DE GRUYTERMOUTON

Rachel Giora, Michael Haugh (Eds.)

DOING PRAGMATICS INTERCULTURALLY

COGNITIVE, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND SOCIOPRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVES



Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs

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Volume 312

Doing Pragmatics Interculturally

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Edited by Rachel Giora Michael Haugh

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Preface

We have edited this book, Doing Pragmatics Interculturally: Cognitive, Philosophical, and Sociopragmatic Perspectives, as a token of our appreciation of István Kecskés' scientific achievements. We have known Kecskés for many years now and think very highly of him. He is a phenomenal linguist whose impact on his various fields of expertise is unprecedented. For one, he is the forefather of Intercultural Pragmatics, a new field in linguistics which he started from scratch, and which has attracted numerous scholars in the years since its inception. Thanks to him, the field of Intercultural Pragmatics has now a journal of its own (Intercultural Pragmatics), its own international conference (INPRA: International Conference on Intercultural Pragmatics and Communication), and is also a key pillar of the bi-annual pragmatics conference in the Americas (AMPRA: International American Pragmatics Association Conference). Intercultural Pragmatics also has a seminal book of its own, authored by Kecskés (Intercultural Pragmatics, Oxford University Press, 2014), which provides a platform for the field, while also moving beyond traditional pragmatics. And what's more, now, thanks to Kecskés, Intercultural Pragmatics has also a book series of its own (Mouton Series in Pragmatics, with Kecskés as Editor-in-Chief). Add to this another three books he has co-edited on Intercultural Pragmatics (Kecskés & Assimakopoulos 2017; Kecskés & Horn 2007; Kecskés & Romero-Trillo 2013), and the extent of his impact on the field of Intercultural Pragmatics is self-explanatory.

István Kecskés has also contributed significantly to other research areas such as Socio-Pragmatics and Cognitive Pragmatics, in which his work on bilingualism features as a prominent strand. He is the founder and Editor-in-Chief of Chinese as a Second Language Research, as well as being President of CASLAR (Chinese as a Second Language Research Association), alongside being the co-director and founder of the biannual Barcelona Summer School on Biand Multilingualism. On top of all that, he has authored a number of books on bilingualism (Kecskés 2002, 2003; Kecskés & Papp 2000), in addition to (co-) editing a number of other volumes on the topic (Kecskés 2013; Kecskés & Albertazzi 2007). His most important contribution is his evidence-based finding that foreign language learning benefits from one's mother tongue. In his co-authored book Foreign Language and Mother Tongue (Kecskés & Papp 2000), Kecskés and Papp present empirical data garnered through a longitudinal study on the effects of foreign language learning on one's first language. While relying on psycholinguistic findings, Kecskés and Papp have further shown that the factor of salience (Giora 1997, 2003), found to affect children and adult L1 language comprehension and production, has observable bearings on how we interpret

DOI 10.1515/9783110546095-202

learners' difficulties with idioms, formulaic implicatures, and situation-bound utterances in L2 production and comprehension. In order for an adult L2 learner to perform adequately, s/he needs to be familiar with the conventional, frequent, and prototypical meanings of a situation-bound utterance in a given situation. This, however, is something L2 learners do not always have access to because of their insufficient common ground knowledge and conceptual fluency in the target language (Kecskés 2002).

Another area of expertise of István Kecskés is **Discourse Pragmatics** and **Cognitive Pragmatics**, in which he features dominantly. He has published extensively on the topic. He has authored and co-edited six books (Allan, Capone & Kecskés 2016; Kecskés 2014; Kecskés & Mey 2008; Kecskés & Horn 2007; Kecskés & Papp 1991, 1994) and written over fifty articles in refereed journals and books. A recent publication of his (Kecskés 2016) focuses on a highly original topic, arguing that deliberate creativity, which allows speakers to resort to nonformulaic language, is more pervasive among second language learners than native speakers. The latter, however, are creative in a different way.

His rich and varied expertise has allowed him to enrich linguistics both theoretically and empirically. Not least significant is his work developing the **Socio-Cognitive Approach to Communication**, through which he incorporates not only the cooperative, context-dependent aspects of interaction, but also its egocentric, untidy, trial-and-error features. He has already published several papers on this approach in the *Journal of Pragmatics, Pragmatics & Cognition*, and *Second Language Research*. Indeed, building on the "egocentrism" model (e.g., Keysar and Henly 2002; Barr and Keysar 2005, 2007), alongside the graded salience hypothesis (Giora 1997, 2003), Kecskés (2008) has been able to show that the tendency of language users to egocentrically anchor their judgments in available information, regardless of whether this information is actually useful for solving a given problem or not, may explain why, initially, hearers' and speakers' perspectives may not match. On such occasions, the actual context will come into play and serve as a basis for determining what the speaker means, regardless of degree of literalness.

In sum, István Kecskés' thorough acquaintance with different disciplines, his familiarity with a variety of research methods, his enthusiastic devotion to promoting new research topics, his immense impact on the international scientific community, and his long list of publications, including ten books in well-known publishing houses alongside many tens of articles in top international journals, make him a most conspicuous scholar in the field of cognitive and usage-based linguistics. He is committed to excellence, kindles intellectual interest in new fields of research, and is one of the most frequently invited lecturers and keynote speakers in pragmatics worldwide. The varied contributions of this book reflect

on his diverse yet immensely rich expertise across multiple fields. And so, given the way in which Kecskés consistently advocates an approach in pragmatics that cuts across disciplinary divides, we present this volume as an attempt to do just that, thereby honouring both the spirit and intellectual content of the immense contribution he has made to the field of pragmatics.

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Acknowledgement: We would like to thank Valeria Sinkeviciute for her editorial assistance in the later stages of this project.

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1 Introduction

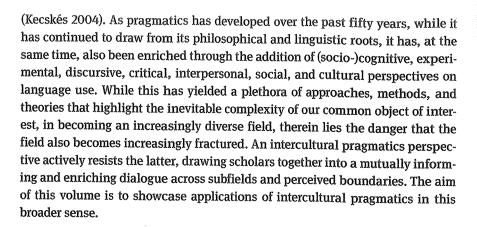
1 Doing pragmatics interculturally

Pragmatics is a large and diverse field encompassing a wide range of approaches, methods, and theories. What unites the field is a common focus on how language is used and the role of language in communication, whether this be mediated through various written modes, increasingly in digital forms, or in various modes of spoken interaction. Generally speaking, the field of pragmatics is conceptualized as either a subfield of linguistics, on a par with syntax, semantics, and the like, or as a particular perspective on language and communication that emphasizes the functions of language, whether these be cognitive, social, or cultural. While this is frequently couched in terms of a distinction between "Anglo-American" and "European Continental" pragmatics, in recent years, there have been increasing calls for increased dialogue and interaction amongst scholars to enable more empirically focused and more theoretically focused approaches to mutually inform each other and thereby further enrich the broader field (e.g. Culpeper and Haugh 2014; Ilie and Norrick forthcoming). The Intercultural Pragmatics movement represents one of the strongest voices in the field advocating just that sort of scholarly exchange.

Just as pragmatics can be conceptualized in two different, albeit not mutually exclusive ways, so too can intercultural pragmatics be understood in two different, complementary ways, either as a *subfield* of pragmatics or as a particular *perspective* on pragmatics. On the more traditional, disciplinary view, intercultural pragmatics involves the application of theories and methods from pragmatics to the analysis of the role of language in intercultural encounters. As intercultural pragmatics in the traditional sense lies at the intersection of the fields of pragmatics and intercultural communication, it brings together a wide range of different theoretical and methodological perspectives. As Kecskés (2014) points out, though, studying cognitive, social cultural aspects of language use in intercultural encounters has potentially much to offer broader attempts at theorization in pragmatics. This is partly because the "common knowledge" or "common ground" that underlies much pragmatic theorising cannot be straightforwardly presumed in such cases (if indeed it can be straightforwardly presumed in so-called intracultural encounters).

However, intercultural pragmatics has also been conceptualized as a particular *perspective* on pragmatics more generally that explicitly advocates scholarly debate between researchers representing different subfields of pragmatics

DOI 10.1515/9783110546095-001



2 Overview of the book

While many of the chapters contained within this volume cut across boundaries, reflecting the call by Kecskés to do just that, we have nevertheless arranged the various contributions into three broad sections to enable the reader to navigate the admittedly rather complex landscape of modern pragmatics. These sections reflect the relative focus of these respective contributions on cognitive, linguistic, or socio-pragmatic aspects of language use.

The contributions in Part I, "Socio-Cognitive and Experimental Pragmatics", pick up on various themes addressed in Kecskés' sociocognitive approach to pragmatics. It begins with two chapters that offer different perspectives on long-standing debates about the role of "common ground" in communication. In Chapter Two, "The emergence of common ground", Raymond W. Gibbs Jr. and Herbert L. Colston review relevant studies in social psychology and cognitive science that support a dynamical systems approach to common ground. They argue that the abilities of people to coordinate their social interactions with one another emerge from self-organisational processes that operate with respect to goals interlinked across multiple different time-scales. On this view, there is no need for interactants to consistently try and explicitly align their own individual mental representations. The position taken on this matter by Robert E. Sanders in Chapter Three, "Overcoming differences and achieving common ground" is that it is always incumbent on speaker and hearer to overcome differences in common ground sufficiently to bring the matter at hand to a conclusion, but cautions that the amount of effort needed to achieve this is not consistently proportional to the extent of (presumed) background differences between speaker and hearer. In Chapter Four, "On misunderstanding and miscommunication in

conversational humour", Marta Dynel proposes that we need to carefully distinguish between miscommunication and misunderstanding, and the different types of misunderstanding therein. She draws attention to differences between genuine misunderstanding, planned misunderstanding, and overtly pretended misunderstanding, using data from the television show, *House MD*, to illustrate her claims that the interface between misunderstanding/miscommunication and humour can both facilitate and hinder the emergence of humour

The focus then shifts to the discourse status of different types of pragmatic meaning. In Chapter Five, "Notes for a restrictive theory of procedural meaning", Victoria Escandell-Vidal outlines a set of arguments as to why retaining a linguistically-based distinction between conceptual and procedural meaning is important. She proposes that the notion of procedural meaning is best limited to the contribution of interpretable features that target computations in conceptualintentional systems at different levels of representation, and that natural coded signs (e.g. smiles) are best treated as distinct from linguistic operations. This is followed, in Chapter Six, "Explicatures and deniability", in which Marit Sternau, Mira Ariel, Rachel Giora, and Ofer Fein introduce a new methodology for distinguishing between pragmatic inferences. Sternau and colleagues apply their Deniability test - an interactional corollary of Grice's cancelability - to various pragmatic inferences, and find support for both the maximalist and the minimalist positions: different types of explicated inferences vary in how easy it is for the speaker to deny having said them. Ultimately, the findings support Ariel's Privileged Interactional Interpretation level and Sternau's graded interpretation strength, whereby linguistic meanings are strongest, weak implicatures are weakest, and, in between, are what they call strong explicated inferences ('what is said' inferences), weak explicated inferences, and strong implicatures.

Experimental approaches are also employed in investigating evaluation of language use in the final two chapters in this section. In Chapter Seven, "The acquisition of loanword pragmatics", Eline Zenner, Nane Mertens, Laura Rossel, and Dirk Geeraerts investigate the way in which Dutch primary school children evaluate the use of English-loan words in a cartoon. A key finding is that while across different age groups the loan-words are consistently evaluated positively in that context, these attitudes become more systematically structured with respect to status, solidarity, and sociability as their age increases, and there is also increasing explicit awareness demonstrated on their part. Finally, in Chapter Eight, "(Im)politeness: Metalinguistic labels and concepts in English", Jonathan Culpeper, Michael Haugh, and Daniel E. Johnson report on the results of an experiment in which possible differences across impoliteness-related terms used in perception scales were examined. It was found that different metalinguistic labels had different relationships with each other, depending on the

Part II focuses on current debates and topics in "Philosophical and Discourse Pragmatics". The first four chapters in this section take a broadly philosophical approach to pragmatics. In Chapter Nine, "What lies beyond: Untangling the web", Laurence Horn reviews the issues affecting the formulation of the distinction between lying and misleading and examines the arguments for linking that distinction to the one drawn in Gricean pragmatics between what is said and what is implicated. Focusing on the role of assertion as a criterion of lying, Horn marshals a range of evidence from the courtroom, the lab, and everyday conversational exchanges to challenge recent accounts according to which a speaker can lie (by implying a falsehood) while telling the truth. This is followed, in Chapter Ten, "The true provenance of self-reference: A case for salience-based contextualism", by Kasia M. Jaszczolt's discussion of self-reference as a test case for contextualist accounts of meaning (e.g., Daddy will finish his dinner and will play with you in a moment; One tries to do one's best). Specifically, Jaszczolt analyses natural language uses of self-reference and concludes that the pragmatic, contextualist approach better accounts for the variety of uses than the other alternative (e.g., syntax-based) approaches, which fail to provide for a comprehensive account. Next, in Chapter Eleven, "Transparent reports as free-form idioms", Wayne A. Davis contends that transparent, propositional attitude reports with that-clauses, termed "transparent reports", are "free-form idioms", conveying idiomatic interpretations. Although ambiguous, their ambiguity is semantic though not lexical or syntactic. Indeed, unlike prototypical idioms, transparent reports are not defined by a fixed form. Instead, they are highly, even if not entirely, compositional and productive. Finally, in Chapter Twelve, "How speaker meaning, explicature and implicature work together", Jacques Moeschler contends that scalar implicatures cannot capture the complexity of speaker meaning. Along the lines of Horn and Kecskés (2013), Kecskés (2017), and Moeschler (2017), he argues that "the recovery of speaker meaning requires much more than accessing defeasible meanings, as implicatures".

The focus then shifts to the pragmatics of particular linguistic phenomena in discourse. In Chapter Thirteen, "Temporally closed situations for the Chinese perfective LE \Im ", Chaofen Sun and Ming Chew Teo highlight the uniqueness of the Chinese perfective aspect marker le \Im . They argue that, for this perfective aspect marker (termed here le_1) to be used correctly, it must occur in a temporally bounded (i.e., completed or terminated) context. Without such a telic context, this marker will not be capable of signaling the perfective aspect on its own. This

is followed, in Chapter Fourteen, "Acategorical pragmatic markers: From thematic analysis to adaptive management in discourse", by Jesús Romero-Trillo's discussion of three types of acategorical pragmatic markers: those without an original grammatical ascription (e.g. [@:m], m, mhm); those whose original category is lexical (e.g. listen, well, good, fine); and those with at least one lexical item plus one or more grammatical items, termed phrases (e.g. I mean, you know, the thing is). His findings, based on studies of spoken discourse, show that acategorical pragmatic markers serve to cohere sequential segments; they link subsequent to prior discourse units, especially when they occupy the initial position of the tone unit, as they do in 87% of the cases tested.

The lens broadens to consider the pragmatics of linguistic phenomena at the discourse level in Chapter Fifteen, "Contrastive discourse relations in context: Evidence from monologic and dialogic editing tasks", in which Anita Fetzer argues that contrastive discourse relations signal a change in the flow of the discourse and play a particularly important role in argumentative discourses, the establishment of their common ground and their coherence. Finally, the importance of going beyond the traditional focus in pragmatics on analyzing language in isolation from its broader multimodal context is amply demonstrated by Lluís Payrató in Chapter Sixteen, "Pragmatics and multimodality: A reflection on multimodal pragmastylistics". A discussion of instances of additive, complementary multimodality is extended to a consideration of interactive, intersectional forms of multimodality through which new meanings, new communicative strategies and new identities for interactants are made possible. It is thus, in the spirit of the call by Kecskés for an interdisciplinary pragmatics that this section on philosophical and discourse pragmatics ends with a chapter exhorting us to analyse the ways in which meanings are created through multimodal text

The final section of the volume, "Interpersonal and Societal Pragmatics", shifts the lens to another ongoing theme in the work of Kecskés, namely, his interest in interpersonal aspects of language use and the pragmatics of interactions amongst second language and lingua franca speakers, which leads into a consideration of pragmatics at a broader societal level. The section begins, in Chapter Seventeen, "Pragmatic competence and pragmatic variation", with a call from Klaus P. Schneider to build in the inevitable variation in the ways in which pragmatic phenomena are accomplished across different social groups into our theorization of pragmatic competence. He points out, however, that to do so requires a vast empirical undertaking in order to map out the detailed "pragmaticography" of different languages. Schneider debates the contribution that experimental methods can make, and necessarily so, to this ambitious empirical program, thereby providing a tangible link back to the issues implicitly raised in some of the chapters in Section I. This theme is further elaborated

acts for pragmatics. The focus then shifts to research about the development of pragmatic competence in intercultural settings in Chapter Nineteen, "The intercultural speaker abroad". J. César Félix-Brasdefer introduces two key methods by which sociopragmatic awareness can be raised amongst second language learners: (1) critical analysis of impoliteness events recorded through diary or field notes, and (2) retrospective verbal reports following role-plays designed to highlight particular differences in sociocultural norms. He highlights the important pedagogical implications that such work has for second language classrooms. The development of pragmatic abilities amongst children is then considered in Chapter Twenty by Jörg Meibauer. In "Pragmatics and children's literature", Meibauer argues that studying the pragmatics of children's literature, which involves studying both the broader social situations and contexts in which children's literature is used, as well as specific pragmatic dimensions of the texts themselves, is important because it constitutes a key form of input into the development of pragmatic competence amongst children.

The move towards a broader societal lens is continued by Jacob L. Mey in Chapter Twenty One, "Unloading the weapon: Act and tact", in which he critically reflects on the ongoing importance of the metaphor of "language as a loaded weapon" for a pragmatics that embraces its historical and social underpinnings. Drawing from a wealth of experience, he reminds us of the hidden power of not only words themselves, but the tones and gestures that accompany them, in acting in ways that are, on the surface at least, ostensibly a matter of tact. The volume concludes, somewhat fittingly given the broad interests of Kecskés, with a chapter by Kepa Korta that explores the broader sociohistorical roots and implications of the language we use. In Chapter Twenty Two, "The meanings and contents of aesthetic statements", Korta outlines the complexity inherent to any claim that a particular piece of art is "beautiful". Rather than simply treating such a claim as a "subjective judgement", about which one can "faultlessly disagree", he suggests that a distinction needs to be drawn between aesthetically

describing and aesthetically or artistically evaluating. This brings us full circle in that both the cognitive and linguistic underpinnings of an inherently social activity, namely, the appreciation of art, is brought into play by Korta.

In sum, the various chapters in this volume traverse a broad range of topics from a variety of different perspectives, which are mutually enriching and influential. This work thus collectively represents an example of what Kecskés has consistently advocated: not simply studying but *doing* intercultural pragmatics in very real and tangible ways.

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