993, p.44). The problem this creates in ELF is that these "paths of expectations" may not be shared by users of ELF as the signifying community, as such paths of expectations originally arose in various groups and sub-groups of native English speakers. It is presently unclear whether it can be said that there is an ELF signifying community with paths of expectations that are significantly different from those of native English speakers, although further research may show that this is in the process of development. An example of such further research is the construction of the Vienna-Oxford ELF Corpus, discussed at 7.2 below.

From my discussion of the role of interpretants I moved on to consider the role of connotation as the process by which interpretants are connected to the signified (Chapter 4 at 4.3.2 (c)), which brought the investigation back to the problem of culture in ELF, because connotative meaning is much more individual and cultural than denotative meaning, corresponding to the first two aspects of the philosophical approach to meaning and understanding referred to above.

My investigation continued to consider the role of schemata in understanding (Chapter 4 at 4.3.2 (d)), as "knowledge networks" (Semino, 2000, p.527). Schemata (or schemas) are built from the networks of connections between interpretants in the process of connotation, but again, the problem returns to the fact that schemata are built from knowledge networks that are culture-specific. Thus culture is critical for the building blocks of such schemata, the connections between the building blocks and the overall schemata themselves. From this discussion, it would seem unlikely

that ELF users would have developed many schemata in ELF, making inference and predictions more difficult and creating greater potential for ambiguity in ELF.

Finally, the point was made that these features cannot be investigated in isolation, but in the context of the discourse in which they take place. This conclusion led to an investigation of ELF discourse.

Thus this far in the investigation of the theoretical background of ELF, my consideration of the meaning of culture; the links between culture and language; review of philosophical theories; and considering key linguistic features of language all pointed in the direction that for there to be successful mutual understanding in ELF there needed to be shared cultural knowledge structures that I would not expect to be present in ELF. The implication was therefore that communication would not be generally successful.

At this stage I focused on the ideas of two researchers in particular: Agar's "rich points" and Wierzbicka's "key words" (Chapter 4 at 4.3.3). It appeared that there were important and relevant similarities between their work which concerned the interconnectedness between words and concepts and the cultures using such words or concepts. For Agar, a piece of discourse has attached to it strands of association, that taken together form interpretive frames giving meaning to that piece of discourse (Agar, 1991, p.176). This concept seemed to me to be very similar to the concept that we have referred to above, of chains of interpretants forming schemata. I have already highlighted in my discussion of interpretants and schemata the critical feature of culture, and Agar also does this. Agar states that interpretive frames are to be found in "the best current knowledge about contexts of culture, situation, and speech; and from such strange sources that make the difference between good and mediocre analysis as intuition and insight" (Agar, 1991, p.176).

Wierzbicka's work has parallels with that of Agar, in that she argues that "key words" from a particular culture "can be studied as focal points around which entire

cultural domains are organized” (Wierzbicka, 1997, p.14). As I pointed out in Chapter 4, Wierzbicka approaches keywords as gaining insight into culture, but she goes further than that when she refers to keywords being “focal points around which entire cultural domains are organized”. I discussed how similar this idea was to Agar’s idea of frames as “bundles of knowledge” (Agar, 1994 (2), p.221) (see Chapter 4 at 4.3.3).

Thus the work of both Agar and Wierzbicka also supports concerns about the effectiveness of ELF communication. Both Agar and Wierzbicka emphasize how deeply the cultural connections between particular words and concepts go. For Agar, if you extract them for analysis they come attached with a “putty” of associations that are necessary for understanding. ELF interlocutors are unlikely to have such a “putty” of associations. For Wierzbicka, keywords are perhaps more like trees with deep roots. When uprooted the extensive ball of roots reveals a cultural description. In ELF, the interlocutors would not be expected to have this “putty” or “ball of roots”, making mutual understanding much more difficult.

The journey having taken me through culture, culture and language, philosophy and linguistics I finally turned to look at some psychological theories of communication to see if further insight could be gained into problems with ELF communication (see Chapter 4 at 4.3.4). There were two features of this research that were particularly interesting in light of my previous discussion. Firstly, that the activation of words in permanent memory (lexical access) takes place by either (1) hearing or reading the word itself or (2) through other words with related meanings (Carroll, 1999, p.102). Psychological evidence would therefore appear to support the idea of chains of interpretants and the process of connotation that I have previously discussed. Secondly, that this process of activation “spreads” through a network of interconnected nodes (Collins and Loftus, 1975, p.175). I argued that parallels can be drawn between such networks of information and the networks that form schemata, or Agar’s frames. I therefore argued that psychological evidence

provided further support for investigating further the role of connotation within ELF.

The theoretical investigation concluded with consideration of the unusual nature of communication in ELF and whether this might make a difference to research findings. Ideas of a “third place” in ELF communication were reviewed that may suggest that mutual understanding may be more easily achieved because of the distancing of interlocutors from their native cultures in this third place (see Chapter 4 at 4.4). Thus as Holquist describes, “The thirdness of dialogue frees my existence from the very circumscribed meaning it has in the limited configuration of self/other relations available in the immediate time and particular place of my life” (Holquist, 1990, p.48). The work of Kramsch, in particular supports this view, although, perhaps because of its very nature, notions of this third place seem rather vague. I then considered Holliday’s ideas on “small cultures” as providing a possible explanation of how the third place comes into being, that it is perhaps in the formation of a “small culture” in ELF discourse that new rules and meanings are negotiated (Holliday, 1999, p.248). I also discussed the work of Muller-Jacquier in describing intercultural situations as creating “a new cultural framework, created ad hoc by the participants and including profitable aspects of several cultural domains” (Muller- Jacquier, 2000, p.296).

Having thus considered the theoretical background to the problem of communication in ELF from as many different perspectives as possible, I went on to construct a hypothesis on the basis of this investigation. I shall review the hypothesis and the outcome of the empirical investigation in the following section.

7.2 The hypothesis

The hypothesis that was developed was: successful intercultural communication using ELF cannot take place without a substantial similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse. The

detailed basis and development of the hypothesis was discussed in Chapter 4 at 4.5.2. Because of a lack of similar research in this area, a combination of research instruments had to be developed in order to test the hypothesis. The development and refinement of the research instruments was explained in Chapter 5. Central to the testing of the hypothesis was a series of video recorded dialogues between two non-native speakers of English using ELF, which were then subjected to detailed analysis. The tools developed for this analysis were questionnaires; recorded interviews based on the questionnaires; separate recorded “stop-start” interviews with each interlocutor on viewing the video dialogues; semantic differential testing of key words and phrases selected from the dialogues; and word association testing of the selected key words and phrases.

Following gathering of the data, the data were analysed and categorized according to whether the communication event under analysis provided either strong or weak support for or against the hypothesis. This analysis is provided in Chapter 6. The outcome of the analysis was that 81% of the communication events that were able to be categorized provided evidence in support (either strong or weak) of the hypothesis, compared to 19% of communication events providing evidence that was contradictory to the hypothesis. The hypothesis therefore appears valid and not disproved.

It should be pointed out that the above percentage figures are intended to represent the quantity of data found in support of the hypothesis, but it must be remembered that, as I discussed in Chapter 6, they cannot be treated as an absolute test of the hypothesis in any positivist sense. The very nature of language and of human communication makes this impossible. I have also pointed out that although the analysis of the data is intended to be as rigorous as possible, there is always some element of interpretation in categorizing the data. It is in this sense that it is perhaps useful to treat the hypothesis as having been shown to be “valid” or “true” as a model, rather than in any absolute sense:

A system or model is a formal structure built precisely to explain or predict some phenomenon or set of phenomena. The model is constructed in such a way that it is formally true (...) Propositions in the model are not necessarily based on empirical generalizations, although they may be to the extent such generalizations exist. 'In the system paradigm, timeless or general propositions are assumed to belong to the logical rather than the empirical world' (Meehan, 1968, p.32). Thus, the confrontation of the model with the data does not test the validity of the model, only its applicability to the case at hand. The empirical question is 'Does the model fit?', not whether the model is true. It is 'true' by construction (Burch, 2006, p. 41).

I would therefore argue that my research adopts a positivist approach as far as is possible, but, because of the nature of the subject matter the outcome may be best seen as a 'best fit' between the hypothesis and the data, in the sense that the hypothesis appears to match the data, albeit not perfectly:

The goal is a 'perfect match between a complete system and a description rather than a logical fit between a single event and a general proposition, as in the deductive paradigm or logical empiricism' (Meehan, 1968, p. 51). Meehan accepts that a perfect match is never attained in practice, since a model is limited and closed, whereas real world systems are indefinite and unbounded (Burch, 2006, p.41).

What I have therefore is a model of meanings in ELF- developed initially from the theories of Agar and Wierzbicka- which, on the basis of two 'single events' (the two sets of tasks carried out by the two pairs), provides a 'best fit' representation of (the semantics of) ELF in those two events, and which also provides a basis for analyzing further ELF events in the future.

As I have observed, because of the size of the sample that was used to obtain the data the conclusions in relation to the hypothesis that can be reached are tentative at

this stage. In order to prove the hypothesis, a much larger scale study would need to be undertaken using much greater time and resources than I had at my disposal. The decision on the number of informants in such a study would to some extent be arbitrary, but in my view would need to involve more than 40 informants, providing a series of 20 pairs and 60 dialogues for analysis. This would be an enormous task. In addition, for the hypothesis to apply to all ELF communication testing would have to include a far wider range of informants from different national cultures than I was able, for example, Brazilian/Swedish; Chinese/French; Indian/German, and so on.

Furthermore a number of significant features of ELF were detected in the dialogues that are consistent with earlier research in ELF, discussed in Chapter 6 at 6.24. Some evidence (although not conclusive) was found for the existence of a “third place” or “small culture” in ELF discourse (Chapter 6 at 6.24.1). Evidence was also found of Agar’s theory of interpretive frames (Chapter 6 at 6.24.2). What was particularly interesting was that there was evidence of such frames existing in the lingua franca, but also existing in the native language and culture of the interlocutor and being accessed through the lingua franca, as was the case where both interlocutors had a pre-existing understanding in their own language of the Confucian heritage⁹. There was also some evidence that pronunciation difficulties could cause misunderstanding in ELF, although this was not detected as a major problem (Chapter 6 at 6.24.3).

In addition, evidence was seen of the discourse strategies discussed by Bae (2002, p.201) for coping with communication failure in ELF, in particular, the “let it pass” discourse strategy in which interlocutors do not clarify a misunderstanding immediately in the belief that the misunderstanding will either clarify itself during the conversation or become irrelevant (Chapter 6 at 6.24.4).

⁹ For discussion on Confucian heritage cultures, see Bond (1987, pp. 143-164)

Finally and perhaps most significantly, evidence was seen of the co-operative nature of discourse in ELF (Meierkord, 2002, p.120, discussed in Chapter 6 at 6.24.6). This co-operative feature of ELF discourse provides a link between concepts such as “third place” and “small culture” and discourse strategies where there is misunderstanding in ELF and possibly provides the reason why pronunciation difficulties are overlooked. Crucially, this may provide an explanation for the fact that communication within the recorded dialogues was broadly successful, despite there being significant points of misunderstanding and miscommunication that were identified on subsequent analysis.

7.3 Implications for theory, research methodology, and practice

7.3.1 Theory

A significant contribution of this thesis is the evidence it provides of the importance of the role of shared connotation in ELF if there is to be mutual understanding between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in ELF discourse. Because connotation is both individual and cultural, this poses a particular problem in ELF because there is no specific “target” culture. It therefore seems likely that what is happening in ELF is that certain connotations are being acquired by learners in a multiplicity of ways:

- Through learning English in the classroom, including limited and largely stereotypical information on “Western” culture;
- Through exposure to English and Western culture in the media;
- Through their own exploration of the English language, e.g. checking dictionary meanings of words, discussion of meanings with friends and fellow users of ELF;
- Through their own experience of using ELF in conversation;
- Through other diverse sources, for example, travel, reading, e-mails, internet chat etc.

What is readily apparent from a review of such sources is that the development of connotative meaning is haphazard and therefore extremely unlikely to be extensively shared by interlocutors in ELF discourse. This picture becomes clearer when we extend connotative networks of meaning into frame-like structures, with Agar's work in mind. A striking feature of Agar's frames is their complexity. To recap,

the putty that comes with [a rich point] drags along the raw material for a complicated but coherent set of interpretive frames, with potentially wider links to history and political economy (Agar, 1991, p.179).

And again:

Frames are bundles of new knowledge- they might be a formalism, a bit of prose, or even a poem- that bridge the difference between the rich points in the new language and the language you brought with you (...) frames ran from dictionary definitions through speech acts and conversational style up to history, political economy, and basic ideas about how things are (Agar, 1994 (2), p.221).

Given the complexity of this model of connotative frames, the building of such frames in ELF is a daunting task, made even more daunting by the fact that I have already referred to, that there is no clear target culture from which the necessary "frame information" can be obtained, rather a mish-mash of disparate societies using EIL and native speakers of English around the world.

At the theoretical level, it is possible to come to an extremely pessimistic conclusion: the evidence supports the hypothesis that successful intercultural communication using ELF cannot take place without a substantial similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases

used in discourse. Given what we know of the cultural nature of connotative meaning, such similarity of connotative meaning in ELF would appear to be difficult to achieve and indeed, it may be that interlocutors in ELF rely much more on denotative meaning than connotative meaning in communication. This is similar to the difficulty outlined by Byram and Risager, referred to in Chapter 3 at 3.5:

Whereas some people seem to think that for example English is culturally neutral in *lingua franca* communication, we would say that this is completely wrong. It has in fact an enlarged meaning potential coming from two or more macro-contexts. In that way there is greater elasticity in *lingua franca* communication, but also potentially less precision. Even if there exists an enlarged meaning potential, the actual linguistic choice may be more restricted, as interlocutors will orient themselves towards each other in the communication situation in question (“negotiate”), and end up with some *ad hoc* compromise influenced by power relations and the interlocutor’s levels of linguistic and communicative competence. Perhaps it is typically the intersection of the different meaning potentials that is used (if there is an intersection!), so that for example fewer politeness forms are used, and words are used with a meaning strongly influenced by the immediate situation. (Byram and Risager, 1999, p.151).

However, whilst the evidence supporting the hypothesis leads us towards such pessimism, other evidence indicates that it would be wrong to be overly pessimistic on the effectiveness of communication in ELF. It is beyond doubt that communication at a useful level is regularly achieved in ELF. Jenkins puts this best, as we discussed in Chapter 4.3.1 in the context of meaning not being entirely personal:

As Brown argues, ‘adequate’ communication is regularly achieved, despite ‘the pervasive under-specification of meanings and utterances’. This is

because the sheer amount of shared background information enables interlocutors to establish 'a structure of mutual beliefs' (Jenkins, 2000, p.71).

Jenkins was writing in the context of communication generally, rather than in the lingua franca, but we can draw an analogy that there is perhaps sufficient "shared background information", however limited that may be, to enable ELF to function.

There is also another possibility that is supported to some degree by my research. That there is something special about the nature of ELF communication that in the "third place", interlocutors develop a "small culture" in which new meanings are negotiated, misunderstandings ignored and where the co-operative nature of ELF discourse facilitates this overall process.

Be this as it may, I believe that it would be wrong to overextend such notions of "third place" and "small culture". The interlocutors in ELF discourse do not leave the cultures of the groups and sub-groups to which they belong outside the door, but bring them inside with them. Although they may well then jointly inhabit a third place and develop a small culture themselves, this should be seen as a co-operative moving towards each other, rather than severing of links with foundations of meaning the interlocutors bring with them. In this sense, concepts such as the third place or small cultures provide an explanation for lingua franca communication being to some extent easier than native-speaker/non-native speaker communication, but this does not avoid the problem of the importance of connotation in the communication process.

A further significant feature that was observed was evidence of the effect of connotation taking place within the native language in addition to the lingua franca, referred to in the Confucius example above. This evidence suggests that mutual understanding may be achieved where there may not be sufficient shared connotation within the lingua franca, provided that the key word or phrase is recognized in the lingua franca as relating to a concept that exists in the native

language. The connotative framework for such a concept, or Agar's interpretive frame, would exist in the native language. It is presumed that this connotative framework is activated by discourse in the lingua franca that the interlocutor understands to relate to this pre-existing knowledge framework.

Following this reasoning, it would be expected that cultural similarities and differences between interlocutors would also play a key role in successful communication in the lingua franca. It would be expected that had the Confucian sequence been in an ELF dialogue between Suttichai and a French person, for example, that communication would not have been successful (or as successful) at that point unless the French person was familiar with the ideas of Confucius on the moral authority of fathers, something that Suttichai and Michael were both independently familiar with. It would therefore appear that shared cultural knowledge in the native language and in regions with a shared history such as East Asia or Europe can in certain circumstances make up for deficiencies in knowledge in ELF.

7.3.2 Research methodology

A further significant contribution of this thesis is in the development of the research instruments that were used to test the hypothesis. I have described in detail in Chapter 5 the development of the research instruments. What is noteworthy in this study is not so much the individual research instruments themselves, but their unique combination to establish the connotative meaning that interlocutors had for key words and phrases used in discourse.

Because it is not possible to "read the minds" of interlocutors, method triangulation was used in which different sources of data were combined to form as complete a picture as possible of their connotative meaning in relation to the key words and phrases that had been selected for testing. The essential components of this method were:

- (1) tape-recorded stop-start interviews in which informants were able to view video-recordings of the dialogues and freely comment on their contents. In these interviews, informants were asked to discuss the sections of the dialogues that contained the key words or phrases and these data were then used, in combination with other data, to form a judgment as to whether there had been successful communication at these points of dialogue and what the intended meaning of the interlocutor being interviewed was (see Chapter 5 at 5.3.4).
- (2) The second essential component of the method triangulation was the use of Osgood's well-known method of semantic differential testing, discussed in detail in Chapter 5 at 5.3.5. Informants were asked to give a value of +3 to -3 for the key word or phrase being tested, on a number of different scales of bipolar opposites. The results were then combined, giving a mean numerical value that represents the meaning of that informant of the particular key word or phrase being tested. Being a numerical value, that figure can easily be compared with the numerical value produced by the other informant in the same test.
- (3) The third essential component of the method triangulation was the word association testing, using conventional word association techniques that are discussed fully in Chapter 5 at 5.3.6.

There were therefore three independent sources of data that were available for the analysis of the sections of dialogue containing the key words and phrases. It is argued that an important feature of each of these sources of data is their difference in nature from each other. In addition, it was extremely difficult for the informant to influence the outcome of the word association and semantic differential testing, partly because of the nature of the tests themselves, but also because of the fact that at the time of testing (in the main study following refinements to the pilot) nothing had happened to draw the attention of the informants to the significance of the words that were being tested.

It is therefore suggested that these research instruments be used and adapted in future research that requires close analysis of meaning in discourse.

7.3.3 Practice

(1) The need for a re-orientation of ELF teaching

The support for my hypothesis provided by the data suggests that semantics is a key issue that needs to be taken into account in teaching and learning ELF. However, before I discuss this a more fundamental question needs to be addressed, because I have shown in Chapter 2 that teachers of English in an “outer circle” country, Thailand do not distinguish between teaching English as a second language, for communication with native speakers of English and ELF, despite the fact that the students will be more likely to use ELF than English as a means of communication with native speakers. Meierkord and Knapp refer to this problem in this way:

Early papers advocating a reorientation of English language teaching (...) include Hüllen (1982), Smith (1982) and Knapp (1987). The authors argue that the fact that most learners of English will employ the language mainly for communication with other non-native speakers renders the orientation of foreign language teaching towards a native-speaker model doubtful and problematic, since it does not adequately prepare learners for the situations in which they will use the foreign language. Arguments largely concentrate on sociopragmatics and negotiation of meaning, based on the assumption that cross-cultural differences in these areas are bound to cause misunderstandings (Meierkord and Knapp, 2002, p.21).

I would agree that there needs to be a re-orientation in language teaching for ELF, but questions remain as to how this could be implemented in practice. Burger (2000, p.10)¹⁰ makes the following suggestions, which I would adopt:

- Revision of the native speaker as a model for English language teaching
- Acceptance of hybrid learner varieties
- Dominance of communicativity over correctness;
- Increased coverage of second language varieties of English
- Inclusion of non-native varieties in listening training;
- Stressing intelligibility of pronunciation over native speaker acceptance
- Train negotiation of meaning
- Raise intercultural awareness, although I would argue that this is only part of the process and intercultural communicative competence should be taught (see Byram, 1997, p.31)

It is worthwhile returning to Kachru's six fallacies about the users and uses of English, because I believe that such a shift in EFL teaching would address those fallacies (Kachru, 1992, p.357). In summary, they are as follows:

- Fallacy 1: That in the outer and expanding circles, English is essentially learned to interact with native speakers of the language – this was a fallacy that was shared by the teachers interviewed in Chapter 2 (see 2.3);
- Fallacy 2: That English is necessarily learned as a tool to understand and teach American or British cultural values, or what is generally termed the Judeo-Christian traditions - this was essentially the attitude of the Thai high school and university teachers when they included cultural issues in their English teaching (see Chapter 2 at 2.4);

¹⁰ Burger's article is in German and as I am unable to read German I rely on the discussion of this article by Meierkord and Knapp, (2002, p.22).

- Fallacy 3: That the goal of learning and teaching English is to adopt the native models of English (e.g. the Received Pronunciation, or General American) - this appeared to be behind the desire of Thai high school teachers to have a native English speaker at their high school (see Chapter 2 at 2.2.1);
- Fallacy 4: That the international non-native varieties of English are essentially “interlanguages” striving to achieve “native-like” character – I would add a similarly fallacious belief about ELF to this category;
- Fallacy 5: That the native speakers of English as teachers, academics and material developers provide a serious input in the global teaching of English - again, this appeared to be behind the desire of Thai high school teachers to have a native English speaker at their high school (see Chapter 2 at 2.2.1); and
- Fallacy 6: That the diversity and variation in English is necessarily an indicator of linguistic decay; that restricting the decay is the responsibility of native scholars of English and ESL programs – this appeared as a strong feature in the Thai university teacher’s attitudes towards abbreviated forms of English used on the internet, for example (see Chapter 2 at 2.6.2).

When Kachru’s observations are compared to my findings from interviews with Thai high school and university teachers, it can therefore be seen that they indeed share these general fallacies. This is important because the consequence of this is that it is the native speaking model that is used as the entire basis for their English teaching. A shift in orientation of EFL teaching to focus on the ELF user rather than the native speaker as a model, would be a major step forward because it seems to be that this mistaken belief underlies the mis-orientation in current English teaching practice.

In relation to Fallacy 1, ELF English would be learned to interact with other non-native speakers as the primary objective. In relation to Fallacy 2, ELF English would not be learned as a tool to understand and teach American or British cultural

values, but instead, intercultural awareness would be raised and intercultural communicative competence be taught. The goal of ELF teaching and learning would not be to adopt the native models of English but to adopt an ELF model of English (see further discussion of ELF semantics below). ELF would not be seen as striving to achieve “native-like” character but would be recognized as being a variety of English in itself, as valid as any other variety of English. The major input into teaching issues on ELF would come largely from non-native speakers of English as users of ELF, to whom would be passed the current “advantage” of native English speakers in teaching ELF because of the native speaker model. Finally, diversity and variation in ELF would not be seen as a form of linguistic decay that must be resisted but rather as valid forms of ELF, provided that such varieties conformed with developing norms of ELF usage within ELF and were comprehensible to other users of ELF.

Thus the implications of such a shift in orientation would fundamentally reshape the way that ELF is taught, learned and perceived worldwide.

Arguments for a re-orientation of ELF teaching are not, however, merely based on a realignment of teaching ELF with the actual use of ELF in the world today. All of the teachers whose interviews I discussed in Chapter 2 expressed the view that they were concerned with issues of linguistic imperialism. A shift in orientation of ELF teaching could also serve as a method of resisting linguistic imperialism because the model becomes the ELF speaker, rather than the native speaker, as Kachru argues:

What is needed is a shift of two types: a paradigm shift in research and teaching, and an understanding of the sociolinguistic reality of the uses and users of English (...) The traditional presuppositions and ethnocentric approaches need reevaluation. In the international contexts, English represents a repertoire of cultures, not a monolithic culture (...) The traditional paradigm based on the fallacies discussed above, however undesirable, continues to have a grip on the profession. What makes matters worse is that active interest

groups want to maintain the status quo. Let us hope that such attitudes cannot continue for too long, and that the sociolinguistic reality and pragmatism will eventually prevail (Kachru, 1992, p. 362).

(2) The need to include ELF semantics

Having recognized that there needs to be a fundamental shift in orientation in teaching and learning ELF, I now return to the main focus of my thesis, of semantic issues within ELF. My hypothesis was that successful intercultural communication using ELF cannot take place without a substantial similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse and substantial evidence was found to support this hypothesis. From my own experience, current teaching of the meaning of words or phrases is highly dependent on denotative, native speaker meanings, making it difficult to imagine how learners of ELF will be able to build the necessary connotative meanings and schemata (Agar's frames) that are an essential part of successful communication.

One of the implications of my research is that teaching denotative meanings is not sufficient to provide the connotative framework that is necessary to improve communication in ELF. Teachers must be trained to explore the connotative meanings of words with their students in order to build such frameworks, to develop an awareness of the importance of such connotations and the need to explore them, particularly where there is potential for communication breakdown. Similarly, teaching materials and dictionaries to be used must also be designed to build such frameworks. The Collins-Cobuild range of dictionaries is an example of such an improved range of dictionaries built on the Collins-Cobuild English Corpus.

How can this be done? This means that words and phrases must be taught and learned in their cultural context, from which their meaning cannot be isolated. It implies that dictionaries which contain encyclopedia-like information will be much

more useful in teaching and learning ELF. The most difficult part of what this implies in a climate in which, as indeed I have argued, the non-native speaker becomes the model in ELF teaching, is that this will involve an awareness of cultural connections that emanate largely (although not exclusively) from the cultures of native English speaking groups.

It seems to me that there is an inherent tension between the need to empower ELF users and validate ELF versions of English, whilst there remains the need to recognize that meaning in English cannot be separated from the cultural associations that words or phrases have for the native speaker. However, this also makes sense. Connotative meaning cannot exist without cultural associations. If meaning were detached from such associations it is difficult to imagine how communication could take place other than at a basic level.

It is perhaps no coincidence then, that some have argued that ELF should develop as some form of basic English (see Seidlhofer, 2002, p.277-297 for some of the arguments). This is an argument with which I would not agree. Firstly, it implies that in some way ELF English is inferior to native Englishes, whereas I would argue that neither is inferior to, or superior to, the other. Secondly, from a theoretical standpoint based on the discussion in this thesis I see no reason why the connotative meaning of an ELF speaker need be any less rich or complex than that of a native speaker, although it is certainly likely to be different.

A significant step in understanding ELF communication is currently taking place with the development of the Vienna-Oxford ELF Corpus, with its object being “a description and codification of ELF use” (Seidlhofer, 2002, p. 297). This corpus could form the basis for teaching materials and dictionaries that are based on ELF usage rather than native speaker usage. This does not, however, address the problem that it will be necessary to teach and learn native speaker connotations if the interpretive frames are going to be built in the minds of the learners to enable there to be effective communication in ELF.

7.4 Limitations of the study

Although the overwhelming body of data supported the hypothesis, the limitations to this study need to be borne in mind when reaching conclusions. Although the data obtained were extensive, this was obtained from two pairs of informants, those in the pilot and those in the main study. Because of the similarity in data obtained in the pilot and the main study and the quantity of data and the limitations of time on PhD study, it was not thought necessary to continue with further series of dialogues. It is conceivable, however, that different pairs of informants could produce different results, although the general findings would be likely to be the same.

The second significant limitation is that because of the location of the study and availability of informants, all of the informants originated from South East Asian countries: Thailand; Indonesia; and Korea. This meant that there were certain similarities in cultural backgrounds of the informants resulting in the “cross-over” effect that I have discussed, where understanding takes place because of an understanding of the concept in the native language that can be transferred into the lingua franca. Although I have assumed that it is likely that informants from cultures that are more disparate will benefit less from this effect, I cannot be certain that this is the case. Ideally, further studies would include ELF discourse between informants from other areas of the world, for example, Japanese\French; Swedish\Italian; and so on.

The third significant limitation is inextricably bound with the subject under investigation and the research tools used. Although these tools were designed to provide as accurate a picture as possible of the connotative meaning that the informants had for key words and phrases used in discourse, this can only be an approximation because of the impossibility of examining the minds of the informants to establish their connotative meaning. Indeed, even if that were possible, because of the complex nature of associations between words required to

form connotative meaning, it would be impossible to completely reduce such meaning to paper. In my view, therefore, it will only ever be possible to study such an approximation of connotative meaning, although the future accuracy of such an approximation may improve with research tool improvements.

7.5 Further research potential

Within the limitations of this research, there are opportunities for further research, particularly in relation to the first two limitations discussed in 7.4 above. The first aspect of this research could be to essentially repeat my research with a greater number of informants. I would, however, observe that any researcher should be aware that the extent of the testing involved would make this a huge task and I believe that the results would be unlikely to differ significantly from the results discussed in this thesis.

A more productive line of research would, I believe, be linked to the second limitation that I have described above, using informants with more widely differing cultural backgrounds, to investigate whether there was any significant difference in the outcome. I would speculate that instances of miscommunication in such a study would be greater, because of the reduction in the role of shared cultural “roots” in facilitating understanding. This is, however, only speculation at this stage.

A further interesting line of research could be to focus on the importance of groups and sub-groups in forming cultural meanings. For example, the effectiveness of ELF communication between a Japanese and a French teacher could be compared and contrasted with ELF communication between a Japanese student and a French manual worker.

Further research potential lies in more detailed modifications to the research methods themselves, as I have discussed in detail in Chapter 5 at 5.9. These possibilities include extension or reduction in the number of dialogues; the selection

of a greater number of key-words and phrases from the dialogues for testing; conducting the testing on informants at different levels of English competence; and seeking to compress the sequence of testing into a much shorter timeframe.

7.6 Reflections on the thesis

At the beginning of this chapter I observed that this thesis represents a journey over the time in which it was written and through the discovery of previous academic research relating to ELF. I can vividly recall my first meeting at Durham with my supervisor, Mike Byram, and how my ideas have changed and developed since then. The thesis also represents a journey over distance: subsequent supervisions took place in Hong Kong during a typhoon, the U.K. and Japan, with research taking place in Thailand.

Above all, the thesis represents a journey of learning: learning about culture, language, intercultural communication, ELF, teachers' attitudes towards teaching English and discourse in ELF. In this sense, there is no real conclusion to this thesis because this learning process never stops- the end of the thesis merely represents the end of one phase in that process. This is particularly true of ELF, because it is difficult to predict how ELF will develop with increasing globalisation, in particular, how long it will be until the users of ELF claim ownership of ELF (if at all) and how that will manifest itself in practice and in teaching and learning. What is certain, however, is that having been neglected for so long, ELF will be an interesting and fruitful area of future research.

7.7 Concluding observations

I began this thesis on a pessimistic note, that I was concerned that insufficient attention was given in teaching and learning of English for use as a lingua franca to successful communication that was more than a superficial exchange of mutually understood utterances, an exchange of information at best rather than

understanding. The journey that I have described gave further grounds for that pessimism when interviews of teachers in a Thai high school and leading university revealed that no distinction was being made between teaching ELF and teaching ESL. Further grounds for pessimism arose when the close connection between language, culture and meaning was applied to ELF and it was discovered that there was no systematic way in which culture was being taught in the high school and university where I conducted my research. When culture was taught, this tended to be the teaching of cultural stereotypes which would appear to be of little use in building the necessary cultural frames of reference in English to enable a mutually understood exchange of meaning in ELF.

Generally speaking, the data supported such grounds for pessimism. Although communication appeared to be successful, when selected key words and phrases were tested the strength of evidence supported the hypothesis that successful communication between non-native English speakers of differing national cultures using English as a lingua franca cannot take place without a similarity in connotative meaning between interlocutors in relation to key words and phrases used in discourse. What appears to be happening in teaching and learning English (in South-East Asia at least) is that the necessary cultural information required to build such connotative meaning in the minds of English students is not being taught or learned.

There is no need to be overly pessimistic however. The research also revealed that certain features of ELF discourse may to a certain extent compensate for this. In particular, the idea that ELF communication is taking place in a “third place” and that a “small culture” is formed in which new meanings can be formed and negotiated (see discussion in Chapter 6 at 6.24.1). In addition, there appear to be unique discourse strategies adopted by interlocutors in ELF discourse that minimize the impact of misunderstanding (see discussion in Chapter 6 at 6.24.4). Evidence of both of these features of ELF communication was observed in my research.

However, although these unique features of ELF communication exist, my research indicates that this compensation can only assist communication to a limited extent.

What I believe is required are two changes in thinking about, teaching and learning ELF. The first of these changes shifts the center of gravity of ELF teaching away from the native speaker towards the majority of ELF users. The shift will serve to validate forms of ELF English and meanings can be adapted and developed within the ELF speaking community. Teaching of English for use as ELF will be improved by the very fact that teachers will be trained to teach English for use as ELF rather than ESL.

The second change that I would advocate is a greater emphasis on semantics in teaching and learning, in particular the building through cultural knowledge and understanding of connotative meanings of words and phrases that are taught and learned. This includes an awareness of what connotations are and how to investigate them - in the way that Agar suggests that rich points can be investigated. This means that teachers must be trained to explore with their students the richness of connections of words and their meanings with other words and their meanings within the English language and with the cultural associations that English language users have with such words and their meanings.

ANNEX ONE: SUMMARY OF PILOT DATA			
Dialogue Section	Stop-Start Interview	Word Associations	Semantic Differential
P.1.1 Dialogue 1 (Iraq) Miscommunication? Nam talks about divide and rule; Putu talks about something else	Putu: Q. Ok, I've got a question for you there. Em, [Nam], er, made a statement about she'd heard er, about divide and rule, and you were listening and nodding on the tape, and then when she finished, you started talking about something else. You started talking about, I've heard, er, some people say, and I think if we remember you go on to talk about oil. P. Yes. Q. Er, but she was talking about divide and rule, and you were nodding on the tape, did you understand what she was talking about? P. About the dividing rules? Q. Yes. P. Not really (laughing), yes and, and make er like the conversation er, continuing and then I try to, I mean to, er, how to, to turn, er, to turn the er, conversation to, to er, another, another topic. Q. Ah, ok. P. Ok. Er, because, er, suppose, er, er, I [inaudible] what the er, the dividing rule and then I, oh, and then my conversation would have stopped. Q. Ah, yes. P. And then, so this way, I well, I talk to, to, to another, another topic but, but I think it still have, er, relative to, to, to er, our topic. Q. Oh sure, its related. P. Ahh, yes, yes, yes. Q. I was just interested in that, in that, in that point, em, do you know what divide and rule means? P. Not really, not really. Q. Ok, er, I'll just rewind it a little bit er, so we can see that bit again. [section replayed] [Putu indicates he wants tape to stop] Q. You want to stop- sure. P. So er, er, actually er, suppose er, Nam er want to talk about the, I mean the dividing rule, continuing what, what, what she wants actually, er, er, she asked me, er do you understand, er like, er dividing rule. Er, but, er, she didn't ask me so this	Divide and rule: dividing power; politics; government	Divide and rule: -0.66

	<p>mean, er, she agree to talk [inaudible] Q. Ah, so if she asked you.... P. Yes, asked you, and then I think, well, we talked about the er, the dividing rule, but er, but er, I talked to, er I guess another, another, I mean like, I, I, I, I heard, something like I heard, and its not er, er, continue, er continue er, from his er, from her point. Q. Why, er, can you think now why you didn't ask her what, what she meant? P. I mean about the, dividing rule? Q. Divide and rule. P. Er, well, I think er. Q. If you can't remember it doesn't matter. P. Yeah, er (pause) I have no idea. Q. Yes. P. But I, I mean, [inaudible] suppose I want to learns er, like er really want to the, the meaning of dividing rule, so, I, I will, I will ask but just er, [inaudible] that time I just guess, I just get the meaning of dividing rule so I think oh well, America want to like, like er, play the rule [inaudible] small country in the world and then I think [inaudible] and then I remember about Iraq, er, er, Iraq's war er, er, last time and I just talk. Q. Yeah, ok. P. Ok.</p> <p>Nam: Q. Ok [inaudible], yeah, I want to ask you about that section just before, em, because you er, talk about divide and rule, the idea of divide and rule, and em, [Putu] is nodding, and then he talks about em, he, what he'd heard, ok? I just want to look at that section again and then ask you a little bit about it. [section replayed] Q. Ok, so, you talk about divide and rule, and then he talks about what he's heard. Do you think that he understood what you meant when you were... N. I think we, we, we meant the same thing. Q. Uhuh. N. The same thing because he talked about the, the, the intention for those countries to control or to get properties from Iraq or, or some other countries. Q. Uhuh.</p>	<p>Divide and rule:</p> <p>Politics, selfish, control</p>	<p>Divide and rule:</p> <p>-0.33</p>
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	<p>N. Maybe we have the same meaning but we use different perspectives.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh, Uhuh.</p> <p>N. I didn't talk, I didn't mean, er I didn't, I didn't mention the property or the oil itself.</p> <p>Q. Yes.</p> <p>N. But I talked about the, the management for the country.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh, uhuh.</p> <p>N. But I think we had the same idea.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh, ok.</p> <p>[video playback continued]</p> <p>[Nam interrupts immediately after playback re-started.]</p> <p>N. [inaudible, as tape is playing] divide and rule and then get resources for, from both countries, its like a sequence, the first one divide the second one rule and then get their resources.</p> <p>Q. Ahh.</p> <p>N. Maybe the same proc, the same thing but different process.</p>		
<p>P.1.2</p> <p>Dialogue 1</p> <p>(Iraq)</p> <p>Miscommunication?</p> <p>Putu is talking about the Americans trying to control white gold mines in Indonesia;</p> <p>Nam says "they seem to be nice";</p> <p>Putu frowns</p>	<p>Putu:</p> <p>Q. Yeah, I was going to, I planned to stop it there as well. You talk first. What do you want to say?</p> <p>P. Well, er, er, actually I, er, I want er er continuing my explanation about the, the American role, er, role roles in Indonesia.</p> <p>Q. Yeah, you were talking about white gold.</p> <p>P. Yeah, yeah, but actually I am not not, I am not finished, I didn't finish and then [Nam] er, take over the conversation er, and then I want, I want to, actually I'm not finished but I felt like, oh, its not, not so polite, like just let, let her to talk er, another er, I mean continuing er, con continuing the conversation.</p> <p>Q. Er, Do you think she understood the point you were making about white gold?</p> <p>P. I'm not sure, because er, er for, for the er, person who I mean, er doesn't er interest in politic, er mostly politic in Indonesia maybe doesn't know about this [inaudible] so I'm not sure she understood about my point of view about the, the white gold in Iryanjaya or not, I'm not sure.</p> <p>Q. Because I, I noticed that em, your face is very expressive em, and, er, you were talking about white gold and then [Nam] says, er, they seem to be nice.</p> <p>P. Yeah.</p>	<p>White gold:</p> <p>rich;</p> <p>important;</p> <p>technology</p>	<p>White gold:</p> <p>+3</p>

	<p>Q. I'll show you that again. And you, you frown, your face, you go like this (demonstrates) a frown.</p> <p>P. Yeah.</p> <p>Q. It looks like you are thinking why is she saying that they seem to be nice, when I am talking about white gold.</p> <p>P. Yes, yes, I mean like, er, I talking about er, Indonesian problem, so its not, not, actually not nice at all for Indonesians about the, I mean the American role, about the er, [inaudible] and then she talk, to be nice, and then, and then I just think what's, what's meant to be nice?</p> <p>Q. Let, lets just look at that bit again. Er, I'll just play and go back.</p> <p>[section replayed]</p> <p>Q. So.</p> <p>P. So I tried to expresses my, I mean my er, er, I mean disagree with er [Nam] er, er, er, opinion er, in er I mean in, in my point of view, I talking about er, Indonesian problem [inaudible] by Americans, er, and then, er, she talk er, about seem to be nice [inaudible] at this point I un, er, I understood [Nam] her say oh, it'll be nice for America to, and then, and then, er, yeah actually I'm, er, er disagree with, with er her, her er, her statement.</p> <p>Q. So, you, you think she was saying it would be nice for America.</p> <p>P. Yeah, I think, I think but I'm not sure about [inaudible] I think she said oh, it would be nice, for, for I mean for America [inaudible] nice for America to get the go, er, white gold, for, for their technology.</p> <p>Nam:</p> <p>Q. You're, you're noddng in agreement in that sequence, er, did you understand what he was saying?</p> <p>N. I did.</p> <p>Q. What was your understanding of what he was taking about?</p> <p>N. Er, its about there, er, those countries intention when they have some, when they want to get involved with small countries, what's their really intention to do, like to get those resources, or something like that, but in, in details I just heard from him, but when I connect the new knowledge to something I have already known, I understood.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh, and, he was giving an example about something in Indonesia. What, what</p>		
		<p>White gold:</p> <p>N/A</p>	<p>White gold:</p> <p>N/A</p>

	<p>was the example he was talking about?</p> <p>N. Er, I, I, I at first I asked him...</p> <p>Q. Watch it again if you want, its fine.</p> <p>N. I remember the, the part that I, he told me about something religious, right and then I, I think I heard a little bit, details before but not much, but when we talk I feel, ok, this is an extension of something I know.</p> <p>Q. Um.</p> <p>N. But not, not, not all of them, I confess that I don't like politics.</p> <p>Q. Sure.</p> <p>N. So I don't go in details, I, I just, ok this is what I have known, this is what I know from him, that's it, but I don't feel in with, with something beyond that.</p> <p>Q. Er.</p> <p>N. It maybe because its not my interest.</p> <p>Q. What, what do you mean you don't feel in with something beyond that?</p> <p>N. Er, for example when we talk about the, the last topics, I feel I, I get, I got more involved with the topics, but for the first and the second one, I didn't.</p> <p>Q. Ah, you, you don't feel involved.</p> <p>N. Yeah. Because I don't have any related, any experience on that. I just have some ideas on the topics.</p> <p>Q. Um, uhuh, and coming back to his example here, er, that he was talking about in Indonesia, did you understand the example he was talking about?</p> <p>N. I understand but I don't know about the details. I, I understand that, er, it must be the similar or close example with the one that I have known before in other countries.</p> <p>Q. But what example was he talking about? What, what is he talking about, exactly?</p> <p>N. Its, its about religious or conflict about, about groups.</p> <p>Q. Aha, that's the Jews and the, yeah, but...</p> <p>N. But I don't know.....</p> <p>Q. Yes, let me just show you again because I am very interested in this section er, just this- what, what you thought his example was about.</p> <p>[white gold section viewed again]</p> <p>Q. What, what is he talking about in that section?</p> <p>N. Er, America wants a mine.</p> <p>Q. A mine.</p> <p>N. A mine, yeah, which is in Indonesia.</p>		
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	<p>Q. Uhuh, and what, what is the mine about, is it coal or...</p> <p>N. Er, I, I don't know what its about but I just know in my, in my co., in my mind know that if some words mentioned about the mine it must be the same thing, minerals, it could be any kind of minerals, it could be coal it could be copper, it could be silver or something else but its still the global minerals that's my concept, so I didn't ask in er, explanation because I, I have anything in the, in one group. Could be c, copper, silver, gold, anything but its still a mine.</p> <p>Q. So, er, are you saying that you, you feel that you, you understood what he was trying to say.....</p> <p>N. yeah.</p> <p>Q. ...Even if some of the words, you weren't sure, em.</p> <p>N. Words didn't [inaudible] important, yeah, but I got the word "mine" and I got the word "economic" from him that is the reason for those countries try to control Indonesia.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh.</p> <p>N. They want something in the mine, maybe any, anything some copper or silver or whatever but its still the mine, from that country.</p> <p>Q. Ok, thank you, ok, that's great. Ok.</p> <p>N. (laughing) I, er, when, er, It's the same way that I, when I read any books or texts I don't, I don't care about something small like some, some words that I don't know but I skip through, em, the whole picture of comprehension so I, I might use the same thing as I read the text or something I don't know before. It might be because I'm lazy to look up dictionaries for those words when I'm reading. It's the same way when I tal, er, listen to him I know the concept of minerals so I just ignore er, a little bit details or small details.....(laughing)</p> <p>Q. Ok.</p> <p>N. That's a lazy student.</p> <p>Q. Oh, no, no, no.</p> <p>[video playback continued]</p> <p>Q. Ok, there is another section just there I want to ask you about, when, er, he's been talking about the example and you say they seem to be nice, and he...</p> <p>N. Try to help.</p> <p>Q. He frowns, he frowns at you.</p> <p>N. Oh really.</p> <p>Q. Ahh.</p>		
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	<p>N. You mean that we are talking diff, er, about er, different things?</p> <p>Q. I don't know, I want to see what you think, er, if we just look at that part again.</p> <p>N. Yeah, ok.</p> <p>[Section replayed]</p> <p>N. I should have waited, right? Did you ask him about his reaction?</p> <p>Q. Yeah, I, I asked him about the same section, but er, I don't think I can discuss with you what he said about it. (pause) Do you want to look at that section again?</p> <p>N. Maybe. (pause) For the details I didn't know much on that, I just know the, the whole picture of</p> <p>[section replayed again]</p> <p>N. I interrupted right? Because I feel like I, I understand what he is saying and I can predict what he is gonna say next but I might misunderstand his real intention.</p> <p>Q. Um. You said they seem to be nice. What did you mean when you said they seem to be nice?</p> <p>N. They, they, those big countries try to help, pretend to help but they have something in the air, like resources, or power over those countries. It, it, it might be because I have some negative views on those countries because I, when I discuss with my friends I, I heard about this information that...</p> <p>Q. But do you think he shared your negative views?</p> <p>N. Umm, I don't know, he, he doesn't look at Americans in a positive way because he said, I don't remember, it might be because I, I feel like, ok, she is, she follows situations all the time so she has lots of information.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh.</p> <p>N. But when I, I, I saw some news about America and any countries, it's the same happens, so that convinced me to believe what he said more and more.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh. And just that section, er, where he has given the example about Indonesia and you say they seem to be nice, you, you interrupt.</p> <p>N. Right because I understood that er, America trying to help Indonesia but actually they want to get something from that country instead not, not assistance or anything, but the resources as he told me earlier, but I'm, it might not good for me to interrupt what he is saying, right?</p> <p>Q. Oh, its normal conversation, its not good or bad or...</p> <p>N. He might mean something else but I understood that it must be the same that I am thinking about.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh, uhuh, ok, let's continue.</p>		
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<p>P.1.3 Dialogue 1 (Iraq) Miscommunication? Putu talks about getting a headache talking about politics; Nam says “she heard this kind of news”</p>	<p>Putu:</p> <p>Q. Yeah, I wanted to ask you about that, because, you, you’re talking about you, you get a headache talking about politics.</p> <p>P. Yes.</p> <p>Q. And she said, I heard this kind of news, do you want to just see that again?</p> <p>P. She said that like this?</p> <p>Q. You say, I get a headache talking about politics.</p> <p>P. Uhuh.</p> <p>Q. And Saneh says, I heard this kind of news, so I wasn’t sure if you were talking about two different things. Let me show you, let me show you again.</p> <p>P. Ok.</p> <p>[section replayed]</p> <p>P. Yeah.</p> <p>Q. Did you see that.</p> <p>P. Yeah, yeah (pause) yeah.</p> <p>Q. Em, do you think she was understanding what you said, or, not listening, or what?</p> <p>P. Umm.</p> <p>Q. Was she replying to you?</p> <p>P. Er, Er, I have no idea why why why she she she she talk, er, this sentence, suppose I, er, I think er, she couldn’t understand what I said. I think I said its, I think clear enough I mean I er, I get a, I get a headache when I, I, er, read er, news about poli, politics and I think its very sim, er, simple statement and then, and then, er, she, she, she talk er, er, er, the sentence, but that time I, I, I think I did not recognize, I mean didn’t, didn’t pay attention for for for for this word.</p> <p>Q. Ok, lets finish the tape. Nearly at the end of the first dialogue.</p> <p>[video playback continued]</p> <p>[Putu interrupts playback]</p> <p>P. Er, actually er, er, on this conversation, actually I want to say, er, don’t want to change, my er , my opinion about er personal person, er, because politics, so this mean, actually, I want to explain er, in the politic, er, In, Indonesian er, opinion, American politics is not , not good, for, for us for our Indonesia, but I don’t want to er, because I read [inaudible] I don’t want to change my opinion but, er, because I have, er, er, some, lot, er American friends I don’t want to change like, you are</p>	<p>Politics:</p> <p>dirty; government; war</p>	<p>Politics:</p> <p>-3</p>
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	<p>American so you are somewhere.</p> <p>Nam:</p> <p>N. He said I got an headache, headache, right, and then I said, ok, I hate politics. Q. No, you say. N. I hate. Q. I, I think you say, I heard this kind of news. N. No, no, not before that. Q. Oh, really, oh, lets check it and make, make er [section replayed] Q. Yes, he says I get a headache and you say... N. I heard. Q. I heard, I heard this kind of news. N. It means that I, I think, we have the same opinion we don't like politics, anytime we read newspapers or news about politics we have some bad feeling or, or uninterest in the topics. That's, that's my in, intention at that time because I felt that we have the same opinion on the topics, like what we told you, we like the last one but we didn't like the first two topics, remember that, yeah. Q. Yes, but I heard this kind of news, what are you referring to do you think? N. I heard this kind of news. Q. Lets, lets just look one last time at it. N. Er, I heard this kind of news. It means anything related to politics not just Americans or any country but anything related to conflicts among countries. Q. Ah. N. Any kind related to this is not interesting to me and he said he, I imply, I understood that he didn't like the topic like what I'm thinking about. I might use different words but I, I have bad intention. Q. Ok, ok. If you don't mind we will just look one last time at that section and then, if you want to make any more comment, make it otherwise we'll just go on. N. Ok. [section viewed again and no further comment made, video playback continued] Q. You said better to talk about karaoke, do you like karaoke? N. I was joking, I, I just want to concentrate on the idea that I hate politics. Q. But you don't even like karaoke?</p>	<p>Politics:</p> <p>disgusting; hate; something complicated.</p>	<p>Politics:</p> <p>-1</p>
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	N. No, it's the way I made a joke, compared to this topic, to politics, anything would be more interesting than (giggling) you, you might feel disappointed.....and I feel that the second, the second got worse for me (laughing) because its more complicated, its difficult for me to, to continue..		
P.2.1 Dialogue 2 (Negotiation) Successful communication Putu talks about having to make a decision	Putu: <p>Q. Yeah, there is one point there where you are saying, we have to make a decision, a decision soon, and she says, why don't we save this idea until the next project.</p> <p>P. Yeah, er, and then about my, yeah, I feel like, er, I feel like I fail, to , to, em, try, to to, to try and my proposal depend on the the result of this project and, and then [inaudible] well, like, have not er, its difficult like, er, coping in this project under the condition the same, nothing er, nothing er changed, and then [Nam] talk, wow, we can, we can do it next project so this mean er, er, sure, then we lose on this, er, on the case, so its, I don't know, I think, I have to talk, for to, I mean to, to, fight, [inaudible]...</p> <p>Q. Do you think you were both understanding each other at that point?</p> <p>P. Er, I think yeah, I think yeah, er, she know er, I need er, I need er, I mean er, more money or more, er, for, for for like er divided I need more, I, I said er, we done 75%, but she done only 20% and then the agreement 50/50 so unfair and I want to get the other 35% belong to me but she said well this is our agreement we can talk on our next project, so like, I, I don't know.</p> <p>Q. Ok.</p> Nam: <p>Q. Er, [Putu] is saying, we have to make a decision...</p> <p>N. But for me I don't believe in his idea because I, I feel like we set the agreement already so we cannot change anything in the middle or during the process we might complete everything based on the agreement so I tried to resist him because of this reason.</p> <p>Q. But you clearly understood what he, what his meaning was?</p> <p>N. Yeah.</p> <p>Q. You just didn't agree with him.</p> <p>N. But I disagreed with him because I, I might think about the reality that we have</p>	Decision: think; agree; no change	Decision: +2
		Decision: lots of opinions; time consuming; complicated process	Decision: +1

	<p>to, to do anything stated on the agreement, even though we might, er, find out later that its, it should be something else. So I told him to, to, to follow this idea for the next project, not, not this one.</p> <p>Q. Ok.</p> <p>N. But...</p> <p>Q. Sorry?</p> <p>N. Its, its very funny for us to discuss, or fight, like I fought with this topic.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh.</p> <p>N. It's hard for him to think about the reason, right? It's hard for him. For me its not hard because I, I'm not the person who want to breaks the rules, but he wants to break the rules, so, he have, he has to think about the ideas, something rational but its not rational (laughs)</p>		
<p>P.2.2</p> <p>Dialogue 2</p> <p>(Negotiation)</p> <p>Miscommunication?</p> <p>Putu talks about going bankrupt;</p> <p>Not clear if Nam understands this</p>	<p>Putu:</p> <p>Q. Yeah, now, at that point you say, er, we will bankrupt.</p> <p>P. Bankru yes.</p> <p>Q. And she says, em, uhuh, how about we have a meeting. Do you think she understood, er, you saying you would go bankrupt?</p> <p>P. Er, I think she understood.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh.</p> <p>P. And er er, she, she er, I think she still want to, er, she cannot make a decision now and then like er, has to, to have another meeting [inaudible] with another, er another, er, persons who able to make a good deal for, for.</p> <p>Q. Uhuh, Uhuh. Ok.</p> <p>Nam:</p> <p>Q. Ok, what, what is he saying?</p> <p>N. He said he wanted to get more profits, more money to, to do the job otherwise he would, I don't know how to explain, the profits would er, decreasing for him, but for me I didn't believe what he said because I feel like we have to follow the contract. He might have er 10 reasons for this and for that but for me I think we have to follow the contract.</p> <p>Q. Mmm, and you, you think at this point he is saying it is going to make his profit smaller?</p>	<p>Bankrupt:</p> <p>no money; poor; no activity</p> <p>Bankrupt:</p> <p>poor; no money left; failure</p>	<p>Bankrupt:</p> <p>-0.66</p> <p>Bankrupt:</p> <p>+0.66</p>

	<p>N. Yeah, I think so, something about bankruptcy or something but he didn't use that word, bank something but I, I understood that, I could predict or understand what he means.</p> <p>Q. What is bankruptcy?</p> <p>N. He might think that if he didn't get more money he would get less profit and it might affect his financial status of the company.</p>		
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<p>P.2.3 Dialogue 2 (Negotiation) Miscommunication? Nam says “shall we listen to everyone’s voice”; Not clear if Putu understands this</p>	<p>Putu:</p> <p>Q. Er, [Nam], there says, shall we listen to everyone’s voice, and you say ok. What did you think she meant? P. Er, er. Q. Shall we listen to everyone’s voice. P. Er, voice, I think, ah, I think, er, she was ok, er, lets er, lets have another person decided about it, about it, about this, about this er, this situation. Q. Let somebody else decide. P. Yeah. I think this is just my head, but , er, telling the truth, I’m not sure about, about er, I mean the, the real meaning of [inaudible] this but, er, I try to, to, to make I mean I mean I try to interpretation from, from the context, er, er, er, she mean like, er, er, another person will decide it. Q. You mean like a judge decide? P. No, er, er, I think er, she mean, er, like manager, or they will decide it I mean, my, my manager or, or her manager because we is only consultants, right? Something like that so we cannot make a, I think [inaudible]</p> <p>Nam:</p> <p>Q. What, do you think he understood when you say, shall we listen to everyone’s voice? N. Why not, why not? It’s pretty simple. Q. What do you mean when you say shall we listen to everyone’s voice? N. I mean we have to listen to anyone’s, er, opinion to make the decision or to make the final conclusion. Q. Uhuh.</p>	<p>listen to everyone’s voice:</p> <p>hear; pay attention; think</p> <p>listen to everyone’s voice:</p> <p>democracy; final conclusion; fairness, “oh I change the last one, justice”</p>	<p>listen to everyone’s voice:</p> <p>+3</p> <p>listen to everyone’s voice:</p> <p>+1</p>
<p>P.3.1 Dialogue 3 (Family) Miscommunication? Nam says we mean the same, is that important to your</p>	<p>Putu:</p> <p>Q. Ok, I want to ask you about this bit. Em, [Nam] is saying, er, we both studied abroad and we both have a family, she says, er, we mean the same. She says to you, we mean the same. P. (repeating) we mean the same. Q. When we are talking about family. She says something like, er, we mean the</p>	<p>family:</p> <p>wife; children; parent</p>	<p>family:</p> <p>+3</p>

<p>success? Putu doesn't answer the question directly, he says "talking about family I have to talk about the past"</p>	<p>same, is that important to your success, and then you say, talking about family, I have to talk about the past. So, er, I'm not sure if you are answering her question. Do you want to see that part again, yeah?</p> <p>[section replayed]</p> <p>P. So er, I er, understood what she said. But, er, talking family, um er, I cannot talk directly to [Nam], like, wah, its like er, its important for me but, I want to talk, like, to talk about the past, the past time.</p> <p>Q. So you understand what she was saying.</p> <p>P. Yeah, I er understood, yeah I understood.</p> <p>Q. She said to you we mean the same. So she is saying we must, er agree.</p> <p>P. Yes.</p> <p>Q. Did you think you do mean the same?</p> <p>P. Er, er, I agree with [Nam] family important for our success, for our life. But, er, er, in this situation, actually I'm not er, I'm still not exactly er, how far I mean important for, I mean er, to our life so because, er, I don't know but [Nam] [inaudible] so I said, oh yes, oh yes, and then its, I tried to er, to make her er, continue because she very, like s, strong belief the family was most important. So I said, yeah [inaudible].</p> <p>Q. But did you actually feel the same strength of belief the same strong belief that family was as important for you as it was for her?</p> <p>P. Er, until thi, this part, I still not er, not sure, about we are like er, really like same idea about the importance of the family for us, but I, I just try to, I mean to just to make the conversation going on, like on another occasion, yeah...</p> <p>Q. Mmm. Ok.</p> <p>Nam:</p> <p>Q. Ok, I just want to ask you....</p> <p>N. What's the last word, I</p> <p>Q. Have to talk about the past time.</p> <p>N. Oh.</p> <p>Q. He's just talking about the past, em, here, you say to him, we mean the same thing, and then you ask him the question, "is that important to your success?", so you are asking him about his success, and he says, talking about family, I have to talk about the past.</p>	<p>family:</p> <p>success; love; caring</p>	<p>family:</p> <p>+1.66</p>
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	<p>N. What happened in Indonesia, when he got his own family.</p> <p>Q. Mmm. Is he answering your question?</p> <p>N. Er, I might predict too much about his intention, because I assume that we have the same status, we have a family, and...</p> <p>Q. Yes, you said to him...</p> <p>N. Yeah and we mean the same thing...</p> <p>Q. Before he said much you said to him, we mean the same, about family.</p> <p>N. Yeah, I, I, that's, that's my weak point I might predict too much. It might be the, the thing that I, I have predicted right?</p> <p>Q. Just this, this small section.</p> <p>N. Oh, I, I be, I had that action because I know before that he has his own family in Bangkok- you told me or, I'm not sure , oh, when we met for the first time that's the background for, for me.</p> <p>Q. When we met for the background meeting, yeah, yeah.</p> <p>N. Yeah, that's the background for me, it made me er, have that action.</p> <p>Q. Just this, this section though, you say, you ask a question, is that important to your success- do you think he understands the question?</p> <p>N. Sure.</p> <p>Q. I just want to look at that section.</p> <p>N. I think he understood.</p>		
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<p>P.3.2 Dialogue 3 (Family) Successful communication Nam says “this is the reward for my patience”; Putu is nodding in agreement</p>	<p>Putu:</p> <p>Q. Now, you are nodding there. [Nam] is saying a lot about her family and you are nodding in agreement and she says this is the reward for my patience. Did you understand what she said? P. Er, I think yes. Er, I think she [tape unclear] she did very hard and on to manage family and her study and finally, er, she found that her, her daughter can speak English very well and er, she er, er, proud, very happily, right, impress, impressed her very much, I oh yeah, I mean, I understood her idea, I think. Q. Ok.</p> <p>Nam:</p> <p>Q. Ok, now there is a long section there where you’re talking about your experience in America and, er, he’s nodding in agreement, er... N. I, I guess he had the same feeling, he could understand what I would say next and next. Q. Uhuh, uhuh, and er, yes, you say in particular, this is the reward for my patience, em, and he’s nodding in agreement, so, er, do you think he was understanding..... N. [inaudible] we are in a second country, the same situation, he is now in Thailand, but I was in America, we have the same situation, he had his family here so he has to be responsible for everyone, I had to be responsible for my children there, different time but same situation. Q. Uhuh, uhuh, ok.</p>	<p>reward:</p> <p>to think back; talk about the past;</p> <p>patience:</p> <p>hard; think; action</p> <p>reward:</p> <p>something good in return for your investment; something for your patience; indicator for your success;</p> <p>patience:</p> <p>something you do because you need something for, the result; a good intention to do that; something related to success</p>	<p>reward:</p> <p>+1</p> <p>patience:</p> <p>+3</p> <p>reward:</p> <p>+1</p> <p>patience:</p> <p>+1</p>
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<p>P.3.4 Dialogue 3 (Family) Successful communication Putu talks about missing them; Nam appears to clearly understand this</p>	<p>Putu: [not discussed]</p> <p>Nam: Q. Ok, just one final question about that, that may seem a bit obvious, em, you both talk about missing them, missing your children and your family. What do you mean by miss? N. (sighs) Er, so you have two meanings for (laughs) Q. No, I just, I'm just interested. N. Er, think of them, think of them and I love to hug, to kiss them. Q. Ok.</p>	<p>miss them: think; remember; call</p> <p>miss them: want to hug them; want to meet them; want to reunion with them</p>	<p>miss them: +3</p> <p>miss them: +1</p>
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Key:

P= Putu

N=Nam

Q= Interviewer

ANNEX TWO: SUMMARY OF MAIN DATA			
Dialogue Section	Stop Start Interview	Word Associations	Semantic Differential
D.1.1 Dialogue 1 (Iraq) Miscommunication? Suttichai talks about the USA trying to make people believe New York as the capital of the World, and appears to clearly mention "our Pope". Michael changes the subject and asks about the demonstration against the war that Suttichai went on.	Suttichai: Q. So in relation to your comments about NY city and everything, em, did you feel that he firstly was understanding what you were saying and secondly whether he agreed with you or not? S.- Hmm, may be he, I guess that he still not, er, realize about that game, maybe, because in my comments I try to talk er, about theory of mass communication, maybe [Michael] not em, not catch, catch my point. Q. Yes. S. But, em, I'm really not sure, because, the reason why I, I talk this comment with him, because I guess that maybe he can get mine, because he's Korean, he know more about American, what I mean I think... Q- Uhuh, uhuh, er, a couple of things in that sequence I would like to ask you about, what you em meant, em, I think you said, er, you talk about the USA try to identify their city New York City like the capital of the world, to let the people to feel like that, to feel that the USA try to invite the people to believe, to follow them, our Pope benefits NY city, er, if I understand you correctly, you were talking about the Pope benefiting NY city, did I hear that correctly? S.- the Pope? Q- yes S.- I did not, I.. Q- Can I just play that section again, because it is possible that I er, didn't hear the word you were using, let me just go back and play that. [section played again] Q. Yeah, its that part, it sounds to me like our pope benefits New York city, let me play it again, we'll try playing it slightly louder because it is possible I didn't hear it properly. [section played again] S.- Its not Pope Q- It wasn't pope, you didn't mean Pope? S- Well, it wasn't Pope. Q- Well, you definitely say benefits- our something benefits NY city. S. (silent)	Believe: <u>First</u> faith; God; father; mother; sister. <u>Second</u> thinking; I; you [The Pope: Vatican; Italy; religion; Catholic; white] [Not tested second time as seemed to be wrong word]	Believe: (1) 1.56 (2) 0.78 M: 1.17 [The Pope: (1) 0.56 (2) N/A]

	<p>Q- But anyway, if it is definitely not the Pope then that clears up some confusion, because I wasn't sure what you meant by the Pope there, but you didn't mean the Pope</p> <p>S- No, because the context like er, our own benefits [inaudible], we feel something like have the same benefits as USA have and what benefits that was attacked its like that, its like er, we feel like er, like some kind er like I feel World Trade Centre is my benefits....</p> <p>Q. yes, yes, er, and the end of that sequence you say em, you let the people feel the same, you see the link, the reason to invade someone...can you just explain a little bit more about that what the, the theory that you were giving then, just a little bit more, about how does this make the link, the reason to invade someone.</p> <p>S. Er, according to the recent American military said to the world that they trying to em, to find nuclear weapons, missiles, something like that because of, the reason that er, I think, because of the World, if it accept er, the nuclear weapons.</p> <p>Q. The nuclear?</p> <p>S. Weapons.</p> <p>Q. Weapons, yes.</p> <p>S. If anyone have its not recognized by the people ...have to destroy, something like that, that's one reason ...and to make the world community believe that Iraq is em, a country that you know, collect the nuclear weapons and also, previously I think Americans try to make the image of Iraq like em, how to say, like em, in the bad side, I don't know how to say, like em, Iraq bad, like er, there is something...you have, er, er, your fundamentals, previously in the Persian war before, you have the character of Saddam Hussein [inaudible], so, its easy to let people follow this, somethings....</p> <p>Michael:</p> <p>Q. er, at the end you don't really say anything, but you, er, ask him about a different subject, you ask him about the, what he thinks the main reason people had for joining the demonstration in Thailand, ok, so there are a number of parts of that sequence I'd like to talk about. Em, one phrase he used he said "Our Pope benefits New York City", did you understand what he was talking about?</p> <p>M. No (strongly)</p> <p>Q....when he said our Pope?</p> <p>M. At the time I just, er, understood what he said is that like the U.S. try to let people know that the New York is the center of the World, so I agreed that point, but I didn't</p>	<p>Believe:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>religion, faith, essence for living</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Religion;</p>	<p>Believe:</p> <p>(1) 1.67 (2) 1.44</p> <p>M: 1.55</p>
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	<p>catch that Pope benefit something, yeah, I didn't catch it.</p> <p>Q. Yeah, and then ,er, do you know actually what Pope means?</p> <p>M. No, no.</p> <p>Q. And, em, the other section, "you let the people feel the same, you see the link, the reason to invade someone"- did you understand what he was talking about then?</p> <p>M. Not really</p> <p>Q. No, er, lets just go back and watch it one more time and then if you want to make any more comments about that section then, er, you can, I'll stop it after its finished, you can make some more comments.</p> <p>M. ok.</p> <p>[section replayed]</p> <p>Q. Ok, right, so, er, just thinking about that particular sequence, now you have seen it again and I have asked you about it, is there any other comment you would like to make about that sequence?</p> <p>M. Em, when I watched again, what I understood, he's like, he wanted to say the er, U.S. try to make the New York is the capital of the World and second, its like em, em, they try to link, I mean, they try to er, the people, the World people think, er the same same sympathy, the same emotion about like World Trade Centre attack, so they invite the World and make them ally, the same side and try to invade Iraq, yeah and what, that's er, what I understood...If I understood correctly, I agree with [Suttichai's] opinion.</p>	<p>trust; credit, friend</p> <p>[The Pope: Doesn't know the word]</p>	[N/A]
<p>D.1.2</p> <p>Dialogue 1 (Iraq)</p> <p>Miscommunication?</p> <p>Michael talks about Iraq people thinking the new government is a traitor because they follow U.S. policy. Sitta interrupts</p> <p>"like a puppet" Michael agrees. (19.43)</p>	<p>Suttichai:</p> <p>Q. Ok, I just want to ask you a little bit about that sequence, er, [Michael] says Iraq people think the new government is a traitor, because the new government follow U.S. policy, em, after the word traitor, you make a, a noise, a conversation noise of, of, of er, encouragement, or, er, that you're listening, em, so I think the sequence goes er, "I think the new government is a traitor" and you go, "ahh" like a Thai conversational politeness, em, did you know what he meant when he said "I think the new government is a traitor"? Do you know the word traitor?</p> <p>S. (long pause) Invaders?</p> <p>Q. Er, Its no problem if you don't know the word, but I can't...</p> <p>S. But its negative word, I guess</p> <p>Q. Continue with what you think, yes.</p> <p>S. It's negative word, like em, how to say, like em</p> <p>Q. You think its something like invader?</p>	<p>Traitor:</p> <p><u>First</u> (Doesn't know the word)</p> <p><u>Second</u> Monster; devil; equator</p>	<p>Traitor:</p> <p>(1) N/A</p> <p>[(2) 1.22]</p>

	<p>S. Something like that.</p> <p>Q. Yes, because this study I can't explain the word to you yet.</p> <p>S. uhuh, its negative word, yeah.</p> <p>Q. Ok, ok, so, and can you just explain to me the, the sound you make, is that intended to indicate, er, agreement, or merely er, politeness that you're listening, what?</p> <p>S. The sound that I make?</p> <p>Q. Yeah, the Thai sound, its like a Thai, many people in Thailand use it in conversation.</p> <p>S. [makes the sound, uhh]</p> <p>Q. Yeah, just like that a little bit like uhh, uhh, what does that indicate?</p> <p>S. Its accept, something like er show your acception, accepting your partners [comments]</p> <p>Q. Yes, it's a little bit more than politeness, its, is it more like er, agreement?</p> <p>S. Yeah, yeah.</p> <p>Q. Yeah, yeah. So really, er, in concluding in relation to that sequence, you made the noise of agreement, you weren't sure exactly what the word traitor meant, but you felt that it was a negative word and you agreed with the, in the context with the negative word because you also had a negative view of the invasion of Iraq, sorry the rescue of Iraq, perhaps, depending on your point of view, ok, that's very helpful. Ok, let me just let that sequence finish.</p> <p>[tape playback continued]</p> <p>Q. Now again in that sequence, em, you interrupt [Michael] and you say "like a puppet, like a puppet" and he says "yes, yes, this I think is not good solution to the whole problem", so when you said "like a puppet", er, did you think that [Michael] er, understood what you were saying?</p> <p>S. I think so, I think he understood.</p> <p>Q. Let, let me just play that sequence again.</p> <p>[sequence played again]</p> <p>Q. Ok, so, er, having seen the tape again, when you say "like a puppet", er, you think [Michael] understood you, what you were saying.</p> <p>S. Yes.</p> <p>Q. Yes, ok. Anything else you'd like to say about that sequence before I carry on?</p> <p>S. Umm. Maybe, I want to make him to er, to understand my understandings also.</p> <p>Q. Yes.</p> <p>S. Like em, to make sure that, like you, I, I, I still follow his explanation, I give the word the puppet, its like, em, the theme that, that we should understand in the same, same thing, conversation [end inaudible]</p>	<p>Puppet:</p> <p><u>First</u></p> <p>doll; sister; children; play; friend</p> <p><u>Second</u></p> <p>doll; U.S.; People</p>	<p>Puppet:</p> <p>(1) 0.22 (2) 0.67</p> <p>M: 0.44</p>
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	<p>Michael:</p> <p>M. I got like er, the Word Association it was show the “puppet”, now I understand because puppet, I thought different word but it was same, puppet, it’s a doll, just er follow what er, how to say the player, puppet show, (laughing) just like that....</p> <p>Q. Yeah, em, I wanted to ask you about that sequence, em, because you talk about the Iraq people feeling very bad and you say they think the new government and Sitta interrupts you and says, like a puppet, like a puppet, and you say “yes, yes, this I think is not good solution to the whole problem”, but earlier when we were doing the word association you said you didn’t know the word puppet.</p> <p>M. Yeah but, I guess when, when [Suttichai] said, I understood, it was doll but when I, saw the word and listen and I, I thought the new word, some like the other vocabulary but, but.now I just, oh, it’s the same, it was same he was saying (laughs)....</p>	<p>Traitor:</p> <p><u>First:</u> bad guy; anti-patriotic; Iraq; U.S.</p> <p><u>Second:</u> Iraq; U.S.; bad; negative</p> <p>Puppet:</p> <p><u>First:</u> (doesn’t know word)</p> <p><u>Second:</u> Doll; powerless; not thinking</p>	<p>Traitor:</p> <p>(1) 1.22 (2) -0.89 M: 0.16</p> <p>Puppet:</p> <p>(1) N/A (2) -1</p>
<p>D.13 Dialogue 1 (Iraq) Successful communication? Suttichai says it is like during the cold war with the communists. Now anti-terrorism is</p>	<p>Suttichai:</p> <p>Q. Ok, can I just ask you a little more about that sequence, er, you talk about during the cold war, there were the communists and now, er, anti-terrorism, er identify with maybe non-Muslim countries and Muslim countries, er, can you just explain a little bit more about what you were saying, this idea, very interesting idea?</p> <p>S. This idea, like, er, in cold war, in, in the period of cold war U.S.A. identify the, how to</p>	<p>Anti-terrorism:</p> <p><u>First:</u> Iraq; Bush;</p>	<p>Anti-terrorism:</p> <p>(1) 0.56 (2) -0.11 M: 0.22</p>

<p>identified with non-muslim countries and terrorism identified with muslim countries.</p>	<p>say, liberal world, democracy, as, em, USA is the center, I think, the communists, they identify the communist country is the site of Russia, China, something like that, but nowadays, anti-terrorism, the center is U.S.A., but for the, also its non-Muslim country, maybe Europe, or, whatever, but for the terr, terrorism, the center is in the Muslim countries, we have Afghanistan, we have Pakistan, we have Saudi Arabia, its Muslim world, in, it maybe, maybe the, the mus, other Muslim world, outside middle east, Malaysia, Indonesia, maybe they have some link with, em, em, the Muslim in the middle east, feel like, er, the cold war, Malaysia, Indonesia, oh no, sorry, er in, Indochina, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, maybe have something with Russia, something like that.</p> <p>Michael:</p> <p>Q. Ok, that was another section that I wanted to ask you about, em, when er, Sitta said, er, "its like during the cold war" , er, "communists. Now anti-terrorism identify with maybe non-muslim countries" what do you think he was saying then, or meaning?</p> <p>M. Its like er, terrorism, is equate, equate same as just like er Muslim country is terrorism</p>	<p>people; mess; war</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Iraq; people; unfair</p> <p>Identify with:</p> <p><u>First</u></p> <p>religion; identity; people; nationalism; me</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Me; myself; people; belief; something</p> <p>Anti-terrorism:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p>	<p>Identify with:</p> <p>(1) 1.44 (2) 0.78 M: 1.11</p> <p>Anti-terrorism:</p> <p>(1) 1.22 (2) 1.11</p>
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	<p>country, that kind of thing, and anti-terrorism like er the rest of them, like er, including U.S., the other allies.....</p> <p>Q. And what about the, er, connection with the cold war that he was talking about?</p> <p>M. Cold war, because, probably because of er, the role of the U.S., because at the time also the U.S. initiated er, kind of er, ideology, and they draw line, and also now they made some ideology, U.S. side and the other side, yeah, like that.</p>	<p>peace; U.N.; protest; army</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>U.S.; Bush; Thailand; Thaksin</p> <p>Identify with:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>I.D. card; sex; age; nationality</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Definition</p>	<p>M: 1.16</p> <p>Identify with:</p> <p>(1) 0.67 (2) 0.89 M: 0.78</p>
<p>D.1.4 Dialogue 1 (Iraq) Successful communication? Suttichai talks about current problems in the South of Thailand and that some people think this is part of a CIA plot, similar to CIA tactics in the cold war.</p>	<p>Suttichai:</p> <p>Q. Ok, I wanted to just ask you a little bit about, er, that, you were talking that, you know, you'd heard some people saying that, er, the situation in the South of Thailand er, was er, like er, indirectly, indirectly, supported by the CIA, some kind of er, CIA plot, em, could you, just explain a little bit more, er, you say they used this game a long time ago during the cold war, er, could you explain a little more about what game you mean, talking about the South of Thailand.</p> <p>S. Er, use this game to make em, the conflict, the separation, like em, 6th October 1976 [inaudible]</p> <p>Q. Er, I don't know, is there a theory that the CIA were involved there?</p>	<p>CIA Plot:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>policeman; monster; devil; occupying; dominant</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p>	<p>CIA Plot:</p> <p>(1) 0.56 (2) 0.89 M: 0.72</p>

	<p>S. Yeah.</p> <p>Q. Oh, I didn't know that, in 1976.</p> <p>S. [inaudible] ...in that time, em, we have em, the fear, the Thai people have some fears</p> <p>Q. Fear.</p> <p>S. Oh, the communists will destroy the Royal Family, the communists will destroy Thailand, destroy er anything, the moral of the country, something like that, and the image of communism in Thailand is very bad and er, also the government try to er, to show the image like, communists like the, the devil, its non-human, something like that. That one is em, support by budget from CIA, all the, all the road in North East Thailand, from Bangkok, support by CIA, the name of road is friendship [Thai word used], it mean USA has friendship with Thailand.</p> <p>Q. What, the roads?</p> <p>S. The road, the road is, was built in order to be convenient to invade the base of communists in North East Thailand [inaudible] something.</p> <p>Q. I didn't know that.</p> <p>S. Yeah yeah and also the medic came you see and, if you, maybe you, if you know some tragedy in my campus in 1976.</p> <p>Q. Yeah, I know about that.</p> <p>S. Because in that time all of the students was imaged, were imaged like em monster, not humans.</p> <p>Q. Yeah, so what er, parallel are you drawing with the South of Thailand now, what connection?</p> <p>S. Connection?</p> <p>Q. Just to explain, for the tape.</p> <p>S. To make the situation in Thailand, like er, other, conflict area, er, terrorism, Islamic, Islamic terrorism, see, in [inaudible] try to make the conflict that Islam, Muslim, separatists, try to separate one the other reason, in trying to but this is the, one of terrorism game to play.</p> <p>Michael:</p> <p>Q. Ok, I'd like to ask you a little bit about that sequence. Em, er, you made a comment about the Muslim problems in the South of Thailand and he said that you thought that</p>	<p>mine; usa; invade; invader; destroy</p> <p>Cold War:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>Water; cold; psychology; Russia; America</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Russia; unfair; conflict; Asia; [fighting?]</p> <p>CIA Plot:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>conspiracy; secret;</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Complicated; Concealed</p>	<p>Cold War:</p> <p>(1) 0.78 (2) 0.33 M: 0.55</p> <p>CIA Plot:</p> <p>(1) 0.22 (2) 0.33 M: 0.27</p>
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	<p>the connection with Iraq was irrelevant because, er the U.S.A. cannot control the CIA, what er, what did you understand him to be saying in that sequence about the South of Thailand?</p> <p>M. Em, yeah, I feel that, I'm also think er, related, like Iraq that, that problem in Southern Thailand because it's like, er, Muslim issue, but I disagree [Suttichai] said the U.S. Government they cannot control CIA, but I don't think they cannot, because I think they em work together and even though CIA is kind of like independent they, they can work whatever they want but I think they still belong the government so they still work for U.S. and U.S. interests, benefits, yeah.</p> <p>Q. Em, and what did you think he was saying when he was saying after that, that, em, the Muslims in the South they believe that the action is made by CIA support, " not directly you see, not directly, but the support is CIA, CIA plot"</p> <p>M. (laughs)</p> <p>Q. What, what did you understand him to be saying, then?</p> <p>M. I just feel, I feel that like,er, in order to control Thailand or South East Asia U.S.A made some plot, CIA made a plot, to control, I mean like, because of that incident that serious problem, Thailand have, has to depend on US military or US policy for Southern Asia because in the past in Korea also like er if er, military or socially er, unstable, like er the Asian country had to depend on U.S. so this why they made some plot, those kind of.</p> <p>Q. So, did you agree on that point then?</p> <p>M. I agree with that, yeah because, in the past like er Korean military dictatorship and also like er, indirectly or like, CIA they supported the the plot, because if CIA or US disagree military dictatorship or coup d'etat, he cannot without their, their permission, or this quite influential.</p> <p>Q. Just, just one point that you said that em, the first part of what he said you didn't agree with, that the U.S.A. had lost control of the C.I.A.</p> <p>M. Yes.</p> <p>Q. But, you, you you didn't indicate to him, from what I can see on the video, that you didn't agree with that. Why, why is that do you think?</p> <p>M. Em, probably um, em, I agree with er like, his main theme, but I didn't er, criticize or pick up the, because em, he, he mentioned U.S. cannot control CIA but I thought it, it was not main point what he wanted saying, actually he wanted to say there was CIA plot and because of that, blah, blah, so I don't, yeah I agree with er like the main point but, at that time and even now I disagree U.S. cannot control CIA, that point, yes.</p>	<p>Cold War:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>bipolar; u.s.; soviet union; south east asia; communism; liberalism</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Soviet Union; U.S.; bi-polar; 1970s; Vietnam war</p>	<p>Cold War:</p> <p>(1) 0 (2) 0.33 M: 0.16</p>
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<p>D.2.1 Dialogue 2 (Negotiation) Successful communication Suttichai says that the process is run by the procedures themselves, because you didn't control your workers you do much, I didn't control my workers who do less than you.</p>	<p>Suttichai:</p> <p>Q. Right, er, what, what are you meaning when you say the process is run by the procedures themselves?</p> <p>S. Em, in the context [inaudible] I forget something, but, er, according to the explanation I try to say kind of like em process is run by itself its not, not me that control, the one, er the one who control that, that process, but the process is, was happen, by running of both sides.</p> <p>Q. Uhhuh, so its, what you're saying is, er, its not your fault, its, I dunno, just how things have, how its happened from the way both sides have...</p> <p>S. Something like em, I, maybe I compare with the water flow, but sometime its flow this way, sometime flow this way, but you cannot control...</p> <p>Q. Uhhuh, uhuh, like water, water flowing.</p> <p>S. Yeah</p>	<p>Process:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>people; channel; line; things; output</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Running; people; input; output; railway</p> <p>Procedures:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>(Doesn't recognize word he used)</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Process; product; producer; customer; receiver</p>	<p>Process:</p> <p>(1) 0.78 (2) 0.11 M: 0.44</p> <p>Procedures:</p> <p>(1) N/A (2) -0.44 M: N/A</p>
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	<p>Michael:</p> <p>Q. Can I just ask you a little bit more about that sequence, em, that Sitta says to you, er “the process is run by the procedures themselves, because you didn’t control your workers you do much, I didn’t control my workers who do less than you”, er, what do you think he was meaning when he was talking about the process and procedures there? M. Em, it seems like er process, er, flows by itself without control, but I disagree because, probably yeah, sure, they have a tendency to going on themselves, but I think manager would er, the people, they can, they can control the process, they intervene the procedure also, yeah...</p>	<p>Process:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>time; stage; steps; result</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Connect; time; cause and result</p> <p>Procedures:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>Stage; role; discuss; responsibility</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Step by step</p>	<p>Process:</p> <p>(1) 0.33 (2) 0.11 M: 0.22</p> <p>Procedures:</p> <p>(1) 0.67 (2) 0 M: 0.33</p>
<p>D.2.2 Dialogue 2 (Negotiation) Successful Communication? Suttichai verbally agrees to pay the additional 25% to Michael’s company, but will not sign another</p>	<p>Suttichai:</p> <p>Q. Ok, I want to ask you about that, that sequence, er, which is very enjoyable, em, you er, you come to some agreement, or it looks like you come to an agreement that you would pay 25% extra to his company and you both er, he says you agree, and you say yes, I think it should be ok, so it looks like you agree, but then you say er, you are not going to sign a contract, you say, we agree, yes, I agree, but its not a new contract, em, and then he, he says to you, er its not a contract but a promise, so, er, when you agreed, wha, what</p>	<p>Agree:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>accept; except; don’t know; no need to find;</p>	<p>Agree:</p> <p>(1) 0.44 (2) 1.22 M: 0.83</p>

	<p>M. (laughing) Yes.</p> <p>Q. And then he says, er, we agree, yes, I agree, but its not a new contract. And then a little later you say-its not a contract but a promise?</p> <p>M. Yeah, I said that.</p> <p>Q. Yeah, you said that. So what, what is going on there? What, what, can you make some comment on that?</p> <p>M. What I wanted to say is like, em, what I understand perception about contract and promise, contract is like er, written document and legally we are like, we have to sign off each other but promise is like its just er, informal way its just er usually, em, byword, its more general and more moral so, because here he suggested me like er, we have to keep the formal document, the original one, but between us lets make like informal like er new contract like that its, yeah, its just like a promise, not, not er, contract.</p> <p>Q. Ok, em, do you think you were talking about the same thing when you said "agree"?</p> <p>M. Agree about what?</p> <p>Q. Yeah, because, er, he said "we agree" and you had earlier said to him "you agree" , then he said, "yes, we agree" and then a few seconds later he said but its not a new contract. So do you think when you were saying "agree" you were talking about the same thing?</p> <p>M. Mmm. You mean the meaning of agree.</p> <p>Q. Yes.</p> <p>M. Er, I guess the same, same meaning, yeah, but the thing is, em, he, er, he thought different way, I mean, I thought he probably er agree with er, making new contract, but he wanted to keep the contract and then make the other, informal way, it was er, different, different way.</p> <p>Q. Ok, thank you. Er, one more question about that sequence, er, do you think, er, that he meant the same when he talked about the contract- do you think that he meant the same as you?</p> <p>M. The contract?</p> <p>Q. When he talked about the contract.</p> <p>M. Probably yes, because, he said its not a new contract, it does mean, he's also like er contract is like, er legally document but he said its not legal, a new contract, it means like, he also perceived, er similar, same, same way as me.</p>	<p>emotion; rational</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Same opinion; sympathy; same idea</p> <p>Contract:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>legal document; [sequence interrupted] duty; obligation; word</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Formal promise; credit; word (I give my word)</p>	<p>Contract:</p> <p>(1) 1.78 (2) 1.33 M: 1.55</p>
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<p>D.2.3 Dialogue 2 (Negotiation) Miscommunication? Michael: "If we make a new contract the original one go away, is useless now, the new contract is valid"</p>	<p>Suttichai:</p> <p>Q. Ok, now he's arguing with you, and he says to you, er, if we make a new contract the original one go away, is useless now, the new contract is valid, er, what did you think he was saying about the new contract?</p> <p>S. Er, I think he, he means some kind like er, if, if we have the new contract, previous contract is not, not, active any more, like er you make a new one and you abolish the previous one, but for my, I think in that time I, I try to explain him that we have support contract, we have some [inaudible] new contract but we still keep the previous contract we have more contract something.</p> <p>Q. Yes, yes, em, the the word valid, I think you're not familiar with that word is that correct?</p> <p>S. Em, I see in my passport it is, and now my understanding some kind like er the age, the age of something, finish, something like that, expiry.</p> <p>Q. Ok, ok.</p> <p>S. Something like that, expiry.</p> <p>Q. Yes, expiry.</p> <p>S. Expiry, yes.</p> <p>Michael:</p> <p>Q. Ok, I just want to ask about that sequence. Er, if we make a new contract the original one, er, it goes away, its useless now, the new contract is valid.</p> <p>M. Uhuh.</p> <p>Q. When, that was what you were saying.</p> <p>M. Yes.</p> <p>Q. Yeah, what did you mean by "the new contract was valid".</p> <p>M. I thought er, there, like two kinds of er, like situation, first, the origin one and the the new one, contract or law, but if each other they support or like added can be also valid, but in this situation the original one and new, new one is like er, like contradictory or they cannot er, be valid at the same time, it means, so that's why I said that the old one has to, like, invalid and new new one have er, power and, that means.</p> <p>Q. Er, do you think he understood what you meant there, he understood that concept?</p> <p>M. Er, I'm not sure but I think, he, er, he tries to, er, keep his point, I mean he tries to like er, even though I said its useless and, its gone, but he still, em, insist, no lets er, lets</p>	<p>Valid:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>(Doesn't know word)</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Expiry; date; seasoning; products; me</p> <p>Valid:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>opposite invalid; still going on; effective</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Effective; have a power; useful</p>	<p>Valid:</p> <p>(1) N/A (2) -0.44 M: N/A</p> <p>Valid:</p> <p>(1) 1.78 (2) 1.44 M: 1.61</p>
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	<p>Q. Yes. So what does multifocality mean?</p> <p>S. It means women in the centre of...</p> <p>Q. Women in the center.</p> <p>S. Is the centre, the woman is the center.</p> <p>Q. Ahh, have you heard of the, er, the word, matriarchal?</p> <p>S. Yeah, maybe it's the same because of my pronunciation.</p> <p>Q. Right, ahah, so could you just spell, when you said multifocality, could you spell to me the English word you are meaning?</p> <p>S. M-A-</p> <p>Q. M-A-</p> <p>S. T-R-I</p> <p>Q. T-R-I- Ah</p> <p>S. Its not so easy</p> <p>Q. Not multi but matrifocality</p> <p>S. Yeah.</p> <p>Q. Aah.</p> <p>S. Its my yeah, yeah, its my pronunciation.</p> <p>Q. That, er, is very helpful, that, now I understand, ok, matrifocality.</p> <p>S. Yes, its because we use maa, maa [inaudible]</p> <p>Q. Never mind, its fine, its fine, its clear now, ok that's very helpful. Ok, we'll continue.</p> <p>[Video playback continued]</p> <p>Q. Oh, sorry, one thing I forgot to ask you about the sequence of victorianization and matrifocality that we were talking about, er, did you feel that [Michael] understood the point you were trying to make?</p> <p>S. I don't think so.</p> <p>Q. You don't think so.</p> <p>S. No.</p> <p>Yes, why don't you think that?</p> <p>S. Em, because maybe, I'm not sure because he is Korean, Korea is different but Chinese, I think Chinese don't have this concept. Because, in Chinese society before coming of Western, its not matrifocality, the status was very low, very low, I think its very, I think he don't understand, but in South East Asia, they can, because me also Chinese, I quite understand what, what he feel, perhaps.</p>	<p>south-east Asia; mother; fertility; fertilize</p> <p>Second:</p> <p>Mother; woman; land; fertility; green</p> <p>Politics:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>blaming; games; cheating; power; people</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Game; power; trust; losing; identifying</p>	<p>Politics:</p> <p>(1) 0.11 (2) 0.67 M: 0.39</p>
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		Politicians: <u>First:</u> monster; bad; game; money; profits <u>Second:</u> Game; corruption; power; money; invade	Politicians: (1) -0.67 (2) 0 M: -0.33
	Michael: Q. Ok, I'd like to ask you a little bit about that sequence. Er, one part he said, er, he was agreeing with what you were saying and he said "yes, exactly, it comes from victorianization", I think he said, and then he said, because basically it is multifocality, er, then he said, talk about mother, and its, its, quite new, its victorianization, its not really, it come from Royal Family on top, to the bottom, but now the Royal Family change, they didn't involve in politics, politicians take their role, er, what, what did you understand him to be saying there, particularly when he talked about victorianization and multifocality? M. Actually I have never heard that, those vocabulary so. Q. But you say yes after he says it. M. Yes, I see and er, because I try, try to understand because, er unfamiliar with that, that concept, even now, yes...actually I, I felt, he like er, he agree what I said and then added some, the other explanation, but when I watch now, I think he kind of disagree, he, he said the other, the other things, is it, I think he has another, a different opinion? Q. I don't know, I'll have to ask him. M. Actually, to be honest I still not clear what is victorianization, that, that word means.	Victorianization: (doesn't know word) [Matrifocality:] (Note: Matrifocality wrongly tested in the first test as "multifocality" Michael doesn't know word)	Victorianization: N/A [Matrifocality:] N/A]

	<p>Q. Yeah.</p> <p>M. Yeah.</p> <p>Q. What, what was the, er, main point that you were making then that you now think, he didn't agree with you?</p> <p>M. Oh.</p> <p>Q. Or you now think he is maybe saying something different. Do you want to watch the sequence again, to help you?</p> <p>M. Can I?</p> <p>Q. Sure. Do you want to take the controls- you can do it. Go back to where you want.</p> <p>[Michael replays the sequence]</p> <p>M. Yes, er I, I, I mention about like er patronage system or, like the King is like a father and the people is like children and he said, yeah exactly its like, its from victorianization, so I thought its like a similar concept, the Thai concept and that victorianization its from, probably from England em, but he er, he said later now its like a change because the royal family doesn't play along with things because that's now [inaudible] didn't. like er affect the political way that much, yeah em, (laughs) I think at the time and like, not so, em probably I, I couldn't catch his point clearly just I, oh, I guessed because he seems to like, oh, exactly and then he says like oh probably he understood and added something, his opinions, but...</p> <p>Q. But you didn't really know what he was adding.</p> <p>M. Yeah, yeah, exactly.</p> <p>Q. Ok?</p> <p>M. (Laughs)</p>	<p>Politics:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>Politician; impeachment; chaos; Korea</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Congress; administration; politicians; some law;</p> <p>Politicians:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>moral; immoral; stubborn; selfish; negative</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Representative; negative; corruption;</p>	<p>Politics:</p> <p>(1) 0.33 (2) 0.11 M: 0.22</p> <p>Politicians:</p> <p>(1) -0.22 (2) -0.67 M: -0.44</p>
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<p>D.3.3 Dialogue 3 (Family) Successful communication? Suttichai "If you are the father, you have to have the morals to govern your son. If you broke the rule anyone can broke the rule also. If you still keep the rule, anyone will keep the rule".</p>	<p>Suttichai:</p> <p>Q. Just a short question here about being a father and having the morals to govern your son, er, what, can you say a little bit more about what you were meaning then? S. Umm [inaudible] Because I am trying to explain a bit of the concept of "Kong Tzu" [Confucius] Q. Gong Gi? No, I'm not sure of the concept. S. Er, He said like, em, about the King, the King is the son of the God , who fall from the heaven. Q. Right. S. To govern the regime on the World, but he said that if that King, er, broke the rule, because they have the, er...consensus [inaudible]. Q. Yeah, the c... S. The consensus. Q. Consensus? Yes, yes. S. But if that King broke the rule... Q. Yes. S. Em, he will not, some kind like that, the God of, er, son of the God any more. Q. Right. S. But the one who led the people, lead the people, to broke, to, fight him, that one should be the exact, the true son of God. Q. Right, yes, yes. S. Like some kind of like er, try to teach like er, the moral of the governor of the leader, the leader should have er, should have some um, morals to govern the people, but if, he or she broke the rule, that one of you will destroy [inaudible].</p>	<p>Moral:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>good; ok; relax; trust; believe</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Religion; god; people; trust; lie</p> <p>Govern:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>control; direct; set; find; support</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>Government; power; people; politics; game</p>	<p>Moral:</p> <p>(1) 0.67 (2) -0.33 M: 0.17</p> <p>Govern:</p> <p>(1) 0.33 (2) 0.22 M: 0.27</p>
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	<p>Michael: Q. Ok, just about that sequence, em, he says er, if you are the father, you have to have the morals to govern your son, if you broke the rule anyone can broke the rule also. If you still keep the rule, anyone will keep the rule. What what did you understand him to be meaning there?</p> <p>M. Its like, em, its Confucious, Confucious value, like er, parent or teacher or governor, they have to be like, moral, to be like er, good example for children or students, whatever, so I said, because its quite familiar value because, yeah I used to listen this value, so yeah values that, when he explained this value its quite, I ,I thought easily understand and agree that point.</p>	<p>Moral: <u>First:</u> Bible; ten commandments; Buddhism; religion; conscience</p> <p><u>Second:</u> Bible; sincere; faithful; desireable</p> <p>Govern: <u>First:</u> control; rule; in order; society</p> <p><u>Second:</u> Control; balance; order out of chaos</p>	<p>Moral: (1) 2 (2) 1.67 M: 1.83</p> <p>Govern: (1) 0.67 (2) 0.67 M: 0.67</p>
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<p>D.3.4 Dialogue 3 (Family) Successful communication? Michael is talking about family values being confused in Korea because of the mixture between old concepts, Chinese influences, Japanese influence and now western influence. Suttichai says "you cannot find the root, maybe confused" Miscommunication? Michael says "At the same time, we have to get good things from the Western countries, make it more reasonable..."</p>	<p>Suttichai:</p> <p>Q. Ok just that little section there he's talking about things being mixed, so many things being mixed, the Japanese influence, Western, Chinese influence, er, and you say "you cannot find the root". What do you mean, I understand the word root, but what do you mean in that context that you cannot find the root? S. Er. Q. I mean, why do you need to find the root, why do you want to find the root? S. (Pause) umm, maybe, I, because, er, because Thailand, I don't know much about the country that colonized, was under colonized, about their, lessons, they will loss their identity, some kind of, I'm not sure maybe Korean, maybe Korean people don't know who they are, or. Q. And you think that that's partly as a result of colonization. S. Yeah, maybe. Q. Because Thailand has never been colonized. S. Yeah, but at the same time, maybe, even though Thailand is not under colonized, but, maybe we loss our root also, because Thailand is auto-colonized by, by itself, colonized by Thailand, Thai people want to be like Western, civilized by ourselves. Q. So its like voluntary colonization? S. Something like that, er, in the context maybe I guess that Korean must, I really not sure. Q. Er, do you think that you were understanding each other at that stage, at that part of the conversation? S. I think, I think I understand him in the context of, um, er, the invasion from others and effect to the root of the local people. Q. Yes. But he didn't mention root, you mentioned root. S. Yeah, I mentioned root, I guessed that. Q. Ok, just a little bit more. [video playback continued] Q. Ok, now you are nodding in agreement there. He says, er, he talks about keeping family values and then he says " at the same time we have had to get good things from the western countries, make it more reasonable", what was your understanding of what he was saying there? S. Er, my understanding is maybe, [Michael] live in Korea, he gets more influence of the Westerner, he see what, what should, should adapt with, with his society.</p>	<p>Family:</p> <p><u>First:</u> friend; believe; faith; trust; share</p> <p><u>Second:</u> Friend; trust; believe; share; trust</p> <p>Western Influence:</p> <p><u>First:</u> dominance; exclude; marginalize; occupying; uncivilized</p> <p><u>Second:</u> White; civilized; occupy; invade;</p>	<p>Family:</p> <p>(1) 1.33 (2) 1.56 M: 1.44</p> <p>Western Influence:</p> <p>(1) 0.67 (2) 1.11 M: 0.89</p>
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	<p>Q. Yes. S. Because its formal, formal, er how to say, because Korean is more formal than Thailand. Q. More formal society? S. No no I mean in terms of Americanization or Westernization. Q. Right. S. Officially, in Korean politics its more formal than Thailand its vis, its er... Q. Do you mean more obvious? S. Yeah, visible. Q. More visible. S. Yeah, Something like that. Q. Ok, ok. S. And he will see more the good points of the West or other cultures, if you compare with Thailand, because in Thailand, anything good (laughing). Q. (mishearing) Anything goes. S. Anything good from the West, all goods. Q. Yes. S. Free sex, they don't I don't know what is free sex, what is free, I don't know, I think in Thailand didn't realize about what exact the theme or the values of, of from the West, I don't know its just surface, and put the surface to adapt, but maybe Koreans, they understand.</p> <p>Michael:</p> <p>Q. Ok, I just wanted to ask a little bit about that sequence, er, you say about the Korean situation, family values are changed and confused, because they are, er, transitional period -old concepts, er Chinese influences and Japanese influences before, and now, western influence, so many things are mixed, and he says "you cannot find the root, maybe confused". M. Uhuh. Q. Er, couple of things there, talking about the, the mix of er, things in Korea, the, er, mix of western influence, what do you mean by western influence? M. Just like er, become more nuclear family and urbanization... Q. Urbanization or globalization, sorry? M. Urban.</p>	<p>colonize</p> <p>Family:</p> <p><u>First:</u> society; love; blood tie; parents</p> <p><u>Second:</u> Affection; love;</p>	<p>Family:</p> <p>(1) 2.44 (2) 1.56 M: 2</p>
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	<p>Q. Urbanization.</p> <p>M. Urbanization, also like er social structure change from like agriculture to the industrial.</p> <p>Q. And you think that's the western influence?</p> <p>M. Yeah because the government always try to er have a model from the U.S. or like Europe countries because they try to catch up their, the process what they, yeah, developed, so its, they try to imitate especially, I, I feel like Western influence, yeah...</p> <p>Q. And then Sitta, er, added to you...</p> <p>M. Uhuh.</p> <p>Q. Em, you cannot find the root.</p> <p>M. Right.</p> <p>Q. What do you think he was talking about there?</p> <p>M. Er, probably er, em, I agree with that point because sometimes the government or society if they like er, when they, em, reform something they just er pick the whole things from, including the roots, the tradition and replace the new one, like er, they get rid of like tradition they because they think its old fashioned its, its negative way and then they just adapted the new model from the Western, so, probably [Suttichai] he meant it that way and I also feel that way so that's why I said balance is important like er, we have er, we need to have like our own mod, like em root and then we er, pick some, what we want and mix happily, not just er, pick the roots (laughs).</p>	<p>blood tie; close; relations</p> <p>Western Influence:</p> <p><u>First:</u></p> <p>nuclear family; rationalism; liberalism; materialism</p> <p><u>Second:</u></p> <p>MacDonalds; KFC; reasonable; discipline; intelligence</p>	<p>Western Influence:</p> <p>(1) 0.89 (2) 0.67 M: 0.78</p>
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Key:

S= Suttichai

M=Michael

Q= Interviewer

M in Semantic Differential Column = Mean score

ANNEX THREE: RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM

Research Information Sheet

Approved by Durham University's Ethics Advisory Committee

Research title: Investigating the impact of schemata and connotation on intercultural communication between speakers of differing native languages using English as a lingua franca

Who is doing this research

Ross Taylor is a lawyer and university lecturer. He is currently completing a PhD. The research in which you have been invited to participate is part of this PhD. This PhD is based at Durham University, U.K. and is supervised by Professor Mike Byram, of Durham University School of Education.

What the research is about

Ross Taylor is investigating what happens when speakers from different countries who speak different languages (e.g. a French and a Thai person) try to discuss complex subjects such as legal, political or moral issues using English as a common language. He is interested in particular in studying what happens when this communication is successful or unsuccessful so that we can understand such interactions better, and hopefully improve them in the future.

What you will need to do

After you have read this sheet you will be asked to read and complete a consent form and sign it. This is to show that you understand and agree to the research you are going to take part in, and the use that will be made of the data obtained.

The first part of this research is for you to complete a questionnaire that is about your language and cultural background and your understanding of the meaning of a number of different English words and phrases. At a time that is convenient to you, you will later be interviewed by Ross Taylor and asked some questions about some of the answers that you give in this questionnaire. This interview will be tape-recorded for future study.

In the next part of this research you will be given a short outline of some situations and subjects that you will be asked to discuss in English with another person who is also helping with this research. The discussion that you have will be video-recorded for future study.

The final part of this research will take place a little later. You will be asked to watch parts of the video of the discussion and asked some questions. You will also be able to stop and start the video and explain anything you want to, yourself. This will also be tape-recorded for future study. You will also be asked to complete some short tests about some parts of the video of the discussion.

Your name, contact details and the fact of your participation in this research will be kept confidential.

At the end of this project a summary of the results will be sent to you.

Thank you very much for your participation, without which this research would not be possible. If you wish to check on the progress of the research or any conclusions reached as a result of this research or have any further questions please contact Ross Taylor by e-mail at taylor@ksc.th.com

TITLE OF PROJECT: Investigating the impact of schemata and connotation on intercultural communication between speakers of differing native languages using English as a lingua franca

*Please cross out
as necessary*

Have you read the Subject Information Sheet? YES / NO

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study? YES / NO

Have you received satisfactory answers to all of your questions? YES / NO

Have you received enough information about the study? YES / NO

Who have you spoken to? Dr/Mr/Mrs/Ms/Prof.

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study:

* at any time and

* without having to give a reason for withdrawing and

* without affecting your position in the University? YES / NO

Are you aware of and do you consent to a video and audio tape recording being made of your participation in this research?

YES / NO

Are you aware of and do you consent to this video and audio tape recording being kept and used indefinitely for purposes connected with this research?

YES / NO

Signed

Date

(NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS)

.....

ANNEX FOUR: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions

Section One

1. Full Name:
2. Contact Address:
3. Phone numbers:
4. E-mail:
5. Nationality:
6. Job/Profession:

Section Two

7. What Art, if any, is important to you, and why?
8. What historical events, if any, are important to you and why?
9. What values, if any, are important to you and why?
10. What traditions are important to you and why?
- 11.1 Do you see yourself as having the same culture as your national culture?

11.2 If the answer to 11.1 above is yes, how would you describe your national culture?

11.3 If the answer to 11.1 above is no, how would you describe your own culture?

Section Three

12. For how many years did you study English?

13. How would you rate your English speaking and listening ability?

14. Have you ever lived abroad?

15. If so, where and for how long?

Section Four

16. What level of education does your father have, and in what subject area?

17. What level of education does your mother have, and in what subject area?

18. What do you do in your free time?

18. Do you play any sports, if so, what sport do you play and where do you play it?
19. What would a typical evening meal be for you?
20. What is your favourite kind of music?
21. Do you have a favourite author? If so, who and why?
22. Can you describe the person(s) who is your closest friend who is not a member of your family? What is their personality like? What sort of work do they do?
23. How would you describe your character/personality?
24. Do you belong to any clubs or societies? If you do, what are they?
25. How do you think others would describe your character/personality?
26. What is the highest level of your education and in what subject area?

27. What social class would you say you were from, and why?

29. Which non-family member has been the greatest influence on you in your life?

30. Do you have a hero/heroine (alive or dead)? Who are they?

31. How frequently do you travel abroad?

Section Five

A.

32. What do you think of American values?

33. Do you think there is anything good about America's role in the world today? If so, please explain.

34. Do you think there is anything bad about America's role in the world today? If so, please explain.

35. Have you ever visited the U.S.A. or had an American friend? If so, please give short details.

36. Have you ever visited a Middle Eastern country or had a middle eastern friend? If so, please give short details.

37. What is your favourite movie? Why?

38. What is your favourite TV programme? Why?

39. Do you think the UN is important? Why?/Why Not?

40. What does 'globalisation' mean to you?

41. What does 'hegemony' mean to you?

42. What does 'peace' mean to you?

43. What does 'security' mean to you?

44. What does nationalism mean to you?

B.

45. What does 'contract' mean to you?

46. What does 'agreement' mean to you?

47. What does 'responsibility' mean to you?

48. What does 'promise' mean to you?

49. What does the saying 'a promise is a promise' mean to you, and do you agree with it?

50. What does 'profit' mean to you?

C.

51. What does the word 'values' mean to you?

52. What does the word 'family' mean to you?

53. What does the word 'mother' mean to you?

54. What does the word 'father' mean to you?

55. What do the words 'brother' or 'sister' mean to you?

56. What does the word 'relative' mean to you?

57. There is an English saying 'Blood is thicker than water'. Do you agree with it?

58. Do you trust politicians? Why/Why not?

ANNEX FIVE: PILOT VIDEO TRANSCRIPT

25th August 2003

N=Nam

P=Putu

Q=Researcher

Dialogue 1

Q. Just whenever you want, talk about what you want.

N. Ok.

N. I don't know much about, er, the politics or anything related to the politics. But I heard that er, some people said it's not good for er, these two big, er, countries to control any small countries like Iraq or any other countries.

P. Yes, er, I think, er I'm er, also agree with your, er, your idea, because, er man, er, many small country, small countries er, try, I mean to, er, to fight with America and then the last time its Iraq

N. It is impossible for them to win, these two countries, right?

P. Yes, yes.

N. I also heard er, another rule, they said divide and then rule, er, these two countries want to divide the big one, right, so they took it and then they rule each region, each small region of er, the big er, country later.

P. But, er, I hear from er, about the, er, about the invasion of America to, to Iraq they have another er, reason for, for, er for UK and, er, America.

N. What reason?

P. Er, many people said they want to get the er, the source of er, oil.

N. Oh, from Iraq?

P. Yeah, from Iraq for future, for future and then they try to, to control the countries, er which have a lot of er, oil.

N. Uh huh, uh huh, uh huh. When they control the country they can use anything from that country, right?

P. Yes, yes, at least.....

N. Legally, or illegally?

- P. Er legally because they, they said er, they will develop this country but they ask er, the resources of, er of oil, er, belong to them, er
- N. Oh, that's interesting I have never heard about that before.....
- P. And, I also hear about the er, the another er, reason, er,
- N. Reason.
- P. Yeah, another reason why America try to I mean, to, to, control er, Muslim countries.
- N. Is that religious er, reason?
- P. Yes, reason. Yeah, actually, its not Christian, Christian and Muslim, its not Christian and Muslim, but er, er, actually its Jewish and Muslim.
- N. Uhuh.
- P. Because, er, behind, er, the er, politician er, America they have, er, er, er, Jewish stay there, and then they try to, using their power, to make, er, their power to America to, to push er, Muslim countries like er, [inaudible] Muslim countries like Iraq and I hear, Iran
- N. So what is your attitude towards er, these two countries. You know some reasons behind, er, their actions?
- P. Er, I'm not, er, I'm not sure about the, about the, er, religious, er issue, but, er, I'm sure about the, the economic, er, political, one.
- N. Ok.
- P. So I think, yeah, this is possible, like we, er we have in Indonesia, er, like one mine of like er, white gold.
- N. Um um.
- P. And then, er its very important for, for developed technology in America and America try, try to, to get this, this mine of white gold and then try to, I mean to control the er the leader of, of Indonesia and then, they, they doing many thing and we feel like, wah, Americans so, so attractive to, I mean, to er...
- N. They seems er, to be nice, right, to be nice to those countries, but they have something in mind, ok, er, I need to do this or I need to control that, right?

- P. Yeah, yeah, yeah, they, er, they said yeah, they would help us on the many, er, er many problem but er they ask the, another to, to, er to be, er, to belong...
- N. You know a lot, huh.
- P. Er, I just listen when, when my friend talking about this politic, actually I...
- N. That's very new to me.
- P. Yeah, I lazy to, to to read news about politic because I get a headache, a headache...
- N. I hate, I hate this kind of news
- P. And then sometime we, changing to er, to think about the person I don't want to, to, to change er, my opinion about the person about the, the general political issue.
- N. Mmm. Mmm.
- P. But sometimes think oh wah, America [inaudible] sometimes, I know some Americans but not, not really, er, like normal person like kind, kind.....
- N. They are powerful in terms of economics, but, er, they are not good in some kind of actions.
- P. Yeah, but actually on this, on this, I think on this, on this period, on this period I mean, you can call, on the, on the er, Bush Junior, er,er...
- N. Could you say that again.
- P. Bush
- N. Bush
- P. Yeah, Bush, er Junior.
- N. Ok, ok.
- P. Because before, before, er I mean, the situation is not, not same er, as er, [inaudible]
- N. Uhuh, uhuh. (pause) So this is gonna change the world or environment or us ?
- P. Maybe.

- N. Maybe.
- P. Maybe it would be possible.
- N. Yeah.
- P. Maybe er, er, if er, the, I mean er, if America er, er successful to, to control small country and one by one and on the future.....
- N. And then the er, this one may be the biggest...
- P. Yes.
- N. Of the world.
- P. Yes, yes.
- N. And then what's gonna happens after that (laughs).
- P. Ah, I don't know.
- N. [inaudible] what's left.
- P. I have no idea, because I'm not interested much in politics, so I just stay, maybe, maybe good also, maybe we are , we have, er, like standardized on, on the er, knowledge, or some things.....
- N. Uhuh, yes. I wish I, I had more time to read some kind of newspapers like, er Mahichon Rai One, they conclude everythings er, in a monthly basis or a yearly basis. If I can do that I might have known more about the politics or other news.
- P. Yeah, talking about political, politics, er.....
- N. It's not my favourite at all.
- P. Yes. It's headache [inaudible] Better, better to talk about food.
- N. Right. Food or something else. (laughing)
- P. Yeah, or music.
- N. Karaoke (laughing). Oh, so we are done for the first one?
- P. Yes.
- N. Let's move to the second one.
- P. Ok.

Q. Ok.

Dialogue 2

Q. The Second Dialogue.

P. So, er, now we have to discuss about the situation in, er our project.

N. Yeah.

P. Yeah, we know, er er, first time, we made, we made agreement, in a contract 50/50 50, er, 50 work and.....

N. Money

P. 50 Money.

N. Yeah, its fair.

P. Yeah, its fair. But now, now we done, do a works er, more than your company, so I.....

N. You mean that you did the work more than I did, right?

P. Yes, yeah, we did, more than your....

N. What's your measurement of your standard for that?

P. Yes, er, we er, we using the worker more than, than you, and then we have to pay, we have to pay, er, the labour.

N. But I think it's the way you manage your payments. It should be your own risk, not us, not ours, so if, I, I feel like, ok, we stated in the first contract that we divided fifty percent, er 50\50 for money and for work and then we should conform to that agreement.

P. But, er, yeah, but er do you see er, er, our project, er I finish er, more, er, job than, than, than you.....

N. You got more work done than I did.

P. Yes. So, er, so now, er, we already er done er, er four months, and then almost 25%, we did, but er, your company does 25%.

N. But I think I am responsible for the work stated for my own company, so if I spend like er, ten months or three months its still our responsibility to get things done. If you want to get it done you can work now and complete within a week.

- P. But.....
- N. Right?
- P. Er, we are in a hurry, you know, we are in a hurry, we just, we, we, er, we have to complete it on, er, one year.
- N. But I...
- P. Suppose....
- N. I can finish it by a year also, even though I might spend ten months for the whole work, but I, I the, the point is, I want to er, use less workers, with er, more profits so that's why I don't pay attention on number of workers because I plan that I can finish, on time, even though I have less workers.
- P. But now, er, we, er, we already spent a lot of money, er money, I think more, I think er, double, than, er, than our, our budget, to, to, come for in your [inaudible] actually [inaudible] possible.
- N. But I think it's the way you manage your work. Its like you want to invest er, for much money for the work but for me I feel like I can spends er, less money, less worker with more profits at the end.
- P. But we now, we have to er, make, er, new agreement, new contract.....
- N. And are you sure that we gonna finish the work on time by, er twelve months.
- P. Yeah. Yeah, suppose er, er, now, we have limit, limited time, to, to, to, I mean to finishing our job and then so we have to er, makes, de, er, decision er, soon.
- N. Why don't we save this idea for the next project. We, why don't we try to complete this work er, as soon as possible and save this, the idea for, for the next one instead?
- P. But, the conditions today's, er, er, suppose er, we er, we cannot get increasing er, the profit, we will bankrupt.
- N. Uhuh. How about we have a meeting for er, the companies, I mean for your company and for my company. Everyone sit and talk and discuss for the conclusion. Because you are not the representative of your company I am not also, so er, we can make agreement based on the, em, agreement from our companies, not from both of us. How about that? If we set a meeting for this conclusion.
- P. Yeah, I think its, good idea.

- N. Yes, you can collect any information, or any, er data to the meeting and then when everyone considers and we can make the final decision later, for that.
- P. Ok.
- N. Slow but sure.
- P. Ok.
- N. Yeah, ok, lets, lets set the meeting maybe for, em next week.
- P. Next week, ok.
- N. Next week, as soon as possible, so that we can finish the work on time.
- P. Yes, this is for, for our next, er next project
- N. Right.
- P. Yeah, we don't want er, like, er, we just finished the project and feel, oh er, in this project, I hope, we have another project in future.
- N. Right, right, because I myself cannot make any decision er, because I am not the one, the only owner of the company so shall we listen to everyone's voice?
- P. Ok. Ok.
- N. Right, ok, good.

Dialogue 3

- Q. Ok, Whenever you are ready, em, the last one, the family values one.
- N. [reads discussion topic] Family values. I like this topic.
- P. Topic.
- N. And I think you too.
- P. Yes, I like, but, ok...(gestures towards the camera)
- Q. Up to you, yeah whenever you want, its recording ok.
- N. Do you think the family values exist in the real world, I would say yes.
- P. By the way, actually I'm not sure what the, the, the definition of er,er,er...

- N. Definition? For me I feel I think about er, the values based on family, for example I, I have very positive attitudes toward the family, having a family, so I feel like, er, having a family is very wonderful for my life, for my success and er it seems to me that my family should come first compared to other things.
- P. Um, ok, I guess, so in here we have, er, I hope, er, we we, have same, er, idea about the....
- N. Yes, right, because I know that you have your own family, you have, er, how many children do you have, one?
- P. Two.
- N. Two, ok.
- P. Two boys.
- N. Right, so what family means to us might be the same.
- P. Yes, er.
- N. Is that important to your success when you want to, do your Masters or to do something like your study here?
- P. Talking, er, family, er, er, I have to talk, er, about the past, past time, before, before, er, before I er I marry, so this mean I am single, and, and I feel, er I study, I work, but I don't know.
- N. No meaning.
- P. No meaning, for who?
- N. No goal.
- P. For who? I study very hard, for who? And when I work, for, for who? And then everything was changing after I, after I marry and then I have son and then I went, oh, now I have to survive, I have to work very hard to go, to find a good er, future, not for me, but for, for them, I don't want they stay er, er, on the difficulties and no, er, not enough food and not enough education and then this, er, motivate me to, to, to work very hard, and.
- N. So you can face any difficulties for them to be better right?
- P. Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.
- N. I had the same feeling when I, two years, er, a few years ago, I made decision to, to bring my children to stay in the States, because at that time I was writing my dissertation and er, everyone, my husband, my parents, even some of my colleagues told me not to do that, not to tor, er, torture

myself, they said its gonna hard, er, its like tough, or I would have a hard time doing that. I know that I would have a, hard time but I was ready for that position. I brought them and I know that I could have died, because er, I had to do everything for them, cooking is not my job when I work in the family, er, cleaning the house, doing dishes or everything, every, everything was messy, I had to manage er, time for study and for their activities, but I kept patient until, er, I was done with my study and it's the same time that my children could speak English very well, they spoke a lot better, better than I, I did at that time, so I feel like, ok, this is the reward for my patience, I feel like, ok this is because of the family, the family or the, the willingness or intention to see their bright futures, and when I talk, er, to my husband about this, we have the same feeling that we can do, we can do everything for the kids even though we might be suffering.

[Putu nodding throughout the above section]

- P. Er, yeah, I think I agree with, with, with your, your, idea, but my, er, my experience, I think is different with, with another person's er, experience.
- N. Um.
- P. Er, I stay here er, er, around five years.
- N. Five years, with your family?
- P. No, I stay with my family er, only er, start last three months.
- N. Oh, ok, you just brought them.
- P. Yes, the reason, er, er, I worry about my children, suppose they stay here, because, er, er stay here this mean er, I have to stay in apartment.
- N. Right, its more expensive, right?
- P. Yeah, yeah, expensive and no space, that's er, that's very important, no space.
- N. No space and no one to take care of them.
- P. No space for them to play in, because they still a child and, er, they love to, to play football, they love to, er, er, er, to, to ride bicycle but in Bangkok...
- N. There's nowhere.
- P. There's nowhere to do, and I felt well, and then also the weather here.
- N. It's the same weather from, between your country and Thailand?
- P. In, in Bangkok?

- N. [makes Thai sound of 'yes' in conversation, uur,uur]
- P. I think in, er, er, in my country, er, especially in my city, er, cooler, er, cooler than here.
- N. Oh really? Oh.
- P. And also I stay er, not in a, in a big city, so the, the air pollution, er, er, and better in my country.
- N. Right, right.
- P. So I worry about their health, and then I felt oh, er, actually I miss them very much, I want them to stay with me but I worry about, about them, about, er, they will, er, lost their freedom, to, to play football to, er, to, er, to play bicycle and then, yeah, I decided to, I mean, they stay in my country and I stay here.
- N. But on the other hand, er, having your own family staying with you is a good idea, to encourage your own study or you can help them at the same time, right?
- P. Yeah, yeah, er, it is true and then er, after, I mean, after the, the, six month, and then, er, er.....
- N. Did you ask them to practice Thai...
- P. Yes.
- N. Or English?
- P. Er, now er, they stay, er, in a Thai community, so er, er, my children er, have to study Thai language at the er, school, just for, for, I mean, for introduction, because its Indonesian school, but er, my wife er, need to understand Thai language, because, she have, er, she has to er, go to market to, to buy something....
- N. For survival.
- P. Yeah, to survive us.
- N. Otherwise you don't have anything to eat (laughing).
- P. Then, er, now, er, she learn er, Thai with er, er one er, Thai
- N. It's like a private tutor?
- P. Er...

- N. Or just.....
- P. She er, have er, five, five Indonesian and one Thai teacher and then they learn, er, three hours a week, and.....
- N. It's a good experience for you, that's the thing.
- P. And then and now they start to, to experiment, to, er, to bargain in the market....
- N. Yeah.
- P. And then, oh, its too expensive can you reduce it, yeah. And then, er, talking about busy, after my family stay here, er, I am more and more busier, than, than, than, than, before. But, yeah, I feel now, I feel like er, I feel happy, like er, before, er, before, when I er, from University I back in my room, my apartment, and I stay alone and nobody, and I felt oh, well, so why I have to stay alone, in fact I have a family, but now, er, er, I can, I mean, er, when I'm back in my apartment I can, I can talk with them, yeah, I think its better. But actually I have another reason, er why I'm not, er, er, bring my family here from [inaudible] from a long long time ago.
- N. What's the reason?
- P. The reason er, er
- N. I guess you needed to adjust yourself.
- P. Er, the first, er, first year, yes, I want to adjust myself, and and, er after that my family er, and my wife, was er pregnant for the second one, so and er, I said well, its better you er.....
- N. To be alone
- P. Yeah, yeah, to be er, to give birth in Indonesia, because have another woman help you, you, to to take care of the baby, and then after, after, two months, I went back home and I, I, to, to, to bring them to Thailand, and then er.....
- N. Do you have to do some process er, for the visas, from Indonesia to Thailand?
- P. Yes, yes.
- N. The same thing.
- P. The same thing, and then er, my mother and my parents and her parents said, no, you're you're your child, your second child is still a like, baby, too young to bring, er, to, to bring to Thailand and then, ok and waited and then, er a couple years ago my mother er have to stay alone, because

nobody stay because no body stay, with, with her, [inaudible] my family and then no, you can't bring your family to Thailand [inaudible]

N. Because she doesn't want to separate from your kids, huh?

P. Yeah, yeah, and cry and cry every time I talk about, about this this matter and then ok, I only have one mother, so I have to respect, respect her, and I have to make her happy, on the er on the er....

N. You try to please her, right?

P. Yes, yes, yeah and then, and then I have to waiting, waiting, waiting and then one day, and I, I talk with, with her I er, er, slowly and I say, oh, mother, I miss my family...

N. Did she understand?

P. Yeah, because now already five years and I need, I don't know, maybe more, one year, or five years, suppose I do my PhD in Thailand its maybe more, er, four or five years, so er, I'm so pity with my son, have no father.....

N. But you need to create your own family here, too.

P. And then my mother say ok, you can take them.

N. I, I had er, some experiences when I was in the States with the kids. I always heard er, them saying something like, mom, I miss daddy, when we are going to go back bring er, four of us together in a family, and I cried every time I heard that sentences. I felt ok, er, I know the reason, ok, we are to, we need to complete the study, but the kids didn't know at, er, anything, so I feel like they need both er, parents. So I feel like ok, its a good idea for you to stay together, even though you might have more difficulty.

P. Yeah.

N. You might be tired, a lot tired, from works, or from anything for them.

P. Sure, yeah. Sure, because er, I have, now I have to study, and also find, er any part-time job to, to, to survive, and other, I have to take care of them, so.....

N. Yeah.

P. So, yeah, yeah. But, its ok, this is my, er, decision, so I have to do that, for them.

N. Do you feel like, er, your life is more meaningful when you have your family?

- P. Yes, sure, yeah, yeah, yeah. Because er, suppose I work and I have got a lot of money and I have no family.
- N. Nothing.
- P. I have no, I have no children, so nothing.
- N. Nothing, no one to turn to.
- P. So, yeah, yeah, I want to like, work hard and then er, I want one day I, I want to see them, like happy and success on, on their, their life.
- N. Our job to create their life, their future.
- P. Yeah, yeah.
- N. We have the same reason we can work so hard to gain more money, for everyone in the family, for me I don't mind working, em, like 10 hours a day, to make money for the kids education, for everything.
- P. Yeah, yeah, sure, sure same.
- N. Er, sometimes I, I thought that, ok, if the life after death is true, I'm afraid that I won't see my husband again (laughing), because I love him, er too much maybe. I told him about this he laughed badly, he, he said I was so silly (laughing).
- P. Yes, its, a senti, er, a sentimental, er, feeling.
- N. Mmm. Yes. So the, the question is, value, why do we think they are important? They are important for, its like our obligation to do something for someone we love, to create their future, right.
- P. Yeah, Yeah, so I think from the question its, er, from the family values, I think yes.
- N. It is, it does exist.
- P. [inaudible]
- N. I could say that's it's the most important thing for my success. In working or in study or anything.
- P. Yes, yes.
- N. And I think we have, we have the same idea because we, we are in the same boat that we have to separate from our motherland to stay in another situation so we need some more support, encouragement.

P. Yes.

N. So, we are done.

Q. Ok, thank you.

End of recording

ANNEX SIX: MAIN STUDY VIDEO TRANSCRIPT

9th March 2004

M=Michael
S=Suttichai
Q=Researcher

Dialogue 1

M. Is it start?

Q. Yeah, er, whenever you want to talk, or if you still want to ask me a question.

M. I have one.

Q. Sure.

M. Yeah, if em, we have the same idea, opinion, what if [inaudible]

Q. Don't, don't worry, that's fine. Don't. Don't worry about what I want. All I am interested in is you talking. You can, you can agree, you can disagree, you can half agree, it doesn't matter. Just say what you feel, that's what's important.

M. Ok. (giggling) Ok, we are ready.

S. Where were you at that time in, when er U.S.A., U.K. invade Iraq?

M. I was in Korea.

S. In Korea?

M. Yes and er I was in the newspaper and actually I got shocked and now, nowadays like Korea already er, like er, send some troops in Iraq but I think um the bottom line, I disagree (laughs) to invade Iraq and to support Iraq in this context. What do you think this, this issue?

S. Er, I joined with the demonstration.

M. Oh you joined?

S. Yes, to em, protest this invasion, we have demonstration in Bangkok.

M. In Bangkok.

S. Yes.

M. So you of course you...

S. Yeah, very disagree.

M. So you disagree to send from Iraq.

S. Yeah, because...

M. I heard Thailand was going to send...

S. Yeah, after that, for the, er after everything, I mean the war already finished, they send the troops to Iraq.

M. Right.

S. But in that time for er, invasion, during invasion, I think we can, they, they try to er, say that, nuclear weapon, blah blah to make the Iraqi, Saddam Hussein, very bad.

M. But you disagree.

S. Disagree, because U.N. not, you know, no provision from UN.

M. Yeah Yeah, that's why I very, feel very bad, that's why because I think, um, its necessary to control like security, World, World Security, but I don't, I don't agree that some, one country control whole World because each country has, like their own, they speak for their own interests, the U.S. also, I think U.S. the reason why invade Iraq, to to like er to help Iraq is, like, is excuse and I think they try to get benefit, like, for example, many oil and some other like sell and spend their armaments and their weapons that's why.

S. One thing is very, very wrong for me because I think U.S.A. try to identify their city, New York City like a capital of the World.

M. (laughing)

S. To let the people to feel like that, to feel that, I, I mean, I mean U.S. people, U.S.A. try, try to invite the people to believe, to follow them...

M. (nodding) Oh, I see...

S. Our [Pope] benefits New York City...

M. Uhuh.

S. Er, World Trade Centre was attacked by terrorism.

M. Uhuh.

S. Something like that, you, you let the people, you know, you can see, something like that and you see the link, the reason to invade someone.

M. Uhuh, yeah, so em when you joined the demonstration, protest for the, er, against the invasion, em, so people, em, what's the the main reason to disagree.

S. Yeah, the main reason that I [inaudible] disagree that we say that its, how to say, broke the rule of U.N. because permission from the U.N. is one thing, and em, because its, its not reasonable, the, the reason to invade, because finally now they can't find any nuclear weapon.

M. Yeah, they couldn't find, yeah (laughing) em, so, what do you think the, em, the as a result the invasion of the U.S., do you think that Iraq has changed?

S. Maybe actually not changed, but the World has totally changed, for, the er, I'm not sure, its some kind like er, undisciplined, no rule...

M. No rule.

S. Because U.N. cannot control.

M. Yeah, yeah.

M. If U.S.A. come to help, U.N. come, something, what about you?

M. Yeah, and when I, em, read the newspapers, when I watched the news I saw Iraq people they em, they don't want to follow their new government.

S. Mmm.

M. I mean because, em, U.S. invaded Iraq and they destroyed their old government, old administration or else were killed, whatever and then they support new, new government.

S. Mmm.

M. But people, Iraq people think that, that new government is like a traitor.

S. Mmm.

M. Because new government they follow the U.S. policy.

S. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

M. They obey so, people they feel very bad and they feel very, they think the new government, they...

S. Like a puppet.

M. Yes, Yes.

S. Like a puppet.

M. Yes, yes. I think its not good, good solution to solve the problem, because, every day I whenever I read the newspaper, Bangkok Post, the Nation, um, often come out like a, like a suicide bomb, bombing or some terr, terror happen, in Iraq and even that area so, so I think the U.S. failed to er, to how to say, intervene, intervene, in Iraq area.

S. Uhuh, uhuh. Do you think the World has changed after that?

M. The World?

S. The World.

M. Um, I think so, because, em...

S. Because maybe...

M. For me

S. Because it affect to us, [inaudible]

M. Yes, yes, because when er, at the beginning, the U.S. try to, er they fight with Afghanistan and then like er after that they say axis of evil and they attack Iraq, because, I think er U.S. they, they made some like ideology...

S. Mmm.

M. In the past it was communism, but now its like er terrorism that they declared the war on terrorism and they, as you said, like em encourage other nations and help, as help to, er, kind of invite to join to our side, so it kind of er, it make other countries under the control, control the others, draw the line, our side or my enemy, [inaudible] the World's now, because of the change, even Korea, yeah.

S. Especially the benefit area, like your country, Korea.

M. Oh yes, many, many, most of people they actually they disagree to support U.S. policy, like in er attack Iraq, but we have no choice, just what you said because we have to follow U.S. policy, if, unless we found U.S. policy very, er, trade off (laughing) U.S. don't support any more and you have to sacrifice that's why, er...

S. I believe especially in South East Asia.

M. South East Asia.

S. Very, because, as we discussed, U.S. try to er, identify Muslim World, like er, terrorism World, something like that, Thailand in South East Asia we have biggest Muslim country in the World here, Indonesia, Malaysia is Muslim, I think after that it affect er, the World, affect it maybe in South East Asia you

can see the separatists talk about Jihad Islam talk about bombing Bali, anywhere, in the Philippines also, this, this week, er, the benefits of U.S.A., maybe, er, they get the effects from Iraq war, because wherever that used to be the base of U.S.A., absolutely, for example you have to think about anti-terrorism, follow U.S.A. Thailand also, Malaysia, anywhere.

M. Its quite interesting because I learn, Thai, Thai history, contemporary history always Thailand was stick close to the U.S. [inaudible] support 100%, but now...

S. Yes, like er in during cold war...

M. The cold war?

S. Yes, some liberals, communists, now its em anti-terrorism.

M. Anti-terrorism.

S. Anti-terrorism identify with maybe, em non-Muslim countries [inaudible].

M. And er, do you think now is like the violence in the South area....

S. Emm.

M. I heard that its one of the reason is the related with Iraq, Iraq er, invasion or is irrelevant?

S. Er, its, I think it is irrelevant...

M. Yeah...

S. Because yeah, that, that we discussed, the world is not disciplined any more, because U.S.A. cannot control CIA, because Southern Thailand (gestures) we can talk, na? Someone, Muslim in the South they believe that the action is made by CIA.

M. Oh.

S. Support, not directly.

M. Oh.

S. You see, not directly, but the support is CIA.

M. Because CIA made plot?

S. Made plot.

M. (laughing) [inaudible]

S. They used this game long time ago during cold war they use this game until today but I think its lose control something, because now the world is global network, you can link anything, sometimes lose control, beyond your control.

M. Yes, em, so you feel, disagree that the issue, do you think what's the better better, conclusion, solution?

S. Em, solution, em, you mean after, you mean, em, maybe until we have the new U.S. President talking on a dialogue again.

M. Um, I mean, like er, if before the U.S. invade Iraq but at the time was, Iraq was unstable and very chaos, if the U.S. don't er intervene that area, so what do you think is the solution?

S. Its, its Iraq business, its Iraq business.

M. Oh.

S. But we feel that its our business because of the U.S.A., let do to follow them and New York City is your capital city [inaudible] then World Trade Centre collapse you feel your building collapsed, but its not your building, its not your country, but you feel, because of mass communication, you, you follow them, you think like them, you see Hollywood films, you think like the U.S.A. is your country, you feel the same, your identity is already same.

M. Yeah, I think so.

S. But exactly, you know, its Iraq's business, its not our business, its internal business, what about you?

M. I have, I have, yes, similar, same opinion because the reason why the UN objected that intervened because the UN said its not necessary at the time to invade Iraq, but the USA, the USA they didn't follow the UN.

S. We can say, its very, very sad story you cannot control. I think next step the whole, whole region because UN cannot control anything.

M. You mean the World cannot control the U.S.?

S. Because UN is em, was established because of the World want the peace, right? But now UN cannot control to keeping the peace.

M. Yeah, yeah, I agree with you. And also like er, not only the UN like IMF and the other economic financial way, also USA control, control that...

S. Or maybe anything or maybe er distress story like raping er, developing country undeveloped, undeveloping country were rape like a woman, cannot fight.

(both nodding, look at me, then laughing)

Dialogue 2

M. You know er my company er, we er our company has worked more than your company, you know, 75%, as you know we, er, made contract, 50/50, equal values, but already is, the value is broken, I'd like to ask you if we keep going with this situation we have to renegotiate and we have to change the contract, so what do you think?

S. We should keep, er, original contract.

M. Why?

S. Because of, if you change, er, to the new contract we have to waste the time for...

M. Waste time?

S. For negotiation, we have to discuss again, we have to look the, er, for what we will loss.

M. Ok, I see your point, but the thing is my company labour, they don't want work any more because they realize its unfair, they work, they work a lot, and they get, er, paid the same pay so they don't want to work, even though I ask, my company, they don't want to work more, so.

S. I think its your own business, you have to manage your labour, because if you, er, if, if, if we still waste the time, both of us, will get the big...

M. Penalties.

S. Yes.

M. Okay, here is the deal, I think this construction is for 12 months and then we have worked together for 4 months, so, but we work 75% and your company work 25% so I recommend you, em, from now on, for 4 months, your company work 75% and my company is 25% and the last part, 4 months 50/50, so what do you think?

S. Yeah, its quite be, em, its quite be ok, em, but we still keep 50/50.

M. Why?

S. Because of er, we have to follow the er, original contract because we didn't discuss about er, er, how to say, how much work each other do.

M. Yeah, we made a contract like a 50/50 division of profit and 50/50 work division, but the situation changed, the reality was different from the old, er, contract so, the situation changed, so it is possible to negotiate.

S. What?

M. It is possible.

S. The process is, er, how to say, run by the procedures itself.

M. No.

S. Because you didn't control your workers you do much, I didn't control my workers who do less than you, its come, anything run by the process.

M. You mean its impossible to work more, from now on, so you want to keep going 25 (laughing)

S. Because, you know, the running, uh, you, you see that the running of the process, if we change something, we will waste time, yes?

M. Uhuh.

S. We will waste the time, but I maybe offer er, the, how do you say, the er new negotiation with you, we still keep 50/50, yeah, ok even though the thing that your labour work so hard er after everything finish, after the, our project finish, I will er, take care of, em, how to say, all the bonus to your worker.

M. Bonus? You mean so, you have some incentive for our company?

S. Yeah.

M. So how, how much, how much percent?

S. We will talk again, until....

M. So, that's why right now, because my company they want to get the permission, I mean to get the answer, I mean, new contract, right now, that's why I am here because later if we postpone and postpone, I know you will say different that day you say, oh, I forgot or something, er, you say, you know, we don't, our company don't have enough money, like that, so I cannot, sorry but I cannot trust you, now.

S. Ok, if we er, continue, the process 75%, 25% like you said, keep going, we will pay for the 25%, yeah, back to you.

M. So, yeah ok, that's why I'm here so lets make a contract.

S. Yeah yeah, its better than that you, er like you said previously, to er....

M. Work the same as each other.

S. What do you think about my offer?

M. Yeah, if you er, if you got er, as you said, if you em keep going, this process, and you work, our company work 75 and your company work 25 so are you sure to pay 25% more, incentive, to our company?

S. Yes, its better its better.

M. So you agree.

S. Yeah, I think it, it, it, it should be ok because we have to consider the, our benefits that you get a big false for we cannot, er you know, finish in time.

M. Yeah, I agree with that, so please sign the new contract.

S. No.

M. Why not, you said no, ok you agree.

S. Yeah I agree, its not a new contract.

M. Why not, it's a new contract, you suggested a new contract.

S. Er, but er, (pause) maybe ok, you can say it a contract, but we still talk about the formal, 50/50, but informal...

M. Informal, you mean its not contract but just a promise?

S. We have the original contract and we have another contract between us, not between other there.

M. (laughing) We represent each company so we have an original one and if we made a new contract the original one is, is just go away, go away, is useless now and the new contract is valid, it means new contract is govern.

S. You want to get er....

M. Its automatically gone because different contract, contract, so new one is cover old one, old contract has to be gone, put it away.

S. We cannot keep it?

M. We cannot.

S. Oh, but the contract is between us, not between us and them.

M. (laughing) You know, this contract doesn't mean like a, like a personal agreement, a promise, because you are official lawyer and I'm official lawyer and you have to consider each company's benefit, interest so, yeah if we make contract it means contract between the company not between us.

S. But you will get more money, you see.

M. No, I don't want to like, er, black market (laughing) I don't want to.

S. Oh, I think we can discuss about the, the, I think, yeah, a little bit agree about, but I go back and talk our boss about the new, new one.

M. So you mean right now is impossible, you have to talk to your boss.

S. Yeah, I think.

M. Yeah, but you represent the company.

S. Yeah, but it is, I mean the possibility, its possibility, its more than 70% [inaudible].

M. OK, I will look forward to you answer me.

Dialogue 3

Q. Ok.

M. So do you like politicians?

S. Oh, I don't like politicians.

M. Why not, why not?

S. I don't like (pause) I like the status.

M. Status.

S. But I don't like the politicians who take a role in this status nowadays.

M. Uhuh. You mean the, the people who work in the place, not trustable? Yeah, I, I think that the politician, their their role is quite important.

S. Mmm.

M. Because yeah, they can change the constitution and law and er they can change their country but actually they don't contribute that much, yes, they er, they just try to get benefit from their position and like er make corruption.

S. Yes, they interpret the meaning of politician differently.

M. Yes, yes, and nowadays in Korea like er most people, public, if you say, mention politician or politic many people say ah, its negative, very negative, they don't want to involve or get, know the answer. I have to be, I guess like you, we have to keep interested, keep watch, monitor politicians and er what do

you think? Do you trust er, what politician says or promises, their policy or their, their word and speech?

S. I didn't, I didn't believe in their speech because its advertising.

M. You mean in Thailand or anywhere?

S. Anywhere, its art of speech, yes, you make others believe you, its fake, its fake, what about, about, about you?

M. I think Korea is a similar situation because em, its quite different people they elected.

S. Uhuh.

M. And after they are elected, they change their words, they say "oh, the situation has changed". They, they say other, they support this policy and they suddenly change their policy and its, its like I don't believe them, a lot of people don't believe them and em, like er, so what do you think the policy when the politician says family values?

S. Um, family values in their, um, how to say, I think they they try to keep in my opinion, er, er family value in this, in this context it mean some kind like er the youngers respect to er...

M. You mean like a Confucius values?

S. Something like that.

M. From the Chinese influence.

S. Yeah yeah, if, if, if we say like that you have to respect, in South East Asia also, maybe your country, I not think...

M. Like er seniority?

S. Senior, something like that, in family value because in the term of family we have to er, I, I, [inaudible] in the context of the [inaudible] leader, follower is the basic unit to keep in the power to talk about family values.

M. Oh, I see, I thought when I, when I see this question I thought that blood tie, I mean, like especially in Asia country that the blood tie, the school tie, like hometown tie is very strong, the same last name the same, same we are extended big family, so if from your family or relative we are like, I think, to be more nice than the other, the other normal people. So I think the reason why the politicians mention family values they, they use that that kinds of characteristic, and yeah, they, they use family ties, blood ties, like er, for example, like in Korea, not now but in the past, like if someone become like er president, the other like army, army chief or police chief, and like some big company chief like er relatives and family.

S. Maybe your father and...

M. Yes, yes, like that, so, that kind of thing, they abuse the blood tie and then control.

S. Yeah, I think that's so because I think like er, my Prime Minister, people think he is our blood father, something like that, if people believe like that they will not, they some kind like, they don't think about er, how to block him, to block the rule, and to bring him down, something like that, because he is our parent.

M. Yeah, yeah, I learned like er Thai, Thai situation, like the King is the father, the Buddhist concept, and the people is like a son or daughters.

S. Yeah, because Buddhism.

M. Yeah, patronage, patronage system, patronage system.

S. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

M. Patronage system, so, yeah politicians, like, as you say, as you said like, politicians like take care of the people.

S. Exactly, it come from Victorianization.

M. Yes, yes.

S. Because basically, its matrifocality we, we respect for our, for our mother and its not, not, you know, different from, from, from what you know about there, its come from, its quite new, its Victorianization, its not [inaudible] its come from Royal Family on top to the...

M. Top to the bottom.

S. Yeah, bottom, but now Royal family change, they didn't involve to politics, change the new one, its er politicians actually, take, they take their role.

M. Yeah, I think politicians make people like er depend on them and...

S. Like Korea.

M. They use.

S. To get power, to keep.

M. So, so what do you think family values really exist in this world?

S. Exist in real world?

M. Not, not politicians said, but real.

S. Yeah, I think its perhaps family values.

M. Is it different?

S. Different?

M. Different meaning?

S. I think different.

M. What do you mean?

S. I mean em, the relationship in the family, its like the members, the function is, they have own duty, something, like er, how to say, ok if you were father you have, you have to have, er the moral to govern your, your your son, your daughter something like that, if you broke the rule anyone will broke the rule also (laughs) again you also, you have to, if you still keep the rule anyone will keep the rule [inaudible].

M. Yes, I agree with that, and em but, yeah, I think I agree to with er existing this family values and I understood, I thought like family value, is this concept, is similar to like what Confucius says, but I think politicians they abuse that concept.

S. Yeah, yeah, I agree with that.

M. And then, like in Korea or Asian country like er, they influenced by Chinese Confucian, Confucius so but I, actually I like the Confucius concept the values because like er the family is kind of like a small and important society and then I like the, the seniority the son and daughter, children respect parents and grandparents and yeah, and then also I like when the parents get old the children take care of them, their parents, and yeah, and I like that, that value...

S. Yeah.

M...to respect and take care of, and love each other yeah and yes, em

S. But em, in us the em, the function of family, family values is changing completely, I mean the the new generation didn't come back to take care of their....

M. It changed a lot actually.

S. Or maybe the take caring shape is er, worse shape to the new, the new shape, something like that.

M. Uhuh. Um, yeah, actually, like er nowadays, its er, already like, er, Westernized...

S. Um.

M. ...so, er, many parents they don't want to be, like, they don't want to depend on their par, er, their children...

S. Uhuh

M. ..so, so they, even though they getting old they try to like, er, keep, save the money after they retire so now is like more independent, children also, because, you still in the past like children until they marry..

S. Uhuh.

M.they stay with their parents

S. Uhuh.

M. but nowadays it getting changed many, if they like after graduating university they many children they try to, to get independent, separate from economically, or also they live er, the other place far from their parents [inaudible] it changed and also like, already like extended family changed into like a nuclear family, so...

S. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

M. Now is very...

S. It's the same like Thailand.

M. And seniority also changed, like em, like er, recently the company they used to when they er, pick the, how to say, recruiter, new, new er work, they give priority was like age, more than their ability and their or like, er, pre, pre, precious, prestigious school, or some good hometown, like that, same hometown, but now its changed, more reasonable, rational.

S. Exactly, it's the same like Thailand, I think its very, er, the family value in the East, sometime in, because we prefer democracy, we prefer the concept of equality, but I'm not sure that family values in the East match with the new concept like democracy, or equality, or not, but I think they have, we have, because sometimes people didn't care, didn't think about the role of family values...

M. Family values.

S. ...if you concern about the role, father have the role, son have the role, daughter have the role and anything will be protect because each other have to respect the role it, it mean that at the same time they respect their status, in others also, I think its problem, I think we can adapt with, em, maybe the concept of democracy or you see, equality, something like that.

M. Uhuh, uhuh, that part.

S. That part.

M. And, I think like, in Korean situation, the reason why family values like er changed and confused because like er now a transitional period, and old concept and like, er, Chinese influence and Japanese influence and now its Western influence and mixed, so its like er, many, many things like mixed so sometimes...

S. You cannot find the root.

M. Yes, yes.

S. Maybe confused.

M. Yeah, but I think balance is important, like we have to keep good things, like good tradition from family values but at the same time we have to like, er, get good things from the Western, the other countries, make, make it more reasonable, yeah, so.

S. If you, em, its not the same, the same concept er of meaning of er family values that abused by, er, how to say, politicians, different.

M. Yes, its different. Em, oh, you already mentioned about your opinion, the third question.

S. Em, yeah, yeah, that that we said because the concept of family values of politicians....

M. Uhuh, uhuh.

S. ...is not, is not er, is not the concept like equality or respect the roles the concept of them some kind like er, leader, follower...

M. Uhuh, uhuh

S. Something, to, to the remains their power maybe, they, they try to interpret the family values in different way, and they try to identify their, identify their, their interpret in, their interpret is the real.

M. Is the real.

S. Family values should be like this, like this, tell the people some thing.

M. Uh huh

S. But exactly we can make, we can make, history, history, we can make new, some kind like that, actually happen or not actually happen (laughing) they can make a new one right?

M. Yeah, I, I agree and yeah, I guess that, the, actually I, I think the family value is from the one thing but politicians they abuse....

S. Yeah.

M. In their way [inaudible]

S. [inaudible]

End of recording

ANNEX SEVEN

NAM: STOP- START TRANSCRIPT

Q=Researcher

N=Nam

Q. Ok, [Nam], this is the 27th of September, er, I'm interviewing [Nam] about the video. These are the instructions. We are going to watch the video recording of the conversations you had with your partner. I'm particularly interested in any parts where you feel that your partner did not understand what you were saying or places where you feel that you did not understand what your partner was saying. Sometimes I will stop the tape and ask you some questions. To do this I may play some sections of the tape again. At any time you can also stop the tape, take the controls from me and reverse the tape or play the recording and make comments on it as you wish. You can also ask me to play any section of the tape again. Do you have any questions about this?

N. No, ok.

Q. Ok, so we'll start the recording.

[video playback started]

Q. Ok [inaudible], yeah, I want to ask you about that section just before, em, because you er, talk about divide and rule, the idea of divide and rule, and em, Hameh is nodding, and then he talks about em, he, what he'd heard, ok? I just want to look at that section again and then ask you a little bit about it.

[section replayed]

Q. Ok, so, you talk about divide and rule, and then he talks about what he's heard. Do you think that he understood what you meant when you were...

N. I think we, we, we meant the same thing.

Q. Uhuh.

N. The same thing because he talked about the, the, the intention for those countries to control or to get properties from Iraq or, or some other countries.

Q. Uhuh.

N. Maybe we have the same meaning but we use different perspectives.

Q. Uhuh, Uhuh.

N. I didn't talk, I didn't mean, er I didn't, I didn't mention the property or the oil itself.

Q. Yes.

N. But I talked about the, the management for the country.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh.

N. But I think we had the same idea.

Q. Uhuh, ok.

[video playback continued]

[[Nam] interrupts immediately after playback re-started.]

N. [inaudible, as tape is playing] divide and rule and then get resources for, from both countries, its like a sequence, the first one divide the second one rule and then get their resources.

Q. Ahh.

N. Maybe the same proc, the same thing but different process.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh.

N. Is that possible?

Q. Yes, yes, I think it's possible.

[video playback continued]

Q. You're, you're nodding in agreement in that sequence, er, did you understand what he was saying?

N. I did.

Q. What was your understanding of what he was taking about?

N. Er, its about there, er, those countries intention when they have some, when they want to get involved with small countries, what's their really intention to do, like to get those resources, or something like that, but in, in details I just heard from him, but when I connect the new knowledge to something I have already known, I understood.

Q. Uhuh, and, he was giving an example about something in Indonesia. What, what was the example he was talking about?

N. Er, I, I, I at first I asked him...

Q. Watch it again if you want, its fine.

N. I remember the, the part that I, he told me about something religious, right and then I, I think I heard a little bit, details before but not much, but when we talk I feel, ok, this is an extension of something I know.

Q. Um.

N. But not, not, not all of them, I confess that I don't like politics.

Q. Sure.

N. So I don't go in details, I, I just, ok this is what I have known, this is what I know from him, that's it, but I don't feel in with, with something beyond that.

Q. Er.

N. It maybe because its not my interest.

Q. What, what do you mean you don't feel in with something beyond that?

N. Er, for example when we talk about the, the last topics, I feel I, I get, I got more involved with the topics, but for the first and the second one, I didn't.

Q. Ah, you, you don't feel involved.

N. Yeah. Because I don't have any related, any experience on that. I just have some ideas on the topics.

Q. Um, uhuh, and coming back to his example here, er, that he was talking about in Indonesia, did you understand the example he was talking about?

N. I understand but I don't know about the details. I, I understand that, er, it must be the similar or close example with the one that I have known before in other countries.

Q. But what example was he talking about? What, what is he talking about, exactly?

N. Its, its about religious or conflict about, about groups.

Q. Aha, that's the Jews and the, yeah, but...

N. But I don't know.....

Q. Yes, let me just show you again because I am very interested in this section er, just this- what, what you thought his example was about.

[white gold section viewed again]

Q. What, what is he talking about in that section?

N. Er, America wants a mine.

Q. A mine.

N. A mine, yeah, which is in Indonesia.

Q. Uhuh, and what, what is the mine about, is it coal or...

N. Er, I, I don't know what its about but I just know in my, in my co., in my mind know that if some words mentioned about the mine it must be the same thing, minerals, it could be any kind of minerals, it could be coal it could be copper, it could be silver or something else but its still the global minerals that's my concept, so I didn't ask in er, explanation because I, I have anything in the, in one group. Could be c, copper, silver, gold, anything but its still a mine.

Q. So, er, are you saying that you, you feel that you, you understood what he was trying to say.....

N. yeah.

Q. ...Even if some of the words, you weren't sure, em.

N. Words didn't [inaudible] important, yeah, but I got the word "mine" and I got the word "economic" from him that is the reason for those countries try to control Indonesia.

Q. Uhuh.

N. They want something in the mine, maybe any, anything some copper or silver or whatever but its still the mine, from that country.

Q. Ok, thank you, ok, that's great. Ok.

N. (laughing) I, er, when, er, It's the same way that I, when I read any books or texts I don't, I don't care about something small like some, some words that I don't know but I skip through, em, the whole picture of comprehension so I, I might use the same thing as I read the text or something I don't know before. It might be because I'm lazy to look up dictionaries for those words when I'm reading. It's the same way when I tal, er, listen to him I know the concept of minerals so I just ignore er, a little bit details or small details.....(laughing)

Q. Ok.

N. That's a lazy student.

Q. Oh, no, no, no.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, there is another section just there I want to ask you about, when, er, he's been talking about the example and you say they seem to be nice, and he...

N. Try to help.

Q. He frowns, he frowns at you.

N. Oh really.

Q. Ahh.

N. You mean that we are talking diff, er, about er, different things?

Q. I don't know, I want to see what you think, er, if we just look at that part again.

N. Yeah, ok.

[Section replayed]

N. I should have waited, right? Did you ask him about his reaction?

Q. Yeah, I, I asked him about the same section, but er, I don't think I can discuss with you what he said about it. (pause) Do you want to look at that section again?

N. Maybe. (pause) For the details I didn't know much on that, I just know the, the whole picture of

[section replayed again]

N. I interrupted right? Because I feel like I, I understand what he is saying and I can predict what he is gonna say next but I might misunderstand his real intention.

Q. Um. You said they seem to be nice. What did you mean when you said they seem to be nice?

N. They, they, those big countries try to help, pretend to help but they have something in the air, like resources, or power over those countries. It, it, it might be because I have some negative views on those countries because I, when I discuss with my friends I, I heard about this information that...

Q. But do you think he shared your negative views?

N. Umm, I don't know, he, he doesn't look at Americans in a positive way because he said, I don't remember, it might be because I, I feel like, ok, she is, she follows situations all the time so she has lots of information.

Q. Uhuh.

N. But when I, I, I saw some news about America and any countries, it's the same happens, so that convinced me to believe what he said more and more.

Q. Uhuh. And just that section, er, where he has given the example about Indonesia and you say they seem to be nice, you, you interrupt.

N. Right because I understood that er, America trying to help Indonesia but actually they want to get something from that country instead not, not assistance or anything, but the resources as he told me earlier, but I'm, it might not good for me to interrupt what he is saying, right?

Q. Oh, its normal conversation, its not good or bad or...

N. He might mean something else but I understood that it must be the same that I am thinking about.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh, ok, let's continue.

[video playback continued]

N. (interrupts tape) He said he hated politics [inaudible]

Q. Sorry, [Nam]?

N. He said he, he hated politics, but he know a lot, especially for those in his country.

Q. Uhuh. Uhuh.

N. But for me, I, I, I know very little, compared, to, to him, right? I don't know the, the details of Indonesia or, or Iraq, I just know that, ok there are some conflicts among them.

Q. Ok, ok.

[tape playback continued]

Q. I think I missed a section I wanted to ask you about. I am sorry, if you don't mind I'll just go back.

N. Ok.

Q. It's when you, he's talking about getting a headache talking about politics.

N. Umm.

[tape rewound]

Q. Yeah, ok. Yes, he says....

N. I...

Q. Sorry, you, say what you want, no, no, no...

N. He said I got an headache, headache, right, and then I said, ok, I hate politics

Q. No, you say.

N. I hate.

Q. I, I think you say, I heard this kind of news.

N. No, no, not before that.

Q. Oh, really, oh, lets check it and make, make er

[section replayed]

Q. Yes, he says I get a headache and you say...

N. I heard.

Q. I heard, I heard this kind of news.

N. It means that I, I think, we have the same opinion we don't like politics, anytime we read newspapers or news about politics we have some bad feeling or, or uninterest in the topics. That's, that's my in, intention at that time because I felt that we have the same opinion on the topics, like what we told you, we like the last one but we didn't like the first two topics, remember that, yeah.

Q. Yes, but I heard this kind of news, what are you referring to do you think?

N. I heard this kind of news.

Q. Lets, lets just look one last time at it.

N. Er, I heard this kind of news. It means anything related to politics not just Americans or any country but anything related to conflicts among countries.

Q. Ah.

N. Any kind related to this is not interesting to me and he said he, I imply, I understood that he didn't like the topic like what I'm thinking about. I might use different words but I, I have bad intention.

Q. Ok, ok. If you don't mind we will just look one last time at that section and then, if you want to make any more comment, make it otherwise we'll just go on.

N. Ok.

[section viewed again and no further comment made, video playback continued]

Q. You said better to talk about karaoke, do you like karaoke?

N. I was joking, I, I just want to concentrate on the idea that I hate politics.

Q. But you don't even like karaoke?

N. No, it's the way I made a joke, compared to this topic, to politics, anything would be more interesting than (giggling) you, you might feel disappointed.....and I feel that the second, the second got worse for me (laughing) because its more complicated, its difficult for me to, to continue..

Q. Ahah.

N. The conversation.

Q. Ok, well, you'll see in a minute, I'm just going to change to a fresh side of the tape.

N. Uhuh.

Dialogue 2

Q. Ok, we're starting the, er, conversation about the second dialogue now.

[video playback continued]

Q. Er, [Putu] is saying, we have to make a decision...

N. But for me I don't believe in his idea because I, I feel like we set the agreement already so we cannot change anything in the middle or during the process we might complete everything based on the agreement so I tried to resist him because of this reason.

Q. But you clearly understood what he, what his meaning was?

N. Yeah.

Q. You just didn't agree with him.

N. But I disagreed with him because I, I might think about the reality that we have to, to do anything stated on the agreement, even though we might, er, find out later that its, it should be something else. So I told him to, to, to follow this idea for the next project, not, not this one.

Q. Ok.

N. But...

Q. Sorry?

N. Its, its very funny for us to discuss, or fight, like I fought with this topic.

Q. Uhuh.

N. It's hard for him to think about the reason, right? It's hard for him. For me its not hard because I, I'm not the person who want to breaks the rules, but he wants to break the rules, so, he have, he has to think about the ideas, something rational but its not rational (laughs)

[tape playback continued, interrupted]

N. I think, er, I think about one thing, it might be better if you think about some idea that could be black, or white, but for this situation it must be black only, not white, you know what I mean?

Q. Umm, you mean that you...

N. Because this agreement is a legal term, it must, it must be in any direction for certain direction, one direction only because its agreement, but if you thought about em, somethings humanistic or like, ok, women, between men and women, which one is em, is better, it could be in any direction so it's a lot, it's a lot better if we, but, for this topic its only one angle, so its hard for him to, to, impose, er, er, raise any new direction, that's my idea.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh. Ok.

[tape playback continued, interrupted]

N. You can see that I, I was smiling all the time, right?

Q. Yes.

N. Because I had the idea that, ok, you're not right, I have, I have in the right track because I follow the, the agreement, the contract.

Q. Right.

N. Even though I'm not wrong, I'm not right, but I still base on, the contract.

Q. But in life its actually very common to renegotiate parts of contracts, really more common than you think.

N. You can do that in the, in reality?

Q. It happens many times.

N. Even though we have a written contract like this, oh really.

Q. It happens many times.

N. Ok.

Q. Em, in the legal sense....

N. Can you do that also?

Q. Well you can, but in the legal sense you are right to say, no, you can refuse.

N. Um.

Q. But in the practical business sense.

N. Mm, ok.

Q. People always renegotiate because they want the relationship, the working relationship to continue-its just commerce- its actually more balanced than I think you think.

N. Because, I have bad assumption in my mind that everyone must agree with the contract, yes.

Q. Not simply.

N. Ok, so I misunderstood.

Q. No, its, you are not a lawyer, why should you, its an artificial situation for you, so...

[video playback continued]

[playback interrupted by comments]

N. That's my intention there.

Q. Mmm. Yeah, that's clear.

N. I thought that I don't, I didn't have any right to say yes or no, and he didn't, didn't have any right also so he should go to someone on top and make decision together again.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh.

[video playback continued]

Q. What, do you think he understood when you say, shall we listen to everyone's voice?

N. Why not, why not? It's pretty simple.

Q. What do you mean when you say shall we listen to everyone's voice?

N. I mean we have to listen to anyone's, er, opinion to make the decision or to make the final conclusion.

Q. Uhuh.

[telephone interruption]

Q. Yeah, we were talking about shall we listen to everybody's voice, and you were very clear.

N. Do you think its, its difficult for him.

Q. No, no, well, I can't explain yet why I am interested in certain sections, because I am interested in your reaction, so, that's fine, that's what you, er, believe, its fine, ok em, but you'll have to forgive me because I missed a section that I wanted to ask you about just a little bit earlier, but I don't know what happened to it, so I need to go back a little. I think we were about at the same section and you made a point about something and I didn't [inaudible].

[section replayed]

Q. Ok, what, what is he saying?

N. He said he wanted to get more profits, more money to, to do the job otherwise he would, I don't know how to explain, the profits would er, decreasing for him, but for me I didn't believe what he said because I feel like we have to follow the contract. He might have er 10 reasons for this and for that but for me I think we have to follow the contract.

Q. Mmm, and you, you think at this point he is saying it is going to make his profit smaller?

N. Yeah, I think so, something about bankruptcy or something but he didn't use that word, bank something but I, I understood that, I could predict or understand what he means.

Q. What is bankruptcy?

N. He might think that if he didn't get more money he would get less profit and it might affect his financial status of the company.

Q. Ok, ok, that's great, ok that was the other section.

N. Did he, he mean the same thing that I understand, I'm not sure?

Q. Well you'd have to ask him (both laughing). I did but I can't tell you now.

N. Ok.

Q. Ok, I'll fast forward to the end of this now because we have finished with this one, unless there is anything else you want to say about this dialogue.

N. Did he like the last one?

Q. I don't think I can tell you what he thought about them at this stage because it could affect...

N. It seems like he still disagreed with my idea. He still needed some more money but he, he had to follow my ideas for the big meeting for the last decision, but for himself he might made more money like he told me earlier.

Q. Umm.

N. I, I can see from his face, right?

Q. That's looking at it now, but at the time?

N. When we were talking? I didn't notice this but I, when I mentioned the meeting with everyone, everyone voice and I thought, ok, he might dis, er, he might disagree with me that we should talk on the table to see what er, people, er, opinions, for the conclusion, for the new one, or the old one. But, but now I feel like he still disagree with me (laughing).

Q. Uhuh, uhuh.

N. His face told me. I don't know, I might be wrong.

Q. Ok, the last one.

[Video playback continued]

[playback interrupted]

N. One thing that happened to me at that time was, er, when I looked at his face, his acting, I feel like this is really funny to, to see him acting like that, its like, we are playing something. Its, its unrealistics, to my opinion.

Q. Mmm. Sure, I think he felt the same on that point.

N. When I saw his face, I tried to stop (laughs)

Q. Laughing, giggling, yeah. That's ok.

N. Laughing. Because we are, we were acting, not the real situation.

Q. Yeah, yeah, yeah, that's right.

N. And, he had the same feeling? Oh my god (more laughter).

Q. Yeah, I think so.

[playback continued]

Dialogue 3

Q. Ok, I just want to ask you....

N. What's the last word, I

Q. Have to talk about the past time.

N. Oh.

Q. He's just talking about the past, em, here, you say to him, we mean the same thing, and then you ask him the question, "is that important to your success?", so you are asking him about his success, and he says, talking about family, I have to talk about the past.

N. What happened in Indonesia, when he got his own family.

Q. Mmm. Is he answering your question?

N. Er, I might predict too much about his intention, because I assume that we have the same status, we have a family, and...

Q. Yes, you said to him...

N. Yeah and we mean the same thing...

Q. Before he said much you said to him, we mean the same, about family.

N. Yeah, I, I, that's, that's my weak point I might predict too much. It might be the, the thing that I, I have predicted right?

Q. Just this, this small section.

N. Oh, I, I be, I had that action because I know before that he has his own family in Bangkok- you told me or, I'm not sure , oh, when we met for the first time that's the background for, for me.

Q. When we met for the background meeting, yeah, yeah.

N. Yeah, that's the background for me, it made me er, have that action.

Q. Just this, this section though, you say, you ask a question, is that important to your success- do you think he understands the question?

N. Sure.

Q. I just want to look at that section.

N. I think he understood.

Q. Uhuh, let, let me just show it again that section.

[section replayed]

Q. Ok, now there is a long section there where you're talking about your experience in America and, er, he's nodding in agreement, er...

N. I, I guess he had the same feeling, he could understand what I would say next and next.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh, and er, yes, you say in particular, this is the reward for my patience, em, and he's nodding in agreement, so, er, do you think he was understanding.....

N. [inaudible] we are in a second country, the same situation, he is now in Thailand, but I was in America, we have the same situation, he had his family here so he has to be responsible for everyone, I had to be responsible for my children there, different time but same situation.

Q. Uhuh, uhuh, ok.

[video playback continued]

Q. I'm sorry, I think there is one section I need to go back to.

[section repeated]

Q. Yes, this section here, em, to see their bright future, em, what do you mean by that?

N. Er, when I brought them to America, they could speak English very well, almost er, native like, but not, not yet, er, and then when we come back, he becomes a star in the class, becau, if we didn't have that foundation, he wouldn't be like this.

Q. Fantastic.

N. That's what I mean.

Q. Yeah, ok.

[video playback continued]

Q. Em, he just says, er, you said, that you need to create your own family here. He goes yeah, and then he continues. Do you think he understood what you meant? What did you mean?

N. He...

Q. I didn't notice this part before.

N. He didn't bring the family here, during the first, er, place because his parents, and I had the same situation, my parents [inaudible] me to bring my, to take my kids to the states because they need to see them, to, to see to hug to touch whatever, and I understood that ok, his parents were similar to my parents. But I want him to think about his immediate family, the children, children, father, or daddy or mother should stay together for encouragement each other in, in the family. Did he get that [inaudible]

Q. I didn't notice that part before, I didn't ask him.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, just one final question about that, that may seem a bit obvious, em, you both talk about missing them, missing your children and your family. What do you mean by miss?

N. (sighs) Er, so you have two meanings for (laughs)

Q. No, I just, I'm just interested.

N. Er, think of them, think of them and I love to hug, to kiss them.

Q. Ok.

N. They had the same meaning? As I had, the same missing? I mean, er, [Putu]?

Q. When we finish everything, I'll tell you. Ok, thank you very much.

End of recording.

ANNEX EIGHT

PUTU: STOP-START TRANSCRIPT

Q=Researcher

P=Putu

Q. Ok, er, [Putu], it is Sunday the 14th of September 2003, er, these are the instructions for watching the video tape. We are going to watch the video recording of the conversations you had with your partner. I'm particularly interested in any parts where you feel that your partner did not understand what you were saying or places where you feel that you did not understand what your partner was saying. Sometimes I will stop the tape and ask you some questions. To do this I may play some sections of the tape again. At any time you can also stop the tape, take the controls and reverse the tape or play the recording and make comments on it as you wish. You can also ask me to play any section of the tape again. Do you have any questions about this?

P. No.

Q. Ok, so let's start, er, playing the tape then. (pause) So this is the tape of the first conversation.

[video playback started]

Q. Ok, I've got a question for you there. Em, [Nam], er, made a statement about she'd heard er, about divide and rule, and you were listening and nodding on the tape, and then when she finished, you started talking about something else. You started talking about, I've heard, er, some people say, and I think if we remember you go on to talk about oil.

P. Yes.

Q. Er, but she was talking about divide and rule, and you were nodding on the tape, did you understand what she was talking about?

P. About the dividing rules?

Q. Yes.

P. Not really (laughing), yes and, and make er like the conversation er, continuing and then I try to, I mean to, er, how to, to turn, er, to turn the er, conversation to, to er, another, another topic.

Q. Ah, ok.

P. Ok. Er, because, er, suppose, er, er, I [inaudible] what the er, the dividing rule and then I, oh, and then my conversation would have stopped.

Q. Ah, yes.

P. And then, so this way, I well, I talk to, to, to another, another topic but, but I think it still have, er, relative to, to, to er, our topic.

Q. Oh sure, its related.

P. Ahh, yes, yes, yes.

Q. I was just interested in that, in that, in that point, em, do you know what divide and rule means?

P. Not really, not really.

Q. Ok, er, I'll just rewind it a little bit er, so we can see that bit again.

[section replayed]

[[Putu] indicates he wants tape to stop]

Q. You want to stop- sure.

P. So er, er, actually er, suppose er, [Nam] er want to talk about the, I mean the dividing rule, continuing what, what, what she wants actually, er, er, she asked me, er do you understand, er like, er dividing rule. Er, but, er, she didn't ask me so this mean, er, she agree to talk [inaudible]

Q. Ah, so if she asked you....

P. Yes, asked you, and then I think, well, we talked about the er, the dividing rule, but er, but er, I talked to, er I guess another, another, I mean like, I, I, I, I heard, something like I heard, and its not er, er, continue, er continue er, from his er, from her point.

Q. Why, er, can you think now why you didn't ask her what, what she meant?

P. I mean about the, dividing rule?

Q. Divide and rule.

P. Er, well, I think er.

Q. If you can't remember it doesn't matter.

P. Yeah, er (pause) I have no idea.

Q. Yes.

P. But I, I mean, [inaudible] suppose I want to learns er, like er really want to the, the meaning of dividing rule, so, I, I will, I will ask but just er, [inaudible] that time I just guess, I just get the meaning of dividing rule so I think oh well, America want to like, like er, play the rule [inaudible] small country in the

world and then I think [inaudible] and then I remember about Iraq, er, er, Iraq's war er, er, last time and I just talk.

Q. Yeah, ok.

P. Ok.

[video playback continued]

Q. Yeah, I was going to, I planned to stop it there as well. You talk first. What do you want to say?

P. Well, er, er, actually I, er, I want er er continuing my explanation about the, the American role, er, role roles in Indonesia.

Q. Yeah, you were talking about white gold.

P. Yeah, yeah, but actually I am not not, I am not finished, I didn't finish and then [[Nam]] er, take over the conversation er, and then I want, I want to, actually I'm not finished but I felt like, oh, its not, not so polite, like just let, let her to talk er, another er, I mean continuing er, con continuing the conversation.

Q. Er, Do you think she understood the point you were making about white gold?

P. I'm not sure, because er, er for, for the er, person who I mean, er doesn't er interest in politic, er mostly politic in Indonesia maybe doesn't know about this [inaudible] so I'm not sure she understood about my point of view about the, the white gold in Iryanjaya or not, I'm not sure.

Q. Because I, I noticed that em, your face is very expressive em, and, er, you were talking about white gold and then [Nam] says, er, they seem to be nice.

P. Yeah.

Q. I'll show you that again. And you, you frown, your face, you go like this (demonstrates) a frown.

P. Yeah.

Q. It looks like you are thinking why is she saying that they seem to be nice, when I am talking about white gold.

P. Yes, yes, I mean like, er, I talking about er, Indonesian problem, so its not, not, actually not nice at all for Indonesians about the, I mean the American role, about the er, [inaudible] and then she talk, to be nice, and then, and then I just think what's, what's meant to be nice?

Q. Let, lets just look at that bit again. Er, I'll just play and go back.

[section replayed]

Q. So.

P. So I tried to expresses my, I mean my er, er, I mean disagree with er [[Nam]] er, er, er, opinion er, in er I mean in, in my point of view, I talking about er, Indonesian problem [inaudible] by Americans, er, and then, er, she talk er, about seem to be nice [inaudible] at this point I un, er, I understood [[Nam]] her say oh, it'll be nice for America to, and then, and then, er, yeah actually I'm, er, er disagree with, with er her, her er, her statement.

Q. So, you, you think she was saying it would be nice for America.

P. Yeah, I think, I think but I'm not sure about [inaudible] I think she said oh, it would be nice, for, for I mean for America [inaudible] nice for America to get the go, er, white gold, for, for their technology.

Q. Ok, let's continue.

[Video playback continued]

Q. Yeah, I wanted to ask you about that, because, you, you're talking about you, you get a headache talking about politics.

P. Yes.

Q. And she said, I heard this kind of news, do you want to just see that again?

P. She said that like this?

Q. You say, I get a headache talking about politics.

P. Uhuh.

Q. And [Nam] says, I heard this kind of news, so I wasn't sure if you were talking about two different things. Let me show you, let me show you again.

P. Ok.

[section replayed]

P. Yeah.

Q. Did you see that.

P. Yeah, yeah (pause) yeah.

Q. Em, do you think she was understanding what you said, or, not listening, or what?

P. Umm.

Q. Was she replying to you?

P. Er, Er, I have no idea why why why she she she she talk, er, this sentence, suppose I, er, I think er, she couldn't understand what I said. I think I said its, I think clear enough I mean I er, I get a, I get a headache when I, I, er, read er, news about poli, politics and I think its very sim, er, simple statement and then, and then, er, she, she, she talk er, er, er, the sentence, but that time I, I, I think I did not recognize, I mean didn't, didn't pay attention for for for for this word.

Q. Ok, lets finish the tape. Nearly at the end of the first dialogue.

[video playback continued]

[[Putu] interrupts playback]

P. Er, actually er, er, on this conversation, actually I want to say, er, don't want to change, my er , my opinion about er personal person, er, because politics, so this mean, actually, I want to explain er, in the politic, er, In, Indonesian er, opinion, American politics is not , not good, for, for us for our Indonesia, but I don't want to er, because I read [inaudible] I don't want to change my opinion but, er, because I have, er, er, some, lot, er American friends I don't want to change like, you are American so you are somewhere.

Q. Yeah, I think you made that point on the tape, I understood that was what you were saying, yeah, I understood that, ok?

P. Ok.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, is there anything more you want to say about the first dialogue before we finish the tape on that? Up to you.

P. Ah well, er, I, I want to comment er, on the end of this, er, dialogue, er its er, actually er, I mean er, I didn't er, I didn't er, want this er some er, someone, talk about well in the future, America will controlling here, I mean er, like er, pess, er, pessimistic about that, right, not like wow we have to, on the future we have to under, er, America, this is, er, I don't want to er, listen this statement because its not, its not, not so, I am not so com, comfortable, for, for feeling and, and then I try to, to, to to explain to [Nam], well, but [inaudible] maybe, I think its er, the positive way like, oh well, we have to standardize on, on, other, other, other knowledge because now we are like under er, developing country and these, er, developed country and they get a lot of, er another sector or of [inaudible]

Q. Ok.

Dialogue 2

[Video playback]

[[Putu] interrupts the beginning of the tape]

P. I understood, er, about this er, this part er, er, have you on your list or not because, actually we don't know about, like contract, you know.

Q. Yeah, It doesn't matter whether you know about the subject, its you talking about it.

P. But we didn't like act seriously, like smiling, laughing, like.

Q. Its ok.

[video playback continued]

Q. Yeah, there is one point there where you are saying, we have to make a decision, a decision soon, and she says, why don't we save this idea until the next project.

P. Yeah, er, and then about my, yeah, I feel like, er, I feel like I fail, to , to, em, try, to to, to try and my proposal depend on the the result of this project and, and then [inaudible] well, like, have not er, its difficult like, er, coping in this project under the condition the same, nothing er, nothing er changed, and then [Nam] talk, wow, we can, we can do it next project so this mean er, er, sure, then we lose on this, er, on the case, so its, I don't know, I think, I have to talk, for to, I mean to, to, fight, [inaudible]

Q. Do you think you were both understanding each other at that point?

P. Er, I think yeah, I think yeah, er, she know er, I need er, I need er, I mean er, more money or more, er, for, for for like er divided I need more, I, I said er, we done 75%, but she done only 20% and then the agreement 50/50 so unfair and I want to get the other 35% belong to me but she said well this is our agreement we can talk on our next project, so like, I, I don't know.

Q. Ok.

[video playback continued]

Q. Yeah, now, at that point you say, er, we will bankrupt

P. Bankru yes.

Q. And she says, em, uhuh, how about we have a meeting. Do you think she understood, er, you saying you would go bankrupt?

P. Er, I think she understood.

Q. Uhuh

P. And er er, she, she er, I think she still want to, er, she cannot make a decision now and then like er, has to, to have another meeting [inaudible] with another, er another, er, persons who able to make a good deal for, for.

Q. Uhuh, Uhuh. Ok.

[Video Playback continued]

Q. Er, [Nam], there says, shall we listen to everyone's voice, and you say ok. What did you think she meant?

P. Er, er.

Q. Shall we listen to everyone's voice.

P. Er, voice, I think, ah, I think, er, she was ok, er, lets er, lets have another person decided about it, about it, about this, about this er, this situation.

Q. Let somebody else decide.

P. Yeah. I think this is just my head, but , er, telling the truth, I'm not sure about, about er, I mean the, the real meaning of [inaudible] this but, er, I try to, to, to make I mean I mean I try to interpretation from, from the context, er, er, er, she mean like, er, er, another person will decide it.

Q. You mean like a judge decide?

P. No, er, er, I think er, she mean, er, like manager, or they will decide it I mean, my, my manager or, or her manager because we is only consultants, right? Something like that so we cannot make a, I think [inaudible]

Q. Ok, ok. I think that was the end but we'd better check just to see.

[Tape checked]

Q. Yeah, that was the end of that one, ok, thanks.

Dialogue 3

Q. Ok the last one, this is the family one.

[Video playback continued]

Q. Ok, I want to ask you about this bit. Em, [Nam] is saying, er, we both studied abroad and we both have a family, she says, er, we mean the same. She says to you, we mean the same.

P. (repeating) we mean the same.

Q. when we are talking about family. She says something like, er, we mean the same, is that important to your success, and then you say, talking about family, I have to talk about the past. So, er, I'm not sure if you are answering her question. Do you want to see that part again, yeah?

[section replayed]

P. So er, I er, understood what she said. But, er, talking family, um er, I cannot talk directly to [[Nam]], like, wah, its like er, its important for me but, I want to talk, like, to talk about the past, the past time.

Q. So you understand what she was saying.

P. Yeah, I er understood, yeah I understood.

Q. She said to you we mean the same. So she is saying we must, er agree.

P. Yes.

Q. Did you think you do mean the same?

P. Er, er, I agree with [Nam] family important for our success, for our life. But, er, er, in this situation, actually I'm not er, I'm still not exactly er, how far I mean important for, I mean er, to our life so because, er, I don't know but [Nam] [inaudible] so I said, oh yes, oh yes, and then its, I tried to er, to make her er, continue because she very, like s, strong belief the family was most important. So I said, yeah [inaudible].

Q. But did you actually feel the same strength of belief the same strong belief that family was as important for you as it was for her?

P. Er, until thi, this part, I still not er, not sure, about we are like er, really like same idea about the importance of the family for us, but I, I just try to, I mean to just to make the conversation going on, like on another occasion, yeah...

Q. Mmm. Ok.

[Video playback continued]

Q. Now, you are nodding there. [Nam] is saying a lot about her family and you are nodding in agreement and she says this is the reward for my patience. Did you understand what she said?

P. Er, I think yes. Er, I think she [tape unclear] she did very hard and on to manage family and her study and finally, er, she found that her, her daughter can speak English very well and er, she er, er, proud, very happily, right, impress, impressed her very much, I oh yeah, I mean, I understood her idea, I think.

Q. Ok.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, is there anything you would like to say about that?

P. Mmm. [inaudible] more and more natural [inaudible] I expresses my, my real idea.

Q. There is one part that I missed on the video that saw before, where I think you agree, where [Nam] talks about seeing the bright future, seeing the bright future of your children.

P. Uhuh.

Q. Er what do you think she meant by that?

P. Er, I think er, she, would like to say er, er, she er, er, she wants, on the future, her childs' er future better than her, I think, [inaudible] yeah, because, er suppose er now, er suppose [Nam] only a teacher in er, university, and maybe [inaudible] without her. I think, I think, I, I agree with her, because...

Q. Would you like that?

P. Yeah, yeah, yeah, er, I don't want er, I want my my children better than me because I here, I want.

Q. What does better than me mean?

P. Better than me, er...

Q. More money?

P. Er, I think much more [inaudible] money, but actually its not. Because I don't want my er, my children have more money than me but their moral worse than me. For sure no.

Q. Ok, thank you very much.

End of recording.

ANNEX NINE

SUTTICHAJ: STOP-START TRANSCRIPT

Q=Researcher

S=Suttichai

Q. Ok, er, this is the 26th of March 2004 and I am now, er, interviewing Mr. [Suttichai] on the stop-start video method, er, these are the instructions, Mr. [Suttichai], er, I'll read you them: We are going to watch the video recording of the conversations you had with your partner. I am particularly interested in any parts where you feel that your partner did not understand what you were saying, or places where you feel that you did not understand what your partner was saying. Sometimes I will stop the tape and ask you some questions. To do this I may play some sections of the tape again. At any time you want you can also stop the tape, take the controls, reverse or play the recording and make any comments you wish. You can also ask me to play any section of the tape again. Do you have any questions about this?

S. I have no questions.

Q. Ok, let's start the tape then.

Q. Ok, its just starting now.

[video recording played]

Q- OK, er, I just want to stop there and ask you something about that, em, the, that sequence you talk about,er, the USA er, identifying New York City, or trying to identify New York City as the capital of the world and er, it is quite a long sequence, and at the end of the sequence, er [Michael] talks about something else, he comes back to ask you about the main reason that the people went on the demonstration, so he doesn't really, er, comment directly on what

you said, can I just show you that little part again, the end of what you were saying and then [Michael's].....

S. [inaudible] the question the end of the demonstration.

Q. Yeah, let me show again the end, end of what you were saying, ok, this is the end

[section played again]

Q. So in relation to your comments about NY city and everything, em, did you feel that he firstly was understanding what you were saying and secondly whether he agreed with you or not?

S.- Hmm, may be he, I guess that he still not, er, realize about that game, maybe, because in my comments I try to talk er, about theory of mass communication, maybe [Michael] not em, not catch, catch my point.

Q. Yes.

S. But, em, I'm really not sure, because, the reason why I, I talk this comment with him, because I guess that maybe he can get mine, because he's Korean, he know more about American, what I mean I think...

Q- Uhuh, uhuh, er, a couple of things in that sequence I would like to ask you about, what you em meant, em, I think you said, er, you talk about the USA try to identify their city New York City like the capital of the world, to let the people to feel like that, to feel that the USA try to invite the people to believe, to follow them, our Pope benefits NY city, er, if I understand you correctly, you were talking about the Pope benefiting NY city, did I hear that correctly?

S.- the Pope?

Q- yes

S.- I did not, I..

Q- Can I just play that section again, because it is possible that I er, didn't hear the word you were using, let me just go back and play that.

[section played again]

Q. Yeah, its that part, it sounds to me like our pope benefits New York city, let me play it again, we'll try playing it slightly louder because it is possible I didn't hear it properly.

[section played again]

S.- Its not Pope

Q- It wasn't pope, you didn't mean Pope?

S- Well, it wasn't Pope.

Q- Well, you definitely say benefits- our something benefits NY city.

S. (silent)

Q- But anyway, if it is definitely not the Pope then that clears up some confusion, because I wasn't sure what you meant by the Pope there, but you didn't mean the Pope

S- No, because the context like er, our own benefits [inaudible], we feel something like have the same benefits as USA have and what benefits that was attacked its like that, its like er, we feel like er, like some kind er like I feel World Trade Centre is my benefits.....

Q. yes, yes, er, and the end of that sequence you say em, you let the people feel the same, you see the link, the reason to invade someone...can you just explain a little bit more about that what the, the theory that you were giving then, just a little bit more, about how does this make the link, the reason to invade someone.

S. Er, according to the recent American military said to the world that they trying to em, to find nuclear weapons, missiles, something like that because of, the reason that er, I think, because of the World, if it accept er, the nuclear weapons.

Q. The nuclear?

S. Weapons.

Q. Weapons, yes.

S. If anyone have its not recognized by the people ...have to destroy, something like that, that's one reason ...and to make the world community believe that Iraq is em, a country that you know, collect the nuclear weapons and also, previously I think Americans try to make the image of Iraq like em, how to say, like em, in the bad side, I don't know how to say, like em, Iraq bad, like er, there is something...you have, er, er, your fundamentals, previously in the Persian war before, you have the character of Saddam Hussein [inaudible], so, its easy to let people follow this, somethings....

Q. Ok, thank you, lets move onto the next section.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, I just want to ask you a little bit about that sequence, er, [Michael] says Iraq people think the new government is a traitor, because the new government follow U.S. policy, em, after the word traitor, you make a, a noise, a conversation noise of, of, of er, encouragement, or, er, that you're listening, em, so I think the sequence goes er, "I think the new government is a traitor" and

you go, “ahh” like a Thai conversational politeness, em, did you know what he meant when he said “I think the new government is a traitor”? Do you know the word traitor?

S. (long pause) Invaders?

Q. Er, Its no problem if you don't know the word, but I can't...

S. But its negative word, I guess

Q. Continue with what you think, yes.

S. It's negative word, like em, how to say, like em

Q. You think its something like invader?

S. Something like that.

Q. Yes, because this study I can't explain the word to you yet.

S. uhuh, its negative word, yeah.

Q. Ok, ok, so, and can you just explain to me the, the sound you make, is that intended to indicate, er, agreement, or merely er, politeness that you're listening, what?

S. The sound that I make?

Q. Yeah, the Thai sound, its like a Thai, many people in Thailand use it in conversation.

S. [makes the sound, uhh]

Q. Yeah, just like that a little bit like uhh, uhh, what does that indicate?

S. Its accept, something like er show your acception, accepting your partners
[comments]

Q. Yes, it's a little bit more than politeness, its, is it more like er, agreement?

S. Yeah, yeah.

Q. Yeah, yeah. So really, er, in concluding in relation to that sequence, you made the noise of agreement, you weren't sure exactly what the word traitor meant, but you felt that it was a negative word and you agreed with the, in the context with the negative word because you also had a negative view of the invasion of Iraq, sorry the rescue of Iraq, perhaps, depending on your point of view, ok, that's very helpful. Ok, let me just let that sequence finish.

[tape playback continued]

Q. Now again in that sequence, em, you interrupt [Michael] and you say "like a puppet, like a puppet" and he says "yes, yes, this I think is not good solution to the whole problem", so when you said "like a puppet", er, did you think that [Michael] er, understood what you were saying?

S. I think so, I think he understood.

Q. Let, let me just play that sequence again.

[sequence played again]

Q. Ok, so, er, having seen the tape again, when you say "like a puppet", er, you think [Michael] understood you, what you were saying.

S. Yes.

Q. Yes, ok. Anything else you'd like to say about that sequence before I carry on?

S. Umm. Maybe, I want to make him to er, to understand my understandings also.

Q. Yes.

S. Like em, to make sure that, like you, I, I, I still follow his explanation, I give the word the puppet, its like, em, the theme that, that we should understand in the same, same thing, conversation [end inaudible]

Q. Ok, thank you.

[video playback continued]

Q. OK, I just wanted to ask you...Oh sorry, I think you – I'm too soon into the next point, wait a minute...

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, can I just ask you a little more about that sequence, er, you talk about during the cold war, there were the communists and now, er, anti-terrorism, er identify with maybe non-Muslim countries and Muslim countries, er, can you just explain a little bit more about what you were saying, this idea, very interesting idea?

S. This idea, like, er, in cold war, in, in the period of cold war U.S.A. identify the, how to say, liberal world, democracy, as, em, USA is the center, I think, the communists, they identify the communist country is the site of Russia, China, something like that, but nowadays, anti-terrorism, the center is U.S.A., but for the, also its non-Muslim country, maybe Europe, or, whatever, but for the terr, terrorism, the center is in the Muslim countries, we have Afghanistan, we have Pakistan, we have Saudi Arabia, its Muslim world, in, it maybe, maybe the, the

mus, other Muslim world, outside middle east, Malaysia, Indonesia, maybe they have some link with, em, em, the Muslim in the middle east, feel like, er, the cold war, Malaysia, Indonesia, oh no, sorry, er in, Indochina, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, maybe have something with Russia, something like that.

Q. Ok, thank you. Ok, we'll carry on, thank you.

[Video playback continued]

Q. Ok, I wanted to just ask you a little bit about, er, that, you were talking that, you know, you'd heard some people saying that, er, the situation in the South of Thailand er, was er, like er, indirectly, indirectly, supported by the CIA, some kind of er, CIA plot, em, could you, just explain a little bit more, er, you say they used this game a long time ago during the cold war, er, could you explain a little more about what game you mean, talking about the South of Thailand.

S. Er, use this game to make em, the conflict, the separation, like em, 6th October 1976 [inaudible]

Q. Er, I don't know, is there a theory that the CIA were involved there?

S. Yeah.

Q. Oh, I didn't know that, in 1976.

S. [inaudible] ...in that time, em, we have em, the fear, the Thai people have some fears

Q. Fear.

S. Oh, the communists will destroy the Royal Family, the communists will destroy Thailand, destroy er anything, the moral of the country, something like that, and the image of communism in Thailand is very bad and er, also the government try to er, to show the image like, communists like the, the devil, its

non-human, something like that. That one is em, support by budget from CIA, all the, all the road in North East Thailand, from Bangkok, support by CIA, the name of road is friendship [Thai word used], it mean USA has friendship with Thailand.

Q. What, the roads?

S. The road, the road is, was built in order to be convenient to invade the base of communists in North East Thailand [inaudible] something.

Q. I didn't know that.

S. Yeah yeah and also the medic came you see and, if you, maybe you, if you know some tragedy in my campus in 1976.

Q. Yeah, I know about that.

S. Because in that time all of the students was imaged, were imaged like em monster, not humans.

Q. Yeah, so what er, parallel are you drawing with the South of Thailand now, what connection?

S. Connection?

Q. Just to explain, for the tape.

S. To make the situation in Thailand, like er, other, conflict area, er, terrorism, Islamic, Islamic terrorism, see, in [inaudible] try to make the conflict that Islam, Muslim, separatists, try to separate one the other reason, in trying to but this is the, one of terrorism game to play.

Q. Ok, thank you very much, er, I'll just continue the tape.

[Video playback continued]

Q. Er, before we go on to the next one, is there anything else you would like to say about that dialogue? Any more comment that you would like to make? Up to you.

S. No.

Q. That's fine.

Dialogue 2

Q. So, er, I'd like to ask you about this comment that you make, em, the process is run by the procedures itself, because you didn't control your workers, you do much, I didn't control my workers, who do less than you. Do you remember that part?

S. Uum.

Q. Just the last part, you, shall I play it again just so you know, ok? It's the little bit here.

[section played again]

Q. Right, er, what, what are you meaning when you say the process is run by the procedures themselves?

S. Em, in the context [inaudible] I forget something, but, er, according to the explanation I try to say kind of like em process is run by itself its not, not me that control, the one, er the one who control that, that process, but the process is, was happen, by running of both sides.

Q. Uhhuh, so its, what you're saying is, er, its not your fault, its, I dunno, just how things have, how its happened from the way both sides have...

S. Something like em, I, maybe I compare with the water flow, but sometime its flow this way, sometime flow this way, but you cannot control...

Q. Uhhuh, uhuh, like water, water flowing.

S. Yeah

Q. Yeah, ok. Right, thank you.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, I want to ask you about that, that sequence, er, which is very enjoyable, em, you er, you come to some agreement, or it looks like you come to an agreement that you would pay 25% extra to his company and you both er, he says you agree, and you say yes, I think it should be ok, so it looks like you agree, but then you say er, you are not going to sign a contract, you say, we agree, yes, I agree, but its not a new contract, em, and then he, he says to you, er its not a contract but a promise, so, er, when you agreed, wha, what did you, mean, what was your idea about this at that time?

S. Mmm, in that time I, I think, er, the contract that I mean is em, we still keep the original contract but wha, what his company lost, I mean, I will pay, later.

Q. Yes, but, er, in your mind was there a plan to trick him or anything like that?

S. No, yeah yeah, maybe, according to the explanation.

Q. Yes.

S. (laughs) [inaudible] the situation can let me do, do er, something like...

Q. Sure, sure, it's a roleplay, yeah, yeah, yeah, em, and I think its ok, ok, that's very helpful, ok, I'll go onto the next sequence.

[Video playback continued]

Q. Ok, now he's arguing with you, and he says to you, er, if we make a new contract the original one go away, is useless now, the new contract is valid, er, what did you think he was saying about the new contract?

S. Er, I think he, he means some kind like er, if, if we have the new contract, previous contract is not, not, active any more, like er you make a new one and you abolish the previous one, but for my, I think in that time I, I try to explain him that we have support contract, we have some [inaudible] new contract but we still keep the previous contract we have more contract something.

Q. Yes, yes, em, the the word valid, I think you're not familiar with that word is that correct?

S. Em, I see in my passport it is, and now my understanding some kind like er the age, the age of something, finish, something like that, expiry.

Q. Ok, ok.

S. Something like that, expiry.

Q. Yes, expiry.

S. Expiry, yes.

Q. Ok, ok. Ok, continue with this.

[Video playback continued]

Q. Ok, so this is the last dialogue now, but is there anything more you would like to say about the second dialogue before we look at the last one?

S. I think the second dialogue, finally, I tried to surrender you see, I don't want, I don't want to talk more, maybe er, the, the understanding is very different way I feel, for the contract, the signing contract, something.

Q. Yes.

S. Or maybe, I don't know much about the form to, form of em, signing.

Q. Oh, sure, that doesn't matter, yes, yes, em.....so what did you feel your er, agreement was at the end?

S. Em, I feel like em stuck, its un, its, its un not satisfied me, but, I very tired to discuss more.

Q. To go on and on, yes, yes, ok.

[Video playback continued]

Dialogue 3

Q. Ok, I just wanted to ask you a little more about that section, er, you say, er, you agree with [Michael] you say "Yes, exactly, it comes from victorianization, because basically it is multifocality" and then you later say "its quite new, its victorianization", ok? Could you just explain a little bit more to me, talk about what you meant in that sequence?

S. Em, I can't because its very very difficult to explain [inaudible] because its trying to relate the er, understanding from values [inaudible] politicians, thinking like Thaksin [Thailand's current prime minister] anything its very very difficult to link it to what is victorianization.

Q. Right.

S. But if we said only victorianization, there Thailand bring it from England, it's a factor like, er, exactly, er victorianization its many, many things victorianization, but in Thailand first thing is er, try to reduce the role of women.

Q. Right.

S. And try to set up the role of women, speaking in, in the real family in Thailand, like, er, what woman should do, you have doctrine, like a book that teach.

Q. For example, what kind of things?

S. Like er....

Q. So are you saying that women, er, they shouldn't go and work like men, they should have very feminine roles?

S. Er yeah, they should have women role, like er what women should do, like a doctrine, something like that, it's a mechanism to reduce the role of women and at the same time, its raise the role of men up, it er, I think its, if you consider the political context in that period, the King need to have the power absolute.....

Q. And the concept of multifocality that you link with it, I never heard of this concept before so can you just explain a little more about it to me.

S. Ok, basically er, you say, you the land is fatherland, in, in Europe, fatherland...you, you use fatherland.

Q. We use fatherland for the homeland, fatherland.

S. In our country we use motherland.

Q. Right, motherland, ok.

S. As a homeland.

Q. Yes. So what does multifocality mean?

S. It means women in the centre of...

Q. Women in the center.

S. Is the centre, the woman is the center.

Q. Ahh, have you heard of the, er, the word, matriarchal?

S. Yeah, maybe it's the same because of my pronunciation.

Q. Right, ahah, so could you just spell, when you said multifocality, could you spell to me the English word you are meaning?

S. M-A-

Q. M-A-

S. T-R-I

Q. T-R-I- Ah

S. Its not so easy

Q. Not multi but matrifocality

S. Yeah.

Q. Aah.

S. Its my yeah, yeah, its my pronunciation.

Q. That, er, is very helpful, that, now I understand, ok, matrifocality.

S. Yes, its because we use maa, maa [inaudible]

Q. Never mind, its fine, its fine, its clear now, ok that's very helpful. Ok, we'll continue.

[Video playback continued]

Q. Oh, sorry, one thing I forgot to ask you about the sequence of victorianization and matrifocality that we were talking about, er, did you feel that [Michael] understood the point you were trying to make?

S. I don't think so.

Q. You don't think so.

S. No.

Yes, why don't you think that?

S. Em, because maybe, I'm not sure because he is Korean, Korea is different but Chinese, I think Chinese don't have this concept. Because, in Chinese society before coming of Western, its not matrifocality, the status was very low, very low, I think its very, I think he don't understand, but in South East Asia, they can, because me also Chinese, I quite understand what, what he feel, perhaps.

Q. Ok, I'm glad I remembered that, ok, we'll continue.

[video playback continued]

Q. Just a short question here about being a father and having the morals to govern your son, er, what, can you say a little bit more about what you were meaning then?

S. Umm [inaudible] Because I am trying to explain a bit of the concept of "Kong Tzu" [Confucious]

Q. Gong Gi? No, I'm not sure of the concept.

S. Er, He said like, em, about the King, the King is the son of the God , who fall from the heaven.

Q. Right.

S. To govern the regime on the World, but he said that if that King, er, broke the rule, because they have the, er...consensus [inaudible].

Q. Yeah, the c...

S. The consensus.

Q. Consensus? Yes, yes.

S. But if that King broke the rule...

Q. Yes.

S. Em, he will not, some kind like that, the God of, er, son of the God any more.

Q. Right.

S. But the one who led the people, lead the people, to broke, to, fight him, that one should be the exact, the true son of God.

Q. Right, yes, yes.

S. Like some kind of like er, try to teach like er, the moral of the governor of the leader, the leader should have er, should have some um, morals to govern the people, but if, he or she broke the rule, that one of you will destroy [inaudible].

Q. Right, and can you just repeat the name of the per, this was a Chinese, er, philosopher? Gong Chi?

S. Kong Tzu, in Jo dynasty.

Q. Right, right, maybe I am familiar with the western name for Gong Chi, I don't know. Ok, er, thank you.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok just that little section there he's talking about things being mixed, so many things being mixed, the Japanese influence, Western, Chinese influence, er, and you say "you cannot find the root". What do you mean, I understand the word root, but what do you mean in that context that you cannot find the root?

S. Er.

Q. I mean, why do you need to find the root, why do you want to find the root?

S. (Pause) umm, maybe, I, because, er, because Thailand, I don't know much about the country that colonized, was under colonized, about their, lessons, they will loss their identity, some kind of, I'm not sure maybe Korean, maybe Korean people don't know who they are, or.

Q. And you think that that's partly as a result of colonization.

S. Yeah, maybe.

Q. Because Thailand has never been colonized.

S. Yeah, but at the same time, maybe, even though Thailand is not under colonized, but, maybe we loss our root also, because Thailand is auto-colonized by, by itself, colonized by Thailand, Thai people want to be like Western, civilized by ourselves.

Q. So its like voluntary colonization?

S. Something like that, er, in the context maybe I guess that Korean must, I really not sure.

Q. Er, do you think that you were understanding each other at that stage, at that part of the conversation?

S. I think, I think I understand him in the context of, um, er, the invasion from others and effect to the root of the local people.

Q. Yes. But he didn't mention root, you mentioned root.

S. Yeah, I mentioned root, I guessed that.

Q. Ok, just a little bit more.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, now you are nodding in agreement there. He says, er, he talks about keeping family values and then he says " at the same time we have had to get good things from the western countries, make it more reasonable", what was your understanding of what he was saying there?

S. Er, my understanding is maybe, [Michael] live in Korea, he gets more influence of the Westerner, he see what, what should, should adapt with, with his society.

Q. Yes.

S. Because its formal, formal, er how to say, because Korean is more formal than Thailand.

Q. More formal society?

S. No no I mean in terms of Americanization or Westernization.

Q. Right.

S. Officially, in Korean politics its more formal than Thailand its vis, its er...

Q. Do you mean more obvious?

S. Yeah, visible.

Q. More visible.

S. Yeah, Something like that.

Q. Ok, ok.

S. And he will see more the good points of the West or other cultures, if you compare with Thailand, because in Thailand, anything good (laughing).

Q. (mishearing) Anything goes.

S. Anything good from the West, all goods.

Q. Yes.

S. Free sex, they don't I don't know what is free sex, what is free, I don't know, I think in Thailand didn't realize about what exact the theme or the values of, of from the West, I don't know its just surface, and put the surface to adapt, but maybe Koreans, they understand.

Q. Ok, I have no more questions myself, but we'll just finish the end of this dialogue and then you can comment on any more if you want. Ok, so we'll just finish, just a couple of minutes.

[video playback continued]

Q. Right, thank you very much.

S. The last question is very very difficult.

Q. The family values one with the politicians.

S. It was very difficult to analyse. Very, headache, to think to think.

Q. Is there anything else you would like to say before I stop the tape?

S. Em, umm, maybe in the term of em, according to the question I realize about the power, the power of the people and also the power of the politics. Nowadays people think that politics is the business of politicians. The power is the business of the politicians within the terms of politics, but exactly, politics is everywhere, have politics, between mother and father, between friend and friend and now I think people in Thailand I think that they ignore politics, so, let us let the politicians play the politics [inaudible] so finally they find, then still not find yet, for about the politics that they should, but they always criticize the politician, but they never criticize themselves, what they loss, what they ignore.

Q. Uhuh. Uhuh. Ok, thank you.

End of Recording.

ANNEX TEN

MICHAEL: STOP-START TRANSCRIPT

Q=Researcher

M=Michael

Dialogue 1

Q. Ok, this is Ross interviewing [Michael], on , er, watching the video tape, March the 22nd 2004, er, these are the instructions [Michael], em, we are going to watch the video-recording of the conversations you had with your partner. I'm particularly interested in any parts where you feel that your partner did not understand what you were saying or places where you feel that you did not understand what your partner was saying. Sometimes I will stop the tape and ask you some questions. To do this I may play some sections of the tape again. At any time you can also stop the tape, take the controls from me and reverse the tape or play the recording and make any comments you wish.

M. I see

Q. You can also ask me to play any section of the tape again. Do you have any questions about this?

M. No.

Q. Ok. Right, so lets see if we are at the beginning of the tape. [video tape played]

Q. Ok, that's the first section I'd like to ask you about

M. (laughing a little)

Q. Er, we'll go back and look at it again, but, em, Mr. [Suttichai] says to you, er, something like-"one thing is very wrong for me, because I think U.S.A. try to identify their city, New York City, like the capital of the world, to let the people feel like that" sorry it is quite a long section "to let the people feel like that, to feel that U.S.A. try to invite the people to believe, to follow them. Our pope benefits New York City, World Trade Centre was attacked by terrorism, something like that, you let the people feel the same, you see the link, the reason to invade somebody". Now, at the beginning of that long section you say yes to Mr. [Suttichai], yes, like....

M. I agree, yes

Q. Er, at the end you don't really say anything, but you, er, ask him about a different subject, you ask him about the, what he thinks the main reason people had for joining the demonstration in Thailand, ok, so there are a number of parts of that sequence I'd like to talk about. Em, one phrase he used he said "Our Pope benefits New York City", did you understand what he was talking about?

M. No (strongly)

Q....when he said our Pope?

M. At the time I just, er, understood what he said is that like the U.S. try to let people know that the New York is the center of the World, so I agreed that point, but I didn't catch that Pope benefit something, yeah, I didn't catch it.

Q. Yeah, and then ,er, do you know actually what Pope means?

M. No, no.

Q. And, em, the other section, "you let the people feel the same, you see the link, the reason to invade someone"- did you understand what he was talking about then?

M. Not really

Q. No, er, lets just go back and watch it one more time and then if you want to make any more comments about that section then, er, you can, I'll stop it after its finished, you can make some more comments.

M. ok.

[section replayed]

Q. Ok, right, so, er, just thinking about that particular sequence, now you have seen it again and I have asked you about it, is there any other comment you would like to make about that sequence?

M. Em, when I watched again, what I understood, he's like, he wanted to say the er, U.S. try to make the New York is the capital of the World and second, its like em, em, they try to link, I mean, they try to er, the people, the World people think, er the same same sympathy, the same emotion about like World Trade Centre attack, so they invite the World and make them ally, the same side and try to invade Iraq, yeah and what, that's er, what I understood...If I understood correctly, I agree with [Suttichai's] opinion.

Q. Ok, ok, right, lets let the tape continue.

[next section played]

Q. Ok, you want to say something?

M. I got like er, the Word Association it was show the "puppet", now I understand because puppet, I thought different word but it was same, puppet, it's a doll, just er follow what er, how to say the player, puppet show, (laughing) just like that....

Q. Yeah, em, I wanted to ask you about that sequence, em, because you talk about the Iraq people feeling very bad and you say they think the new government and [Suttichai] interrupts you and says, like a puppet, like a puppet, and you say “yes, yes, this I think is not good solution to the whole problem”, but earlier when we were doing the word association you said you didn’t know the word puppet.

M. Yeah but, I guess when, when [Suttichai] said, I understood, it was doll but when I, saw the word and listen and I, I thought the new word, some like the other vocabulary but, but.now I just, oh, it’s the same, it was same he was saying (laughs)....

Q. Fine, lets let the tape continue.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, that was another section that I wanted to ask you about, em, when er, [Suttichai] said, er, “its like during the cold war” , er, “communists. Now anti-terrorism identify with maybe non-muslim countries” what do you think he was saying then, or meaning?

M. Its like er, terrorism, is equate, equate same as just like er Muslim country is terrorism country, that kind of thing, and anti-terrorism like er the rest of them, like er, including U.S., the other allies.....

Q. And what about the, er, connection with the cold war that he was talking about?

M. Cold war, because, probably because of er, the role of the U.S., because at the time also the U.S. initiated er, kind of er, ideology, and they draw line, and also now they made some ideology, U.S. side and the other side, yeah, like that.

Q. Thank you.

[video playback continued]

Q. Ok, I'd like to ask you a little bit about that sequence. Em, er, you made a comment about the Muslim problems in the South of Thailand and he said that you thought that the connection with Iraq was irrelevant because, er the U.S.A. cannot control the CIA, what er, what did you understand him to be saying in that sequence about the South of Thailand?

M. Em, yeah, I feel that, I'm also think er, related, like Iraq that, that problem in Southern Thailand because it's like, er, Muslim issue, but I disagree [Suttichai] said the U.S. Government they cannot control CIA, but I don't think they cannot, because I think they em work together and even though CIA is kind of like independent they, they can work whatever they want but I think they still belong the government so they still work for U.S. and U.S. interests, benefits, yeah.

Q. Em, and what did you think he was saying when he was saying after that, that, em, the Muslims in the South they believe that the action is made by CIA support, "not directly you see, not directly, but the support is CIA, CIA plot"

M. (laughs)

Q. What, what did you understand him to be saying, then?

M. I just feel, I feel that like,er, in order to control Thailand or South East Asia U.S.A made some plot, CIA made a plot, to control, I mean like, because of that incident that serious problem, Thailand have, has to depend on US military or US policy for Southern Asia because in the past in Korea also like er if er, military or socially er, unstable, like er the Asian country had to depend on U.S. so this why they made some plot, those kind of.

Q. So, did you agree on that point then?

M. I agree with that, yeah because, in the past like er Korean military dictatorship and also like er, indirectly or like, CIA they supported the the plot, because if CIA or US disagree military dictatorship or coup d'etat, he cannot without their, their permission, or this quite influential.

Q. Just, just one point that you said that em, the first part of what he said you didn't agree with, that the U.S.A. had lost control of the C.I.A.

M. Yes.

Q. But, you, you you didn't indicate to him, from what I can see on the video, that you didn't agree with that. Why, why is that do you think?

M. Em, probably um, em, I agree with er like, his main theme, but I didn't er, criticize or pick up the, because em, he, he mentioned U.S. cannot control CIA but I thought it, it was not main point what he wanted saying, actually he wanted to say there was CIA plot and because of that, blah, blah, so I don't, yeah I agree with er like the main point but, at that time and even now I disagree U.S. cannot control CIA, that point, yes.

Q. Uh huh, uh huh, thank you. Ok, we'll just finish that to see if there is anything er, you would like to say, but the next questions I have relate to the next dialogue. We'll just let it play.

[Video continues onto Dialogue 2]

Dialogue 2

Q. Can I just ask you a little bit more about that sequence, em, that [Suttichai] says to you, er "the process is run by the procedures themselves, because you didn't control your workers you do much, I didn't control my workers who do less than you", er, what do you think he was meaning when he was talking about the process and procedures there?

M. Em, it seems like er process, er, flows by itself without control, but I disagree because, probably yeah, sure, they have a tendency to going on themselves, but I think manager would er, the people, they can, they can control the process, they intervene the procedure also, yeah...

Q. Ok, thank you.

[playback continued]

Q. Ok, I'll just stop it there, em, so, er, just to summarize what happens there, er, you say to him- are you sure you'll pay 25% to our company, and he says yes, its better, and you confirm that by, you confirm that by saying you agree, you ask him, you agree, and he says, yes, I think it should be ok. But then he won't sign a contract.

M. (laughing) Yes.

Q. And then he says, er, we agree, yes, I agree, but its not a new contract. And then a little later you say-its not a contract but a promise?

M. Yeah, I said that.

Q. Yeah, you said that. So what, what is going on there? What, what, can you make some comment on that?

M. What I wanted to say is like, em, what I understand perception about contract and promise, contract is like er, written document and legally we are like, we have to sign off each other but promise is like its just er, informal way its just er usually, em, byword, its more general and more moral so, because here he suggested me like er, we have to keep the formal document, the original one, but between us lets make like informal like er new contract like that its, yeah, its just like a promise, not, not er, contract.

Q. Ok, em, do you think you were talking about the same thing when you said “agree”?

M. Agree about what?

Q. Yeah, because, er, he said “we agree” and you had earlier said to him “you agree”, then he said, “yes, we agree” and then a few seconds later he said but its not a new contract. So do you think when you were saying “agree” you were talking about the same thing?

M. Mmm. You mean the meaning of agree.

Q. Yes.

M. Er, I guess the same, same meaning, yeah, but the thing is, em, he, er, he thought different way, I mean, I thought he probably er agree with er, making new contract, but he wanted to keep the contract and then make the other, informal way, it was er, different, different way.

Q. Ok, thank you. Er, one more question about that sequence, er, do you think, er, that he meant the same when he talked about the contract- do you think that he meant the same as you?

M. The contract?

Q. When he talked about the contract.

M. Probably yes, because, he said its not a new contract, it does mean, he’s also like er contract is like, er legally document but he said its not legal, a new contract, it means like, he also perceived, er similar, same, same way as me.

Q. Ok, thank you. Ok, play it a little more and get to the next sequence.

[playback continued]

Q. Sorry I need to go back a bit because I need to play a small section. I'll just reverse it a little bit.

[tape reversed]

[section replayed]

Q. Ok, I just want to ask about that sequence. Er, if we make a new contract the original one, er, it goes away, its useless now, the new contract is valid.

M. Uhuh.

Q. When, that was what you were saying.

M. Yes.

Q. Yeah, what did you mean by "the new contract was valid".

M. I thought er, there, like two kinds of er, like situation, first, the origin one and the the new one, contract or law, but if each other they support or like added can be also valid, but in this situation the original one and new, new one is like er, like contradictory or they cannot er, be valid at the same time, it means, so that's why I said that the old one has to, like, unvalid and new new one have er, power and, that means.

Q. Er, do you think he understood what you meant there, he understood that concept?

M. Er, I'm not sure but I think, he, er, he tries to, er, keep his point, I mean he tries to like er, even though I said its useless and, its gone, but he still, em, insist, no lets er, lets make a, keep continue and put the original one and, so I probably might be er, he didn't understand, or didn't listen to me (laughs), yes.

Q. Ok.

Dialogue 3

[playback continued]

Q. Ok, I'd like to ask you a little bit about that sequence. Er, one part he said, er, he was agreeing with what you were saying and he said "yes, exactly, it comes from victorianization", I think he said, and then he said, because basically it is multifocality, er, then he said, talk about mother, and its, its, quite new, its victorianization, its not really, it come from Royal Family on top, to the bottom, but now the Royal Family change, they didn't involve in politics, politicians take their role, er, what, what did you understand him to be saying there, particularly when he talked about victorianization and multifocality?

M. Actually I have never heard that, those vocabulary so.

Q. But you say yes after he says it.

M. Yes, I see and er, because I try, try to understand because, er unfamiliar with that, that concept , even now, yes...actually I, I felt, he like er, he agree what I said and then added some, the other explanation, but when I watch now, I think he kind of disagree, he, he said the other, the other things, is it, I think he has another, a different opinion?

Q. I don't know, I'll have to ask him.

M. Actually, to be honest I still not clear what is victorianization, that, that word means.

Q. Yeah.

M. Yeah.

Q. What, what was the, er, main point that you were making then that you now think, he didn't agree with you?

M. Oh.

Q. Or you now think he is maybe saying something different. Do you want to watch the sequence again, to help you?

M. Can I?

Q. Sure. Do you want to take the controls- you can do it. Go back to where you want.

[Michael replays the sequence]

M. Yes, er I, I, I mention about like er patronage system or, like the King is like a father and the people is like children and he said, yeah exactly its like, its from victorianization, so I thought its like a similar concept, the Thai concept and that victorianization its from, probably from England em, but he er, he said later now its like a change because the royal family doesn't play along with things because that's now [inaudible] didn't. like er affect the political way that much, yeah em, (laughs) I think at the time and like, not so, em probably I, I couldn't catch his point clearly just I, oh, I guessed because he seems to like, oh, exactly and then he says like oh probably he understood and added something, his opinions, but...

Q. But you didn't really know what he was adding.

M. Yeah, yeah, exactly.

Q. Ok?

M. (Laughs)

[playback continued]

Q. Ok, just about that sequence, em, he says er, if you are the father, you have to have the morals to govern your son, if you broke the rule anyone can broke the rule also. If you still keep the rule, anyone will keep the rule. What what did you understand him to be meaning there?

M. Its like, em, its Confucious, Confucious value, like er, parent or teacher or governor, they have to be like, moral, to be like er, good example for children or students, whatever, so I said, because its quite familiar value because, yeah I used to listen this value, so yeah values that, when he explained this value its quite, I ,I thought easily understand and agree that point.

[playback continued]

Q. Ok, I just wanted to ask a little bit about that sequence, er, you say about the Korean situation, family values are changed and confused, because they are, er, transitional period -old concepts, er Chinese influences and Japanese influences before, and now, western influence, so many things are mixed, and he says “you cannot find the root, maybe confused”.

M. Uhuh.

Q. Er, couple of things there, talking about the, the mix of er, things in Korea, the, er, mix of western influence, what do you mean by western influence?

M. Just like er, become more nuclear family and urbanization...

Q. Urbanization or globalization, sorry?

M. Urban.

Q. Urbanization.

M. Urbanization, also like er social structure change from like agriculture to the industrial.

Q. And you think that's the western influence?

M. Yeah because the government always try to er have a model from the U.S. or like Europe countries because they try to catch up their, the process what they, yeah, developed, so its, they try to imitate especially, I, I feel like Western influence, yeah...

Q. And then [Suttichai], er, added to you...

M. Uhuh.

Q. Em, you cannot find the root.

M. Right.

Q. What do you think he was talking about there?

M. Er, probably er, em, I agree with that point because sometimes the government or society if they like er, when they, em, reform something they just er pick the whole things from, including the roots, the tradition and replace the new one, like er, they get rid of like tradition they because they think its old fashioned its, its negative way and then they just adapted the new model from the Western, so, probably [Suttichai] he meant it that way and I also feel that way so that's why I said balance is important like er, we have er, we need to have like our own mod, like em root and then we er, pick some, what we want and mix happily, not just er, pick the roots (laughs).

Q. Ok, thank you very much.

[Replay continued until end of tape]

Q. Ok, thank you very much.

End of recording.

ANNEX ELEVEN

METHOD OF RECORDING SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

Note: The perforated line below represents the different pages of the booklet that was produced for semantic differential testing. Informants were asked to mark with an “X” where they placed the word on the scale, e.g. whether “traitor” was very fast; fairly fast, a bit fast; neither fast nor slow; a bit slow; fairly slow or very slow. A separate booklet was produced for each key-word that was tested.

traitor

fast : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ slow

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

traitor

strong : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ weak

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

traitor

good : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ bad

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

traitor

heavy : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ light

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

traitor

active : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ passive

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

traitor

cruel : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ kind

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

traitor

hot : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ cold

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

traitor

soft : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ hard

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

traitor

honest : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ dishonest

very fairly a bit neither a bit fairly very

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