



LINGUA FRANCA NEGOTIATIONS OF CULTURAL  
UNDERSTANDINGS TO BUILD FRIENDSHIPS:  
INTERRELATING INTERCULTURAL AWARENESS AND PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES

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## Abstract

In this pandemic and historic season marked by international tensions, we are reminded of the growing relevance of further understanding intercultural communication mediated through English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). The negotiation of understandings through ELF intercultural communication has been studied substantially since the focus of ELF research turned from the investigation of features to the underlying processes involved in meaning-making (Jenkins, 2015). In the present study, I critically engaged with previous theoretical constructs of pragmatic strategies (Mauranen, 2003a, 2006; Cogo, 2009; Kaur, 2009; Mauranen, 2012; Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Cogo and House, 2018) and a model of intercultural awareness (ICA) (Baker, 2011, 2015, 2018) to take a step forward and investigate how the interplay of those two aspects impacts the unfolding of Negotiations of cultural understandings in ELF talk (Zhu, 2015). Using Conversation Analysis complemented by ethnographic tools, I analysed the conversations of two Londoner multilingual faith-based communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). Those communities were part of the same broader church community and had building friendships as their main ‘enterprise’. The participants’ super-diverse (Vertovec, 2007, 2019) linguistic and linguacultural repertoires (Risager, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2012) led them into the Negotiation of situated meanings, constituted by their understandings of those topics. I examined the unfolding (beginning, middle and ending) of the Negotiations and, among other things, adapted the ICA model to describe a wider range of communicative practices. The findings revealed relevant patterns in the displays of ICA that affected how complexly the topics were treated. It also indicated that some pragmatic strategies had specific functions in the displays and responses to particular ICA levels. This investigation of naturally occurring conversations offered further insights into the processes of pre-empting, fine-tuning, and resolving culture-based mis-/non-understandings, with the potential to inspire future research that will inform ELF-aware pedagogies.

## List of Abbreviations

**BraCE** – Brazil Corpus of English

**CA** – Conversation Analysis

**CC** – Communicative Competence

**CoP** – Community of Practice

**CT** – Complexity Theory

**CLT** – Communicative Language Teaching

**ELF** – English as a Lingua Franca

**ELFA** – Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings

**EMF** – English as a Multilingua Franca

**ENL** – English as a Native Language

**FLE** – Foreign Language Education

**IC** – Intercultural Communication

**ICC** – Intercultural Communicative Competence

**ICA** – Intercultural Awareness

**L1** – First Language

**L2** – Second or Additional Language

**LFC** – Lingua Franca Core

**VOICE** – Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English

**S1** – Speaker 1 (2, 3, 4..)

## Transcription Conventions

Following the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (Seidlhofer, 2001) model, the mark-up conventions below have been selected for being relevant for the analysis proposed in the present study.

. = falling intonation

? = rising intonation

CAPITAL LETTERS = emphasis

(.) = brief pause

(2) = seconds of pause

<1> x </1> = beginning and ending of overlap

<1> x </1>

Word= = latching beginning

=word = latching continuation

-word = repetition

Word- = fragment or interruption of a word

: = lengthened sound

:: = exceptionally long sound

@ = laughter

<@> word </@> = utterance spoken laughingly

(word) = uncertain transcription

<un> xxx </un> = unintelligible speech

<ita> word </ita> = utterance in Italian

<sho> word </sho> = utterance in Shona

<spel> w-o-r-d </spel> = spelling out

<fast> word </fast> = speaking modes

<quiet> word </quiet>

{hands out the plate} = contextual events

(Name1) = anonymisation

<to S2> word </toS2> parallel conversation

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# 1 Introduction

As I write this thesis, we are going through an unprecedented time of international tensions due to the disastrous spread of Covid-19. This historical moment has undoubtedly increased our awareness of how interconnected the world is and highlighted the need to communicate successfully with diverse cultural groups both intra-nationally and internationally. Although a great deal of research has been carried out in Intercultural Communication to understand what it takes for interactants to understand each other and keep a good rapport, there are still many routes worth exploring. The one selected for this study focuses on learning more about intercultural communication mediated by the most used lingua franca presently, English. Inspired by Baker's prolific work on this topic, I decided to investigate the impact of Intercultural Awareness (Baker, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2018) displayed through communicative practices in naturally occurring conversations in an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) setting.

My interest in ELF communicative practices started when I joined the ILF Brasil (ELF Brazil) research team at Bahia Federal University (Salvador – Brazil) in 2010, the last year of my BA in English as a Foreign Language. Since then, I have not been able to stop reflecting on the practical implications of ELF to the classroom (Souza da Silva and Siqueira, 2016). It was instigated by such questions that I wrote both my BA and MA theses on attitudes towards different English accents from an ELF perspective (Souza da Silva, 2013, 2016). After that, as an L2 teacher of English in Brazil, becoming ELF-aware (Sifakis, 2014) in my praxis seemed like enough progress, especially considering the constraints of standardness and native speakerism in formal education (Souza da Silva and Porfirio, 2016).

It was not until I learned about pragmatic strategies being used to pre-empt and resolve communication problems that I could envisage the possibility of patterns in communicative practices that can facilitate mutual understanding in ELF communication. Although I set out to investigate how Brazilian speakers of English in London used pragmatic strategies to negotiate meaning in ELF talk, the research took an Intercultural turn when I came across Baker's (2011, 2012, 2015, 2018) studies on culture and identities through ELF. I expanded and adapted Baker's Intercultural Awareness (ICA) model to assess how displays of ICA affect the unfolding of the negotiation. I also wanted to check whether particular pragmatic strategies could be related to displays of particular ICA levels. Assessing ICA in negotiations of cultural understandings at the utterance level, especially in naturally occurring (not prompted) conversations, is an angle of



analysis that had not been explored yet. This research's theoretical and methodological paths, together with its findings, lay the theoretical grounds for further research that can be valuable for ELF-aware teaching. Ultimately, this investigation addresses the need to identify teachable linguistic and discursive practices that compose the success of the Negotiation of understandings across cultures through ELF and in other intercultural communication contexts.

Given that every human interaction involves (to an extent) the encounter of different cultural repertoires, learning more about how we negotiate (clarify, change, explain, expand) our different perspectives through conversation is relevant to just about everyone. However, the pursuit of understanding this 'negotiation' process is even more valuable to those studying or experiencing international communication. In other words, the communication features that are already culturally dependent and nuanced in interactions through L1s will have new layers of complexity as we take into consideration the diverse linguacultural repertoires of multilinguals.

In this chapter, I will critically review the conceptualisation of ELF and explain how it influences the analysis that will be carried out. Then, I will provide an overview of the theoretical constructs that support this investigation, briefly describe the proposed methodology and what to expect from the analysis, discussion, and conclusion chapters. Although I aimed to organise the topics to make sense to the reader, I am afraid some concepts are so intrinsically connected that they will be mentioned within a broader context before they are explained. On those occasions, footnotes will signal the section where such topics will be more carefully discussed.

### 1.1 English as a Lingua Franca: conceptualisation and perspective

The most relevant contextual characteristic of this study is its participants' cultural and linguistic diversity expressed in their use of English as a lingua franca. Therefore, ELF constitutes the primary mode of communication through which the participants are operating. To establish the nature of the construct English a Lingua Franca as it is used in this work, I will present some of its definitions from ELF scholars. To begin with, one of the earliest conceptualisations of ELF emphasises that: (a) "the role of English communication between speakers from different L1s"; (b) "[in ELF] 'mixing' languages is acceptable"; and (c) "the Latin name [lingua franca] symbolically removes the ownership of English from the Anglos both to no one and, in effect, to everyone" (Jenkins, 2000:11). This first look at ELF already sets the tone for a shift in research that distances

English communication from a perspective of deficit concerning English as a Native Language (ENL) by welcoming the influence of other languages as a resource. The Latin roots of the term 'lingua franca' are also a tool to signal the decentralisation of its ownership. It denotes the "authority" over English does not lie exclusively in the hands of those born in the UK, the US, or in any other country where it is spoken as an L1 (first language). Instead, the English language has had its creativity and ownership contended by all those who see it as part of their own communicative repertoire.

Following the same emancipatory thinking, the exploration of the "*possibility of the codification of ELF*" (Seidlhofer, 2001:150, my emphasis) was hypothesised but soon abandoned. Seidlhofer also considered it "counterproductive" (pp.137) to continue comparing the English spoken by non-native speakers to the use of English among educated native speakers when most English communication around the world happens among non-native speakers. That is, ELF must be seen "as a use in its own right, and ELF speakers as language users in their own right" (ibid.).

ELF goes beyond "varieties" of English

Outside the ELF research field, some debates have proposed the interpretation of ELF as a simplified variety of English promoted by ELF scholars for the teaching of English to 'non-native' speakers. Sowden (2012), for instance, understands that ELF researchers believe it to have exclusive linguistic and pragmatic features. Cogo (2012:99), however, explains that "the aim of research in [ELF] is to describe and make sense of the processes in operation in lingua franca talk and the strategies used by its speakers, not to uncover 'core' features". ELF research focuses on the processes involved in communication via English when L2 speakers of English are present. ELF is, therefore, a mode of communication that is remarkably diverse and adaptable, not a monolithic lingua franca.

Besides being mistaken as a new variety of English, ELF has also been misconceived to be formed of "ELF dialects" and known in popular terms as 'Finglish', 'Dunglish', and 'Swinglish' (Mauranen, 2012). To clarify the difference between ELF and one's own English, Mauranen proposes the concept of similects - the English L2 speakers know, which is influenced by a particular L1 but not used for day-to-day activities. In her view, L2 Englishes cannot be conceptualised as dialects because they "do not develop" (p.29) in the interaction of speakers with the same L1. They are not learner dialects and "do not become more complex, simpler, undergo sound changes, accent diversification, develop sociolects, or in general develop like dialects and

languages in communities” (ibid.). It means that this “non-interactive” linguistic assembling of an L2 English speaker’s repertoire distances their own English from the emergent language generated in ELF communication. The Englishes spoken by the interactants are considered contact varieties - not dialects nor codifiable monolithic entities - whose defining characteristic is to be influenced by (an)other language(s) before and during the interaction (Mauranen, 2012).

Although the premise of *semilects* is mostly aligned with the latest developments in ELF research, the assumptions that L2 English speakers that share an L1 have the “same language combination in their repertoire” (Mauranen, 2012:29) and “no reason to talk to each other in English” (ibid.) are somewhat problematic. In a later publication, Mauranen (2018) addresses some of the problems with this concept and says that “many users also obviously learn other languages alongside English” (pp.9) and “all the speaker’s languages are present at any time, and that they influence one another constantly” (ibid.). However, she maintains her stand about the idea that the only moment when English speakers of the same L1 use English with each other is in language learning situations (Mauranen, 2018:10), therefore, leaving the issue of non-development of the language still unresolved.

My point is, although conceptually separating the language one brings to an ELF interaction from the language generated during the conversation is coherent with ELF as a mode of communication, I consider Mauranen’s (2012; 2018) concept of *similects* an oversimplification of the developmental process of one’s L2. In fact, the author is leaving out the possibility of situations in which L2 speakers use English to talk to each other regularly, such as: in university classes where English is the medium of instruction (not the target content) or communicative situations where L2 speakers are talking among themselves but in the presence of (a) foreigner(s) whom they do not want to exclude or isolate. If those options were considered, it would be unlikely to conceive a scenario where L2 speakers do not change each other’s Englishes in an unpredictable way and scale by regularly interacting. Therefore, L2 speakers of English who have the same L1 or similar prior linguistic repertoires may have a more varied and fluid development of their English repertoire than what is proposed in Mauranen’s (2012, 2018) *similects*.

Who is an ELF user?

Although the works cited above seem to portray their view of ELF as communication solely among multilingual speakers of English, more recent perspectives such as the one expressed in Cogo (2012:97) denote that “ELF (...) is used in contexts which, though

traditionally linked with the expanding circle countries (...) can also involve speakers from both the mother tongue and post-colonial contexts”. Therefore, ELF talk may include L1 speakers and those who have English as one of their official languages. Later, the scope is widened a little more, and “English as a lingua franca [is considered] to mean a contact language between speakers or speaker groups when at least one of them uses it as a second language” (Mauranen, 2018:8). Thus, ELF is described by Mauranen as the linguistic exchanges that have the participation of at least one multilingual speaker of English, establishing L2 English presence, not its predominance, as a condition.

### Cultural and Ideological stands in ELF

Although ELF is used by speakers with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, it cannot be considered a neutral use of language. Like in any language use, it is impossible to ‘neutralise’ English of its cultural baggage or values (Jenkins, 2007; Baker, 2011; Cogo, 2012b). Instead, it is continuously changed and influenced by its history, its surroundings, its users’ backgrounds, as well as their level of communicative ability and goals. Notably, ELF causes an unprecedentedly rapid rate of change to the English language in circulation and ELF users’ repertoires, given its number of speakers and the consequent variety of contexts, purposes of interactions and frequency of contact with ‘diverse’ users. In this context, ELF research takes an ideological stand by investigating how language is used for effective communication by or in contact with speakers of English that have historically been considered learners or simply deficient users compared to L1 speakers of English.

From the beginning, ELF scholars have been discussing and debating language ideology, native speaker ideology, and their own ideologies. After all, a single perspective of ideology, discourse, power and truth would not benefit any research field (Baker, 2015). In line with this thinking, Baird et al. (2014) express the need to avoid a priori assumptions in studying multi-layered intercultural encounters, typical of ELF investigations. Instead, they suggest that “characterisations of power relationships, and other relationships, are only established after careful investigation” (p.122). Although I will not focus on ideological issues, my empirical data analysis envisages deepening the understanding of intercultural awareness levels in the negotiation of cultural understanding in ELF. Hence, this research is ideological for its ambition to contribute towards future advances in ELF theorisation and ELF-aware teaching, which are both, by nature, emancipative regarding the long-standing power relations of cultural and linguistic elitism.

## Recent developments in ELF research

Just like it happens to most research fields, ELF research has evolved, and those changes have generated some confusion amongst researchers both from within and outside the field. For this reason, I will discuss here Jenkins's (2015) article, as it recapitulates the repositioning of English within multilingualism and theoretically interweaves this view with relevant related concepts.

The development of the research field English as a Lingua Franca, which had its first empirical efforts in the 1980s, has been developed in three main stages or phases and is, according to Jenkins (2015), and is currently at its 3rd phase (Jenkins, 2015). The first one, called 'ELF 1', focused on linguistic form or features (such as the use of the third person singular zero) and the pursuit of the identification of an ELF variety or varieties to substitute Standard Englishes in language teaching. Except for the seminal phonological study published in Jenkins (2000), still valued for recognising the primordial role of accommodation skills in the articulation of the Lingua Franca Core (LFC) construct, this phase is considered to be distant from where ELF research is today. It has been more common to find ELF research that focuses on its second phase (cf. Cogo, 2012).

In 'ELF 2', the data on the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) (Seidlhofer, 2001) and The Corpus of English as Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) (Mauranen, 2003) showed that ELF was much more fluid and hybrid than ELF scholars had thought at first. Hence, the focus of ELF 2 became the processes of variability and diversity in the negotiation of meaning through the English used by multilingual speakers. In the agreement that ELF use transcended first language boundaries, ELF studies distanced themselves from what was proposed in the World Englishes field. Jenkins prefers the concept of 'similects' discussed above to describe the influence of one's first language in his/her English. It is also highlighted that, in this phase, empirical data started being analysed about pragmatic strategies used to prevent and resolve misunderstandings or non-understandings in ELF talk. Moreover, intercultural communication in ELF added other nuances to what can be negotiated during ELF interactions. Both pragmatic strategies and intercultural aspects of ELF will be explored further about the goal of this research in their own sections.

In 'ELF 3', the reconceptualisation of ELF concerning multilingualism is proposed by Jenkins. She defends that multilingualism must be foregrounded in ELF studies because it has the potential to contribute towards the complexification of ELF

research itself, shedding light on multi-layered theorisations that have not been explored enough. By repositioning English like so, the aim envisioned is to acknowledge this particular language as just one of the communication resources available in a multilingual's repertoire.

Besides Jenkins (2015, 2018) and Cogo (2012, 2018), some other works have already dialogued with the positioning of English in respect to multilingualism. For instance, the idea of 'lingua franca multilingualism' celebrates the idea of not prioritising any one language within the mix of languages and consequential deconstruction of hierarchies it brings and becomes an "important message" (Jenkins, 2017:69) for thinking about ELF within multilingualism. That is, the advocacy for the approach of a 'human monolingualism' through a borderless language agrees with the decentralisation of English in the multilingual pool of resources proposed in 'ELF 3', which stands for a more fluid take on international communication.

Another example that resonates with the notion of ELF speakers put forth in 'ELF 3' is the idea of the plurilingual speaker's 'repertoire' instead of the 'competencies' one has reached in each language, treating the co-existence of languages as an 'integrated competence' (Canagarajah, 2013). The speaker's competence as a communicator is shown to select features of (a) particular language(s) for each situation. In other words, language is not viewed as separate from other aspects of communication. Instead, "language awareness is combined with intercultural competence" (p.20). Under this perspective, it means to say that multilingual speakers of English use their multilingualism to enhance their communication skills with a higher number of resources to draw on than monolingual L1 speakers of English. They also have to be more aware of the social rules of the use of such plural repertoire.

The construct of a plurilingual English (Canagarajah, 2009) describes the English that is influenced by one's first language(s) while at the same time not being bounded nor stable enough to be codifiable. That is, speakers can, "without accommodating to a simple uniform code, negotiate their Englishes for intelligibility and effective communication" (p.7). Likewise, ELF is a space of fluid relationship between English and other languages and is negotiated ad hoc by its speakers in a process that can be seen as 'accommodation' to their interlocutors and/or communicative goals. ELF is also less stable than a creole language, as it does not allow for much predictability of its specific features based on traditional categorisations of language influence such as nationality or L1(s) of its speakers.

Translingua Franca English (Pennycook, 2010) recognises how all use of English is interconnected, part of “a local practice”, and shows people’s “language histories and means of interpretation” (p.685). Indeed, the notion of Translingua Franca English proposed by Pennycook underscores the unproductivity of debating the status of specific varieties of English (whether they are an actual variety of English or just used as a lingua franca). Instead, it would be more profitable to turn researchers’ attention to how English is negotiated via each speaker’s language histories and means of interpretation.

Researchers are provoked into viewing the pluralisation of English as an ideological take on language that calls for a more complex approach. By taking into account one’s language history, it is possible to look at how an individual is affected by and affects others through linguistic practices. When one takes language as a means of interpretation, negotiation via English becomes a means to achieve shared understanding. Such emphasis on the influence of the local and the relevance of the co-existence of English with one’s first/other language(s) is what Jenkins believes in highlighting multilingualism over English, which is congruent with her notion of English as a Multilingua Franca (EMF) (Jenkins, 2015).

In sum, the most significant difference between what ELF questions and what EMF confronts is that the native/non-native speaker differentiation is less relevant than the distinction of “intercultural communication between monolingual or multilingual English users” (Jenkins, 2018:72). In other words, what is more relevant in EMF is whether speakers of English have in their linguistic repertoire only English or if it also includes a more extensive range of linguistic resources composed of some knowledge of other languages. Hence, the multilingualism of ELF speakers generates a differentiated English with its cultural baggage consisting of each speaker’s experiences, which makes every ELF interaction an instance of multi-layered intercultural communication. Although EMF does embody a more up-to-date understanding of ELF, for the sake of consistency, in this dissertation, I will continue to use the term ELF to refer to the mode of communication used by multilingual speakers of English as it is proposed in Jenkins (2015, 2018).

The complexity of ELF

The discussion above shows that ELF is all but a simplification of English. If anything, it is a complexification of it. In line with this view, Complexity Theory (CT) becomes a suitable theoretical metaphor for ELF research (Larsen-Freeman, 2018). A system is considered complex if its components are simultaneously interconnected and context-dependent. The interactions of those components have a non-linear nature that makes up a dynamic system, which is open and self-organising. CT is a contemporary “metatheory” (p.52) that searches for “patterns in the flux of performance” (p. 54) but keep their stability through reciprocal causality - elements influencing one another while they interplay.

CT is consonant with ELF studies because it views language as a Complex Adaptive System (CAS) (Seidlhofer, 2011). That is, the patterns in ELF interactions are perceived as assembled in a way that renders language flexible to suit intentions, interlocutors, and the context. Besides being emergent and fluid, there are multiple levels and scales in a complex system such as ELF. The inherent multilingualism of ELF interactions makes them a space where communication and identities (and culture) are constructed and managed. Although identity and culture are concepts that can overlap, I will attempt to focus only on the discussion of cultural aspects in ELF communication. CT is aligned with ELF research goals because it also challenges the native speaker hegemony by questioning the dualities ‘error’ versus ‘innovation’ and ‘learner’ versus ‘user’. From a CT perspective, those issues are just a matter of monolingual or multilingual standpoints (Larsen-Freeman, 2018). In other words, a ‘linguistic error’ will be an error if compared to a fixed target, usually the standard variety of a language, denoting a monolingual understanding and use of language. However, from the multilingual perspective, when a multilingual speaker uses language differently from its L1 speakers, it can be seen as the natural development of the language, which is likely to have been influenced by one’s multilingual repertoire.

Over three decades ago, Gumperz (1982) already pointed to the addition of cultural forms as the element that distinguishes bilinguals from monolinguals, one of the first steps towards a positive take on bilingualism. He also stated that bilinguals had a more developed awareness of differences in ways of talking and behaving that can be used according to their own goals:

(...) the awareness that their own mode of behaviour is only one of several possible modes, that style of communication affects the interpretation of what a speaker intends to communicate and that there are others with different communicative conventions and standards of evaluation that must not only be



taken to account, but that can also be imitated or mimicked for special communicative effect (Gumperz, 1982: 65).

Today this statement can be applied to the multilingual English speakers' default advantage of knowing that one's "style of communication affects the interpretation of what a speaker intends to communicate". It is inherent to them because they are likely to have had their own experiences navigating the distances between different ways of perceiving and interpreting the world while learning their L2(s). This multi-characterisation equips L2 speakers with an awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity that enables them to engage in ELF talk with a more flexible approach to diverse understandings than a monolingual speaker.

From within this diverse range of resources and challenges, the speakers participating in the present study interact. The contribution envisaged to the ELF research is investigating the elements at play when multilinguals are negotiating understandings in conversations that aim to build personal connections. This research will expand the contexts studied in ELF research and approach intercultural communication through ELF from the new combination of two primary theoretical constructs, intercultural awareness and pragmatic strategies.

## 1.2 Communication in Faith-based Communities and Face-Work

The present study is conducted in the relational context of two faith-based *communities of practice* (Wenger, 1998). Although one can approach a faith-based community expecting it to have a more socially evened dynamics that is welcoming to different social classes and cultural backgrounds, research shows that it is still a realm where power and personal relations play an important part. For instance, the more orthodox the community is, the more power of influence is attributed to the ministers/elders and to other authority figures like teachers, parents and grandparents. This typical configuration has an impact on how Negotiation of meaning is carried out (Fader, 2006), and it may be the reason why most of the research on the communication of faith-based communities has focused on the conversation between ministers or between ministers and community members (McNamee, 2011; Fader, 2006). On the other hand, I will be studying the talk of the community members who are not part of the senior team of the church. This way, it is possible to see those interactions as part of the continuum of the participants' personal lives, which may also characterise, to an extent, their behaviour in other social groups with whom they associate.

McNamee (2011) provides a useful categorisation of the kinds of talk that pervade faith-based contexts in her study on Faith-Based Organisational Communication and Identity/Identification. The ethnographic analysis of the talk of Baptist Church leaders' meetings generated the following discursive codes: "keep the faith", "secular thinking", and "business as usual". The "keep the faith" code (McNamee, 2011:430) was characterised by occasions when the central position of the talk was taken by religious/spiritual values and the role of spiritual disciplines such as scripture reading and prayer during the meetings. This category will be utilised to classify moments in the conversations in the data if the speakers refer to spiritual themes.

The second code, "secular thinking", is revealed in ways of talking and reference to particular topics that include the practices of "secular" organisations, which means non-faith-based. McNamee exemplifies this code occurrences with terms from her data like "hard numbers," "fiscal trends," "deficit spending," and "strategically aligning the church's core competencies" (McNamee, 2011:431). She interprets those terms as evidence that the church also needs "codified goals and standards" for "decision-making and action". Therefore, in the same way, church meetings go into a "secular" mode to deal with everyday life things, my participants are even more likely to present a broader range of non-faith-related topics. That can be predicted because the goal of the meetings of both communities whose talks will be analysed is socialising beyond the church services and beyond the missional community outward-looking activities. However, the practical value in exploring the overarching context of this study's interactions as a faith-based one is in the possible effect that the values such as kindness, non-judgement and compassion, which are emphasised especially in the charismatic group of Christians (Poloma, 1997), may have in the development of the Negotiations.

The last code, "business as usual" was revealed through expressions that showed a routine in the meetings represented in phrases like "moving things along" and "let's get started" (McNamee, 2011:432). Another demonstration of how things were done as usual could also be found in the hardcopy materials in the form of agendas, meeting minutes containing information such as financial summaries and schedules. This discursive code can be considered the linguistic manifestation of the shared repertoire of practices of a faith-based Community of Practice (CoPs) (Wenger, 1998), the framework chosen to describe the communities whose communicative practices will be analysed here.

Many cultural practices and world views are introduced to novices/children/new members of faith-based communities through talk. An extreme example of that cycle is

reported by Jader (2006) in 'Learning faith: language socialisation in a community of Hasidic Jews'. Jader uses the research paradigm of Language Socialization to analyse how the discursive practices of Hasidic women (caregivers) and parents are used to teach children of an enclave community of Jews how to become "competent members" of their society (p.210).

For instance, Jader's findings showed that whenever a question that was considered irrelevant or inappropriate was asked, it was entirely ignored by both the caregiver and the child's peers. Besides, when a request was made by the children and denied by the caregiver, the Torah (sacred book of the Jews) was used as the justification. These practices were supported by the underlying core belief that "the wishes of authority figures [are] more important than one's individual feelings or desires" (p.218). This is not to say that all faith-based communities are necessarily authoritative in how they communicate their views. However, Jader's study points to the effects that different degrees of authority or lack thereof ascribed to particular people may influence how much divergent perspectives are heard or engaged with at all. That is one way that describing the kinds of interpersonal relationships and their goals may affect the development of the conversations that will be analysed in this study. Those studies also pointed to the gap in the research of talk between church members only. The present research will address this perspective, allowing for a better appreciation of the intersection between faith and the local communities since the relationships at play are primarily personal, although within the faith context.

Social roles within a group have on interactions can be linked to the interactional aspect of communication called face-work. According to Goffman (1967:5), "the term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact...as when a person makes good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself". This concept proposes that there are measures that one takes to 'protect' oneself from the disapproval of others by attempting to meet their expectations in social interactions. Using the let-it-pass strategy, for instance, may denote one's preoccupation about "being in the wrong face" by doing something incongruent with his/her role in that group or "being out of face" (p.8) by not saying what others expected him/her to say.

For this reason, it becomes relevant to any social encounter, and maybe more so to morally loaded contexts such as faith-based ones, with a high value for expressing kindness, to consider the participants' concern about the possibility of someone's "defacement" (Goffman, 1967:10-11). If the overarching goal of the interactions is to

grow deeper in personal connection, being right about something may be less critical, and face threat may be lower than in other settings. This variable may influence how comfortable participants behave with each other when they choose to pursue a clearer understanding of vague terms or practices. Consequently, it may be the contextual cause of ‘not-letting-it-pass’ occurrences that shape the display of ICA levels and the use of other pragmatic strategies.

### 1.3 An overview of the chapters

In the literature review chapter, I will explore relevant literature that will support and position the present study within intercultural communication and pragmatics developments. Having explored the definition of ELF and what that means to this study, in section 2.1, I set out to explain why I will prefer to use the term ‘negotiation of understandings’ rather than ‘negotiation of meaning’. Starting from the definition of meaning as literal (semantic) or contextual (pragmatic), I propose that ‘meanings’ are shared by a speech community, but understandings are the interpretations and uses of those meanings. So, meanings can be found in the imaginary of social groups and generally go through a more complex and longer process to change within the community. However, ‘understandings’ are found in the interactants’ practices and repertoires and can be changed through a single conversation. Therefore, in this study, only the ‘negotiation of understandings’ through the participants’ practices will be examined.

Next, in section 2.2, various pragmatic strategies will be presented as the way ELF users have been skillfully handling the variability and fluidity of ELF communication. Featuring then the observable patterns that will later be related to Intercultural Awareness levels, I will critically adhere to definitions and present examples of studies of naturally occurring conversation extracts where those strategies were found.

Having described the pragmatic constructs as one of the patterns that will be examined in the communicative practices of this study, I will consider the nature of the content of those utterances by discussing the characteristics of intercultural communicative practices through ELF in section 2.3. To establish what I mean by ‘culture’, in section 2.3.1, I adopt a post-structuralist perspective that views culture as a “way of life” (Baker, 2015:50), a “Complex Adaptive System” (Cameron and Larsen-Freeman, 2007) and a verb (Street, 1993), because it is in the doing that culture is built, defined and transformed. In line with this definition, in section 2.3.2, I explore how language and culture are both overlapping and separate through the language-culture

nexus (Risager, 2006): language (language and linguaculture) and discourse. I discuss how viewing the relationship between language and linguaculture will rely on the generic or differential sense (Risager, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2012), which are similar to the notions of macro or micro perspective (Baker, 2015).

Then, in section 2.3.3, I transition from the conceptualisation of the nature of language and linguaculture to present what has been said about culturally-based misunderstandings in ELF studies. Given that very few misunderstandings in the studies reported were originated in cultural differences, I highlight the need to theorise further how those misalignments are being avoided or resolved.

As a foundation for the coming discussion, in section 2.3.4, I outline the differences among the perspectives from which cross-cultural, intercultural and transcultural studies approach communication. Then, I choose to continue using intercultural communication to critically stay connected with the theoretical flow that started mainly with Byram (Byram, 1997, 2021), which was also influenced by Kramsch (1993, 1998, 2006, 2012) and has been prolifically used in ELF research by Baker (2011, 2012, 2015, 2018).

To begin with, in section 2.3.5, I point out that the most significant theoretical turns in the field of Linguistics have been motivated by the desire to understand and describe communication in new interactional contexts. That is why the Linguistic Theory (Chomsky, 1965) was challenged by the Communicative Competence (CC) (Hymes, 1972), and why CC was expanded into Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) (Byram, 1997). After describing ICC and select its most relevant savoirs for this investigation, I share in some of the criticism that has been given to ICC's perceived take on nation, language, and culture. Moreover, I point out, via Matsuo (2012, 2015) and Zhu (2015) the absence of the aspect of reciprocity (Negotiation) in the ethnographic learning process proposed in the ICC model. Moving on, in response to how communication has been carried out in an increasingly multilingual world, Intercultural Awareness (ICA) was proposed to address the complexities of the interactional context of ELF intercultural communication (Baker, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2018).

In section 2.3.6, the ICA is laid out as a theoretical model for language education with three levels for the development of Intercultural Awareness. The first two were heavily based on ICC, but the third expanded Byram's 'critical cultural awareness' to go beyond the rigid national and linguistic boundaries and encompass the complexity, fluidity, and liminality of ELF. Then, I propose that the ICA theoretical model can also deepen our understanding of the underlying processes of negotiating cultural

understandings. While my adaptation of the theoretical model into an analytical one is only detailed in the Methodology chapter, section 3.5.5, I explain that my study will focus on the ‘practice orientated’ side of ICA by assessing ICA levels and the identification of pragmatic strategies.

In section 2.3.7, having considered the pragmatic functions and the conversations' intercultural awareness content, I explore Zhu's (2015) Negotiation model that describes the normative and emergent nature of Negotiations of cultural understandings through ELF. She analyses the transformation that occurs to the understanding of a term or a communicative practice through interaction with the perspectives/experiences of other interlocutors. This model is an essential part of my analysis, as it provides the framework for the background storytelling that precedes the principal analysis.

In the methodology chapter, I will explain how I plan to investigate how ICA levels and pragmatic strategies interrelate in ELF Negotiations of cultural understandings. Through those methods, I will identify and describe:

- . narratives of the relational nature and leading enterprise of the faith-based communities of practice who participated in this study;
- . displays of ICA levels in the Negotiation of cultural understandings;
- . patterns in the displays of ICA levels that impacted how the Negotiations unfolded, revealing the recurrent characteristics of the beginning, middle, and ending;
- . patterns in the use of particular pragmatic strategies in and around displays of particular ICA levels.

Since I am proposing the expansion and combination of previous theoretical constructs to analyse communicative practices in a new context and with new objectives, this thesis will be defined as an exploratory case study. The research questions will be discussed in detail in section 3.1, and the social context of the research will be described according to the notion of Communities of Practice (Wenger, 1998) and linguistic and cultural super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007, 2017) in sections 3.2 and 3.3. Then, I will explain how my participation as a researcher participant, both an insider and an outsider, affected the research project in section 3.4.

When detailing my methodological choices, in section 3.5, I will explain how Conversation Analysis (CA) will be used here in combination with an ethnographic perspective (not an ethnographic study) that complements it. In other words, the analysis of how the utterances interact with each other as participants attempt to communicate will be supported by the ethnographic data generated through observations, interviews,

questionnaires, and documents. Therefore, I will elaborate on why this is predominantly a CA study to examine culture-related communicative practices.

Section 3.5.5 is where I expand Baker's (2011, 2012, 2015, 2018) ICA model by adding items and adapting details to the outline of communicative practices. Those adaptations will describe the practices that will be considered displays of Level 1, 2, and 3 in a Negotiation of cultural understandings. This chapter is closed with a discussion of the limitations of the study.

The analysis chapter is organised into three main parts. First, in sections 4.1, I will analyse the narratives about the communities of practice from the perspective of the participants by observing how they defined the purpose(s) and practice(s) of the communities. That data will come from the interviews, questionnaires, and the broader church community's website and will be examined according to the categories of faith-based communication and face-work presented in the literature review. Next, in section 4.2, I will clarify what I mean by the distinction between linguistic and cultural understandings and analyse a conversation where that line of separation is at times blurred.

The analysis of the main conversation data will be carried out from section 4.3. First, the conversations will be presented in full, followed by an overview of the changes that happen to the topic being negotiated. Then, that story will become the background as I zoom into the extracts and, utterance by utterance, identify and describe the displays of ICA levels and pragmatic strategies of the interaction.

The findings of that analysis will be organised and theorised in the discussion chapter, divided into two main parts. In section 5.1, I will present the description of the Level 0 ICA, the indication of 'cultural unawareness' communicative practices, which became part of the ICA levels assessed in the analysis. Then, I will look at how the order of appearance of each ICA level in the conversations seemed to have affected the unfolding of those Negotiations. The main findings were patterns at the beginning of the Negotiations that seem to have impacted the level of complexity attributed to the topics discussed. The ending of all the conversations was also marked by displays of high ICA levels (2-3).

In the second half of the discussion chapter, from section 5.2, I will explore the interrelation between ICA levels and the pragmatic strategies found by identifying how many times the strategies occurred and, when relevant, the discursive and interactional functions they had, in and around particular ICA levels. Besides showing patterns of occurrence that characterised how ICA levels were expressed and responded to, this path

of analysis has also resulted in patterns found at the beginning of the Negotiations concerning the way pre-emptive and post-trouble Negotiations were initiated.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, I will summarise the most relevant findings and suggest how future research could investigate if and how some of those phenomena, which could be studied in isolation, occur in other interactional contexts. I also point out that, while this thesis is not a pedagogical theorisation of ELF, the findings of this exploratory analysis of conversations has the potential to expand the theorisation of relevant linguistic and discursive practices that can inform and inspire future developments in ELF-aware pedagogy.



## 2 Literature Review

Intercultural communication permeates all kinds of societal roles, socioeconomic classes, and agendas and stands out more substantially in this increasingly mobile and connected era. In this scenario, English as a Lingua Franca research field responds with the investigation of how communication is taking place through English, the most common language used by speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds, to achieve a variety of communicative goals.

More specifically, to lay the theoretical foundations for my study on how pragmatic strategies contribute to the negotiation of cultural understanding in ELF communication, I will explore three main topics. First, a differentiation between meaning and understanding(s) will be proposed. Then, I will present the characterisation and data analysis of pragmatic strategies from some of the most relevant studies published on the pragmatics of ELF. After defining what is meant by misunderstandings and non-understandings, the strategies will be presented in two groups: general pragmatic strategies and those more predominantly interactional. The former will include pre-emptive moves such as repetitions, repairs, metadiscourse, completion overlaps, comprehension checks, metadiscourse, and post-trouble moves characterised by general or minimal queries, direct questions and reformulations, and clarification requests. The interactional strategies will include moves to manage the talk such as backchannels, let-it-pass and make-it-normal, simultaneous talk (overlaps), utterance completions, discourse markers, and mediation. This categorisation of strategies is not rigid in any way, which means that some of those strategies can fluctuate between the general and interactional sides of the spectrum.

Third, the relationship between culture and language will be discussed through the lenses of an intercultural approach to communication that acknowledges the fluidity of cultural and linguistic borders relevant to the negotiation of meaning in ELF interactions. This conceptualisation is followed by the questioning of cultural differences as inherently problematic to communication. Then, to distinguish similar theoretical perspectives that discuss the role of culture in language and vice-versa, I will explore the differentiation between cross-cultural, intercultural and transcultural communication and explain why and what I mean when I use the term 'intercultural communication'. Next, I will present the construct Intercultural Awareness (ICA) as a model that adapts Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) to assess the level of awareness of the speaker engaging in the negotiation of cultural understanding in ELF talk. Then,

negotiation processes will be analysed more closely and be characterised as one of the primary communicative practices of selection and deployment of resources by participants with diverse linguacultural backgrounds to achieve understanding. Lastly, I will explore studies that looked into the communication of faith-based communities and utilise the pragmatic concept of face-work to consider implications of the interactional context and overarching communicative goals of the communities researched.

## 2.1 Negotiating Meaning or Understandings?

Meaning is an abstract notion that exists outside the individual as a communal possession. As Kroeger (2018:4) puts it, “perhaps the most important fact about word meanings is that they must be shared by the speech community: speakers of a given language must agree, at least most of the time, about what each word means”. Concerning the study of meaning, semantics generally examines the “inherent” (ibid.) or “literal” (Birner, 2013:1) meaning of words and expressions, while pragmatics is concerned with what people meant by what they said, the “additional meaning” that is linked to its context of use (ibid.). Both literal and pragmatic meanings are social constructions legitimised through a process of social ratification. That is, the way linguistic innovation or a new meaning/form comes about includes: (a) a significant number of people using it; (b) the location where it is being used; (c) appearing in grammars, dictionaries, and the like; (d) being ratified by teachers and examination entities; and becoming (e) widely accepted (Bangbose, 1998:11).

Thinking about conversations as the place where the meaning-making process begins also demands considering what ‘meaning’ means at the experiential level. Cruse (2000:27) defines ‘utterance meaning’ as “the totality of what the speaker intends to convey by making an utterance, within certain necessary limits”. So, it is the message that carries the intention of transmitting specific information to the receiver. Nevertheless, what is expressed is also “a particular construal of, or way of thinking about, the situation” (Kroeger, 2018:16). In other words, what the speaker intends to say is communicated through the lens of how they understand/think about a topic.

I propose that meaning exists in the shared repertoire of a social group, but understanding is the interpretation of meanings in the communicative repertoire and practices of the individual. So, when speakers try to prevent or resolve communication problems, we can observe the individual's understanding (of a meaning) being explained, expanded, and changed. Although negotiations of understandings can be considered a

meaning-making process at the micro-level, to extrapolate the sphere of personal experience and change meaning in the broader community, they would need to undergo the innovation process outlined above.

The need to negotiate understandings generally comes from misalignments between the frames of reference shaped by the individuals' linguistic and/or linguacultural repertoires (Zhu, 2015). Negotiations of understandings are part of our daily lives and occur across age groups, genders, political views, and all social groupings individuals subscribe to, not only across national groups. However, while the 'negotiators' of understandings may often share the same L1 and many cultural aspects, negotiating understandings becomes more necessary and more multi-layered in multilingual encounters mediated by a lingua franca. In the case of ELF, for instance, the understanding of a word or expression conveyed in conversation is often not restricted to the norms of L1 English pragmatics or sufficiently explained by the "physical" or "discursive" contexts of the interaction (Cruse, 2011:8). Besides, some meanings are predominantly linguistic (more concrete and part of the shared human experience) and others are more heavily dependent on a social group's<sup>1</sup> cultural understandings and practices. Since ELF speakers are mostly multilingual, their understandings will communicate literal and pragmatic meanings from more than one linguistic community. For this reason, ELF users are likely to (knowingly or unknowingly) refer to things and practices particular to a linguaculture that may or may not be shared by the other interlocutor(s), creating the need for negotiation when misalignments happen. In line with this perspective, Zhu (2015:66) suggests a new focus for studies in Intercultural Communication that investigates further how we negotiate *understandings*:

By moving away from the traditional cultural account approach which attributes problems in interactions involving participants from different cultural backgrounds to culture, IC studies should focus on not only how individuals make use of their different linguistic and cultural resources to negotiate understanding, but also the impact of perceived differences (be it socio-cultural or linguistic) on the process of interaction.

The unique composition of each participant's experiences makes his/her perceptions and views also unique because individuals belong to several social groups but subscribe to a different extent to those groups' characteristics. Having that in mind, I will use 'understandings' in the pluralised form to denote the existence of at least two different

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<sup>1</sup> The discussion on the distinction between the linguistic and cultural aspects of language can be found in the literature review chapter, section 2.3.2, and in the analysis chapter, section 4.2.

people in the negotiation of cultural understandings. Paraphrasing Bamgbose's (1998:11) famous quote, "it is people, not [the abstract meaning of] language codes, that understand one another".

It is also essential to state that the cultural understandings displayed through communicative practices (both verbal and non-verbal) may differ from the participants' cognitive part of their understandings. Given the goals of this investigation, Conversation Analysis (CA) was selected as the primary method of analysis and will only reveal the 'expressed' understanding of the research participants. Next, I will explore the theoretical constructs utilised to describe the pragmatic aspects of the communicative practices I will be examining.

## 2.2 Pragmatic Strategies in ELF talk

In ELF settings, it has been found that the linguistic non-standardness of its users is not determining factor of how successful the negotiation of understandings will be. Instead, speakers of English in a lingua franca context make do with their ability to deploy pragmatic strategies to prevent and tackle communication problems, showing a 'pragmatic fluency' that gets things done (Björkman, 2011). Given there are many pragmatic strategies studied in the field of Pragmatics, and each one of them could have its own literature review chapter, I have chosen to explore in this chapter only the pragmatic strategies that have appeared in ELF related publications. There will be two main subsections: pragmatics strategies and management of talk. Both categories of strategies can be considered part of the negotiation of understandings, which can begin pre-emptively or when an indicator of a problem in communication is produced. Therefore, first and foremost, it is essential to clarify what the terms 'misunderstanding' and 'non-understanding' mean in this study.

A misunderstanding situation is characterised by the occurrence of an interpretation that differs from the intended message of the uttering speaker without anyone involved noticing the misalignment when it happens (Bremer, 1996). In the case of non-understandings, at least one of the interlocutors involved realises the mismatch of understandings when it happens and engages in sorting it out. Previous studies have shown that misunderstandings are not common in ELF talk. In fact, following a CA approach to her data, Kaur (2011) found that it was not possible to locate any misunderstanding occurrences related to cultural differences. However, there were misunderstandings caused by linguistic and general knowledge discrepancies, such as

ambiguity, performance-related issues, language-related, and gaps in world knowledge. Since misunderstandings were found to be rare, those research results underscore the need to investigate how non-understandings, which are part of the meaning-making process, are prevented or resolved through negotiation.

In ELF communication, diversity is the only constant. For this reason, ELF speakers' have an inherent sensitivity to the possibility of linguistic and cultural mismatches that can cause misunderstandings. They "are prone to taking certain steps in order to avoid possible misunderstanding at the onset" (Cogo, 2009:257). Whether the composition of the group is made of multilinguals only or include L1 speakers of English, they know that an ELF interaction is likely to demand and allow for more flexibility than what is expected of communication within groups that have similar linguacultural backgrounds.

Intelligibility is not something that just happens. It is reached through negotiation (Jenkins, 2000:79). Many factors beyond pronunciation can play a role in how intelligible an utterance is to an individual or group. Three levels of intelligibility were categorised in Smith (1992). At the first level, 'intelligibility' stands for recognising words (pronunciation and vocabulary related). At the second, 'comprehensibility' occurs when a word, phrase or sentence is understood in its literal meaning (vocabulary and grammar related), and at the third and more complex level is 'interpretability', which contains the pragmatic meaning (linguaculture related). Then, it can be said that the level of intelligibility that will be the focus of the negotiations studied here will be interpretability. I will be analysing conversations where understandings of culturally based meanings particular to the way of communicating of a group are clarified or fine-tuned to avoid non-/misunderstandings.

When exploring how understanding is achieved, both pre-emptive and post-trouble strategies are relevant. That is due to the fact "moments of meaning negotiation do not necessarily begin with an indicator of a side sequence: they could take place without a repair sequence as such, within the flow of conversation" Cogo and Dewey (2012:127). Pre-emptive strategies are deployed to support or to ensure understanding, not only to avoid breakdowns in communication. When strategies are used to manage the conversation, they keep the conversation going to support and/or increase understanding. Moving on to the pragmatic strategies themselves, I will bring some conceptualisations and examples from ELF studies to support my analysis.

### 2.2.1 Self-repetition

It is common for speakers to repeat themselves or repeat what others have said to achieve several goals in communication. Repetitions may be classified broadly into self-repetition or other-repetition. Here, I will set forth seven types and goals for repetition found in the works of ELF scholars, starting from self-repetition, then moving on to other-repetition strategies. First, Björkman (2013:131) brings the strategy of *repetition for emphasis*, exemplified in the self-repetition use of ‘very’ below:

- (275) <S2> if you have a homogenous process it's very very tricky to separate er er the catalyst from the the product </L2>  
(276) <S3> upgrade it liquid to gaseous fuel and the very very commercial standard process of today </L3>

In the extract above, the repetition of ‘very’ means that the “homogenous process” referred to by S2 is more than “very tricky”. It is incredibly tricky. Hence, “very very tricky” is used to double emphasize ‘tricky’. Another type of self-repetition is the *repetition of disfluencies*. In this case, it is a strategy used to keep the utterance going while one is thinking about what to say, as it can be observed in the extract below:

- (283) <S2> yeah yeah if i am if i am [right] </L2>  
(284) <S1> and I said I said yeah I am sitting in front of a picture for the whole thing and I said only two thousand he said yeah </S1>

(Björkman, 2013:131)

In this conversation, S2 looks for the word ‘right’ the first time he says “if i am”, but it only comes to mind the second time he says “if i am”. This way, the uttering speaker repeats him/herself instead of creating silence or using fillers such as ‘hmm’, ‘er’, ‘ah’, etc. Likewise, *parallel phrasing* can be found in situations where the speaker is listing something (e.g. concepts, activities, ideas) and repeats a particular word or chunk of words to create semantic parallelism, such as in the extract below (Kaur, 2012:600):

- 1 L: You have to make it point form for us okay?  
2 V: come up with the::: what-whatever you think the-the benefits...(0.6)  
3 come up with it you know  
4 L: we want this one you know if if you can identify the benefit you just  
5 put huh first benefit what, second benefit, if you cannot find maybe you just  
6 you just leave it no benefit, we just talk about disadvantage...(0.7)

- 7           okay? disadvantage first ... (0.8) huh the second disadvantage third  
 8           Disadvantage so after that we can combine and we restructure again.  
 9    R:    hu:h so °(fast one)°

In this conversation extract, the participants are exchanging ideas about a paper they are co-authoring. Speakers L and V are explaining to speaker R that he needs to make changes in his part of the writing. Speaker L uses parallel phrasing from line 4 to 8 when talking about the use of ‘benefits’ or ‘disadvantages’ in the paper. The repetition of those items is interpreted by Kaur (2012) as a strategy to increase general understanding, and specifically to clarify what speaker L means by ‘point form’ (1.1). Both ‘benefits’ and ‘disadvantages’ are presented as a list accompanied by ordinals (first, second, and third), which characterises ‘parallel phrasing’.

*Rephrasing* is also a common type of repetition. In this case, a concept is repeated with another selection of forms. Gotti (2014) emphasises that, besides its academic relevance, rephrasing is also vital for interpersonal relations because it clarifies messages that can be hard to convey, especially in cases of discrepancy of vocabulary knowledge in a specific topic. In the extract below, a lecturer rephrases his talk due to the complexity of the topic:

- (25) L3: if you want to envisage a real social accountability that produces change (.) we should extend the social accountability beyond the legal and regulation (.) *in other words* we should as well take into consideration the quasilegal accountability

(Gotti, 2014:348)

- (27) L2: [. . .] the brand normally has a slogan and Avis said a ci\_ a fantastic slogan in marketing they said Avis (.) we try harder do you understand in english? we try harder (.) that means we do it better we do more for you

(Gotti, 2014:349)

This is an example of how rephrasing or paraphrasing can be signalled by expressions such as ‘in other words’ (p.348) or ‘that means’ (p.349), which is not always the case, as presented here:

- (26) L1: [. . .] after seven hour a physician a doctor a medical doctor got a heart disease

(Gotti, 2014:348)

In the case above, L1 does not make use of any expression to introduce the rephrasing. However, the lack of pause denotes the link between the word ‘physician’ and ‘doctor’, and ‘medical doctor’. Hence the sequence of words and expressions produced after ‘physician’ can be interpreted as a strategy to increase the explicitness by adding synonyms.

Furthermore, self-repetition by rephrasing may also be used to simplify the message, with the employment of more common words, as a strategy for explicitness (Björkman, 2014). For instance, there is self-repetition in the extract below, but there is also the rephrasing of the word ‘double’, used to ensure understanding.

Extract 1

- 1 S2: the flow and so really like what he told us at the same time
- 2 S1: buy two
- 3 S2: yeah two xx two xx two, what did he say about the distance
- 4 S1: it will be double, I mean two times
- 5 S2: two two continuous xx
- 6 S1: yeah

(Björkman, 2014:130)

In the sample above, in line 4, there are two instances of rephrasing. First, S1 rephrases what he/she said in line 2, substituting ‘two’ for ‘double’. The word ‘double’ is then clarified by the expression ‘two times’, which is introduced by an indication of explicitness, ‘I mean’. S2 responds to this information by also paraphrasing to check if what was understood is what was intended. S2 proposes ‘two two continuous’ in line 5 as the paraphrased version of S1’s utterance, hence performing a pre-emptive work during the negotiation of meaning. S2’s effort is followed by the ‘yeah’ validation from S1. Another example of rephrasing is provided in Cogo and Dewey (2012):

- 57 S1 =then...I need to meet Valerie to talk about this
- 58 year because they want to offer me a contract
- 59 S2 → they will not?
- 60 S1 they want...they want
- 61 S2 ah they want=
- 62 S1 → =they do want [but
- 63 S2 [how much?
- 64 S1 eh: I think it’s ou point eight [...I can’t believe
- 65 S2 [oh that’s good=

(Cogo and Dewey, 2012:122)

In the extract above, both speakers use pragmatic strategies to achieve understanding. First, in line 59, S2 indicates the need for clarification when s/he asks the direct question



"they will not?", which seems to have been caused by the mishearing of the word 'want' as 'won't'. That seems to be made manifest in line 60, with the double repetition of the problematic segment "they want...they want". This time, the understanding is confirmed by S2's backchanneling 'ah' and the repetition of the point being clarified, "they want". Not satisfied with that confirmation, in line 62, S1 reformulates his utterance and changes it from "they want" to "they do want [but]", making use of the addition of 'do' to emphasize the difference between 'they want' and the previously proposed 'they won't/will not'. Cogo and Dewey (2012), then underscore that, in both cases above, "it is reformulation and variation of a key element that helps in the negotiation of meaning" (p.122). That is the variation in "they will not?" and the reformulation in "they do want".

### 2.2.2 Other-repetition (Represents)

Repetition in conversation is not restricted to self-repetition. For instance, Björkman (2013) proposes the idea of 'repetition of parts of other's utterances', also seen in Cogo (2009) as 'other-repetition'. Other scholars also name them as '*represents*' (Cogo and House, 2018) or 'echoing' (Mauranen, 2012), a common pre-emptive pragmatic strategy used in ELF communication, also known as "mirror, or shadow elements - are multifunctional gambits that serve to repeat or 'represent' (part of) previous speakers' moves" (Cogo and House, 2018:214). It is where information is deliberately and routinely restated to create coherence and ensure understanding. Cogo and House provide an example of the strategic use of represents taken from the corpus of the Hamburg ELF project "Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in German Universities":

- 1 A: and if erm things like Nigerian English, Indian English which is a sort of variety in itself it should be respected
- 2 B: should be respected

(Cogo and House, 2018:214)

In this example, speaker B's repetition of "should be respected" is evidence of agreement and alignment with speaker A. It shows engagement in the conversation and understanding of the topic, but above all, that speaker B agrees with what has been said. Mauranen (2012) refers to other-repetition in her data as 'echoing' (p.221-131). She noticed that if something that has been said is evaluated positively, it may be repeated to signalling that it is correct. The author also highlights that "repeating a word or phrase

gives prominence on the item agreed on and ...maintains clarity about which concept, idea, or item is the focal one, and in this way is a very useful means for negotiations concerning concepts” (p.122). Thus, besides agreeing on the topic and showing engagement (Cogo and House, 2012:214), by repeating what has been said, one may intend to reinforce the centrality and/or work on clarifying that idea.

### 2.2.3 Self-repair

Similarly, to prevent problems in communication, speakers often repair their own talk (House and Lévy-Tödter, 2010; Kaur, 2011; Cogo and Pitzl, 2016; Cogo and House, 2018). Self-initiated repair is the reformulation of what has been said that demonstrates the speaker’s awareness of communicative effectiveness and the relevance of norms as he/she takes action to adjust their utterance to be better understood. Slightly different from ‘rephrasing’, self-repairing implies a ‘correction’ of at least one aspect of the information or its delivery. An example of a conversation where a professor self-repairs his talk is provided below:

P: the high is not important for shear for sure is is is the height <1> important </1>

(House and Lévy-Tödter, 2010:36)

In this extract, both the words ‘high’ and ‘sure’ are repaired by the speaker himself as he replaces them for ‘height’ and ‘sure’, respectively. The authors also highlight that the speaker showed in the research interview a relaxed attitude towards his competence in ELF and claimed not to be "disturbed by his expressive limitations – this despite the fact that he so often self-repaired" (House and Lévy-Tödter, 2010:36). They add, he seems pretty aware of his ELF competence and uses a "well-developed strategic competence" (ibid.). The positioning of the professor concerning his own English works as an illustration of the different goals one may have in using ELF. It seems that, to the speaker above, the main goal is to get his message across, whether he needs to repair his utterance or not.

When self-repairing, one may add more details to increase explicitness and incorporate repetition to improve clarity, such as in the extract below:

1 M: because er:: government . . .(0.6) er: government er er er gove- private  
2 er school . . .(0.7) their teacher were not paid well.. . .(1.2) so their salary  
3 is about ten dollars per month. ten US dollar per month, maximum ten  
4 US dollar per month so it’s not enough for their living

(Kaur, 2012:608)

In this case, the repetition of “ten dollars per month” with “ten US dollar per month” gives way to the reformulation that emphasizes the previous phrases and attaches more information to them with the addition of the word “maximum” at the third repetition. Self-repairing can likewise be used to tone down a statement:

<52> yeah, I mean one understanding tendency for this this big dilemma *may be might be* the this kind of obsession in progress that the modern west at least I think has...

(Mauranen, 2012:214)

In the example above, the speaker switches from ‘may be’ to ‘might be’ to show a less emphatic or precise positioning concerning the following information. To support this possibility of interpretation, Mauranen draws attention to the use of the phrase “at least I think” at the end of the utterance, which conveys the insecurity or minimization of the whole statement.

#### 2.2.4 Other-repair

Previous studies have shown that “other-corrections are rare” in ELF (Mauranen, 2012:217). Björkman (2013) also could not find any instance of it in her data. Tsuchiya and Handford (2014), however, propose the ‘not let it pass’ possibility – confronting Firth’s (1996) ‘let it pass’<sup>2</sup> strategy interpreted as typical of ELF speakers – by presenting cases of two types of other-repairs: ‘self-initiated other-repair’ - the ones initiated and completed by others, and ‘other-initiated other-repair’ - the ones initiated by others and completed by the one whose utterance/information was being repaired. Their data was collected at a business meeting setting. The authors explain that “repair here serves to clarify the previous utterances and intended meanings at the time of speaking, which may reflect the differing knowledge and practices of the differing professional groups” (Tsuchiya and Handford, 2014:124). For this reason, understanding the meanings correctly also meant that they were talking about the same practices and concepts in their business.

In the business meetings analysed by Tsuchiya and Handford (2014), “not letting it pass” is a strategy used to clarify meaning that is embedded in a display of power. The act of repairing other's talk and initiating the repair of other's talk means to expose a

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<sup>2</sup> The ‘let-it-pass’ strategy (Firth, 1996) is conceptualized and exemplified in subsection 3.3.2.

problem in someone's wording, which makes it face-threatening for everyone involved, but especially to the one who holds less power, as illustrated below:

- 02: 43: 56      Das      But I'm now worried what <\$G?> has said I have difficulty in er moving forward. If the consultants have used or compared with four five equations obviously the decision will be which offer the bigger dimensions the worst s= s= worst condition. [. . .] Er my point is I would like to know that the this checking engineer have checked whether equations that have been faithfully applied  
[based on the assumptions and others.
- 02: 45: 43 →    Chair    [Use consistently.
- 02: 45: 44 →    Das      And use consistently and numbers are correct. Second point  
whether modern design has been used I don't mind. [. . .]

(Tsuchiya and Handford, 2014:125)

In the above extract, the self-initiated other-repair performed by the 'Chair' functions to support the gist of the previous speaker's argument, Das. It also works to display the "intimacy and power relationship" (ibid.) of the two in front of the others present. The repair that happens at 02:45:43, when the Chair proposes the expression 'use consistently' as a replacement of 'have been faithfully applied' (spoken at the end of the 02:43:56 utterance) shows that the information is accurate or correct, but it could be delivered in a more specific manner. The goal seems to be making meaning clearer for the other participants of the meeting. The fact that Das welcomes the Chair's suggestion also conveys the information of a hierarchical relationship and easiness between them. Cases of 'other-initiated other-repair' have also been found, as illustrated below:

- 1 00:51:27      Kazi    So and moreover this er you have er considered Yokohama bridges  
you consider this er er
- 2 00:51:32 →    Sato    Oklahoma?
- 3 00:51:33 →    Chair    Yokohama <\$E> laugh </\$E>
- 4 00:51:34      Kazi    Yokohama bay. Okay.

(Tsuchiya and Handford, 2014:124)

In the extract above, three speakers are directly involved in the repairing of a non-understanding. First, Sato signals that he understood 'Oklahoma' when Kazi said 'Yokohama'. By indicating uncertainty, he prompts the other speakers with the need to clarify what had been said. At this point, a third person takes the floor to respond to Sato's

prompting and laughingly says 'Yokohama'. That is followed by the confirmation of the original speaker (Kazi) of the word in that segment, Kazi.

### 2.2.5 Completion Overlap

Another strategy that denotes engagement and supports understanding is the completion overlap. That takes place when the speakers talk over each other's utterance to complete what the other was saying. A completion overlap can be a response to word searching, a way to keep the pace of the interaction, or even a strategy to take over the turn (Cogo and Dewey, 2012). In the example below, the speakers engage in completion overlap to make meaning more explicit and precise:

1	S1	German film? soon...because I think there is one
2		new film coming?
3	S2	uh [uh
4	S1	[and...a lot of people...well not a lot of...my
5		my mother has... [seen it
6	S2→	[seen it=
7	S1	=in Germany and she she told it's a very it's a very
8		nice and good film

(Cogo and Dewey, 2012:148)

S2 interprets S1's hesitation as a word searching indication in this extract, responded to by S2's complement of what S1 might have been seeking. However, they speak at the same time and the exact phrase. The completion overlap performed by S2 shows listenership and involvement in the conversation.

### 2.2.6 Metadiscourse

The study of metadiscourse in ELF is relatively recent (Mauranen, 2012). As there are many different perspectives on and possible layers to metadiscourse (Adël and Mauranen, 2010), I have decided to focus on what Mauranen (2010, 2012) calls *discourse reflexivity* - the linguistic act of referencing the current text itself. This way, the analysis will focus only on the meaning-making process as it is constructed during the conversation, not outside of it. The participants' external references will be considered as internal references the moment they are added to the composition of that specific interaction. From this perspective, metadiscourse is a strategy that "imposes the speaker's perspectives on the discourse, it not only clarifies this to hearers but also reduces the negotiability of

interpretations” (Mauranen, 2012:170). Therefore, it is a tool used in communication to increase explicitness, but as a consequence, it narrows down the need for negotiation that could lead to different readings (understandings) of the item in question. Here is an example of metadiscourse used to interrupt a conversation for the ‘clarification of the topic’ being discussed:

23 <S5> [erm I’m you know] I’m getting @a bit@ confused </S5>  
24 <S9> yeah [there’s a] </S9>  
25 <S5> [are] we **talking about** the paper mill </S5>  
26 <S9> [yeah paper mill] </S9>  
27 <S5> [yes mhm-hm] </S5>  
28 <S2> [pa-] paper mill we are **talking about** the paper mill now  
29 [first] <S2>

(Mauranen, 2012:174, partial extract)

This part of the extract shows, in line 23, that S5 is requesting assistance to understand more clearly something that has been said previously in the conversation. In line 25, S5 expressly indicated that it is the conversation topic that has not been made clear and checks what (s)he believes to be the topic by asking if they are “talking about paper mill”. This question, then, refers back to the talk itself, which makes this an example of metadiscourse. That is followed by a confirmation from S9, who says “yeah paper mill”, then it is acknowledged by S5 with the backchannels “yes mhm-hm”, in line 27. Another type of metadiscourse used in a dialogue is ‘self-reference’. Mauranen (2012:177) exemplified with ELFA corpus extracts (Mauranen, 2009) how this resource may be deployed to:

- (a) offer one’s interpretations of what is going on, as in the example where the expression “I’m gathering” signals metadiscursive talk of interpretation: “But but er what **I’m gathering** here is that it’s this is more about it is Catalonia that is being protected and not not any environment”.
- (b) justify themselves: “...it’s one er of the reasons that **I explained why** er (xx) has emerged almost 25 years of the”.

(c) make evaluations:

<S4>...and thinking of whether this is an environmental movement or something else **I think it's very interesting question** and er because one of the, one could say maybe paradoxes...

Likewise, Mauranen also proposes that there is a use of metadiscourse that shows 'other-oriented reflexivity'. According to the author, it may have at least three roles:

1. Elucidation: to clarify, confirm, or expand what the previous speaker has said. Exemplified with the extract below where the uttering speaker is talking about what someone else was saying.

<S1> i- is you are you **are you saying** that er, the imagery of which the mountains are part this imagery of landscape...

2. Interpretation: to offer an interpretation of what the previous speaker has said. For instance, "...using quantification over possible worlds so *you're saying* things".
3. Springboard: to paraphrase what has been said by the previous speaker in order to change the direction of the conversation. For instance:

<S1> ...er i found this really interesting that **the mention that you made** about er, common defence of the territory or ways m- modern (world) is becoming er an important platform for political mobilisation with new activism er and this somehow er, er instead of political parties er acting as as important points of reference for these movements i i think this is something that is going on (over all) er, there seem to be various ideologies...

(Mauranen, 2012:176, emphasis in the original)

Penz's (2011) perspective presents an intercultural take on the use of metacommunication in ELF, particularly relevant to my research. She argues that metacommunication is frequently used in negotiation and in repair activities as a tool to overcome the lack of shared background knowledge in intercultural communication. In Penz (2011), the author analysed her data and catalogued the main functions of metadiscourse in intercultural group discussions as below:

1. *Code glosses/clarification of word meaning/concepts*: 'what I mean', 'have you heard of the term', 'what we are meaning', etc.

2. *Code glosses*: clarification of propositional meaning:

- (a) propositional contents: ‘does that mean’ or ‘does that mean’.
- (b) reformulation: ‘yeah...you mean’, ‘in other words’
- (c) clarification of topic: ‘are we talking about’, ‘what are we talking about’.

3. *Expressing illocutionary intent*: ‘that answers my question’, ‘what I would be interested in is’, which includes the monitoring of the interaction, the turn-taking, etc. For instance, with expressions like ‘I have just one question’, ‘I wanted to ask’.

4. *Labelling Speech activities (SAs)*:

- (a) preceding: ‘we said at the beginning’.
- (b) ongoing: ‘I’m talking on behalf of’.
- (c) subsequent: ‘maybe then we just collect’.
- (d) making the discourse structure explicit and structuring the discourse: ‘I would just like to point two things’
- (e) explicitizing common ground: ‘we need to look for what...is common, so that we can find some common denominators.’

The most high-frequency terms in the findings were ‘mean’ (for glossing). There are also *illocutionary acts/markers* (Rahman, 2004), which do not necessarily come up with intention. They mention actions such as ‘say’, ‘ask’, ‘discuss’. As I will be analysing how pragmatic strategies, like metadiscourse, are deployed to negotiate cultural understanding, the classifications above, including Mauranen (2012), contribute significantly to the theoretical foundation that links metadiscourse studies in ELF to the negotiation of cultural understanding. I want to add that it is possible to identify the metadiscursive functions being conveyed without the words or phrases listed above. For instance, in the case of metadiscursive code glossing, what is meant by a word/term can be explained via the verb to be, such as in ‘kids is just another way of calling children’. After all, the information conveyed is, ‘what I mean by ‘kids’ is that it is just another way of calling children’.

Hyland (2007) also proposes that metadiscourse can occur with the function of *booster* of a statement by “emphasiz[ing] the force or the writer’s certainty in proposition” (p.20). Examples of metadiscursive boosters in academic writing are ‘in fact’, ‘definitely’, and ‘it is clear that’ (ibid.). Boosters work almost as the opposite of hedges, but here I will present hedges as a separate pragmatic strategy.



### 2.2.7 General and Minimal Queries

General and minimal queries are different from the metadiscursive code glosses above. While in the case of code glosses the speaker is checking the understanding of what has been said by suggesting a possibility, general and minimal queries are used to signal non-understanding by posing a *generic question*. Cogo and Dewey (2012) provide the example of a general query below:

1 S1 you know I was reading the in Italy a baker won a  
2 business competition  
3 S2 → what do you mean?  
4 S1 → yeah: he won [something  
5 S2 [business competition?  
6 S1 no I mean you know there is competition between  
7 businesses  
8 S2 ah::  
9 S1 and he won against McDonald's  
10 S2 a baker?  
11 S1 a baker

(Cogo and Dewey, 2012:124)

In line 3, S2 signals the non-understanding of what S1 had just said by asking the general query ‘what do you mean?’. S1 responds with an attempt to explain what s/he meant, followed by S2’s overlapping completion with a rising intonation that narrows it down to the exact part that had not been clear: ‘business competition’. Similarly, the authors provide an example of a minimal query, a global indicator that signals the need for clarification with a short speech token such as below:

4 S1 I think I will go there more [@@@@@@@@@  
5 S3 [if you find the tickets  
6 S1 → mhm?  
7 S3 if you find the tickets  
8 S2 yeah  
9 S1 yeah of course... you have to book in advance

(Adapted from Cogo and Dewey, 2012:121)

Due to the overlap of S1's laughter and S3's utterance, in lines 4 and 5, S1 seems not to have heard well or understood to a satisfying degree what S3 had said. This fact is indicated by S1 with the minimal query, ‘mhm’ with a rising intonation that reinforces its enquiring purpose. S3 responds to this prompting by repeating precisely what s/he has

said while S1 was laughing previously. Another instance of this same strategy can be found in Cogo and Pitzl (2016: 343), where the speaker utters the word "again" with rising intonation to signal the non-understanding of the previous utterance.

### 2.2.8 Comprehension Checks

Also referred to as ‘comprehension checks’ or ‘request for confirmation’, this strategy is used to enhance “understanding and to possibly even secure it in the event that shared understanding has not yet been achieved” (Kaur, 2009:113). In other words, one of the interactants believes that the other interlocutor has understood the intended message, but he/she is requesting confirmation of that interpretation. There are many different manifestations of comprehension checks, to illustrate an explicit comprehension check, Kaur provides the extract below:

- 01 K: No I- I mean it's erm:...(3.4) this is to my understanding I  
02 think that erm er: it-it's like erm:...(1.2) erm it's like erm why  
03 SME in each regions need to go into e-trade I think this my  
04 understanding of something like this.  
05 V: no not- not need to go into e-trade. That's not what we're  
06 considering. this global response has to: ... (0.7) has to deal  
07 with ... (0.7) either... (0.7) positive response or negative  
08 response. Now if we say this is why they have to go to e-trade  
09 → that means only positive... (2.7) do you understand me? This  
10 → global response we must think... (0.6) if it is positive... (0.6)  
11 or negative in a particular country, we must state it and then...  
12 (0.7) give the instances  
13 K: °mm°

(Kaur, 2009:112)

In this case, both the function and the trigger of the confirmation/comprehension check can be seen in line 9. First, the need for checking comprehension is perceived by ‘V’ when he attempts to clarify what ‘K’ had not understood previously but does not get a response when he pauses for 2.7 seconds in line 9. Then, ‘V’ produces the ‘do you understand me?’ check followed by a rephrasing of what he had just explained. Then, understanding is achieved to a satisfactory level when K backchannels with “mm” (1.13). There are also more subtle forms of comprehension checks, such as the ones starting with the discourse marker ‘you mean’:

01 D: and the next: country is I think the sma- is er:: ...(0.6) accessible to  
 02 A-S-E-A-N is East Timor... (1.2) East Timor  
 03 K: → I- oh y-er **you mean** in::...(1.5) the futures enlargement process?  
 04 D: Yes  
 05 K: → **you mean** something like that?  
 06 D: Yes

(Kaur, 2010:201)

In the case above, the interlocutor receiving the message wishes to confirm his/her understanding, K offers a rephrased form of the information provided by D, introduced with the discourse marker ‘you mean’ in line 3. Not convinced by D's short response in the following turn, K double checks with D if he/she understood the proposed interpretation by asking another question that begins with ‘you mean’. Then, K gets a second confirmation from D, and that one is interpreted by K as attesting understanding. Likewise, Kaur (2010:202) proposes that speakers also “check on the accuracy of their understanding of a prior utterance” by adding a question tag at the end of the paraphrasing or the “candidate reading” of the topic being negotiated. Like in the conversation below:

01 D: that mean that...(0.6) we can study until:...(0.6) night and:  
 02 ...(0.7) you support this study for: er: like eh...(0.7) a instrument  
 03 like computer  
 04 A: **uhhuh...(0.9) facilities yeah?=  
 05 D: =yeah facilities °and°  
 06 A: °uhhuh°**

(Kaur, 2010:202)

In this conversation, D is describing the facilities and amenities available at the university. When he/she uses the word ‘instrument’, a non-understanding seems to occur, making speaker A request confirmation of understanding. To do so, A provides the word ‘facilities’, a candidate reading of the information communicated by D, followed by the question tag ‘yeah’. That candidate reading is acknowledged as correct by D through the short response ‘yeah’ and the repetition of the proposed word, ‘facilities’. After D’s approval, A seems confident about having understood what had been described before and backchannels with ‘uhhuh’. Comprehension checks have also appeared in previous research in the form of summarised content with question intonation, such as in this example also provided by Kaur (2010:202):

01 W: =er::: a friend called up, she needed some: help  
 02 S: oh  
 03 W: to do some work  
 04 S: yeah

05 W: so I say::: okay the pay is good...(0.5) I'm=  
06 S: → =**oh you're also working there and earn money?**  
07 W: Yeah I'm going there to make money huh[huhhuhhhuh  
08 S: [huhhuhhhuh

In the conversation extract above, speaker S summarises by rephrasing the information she understood in line 6 to check the accuracy of his/her understanding. Then, Speaker W confirms that S's proposal is correct. S shows his/her understanding by overlapping in laughter with W.

### 2.2.9 Clarification Requests

In cases where the speakers themselves feel like they did not understand to a satisfactory level something that has been said, they often use a clarification request to find information that will complement what they have understood, as in the following example:

1 <S1> I can ask them if they have have a lease a lease program</S1>  
2 <S2> lease</S2> (question intonation)  
3 <S3> lease like you</S3>  
4 <S1> rent</S1>  
5 <S3> rent</S3>  
6 <S2> rent</S2>

(Björkman, 2014:133)

In line 2, S2 signals his/her need to clarify the concept of 'lease' that S1 mentioned by repeating that word with a rising intonation, which indicates a specific enquiry about the topic. Then, S3 starts to explain the meaning of lease but is taken over by S1, who had introduced the problem-source word, and now proposes a synonym for lease, 'rent' (1.4). This input is supported by S3 and acknowledged by S2 through its repetition. Given that S2 stops the questioning there, she/he seems to be satisfied with the understanding of 'lease' reached by its offered parallelism, 'rent'. Other-repetition seems to be common in clarification requests, as they help with the specification of the item that needs to be clarified. For instance, Kaur (2010) presents a conversation extract where a question word is used in combination with a question repetition of the previous utterance:

01 D: =I-I think because er:... (0.9) it's also better if we:::come to the::  
02 ... (0.3) or just: er have a observation not: not to do interview just:  
03 observation=  
04 S: =yeah it's okay

05 D: just observations °not [interview°  
 06 S: [yeah because interview and observation is  
 07 the similar method so  
 08 D: → **what? similar: method?**  
 09 S: yeah=  
 10 D: → **=observation and interview?**  
 11 S: I-I mean the purpose is same.  
 12 D: oh okay

(Kaur, 2010:203)

After producing the clarification request in line 8, D narrows down the point of his/her request by referring back to the specifics of what S had said in line 2, ‘observation and interview’, but adding a question intonation the recall (l.10). After this second request for clarification, D gets the complementation of information that needed from S. As it can be observed in those two examples, other pragmatic strategies can be used with the function of a clarification request, which means it can either be the strategy or the function of the strategy being used. In my analysis, when it is a function, I will note both the clarification request (function) and the pragmatic strategy that is giving it form because, to an extent, they are co-occurring.

#### 2.2.10 Epistemic Hedges

When individuals are negotiating meaning, just like in any other parts of a conversation, one or more lexico-syntactical elements are often deployed “to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy”. This phenomenon is called hedging. Hedges have been studied and continuously divided into categories since its first mention by Lakoff (ibid.). For the present study, I will draw on Mauranen (1997) to approach hedges as broadly epistemic or interpersonal. The epistemic kind of hedging indicates the speaker’s commitment to the truth value or certainty of the conveyed knowledge. Therefore, this kind of hedging has a more significant impact on the semantics of the topic being negotiated. I will focus on the epistemic aspect first and leave the interpersonal hedging characteristics to be explored among the strategies for the management of talk. For now, the main difference between those two broad categories can be seen in the illustration provided by Prince *et al.*(1982:4):

- (1) His feet were **sort of** blue.
- (2) **I think** his feet were blue.

In (1), ‘sort of’ is an epistemic hedge making ‘blue’ semantically fuzzy, unclear, and even uncertain. In (2), the interpersonal hedge ‘I think’ protects the speaker from taking full responsibility for the statement ‘his feet were blue’, portraying his perception as unsure. In epistemic hedging, vagueness may be used to avoid offending people or disguise a lack of precise knowledge (Fraser, 2010:26). However, not every hedge is evasive in its vagueness. Salager-Meyer (1997) argues that hedging may be used to report something more precisely concerning its limitations. He states, “in such cases, researchers are not saying less than what they mean but are rather saying precisely what they mean by not overstating their experimental results” (p.107). Although the conversations of the present study are far from being scientific in their approach, the participants will likewise be employing some effort to describe their understandings of cultural meaning. Therefore, their use of hedges is not to be interpreted *à priori* as evasive but considered situationally.

Some words can be predicted to work as hedges, such as modal verbs (would, may, could); epistemic lexical verbs (indicate, suggest, appear, and propose); epistemic adjectives (likely, possible, apparent); epistemic adverbs (apparently, probably, relatively, generally) and epistemic nouns (possibility) (Hyland, 1996). However, the interactional factors are what determines whether lexico-syntactical items will feature as hedges. This process is a two-way street in which a hedge is uttered/written by the speaker/writer and processed by the listener/reader (Markkanen and Schröder, 1997). It depends on the context, the situation and the interlocutor’s intention, and the background knowledge of those involved (Clemen, 1997). For this reason, whether others respond to a hedging move produced by the main speaker in a way that validates its status has the potential to affect its function and impact in the ongoing negotiation.

### Management of Talk

Besides general pragmatic strategies for achieving and supporting understanding, some strategies operate more predominantly at the interactional level and are also deployed to enhance understanding. They are multifunctional devices that are used both in the "macro-level" – addressing politeness and encouraging the talk, and in the "micro-level" – for feedback on non-/understanding and making turn-taking easier to maintain and to change the speaker’s roles (Cogo and Dewey, 2012:139). I will present interactional strategies that demonstrate how understanding can be negotiated through the management of talk in ELF contexts.

### 2.1.11 Backchannels

For starters, backchanneling is one of the most common strategies used to facilitate the flow of conversation. Björkman defines it as “the acknowledgement of what the other speaker has said, and in this sense, it is a part of the interactive work”. In practice, it can be described as short verbal and non-verbal signals that prompt the other speaker to continue speaking, generally showing they understand or agree with what is being said, or to provide support. Examples of backchanneling signals are ‘uhu’, ‘yeah’, ‘mhm’, ‘ok’, nods, smiles, and laughter. As Cogo and Dewey (2012) reported, backchanneling can be used as a supporting, ‘wait and see’ strategy. In those situations, the interactant, hoping to understand better what his/her interlocutor is talking about, uses latching and overlapping backchanneling instead of silence to signal the need for more information.

**End of term** (S1: German; S2: Japanese)

44 S1 But what do you do with the orals? Do you give  
45 them to the students?=  
46 S2 → =mhm  
47 S1 the instructions for the [orals  
48 S2 → [mhm  
49 S1 Do you give them to the students?=  
50 S2 → =yeah=  
51 S1 =today?  
52 S2 Ah:: it depends if it is ehm which course?  
53 S1 [advanced

In the instance provided above provided by Cogo and Dewey (2012:130), in line 46, S2 is latching S1’s utterance with the backchanneling signal ‘mhm’ to indicate that S1 should go on and clarify what he/she means by that question. In other words, S2 displays “listenership” (ibid.) by not interrupting his/her interlocutor while showing attentiveness. In line 47, although S1 provides more information on what he/she wants to know, S2 makes it clear that knowing the question is about ‘the instructions’ is not enough when he/she backchannels with ‘mhm’ while S1 is still speaking (an overlap), prompting S1 to continue. In line 50, S2 backchannels with ‘yeah’, which seems to have signalled to S1 that he/she was in the right direction to achieve an understanding of what S1 wanted to know. Moreover, in line 51, S1 uses the word that completed the meaning of the message of his/her initial question. The use of an elongated ‘ah’ by S2 shows that an understanding of S1’s question has been reached. That acknowledgement is evidence of some degree of understanding of S1’s question because it is followed by a partial answer, which is itself

complemented by another question, 'which course'. That is when S2 changes the dynamics of the conversation by asking the clarification question(s) him/herself.

### 2.2.12 Let-It-Pass and Make-It-Normal

Two of the first interactional strategies identified by ELF scholars are Firth's (1996) 'let-it-pass' and 'make-it-normal'. He believes his data shows that "participants, regardless of their different cultural membership and/or varying linguistic ability, may act as if they understand one another - even when they in fact do not" (Firth, 1996: 244). He explains that it is mostly a matter of not recognising the item not understood as relevant enough to be worth a face-threatening (Goffman, 2017) interruption. The extract below illustrates a case of 'let-it-pass' use:

- 1 B ... so I told him not to u: :h send the:: cheese after the- (.) the blowing (.) in  
2 the ↑customs  
3 (0.4)  
4 we don't want the order after the cheese is u::h (.) blowing.  
5 H I see, yes.  
6 B so I don't know what we can uh do with the order now. (.) What do you  
7 think we should uh do with this is all ↑blo:wing Mister Hansen  
8 (0.5)  
9 H I'm not uh (0.7) blowing uh what uh, what is this u: :h too big or what?  
10 (0.2)  
11 B no the cheese is ↑bad Mister Hansen  
12 (0.4)  
13 it is like (.) fermenting in the customs' cool rooms  
14 H ah it's gone off↑.  
15 B yes it's gone off↓  
16 H we: :11 you know you don't have to uh do uh anything because it's not ...

(Firth, 1996: 244)

Above, the trouble source is introduced in line 1, when the word 'blowing' is used by speaker B to describe the state of the cheese. In line 3, speaker H acknowledges the information as if he had understood B's point by saying 'I see, yes'. In lines 6-8, the importance of the word 'blowing' escalates, because B is requesting from H a solution to that problem. This moment is when H seems to realise it is no longer beneficial to ignore B's meaning for the word 'blowing'. So, in line 9, H interrupts the conversation flow to inquire for the meaning of 'blowing' and realizes that B is talking about the cheese being fermented. That information is then verbally processed by H in line 14 when he uses the more familiar expression to describe 'blowing' cheese, which is "it's gone off". Another



notable aspect is the intonation stress of the phrase ‘gone off’ spoken by H is in ‘off’, but when B responds with a repetition of H’s processing utterance, in line 15, his emphasis of the intonation is in ‘gone’. This emphasis might also mean that B interprets the word ‘gone’ as closer to the intended meaning of ‘blowing’ than ‘off’, making this negotiation of meaning successful but still a little fuzzy at the end. In this case, satisfaction is indicated by the fact the speakers move on to discussing the practical problem at hand in line 16.

In the ‘make-it-normal’ cases, the hearer understands the non-standard language produced by the uttering speaker and focuses on content instead of form to go on with the conversation. Firth exemplifies this strategy with the segment below:

- 1 B ...↑ Melko is the reputation in the Syrian market=it’s a ve:ry good name↓  
 2 (0.4)  
 3 H yes?  
 4 B You have a v:ery good ↑name, very good uh reputation in the Syrian  
 5 Market  
 6 → .hh an’ that’s why I don’ wa:nt uh there to be:: at the same time it’s the TOP  
 7 (pe) for united products  
 8 (1.0)  
 9 → THE ↑TOP OF THE WORST↓  
 10 (0.8)  
 11 H of [course that will co:st]  
 12 B [an’ so that’s why. ] =I don’t want the same thing to be LINKED with  
 13 United products=saying that Melko is going with United products by the  
 14 worst qua:lity:  
 15 (0.4)  
 16 H of course not because uh what wi:ll destry the brand name  
 17 B Yes

(Firth, 1996:245)

With the extract above, Firth highlights that speaker H does not draw attention to the “abnormal” (Firth, 1996:246) forms, in lines 6, 9, 12-14, used by B. On the contrary, H shows “understanding of and agreement with” (ibid.) what has just been said when he responds without breaking the conversation flow in lines 3, 11, and 16.

### 2.2.13 Simultaneous Talk (Overlaps)

In ELF, like in other language modes, people often talk over each other’s turns because they have misinterpreted a pause or another seeming indicator of utterance closing. However, there are two main strategic reasons why that phenomenon takes place: cooperation and competition (Cogo and Dewey, 2012). Simultaneous talk can be

cooperative when it does not attempt to claim the floor and aims to support and display listenership towards the current speaker, or competitive, when it is aimed to take over the floor, sometimes causing interruptions. For instance, cooperative overlapping may occur in the form of backchannels and short responses, as in the extract provided in Cogo and Dewey (2012:143):

66 S1 And that's what she said...that's why we [have  
 67 S2→ [mhm  
 68 S1 so many Australians in the law [depa-department  
 69 S2→ [ah...I didn't  
 70 realise that=  
 71 S1 =and many English students

In the conversation fragment above, S2 displays his/her engagement (listenership) in the backchannel overlapping occurrence in lines 66 and 67. The same happens in lines 68 and 69, where S1 is talking and S2 overlaps S1's turn with a short response to show surprise and engagement. Short responses generally entail verbal expressions to provide feedback, quickly clarify something, and display support. The authors highlight that a vital characteristic of simultaneous cooperative talk is that it "does not interrupt the flow of the conversation" (p.144). The following case is different in that sense.

261 S1 but it's typical in Italy cause the communist in Italy  
 262 it's very intellectual it's not like communism in  
 263 Soviet Union...it's more most of-all communist  
 264 in Italy are...[bourgeois typical  
 265 S2→ [are they still are they still...do  
 266 they already exist [the communist party?  
 267 S1→ [yes yes of course=  
 268 S2 =ah really...ah because in Germany=  
 269 S1 =but it's a different it's not really THE  
 communist it's a very intellectual sort of people

(Cogo and Dewey, 2012:146)

In the extract above, the authors present a competitive overlap where S1 and S2 speak over each other's turns to make their point in the discussion. Cogo and Dewey highlight that, although turns are interrupted twice, there is an engagement and willingness to carry on and clarify a point. That perspective makes the interruptions acts of engaged listenership for the central topic of the conversation.

Simultaneous talking also takes place when a speaker wants to complete the other's utterance. In Cogo and Dewey (2012) they are called 'completion overlaps'. The

authors explain that type of overlap is “not designed to take over the current speaker” (p.147), but to show “involvement and support” (ibid.), as in the example below:

39 S1 it's very are that we actually put ehm=  
40 S2 =ad[verts  
41 S1 [ads in the newspapers...it's VERY expensive  
42 and normally you have  
43 S2 mhm  
44 S1 [HUNDREDS of  
45 S2→ [many  
46 S1 people writing to you and then you have to sort  
47 through them=  
48 S2 =yeah=

(Cogo and Dewey, 2012:147)

Analysing the extract above, more precisely from line 43 to 45, the authors focus on the fact that S2 completes S1's utterance at the same time S1 is also speaking. It can be seen that S2 is going in the same direction as S1, which indicates S2 is not planning to take the floor. Instead, she demonstrates listenership and co-operation by contributing to the talk with a fast-paced engagement and synchrony of topic development.

#### 2.2.14 Utterance Completions

Not every completion happens through an overlap. It is common for utterance completions to be anteceded by indications of hesitation, which invite a co-production and starts a word search sequence (Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Cogo and House, 2018; Björkman, 2014). Therefore, the use of utterance completion generates less pause, speeding up the pace of the talk and functioning as a cooperative move that denotes engagement in the topic. Cogo and House (2018) call this strategy the 'co-construction of utterances' that feature as "acts of solidarity and consensus booster" (p.216). The extract below illustrates this interactional strategy.

A: the most of the most of Chinese in foreign countries they speak  
not Mandarin they don't speak Mandarin but can only these erm  
B: dialects?  
A: yes dialects  
C: dialects  
A: dialects their dialects

(Cogo and House, 2018:216)

Here, the authors underscore that speaker A signals hesitation at the end of the utterance, which B interprets as a request for completion. Then, speaker B proposes 'dialects' with

a rising intonation to check if it is a suitable completion for A's utterance. This attempt is confirmed by A as what s/he wanted to say and acknowledged by a third speaker through repetition. The acknowledgement is reinforced by A with repetition and the addition of the specifier 'their' to 'dialects'.

#### 2.1.15 Discourse Markers

Discourse markers are tokens that denote information management and show the relationship participants have with each other (Street, 1993). Those markers may occur in a diversity of lengths and orders. For instance, a study conducted by Baumgarten and House (2010) concluded that, in ELF talk, the marker 'I don't know' often displays the lack of enough knowledge about something. Alternatively, L1 speakers of English seem to use this expression as a way to "verbalize and to overcome on-line planning difficulties" (p.1198). Such as the example provided by Baumgarten and House (2010), "think of ahm the criminals. ... Eh if, if people say you're free to choose to do this or that yeah? But you are not free to kill anybody or. I don't know, harm anybody... Or so. So . freedom is limited" (p.1195). In this case, the use of 'I don't know' takes on a pragmatic function, as it happens just before the continuation of the point the speaker started to make before. More specifically, it is working as a filler that allows the speaker plan what to say next. In that study (Baumgarten and House, 2010), they also provided examples of when 'I don't know' indicated insufficient knowledge, such as in, "I don't know so much about Japanese" and "I don't know why it's not, not pre... I, I really ask myself why there is no LAW against such THINGS" (p.1195). Both instances were produced by L2 speakers of English.

When it comes to the marker 'I think', L2 speakers seem to also consider it an interactional tool, not just a way of "expressing subjective meanings and taking stances" (Baumgarten and House, 2010:1194). The pragmatic use of 'I think' by ELF speakers has been interpreted as a type of hedging strategy that demonstrates the participants' awareness of the potential trouble in expressing subjectivity and opinions. Hedging is "a discourse strategy that reduces the force or truth of an utterance and thus reduces the risk a speaker runs when uttering a strong or firm assertion or other speech act" (Kaltenböck et al., 2010:1). This type of 'I think' would fall under the category Interpersonal Hedge, which will be explored in section 2.2.18. See the examples below (Baumgarten and House, 2010:1192):

P Ya. Women have to come □ themself up. Up, up. [How] it is.  
 D [Yes.]  
 But, but ...  
 P I *think*/ it's, it's my opinion  
 D Ya, well, obviously.

-----  
 D but, ähm I *think*...Wasn't [it that] expressionism started in like äh ● ● during tw/  
 M [(??)]  
 D twe/twenties, thirties. Wasn't [it ●● that period?]  
 A [End of n/ äh nine/] nineteen century.

In the first extract, P says “I think” to characterise what was said previously, his stance on what women should do, as an opinion. It becomes more evident that this was the function of ‘I think’ because P says “it’s my opinion” right after. In the second extract, ‘I think’ works as a strategy to hedge the question produced because the face-threatening stakes are high in the context of a heated discussion.

Baumgarten and House’ (2010) study had a corpus of spoken interactions with three separate groups of L1 and L2 speakers of English, all proficient in German. In my research data, formed of interactions of primarily multilingual speakers of English in London, I will observe how discourse markers like ‘I don’t know’ and ‘I think’ function within the overall process of negotiating cultural understanding.

Exemplification is another function of discourse markers that may take on more than its primary characteristic of “elaborating and communicating complex information starting from a more concrete material” (Barotto, 2018:25). All exemplification draws the listener/reader to creating categories, which in itself resignifies the referential meaning of the items (examples) in that process. Exemplification markers may introduce different approaches to the coming information, such as explanation, sampling of possibilities, and approximation, to name a few. Barotto proposes that, in the instance, “They visited several cities, *for example* Rome” (p.26), the exemplification explains the meaning of the set ‘cities’. Therefore, it has a double function for modifying Rome, from a city to one of the cities visited by them, and it has a metadiscursive function, for explaining the meaning of ‘many cities’.

In the instance, “States can collect data on, *for example*, knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and environmental indicators” (ibid.), the marker is pointing to the likelihood that the items provided as examples are just some items of a longer list. By including those items as examples, the interlocutor is “ensur[ing] that the hearer does not process the mentioned elements solely based on their referential meanings, but as representatives

of a category that should be inferred” (ibid). That is how exemplification markers can modify the meaning of the items being cited as examples, not only the meaning of the concept being explained in metadiscourse.

### 2.2.16 Mediation

The mediation strategy can be defined as “a form of speaking for another where a co-participant starts rephrasing another participant’s turn that was addressed to a third party” (Hynninen, 2011:964). It is used both to achieve understanding via explicitation and to manage the interaction itself. Mediation, the author elaborates, may occur when someone speaks for another or when a third-party repairs what one of the participants has said. The former type is the rephrasing of what someone else has said to mediate between two speakers. The latter type is the uptake of a problematic utterance, which is not necessarily marked by a mistake made by the previous speaker (e.g. when there is difficulty to hear). It is done so to make sure the message is passed on with clarity. Although mediation instances may have characteristics of ‘other-repair’ strategies, the main distinction is that there is always a third party involved (ibid.).

Given that Hynninen’s (2011) study was conducted at an English-medium master's level seminar course, her participants were students doing presentations and teachers mediating discussions. Given the structure of the interactions, the teachers provided mediation of the questions whenever they interpreted there was a need for rephrasing. Therefore, in that context, the author affirms that a successful mediation is one in which the parties "achieve mutual understanding, that is if the intermediary is able to help the others achieve their communicative goals" (p.968). See below one of the extracts with an example of a mediation sequence provided by Hynninen (2011:970):

- 1 S7 mhm in reference to fire (suppression) there are some kind of organisation
- 2 like firemens <sic> or er forest people forest prevent or fight with fire
- 3 S3 sorry (i'm) [(i don't understand)]
- 4 T1 [er well] what the speaker would like to know is er
- 5 we- no not the speaker but the er your fellow student would like to know is
- 6 that is there an organisation
- 7 S3 Mhm
- 8 T1 er or a system that that er that is operational in the Sudan for fire suppression
- 9 are there guards or are there watch towers or or what kind of mechanisms are
- 10 there in place for fire suppression
- 11 S3 (er okay) , er er you mean er or- organisation er
- 12 T1 yes [what th- for for inst- what what o-]
- 13 S3 [(in science in science or) ]
- 14 T1 what organisations are responsible (of) fire (r- suppression) how are these
- 15 organisations present

16 S3 Yeah  
 17 T1 present in the in in the field in a country like Sudan which is which is a huge  
 18 huge area  
 19 S3 er er fao organisation and er , er the responsibility of er fighting er fires or fire  
 20 er in general er er er is er F-N-C or er forest fire cor- corporation in sudan er is  
 21 the responsible for fires or er any er topic related to fires  
 22 T1 er you see you mean forests national

In the extract above, the need for mediation is indicated in line 3, when one of the students in the audience, S3, says “sorry (i’m) [(I don’t understand)]”. That is responded by T1’s (teacher 1) intervention to mediate with the utterance “[er well] what the speaker would like to know is er we- no not the speaker but the er your fellow student would like to know is that is there an organisation” which is further explained in lines 8, 14, and 17. This mediation instance follows the structure proposed by Hynninen (2011:974). It presents a ‘trouble-source turn by A’ (l.1-2), a ‘other-initiation of repair by B’ (l.3), then there is the ‘rephrasing of A’s turn by C’ (l.4-6, 8, 14, and 17), the ‘reaction from B’ (l.19-21), and finally, the ‘evaluation and/or elaboration of B’s turn by C’ (l.22).

#### 2.2.17 Interpersonal Hedge

The interlocutors can be motivated at a macro or micro-level to use hedges (Mauranen, 1997). Acting according to the expected standards of a particular context would be considered a macro-level motivation. While using hedges for face-saving, showing tact, or appearing modest would be part of the micro-level motivation. In practice, hedges can be used as an interactional strategy that subtly opens the floor and even invites ratification by creating a “discursive space” (Hyland, 2005:179). The hedged information may be interpreted as provisional or incomplete, allowing for other viewpoints to be expressed. An instance of the occurrence of a hedge as the opening of a discursive space is in modern science’s style of communication. Scientists and researchers alike use hedges to allow for scepticism, uncertainty and doubt inherent to provisional interpretations of findings (Salager-Meyer, 1997). Again, although the contextual community of this study is not scientific or academic, negotiations of meaning may be carried out quite ‘diplomatically’ at times using hedging.

Interpersonal hedges are also called pragmatic hedges and tend to be linked to politeness and generally fall into the categories of *shielding* or *persuasion* (Mauranen, 1997). Shielding has to do with keeping a ‘positive face’ by displaying tact or uncertainty not to take full responsibility for the information being shared (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Hedging may be displayed through speculation and quotation to persuade others.

For instance, with ‘I’, the verbs ‘suggest’ and ‘argue’ are speculative; with ‘Hyland suggests’ or ‘Bhatia argues’, they are quotative (Hyland, 1998). Particularly relevant to this study is that the interpersonal/pragmatic aspect of the participants’ hedging has the potential to lessen the illocutionary force of a statement and create the discursive space for its further negotiation. In interaction, the function of shielding provides the other interlocutors with the level of certainty that the speaker wants to be credited to his/her statement, which may prompt others to continue or abandon the negotiation.

Since the focus of my study will be the role of pragmatic strategies in the negotiation of cultural understanding, interculturally-aware practices and the changes that occur in that process, I now turn to the second half, where ELF is approached from an intercultural perspective.

### 2.3 Intercultural Communication Practices in ELF

Because this section is about how cultural aspects of communication are worked out in ELF communication, first, I will propose that a post-structuralist standpoint on culture and language enables the dialogue between Intercultural Communication and ELF studies. Then, I will explain why the primary reason for misunderstandings in ELF communication is not cultural differences. This clarification will be followed by the developments in the theorization of competencies suitable for different interactional contexts. That overview will lead to Intercultural Communicative Competence and Intercultural Awareness. Furthermore, the way cultural diversity in talk is dealt with to avoid misunderstandings will be conceptualized through the idea of ‘Negotiation’ (Zhu, 2015) - a key mechanism to achieve interactive goals in intercultural ELF communication.

ELF and contemporary intercultural communication research fields have taken a similar route in viewing communication from a post-structuralist perspective (Baker, 2018). Both fields see the categories of language, identity, community, and culture as constructed, contested, and negotiable. Therefore, those two research fields can benefit substantially from each other’s developments. In ELF research, this post-structuralist approach can be observed through its engagement in hybridity and power relations, ideology and resistance. In line with this complex view of ELF, there are two crucial clarifications about ELF as IC: (1) ELF is not neutral in terms of culture and identity because no language use is; and (2) ELF is not a unique form of intercultural communication. That means the communication and pragmatic strategies and the



linguistic awareness that can be seen in ELF interactions are potentially present in other forms of multilingual intercultural communication (Baker, 2018).

### 2.3.1 Approaching culture

Before going into the specificities of cultural aspects in ELF communication, it is vital to establish how culture will be approached in this study. Succinctly, in ELF research and intercultural studies, culture is viewed as a 'way of life' (Baker, 2015:50). It is what and how one acts and thinks, but "not reducible to individuals or individual social interactions. Rather [it] emerge[s] from the aggregation of many individuals and interactions; in other words, culture is continuously emerging with no fixed end point" (Baker, 2015:238). This understanding of culture is grounded in the idea of a multi-layered, overlapping, fluid, and emergent system.

In agreement with the definition of culture as something continuously constructed, Street (1993:25) proposes that "culture is a verb". Culture is the doing that defines things, words, ideas, society, and everything else. We live by definitions, and those definitions are in the doing of culture. It is a "process of meaning-making and contest over definition, including its own definition" (ibid.). If culture is defined in the doing that occurs in the interaction of what has already been defined in previous doings, studying this negotiation process becomes an essential step towards a better understanding of the hyperconnected and super-diverse world.

Complexity Theory also deals with the constant movement and patterns of stability in culture by applying the metaphor of a Complex Adaptive System. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2007), explore how cultural aspects emerge from a gathering of various individual interactions but are not restricted to them. Just as with language, culture is not "acquired" (p.231). It is "developed" (ibid.). In other words, culture is a complex adaptive system because it is constantly changing, adapting and emerging, making it impossible for anyone to render its definite characterization. This emergent aspect of culture is exemplified, for instance, in how a particular new behaviour or piece of information can add a new feature to a repertoire of behaviours and concepts. Although this process of cultural emergence is inherently endless, it is possible to identify patterns and stabilities in those changes.

In the present study, what the participants refer to as a specific culture (be it national, local, or the social group's culture) will be dealt with as a snapshot of their perceptions of patterns and stabilities that they deem to be relevant to the negotiation sequences being analysed. That means to say those perceptions may change and be

demonstrated differently in other interactions with the same people and on the same topic. The value of this study is not so much in describing the participants' cultural understandings but in exploring how they are negotiated.

### 2.3.2 Where language and culture meet

Acknowledging the centrality of the interface between language and culture to this investigation, I will succinctly present and critique the term *linguaculture*, a key notion that has been used to address the ways language and culture intersect. Initially coined as 'linguaculture' by Friedrich (1989) and adopted by Agar (1994) as 'linguaculture', it was intended to stand for the inseparability of language and cultural aspects. Later, the term was complexified in Risager (2006) and called again 'linguaculture' to include the elements of a language-culture nexus composed of language (language and linguaculture) and discourse. Treating 'language' as the denotative code, linguaculture as the connotative (idiolectal) 'meaning', and discourse as meanings that are not linked to a particular 'named' language.

Risager's (2006, 2007, 2008, 2012) theorisation of linguaculture is presented into subcategories of dimensions and flows. However, the most relevant distinction here is that, in the generic sense, language is linked to cultural practices because "human culture always includes language, and human language cannot be conceived without culture" (Risager, 2006:4). On the one hand, one's linguaculture is composed of the cultural meaning embedded in the first/national and local variety/ies and mixed with linguacultures of other languages the speaker has learned as a second or foreign language.

On the other hand, there is the differential sense, where named languages are not inexorably linked to a specific national culture. That is, "there are items that are specific to [a particular] language, other items that it shares with certain other languages, and some that must be assumed to be universal and which the language in question shares with all other languages" (Risager, 2006:4). The differential sense is, then, the perception that recognises that named languages such as English, Japanese, Portuguese do transit spheres of different cultures through discourse.

Nevertheless, contradictorily, Risager (2012) defends that an individual's linguacultural development in L2 will "be accomplished on the basis of a growing understanding of some of the life experiences and cultural knowledge common among *first* language speakers" (p.109, my italics). This statement does not contemplate the emerging characteristic of ELF as a source of linguacultural development. ELF does not have its own 'native' speakers. Yet, in ELF linguistic practices, like in other uses of

language, “meaning is changeable and comes into existence in each new act of production and interpretation” (Risager 2006:120). If meaning is often tied to one’s linguaculture, it is the speaker’s linguaculture that undergoes such changes.

Likewise, in the micro-perspective proposed in Baker (2015), culture and language will be intrinsically connected regarding past experiences of socialisation. Those processes can be more or less diverse depending on the sociolinguistic context of those experiences. The macro-perspective is another term used to describe this angle. Baker (2015:238) explains that “we can see language and culture as two linked but not synonymous complex adaptive systems”. For instance, a specific named language like English can be culturally “influenced by and linked to” (ibid.) the American and/or English cultures, but it is also permeated by other cultures when used in ELF situations.

Recognising the vital role of named languages and linguacultures in the individual’s idiolect while observing the fluidity of their use in negotiations of cultural understanding is one of the main challenges of this study.

### 2.3.3 Culturally based Misunderstandings

The assumption that culturally based communication breakdown is typical in intercultural communication has been tackled in ELF research by investigating how misunderstandings occur in ELF communication. For instance, Kaur (2011) argues that cultural differences in communication are not always relevant. In fact, she raises the matter of the overemphasis given to the interactions between varied cultural backgrounds as intrinsically problematic and proposes this is a reason why many researchers have overlooked other significant features of communication in intercultural data. However, English as a Lingua Franca pragmatic studies have been prolific in their attention to miscommunication, and, based on empirical evidence, proposed that ‘understanding’ should be considered the default in intercultural communication, not ‘misunderstanding’ (ibid.).

Moreover, ELF studies have found that misunderstanding and miscommunication are not as common in ELF interactions as they were believed to be. When they do occur, they cannot be automatically attributed to the participants’ cultural backgrounds. For instance, House (1999) presents an analysis of a 30-min long interaction with four participants, all of different nationalities. There were speech difficulties, poorly managed turn-taking and “non-aligned, ‘parallel talk’” (p.80), but no misunderstanding. Meierkord’s (2000) dinner-table ELF talk study also reports on intercultural conversations among students of 17 different nationalities at a hall of residence, where cooperation

hindered the incidence of misunderstanding. In practice, it means that the participants' awareness of their interlocutors' different cultural backgrounds motivated them to negotiate and co-construct new communicative practices and norms. Finally, Mauranen (2006) also highlights that none of the misunderstandings found in her study could be considered "cultural-based comprehension problems" (p.144).

This is not to say that misunderstandings do not happen in ELF. Kaur (2011) reports on kinds of misunderstandings that *have* been found in ELF spoken interaction in her study composed of 15 hours of naturally occurring conversations among 22 participants of 15 different linguacultural backgrounds. However, following a CA approach to the data, she could not locate any misunderstanding occurrences related to cultural differences. There were, instead, misunderstanding occurrences caused by linguistic and general knowledge difficulties, such as ambiguity, performance-related issues, language-related, and gaps in world knowledge.

It is precisely the scarcity of culturally based misunderstandings in previous data of ELF interactions that points to negotiation, heightened in intercultural communication through ELF given the linguacultural diversity and fluidity involved in each encounter. This study, which shows how cultural understanding is negotiated and intelligibility is achieved in interaction, will contribute towards a more holistic comprehension of ELF communication.

#### 2.3.4 Cross-cultural, intercultural and transcultural communication

Cross-cultural communication and intercultural studies are two fields that may unadvisedly come across as the same but have significant distinctive characteristics relevant to this study. 'Cross-cultural communication' research is generally concerned with national level accounts of culture, homogeneity in cultural groupings and the investigation of what specific cultural groups do in their communicative practices. On the other hand, 'Intercultural communication' research focuses on the communication practices in interactions of culturally distinct groups, which are not necessarily of different nationalities or languages (Byram, 2021). Cultures are seen as heterogeneous, with borders that are blurry, fluid and dynamic (Baker, 2018).

Among the perspectives on culture-related communication mentioned above, 'transcultural' communication has been widely acknowledged as the most suitable term to describe the transgressive communication borders in multicultural settings today (Pennycook, 2005). The 'trans' conveys fluidity to a process of communication that reorganises the local through a flow of changes that occur when cultural groupings mesh

the global and the local through contact of diverse cultural repertoires. Therefore, I recognise the limitations of the term “intercultural communication” but have decided to keep it for consistency and alignment with the studies mentioned here. Overall, IC will function as a term that acknowledges a cultural focus in the interaction. Thus, ‘intercultural’ will be used to characterise the interaction of different cultural aspects in communication. Although, presumably, different levels and spheres of culture are continually permeating communication, it is also true that culture is not the focus of all negotiations of meaning.

Having chosen intercultural communication to describe the kind of interaction that will be analysed in this study, it is essential to mention that the perspective adopted here does not subscribe to the ‘third place’ approach (Kramsch, 1993). Such an approach proposes that intercultural communication generates an emerging place that “grows in the interstices between the cultures the learner grew up with and the new cultures he or she is being introduced to” (p.236). The problem with this construct is not so much in the separation of cultures, which is analytically justifiable, but in the supposed existence of a (third) place outside the learner’s L1/C1, where the result of contact between L1/C1 and L2/C2 is created. Then, that third place is juxtaposed to the learner’s L1/C1, a transformation that happens in another linguacultural “realm” outside one’s L1/C1. This description of the result of intercultural communication does not align with the fluidity and the emergence of an individual’s repertoire, which stands for the continuous expansion and transformation of the speaker’s semiotic resources. In other words, one’s contact with others’ linguistic and cultural practices is likely to affect their ‘L1/C1’ directly - terminology contested by Kramsch herself in a later work (Kramsch, 2012) – and at levels that would be very difficult to trace.

Concerning cultural borders, national cultures are powerful cultural groupings but are just one among others such as gender, generation, profession and ethnicity (Baker, 2018). That means IC may occur by negotiating cultural understandings involving different spheres of life, not only categories that vary according to one’s geographical or ethnic origins. The idea of culture as a verb introduced by Street (1993), for instance, is based on Thornton’s (1987) understanding of culture as ongoing acts of definition. Culture is not something. Culture does something.

Moreover, culture is what it does and how it does it. That is, "culture is an active process of meaning-making and contest over definition, including its own definition" (Street, 1993:25). Therefore, according to this view, research should focus on “discovering how and what definitions are made, under what circumstances and for what

reasons” (Thornton,1987:26). My study focuses on how cultural definitions/understandings are continuously negotiated in IC within a context that presents a great need for engagement in negotiation due to its super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007).

The emergent aspect of language, culture and communication (in general) requires from the researchers the approach of each portion of conversation data as unique, demanding a holistic investigation that should not be limited to previous knowledge gathered from similar cases. Hence the value in complementing the recordings generated for data analysis with investigation tools such as linguistic and sociocultural profiling questionnaires and interviews.

### 2.3.5 Interactional Contexts and Intercultural Communicative Competence

What we understand about humans’ ability to communicate and how we design our language teaching methods have historically been informed by the theories of language acquisition and language use. The most significant theoretical turns about communication have emerged to challenge the previous ones by describing the competence(s) needed for communication in the new interactional contexts brought to the forefront. For instance, to understand language acquisition and processing beyond the context of the mind, Hymes (1972) conducted an ethnographic investigation of the development of a child’s communicative ability within their speech community. Then, he proposed a revision of Chomsky’s ‘linguistic theory’ (1965) that contemplated the relevance of sociolinguistic factors that explained the disparities between the ideal speaker-listener and the real children they had in school, especially in the cases of socially disadvantaged groups. He argued that the term ‘competence’ should encompass one’s knowledge of the language (mental grammar) and their ability to use it appropriately in specific contexts of a speech community. The competence to understand and produce linguistic structures according to their social functions that seemed ‘natural’ to the speakers of that language was called Communicative Competence.

Although communicative competence described intra-group, first language(s) communication, its logic was applied to foreign language education by other scholars (Canale and Swain, 1980; van Ek, 1986) and later shaped into the Communicative Language Teaching method (CLT). As a consequence of the embedded imposition of L1 context, CLT did not account for the particularities of L2 interactions and acquisition processes. There are at least three reasons why the ‘native speaker’ target has been

considered insufficient and in some ways inadequate for foreign language learners: (1) the definition of a ‘native speaker’ itself has been acknowledged as rather problematic (Kramsch, 1998); (2) it is an “impossible target” (Byram 2021:46) of communicative competence for the learner/speaker of a foreign language, who was introduced to that language and culture through a completely different process of socialisation ; and most importantly, (3) focusing on first language communication skills as the target “would create the wrong kind of competence” (Byram, 2021:45) for interactions between different sociocultural groups mediated through a foreign language.

In intercultural interactions, the efficiency of exchanging information is not the only indicator of successful communication. There is also a need for the “establishing and maintenance of human relationships” (Byram, 1997:32-3). It cannot be ignored that, in foreign language interactions, there are more cultural identities and languages involved, which are intertwined with the micro and macro socioeconomic status, the cultural differences and the historical and contemporary relationships between the social groups interacting. To expand on Hymes’ (1972) communicative competence by acknowledging the socio-cultural demands of the inter-group, intercultural context, Byram (1997, 2021) puts forward a new target for foreign language education, the ‘intercultural speaker’.

The intercultural speaker is a goal that is “in tune with the idea of multiple identities and blurred boundaries” (Roberts et al., 2001: 30) and, to achieve it, foreign language learners must acquire the skills of ethnographers. The intercultural speaker possesses Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC), which is the “ability to see and manage the relationships between themselves and their own beliefs, values, behaviours and meanings, as expressed in a foreign language, and those of their interlocutors, expressed in the same language—or even a combination of languages—which may be the interlocutors’ native language, or not” (Byram, 2021:46). In practice, it means that learners will use ethnographic tools such as interviews and ethnographic diaries to acquire linguistic and cultural knowledge by critically approaching their own and others’ cultures as socially constructed, in constant “formation and transformation” (Roberts *et al.*, 2001:30).

ICC is composed of CC and Intercultural Competence, divided into five categories of *savoirs* - knowledge of self and other. Those *savoirs* are: the knowledge of interaction: individual and societal (*saviors*); skills to interpret and relate (*savoir comprendre*); attitudes of relativising self and valuing other (*savoir être*); skills to discover and/or interact (*savoir apprendre/faire*); political education, critical cultural awareness (*savoir s’engager*) (Byram 1997, 2021, 2008). Byram wanted the model to be

helpful beyond the sphere of language teaching through interdisciplinarity. Nevertheless, it was adding a modified CC to IC that explicitly connected the *savoirs* above to FLE, making it an ‘Intercultural Communicative Competence’. Byram (1997, 2021) attached characteristics of the intercultural speaker to create a ‘refined’ version of van Ek’s (1986) description of the three communicative competencies initially conceptualised for CLT:

**linguistic competence:** the ability to apply knowledge of the rules of a standard version of the language to produce and interpret spoken and written language;

**sociolinguistic competence:** the ability to give to the language produced by an interlocutor – whether native speaker or not – meanings which are taken for granted by the interlocutor or which are negotiated and made explicit with the interlocutor;

**discourse competence:** the ability to use, discover and negotiate strategies for the production and interpretation of monologic or dialogic texts which follow the conventions of the culture of an interlocutor or are negotiated as intercultural texts for particular purposes.

(Byram, 2021:107-8)

There were significant adaptations made to each of the competencies above. In van Ek (1986), attaining linguistic competence was directly related to understanding and producing meaning that made sense to the ‘native speaker’. Instead, Byram prefers to acknowledge the value of learning to use a standard version of the language and relocate ‘meaning’ to the sociolinguistic competence. In the sociolinguistic competence, the ability to discover and negotiate unfamiliar meanings complexifies what was simply the acquisition of ready-made knowledge about L1 contextual appropriateness. In discourse competence, the notions of discovery and negotiation are also included, with the addition of the need to negotiate the ‘modes of interactions’ that the interactants will be using. For instance, “agreements on meta-commentary” (Byram, 2021:107) allows interactants to stop the conversation to tackle content that seems unclear or to preventively explain in more detail potentially problematic items that would not be relevant if the interlocutors assumed to have similar linguacultural backgrounds.

In the same way that communicative competence goals can be adapted to accommodate the model of the intercultural speaker, my study will be relying partly on IC to assess communicative choices that are observable through Conversation Analysis (CA). Moreover, in this process, some *savoirs* will be more relevant than others.

For instance, a *savoir* that is particularly important for the negotiation of meaning in ELF talk is the ‘skills to discover and/or interact’ (*savoir apprendre/faire*). It is the ability to augment and refine knowledge by “recognis[ing] significant phenomena in a foreign environment and elicit[ing] their meaning and connotations, and their relationship to other phenomena” (p.38). In practice, that is what speakers do when they identify or



predict potential non-understandings and negotiate them through pragmatic strategies such as comprehension checks, clarification requests, general queries.

Moreover, the ‘attitude of relativising self and valuing other’ (*savoir être*) can be partly observed in interlocutors' behaviours when they make communicative choices that welcome others to share their own experiences and views. For this reason, a variety of demonstrations of *savoir être* in the negotiations analysed in this study are likely to be displayed through backchanneling of understanding and amusement or similar strategies of talk management that convey non-judgemental listenership and positive engagement.

Central to ICC is one’s ‘critical cultural awareness’, the *savoir s’engager*, which features as “the ability to evaluate, critically, and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one’s own and other cultures and countries” (Byram, 1997:53). That is, it describes people’s ‘relate-ability’ to cultural differences with a declared/explicit critical positioning that lessens their judgement of value and promotes understanding. Championing the role of FLE in society, this *savoir* openly promotes citizenship, democracy and human rights as the perspective from which learners should position themselves concerning their own and others’ linguacultures. In conversation, critical cultural awareness will be observable in communicative displays of validation and appreciation of other’s cultural understandings while expressing their own with strategies that support the talk and show engagement.

Since 1997, ICC has received criticism primarily targeting its perceived focus on national culture and the implications of its CC roots. Many voices have echoed how unproductive it is for foreign language teaching/learning to follow ICC’s model in equating ‘cultures’ with ‘national cultures’ (Holliday, 1999; Matsuo, 2012, 2015; Baker, 2015; Piller, 2017). Although Byram (2021) has recently responded to some of those arguments by explaining to what extent and why there is a focus on the cultures of countries in the ICC model, some points made by his critics are still relevant.

For instance, it has been argued that referring to ‘cultures’ as cultures of countries may be promoting cultural *monologism* (Bakhtin, 1984) - a discourse on cultural diversity that objectifies people as things to be observed and compared in a process that “requir[es] no real or creative response from the students” (Matsuo, 2012:369). In other words, that presentation of ‘cultures’ is likely to lead learners into using a ‘large culture’ lens (Holliday, 1999), which could influence them to seek details of differences between ‘cultures’ to reify the abstraction of the national entity into something concrete. While identifying differences is part of thinking about cultural diversity and social identities, it is the simplistic association of a behaviour to a whole country that is problematic. When

it comes to ELF communication research and pedagogical implications, ICC's "nationally based varieties of language and communicative practices based on nationally grounded cultures" (Baker, 2015:242) make it a model that can only be used if adapted, something that has been done and will be explored in the next section.

Although Byram points out that 'national cultures' are "*only one* of the sets of cultural practices and beliefs to which an interlocutor subscribes" (Byram, 1997:21, my italics), this perspective remains "theoretically and practically inadequate" (Piller, 2017:36). That is because "monolithic and essentialist views of the nation as the foundation of culture are not useful to understanding and appreciating difference and diversity, but are little more than instances of banal nationalism" (ibid.). Therefore, thinking about culture as nations leads to overlooking the complexity, diversity, and hybridity of each person's experiences and social identities.

Pre-emptively addressing the limitation of focusing on national cultures, Byram (1997) points to a complementary investigative method that learners will have acquired while developing their ICC to "transfer [the skills, knowledge and attitudes] to other situations and the means of coping with new cultural practices and identities" (p.22). This 'method for transfer' is later described and exemplified in 'Language Learners as Ethnographers' (Roberts *et al.*, 2001), where the results of an ethnographic project are reported to illustrate a path to the language learner's education for "cultural sensitivity and understanding" (p.7). In that book, the authors (including Byram) provide a detailed account of an experimental ethnographic project that aimed to equip British students with ethnographic tools such as observation, journaling, and analysis to interact with otherness. This way, learners would represent those experiences with the caveats of "one interpretation mediated through their own cultural understandings" (p.4), not as facts.

The project was designed for the year abroad required by British undergraduate programmes of modern languages degree. Promoting the idea that learning language is learning culture, and vice versa (Roberts *et al.*, 2001), the researchers prepared the lecturers, and those lecturers prepared their students to use ethnographic tools to learn about the focused cultural and linguistic practices of the group they would be studying. The students' accounts show that they did achieve the goal of understanding the groups' practices more deeply while questioning their own way of thinking and communicating.

However, from an interactional perspective, the learner-centeredness of the process of mediation of understanding depicted in Roberts *et al.* (2001) does not account for the impact the learner's participation has on the linguistic and linguacultural repertoires of the 'others' involved in the negotiations of meaning. While Roberts *et al.*

(2001) assert that the intercultural speaker “understand[s] that meaning is relational” (p.31), “meaning” seems to be birthed only through interactions of the speakers whom the language learners are observing. Narrating and analysing intercultural encounters this way, in turn, communicates that the learner/user of the foreign language is an illegitimate speaker of the (foreign) language, who internally decodes (or mediates) the comparison of their own experiences and the meanings they find among ‘others’.

The notion of communicative competence embedded in ICC is conceptualised as something developed internally, almost individually, through observation and comparison. For this reason, ICC may be interpreted as an individual-oriented list model, which “fail[s] to theorise the relational and interactional aspect of communication” (Matsuo, 2012:361-2), not by disregarding communication as a carrier of culture, but by ignoring that meaning is negotiated (clarified, changed and expanded) not only analysed and reproduced, in dialogue. The negotiation of cultural understandings, and the negotiation of meaning in general, is an interactive and creative process through which all interactants expand their communicative repertoires. Although speakers do not necessarily start behaving differently, they are affected by each other’s understandings of the topic by learning through interaction about ways of viewing, doing and being beyond what is customary to them. As Zhu (2015:48) puts it:

Negotiation also highlights the agency of participants. Through Negotiation, participants are able to employ, mobilise, or manipulate their resources to achieve their goals of interactions. In doing so, these resources are renewed, developed, and changed. What emerges through Negotiation is not only shared understanding of local interactions, but also newly acquired knowledge and schemas and locally constructed (cultural) identities (...).

An alternative to Communicative Competence is proposed through the notion of ‘symbolic competence’ (Kramsch, 2006), whereby meaning is “enrich[ed] and embed[ed] into the ability to express, interpret, and negotiate goods in the complex global context in which we live today” (p.251). This perspective on the skills necessary for intercultural communication takes into account the power relations at play. It highlights the importance of not only knowing “how to communicate meanings”, but also “understanding meaning making itself” (ibid.) and using such knowledge to one’s leverage. While Kramsch believes that symbolic competence is more of a ‘savviness’ than a stable *savoir*, it is argued that this competence would complement ICC’s knowledge/*savoirs*, where it would describe ‘the knowledge (...) of the general processes of societal and individual interaction’ (Byram, 2021:32).

ICC's list of competencies is also deemed "theoretically weak" (Matsuo, 2012:349), with limited use for language teaching because it does not explain how casual development in IC works, how to predict it, or if there are levels of ICC. Because ICC is a model with educational objectives that are open to contextual adaptations, there are no levels of ICC or even within its competencies in its original presentation. Instead, "a threshold for ICC will be defined for each context and will not be an interim attainment, a stage on the way to a goal, but rather the goal itself, i.e. the ability to function as an intercultural speaker in defined and foreseeable contexts" (Byram, 2021:173). The decision of refining the attainment of that goal into levels for formal certification is passed on to curriculum designers (ibid.). ICC levels are devised by Baker (Byram, 1997) in his theorization of an Intercultural Awareness (ICA) model that aims to contemplate the complexities of ELF communication.

From Chomsky's Linguistic Theory to Byram's ICC, acknowledging that different sociolinguistic/-cultural contexts of interaction affect how a language is learned and used competently has added layers of complexity to the understanding of communication in general and intercultural communication in particular. Next, I will consider theorizations that deal with the implications of ELF contextual characteristics to intercultural negotiations of meaning.

### 2.3.6 Intercultural Awareness (ICA) Levels

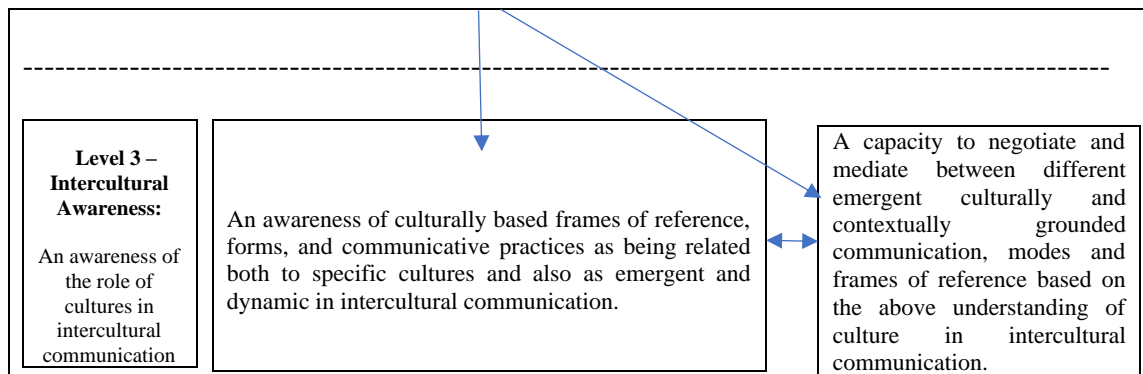
Like Matsuo (2012, 2015), Baker recognises that Byram's (1997, 2008) critical perspective on intercultural communication lays the foundation for approaching the cultural aspects of today's intercultural communication but adds that it does not fully encompass the complexity of ELF interactions. Although the *savoir s'engager*, Critical Cultural Awareness, helps us understand how sociocultural contexts are formed, its problem is in treating cultural groupings as composed of defined boundaries, focusing on an awareness of 'one's own' and 'other's' cultures (Baker, 2011, 2015). To expand ICC to contemplate the particularities of ELF interactions, vastly transient and unpredictable in linguistic and linguacultural composition, Baker proposes a theoretical model called Intercultural Awareness (ICA). It is intended to conceptualise an awareness beyond the notion that attaches nation, culture, and language to incorporate the emergent, fluid, and complex characteristics of ELF (Baker, 2015).

The term 'awareness' used by Baker in ICA has a more holistic role than in Byram's (1997) *savoirs*. It comprises knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviour. *Intercultural Awareness* is defined as "a conscious understanding of the role

culturally based forms, practices and frames of reference can have in intercultural communication, and an ability to put these conceptions into practice in a flexible and context-specific manner in communication" (Baker, 2011:202). That is, ICA provides both a conceptual (conscious understanding of) and a practice-orientated (an ability to a) aspect of the framework, which admittedly overlap. Another difference between ICC and ICA is that, while ICC explores the perception one has of a cultural "us" and "them", ICA is about the link between communication and culture cutting across social groupings. The description of the awareness levels and the abilities associated with them can be found in the table below (Baker, 2015:168)<sup>3</sup>:

	<b>Conceptual Intercultural awareness</b>				<b>Practice orientated intercultural awareness</b>	
<p><b>Level 1 – Basic Cultural Awareness:</b></p> <p>a general awareness of the role of cultures on our own and others' communication.</p>	An awareness of culture as a set of shared behaviours, beliefs, values, and world views.				<p>The ability to articulate your own cultural perspective.</p> <p>The ability to compare cultures at a general level.</p>	
	An awareness of the role culturally based contexts play in any interpretation of meaning.		An awareness of our own culturally induced behaviour, values and beliefs and an awareness of others' culturally induced behaviour, values, and beliefs.			
	An awareness of similarities and differences between cultures at a general level.					
<p><b>Level 2 – Advanced Cultural Awareness:</b></p> <p>An awareness of the complexity of cultures</p>	An awareness of the relative nature of cultural norms	An awareness of individuals as members of cultural groups and many other social groups.	An awareness of multiple voices or perspectives within any cultural grouping.	An awareness that cultural understanding is provisional and open to revision.	<p>The ability to move beyond the cultural generalisations that may be a feature of initial interaction in intercultural communication.</p>	<p>The ability to compare and mediate between cultures at a specific level, and an awareness of possibilities for mismatch and miscommunication between specific cultures.</p>
	A detailed awareness of common ground between specific cultures as well as awareness of possibilities for mismatch and miscommunication between specific cultures.					

<sup>3</sup> Will Baker has granted permission for the use of the ICA table in this thesis.



Above, it is suggested that three different levels of ICA can be identified within broad areas that are flexible and situationally relevant. Levels 1 and 2 of CA (Basic and Advanced Cultural Awareness) were developed from the *savoirs* in the ICC model (Byram, 1997). At level 3 of ICA, the Negotiation and mediation aspects of ‘critical cultural awareness’ are expanded to approach the fluidity, complexity, and emergency of ELF communication, in which national cultures are relevant but not central in one’s communicative resources.

In more details, *Level 1* of the ICA model indicates *Basic Cultural Awareness* that can be seen in the ability to articulate “their own cultural perspective” and “compare cultures at a general level”. Those actions will show the awareness of:

1. culture as a set of shared behaviours, beliefs, and values;
2. the role culture and context play in any interpretation of meaning;
3. our own culturally induced behaviour, values, and beliefs and the ability to articulate this;
4. others’ culturally induced behaviour, values, and beliefs and the ability to compare this with our own culturally induced behaviour, values, and beliefs.

(Baker, 2011:66)

*Level 2* is described as *Advanced Cultural Awareness* and is observable in the ability one demonstrates to articulate their talk and to think beyond cultural generalisations and stereotypes, and to “compare and mediate between cultures at a specific level” (Baker, 2015:170), showing awareness of:

5. the relative nature of cultural norms;
6. cultural understanding as provisional and open to revision;
7. multiple voices or perspectives within any cultural groupings;
8. individuals as members of many social groupings, including cultural ones;
9. common ground between specific cultures as well as an awareness of the possibility for mismatch and miscommunication between specific cultures.

(Baker 2011:66)

*Level 3* is the highest level of ICA and is called *Intercultural Awareness*. While levels 1 and 2 are based on ICC (Byram 1997, 2008), level 3 is the level of awareness that characterises a more complex conceptual understanding and practice of intercultural communication. In Baker's (2015:166) words, this level "involves an awareness of cultures, languages and communication which are not correlated and tied to any single native speaker community or even group of communities". It contemplates how English is used in cultural practices and how speakers make sense of ELF interactions, where the relations between the local and the global are dynamic and produce new practices, forms and concepts. Level 3 ICA includes the awareness of:

10. culturally based frames of reference, forms, and communicative practices as being related both to specific cultures and also as emergent and hybrid in intercultural communication;
  11. initial interaction in intercultural communication as possibly based on cultural stereotypes or generalisations but an ability to move beyond these through:
  12. a capacity to negotiate and mediate between different emergent socioculturally grounded communication modes and frames of reference based on the above understanding of culture in intercultural communication.
- (Baker 2011:66)

Similar to ICC, ICA was conceived to provide pedagogical aims that address the cultural dimension of communication (Baker, 2012), designed to be the framework that would make it possible to "develop ICA within the ELT Classroom" (p.68). With an impact beyond pedagogical considerations, the ICA model has been a timely contribution towards the much-needed complexification of the theorisation of intercultural communication through ELF. The model has provided theoretical linguacultural nuances to ELF negotiation of meaning that can be used in more than one way. For instance, observing communication through the practice-orientated aspect of ICA, not only does the individual "not move in a linear manner through the three levels (...) and may 'revert' to lower levels as well" (Baker, 2015:167-9), but the same 'individual' may also display different ICA levels in the course of one conversation. So, I would like to propose that, although the ICA model was not elaborated to be "an analytical construct" (p.169), it can be adjusted and expanded to become a model for the analysis of ICA levels displayed in naturally occurring negotiations of cultural understandings, which may, in turn, inform further research with a pedagogical focus.

Unlike ICC (Byram, 1997, 2021), ICA was not elaborated with assessment guidelines for teaching contexts (Baker, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2018). In fact, the ICA model is repeatedly referred to as a model for development, not for assessing intercultural

awareness through language education. However, the model is divided into levels, which points to the observation of stages theorised and illustrated with extracts from the participants' talk (Baker, 2011, 2015). In Baker (2015), an assessment is used in a case study, where the student participants answered the same questionnaire before and after taking a course on Global Englishes (especially ELF), intercultural communication and intercultural awareness. The data showed that just a slight increase was found in the intercultural awareness of the group after the course. This result was attributed to the students already having a positive attitude towards intercultural communication and previous understanding and knowledge of Global Englishes before taking the course.

With another set of goals, I will adapt the ICA model to take the speakers' situated communicative practices as fractioned positionings that may affect the development and outcome of a negotiation. For this reason, I will build on Baker's ICA model by adapting it for analytical purposes, describing the communicative and discursive practices that will characterise each ICA level. Further details on that adaptation will be presented in section 3.5.6, in the Methodology chapter, and later complemented in the Discussion chapter. Next, I will be exploring the processual nature of the negotiation of cultural understandings through ELF talk.

### 2.3.7 The Negotiation of Cultural Understandings

As discussed previously, the term 'negotiation of meaning' has been used substantially in ELF research. However, the capitalised *Negotiation* used here encompasses more than pre-empting or trying to solve understanding problems in intercultural communication.

It is the key to the process whereby participants adjust their (cultural) ways of speaking, apply and refine their cultural schemata, and orient to, assign, or reject social, cultural, or situational categorisations.(...) Negotiation is the very mechanism that enables participants in intercultural and lingua franca communication to employ, mobilise, or manipulate diverse resources to achieve their goals of interaction.

(Zhu, 2015: 64)

Therefore, Negotiation is like a dance of positionings based on evaluations of "social, cultural and situational categorisations" (p.64) that intercultural speakers engage in when negotiating cultural understandings. It is an important moment in the relational and decision-making processes of intercultural communication.

Other theoretical and research efforts have been made in ELF related publications to approach the issue of diverse cultural backgrounds in ELF communication. For



instance, Canagarajah (2007) has proposed interpreting lingua franca English through a practice-based model. In conversations characterised as lingua franca interactions, individuals are expected to use negotiation practices by managing diverse linguistic make-ups, discourses and values to do their tasks. Likewise, Communities of Practice (CoP) that operate in ELF negotiate ‘normativity’ to suit their goals and the linguistic and linguacultural resources of their community members (Cogo, 2010). Negotiation is a ‘partnership’ towards mutual understanding in ongoing interactions while making everyone’s contributions relevant (Zhu, 2015).

Although most ELF interactions seem to be cooperative (Cogo, 2016), with the extra effort being employed to make sense of one another’s utterances, some divergent behaviours have also been found in ELF. In those cases, the data revealed shifts to less cooperative behaviours in situations with linguistic ability as a marker of difference between groups. Besides the variety in linguistic repertoires, another aspect that causes mismatches in conversation is the variety in frames of reference, and that means one’s “cognitive knowledge about speech events and speakers” (Zhu, 2015:71) on which he/she relies to make sense of what is said. This way, cultural schemas or ‘cultural models’ are the most pertinent to diverse cultural and/or linguistic backgrounds because they come from the individual’s internalised cultural experiences and then shared collectively. Zhu (ibid.) exemplifies the Negotiation of cultural schemas with the extract from VOICE below:

- (1) Dinner table conversation among international students (VOICE, LEcon8)  
 S1: female, Korean; S2/S3 female: Kyrgyzstan; S5: male, Peruvian; SX-2: unidentified speaker; see the appendix for transcription conventions

310 S3: <soft> @@@ </soft> (57) is it kind of national hat or no. (1)  
 is it normal hat or (.)  
 311 S5: normal hat?  
 312 S3: <5> hat </5>  
 313 S2: <5> i think </5> (traditional) <6> traditional </6> (.)  
 314 S3: <6> national?</6>  
 315 SX-2: traditional  
 hat your hat  
 316 S3: hat your hat  
 317 S5: <fast> yeah yeah it’s mine </fast> (1)  
 318 S3: no is it traditional or no =  
 319 S5: = yeah i think <fast><7> yeah yeah i think so i hope  
 </7></fast>  
 320 S1: <7> it’s (from) austria right </7>  
 321 SX-2: it’s aust<8>rian yeah </8>  
 322 S5: <8> yeah austrian </8> yeah  
 323 SX-2: it’s austrian <9> one </9>  
 324 S3: <9> austr<9><1>ian you bought it </1> here?

The Negotiation is triggered in line 310, where the word ‘normal’ appears to be a problematic term used by S3 to describe S5’s hat through a comprehension checking move. Then, the confusion about what ‘normal’ might mean is signalled by S5 with the repetition of the problem source ‘normal hat’ with rising intonation. That is when S2 jumps in to suggest the term ‘traditional’ to clarify the idea of ‘normal’, which is overlapped with S3’s rephrasing, “national”. Therefore, the initial ‘normal’ hat has expanded into a ‘national’ or ‘traditional’ hat. Sx-2 also joins the conversation to point out s/he believes they are talking about a ‘traditional’ hat. That is followed by a misunderstanding concerning the ownership of the hat but is reiterated by S3 as a question about the type of hat S5 is wearing. That is finally followed by a direct, although uncertain, answer from S5 “yeah I think, yeah yeah I think so, I hope” (1.319).

S1 starts a new cycle of explicitation of what traditional and national meant by asking if the hat is ‘Austrian’, which is confirmed and agreed upon by S5 and Sx-2. The Negotiation of frames of reference ends when the speakers are satisfied with the confirmation S5 provides about the hat being Austrian. This agreement can be seen in line 324 when S3 enquires about where the hat was bought. Therefore, the hat was called normal, national and traditional, and finally agreed upon as Austrian.

As the example above shows, the Negotiation of cultural schemas in intercultural interactions presents both normative and emergent characteristics. Those Negotiation sequences are normative in that they are first interpreted from previous experiences and then emergent due to the transformation of knowledge generated by the new experience.

Most importantly, Negotiation is to be taken as a micro-level mechanism of high priority for intercultural and lingua franca communication. Motivations to negotiate in interaction include reaching communicative mutual understanding, “maintaining the interactional flow, resolving differences, attaining communicative efficiency, seeking approval, reaching agreements, gaining advantage building solidarity, and developing identities” (Zhu, 2015:84). Thus, the contribution of the Negotiation concept towards intercultural lingua franca communication is that it focuses on the individual and his/her agency instead of a cultural group. Similar to Baker’s (2015, 2018) post-structuralist position, Negotiation (Zhu, 2015) does not rely on *a priori* knowledge of behaviours but the unique nature of interactions. There is an emphasis on the resources brought into play rather than on the difficulties and a greater appreciation of the process over the product.

## Addressing Gaps and Illustrating Theories

With the focus on Negotiation of cultural understanding in ELF communication, this chapter has covered the choice of the terms ‘negotiation of understandings’ instead of ‘negotiation of meaning’, the use of pragmatic strategies, the conceptualisation of culture, linguaculture, Intercultural Communicative Competence, the ICA model, and the development of cultural understandings along with the Negotiation. I will now summarise in a few words the topics above and sign post the gaps in the literature that I intend to address and the constructs that my data analysis will illustrate.

Having explored the definition of ELF, this study aims to further our understanding of the linguistic and discursive practices at play when Negotiations of cultural understandings are taking place. This will add to the field of intercultural communication through ELF both theoretically and methodologically, as it will be explained below.

The possible impact of faith-based communication on face work and what it means to this study was discussed above as one of the nuances that this thesis will be investigating. It will also add to the field of faith community communication by looking at the communicative practices of the members who are not part of the leadership team of the church, since the studies found on the topic focus on how leaders or faith authorities communicate in that context.

I also explained why I will prefer to use the term negotiation of understandings rather than negotiation of meaning. Starting from the definition of meaning as literal (semantic) or contextual (pragmatic), I proposed that a speech community shares meanings, but understandings are the interpretations of those meanings. Meanings can be found in the imaginary of social groups and go through a more complex process to change. Nevertheless, understandings are found in the practices and cognitive repertoires of the interactants and can be changed even after a single conversation. In this thesis, I will conduct an in-depth study of naturally occurring Negotiations of *cultural* understandings, which will reveal and illustrate more nuanced aspects of how meaning is co-constructed at the micro-level through the participants’ linguacultural communicative practices.

In addition, I presented pragmatic strategies to achieve and support understanding in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts of interaction characteristic of ELF talk. As English speakers in their own right, the ELF speakers in the data analysis exemplified above have shown that the competent use of strategies to reach an understanding in ELF

interactions qualifies them as skilled intercultural communicators, not deficient ones. Although they may overlap at times, the functions of the pragmatic strategies explored thus far can be summarised as:

<b>Functions</b>	<b>Pragmatic Strategies</b>
Explicitness	self-repetition (rephrasing) self-repair metadiscourse mediation
Clarification	self-repetition (parallel phrasing) self-repetition (rephrasing) other-repetition (represents) self-repairs other-repairs metadiscourse reformulations clarification requests
Emphasis	self-repetition (emphasis)
Keep one's utterance going	self-repetition (disfluencies) discourse markers (main speaker) backchannels ('wait and see') let-it-pass
Show agreement and/or support	backchannels other-repetition (represents) make-it-normal cooperative overlaps completion overlaps utterance completion
Signal listenership	backchannels cooperative overlaps completion overlaps utterance completions
Organize the talk	discourse markers metadiscourse mediation
Signal topic centrality	other-repetition (represents)
Check one's own understanding	code glosses (metadiscourse) clarification requests
Check other's understanding	comprehension checks
Signal non-understanding	general and minimal queries

Signal understanding	backchannels

Table 1

For my analysis, I will use and, whenever necessary, adapt and expand the description of pragmatic strategies already found in the ELF studies mentioned above by looking at the particular characteristics of the data generated for the present study. After all, looking at new conversations and with a new set of goals is likely to equip the analyst to see new possibilities of theorisation of meaning-making processes.

Furthermore, a post-structuralist approach to the borders of the relationship between culture(s) and language(s) was proposed to explain how communicative strategies can work together with intercultural communication studies (Baker, 2011, 2015, 2018). That approach was based on two similar perspectives about the relationship between language and culture in which different focuses will generate different answers. That is, in the ‘generic sense’ (Risager, 2006) and in a ‘micro-perspective’ (Baker, 2015), culture is embedded in language through the individual’s experience. However, in the ‘differential sense’ (Risager, 2006) and in a ‘macro-perspective’ (Baker, 2015), language can be used to convey culture, and it shares some universal characteristics with other ‘named’ languages. The study of the Negotiation of cultural understandings will provide a valuable exemplification of how the notion of linguaculture emerges through the encounter of differences in the linguistic practices that are identified by the participants as characteristic of one or more social groups.

After distinguishing between the cross-cultural, the intercultural and the transcultural approaches, I explained that ‘intercultural’ communication would be my term of choice. It will stand for interactions where the research participants discuss a culture-related topic. As for intercultural competence, ICC (Byram, 1997, 2021) was explored and criticised in its relevance for the negotiation of meaning and expanded through Baker’s ICA (2011, 2012, 2015, 2018) to encompass the characteristics of ELF talk. With my data, I will illustrate why I stand by Matsuo’s (2012, 2015) criticism of the monologism of the ICC model by showing that not only one side (‘the learner’) of a Negotiation of cultural understandings has their repertoire affected by that interaction, but also the repertoire of the interlocutor whose understanding is being clarified/Negotiated.

The theorisation of ICA into levels, which incorporated a complexity theory view of language and culture and the notion of linguaculture, is one of the primary theoretical

bases for the investigation proposed here. It provides a model for development that will be expanded and adapted to address communicative practices that express different levels of ICA at the utterance level during a Negotiation of cultural understandings. Furthermore, I will address the call for more practice-orientated ICA research with naturally occurring data, which will result in new theorisation and findings that can be used to devise future research projects that can point to teachable communicative practices that foster ICA.

The Negotiation model (Zhu, 2015) was brought up to theorise the normative and emergent nature of Negotiation of cultural understanding in ELF. In Negotiation, participants of an intercultural conversation bring their previous experiences that function as frames of reference to interpret what is being negotiated. Then, they leave the current interaction with a broader understanding of the topic discussed, whether it is a new uniform understanding or a new plethora of possible understandings. Zhu's (2015) focus on Negotiation is also a theoretical foundation and an example of the use of communication strategies such as repetition, rephrasing, and information checks to achieve and support understanding focused on a cultural matter. The present investigation will illustrate once more that a topic goes through an emergent process in a Negotiation and that the participants orient towards (or resist) the changes or each other's views a number of times in each conversation. As I will be analysing seven Negotiations, it is also likely that other relevant pragmatic strategies for this kind of interaction that were not found in Zhu's (2015) extracts will be identified in the data.

Therefore, this study aims to approach the data having ELF intercultural communication as a theoretical basis and focus. To investigate how communicative strategies play into the demonstration of ICA levels in the Negotiation of cultural understanding, I will devise an analysis that stems from the theory discussed above in a way that suits the specific goals of this study. The new analytical perspectives, methodological rationales and the contextual information that make up the setting of this study will be explained in the following chapter.

## 3 Methodology

In London, a context where multilingualism is the norm, English stands out as the lingua franca that connects speakers with a substantial diversity of linguacultural backgrounds. As presented in the previous chapter, numerous studies have been conducted on the intelligibility of ELF speakers, the Negotiation of cultural frames of reference, and their use of pragmatic strategies. Nonetheless, this study aims to combine and adapt the selected theoretical frameworks above to investigate how intercultural awareness demonstrations and pragmatic strategies affect the development of Negotiations of cultural understanding in a Londoner faith-based community of practice.

This exploratory case study (Gerring, 2011:6) aims to look closely at how this kind of conversation, where cultural understanding is negotiated, can be understood and theorised with an utterance-by-utterance approach to ICA levels and pragmatic strategies. The analysis will be primarily qualitative, although a quantitative approach to the occurrence of similar practices will also weigh into the interpretation of the findings to establish relevant patterns. There will be a triangulation of methods that aim to complement each other. The contextual information will be explored through interviews, questionnaires, and documents, while the communicative practices (the focus of this study) will be examined through Conversation Analysis.

### 3.1 Research questions

Three research questions will guide the analysis of the participants' display of Intercultural Awareness (ICA) and their use of pragmatic strategies to negotiate cultural understandings:

1. What are the levels of Intercultural Awareness (ICA) displayed in the communicative practices of the participants?
2. How do the ICA levels impact the unfolding of the Negotiations?
3. How are the pragmatic strategies identified interrelated with the displays of ICA levels?

To identify the Negotiations of cultural understandings, the instances of Negotiation had to be located in the data and filtered through to find those whose topics being negotiated

were 'primarily cultural'. As discussed previously, language will be considered as a means to negotiate cultural aspects whenever "ways of life" (practices and/or views) (Baker, 2015:50) associated with a social group (national, continental, gender, age, among others) becomes the central topic being discussed in a sequence of talk. While language(s) is/are not viewed as intrinsically linked to a particular group of speakers and their cultures, linguistic elements can be associated with cultural aspects according to the participants' experiences and perceptions. Those moments in the conversation where language and culture meet in one's communicative practices will be considered one's display of his/her (idiolectal) linguaculture.

To provide a panoramic view of the changes in understanding during the conversation first, I will follow Zhu's (2015) theorisation of Negotiation in ELF. In practice, this means I will locate and characterise the topic(s) being discussed, track its/their development during the conversation, and get to the cultural understanding(s) 'result' of that discussion. This way, the reader will be acquainted with the overall Negotiation before I zoom in to analyse the ICA levels and the strategies used by the participants to carry it out.

For the *first question*, I aim to examine the levels of Intercultural Awareness (Baker, 2015) observable in the participants' practices. First, I will assess the level of ICA indicated by the participants' communicative choices concerning when and how they engage in the Negotiation of cultural understanding. Based on Baker's ICA framework, *Level 1* means one has basic cultural awareness that is "a general awareness of the role of cultures on our own and 'others'" communication"; *Level 2* means one demonstrates an advanced cultural awareness expressed in their "awareness of the complexity of cultures"; and *Level 3* means one has Intercultural Awareness when he/she "blurs the intercultural line, rather than maintains clear cultural distinctions, and adapts and adopts different values and beliefs [] experienced in a liminal manner" (p.171).

In effect, from this perspective, it will be possible to categorise the participants' communicative choices according to: whether the participants start the Negotiation pre-emptively (*Level 1 to 3 ICA*) or after the non-understanding has been signalled (*Level 1 ICA*); and how the relationship between language and culture is operated by the speakers, which can be classified according to ICA levels, depending on whether they take actions that show their awareness of the relevance of different cultures in the conversation (*Level 1 ICA*), or they compare or contrast specific characteristics of different cultures (*Level 2 ICA*), and/or they take a liminal position demonstrating or discursively articulating the fluidity and emergence of cultural understandings (*Level 3 ICA*). Therefore, at this point,



the analysis will be qualitative, as utterances are classified into theoretical categories according to the characteristics mentioned above.

For the *second question*, I aim to observe the conversation as a whole and verify if the presence or predominance of particular levels of ICA affects the way a Negotiation was initiated, developed and ended. For instance, the negotiations that present a predominance of *Level 1 ICA* displays may or may not be carried out in a binary manner, with displays of right/wrong, big/small, here/there perspectives. This take on cultural understanding Negotiation may or may not result in a more limited range of understandings/perceptions of the topic being discussed. Likewise, the Negotiation predominantly led through *Level 3 ICA* displays may or may not contain a more complex co-construction of the concept being discussed, leading to a more diverse range of understandings. It will also be possible to observe if there is a pattern in ICA levels that occur at the beginning and ending of the Negotiations analysed and how the beginnings may have influenced their development.

For the *third question*, the aim is to identify and explore how the pragmatic strategies may be related to ICA levels and how they may affect the development of the conversation. First, in each conversation, I will list the occurrence of pragmatic strategies used in the utterances where levels of ICA are being displayed, signalling both the strategies categories and the levels of ICA where they were found. Then, I will look at the pragmatic strategies being used in response to (after) the demonstrations/displays/expressions/denotations of ICA levels. Those will be examined for patterns according to which level of ICA they are related to.

Finally, it is essential to mention that the assessment of ICA levels and identifying the pragmatic strategies being used will be analysed one conversation at a time. The interplay of the findings of the whole study will only be compiled and discussed in Chapter 5, where I will provide tables that will help the reader visualise the processes and patterns found so that a discussion can be elaborated concerning the referred literature.

### 3.2 Context

This research has been conducted through my connection with a local church I was attending for the first half of my PhD years. Therefore, the sampling of data was both of convenience and purposive types (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2017). The sampling was of *convenience* because it “involve[d] choosing the nearest individuals to serve as respondents and continuing that process until required sample size ha[d] been obtained of those who happen to be available and accessible at the time” (p.218). It was likewise

*purposive* as I “handpick[ed] the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality of possession of the particular characteristic(s) being sought” (p.218). In this case, as it will be described below, this specific faith community had particular linguacultural characteristics and carrying out activities that made them suitable for the present study.

### 3.2.1 The (broader) church community

The community of faith that connects the groups being studied in this research was founded over 30 years ago in South East London and is composed of about 100-150 members. Most of the participants first met, and one of the only things they have in common. This non-denominational Christian church community is composed mainly of English nationals (of different ethnicities) but has about one-fourth of its members from other countries, including people from South America and Africa. The services are typical of a charismatic thread of Christianity, with a relatively informal setting. The church meets on Sundays for the service and has a few scattered activities in the week that vary in frequency, some weekly, others monthly. The naturally occurring conversations recorded are not from the church services but from the interactions that happened at an open-invitation lunch after the Sunday services and at meetings of a missional community. Both groups’ characteristics and practices will be described in detail later.

Regarding the linguistic diversity of the city where this church is located, Vertovec (2007) highlights the existence of at least 300 different languages being spoken in London and calls for further studies of the new patterns of inequality and prejudice, of segregation, new experiences of space and contact, new forms of cosmopolitanism and creolisation. In this research, London's high diversity is exemplified in the faith-based community’s activities and provides a rich context for investigating the new experiences of space and contact mentioned by Vertovec. Conversations are permeated by diverse linguistic and cultural repertoires that foster effective communication and protect the community’s ultimate goal: connection. For this reason, in the process of addressing how cultural understanding is negotiated through ELF, all the linguacultural backgrounds foregrounded by the participants will become central to the analysis.

### 3.2.2 Connect Lunches

At the beginning of 2018, the Connect Lunches started in a house where four housemates from the same church community decided to invite people for a meal at their house after

the Sunday morning service. In the first year, they were called Sunday Lunches. I joined them in February when I was invited to lunch after going to that church for a few weeks. The objective of the lunch activity was and still is to deepen social relationships within the community of faith. The guests were also allowed to invite friends that were not members of our church community or even had the same faith. At the end of 2018, the four hosts let us know they had to move out of that house, so some of the regular guests of the lunch, I included, decided to take up the organisation of the activity. After a month's break and some conversations with the church leadership, the lunches started again in February 2019. The activity was resumed but now at different houses of voluntary hosts every week. A rota was organised every two months to make sure all Sundays with church services.

Besides being socio-linguistically diverse, the Connect Lunches community and the missional community can be considered Communities of Practice (CoPs) (Wenger, 1998) that are contextually situated within a broader community (the local church). They are, in Wenger's terms, characterised by their "mutual engagement, [their] joint enterprise, and [their] shared repertoire" (Wenger, 1998:73). Therefore, I will describe those two communities, one at a time, pointing out the characteristics that align them with Wenger's CoPs.

The membership in the Connect lunches community of practice is a "matter of mutual engagement" (Wenger, 1998:73) that pervades the organisation, contribution, and part-taking of the lunches. In 2018, the core members (first hosts) of the Connect lunches would informally invite people at church and send weekly reminders to the regulars and the newcomers (both peripheral participants) on their WhatsApp group created for that purpose. Although the hosts did the cooking on most Sundays, the regulars (group of about 5-6 people, including myself) would cook or stop by to help with food prep the day before at least once a month. The guests would volunteer to buy drinks, desserts, or ingredients to complement the meal on the way to the house. These contributions continued happening when the venue changed into a rota in 2019. Given the different levels of engagement one could have each week, the members' roles were constantly negotiated. As the regulars took more and more ownership of the activity/practice, they also took more responsibility for the mechanisms that made it possible.

According to Wenger (1998), in a community of practice, there are peripheral "practice-based connections" (p.117) which he argues are what newcomers need because that peripheral engagement "offer[s] them various forms of casual but legitimate access to a practice without subjecting them to the demands of full membership. This kind of

peripherality can include observations (...) and involve actual forms of engagement” (ibid.). In the Connect Lunches activity, the peripheral participation can be attributed to the regulars and those who are new to or rarely join the lunch. They can bring the voluntary contributions mentioned above but are not essential to the organisation of the event at a core level. They suggest and influence how things are or should be done in the activity without the responsibility of making those changes happen. The peripheral participants are how the Connect Lunches’ core members stay in touch with the other communities of the church, and this connection is a significant source of changes in the activity.

In 2019, there was a change in membership statuses. Because the original hosts had to move out of their shared house, the organisation of the lunches was passed on to the ‘regular guests’. Therefore, the lunch began to be composed of three core members, I and two others, and a new group of regulars that started taking shape. After we began to rotate venues, the number of non-regular participants increased and became more demographically diverse as more children, and older people started to come.

The Connect Lunches are a joint enterprise. The lunches involve getting voluntary hosts, which may cook or only host, find voluntary cooks for the non-cooking hosts, invite guests, sort what needs to be brought to the venue on the day (usually dessert, drinks, salad), and publicity (photos for the WhatsApp group, mouth-to-mouth, and notices at church).

Therefore, this community is “the result of a collective process of negotiation that reflects the full complexity of mutual engagement, [and] it is defined by the participants in the very process of pursuing it. It is their negotiated response to their situation and thus belongs to them in a profound sense” (Wenger, 1998:77). It is also true that this joint enterprise “creates among participants relations of mutual accountability that become an integral part of the practice” (p.78). Although there is an understanding that both activities are voluntary, including their organisation, there is a sense of value for the time spent together on Sunday afternoons after the church service and at the missional community’s meetings that motivate accountability concerning attendance and administrative actions.

Having existed for almost two years, the Connect Lunches have also developed their own shared repertoire. They “include[] routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence” (Wenger, 1998:83). When it comes to the lunches, this repertoire is composed of all the procedures mentioned above that became an integral part of our weekly routines, especially for the lunch organisation. However, it

also encompasses the routine of the lunches themselves. For instance, it is now expected that, at the end of the morning service, the ‘lunch people’ will hang around for at least 20 minutes to gather the guests and plan how to get to the venue, which usually involves a stop at a local shop to buy some contributions towards the lunch. It is also expected that when we arrive at the hosting house, we will provide drinks and offer to help with the last details of the preparation of the food. Before the main meal is served, and generally, over appetisers, there is a tendency to carry out ‘catch up talk’ (in smaller groups or pairs) about the week’s highlights in the participants’ lives in general. During the main meal, at the table or seating in a few rooms spread out in the house, the talks are more likely to involve all the participants. They are the moments when the data for this study is recorded.

### 3.2.3 The missional community

The second community whose meetings were recorded are a missional community part of the same church of the Connect Lunches. They are one of the small groups that make up the broader church community. The missional communities are groups of 5-20 people who gather according to their identification with a particular expression of the “mission” of the Christian church. Although I was part of another missional community, I knew all the participating missional community members, at least from the services. I decided to invite them to participate in my research because I was facing some technical difficulties to record some of the Lunches and needed to increase the amount of data collected to make sure there would be enough. They were selected among other communities for being composed of the most varied linguacultural backgrounds in the church.

Since Paola was one of the organisers of the lunch and an active member of this specific missional community, I went to her first and asked what she thought of expanding my recordings from the Connect lunches to their meetings. She believed it was a good idea and said I should come by to one of their meetings to explain my research and get their consent. So, when I came by one of their lunches, they asked a few questions about what exactly I was studying. I told them my investigation was about how multilingual speakers of English negotiate cultural understanding, not about how well people speak Standard English. This explanation made them feel more relaxed and willing to participate. At this point, not many of them had been to the Connect Lunches yet or had come to one of the days I did not record data.

Conceptually, this group of people can be considered a Community of Practice (CoP) because they are characterised by mutual engagement, a joint enterprise, and a

shared repertoire of practices (Wenger, 1998). I learned from the questionnaire answered by its members that their roles in mutual engagement are negotiated between the core members and the leader. In practice, the organisation of the activities is done by the main leader, who is sometimes replaced by someone else whenever she cannot be present. Specific members can also lead those practices according to the type of activity and their abilities.

As defined by the members, their joint enterprise is a range of supportive and loving actions that benefit individuals and families of the local communities and other missional community members both in practical and spiritual ways. This overarching goal is a “result of a collective process of Negotiation that reflects the full complexity of mutual engagement” (Wenger, 1998:77). Therefore, this community’s agreement to “love [their] neighbours as themselves” (Mark 12:31, the Holy Bible) permeates their activities and how they relate to each other.

The missional community’s shared repertoire of practices involves meeting every second Sunday of the month to do activities that are inward and outward-looking. When it comes to their relationship with each other, they aim to grow deeper in friendship by sharing their own spiritual experiences, helping each other with practical issues, praying, worshipping, doing Bible studies, and having meals together. They help out the outer community by doing street cleaning, inviting their neighbours over for barbecues, providing free car-washing, intentionally befriending and offering practical and spiritual support, and joining tenants and residents’ associations. They also conduct outreaches, which means going to the streets in groups to share their faith.

Their lunches were the most suitable activity for recording, mainly because they would usually invest in connecting at a personal level with each other. So, before the second Sunday of the month, I would always find one of the group members, give them my audio recorder, and remind them to explain the research and get the consent of any newcomers. I would also make sure to check if they had any questions. As explained before, I did not attend the meetings of the missional community to not interfere in their usual dynamics. The presence of a recorder itself already stood for (a less face-threatening) remote presence of the researcher.

### 3.3 The participants

Besides being a faith community, the context chosen is composed of participants with multi-layered linguistic and linguacultural experiences that they bring to each interaction. It can be said that the level of diversity in trajectories and, consequently, in the

participants’ repertoires characterizes the interactions recorded as super-diverse. Vertovec coined the term ‘super-diversity’ to describe the migration situation in Britain as “distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade” (p.1024). He explains that, although the complexity of migration is not a new phenomenon, there has been a change in the scale and complexity of the migration movements. Indeed, there is a greater variety of people and an increase in the variables that impact how, where, and with whom they live. Likewise, most of my research participants have lived in different parts of the world and make up a complex system of sociocultural backgrounds.

Speaking at least another language besides English, most of them fit the description of multilingual speakers of English. Another relevant characteristic is the variety of countries of origin represented (Italy, England, Brazil, Singapore, Colombia, Tajikistan, Portugal, Scotland, and Zimbabwe). In the chart below, I will present the participants by their given pseudonyms, nationality and ethnicity (as they may not be the same), and their linguistic repertoire (languages and their level of expertise). The age range went from 20s to 50s, with exception of an interlocutor who was in his early teens<sup>4</sup> and was an unplanned participant of one of the conversations analysed. The ages are not listed below as another layer of anonymity of my participants.

<b>Participants</b>	<b>Nationality (Ethnicity)</b>	<b>Linguistic Repertoire</b>
Esther	Singaporean (Chinese)	English (expert) Mandarin (expert) Japanese (expert) Hokkien – Mandarin dialect (expert understanding) Uyghur – Mandarin dialect (expert understanding) French (reading)
Jamie	Scottish (White British)	English (expert) Japanese (basic) Mandarin (table talk phrases)

<sup>4</sup> This minor was a child to two of the participants. The appropriate consent form has been signed for the use of his participation.

Ellen	Tajik (Korean)	Russian (expert) Tajik (intermediate) English (advanced)
Lana	English (White British)	English (expert) Spanish (basic)
Juliana	Brazilian (White South American)	Portuguese (expert) English (expert) Italian (basic understanding) Spanish (intermediate understanding)
Charles	English (White British)	English (expert) German (travel language)
Paola	Italian (White Italian)	Italian (expert) English (expert)
Kate	English (White British)	English (expert) Spanish (advanced) French (advanced)
Amber	Zimbabwean (Shona Ndaou)	Shona (advanced) English (advanced)
Dwaine	Zimbabwean (Shona Maungwe)	Shona (advanced) English (advanced)
Paul	English (White British)	English (expert) French (intermediate for tourism and occasional translation) Turkish (intermediate understanding for tourism and occasional activities) Italian (basic for tourism)
Lizzy	English (White British)	English (expert) French (basic for tourism)
		English (expert)



Child	English (White British)	
Serina	English (Black British)	English (advanced)
Dani	English (Nigerian)	English (advanced) French (basic, for socialising) Yoruba (basic, for socialising)
Wilson	English (Nigerian)	English (advanced) Yoruba (intermediate, for socialising and occasionally for business)

Table 2

### 3.4 The role of the researcher

In this research study, I am both one of the participants and the researcher. Therefore, I am ethnographically positioned as both an insider and an outsider in the context of the Connect Lunches and an outsider in the Missional Community. In this section, I will discuss the benefits and the challenges posed by my positionality in this particular community, especially regarding how it affected the data collection, its theorisation, and analysis.

My insider legitimacy is rooted in the fact I became part of the broader church community before considering the possibility of using our communicative practices as my research data. The personal character of these first months of contact allowed me to explore this church community with the genuine motivation of getting to know them. I believe that this personal connection with the participants helped with approaching them and asking for their participation in my research.

In Brown's (2012:22) words, "instead of more data, different data was mined and accessed because of my shared or overlapping identity" with the participants. That is, I believe my role as part of the church community generated more raw data than if a complete outsider had stepped in to conduct research. I also noticed that I was rarely asked about the study itself during the Connect Lunches, which I believe to be evidence of how relaxed the participants were about the recording. Those mentions mainly were to clarify or remind the participants of what I was studying in my PhD. Given my dual role in the communities studied, my studies' questions fell in the grey area, between personal curiosity about the research itself and a display of interest in my life. As a participant of most of the interactions recorded, I tried my best to disconnect from my researcher's role

and act as if I were not being recorded. In practice, I can say it was not too hard not to overthink my own participation because the conversations were overall entertaining, and my personal goal of connecting with others and coordinating the lunches also helped.

A challenging side to being close to my research participants is that I always needed to keep in mind that my relationship with them was more important than the research. For instance, when we resumed the lunches in 2019 with a different venue every week, one of the new attendees asked me, because I had become one of the organisers, if the lunches were for my research. This question alerted me to the risk of overemphasising the research and accidentally create a misconception of the lunch community's practices. Therefore, to protect the Connect Lunch practices, I suspended the collection of conversation data for a couple of months. During that time, I worked on establishing the conceptualisation of the lunch in the church community and did some individual profiling interviews. Those interviews were done in other places and times apart from the Sunday lunches slot. I sent questionnaires to the missional community to elicit their narrative about their community and gather their sociolinguistic profiles.

Methodologically speaking, I cannot ignore the fact that I am also an outsider as a foreigner in the UK and a researcher. This foreignness influences my participation and the theorisation that will generate the study's etic categories of analysis. That is, due to my dual engagement with the interactions, there is a productive tension between my emic and my etic take on the data. First, my 'insiderness' allows me to perceive categories that emanate from within the cultural system(s) being studied, such as the markedness of words or pronunciations that the group would need to negotiate. Second, my etic approach to the data, characterised by the operation of theoretical tools of a research field to process the data is enriched by my foreignness and my researcher's background.

The upside of the duality in my positionality is in line with the value of 'outsiderness' theorised by Bakhtin (1986) as a necessary complement of the insider's view of their own culture. Although I will be analysing how the participants negotiate (cultural) meaning, not trying to understand the cultures represented, I think of my foreignness to the UK as an asset that equips me with sensitiveness to identify the moments when those Negotiations take place. When I locate in the data the dialogic interpretation process Bakhtin calls 'creative understanding', I start to experience it myself through its analysis. As he explains:

Of course, a certain entry as a living being into a foreign culture, the possibility of seeing the world through its eyes, is a necessary part of the process of understanding it; but if this were the only aspect of this

understanding, it would merely be duplication and would not entail anything new or enriching. *Creative understanding* does not renounce itself, its own place in time, its own culture; and it forgets nothing. In order to understand, it is immensely important for the person who understands to be located outside the object of his or her creative understanding – in time, in space, in culture. For one cannot even really see one's own exterior and comprehend it as a whole, and no mirrors of photographs can help; our real exterior can be seen and understood only by other people, because they are located outside us in space and because they are *others*.

(Bakhtin, 1986:7)

Like none of us leaves our own cultural place to negotiate understandings, I do not leave my cultural place, my otherness or my insiderness when I conduct the study's analysis. In the data collection, my role of observer comes into action when I try to be aware of moments when body language and other modes of communication are used to complement the meaning being conveyed in the conversation. It is common sense that paying attention to extra-linguistic features is something interactants typically do during a conversation. However, besides noticing, I needed to make mental notes of all communicative resources that the recorder could not capture, so they would be added to my transcription in case those moments turned out to be analysed in my study. Unfortunately, I could not do this during the recordings of the missional community's meetings, as I was not there during the interactions to not interfere in the usual dynamics beyond the inevitable presence of a recording device.

Besides getting the informed consent documents signed before any recordings were made, every time I planned to record the lunch interactions, I checked if there was anyone present who did not know what the research was about and whether they wanted to take part in it or not. I always made sure to show that the recorder was being turned on after the thanksgiving prayer for privacy reasons. The participants were reminded that they could act normally and contact me afterwards if there was anything they said that they did not want me to include in my analysis. The intention was to maintain a trusting relationship between the participants and me, the researcher, as well as to keep the interactions as natural as possible.

In sum, I believe both my insider/outsider positionings contributed to the research process more than jeopardised it. As reported above, being a core member of the lunch activity has caused me to put the research aside occasionally, but it has also fostered a more relaxed environment for the recordings to be made and provided me with deeper insight concerning the broader context. Likewise, the interference of my researcher's role seems to have been minimised by my personal connection with the participants.

### 3.5 Methodological choices

To achieve the goal of investigating the interplay of ICA levels and pragmatic strategies in the development of Negotiations, I will use some ethnographic tools and Conversation Analysis (CA). In practice, the triangulation of methods will involve “two vantage points or datasets to tell us something about a third phenomenon” (Gorard and Taylor, 2004:43). In this study, because CA only considers contextual information that the speakers bring up, it will be supported by ethnographic data beyond the researcher’s perception of the community. Interviews and (virtual) documents will be analysed to explore the participants’ views of their communities and the broader church community's institutional description and practices.

First, I will explore how each of those methods will be operationalised and how they will complement each other in the analysis of the co-construction of meaning in intercultural conversations. Then, I will explain how Baker’s ICA framework will be adapted to serve the purposes of the present investigation.

#### 3.5.1 Conversation Analysis

In Conversation Analysis, the organization and management of talk-in-interaction are studied to understand the sociolinguistic competencies and reasoning procedures involved in the “production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction” (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998:14). In CA, there are two fundamental features of conversations: first, at least one party speaks at a time in a single conversation; and second, speaker change recurs (Sacks *et al.*, 1974). The sequences of interaction are perceived in the relationship between the turns in *adjacency pairs*. That is, a first utterance is followed by a second utterance from the other interlocutor, which is interpreted as the response necessary “to display to one another ...their ongoing understanding and sense-making of one another’s talk” (Green and Bloome, 1997:41).

It is also important to point out that, to the CA analyst, the broader context of the talk, such as the spheres of power, relationships, and setting, are only taken into account if the speakers of the interaction orient to them. What comes up in data is interpreted concerning how those turns operate in meaning-making but do not explore why they prefer specific patterns and ways of expressing themselves. Likewise, I will mention the relationship among speakers whenever that information becomes relevant to the analysis. The “situatedness” of CA “is especially important in ELF” (Cogo and Dewey, 2012:32),

because it is a useful framework for studying intercultural communication for its emphasis on the Negotiation of meaning in interaction via a turn-by-turn analysis.

Rather than use pure CA, I will transgress some of the aspects mentioned above to present what I believe to be a more straightforward and more rounded analysis that suits my investigation. For instance, differently from pure CA, certain words' rising or falling intonations will not be signalled every time they occur. That will be the case whenever they are not deemed essential to the description of a particular Negotiation of meaning. Another example of the flexibilization of the contextualisation aspect in this study is that I will also aim to account for two of the three context types that are usually ignored by CA (Blommaert, 2001):

a) *Resources*: the linguistic knowledge and communicative skills that speakers bring to the interaction. That information is so important to the characterisation of the interaction that they determine whether a speaker “can/cannot mobilise specific resources for performing specific actions in society” (p.21). In ELF contexts, it means to say that having/not having a particular linguistic repertoire, which is likely to include knowledge of languages other than English, may cause a speaker to act a certain way in the process of Negotiation of meaning. That is, hypothetically, they can be more proactive or more reactive in initiating Negotiations of meaning depending on how much knowledge they have of the language resource being used or discussed. There is also the possibility that “*what* can be told depends on *how* one can tell it. Complex stories become even more complex when they are told in uncomfortable varieties of languages” (p.23). In practice, one’s ability to express him/herself linguistically may influence how their ‘stories’ told and perceived by others. Then, when the level of clarity is negatively affected by his/her communicative ability, due to a limited vocabulary range, for instance, it may create the need for engagement in clarification sequences more often in some ‘resource contexts’ than in others.

b) Differently from CA, “in ethnography...the *history of the data* is acknowledged as an important element in their interpretation” (Blommaert, 2001:26). In a similar fashion to a broader understanding of metadiscourse (Adél and Mauranen, 2010), Blommaert argues that some texts come from another (traceable) text. A topic being discussed in the data might have originated in another conversation, which might have had the same people present and carries a different connotation to those involved in the present interaction. Removing or ignoring the contextual load of narratives may skew the interpretation of the participants’ behaviours. This action can “obscure the reasons for their production as well as the fact that they are tied to identifiable people and to particular

circumstances that occasioned them" (Blommaert, 2001:28). In the data analysis, I was attentive to the possibility of the previous history of a specific topic and was prepared to ask follow-up questions to generate a more rounded interpretation of the communicative behaviour of my participants.

### 3.5.2 Recordings: procedures and transcription conventions

The initial recruitment for this research was made informally via individual conversations with the house hosts where the Sunday lunches were being held at first. The main research goal and procedures were explained to them to check if they would be happy to have that data collection done at their home. After getting their approval, I confirmed personally with all the regular comers if they would also be willing to participate. This contact was made through informal conversations, primarily via instant messaging. Having received the ethical approval from the university's committee, I had the consent forms signed and information sheets handed out at the next Sunday lunch and on other occasions whenever new participants joined in. The recordings started the week after the first consents were collected. There were, in total, 22 hours and 6 minutes of recordings. As it is detailed in the limiting conditions section, some of those recordings were not usable (entirely or partially) due to challenges caused by environmental issues such as background noise and too many people talking.

The transcription conventions used for this study were the same posed by VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) (Seidlhofer, 2001) because they suit the demands of the CA data description proposed here. All the Negotiations of cultural understandings found in the data were used in this study, without exception, adding up to a total of 3.819 words transcribed<sup>5</sup>.

### 3.5.3 An ethnographic perspective and tools

The combination of CA and an ethnographic perspective as a method was also used in Cogo and Dewey (2012), where they operationalised what Li (2002) called the second strand of CA that is different from 'pure' CA. It "examines the management of social institutions IN interaction (...) [and] tends to focus on specific interactional situations, on local, interactional requirements, and especially on the ways in which interactants show

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<sup>5</sup> The extracts of the interviews and questionnaires analysed for their content are not counted here, because they were not transcribed with the CA conventions used for the Negotiations.

their orientations to these situations and requirements” (Li, 2002:163, emphasis in the original). In the present study, the ‘local interactional requirements’ are the Negotiations of cultural understandings. The focus of the Negotiation on cultural aspects makes it particularly necessary to resort to external ethnographic information whenever the participants’ action is based on their awareness of each other’s family backgrounds or professional expertise, for instance. Cogo and Dewey (2012:34) explained:

Our adaptation of CA methods (...), making use of CA tools and techniques, but combining these with a much more ethnographic perspective, which allows for more emic accounts of the communicative and cultural contexts as would be provided by the participants and the participants/researchers themselves.

Adopting an *ethnographic perspective* (Green and Bloome, 1997:184) means investigating the cultural practices of a social group without necessarily covering all the scope of a comprehensive ethnography. In this study, the interviews, questionnaires, and documental analysis will be a resource deployed in interpreting the positionings taken in the Negotiations and increasing the general understanding of their interactional and relational context. I will complement my use of CA with information collected via the ethnographic tools and for the specific objectives below:

- (1) an interview, primarily for sociocultural profiling, and secondarily for gauging the participants’ views on their communities;
- (2) a detailed account of the relevant situational frame of the conversations to aid in the interpretation of positionings and references made by the interlocutors;
- (3) and a description of the relevant relationships of the participants, tackling the gap of information that goes beyond what is mentioned during the interactions analysed to aggregate more nuances to my interpretation of the meaning being conveyed and responded to in each utterance.

The objective of eliciting and exploring the ethnographic information about the communities and each interaction is to provide data that may shape their willingness and the openness with which the cultural understandings are Negotiated. It will also enrich the analysis with background information about the context (location, circumstances, and the linguacultural background of the people involved) of the interaction. Even though I will still focus only on the features highlighted by the participants during the interaction, the ethnographic information that comes from my personal experiences with the communities of practice must be complemented by data originating from other sources to

increase the trustworthiness of the study. For this reason, interviews were done, questionnaires applied, and documents consulted.

#### 3.5.4 The Interviews and the Questionnaire

Besides recording the conversation data, I also recorded the interviews I conducted individually with each participant. Given that the guiding questions for the interviews were elaborated a few months after the data started being collected, the questions were much broader than the ones created for the questionnaire sent to the missional community a year later. As the focus of the thesis investigation was still being decided in the first year of PhD studies, the objective of the interview was to generate a sociocultural profile of the participants that would include their concepts of culture and language, their linguistic repertoire, abilities, their cultural background, and their conceptualisation of their community of practice. The interview was done with the participants of the Connect Lunches, who were the only group participating in the research for the first half of the data collection. To organise the participants' views on their community's goals and practice into relevant content categories, I will consider the theorisation of communication in faith-based communities and the theory of face-work (Goffman, 1967) discussed in section 1.3.

As mentioned before, the interviews were conducted individually, not during the Lunch activity. Some happened before church meetings (services, prayer gatherings), after lunch, or at their homes at a time scheduled specially for the interview. They lasted between 20 and 40 min, depending on how much the participant was willing to explain their points of view. It is relevant to say that not all the content of the interviews was used in the data analysis, mainly because the interview guidelines were broader than the scope of this investigation. For instance, the answers to the questions about their views of culture and language were not analysed as data because the focus of the study became the communicative practices of the participants, not their understanding of linguacultural practices.

The second round of sociolinguistic data collection instruments was designed for the missional community as a questionnaire. I needed this data collection instrument to be more practical than the interviews because I was not directly participating in that group's activities. As mentioned above, the questionnaire was also more focused than the interview as it was conceived towards the end of the data collection when the research questions had already been more refined, and the theoretical and methodological choices had become more evident. That means to say, at that point, I already knew I only needed



to know their linguacultural profile and their perceptions of their CoP's practices and purposes. So, I e-mailed or private messaged the questionnaire to the participants of the missional community. It included spaces for them to fill out with the language(s) they spoke or understood, providing the level of ability and eliciting a detailed description of the community's practices, organisation, and goals. Both the interview guidelines and the questionnaire are available here as appendixes.

### 3.5.5 The Assessment of ICA levels

As mentioned in section 2.3.6 of the literature review, I will be using an adaptation of Baker's (2011) ICA model to assess the levels of intercultural awareness displayed by the participants during the conversation where cultural understandings are being negotiated. Again, the focus of my study is not to categorise the participants' levels of ICA, but to assess each occurrence of ICA display to determine its level, related pragmatic strategies, and the interplay of those elements in the unfolding of the Negotiation.

I am aware that specifying behaviours that denote particular ICA levels goes against Baker's (2018:33) positioning that "detailed features of ICA cannot be specified in advance but only broad areas". I agree that it would be unproductive to be specific in the elaboration of a model for the development of ICA, as it was done in the case study presented in Baker (2011, 2015). However, my study aims to investigate the potential interrelations between particular interactional and linguistic practices and the ICA levels displayed during naturally occurring conversations, when ELF is being used, not only when it is discussed. So, a new set of goals will demand a new approach to the data. That means I will need to specify types of communicative choices that display characteristics that denote particular ICA levels.

Indeed, establishing parameters will inevitably make this version of ICA an analytical model that may seem rigid to some. Nevertheless, shaping theoretical concepts into tools to assess subjective things like language use does not negate the interpretative nature and considerable amount of subjectivity involved in the analysis. As long as the operation of the concepts is coherent and consistent, the analysis will still render an empirical result. The way ICA levels will be used here was mainly conceived to suit the purpose of answering the research questions of this study. As a thesis, though, this is also an attempt to build on previous scientific efforts by providing parameters that will hopefully be valid to others who want to acquire similar types of information by investigating similar types of data and in similar interactional contexts. So, to facilitate the visualisation and operationalisation of 3 levels of one model, I have changed *Levels*

1 and 2 of CA (Cultural Awareness) and Level 3 of ICA (Intercultural Awareness) into *Levels 1, 2 and 3 ICA*, summarised into *L1, L2, L3 ICA*. This is a practical choice not intended to counter the differentiation of CA from ICA in Baker (2011). Here is a list of communicative practices based on the kind of awareness expected from each level in Baker (2015:164):

<b>ICA Levels in the Negotiation of Cultural Understandings</b>	
<b><i>L1 ICA</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explains, expresses an opinion, or describes culture-related behaviours that stay at the stereotypical level.</li> <li>• Compares others' "culturally induced behaviour[s], values, and beliefs" with their own, also at the stereotypical level.</li> <li>• Acknowledges the possibility of varied understandings due to cultural differences with demonstrations of agreement and/or interest in the topic.</li> </ul>
<b><i>L2 ICA</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognises that cultural norms are "relative".</li> <li>• Besides acknowledging possible varied understandings due to cultural differences, those understandings are seen as "provisional and open to revision" (ibid.).</li> <li>• Highlights the common ground between specific cultures and predicts "mismatch and miscommunication". In practice, the speaker adjusts his/her pronunciation (from another 'local' to a standard or the current 'local'), and/or vocabulary (in terms of region or level of sophistication), and/or grammar (level of complexity, standardness or locality) to become more intelligible to interlocutors of other linguacultural backgrounds.</li> <li>• Avoids or rejects value judgements when comparing aspects of different cultural practices and artefacts.</li> <li>• Demonstrates awareness of heterogeneous understandings and/or practices within the same family, church, city, country and other social groups.</li> </ul>
<b><i>L3 ICA</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refers to cultural groupings and their practices without fully subscribing to any of them or subscribing to more than one same type of affiliation (i.e. positioning oneself as a legitimate speaker of a second or foreign language, disregarding comparisons to 'prestigious' speakers of that language).</li> <li>• Engages with culture-based concepts as related to specific cultures but also moves beyond that understanding through "emergent and hybrid [communicative practices or accounts] of intercultural communication".</li> <li>• Overtly defies linguacultural practices commonly ascribed to cultural groupings with whom one generally identifies. (i.e. a Brazilian individual who offers tea instead of coffee to guests).</li> <li>• Shows openness to and engagement in the mediation of fractioned, fluid, emergent, diverse understandings of the same topic.</li> <li>• Highlights or shows awareness of the role of experiential knowledge in one's cultural understanding.</li> </ul>

Admittedly, focusing on the practice-oriented ICA model to delineate what ICA levels may look like in conversation does not come without its challenges. The main one may

be working with the fact that each ICA level (1, 2, 3) overlaps with the previous one(s) to a certain extent and then expands its level of complexification and fluidity. This issue was tackled by explaining explicitly the reason for choosing one level over another in each occasion when it could have potentially been either one depending on the perspective taken. Given the exploratory nature of this study, the analytical model above is an attempt that will probably be revisited and adjusted in the future, when more analyses are conducted, and new behaviours are observed through the lens of ICA levels in naturally occurring talk.

### 3.6 Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of a study is in “the procedures researchers employ to ensure the quality, rigor, and credibility of a study while (re)establishing congruence of the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of the researcher with the design, implementation, and articulations of a research study” (Frey, 2018:1729). Therefore, the point of this section is to explain *why* the data collection processes, methods, analysis, and findings make this study a worthwhile contribution to its immediate research field (Intercultural Communication and Pragmatics in English as a Lingua Franca) and beyond.

After reading more extensively about trustworthiness, I decided to join other qualitative researchers (anthropologists, sociologists, and qualitative educational researchers) in the preference for translating the trustworthiness of this empirical investigation through the concepts of *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*, a less positivist take on research quality than the use of reliability and validity (Frey, 2018:1729-30). That choice will allow for the nuances of the variable contexts of research on ELF talk while still being transparent about the characteristics that attest to its quality and limitations (explored in more detail in the next section).

#### Credibility

Based on Lincoln and Guba's (1985) proposition of trustworthiness of qualitative research, but considering the specific nature of this study can be viewed as *credible* for two reasons. First, it is credible because I had ‘prolonged engagement’ (p.302-3) with the communities of practice. I earned their trust by being an active and genuine member of the broader church community for months before I ever considered the possibility of inviting them to be my research participants. Over time, they also grew to trust as I participated in more church groups other than the Connect Lunch activity, such as the

prayer group and my own small group (missional community) during weekdays. The data collection lasted just over a year, but my experience as a church member went on for the first two years of my PhD. This extensive length of time allowed me to have a solid understanding of the church ethos and knowledge about each participant beyond the interviews and questionnaires. That knowledge was incidentally acquired through moments of interaction for personal purposes. The participants felt safe around me and about my research motives and objectives rendered a more naturally occurring conversation data than it would have had if this had not been the case.

Another aspect of this study's credibility is the 'triangulation' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:305) of its research methods and multiple sources of data about the relational and interactional contexts of the communities of practice. As explained in more detail in section 3.5.3, CA was combined with an ethnographic perspective and tools to render a more rounded/holistic interpretation of the communicative practices in the Negotiations. Taking notes of the physical context of interaction (weather, relevant locations and actions) as well as data generated through interviews, questionnaires, and the analysis of the church's website's homepage composed the background information which had considerable impact on how the Negotiations of cultural understandings were carried out and interpreted.

The triangulation measures made the analysis more credible because the ethnographic information used to aid the interpretation of the interactional moves did not come only from me (the researcher), but also from the participants, who were not at all acquainted with the core theories underpinning my investigation. This means to say that the participants could not have selected behaviours or attitudes that were more prone to render a specific result when it comes to how they Negotiated understandings with displays of ICA or the use of pragmatic strategies. As mentioned in the section about the role of the researcher (3.4), as a participant being voice recorded, I can also say that I did not find it hard to focus more on the conversation in progress than on my research objectives because of the conscious prioritisation of my personal goal of connection with the other interlocutors.

#### Transferability and Dependability

Transferability in qualitative research can be achieved not by predicting or assuring the 'lab-like' external validity of the study but by providing a "thick description" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:316) of the rationale underpinning the research questions, the data sampling/ selection as well as a comprehensive account of the context(s) and methods

used. As Lincoln and Guba (ibid.) put it, “whether they hold in some other context, on even in the same context at some other time, is an empirical issue, the resolution of which depends upon the degree of similarity between sending and receiving (or earlier and later) contexts”. Therefore, the detailed description of the research rationales and procedures aims to equip other researchers with knowledge of what has been done to adapt what is necessary to suit their research context (setting and goals).

A comprehensive account of the research questions, or more accurately, the exploratory paths was given in section 3.1, followed by a description of the social context (section 3.2), then the linguistic and cultural context of the participants (section 3.4), and the methods selected for the study (section 3.5). Next, the rationale for selecting the conversations used is explored as an introduction to the data analysis (section 4.2), where I use a sample from the data to discuss *how* I concluded that a Negotiation was mainly linguistic or (lingua)cultural. The emergent characteristic of linguaculture found in the data is discussed more in-depth in section 5.1.

For now, it is relevant to say here that the selection of the Negotiations of cultural understandings was based solely on the criterion, ‘is this Negotiation about a linguacultural term or practice?’. If so, it was transcribed and analysed. Once identified, no Negotiation is deemed ‘unsuccessful’ from the point of view of the analyst. Even when the participants drop the topic without reaching common ground, that information is valuable information about possible ways and reasons for a Negotiation to end. In addition, although the participants were offered that option, there was no request to omit any part of the conversations recorded due to sensitive content. I, the researcher, used my name ‘Juliana’ in the third person during the analysis to avoid unconscious bias in the assessment of ICA levels displayed by me. As it will be observable in the data, I did analyse occasions where I, as a participant, misunderstood a word (section 4.2) and displayed *LO ICA* (section 4.3.1). Therefore, considering that the rationale and procedures have been extensively explained, I believe this research is transferable to similar contexts or not so similar with suitable adjustments.

The dependability of research quality assessment is closely related to its transferability, but it has more to do with proving the non-occurrence of manipulation of the analysis to generate findings that would meet the researcher’s expectations (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:316-8). For this reason, very similar results would have been generated if other analysts had analysed the data. To address this matter, I can say point to the fact

that, in the analysis, I explained the reason why I classified each display of ICA as *L0*<sup>6</sup>, *L1*, *L2* or *L3*, making reference to the characteristics listed in the ICA Levels Assessment chart (section 3.5.5). Besides, I organised the conversation transcripts in the primary analysis to show where the pragmatic strategies were and how they were positioned concerning ICA levels. That information was summarised in a visual representation at the end of each conversation analysis. The analysis chapter was also submitted to my PhD supervisor for quality check a few times during its writing and rewriting processes.

### Confirmability

In short, the pertinent characteristics of an item can be verified by the trail of field notes, raw data and a journal-like record of the development of the research from the beginning (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:319-20). When it comes to field notes, I can attest that they were primarily notes of relevant body language written informally onto paper right after the interactions that I witnessed as a participant. They were not typed and turned into a digital file because they were added to the conversation analysis at an early thesis writing stage. They can be found in accounts of the physical context and the gestures described in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.3. The raw audio data of the conversations and interviews are kept in secure online storage protected by password and is available in digital form for consultation by authorized parties only to protect the agreed anonymity of the participants. The journal-like record of the conception and development of the research was recorded in detail with official supervision reports submitted via email every time there was a meeting (in person or online) to the department of English and Creative Writing of Goldsmiths, University of London. In those reports, I listed the topics discussed at the supervision meetings, the readings I was doing and their perceived relevance, what needed to be changed/rewritten, and the stage of the thesis I was navigating at that moment. After the Upgrade exam, which happened in November 2019, I also submitted to my PhD supervisor an updated research plan for the following two years until the thesis submission. Those documents are digital files that authorized parties can consult at any time.

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<sup>6</sup> Level 0 ICA is introduced in the first conversation analysed in section 4.3.1.

### 3.7 Limiting Conditions

In this study, the data collection did not follow a linear sequence of dates. First, it was due to a few cancellations of lunches. Later, the recordings were delayed to make room for the restructuring of the activity in the beginning of 2019. Changing the venue may also have caused some impact on the interactions because “settings can profoundly affect not only the dynamics of the group but also the language used by its members. The interplay between these cannot be underestimated” (Cogo and Dewey, 2012:27). For instance, this change might have created some tension in the participants, who now needed to get used to being recorded again.

The fact that there were newcomers every other lunch also created the need for me to explain and get consent from new participants, making the data collection a little more highlighted than I intended it to be, potentially making the interactions less natural. Spatial difficulties were faced, too, as some hosting houses did not fit everyone in one room, splitting the guests between the dining room and the living room, for instance. Some recordings were also unusable because of the times there were too many conversations happening at once.

The addition of the missional community as a source of data significantly contributed to this study, but it came with its own challenges. As mentioned above, each member of the broader church community was supposed to belong to only one missional community to invest in having a deeper relationship with them. Because I was not part of the missional community I was recording, I had to use a questionnaire to elicit more details about their practices and ask members of that community to audio record their meetings for me. As stated above, I did not go to their meetings to record them to avoid disrupting their established group dynamics. The methodological disadvantage of not being there to record the interactions is that I would not know if the participants used extra-linguistic modes of communication, such as gestures and facial expressions. What I can say is that, if they were used, not knowing about them did not seem to jeopardize the interpretation and analysis of the extracts where the Negotiation of cultural understandings took place.

I must also mention that only the parts of the analysed conversations were transcribed due to the unfeasibility of transcribing roughly 10 hours of intelligible conversation available in the data recordings. Transcribing this many hours of conversation would have been taken an unfeasible length of time due to the challenge presented by the characteristic of this kind of *informal larger group* conversation - full of overlapping talk and background noise. Given the time needed to generate an accurate

transcription with the relevant CA conventions used in this study, such as: marking the exact beginning and ending of overlaps, signalling false starts, partial repetitions, word/syllable emphasis, interruptions, latching, among others. I reiterate that all the Negotiations of cultural understandings identified in the recordings were used/analysed in this thesis, without exception.



## 4 Analysis

In this chapter, the main focus will be the analysis of seven instances of Negotiation of cultural understanding guided by my research questions, which encompass: (1) the assessment of the levels of Intercultural Awareness (ICA) of the participants' communicative practices; (2) the identification and interpretation of the impact of patterns of displays of ICA levels on the unfolding of the Negotiations; and (3) the analysis of how the ICA levels and pragmatic strategies may affect the development and result of the Negotiation. To set the scene, I will present the participants' narratives about the purpose of their communities of practice. Then, a case will be made about the differentiation of Negotiations of linguistic and cultural meaning/understandings.

Having laid the foundation of contextual and theoretical perspectives, each conversation analysis will start with a panoramic view of the whole Negotiation accompanied by the description of the changes that occur to its central topic. The first and the second questions will be answered together by examining utterances where ICA is displayed. The pragmatic strategies identified will be named under the utterances, but only mentioned in the ICA level analysis when particularly relevant to that moment in the analysis. Finally, the answer to the third question will be partly presented in the summaries of each conversation analysis and put together later in the discussion of the whole study. That is where the interrelation of the displays of ICA levels and the pragmatic strategies in the unfolding of the Negotiations will be described and compared, so more specific conclusions can be drawn.

As mentioned above, at the beginning of each conversation analysis, I will explore the development of the concepts being discussed following Zhu's (2015) Negotiation model. That will include identifying, describing and tracking what happens to the displayed understanding of the topic as it is Negotiated from the beginning to the end of the conversation sequence. Then, I will assess the communicative practices of the participants based on an expanded version of Baker's (2011, 2015) framework of Intercultural Awareness (ICA) while, at the same time, accounting for the pragmatic strategies and their functions.

Although Baker describes ICA as being composed of a conscious understanding and its outward practices, I will keep the focus of this study on the participants' outward practices. That means the participants' abilities to put their ICA levels (whatever they might be) into 'practice' will be assessed through a version of Baker's (2015) framework expanded to include features such as pre-emptive or post-trouble pragmatic strategies.

Other specific characteristics of my corpus will also generate further theorisation of the ICA levels as expected when a framework is applied to a real-world context, especially if the complex relationship between culture and language is central to the analysis. It is important to emphasise that these instances of cultural Negotiation and their ICA level assessment are not a representation of the participants' complexity/level of Inter-/cultural understandings. Moreover, there is no judgement of value involved in the categorisation of the utterances as *L1, L2, or L3 ICA* because each positioning will show the speaker's approach to the topic in a specific part of the conversation and cannot be isolated as a good or bad way of seeing the complexity of culture and language in communication. Instead, it will be evaluated as successful or not only within the constraints of the ongoing Negotiation. So, the findings of ICA levels will be at best a snapshot of situationally bound practices which are likely to change according to variables like the interactional context (location, circumstances, and the people involved) and the interactional goals of the participants at a given moment.

In comparison to less culturally diverse settings, "in the context of intercultural and lingua franca interaction where there are likely to be disparities in linguistic proficiency and shared frames of reference among participants, Negotiation (...) among participants is a necessity rather than an option" (Zhu, 2015:69). Contextually, this study is composed of speakers with very different linguacultural repertoires negotiating cultural understandings in faith-based communities of practice that aim to build friendships. Although nothing is assumed *à priori* in CA, it cannot be ignored that this relational context may influence the participants' practices and render particularly cooperative interactions. A faith-based community of practice is a contextual expansion of previous ELF CoP studies which have already investigated the Negotiation of meaning in academic (Mauranen, 2012), couples' relationships (Pietikäinen, 2014), family (Zhu and Li, 2016) and business contexts (Ehrenreich, 2009; Cogo, 2012a; Franceschi, 2017).

As this is exploratory research, by the end of this study, I aim to identify patterns in how ICA levels and related pragmatic strategies affect the unfolding of the Negotiation of cultural understanding in ELF interactions. In recognition of the fact that conversations are always situated because they are contextually negotiated; and emerging, because they generate change in the understanding of those involved (Baker, 2015:70-75), my only ambition is to find patterns of change that will generate situated considerations and point to other research paths.

#### 4.1 Narratives about the Communities of Practice (CoPs)

The way the participants characterise their communities of practice will be explored below through the answers given at the sociocultural interviews or to the questionnaire. As explained before, this will complement the contextual information relevant to understanding the dynamics involving the development of the conversations. The analyses will be made concerning the three types of talk categorised in Mcnamee (2011): ‘keep the faith’, ‘secular thinking’, and ‘business as usual’. Then, the narratives will be examined for face-threatening aspects (Goffman, 1967). That is, whether the social contexts of the interactions are described as friendly and open as predicted in the discussion about authority figures (Jader, 2006) and the charismatic Christian value for kindness (Poloma, 1997) in the communication of faith-based communities. Such relational aspects may shape the participants’ communicative behaviours in terms of pragmatic strategies and ICA levels.

##### Documental data

The website of the broader church community is welcoming in writing and images, as it displays photos of a very diverse group of people and describes the community as “informal”, “multicultural”, and “all-age” church, which commits to welcoming people “from every background”. Those terms found on their homepage introductory text depict an atmosphere where people would not worry too much about the right way to behave in the community. Another layer of complexity of the context that is particularly relevant to this study is the fact this faith-based community highlights its *multiculturality* and *diverse background* on its online document. It communicates the institution’s awareness and potential positive attitude to different ways of seeing and doing life.

On another page of the website, where the small groups are defined in terms of aim, activity rhythms, and size, the institution declares that their goal “is to share life”, not just church meetings. In sum, according to these documents, one can expect to be accepted and, more than that, invited to experience life beyond church meetings with people who are used to linguacultural differences. From that portrayal, the description of this social group composition and aims seem like a very low threat to anyone’s *face* (Hoffman, 1967) in interaction.

## The participants' views

Now, I will present narratives from the members' perspective. Analysing extracts of the interviews and questionnaire answers categorise them by types of talk and by the relational aspect of face threat that can be perceived.

About the Connect Lunches...

1. "We go and we have lunch, and we chat. **Sometimes the chat is a heated debate.** Sometimes it's just hilarious. (laughs)" - Lana

2. "Conversation was quite open. Maybe sometimes someone would think of a topic for conversation that they wanted to talk about **but mainly it was free flowing.**" - Charles

3. "It's way that they use to get **to know each other better and catch up with their lives**, having different conversations..." - Paola

4. "It's great **to get to know people better.**" - Kate

In extract 1, the laughingly "sometimes the chat is a heated debate" is the description of an interaction type where 'secular thinking' (Mcnamee, 2011) is taking place. In other words, a non-religious one. In extract 2, the word "mainly" expresses the sense of 'business as usual', as it introduced the type of talk that usually happened (free-flowing). In extract 3, "to catch up with our lives" denotes an informal type of conversation that was not centred on a religious topic but the personal lives of the interactants. In extract 4, the focus is also on getting to know people. Both are examples of 'secular thinking'.

About the Missional Community...

5. "**To make Jesus known** to our neighbours through practical help, support and prayer." - Paul

6. "The goals for the neighbours is to reach as many people in different neighbourhood **to show them Love.... The Jesus way** Amen." - Dani

7. "**To share God's love and purposes** to the broader community, and to grow in faith and friendships." - Lizzy

8. "**To love our neighbours the Jesus way!**" - Amber

When describing the purpose of the community, the participants from the missional community used a type of talk that leaned towards the 'keep the faith' side of the continuum in all the extracts above. Although their 'mission' is to build relationships and

support others, they seem to approach it with a spiritual motivation. Next, the participants describe feelings and relational goals of the communities of practice which would indirectly characterise the level of threat to face and, consequently, one's predisposition to engage in post-trouble Negotiation. Having shown different approaches, or types of talk, to describe the interactions, the Connect Lunches and the Missional Community participants also had a slightly distinct take on the types of relationships and how they were expressed.

About the Connect Lunches...

1. "The purpose is to host, to give people a space **where they can build closer community** with each other, because it is often hard **to have serious or meaningful conversations** just hanging around the service at church on Sunday." - Esther

2. "And people, you know, really got into it. And, yeah, you know, it would be nice if there were people from other ages, but I think it has kind of worked in the sense that **people described it as a safe space.**" - Jamie

3. "It was particularly good for people who'd just come to the church because we could invite them along and they'd have **an immediate low-pressure opportunity to get to know people.**" - Charles

4. "I think it's a **really really chilled atmosphere. Friendship.** I think it's a way maybe to also make friends and be more involved in the community. As I said, if there wasn't the Sunday lunches, I wouldn't have gotten to know many people in the community." - Paola

5. "We go and we have lunch, and we chat. Sometimes the chat is a heated debate. **Sometimes it's just hilarious.** (laughs)" - Lana

6. "**It's always a relaxed, fun time and helps church feel a bit more like family** as we eat together instead of all going our separate ways at 1 o'clock. It's great to get to know people better and to hear that lunch has helped some of those who are newer to church feel more integrated." - Kate

In extract 1, Esther expresses her view on the purpose of the Sunday Lunches and highlights the idea of closeness and meaningful conversations. In extract 2, with satisfaction, Jamie reports on the lunches' environment being considered a safe space. Charles and Paola underscore the low-pressure and chilled atmosphere of the activity. Then, in extracts 5 and 6, humour and fun stand out to the participants as another characteristic of the encounters. Therefore, according to the hosts or hostesses and guests at the lunches, this enterprise (to use a CoP term) is a very personal yet relaxing moment of social interaction in their lives. This finding corroborates what was found on the broader community's website and characterises the engagement in Negotiations of cultural understanding as low in threat to one's face.

About the Missional Community...

7. "To be **supportive and loving** towards individuals and families... When it comes to their relationship with each other, they aim **to grow deeper in friendship, share about their own spiritual experiences**, help each other with practical issues, pray, worship, do Bible studies, and have meals together." - Paola

8. "...to **grow in faith and friendships**." - Lizzy

9. "**to be neighbourly (supportive)** toward individuals, families, local communities alike..."  
- Serina

10. "Meeting, talking and sharing about spiritual experiences, praying, **encouraging each other, acting together to bless** the community in car washes, litter picking, barbecues, support etc." - Paul

Extracts 7-10 show that being supportive, encouraging, loving, and investing in deepening friendships within and outside the group is the common ground in understanding the conceptualisation of the community's purpose and activities. A little less relaxed and informal than what was conveyed about the Connect Lunches, this group still seems to be willing to protect each other's face in interaction because they are committed to each other's journeys in everyday life and faith. For this reason, differently, the participants' portrayal of the missional community make it sound very low in threat to one's face.

## Summary

Both the website's findings and the interviews/questionnaire confirmed what I had described concerning the goals of the interactions in section 3.2. The Connect Lunches expressed a more non-religious, personal type of talk than the Missional Community, even though both had the deepening of connection with each other as one of their primary focus. The level of face threat in both groups was extremely low according to their narratives, which corroborates with a likely predisposition for taking the risk of asking for clarification about diverse communicative practices or bringing up a linguacultural issue to be discussed.

## 4.2 Negotiation of Linguistic or Cultural Understandings?

Although language is always socially constructed, the Negotiation of cultural understandings usually taps into definitions and uses of language beyond the meaning of words that have reached the dictionaries. That is, some words, expressions, and sayings will be interpreted very differently depending on the cultural experience of the interactants. In the ELF context primarily but not exclusively, the mismatch of understandings may be more common than in more homogenous interactions. Those discrepancies may be more present in the linguistic or cultural side of the continuum depending on the individual's linguistic expertise and life experiences related to the matter. Culturally, this means that the interactants' interpretation is likely to rely on whether they are acquainted with the topic discussed or not. If they are acquainted with it, to what extent and from which perspective(s), which may be different to the other speaker(s). Linguistically, this means that different pronunciations, spellings, vocabulary and uses might generate 'noise' in communication on top of the linguacultural (Risager, 2006, 2012) differences.

To illustrate how the Negotiation of understandings may happen more for linguistic than for cultural reasons, I will analyse a conversation extract generated in the data collected at the lunches. In this example, it will also be possible to see why the distinction between linguistic and cultural understandings may be fuzzy at times. Please note that the 'Juliana' in this and other conversations is me, the researcher. However, I will be referring to myself in the third person when examining the extracts to avoid confusing the readers and try to take a step back and view my own actions from a more analytical, less defensive perspective.

- 1 Charles **is that dates?** {looking to a sticky toffee pudding he is holding}
- 2 Ellen what is it?
- 3 Juliana yeah: it- it- well <1> **the date says** </1> **24<sup>th</sup>** so it should be fine (.) <2> that
- 4 one- </2>
- 5 Esther <1> <un>xxx</un> </1> <2> -it took </2> me a really long time
- 6 to realize that sticky toffee pudding and sticky date pudding
- 7 were the same thing
- 8 Juliana sticky what?
- 9 Jamie oh yeah-
- 10 Juliana -date.
- 11 Jamie well sticky toffee pudding is a date pudding
- 12 Esther <quiet> yeah </quiet>
- 13 Juliana date pudding
- 14 Jamie covered in toffee sauce
- 15 Esther <quiet> yeah </quiet>
- 16 Juliana ah:
- 17 Jamie <quiet> pre:tty much </quiet> date cake

The word 'dates' is the theme of the conversation introduced by Charles, who is not sure about the fruit topping the dessert he is holding. In response, 'dates' is treated as an unknown word by Ellen and as a reference to a day in the calendar by Juliana. In the role of hostess, Esther steps in and mediates the conversation by associating 'dates' to the dessert itself, pointing out that what is labelled 'sticky toffee pudding' is also called 'sticky date pudding'. It takes Juliana a little while to connect her previous knowledge of the word 'date' being used to refer to a fruit. The vocabulary seems to come back to her in line 10. However, the complete understanding of the contextual meaning of 'dates' only happens after Jamie summarises what Esther has said, and Juliana repeats the term 'date pudding' (l.13). Then, Jamie adds that it is a date pudding 'covered in toffee sauce' (l.14), to which Esther and Juliana backchannel indicating agreement and understanding, respectively. Therefore, 'dates' starts as the possible flavour of the dessert; is interpreted as an unknown word; taken as a reference to the expiry date of the dessert, proposed as a description of sticky toffee pudding; then, it is combined into the term 'date pudding', which is lastly rephrased as 'date cake'.

Now, if one analyses this misunderstanding from a cultural perspective, it can be argued that 'dates' are scarce in the region of Brazil where Juliana grew up. Therefore, it is a word she did not use in the context of her first language, Portuguese, and felt no need to memorise when learning English in Brazil. If the perspective is linguistic, it can be argued she did not remember/know that the word 'dates' was also used to name a fruit, which features as vocabulary deficiency. The cultural and linguistic perspectives are valid and overlap because the misunderstanding was influenced by the lack of a 'consolidated' presence of the word 'date' in Juliana's repertoire. The context of the talk and how the continuation of the conversation is handled point to a more linguistic Negotiation of understanding because no cultural nuances of 'dates' were discussed. Next, I will analyse conversations where cultural aspects are the centre of the Negotiations of understanding.

#### 4.3 The Negotiations of cultural understandings

At the risk of being repetitive, all the Negotiations selected for the analysis below have a predominant cultural focus. In each one of them, a way of thinking, doing or viewing life is related to a social group by the participants, either directly or indirectly. Those culture-related topics change from the beginning to the end of each conversation as the



Negotiation stretches each participant's understanding through meaning-making or fine-tuning processes.

#### 4.3.1 "Cold milk heats you up?"

The first and second conversation happened on the same lunch day and will be presented in chronological order. The first cultural understanding negotiated was the concept of 'heating' and 'cooling' foods introduced by Esther. That sequence lasted about 7 minutes, generating 195 lines of transcription. However, we will look only at its most relevant parts in a way that preserves the cohesiveness of the conversation.

It was a sunny day of October in London, with its typical chilly autumn breeze. Having just recently walked from church and picked up the last items for lunch along the way, Esther introduces the Negotiation topic listing chocolate milk among the things she bought. The non-understanding happens when she states that chocolate milk is the ideal drink for that kind of day. Intrigued, Jamie engages in Negotiation to understand why.

- |    |         |   |
|----|---------|---|
| 1  | Esther  | i just got clotted cream (.) 'cause it's going with the sticky toffee pudding right?=<br>=uhum uhum |
| 2  | Jamie   |   |
| 3  | Esther  | hmm and then there's of course chocolate milk   |
| 4  | Lana    | @ @ @ =   |
| 5  | Esther  | = @ @ @ =   |
| 6  | Jamie   | =the natural progression fo:r   |
| 7  | Ellen   | @ <@> (woah) </@>   |
| 8  | Esther  | well it's a perfect drink for a day like this because   |
| 9  |         | it's a little bit hot and it's a bit cold (.) and chocolate milk                                    |
| 10 |         | like heats you up but it's also refreshing because it's cold so.                                    |
| 11 | Juliana | @ @ @ <1> @ @ </1>  |
| 12 | Esther  | <1> @ @ </1>  |
| 13 | Juliana | <@> very interesting logic <@> <2> @ @ </2>   |
| 14 | Esther  | <2> @ @ </2> =  |
| 15 | Jamie   | =cold milk heats you up?  |
| 16 | Esther  | yeah (.) my mom would say that chocolate milk is heaty  |
| 17 | Lana    | @ <3> @ @ </3>  |
| 18 | Esther  | <3> @ @ </3>  |

19 Jamie you may have to tell us a bit more @@

20 Esther so @<@>i bet</@> so in chinese uhm in chinese thinking i don't know if this

21 is the same for- uhm for like <to Ellen> korean culture but like </to Ellen> in

22 Chinese thinking about food there are heaty foods and cooling foods=

23 Juliana =hmmm

24 Esther so milk is a heating food uhm: watermelon is a cooling food (.) tea is cooling(.)

25 even though it's HOT

26 Lana Hmm

27 Esther uhm: a:nd what else is heating? durian is heating for instance @@ uhmm yeah

28 it just- you just sorta have to like fee:l whether something is heating or cooling

29 and you have to have the right balance of heating and cooling things=

30 Juliana =ah: yeah=

31 Esther =uhm and too much cooling is not good for women and too much heating is not

32 good for <@> men </@>. <4>@@@</4>

33 Lana <4>@@@</4>

34 Juliana <4>@@@</4> wha::t

35 Jamie also men are supposed to be cold and women are supposed to be more towards

36 hot <fast and quiet> or (is) everyone <un> xx </un> the same </fast and quiet>

37 Esther <@> i don't know I don't know</@> @@@

38 Juliana it's a whole science

39 Esther yeah yeah

40 Juliana {quiet} wow {quiet}

41 Lana does that complement like chinese medicine

42 Esther yeah yeah. (.) so like when my mom makes soup at home she'll think about

43 has the weather been cold who's been sick recently uhm=

44 Ellen =ah=

45 Esther =so what do they need to balance out their <5> systems </5>

46 Ellen <5> ah: </5>

47 Lana alright that's interesting

48 Juliana yeah (3) sounds wise

49 Esther hm @@

50 Juliana Yeah

51 Jamie but we don't really think of it about food

52 in britain at all (.) in any meaningful way

53 Esther well most of your food is heating

54 Lana <6><@> because it is all plain </@><6>

55 Jamie <6>the sauce thing that is </6>

56 Lana <6> @@@ </6>

57 Juliana <6> @@@ </6>

58 Esther <6> @@@ </6> @@

59 Juliana that makes sense

60 Esther @@

61 Lana coughs from becoming colds ok we need heating food=

62 Esther =<7> @@@@ </7>

63 Lana <7> @@@@ </7>

64 Charles do you mean the food specifically that Jamie cooks or english food.

65 Esther english foods (.) <8> like you know pie </8> potato-based foods uhm

66 dairy based foods

67 Jamie <8><voice change> sto:dge </voice change></8>

68 Esther Hmm

69 Lana <9> @@@ </9>  
70 Jamie <9> <voice change> sto:dge (1) </9> good british stodge <voice change>  
71 (.) there you go.  
72 Lana what about roast (.) is that heating?  
73 Esther VERY heating  
74 Charles <10> why is all the- </10>  
75 Jamie <10> -is fish </10> is fish heating or cooling.  
76 Lana yeah what about fish and chips?  
77 Esther hmm depends on how it's cooked  
78 Jamie the chips would be  
79 Lana yeah but <fast> they are like fish and chips though </fast> @@  
80 Esther like battered fish would be heating  
81 Lana oh really?  
82 Esther Yeah  
83 Jamie pan grilled?  
84 Esther hmmm not sure  
85 <11> steamed (.) cooling. </11>  
86 Jamie <11> bet steamed are different </11>  
87 Juliana Yeah  
88 Esther @@@@  
89 Lana what about like (.) bangers and mash  
90 Esther hmm heating (2)  
91 Lana yeah=  
92 Esther =for sure=  
93 Lana =it sounds like it because it's like potatoes  
94 Ellen is it just (.) <quiet> (name's) <quiet>  
95 Esther hmm (2) it's not that (.) yeah you sorta have to like fee:l whether it's heating  
96 @@@  
97 Juliana Well  
98 Charles which foods are cooling?  
99 Esther uhm tea is cooling (2) ah::  
100 Lana <@> which is odd but yeah <@>  
101 Jamie fragrant is-  
102 Esther -but not tea with milk in it  
103 Charles Obviously  
104 Esther <12> @@@@ </12>  
105 Lana <12> yeah well tea with milk is definitely warming= </12>  
106 Ellen =i didn't know this sauce what does it hmm cooling=  
107 Esther =ah:=  
108 Juliana =when i think i'm understanding she goes and {Juliana makes the gesture  
109 of an explosion with her hands}  
110 Esther @@@ it's just the two of them you have to like get in the mindset @@  
111 Lana no i -i completely get it  
112 Esther yeah <13> @@ </13>  
113 Lana <13> I do </13>  
114 Juliana <13> @@ </13> @@  
(...)  
149 Jamie <18> it's like </18> everything that is bad for you is heating  
150 and everything that is good for you is cooling like-

151 Juliana -@ <19> @@@ </19>  
 152 Esther <19> hmm: hum: </19>  
 153 Jamie kinda like you said mango was ah heating  
 154 Esther uhhu  
 155 Jamie mango is really sugary (.) you really shouldn't have too many mangoes  
 156 Lana so sweet is like a heater (2) like by your logic?  
 157 Jamie but i'm thinking that is kinda from experience  
 158 Esther hmmm some sweets are heating but like red dates for instance  
 159 are cooling i think hmm:  
 (...)  
 185 Lana so is it a scale or (.) or is there a=  
 186 Jamie =it's a binary=  
 187 Lana =is it ah segregated  
 188 Esther i don't think it's a scale I think it's binary  
 189 Lana @@@  
 190 Esther @@  
 191 (3)  
 192 Jamie so if you mix things together there is the question do you come out  
 193 as heating or cooling  
 194 Esther @ i don't know  
 195 Jamie Hmmm

Looking at the changes in how the concept of cooling and heating foods is understood, the utterance-by-utterance analysis reveals at least four stages in this Negotiation.

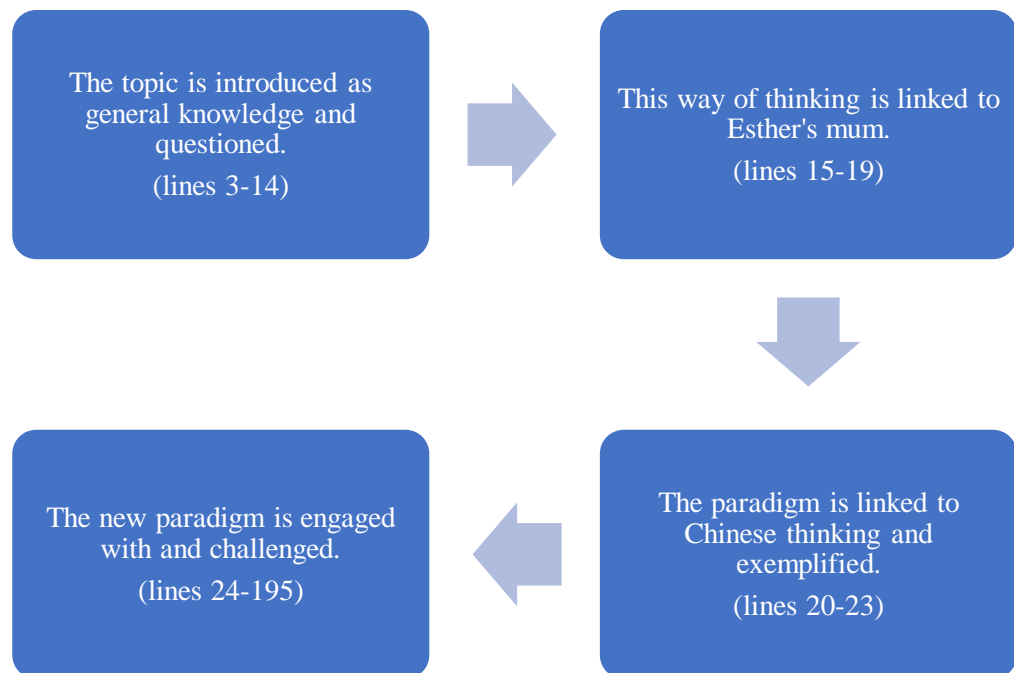


Diagram 1

The first stage surfaces when Esther presents buying chocolate milk as an obvious choice, seemingly treating the 'heating and cooling' paradigm as a piece of general knowledge. Her straightforward approach is contested by Jamie, causing Esther to reveal the origin

of her rationale. This is when Esther shifts her positioning from someone who is stating a general knowledge fact to someone who is explaining a cultural perspective. Although every perspective is ‘cultural’ to a certain extent, just like accents, the ‘cultural’ comes to the forefront when it diverges from the local or shared practices.

Esther’s mention marks the second stage that this is how her mother thinks about chocolate milk, causing Jamie to make an explicit request for more information not only for himself but also to mediate for the others at the table. At this point, it is relevant to point out that Jamie and Esther are married. He knows she has a cultural background that probably differs from everyone else’s. Her family is Singaporean (Chinese), and he is Scottish. Besides, having lived in the UK for most of his life, what I am calling the ‘heating and cooling paradigm’ might have been predicted by Jamie as potentially unknown to those living in London.

There is a shift in the origin in stage three and, therefore, in the concept's characterisation. Esther draws a line that connects her mother’s thinking to a broader scope: the Chinese way of thinking about how foods affect our bodies. So, Lana asks if this way of thinking complements Chinese medicine. Esther responds by exemplifying a typical anecdotal situation where her mother would always consider people’s current health before deciding what to cook to address their heating/cooling balance. Establishing a national culture connection between the topic being negotiated and China does not stop the other participants, who are in London and have no Chinese background, from engaging with this cultural understanding in a localised manner.

In the fourth and last stage, the first example of local application of the concept is given by Esther herself, as she provides examples of foods that would be known of everyone at the table. Esther also indirectly invites the others to try out the concept. Then, Lana, Charles, and Jamie stretch the concept by mixing and matching the notion to local dishes. In the last part of the conversation, participants discuss whether the new paradigm is a binary or a scale system. Jamie shows he is comfortable enough with the new paradigm to take the next step in the Negotiation and test the boundaries of the concept.

ICA			
L0	3	<b>Esther</b>	<b>hmm and then there’s of course chocolate milk</b> <b>Metadiscursive Booster</b>
	4	Lana	@ @ @ =
	5	Esther	= @ @ @ = 2 Backchannels of Amusement
L0	6	<b>Jamie</b>	<b>=the natural progression fo:r</b> <b>Clarification Request</b>
	7	Ellen	@ <@> (woah) </@> Backchannel of Amusement
L0	8	<b>Esther</b>	<b>well it’s a perfect drink for a day like this because</b>

	9		it's a little bit hot and it's a bit cold (.) and chocolate milk
	10		like heats you up but it's also refreshing because it's cold so. Metadiscursive Justification
	11	Juliana	@ @ @ <1> @ @ </1>
	12	Esther	<1> @ @ </1> 2 Backchannels of Amusement
<b>L0</b>	13	<b>Juliana</b>	<@> <b>very interesting logic</b> <@> <2> @ @ </2> Metadiscursive Evaluation
	14	Esther	<2> @ @ </2> = Backchannel of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap

In line 3, Esther expresses her seemingly unawareness of possible different cultural understandings of why she would choose to buy chocolate milk for lunch. I propose that a *Level 0 (zero) ICA*, henceforth *L0 ICA*, is demonstrated when Esther explains her previous statement as if that information was expected to be part of everyone's general knowledge. That is, while she could explicitize her understanding, she did so without acknowledging or maybe without even realising it was a cultural one, which characterises those initial strategic moves as culturally unaware. Again, it is important to say that it is the utterance that is being assessed, not the speaker, as culturally unaware.

In line 6, Jamie displays another instance of *L0 ICA* through the clarification request, "the natural progression for..." (1.6), which is also a (reduced) metadiscursive code glossing, where there is still no acknowledgement this might be a cultural understanding misalignment. Going with the flow of the conversation, Esther responds to his prompting for more information with the same seemingly cultural unawareness by explaining the cultural practice with its own linguacultural terms, 'heat you up', describing the effect of food on someone's body. Although Juliana evaluates the new information as 'very interesting' to acknowledge that she (me) understood the concept, she also denotes a lack of awareness of its cultural origin, displaying *L0 ICA*.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L0</b>	15	Jamie	<b>=cold milk heats you up?</b> Clarification Request
<b>L1</b>	16	Esther	<b>yeah (.) my mom would say that chocolate milk is heaty</b> Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
	17	Lana	@ <3> @ @ </3>
	18	Esther	<3> @ @ </3> Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L2</b>	19	Jamie	<b>you may have to tell us a bit more @ @</b> Interpersonal Hedge + Meta. Mediation + Clarification Request + Meta. Illoc. Act

At this point, Jamie still does not express whether he sees this misalignment as due to a lack of general knowledge or a cultural difference. For this reason, Jamie's expression of cultural unawareness reflects a *L0 ICA*. The discussion is first linked to a cultural group

when Esther replies with the “mom would say” (1.16). Here the particular linguacultural paradigm of ‘heating and cooling’ foods and drinks is associated with a specific person. It was a display of *L1 ICA* because this association with her mum will later be revealed as a link with the ‘Chinese thinking’ and become the first time the new notion was related to a cultural origin, though stereotypically. Since this was not a moment when Ester was pointing out that her mum does things differently from the social group(s) she is part of, mentioning her mum is not overtly expressing heterogeneity within social groups, making it a display of *L2 or L3 ICA*.

After that, Lana and Esther laugh as acknowledging that there is something unusual and even amusing about what Esther just shared. In sequence, Jamie demonstrates *L2 ICA* by politely hedging a request for more information in, “you may have to tell us a bit more” (1.19). As Esther’s husband, Jamie now has more context to what Esther said and knows about her mum’s cultural background. His utterance shows he predicts a mismatch between linguacultures and begins to mediation the conversation to increase the guests’ comprehension of the cultural concept being operated by Esther.

<b>ICA</b>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding-right: 5px;"><b>L2</b></td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">20</td> <td style="padding-right: 5px;">Esther</td> <td>so @&lt;@&gt;i bet&lt;/@&gt; so in Chinese uhm in Chinese thinking <b>i don’t know</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>21</td> <td></td> <td><b>if this is the same for- uhm for like</b> &lt;to Ellen&gt; <b>Korean culture</b> but like &lt;/to Ellen&gt;</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>22</td> <td></td> <td><b>in Chinese thinking about food</b> there are heaty foods and cooling foods= Epistemic Hedge + Metadiscursive Exemplification</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>23</td> <td>Juliana</td> <td>=hmmm Wait-and-see Backchannel</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>24</td> <td>Esther</td> <td>so milk is a heating food uhm: watermelon is a cooling food (.) tea is</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>25</td> <td></td> <td>cooling. (.) even though it’s HOT 2 Metadiscursive Exemplifications</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>26</td> <td>Lana</td> <td>hmm Wait-and-see Backchannel</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>27</td> <td>Esther</td> <td>uhm: a:nd what else is heating? durian is heating for instance @@ uhmm Metadiscursive Exemplifications + Discourse Marker</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top; padding-right: 5px;"><b>L3</b></td> <td>28</td> <td></td> <td>yeah it just- <b>you just sorta have to like fee:l whether something is heating</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>29</td> <td></td> <td><b>or cooling</b> and you have to have the right balance of heating and cooling things= Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Epistemic Hedge</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>30</td> <td>Juliana</td> <td>=ah: yeah= Backchannel of Understanding + Backchannel of Agreement</td> </tr> </table>	<b>L2</b>	20	Esther	so @<@>i bet</@> so in Chinese uhm in Chinese thinking <b>i don’t know</b>		21		<b>if this is the same for- uhm for like</b> <to Ellen> <b>Korean culture</b> but like </to Ellen>		22		<b>in Chinese thinking about food</b> there are heaty foods and cooling foods= Epistemic Hedge + Metadiscursive Exemplification		23	Juliana	=hmmm Wait-and-see Backchannel		24	Esther	so milk is a heating food uhm: watermelon is a cooling food (.) tea is		25		cooling. (.) even though it’s HOT 2 Metadiscursive Exemplifications		26	Lana	hmm Wait-and-see Backchannel		27	Esther	uhm: a:nd what else is heating? durian is heating for instance @@ uhmm Metadiscursive Exemplifications + Discourse Marker	<b>L3</b>	28		yeah it just- <b>you just sorta have to like fee:l whether something is heating</b>		29		<b>or cooling</b> and you have to have the right balance of heating and cooling things= Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Epistemic Hedge		30	Juliana	=ah: yeah= Backchannel of Understanding + Backchannel of Agreement
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In response to Jamie’s request, Esther looks at Ellen (who is ethnically Korean) and carefully highlights possible similarities between Chinese and Korean thinking about foods and drinks but signalling that there may also be a linguacultural mismatch. By doing so, Esther demonstrates an advanced cultural awareness (*L2 ICA*) when she approximates two cultural groups while acknowledging that she might be wrong. Whether being wrong means that all or just some Koreans could not think like that, it is not clear. However, the

“I don’t know if this is the same” (line 20) creates a space where heterogeneity within the implied umbrella of ‘Asian culture’ is considered a possibility.

As the conversation goes on, Juliana replies to Esther’s explanation with a latching backchannel (l.23) that demonstrates listenership and invites her to continue talking, making use of the “wait and see” strategy (Cogo and Dewey 2012:130). Lana also uses this function of backchannelling after Esther provides examples. In agreement with this other subtle invitation to continue explaining, Esther provides more examples.

Then, Esther adds an intuitive element to her explanation when she says, “you just sorta have to like feel whether something is heating or cooling” (l.28). By relating an experiential aspect to the path of understanding the heating and cooling paradigm, Esther is displaying a *L3 ICA* characterised by the emphasis given to the individualisation of a person’s experiential knowledge, which is in itself an emerging process. Although Esther epistemically hedges the certainty of her statement with “sorta”, according to this view, one has to master this specific cultural paradigm by developing their own sensitivity to its possibilities. They have to “feel whether something is heating or cooling” (my italics). In the conclusion of this explanation, Esther includes that attaining balance is the goal of being aware of the impact of food on our bodies. Juliana responds with understanding and agreement, which also functions as an echoing of Esther’s demonstration of *L3 ICA* because of Juliana’s expressed agreement with Esther’s explanation.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L1</b>		51 Jamie	<b>but we don’t really think of it about food in Britain at all (.) in any meaningful way</b>
		52	<b>Interpersonal Hedge</b>
		53 Esther	well most of your food is heating
			Metadiscursive Code Glossing
		54 Lana	<6><@> because it is all plain </@><6>
			Metadiscursive Justification
		55 Jamie	<6>the sauce thing that is </6>
			Cooperative Overlap
		56 Lana	<6> @ @ @ </6>
		57 Juli	<6> @ @ @ </6>
		58 Esther	<6> @ @ @ </6> @ @
			Backchannels of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap

In line 51, Jamie expresses a *L1 ICA* when he compares his own linguacultural practice to the one presented by Esther. Being a British national (Scottish) and saying, “we don’t really”, he is possibly referring to the British in Britain and disregarding for a moment the linguacultures of the millions of immigrants and the temporary residents from other countries who live in Britain. That is, the perspective expressed portrays language and



culture as intrinsically linked and monolithic, ratifying an ‘us’ and ‘them’ notion of communicative practices in the British territory.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L3</b>	61	Lana	<b>coughs from becoming colds ok we need heating food=</b> Metadiscursive Exemplification
	62	Esther	=<7> @ @ @ @ </7>
	63	Lana	<7> @ @ @ @ </7> Cooperative Overlap + 2 Backchannels of Amusement
	64	Charles	Do you mean the food specifically that Jamie cooks or English food. Clarification Request
<b>L1</b>	65	Esther	<b>english foods</b> (.) <8> like you know pie </8> potato-based foods
	66		uhm dairy based foods 3 Metadiscursive Exemplifications
	67	Jamie	<8><voice change> sto:dge </voice change></8> Cooperative Overlap
	68	Esther	Hmm Backchannel of Agreement
	69	Lana	<9> @ @ @ </9> Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L1</b>	70	Jamie	<9> <voice change> sto:dge (1) </9> <b>good british stodge</b> <voice
	71		change> (.) there you go. Competitive Overlap + Self-Repetition (Emphasis)

Lana combines the new cultural understanding and an example of its health functionality to show a positive attitude towards Britain’s typical foods. By dislocating the heating and cooling foods paradigm from its (conceptual) Chinese origins to apply it to human health problems, she demonstrates a *L3 ICA*, which Esther welcomes with laughter. Lana’s application is also followed by Charles’s clarification request concerning which food they are talking about, Jamie’s or English food in general. Esther refers to “English foods” stereotypically (*L1 ICA*) and provides examples of pie, potato and dairy-based foods. Then, Jamie adds a more encompassing category through the cooperative overlap, “stodge” (1.67), and names it ‘British stodge’ (1.70), in agreement with the *L1 ICA* generalisation made by Esther but amplified to encompass all the British nations. Esther and Lana welcome the proposition.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L3</b>	72	Lana	what about <b>roast</b> (.) is that heating? Comprehension Check (Tentative Reading)
	73	Esther	<b>VERY</b> heating Metadiscursive Booster + Represent
	74	Charles	<10> why is all the- </10>
	75	Jamie	<10> -is fish </10> is fish heating or cooling. Competitive Overlap + Clarification Request
<b>L3</b>	76	Lana	yeah what about <b>fish and chips</b> ? Comprehension Check (Tentative Reading)
	77	Esther	hmm depends on how it's cooked
<b>L3</b>	78	Jamie	<b>the chips would be</b> Clarification Request

	79	Lana	yeah but <fast> they are like fish and chips though </fast> @@ Backchannel of Agreement
	80	Esther	like battered fish would be heating Metadiscursive Exemplification
	81	Lana	oh really? Metadiscursive Evaluation
	82	Esther	yeah Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L3</b>	83	Jamie	<b>pan grilled?</b> Comprehension Check (Tentative Reading)
	84	Esther	hmmm not sure Short Response
	85		<11> steamed (.) cooling. </11> Metadiscursive Exemplification
<b>L3</b>	86	Jamie	<11> <b>bet steamed are different</b> </11> Comprehension Check (Tentative Reading)
	87	Juliana	Yeah Backchannel of Agreement
	88	Esther	@ @ @ @ Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L3</b>	89	Lana	what about like (.) <b>bangers and mash</b> Comprehension Check (Tentative Reading)
	90	Esther	hmm heating (2) Short Response
	91	Lana	yeah= Backchannel of Agreement
	92	Esther	=for sure= Short Response

Here, the conversation begins to take the shape of an ‘expert’ and ‘learners’ dynamics. The “learners” of this new cultural understanding are taking agency of their Negotiation process by bringing their applications of the concept with the comprehension checking strategy called candidate readings. In line 72, Lana proposes “roast” as an example of food and an application of the new “heating” concept to check if she has understood what the category ‘heating foods’ includes. Lana’s proposition is confirmed emphatically by Esther (l.73). Now, the participants show their engagement in the Negotiation by competing over who will ask the next question. Both Charles and Jamie overlap in an attempt to ask a question, but Charles gives up halfway, and Jamie enquires about ‘fish’, prompting Lana to make another localized application of the paradigm.

Later, in line 78, Lana checks with a clarification request if adding fish to the chips changes the fact that chips have just been classified as heating. Esther replies by the metadiscursive exemplification that battered fish would be heating, which surprises Lana. Jamie joins in the candidate readings row and asks, “pan-grilled?” (l.83). This proposition seems to be connected to Esther’s previous statement, a way of testing if pan-grilled fish is also part of the heating category. This interpretation can be supported by Esther’s following conclusion that “steamed fish” must be different from the previous fish preparations discussed previously.

As briefly mentioned above, the comprehension checking candidate readings proposed by the participants demonstrate a high level of engagement with the co-construction of the cultural understanding being negotiated. They are, therefore, displaying a *L3 ICA* by actively expanding their cultural understanding of ‘cooling and heating foods’ and cutting through borders of national and generational cultures in the process. In the next part of the conversation, Esther emphasizes again the need to develop experiential knowledge:

<b>ICA</b>	108	Juliana	=when i think i’m understanding she goes and {Juliana makes the gesture of an explosion with her hands}
	109		<small>Clarification Request + Metadiscursive Evaluation</small>
<b>L3</b>	110	Esther	@@@ it’s just the two of them <b>you have to like get in the mindset</b> @@ <small>Backchannel of Amusement + Metadiscursive Code Glossing</small>
	111	Lana	no i -i completely get it <small>Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Backchannel of Understanding</small>
	112	Esther	yeah <13> @@ </13> <small>Backchannel of Agreement + Backchannel of Amusement</small>
	113	Lana	<13> I do </13> <small>Cooperative Overlap</small>
	114	Juliana	<13> @@ </13> @@ <small>Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Amusement</small>

In the beginning, Juliana evaluates the explanation given so far as failing to help her truly understand the topic. That ‘feedback’ works as a clarification request, inviting Esther to go on with her explanation, which she does by paraphrasing what she meant when she said, “you sorta have to like feel...” (l.28 and 95), with “you have to, like, get in the mindset” (l.110). She is proposing that it is possible to refine one’s cultural understanding of heating and cooling foods if he/she “get[s] in the mindset” through experiencing the distinction of foods according to those parameters. Again, because this operationalisation of the paradigm is reinforced here, there is a dislocation of “national” ownership as well as a territorial decentralization that allows anyone who “gets in the mindset” to make use of such a paradigm. Therefore, it is a display of *L3 ICA* because the cultural understanding is made mobile (detached from a place) as it accompanies the individual trying it out and makes it malleable as it is adjusted to fit different cuisines.

<b>ICA</b>	<b>L3</b>	149	Jamie	<18> it’s like </18> <b>everything that is bad for you is heating and everything that is good for you is cooling</b> like-
		150		<small>Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Mediation</small>
		151	Juliana	-@ <19> @@@ </19> <small>Backchannel of Amusement</small>
		152	Esther	<19> hmm: hum: </19> <small>Wait-and-see Backchannel + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Cooperative Overlap</small>

When Jamie proposes that heating foods can be code glossed (conceptualised) as the same foods that are considered “bad for you” and the cooling foods are the ones “good for you”, he is bringing up the possibility of common ground between the heating and cooling paradigm and another widespread paradigm, ‘healthy/mindful eating’. In other words, Jamie is attempting to mediate the Negotiation of the topic by focusing on possible similarities with an understanding of eating choices that the other interlocutors may share.

Selecting healthy eating as a parallel takes the Negotiation beyond the references to national and generational cultures used earlier and redefines the central paradigm as a discursive concept that can travel across cultures, making it a display of *L3 ICA*. Juliana laughs at Jamie’s suggestion, and Esther prefers to ‘wait-and-see’, as she seems to be uncertain whether his “formula” could work for every food. Then, Jamie continues processing this possibility by providing an example:

<b>ICA</b>	153	Jamie	kinda like you said mango was ah heating <small>Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Meta. Code Glossing</small>
	154	Esther	uhhu <small>Backchannel of Agreement</small>
	155	Jamie	mango is really sugary (.) you really shouldn’t have too many mangoes <small>Meta. Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Booster + Self-repetition (Emphasis)</small>
<b>L3</b>	156	Lana	<b>so sweet is like a heater (2) like by your logic?</b> <small>Comprehension Check</small>
<b>L3</b>	157	Jamie	<b>but i’m thinking that is kinda from experience</b> <small>Metadiscursive Interpretation</small>
	158	Esther	hmmm some sweets are heating but like red dates for instance
	159		are cooling i think hmm: <small>Metadiscursive Exemplification + Discourse Marker</small> (...)
	185	Lana	so is it a scale or (.) or is there a=
	186	Jamie	=it’s a binary= <small>Utterance Completion</small>
	187	Lana	=is it ah segregated <small>Clarification Request</small>
	188	Esther	i don’t think it’s a scale I think it’s binary <small>Interpersonal Hedge</small>
	189	Lana	@ @ @
	190	Esther	@ @ <small>2 Backchannels of Amusement</small>
	191		(3)

In line 153, Jamie refers to when Esther mentioned, “Sorbet is cooling, can be cooling. But if it’s mango sorbet, then it’s heating” (l.130-1) to make a point that sugary foods would probably not be considered cooling because “you really shouldn’t have too many” (l.155) of them. Jamie’s rationale prompts Lana to create a comprehension check about sweets being heating (l.156). Her attempt falls in the same category as Jamie’s when it comes to the ICA level. It is a *L3* instance because she is dislocating and trying to operationalise a cultural paradigm by summarising Jamie’s simplified rationale.

Jamie’s reference to his experience introduced by the epistemic hedge, “kinda from” (l.157), is again a display of *L3 ICA*. Esther reacts to Jamie’s statement about his experience by partially agreeing that sweet things are generally heating but adds the example of ‘red dates’ as an exception. The subsequent combination of ‘I’ and ‘think’ produced by Esther, in line 159, is a discourse marker functioning as a hedge that displays uncertainty. This can be observed in the fact the marker comes after the main statement. Differently, in line 188, when Esther uses ‘I’ and ‘think’ again, she does so to explain her opinion about the heating and cooling characteristics being a binary system.

<b>ICA</b>	<b>L3</b>	192 Jamie	<b>so if you mix things together there is the question do you come out as heating or cooling</b>
		193	<b>Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent + Comprehension Check</b>
		194 Esther	<b>@ i don’t know</b>
		195 Jamie	<b>Hmmm</b>
			Backchannel of Amusement + Discourse Marker
			Backchannel of Understanding

Following the same train of thought, Jamie draws the Negotiation to a closing turn as he stretches the paradigm application beyond its basic Negotiated understanding. Jamie moves on from co-constructing the new cultural understanding to defying its conceptual boundaries with the comprehension check, “if you mix things together there is the question” (l.192), characterising a display of *L3 ICA*.

His attempt, however, is met by Esther’s discourse marker “I don’t know” after a brief backchannel of amusement (laughter) in recognition of a limitation in her knowledge concerning the outcome of mixing heating and cooling foods. Baumgarten and House's (2010) results show that L1 speakers of English tend to use "I don't know" as a strategy to gain time for their online planning of the ongoing utterance. Although Esther learned English as one of her first languages, the use of the marker in the context above was not of pragmatic meaning. This can be observed because there was no continuation for her turn, which reinforces "I don't know" as the central and literal information she wanted to convey, not as a discourse filler.

The table below will summarise the chronological unfolding of the Negotiation of cultural understanding according to the order of appearance of the participants’ communicative practices. Whenever an ICA level was observable in the analysis above, it will be listed here along with its strategic characteristics and responses.

<b>L0 - Metadiscursive Booster</b> (1.3)	2 Backchannels of Amusement
<b>L0 - Clarification Request + Reduced Meta. Code Glossing</b> (1.6)	Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L0 – Metadiscursive Justification</b> (1.8-10)	2 Backchannels of Amusement
<b>L0 - Metadiscursive Evaluation</b> (1.13)	Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of amusement
<b>L0 - Clarification request</b> (1.15)	
<b>L1 - Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</b> (1.16)	2 Backchannels of Amusement
<b>L2 - Interpersonal Hedge + Clarification Request + Metadiscursive Mediation + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</b> (1.19)	
<b>L2 – Epistemic Hedge + Metadiscursive Exemplification</b> (1.20-2)	2 ‘Wait and See’ Backchannels + 2 Metadiscursive Exemplification
<b>L3 – Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Epistemic Hedge</b> (1.29)	Backchannel of Understanding
<b>L3 - Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.31)	
<b>L1 - Interpersonal Hedge</b> (1.51-2)	3 Backchannels of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap + Metadiscursive Justification
<b>L3</b> (1.61)	2 Backchannels of Amusement + Clarification Request
<b>L1 - 3 Metadiscursive Exemplifications</b> (1.65)	Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement + Backchannel of Amusement

<b>L1 – Competitive Overlap + Self-Repetition (Emphasis)</b> (1.70)	
<b>L3 – Comprehension Checking (Candidate Readings)</b> (1.72)	Metadiscursive Booster + Represent + Competitive Overlap + Clarification Request
<b>L3 – Comprehension Check (Candidate Readings)</b> (1.76)	Clarification Request + Backchannel of Agreement + Metadiscursive Exemplification + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L3 - Comprehension Check (Candidate Readings)</b> (1.83)	Short Response + Metadiscursive Exemplification
<b>L3 - Comprehension Check (Candidate Readings)</b> (1.86)	
<b>L3 - Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.87)	Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L3 - Comprehension Check (Candidate Readings)</b> (1.89)	Short Response + Backchannel of Agreement + Short Response + Clarification Request + Metadiscursive Evaluation
<b>L3 – Backchannel of Amusement + Metadiscursive Code Glossing</b> (1.110)	Backchannel of Understanding + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Backchannel of Agreement + Backchannel of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap + Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Code Glossing</b> (1.149-50)	Backchannel of Amusement + Wait-and-See Backchannel + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Cooperative Overlap + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Backchannel of Agreement + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Meta. Booster + Self- Repetition (Emphasis)
<b>L3 - Comprehension Check</b> (1.156)	
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive interpretation + Epistemic Hedge</b> (1.157)	Metadiscursive Exemplification + Discourse Marker of Exemplification + Discourse Marker + Utterance Completion + Clarification Request + Interpersonal Hedge + 2 Backchannels of Amusement

<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Illocutionary intent + Comprehension Check (1.192-3)</b>	Discourse Marker of Insufficient Knowledge
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Table 3

When it comes to the role of the ICA levels in the unfolding of the Negotiation above, the first information that stands out is that the conversation began with five displays of *L0 (zero) ICA*. The lack of or low cultural awareness in the beginning seems to have been the origin of the non-understanding that occurred in this Negotiation. The lower level of ICA demonstrated when that linguacultural topic is introduced may indicate potential triggers for Negotiation in ELF communication. From line 16, there was an alternation between *L1, L2, and L3* up to the middle of the conversation, followed by the second half that stayed at *L3 ICA* until the end.

Although the ICA levels were lower initially, *L3 ICA* turned out to be the most present level in the whole conversation with fourteen occurrences, while *L1 and 2* were identified a total of five times, and Level 0, cultural unawareness, five times. Therefore, 58.3% of this conversation demonstrated the participants' "ability to negotiate and mediate between different emergent culturally and contextually grounded communication modes and frames of reference" (Baker, 2015:168). The very last utterance was at *L3 ICA*, and displayed Jamie's subversive agency, proposing a conceptual application of his new knowledge through the hypothetical mixing of its variables (heating and cooling foods) to see what happened.

As for the strategic moves activated when the ICA levels were being displayed, *metadiscourse* was the most used pragmatic strategy, with fifteen occurrences, distributed among the levels almost evenly, with a slight predominance of *L3* cases. The types of metadiscourse were spread evenly, without any particular identifiable pattern. Therefore, their substantial presence points to a tendency of using 'meta-talk' when the ICA levels were being displayed. Metadiscourse was followed by six *comprehension checks* (of which five were tentative readings), three epistemic and two interpersonal hedges, and three clarification requests.

The five *hedges* indicated caution in the level of certainty or an effort to distance oneself from the point being conveyed. The deployment of those hedges mainly occurred at a high ICA level (twice in *L3 ICA* and in *L2 ICA*, once at *L1 ICA*). Therefore, indicating the participants' desire to express themselves with face-saving strategies when conveying or referring to heterogeneity and fluidity in linguacultural practices.



The comprehension checks and clarification requests used where ICA is observable can be interpreted as the proactive engagement of the participants in the pursuit for more information about the new paradigm and then the attempts to use it in their context. While all the six *comprehension checks* came up in *L3 ICA*, they were all occasions where the participants were trying out the new ‘paradigm’ by applying it to local dishes or testing its conceptual boundaries. The three *clarifications requests* featured as part of *L0 and L2 ICA*. Two of them had in common being embedded in displays of *L0 ICA* at the beginning of the conversation. In fact, it can be observed that the first two clarification requests were the main propulsors of this Negotiation of understandings. This could indicate this strategy may have a protagonist role at the beginning of non-understanding cases. The third clarification request had a more complex role of intercultural mediation, which made it a *L2 ICA*. *Backchannels* had three occurrences in displays of ICA levels, all demonstrating *L3 ICA*. In the two backchannels of agreement, the participants echoed the previous one by agreeing with his/her point made (1.31, 87). With the backchannel of amusement (1.110), the participant showed her enjoyment in the conversation and introduced the experiential aspect needed to understand the paradigm.

In the responses to the demonstrations of ICA levels, the most used pragmatic strategy were *backchannels*, deployed to demonstrate listenership, provide feedback (agreement/disagreement/value), show amusement, and prompt other speakers to continue talking so understanding could be reached (‘wait and see’). The predominance of backchannels of amusement with twenty-one instances characterised the Negotiation as light-hearted and entertaining to its participants. Laughter and laughingly utterances were also responsible for the positive feedback that had an essential role in keeping the conversation going. An interesting fact is that twelve of those laughter occurrences were after *L0 and L1 ICA* (50% each), in response to the moments when the participants were acknowledging the need to negotiate a fuzzy piece of information and later when the paradigm was being applied to categorise stodgy British food as heating. Those backchannels were followed in number by three of agreement and three wait-and-sees, which contributed similarly with feedback that made the Negotiation keep going.

In sequence to backchannels, *metadiscourse* was the most frequently used strategy in the responses to the ICA levels identified. Metadiscursive exemplifications occurred six times, of which four were in sequence to *L3 ICA* displays. Also, two metadiscursive evaluations were after *L3 ICA* comprehension checking candidate readings and were used

to signal interest in the topic at the very beginning and, later, to show a participant's frustration for not fully grasping the concept.

*Overlaps* were another significantly present strategy. It occurred seven times, of which six were cooperative overlaps that happened in sequence to displays of *L1* and *L3 ICA*. Those were occasions where the participants supported the talk and/or the speaker by providing positive feedback or attempting to add supporting arguments to the point being made. In the only case of competitive overlap, following *L3 ICA*, one of the participants continued his simultaneous talk until he had the floor and was able to ask his question.

*Short responses* and discourse markers only happened twice each. The three short responses were after displays of *L3 ICA* and provided quick replies that steered the discussion towards more explanation. The two discourse markers were also in response to *L3 ICA* and indicated, respectively, the presence of an example with "for instance" and the lack of sufficient knowledge about what had just been said with, "I don't know".

As explained in the methodology chapter, I will compile these findings with the ones from the following conversations to characterise and discuss the patterns identified concerning ICA levels and pragmatic strategies in the unfolding of those Negotiations of cultural understandings.

#### 4.3.2 "Pudding is like pie. Is it that?"

The conversation sequence ahead is the second Negotiation of cultural understanding that happened during that same lunch. As reported above, we talked about heating and cooling foods when the meal was being served. At dessert time, Charles asked Jamie if what he was holding were 'dates', and I, who had bought it (mis)understood that he was asking about the expiration date of the dessert. Then, Jamie explained that sticky toffee puddings are actually date puddings and later rephrased them as date cakes. After that linguistic issue was clarified, the conversation evolved into a cultural understanding Negotiation when Ellen indicated that the dictionary meaning of 'pudding' she knew was insufficient information for her to picture the 'date pudding' that Jamie had just described to me. This was Ellen's first time at the Connect lunches and the church. She had recently arrived in the UK from Tajikistan. We were all excited about her joining us that day and wanted to make her feel welcome. However, what started as a clarification question, became everyone's confusion, including mine.

1 Jamie oh yeah sticky toffee pudding is a date pudding  
2 Juliana date pudding=  
3 Jamie =covered in toffee sauce  
4 Juliana ah::  
5 Jamie <quiet> pre:tty much date cake </quiet>  
6 Ellen i don't understand (.) pudding is like pie (.) is it that  
7 Esther well hum: in England pudding means all dessert <1> but also  
8 </1> a specific kind of dessert  
9 Ellen <1> ah: </1>  
10 Esther <1> @@@@ </1>  
11 Lana <1> @@@@ </1>  
12 Jamie <1> @@@@= </1>  
13 Juliana =it's all very confusing  
14 Ellen =so this is not of all dessert but specific but <2> is also a  
15 pudding </2>  
16 Esther <2> it is also a dessert </2>  
17 Jamie yeah=  
18 Juliana =yeah it's not only england it's scotland too (.) i guess it's  
19 british  
20 Jamie it's like what is it like sa:ying (.) you'd- you'd say pudding like  
21 you say dinner  
22 Juliana hmm  
23 Jamie so we have dinner (.) then we'll have pudding don't like say  
24 DESSERTS  
25 Ellen ah:=  
26 Jamie =so quick pudding means dessert but yes it's also like  
27 Esther i looked up the-  
28 Lana -dessert is cold stuff  
29 Jamie yeah the kind of dessert that is-  
30 Lana <fast> -pudding is hot stuff </fast>=  
31 Juliana hmm  
32 Jamie =the kind of dessert that is <3> pudding </3> (.) well that's  
33 a good point actually  
34 Esther <3> uh: </3>  
35 Juliana <quiet> what? </quiet> (.) dessert is hot?  
36 Lana dessert is cold=  
37 Juliana =ah=  
38 Lana =pudding is hot  
39 Esther but then: even <4> when </4> you have like ice cream for  
40 dessert people might still say like <5> shall </5> we bring  
41 pudding=  
42 Juliana <4> really? </4>  
43 <5> do they. </5>  
44 =YES  
45 Lana yeah <fast> yeah yeah yeah </fast>  
46 Juliana what? (.) that doesn't make any sense=  
47 Esther <6> =@@@@ </6>  
48 Lana <6> @@@@ </6>  
49 Ellen <6> @@@@ </6>  
50 Juliana i thought- i though i thought we were getting somewhere  
51 here <7> with the dessert and the pudding= </7>  
52 Esther <7> @@@@ </7>  
53 Jamie =yes <8> i guess- i guess </8>  
54 Juliana <8> now you messed it up again </8>  
55 Jamie i guess a <9> question that i might ask= </9>

56 Esther <9> i think it also has to do= </9>  
57 Lana =we need to know?  
58 Esther we need to know.  
59 Lana hm:  
60 i think it's also regional  
61 Esther regional?  
62 Jamie if you're being not- if you're being generic=  
63 Juliana =hmm=  
64 Jamie =you can say pudding  
65 if you're being specific you can't really say pudding about a  
66 specific kind of dessert (.) sort of like if you someone asks  
67 what are we having for pudding (.) ice cream  
68 Esther and you don't want to confuse anyone (.) they just never  
69 use pudding as the generic term=  
70 Jamie =yes=  
71 Esther =@@@@@  
72 Lana {showing us a picture on her phone that illustrated what she was talking about  
73 previously} Ok (.) So the protest signs when trump was here <un> xx </un/> london  
74 Esther oh:: they're SO good  
75 Jamie oh YEAH so:

The Negotiation (Zhu, 2015) that unfolded in the extract above attracted efforts from almost everyone at the table. The participants engaged with Ellen's question and provided their understandings and interpretations of the contrast between the words 'pudding' and 'dessert'. The result of this discussion was the expansion of the possibilities of meanings for 'pudding' and 'dessert' and a greater awareness that this distinction is not clear even to Jamie, who introduced the topic by using the word 'pudding' as 'date pudding' (l.1).

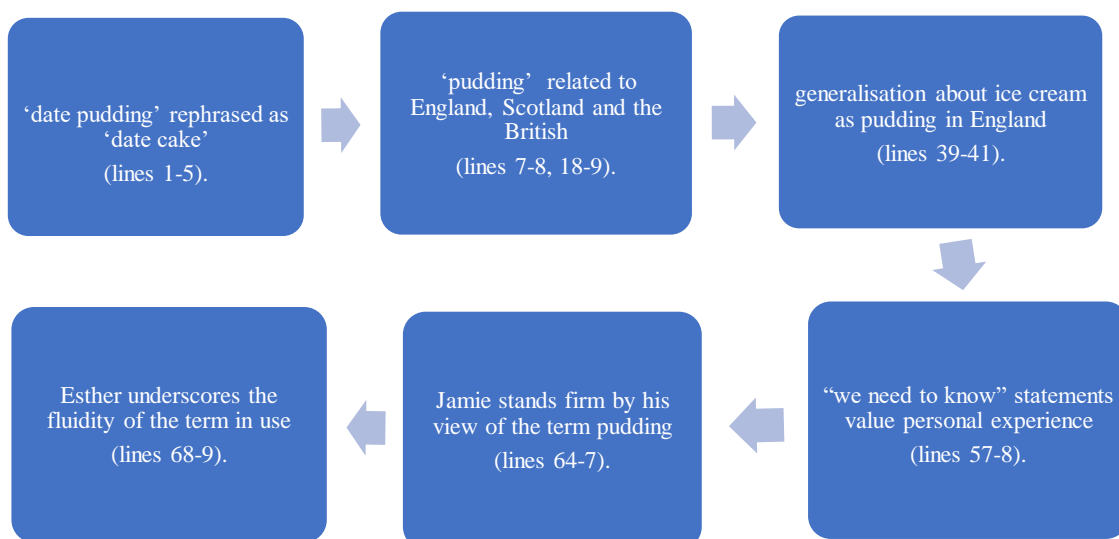


Diagram 2

Once Ellen summarises what she understood, Jamie explains that ‘pudding’ is what we have after eating dinner. The homogeneity of the explanation is disrupted by Lana’s introduction of the information that the term ‘dessert’ is used for “cold stuff” and ‘pudding’ for “hot stuff” (1.28, 30). Jamie, then, agrees that there might be some relation between this sub-category of sweet foods and the selection of the words that describe them.

Here it may be essential to remember that Jamie is from Scotland and Lana is from England. This might have played a role in his acceptance of her suggestion, considering she is someone who would probably use and understand the term ‘pudding’ in a similar way to his. It is also possible that the “native speaker’s” authority might have played a significant role in this moment or even throughout the whole conversation. Although the power relations are not the focus of this study, it cannot be ignored that representatives of particular social groups may have dissymmetric levels of power in these Negotiations. And this affects how others interpret their turns. However, we must keep in mind that, in ELF interactions, the power balance will not always pend to the side of a particular group. It depends on whom the participants consider being the expert(s) in each Negotiation. For instance, in this conversation, the terms being negotiated are linked to the British culture by the participants, which grants those who identify themselves as British a weightier voice in the matter. In other conversations, the link is made to numerous cultures or to no specific culture. The way those concepts are conceptually framed within the interaction will imply who has the most authority.

At the end of this conversation, it can be seen that the use of the word ‘pudding’ as introduced by Jamie is still very unclear. Although Jamie makes a last attempt to sum up his understanding, it is followed by Esther’s protest. Jamie responds with an immediate “yes”, causing Esther to laugh at the ineffectiveness of his explanation. The fact they are married makes the whole debate light and funny.

Finally, the result of this Negotiation process is that the participants’ views of the categories ‘pudding’ and ‘dessert’ became more flexible to include both hot and cold options of sweet servings. Consequentially, at least for that group, the confusing and confused attempts to distinguish the category ‘pudding’ from ‘dessert’ have also made the two terms interchangeable. Although a single interpretation of the term ‘pudding’ was not reached, this Negotiation can be considered successful because the fluid understanding of pudding was co-constructed by the participants. Given the ultimate goal of those lunch conversations was to get to know each other and deepen connections within the broader church community, cooperatively understanding each other is more important

than agreeing on the topics being discussed. Besides, the participants seem to find the image Lana is showing more interesting than the continuation of the ‘pudding’ topic. Now, I turn to the ICA levels displayed during that conversation and expressed through pragmatic strategic moves.

<b>ICA</b>	1	Jamie	oh yeah sticky toffee pudding is a date pudding <small>Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Self-repetition (Rephrasing)</small>
	2	Juliana	date pudding= <small>Represent</small>
	3	Jamie	=covered in toffee sauce
	4	Juliana	ah:: <small>Backchannel of Understanding</small>
<b>L1</b>	5	Jamie	<b>&lt;quiet&gt; pre:tty much date cake &lt;/quiet&gt;</b> <small>Hedge + Self-repetition (Rephrasing)</small>
<b>L0</b>	6	Ellen	<b>i don't understand (.) pudding is like pie is it that</b> <small>Clarification Request (Discourse Marker) + Comprehension Check</small>

Jamie negotiates the linguistic meaning of ‘sticky toffee pudding’ by confirming to the other interlocutors that it is made with ‘dates’, and it can be thought of as a ‘date pudding’. He sets out to clarify the general knowledge of the other interlocutors concerning this sweet ‘pudding’ by rephrasing “sticky toffee pudding” into “date pudding” (1.1). After Juliana shows listenership (1.2) understanding (1.4), Jamie displays *L0 ICA*, when he explains the meaning of ‘pudding’ as if it were a matter that depends only on linguistic knowledge (1.5). He does so by indicating his general awareness of the participants’ diverse linguistic proficiency levels and repertoires when he rephrases ‘pudding’ (the category) into a more basic/common lexicon, ‘cake’ (a specific item).

The rephrasing that aimed to increase everybody’s understanding of ‘date pudding’ ends up confusing Ellen, who indicates her non-understanding through a request for clarification (1.6). In the same turn, she explains her understanding of the word ‘pudding’ with a tentative reading and checks with the group if it is correct. By making her knowledge and interpretation known, she also makes her clarification request more specific, narrowing it down from the generic “I don’t understand”. In other words, she is communicating that what she knows about the word ‘pudding’ does not seem to align with what is being said. At this point, from her perspective, this could be a Negotiation of linguistic understanding only. Therefore, Ellen is showing no acknowledgement this might be a cultural understanding misalignment, displaying *L0 ICA*.

In the same conversation and as a response to Ellen’s comprehension check, Esther jumps in to mediate the Negotiation. Esther is from Singapore but had been living in the UK for the past seven years. Being a foreigner herself, she might have been more

aware of the possible cultural aspect of Ellen’s difficulty to understand what Jamie meant.

<b>ICA</b>	7	Esther	well hum: <b>in England pudding means</b> all dessert <1> but also
<b>L1</b>	8		</1> a specific kind of dessert <b>Metadiscursive Code Glossing</b>
	9	Ellen	<1> ah: </1> Backchannel of Understanding + Cooperative Overlap
	10	Esther	<1> @@@@ </1>
	11	Lana	<1> @@@@ </1>
	12	Jamie	<1> @@@@= </1> 3 Cooperative Overlap + 4 Backchannels of Amusement
	13	Juliana	=it’s all very confusing Metadiscursive Evaluation
	14	Ellen	=so this is not of all dessert but specific (.) it <2> is also a
	15		pudding </2> Metadiscursive interpretation
	16	Esther	<2> it is also a dessert </2> Completion Overlap
	17	Jamie	yeah= Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L1</b>	18	Juliana	<b>=yeah it’s not only england it’s scotland too (.) i guess it’s</b>
	19		<b>british</b> Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Exemplification + Self-repair
	20	Jamie	it’s like what is it like sa:yng (.) you’d- you’d say pudding like
	21		you say dinner 3 Meta. Illocutionary Acts + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Meta. Exemplification
	22	Juliana	hmm Wait-and-see Backchannel

Esther aims to clarify the meaning of pudding in that context by attaching it to a territory, England (1.7-8). After Esther links the term ‘pudding’ to England, the use of the metadiscursive code glossing phrase “pudding *means*” sets the scene for the information that is to be interpreted as a cultural reference of that specific territory. Therefore, there is a combination of locale with a generalising description of a communicative practice that displays *L1 ICA*. Ellen backchannels that she understood the explanation. Esther, Lana and Jamie laugh at the intricacies of the topic. Juliana, however, uses of the metadiscursive evaluation (1.13) to express that, like Ellen, she also finds it difficult to understand.

Then, taking further action to check her understanding, Ellen exposes how she interpreted the explanation given thus far (1.14-5). Showing listenership, Esther brings up an interchangeability possibility that is subsequently confirmed, maybe accidentally, by Jamie’s latching/immediate “yeah” (1.17). At that moment, it seems that the three of them (Ellen, Jamie and Esther) agree that pudding can be used interchangeably with dessert, whilst at the same time not including all the sweet foods options that are eaten after a

main meal. Besides, at this point, ‘pudding’ can also be used to refer to a specific kind of sweet food.

The same kind of association is made by Juliana (me) when she exemplifies to expand reach of the use of this understanding of pudding (1.18-9). Thus, although Juliana uses of the face-saving, interpersonal hedge “I guess”, the specific cultural understanding of the word ‘pudding’ that seems to be unknown to Ellen is associated with England, then to Scotland and subsequently attached to the overall British nationality. Because both definitions stay at the level of national cultures, without acknowledging the possibility of diversity of behaviour inside those cultures, the way Juliana and Esther approached the subject can be interpreted as an expression of *L1 ICA*, a basic cultural awareness. Ellen backchannels Esther’s cultural explanation to indicate understanding and is immediately followed by laughter from Esther, Lana and Jamie, acknowledging that cultural differences are funny. Juliana’s addition in lines 18-19 seem to be interpreted as a go-ahead sign by Jamie, who provides an example (1.20-1) that is responded to with a wait-and-see backchannel (1.22).

ICA		
L1		
	39	Esther but then even <4> when </4> you have ice cream for
	40	dessert <b>people might still say</b> like <5> <b>shall</b> </5> <b>we bring</b>
	41	<b>pudding=</b> Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
	42	Juliana <4> really? </4> Metadiscursive Evaluation + Cooperative Overlap
	43	<5> do they. </5> Metadiscursive Evaluation + Cooperative Overlap
	44	=YES Backchannel of Agreement
	45	Lana yeah <fast> yeah yeah yeah </fast> Repetition (Emphasis) + Backchannel of Understanding + Backchannel of Agreement
	46	Juliana what? (.) that doesn’t make any sense= Metadiscursive Evaluation
	47	Esther <6> =@ @ @ @ </6>
	48	Lana <6> @ @ @ @ </6>
	49	Ellen <6> @ @ @ @ </6> 3 Backchannels of Amusement + 2 Cooperative Overlaps
	50	Juliana i thought- i though i thought we were getting somewhere
	51	here <7> with the dessert and the pudding= </7> Self-repetition (Disfluency)+ Metadiscursive Evaluation
	52	Esther <7> @ @ @ @ @ </7> Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Amusement
	53	Jamie =yes <8> I guess- I guess </8> Backchannel of Agreement + Interpersonal Hedge + Self-repetition (Disfluency)
	54	Juliana <8> now you messed it up again </8> Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Evaluation

Esther expresses L1 ICA through generalisation when referring to the way people in England talk about ice cream. That is, she is mentioning a specific way the national



English culture differs from others. Juliana indicates listenership with two cooperative overlaps (1.42 and 43). Next, Lana supports the talk and shows understanding (1.45).

Then, Esther's expression of L1 ICA back in lines 39-41 triggered backchannels of agreement and three negative evaluations of the Negotiation, inviting more explanation. Juliana's metadiscursive evaluation is demonstrated with the three utterances, "that doesn't make any sense" (1.46), "I thought, I thought, I thought we were getting somewhere here with the dessert and the pudding" (1.50-1), and the competitive overlap "now you messed it up again" (1.54). In this context, those evaluations function as a clarification request.

<b>ICA</b>	55	Jamie	i guess a </9> question that i might ask= </9> <small>Interpersonal Hedge + Interpersonal Hedge + Meta. Illoc. Intent</small>
	56	Esther	</9> i think it also has to do= </9> <small>Interpersonal Hedge + Competitive Overlap</small>
<b>L3</b>	57	Lana	<b>=we need to know?</b> <small>Metadiscursive Interpretation</small>
<b>L3</b>	58	Esther	<b>we need to know.</b> <small>Represent</small>
	59	Lana	hm: <small>Backchannel of Understanding</small>
<b>L3</b>	60		<b>i think it's also regional</b> <small>Interpersonal Hedge</small>
	61	Esther	regional? <small>Represent</small>

Three occurrences of hedges mark this part of the conversation. First, Jamie attempts to propose a point to be taken into consideration. However, he introduces this possibility by hedging it with the expression "I guess". This marker lessens the illocutionary certainty of what he is going to say. Esther cuts his utterance with a competitive overlap and in the same tone of uncertainty, "I think" (1.56). Lana interrupts Esther to offer a metadiscursive interpretation that summarises what she has understood. In that case, to check if the word choice is a matter of instinct (1.57). Esther replies by using a represent (1.58) that confirms Lana's suggested solution for the cultural meaning issue. By alluding to a more fluid way of thinking about a cultural understanding application that passes through one's own experiences and instincts, the statement "we need to know", used by both Lana and Esther, can be considered two displays of *L3 ICA*.

After that, Lana expresses she understands what Esther explained (1.59), and that is followed by another possible explanation for differences in understanding of the term in question. Lana uses the interpersonal hedge, "I think..." to introduce the possibility that "it's also regional" (1.60). That proposition is a demonstration of *L3 ICA*, for it is aligned with the previous statements through 'also' and points to heterogeneous

understandings and practices within the same country, proposing that it may vary according to the region.

Esther uses the represent “regional” with rising intonation to show she is considering this possibility. However, Jamie does not seem to be satisfied with the proposed personalisation or regionalisation of this cultural understanding and continues to pursue teaching a more “accurate” use of the term ‘pudding’ to the rest of the group.

ICA	62	Jamie	if you’re being not- if you’re being generic= <small>Self-repair</small>
	63	Juliana	=hmm= <small>Wait-and-see Backchannel</small>
L1	64	Jamie	=you can say pudding
	65		<b>if you’re being specific you can’t really say pudding</b> about a
	66		specific kind of dessert (.) sort of like if you someone asks
	67		what are we having for pudding (.) ice cream <small>Metadiscursive Specificity + Epistemic Hedge + Metadiscursive Exemplification</small>
L3	68	Esther	and you don’t want to confuse anyone (.) <b>they just never</b>
	69		<b>use pudding as the generic term=</b> <small>Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</small>
L3	70	Jamie	<b>=yes=</b> <small>Backchannel of Agreement</small>
	71	Esther	=@ @ @ @ <small>Backchannel of Amusement</small>
	72	Lana	{showing us a picture on her phone that illustrated what she was
	73		talking about previously} Ok (.) So the protest signs <un>x</un>
	74	Esther	oh:: they’re SO good
	75	Jamie	oh yeah the <un> x </un>

Previously, Jamie defined pudding and tried to summarise his perspective. Now, in his last attempt, he employs the strategy of metadiscursive specificity to try to clear all doubts (1.65). Jamie is making sure that this cultural perception of the word pudding and its use is perceived as a category, not something ascribed to a particular food. To back up his point, he provides an example (1.64-67). Although he is mitigating his example with “sort of”, this posture of standing firm by only one particular view of the term pudding is a demonstration of *L1 ICA*. Besides, there is a resistance to the liminality that had been proposed by Lana and Esther (1.57-8) while he handles marked cultural differences attributed to the British. Jamie’s resistance is met with further opposition from Esther, who disagrees with the idea that “they” (1.68-9) generically use the term pudding. Esther’s response also reinforces that the distinction between pudding and desserts is a fluid one that will rely on each person’s experiences. Thus, she is displaying again an *L3 ICA*, which brings the discussion to an end as Jamie agrees (echoing the *L3 ICA*) and Esther laughs.

Overall, the strategies used when the participants displayed ICA and the strategies that were activated in response to those, can be ordered like this:

ICA Levels + Strategies	Strategic Responses
-----	Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Self-repetition (Rephrasing) + Represent
L0 - Epistemic Hedge + Self-repetition (Rephrasing) (1.5)	
L0 – Clarification Request + Discourse Marker + Compr. C. Tentative Reading + Comprehension Check (1.6)	
L1 - Metadiscursive Mediation + Metad. Code Glossing (1.7-8)	Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Understanding + 4 Backchannels of Amusement + 4 Cooperative Overlaps + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Metadiscursive Interpretation + Completion Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement
L1 – Epistemic Hedge + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Self-repair (1.18-19)	Metadiscursive Exemplification + Discourse Marker of Exemplification + 3 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Metadiscursive Exemplification + Wait-and-see Backchannel
L1 - Metadiscursive illocutionary Act (1.39-41)	Metadiscursive Evaluation + Cooperative Overlaps + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Cooperative Overlaps + Backchannel of Agreement + Backchannel of understanding + Backchannel of Agreement + Metadiscursive Evaluation + 3 Backchannels of Amusement + 2 Cooperative Overlaps + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement + Interpersonal Hedge + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Evaluation + 2 Interpersonal Hedges + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent + Interpersonal Hedge + Competitive Overlap
L3 – Metadiscursive Interpretation (1.57)	
L3 – Represent (1.58)	Backchannel of Understanding
L3 - Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Code Glossing (1.60)	Represent + Self-repair + Wait-and-see Backchannel

<b>L1 - Metadiscursive Specificity + Epistemic Hedge + Metadiscursive Exemplification</b> (1.64-7)	
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</b> (1.68-9)	
<b>L3 - Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.70)	Backchannel of Amusement

Table 4

Like in the previous conversation, the lowest ICA levels were demonstrated at the beginning, with two instances of *L0 ICA* and three occurrences of *L1 ICA*. The first demonstration of *L0 ICA* was followed by the signalling of non-understanding that initiated the Negotiation. The second half was mainly carried out at *L3 ICA*, except when Jamie displayed *L1 ICA*, resisting the liminality proposed by Esther and Lana. Like the previous conversation, this one ends with *L3 ICA*, in an open-ended tone, characterised by the acknowledged diversity of possibilities.

The deployment of pragmatic strategies in the display of ICA levels happened mostly through metadiscourse. There were three instances of code glossing. The first two were displayed in *L1 ICA*, as they happened where ‘pudding’ was tentatively defined by Jamie and Esther and then described as a possible British term by Juliana. The third was used later, where ‘pudding’ was proposed as related to personal experience and a region (*L3 ICA*). There was one metadiscursive mediation, in a demonstration of *L1 ICA*, where the linguacultural issue was identified and tackled. On the two occasions where illocutionary acts, participants explained how the term pudding is used, first through *L1 ICA*, then through *L3 ICA*. Through the metadiscursive interpretation at *L3 ICA*, the participant summarised what she gathered from the discussions to that point. There was one instance of metadiscursive specificity and exemplification together in the display of *L1 ICA*, where ‘pudding’ was proposed as a specific category, not interchangeable with dessert.

Like the previous conversation, this Negotiation begins with a clarification request in the form of a discourse marker (1.6) displaying *L0 ICA*. Differently from the previous conversation, the three epistemic hedges occurred when *L0 and L1 ICA* were being displayed. Both comprehension checks were deployed in the same utterance (1.6)

in a display of cultural unawareness, *L0 ICA*. One occurrence of a backchannel of agreement echoed what had been said in the previous utterance in *L3 ICA* (1.70).

Moreover, ICA levels were expressed through repetition in three occasions. First, *self-repetition* (rephrasing) was used to simplify their vocabulary use (1.5) and to be more accurate (1.18-9). Then, a *represent* to agree with what was being proposed as interpreting the information provided until then (1.58).

When it comes to the pragmatic strategies used in response to the ICA levels, *backchannels* stood out for their high frequency. Through backchannels, the participants demonstrated amusement eight times, laughing at the local cultural aspect of the non-understanding, at the struggle Juliana had to grasp the differences being explained, and, in the end, at Jamie's inability to define the topic satisfactorily. The three occurrences of backchannels of understanding showed (1) a participant was comprehending the logic proposed by a mediator; (2) when an example was given to highlight the complexity of the topic; (3) and when the relevance of experiential knowledge to understand the topic was pointed out. The three backchannels of agreement were deployed to agree with the description of pudding as a dessert and occurred after an *L1 ICA*. There were two wait-and-see occurrences, one in response to *L1 ICA* and one after *L2 ICA*.

Second to backchannels were the metadiscursive strategies, which occurred in the form of six metadiscursive evaluations (all in response to *L1 ICA*), three illocutionary acts and one interpretation (*L1 ICA*), one illocutionary intent (*L1 ICA*) and two metadiscursive exemplifications (*L1 ICA*). Metadiscourse was used to express explicit evaluations and interpret the information participants received, which prompted others to take different paths of explanation and exemplify applications of the concept being Negotiated.

Next in the number of strategies after ICA were displayed, overlaps occurred twelve times, all in response to *L1 ICA*. Nine were cooperative overlaps, two competitive, and one was an attempt to complete someone else's utterance. First, one overlap features an engaged backchannel that confirms understanding, simultaneously with laughter from three participants. The second overlap takes place when Esther offers additional information overlapping Ellen's verbal processing. The other cooperative overlaps are instances of short evaluative metadiscourse denoting surprise, understanding, agreement, enjoyment, or accidental overlaps that aimed to show engagement in the talk. In the two competitive overlaps, first, a participant wanted to evaluate the explanations given and continued talking even when her utterance overlapped with someone else's. That

feedback contributed to the continuation of the efforts towards a more precise conceptualisation. Then, in the other competitive overlap, two participants immediately responded to the request for more information implied in the previous overlap. The second speaker produced a simultaneous explanation that she seemed to believe would be better than the one offered by the first speaker. They were both interrupted by someone else's metadiscursive interpretation.

This Negotiation was also marked by a substantial number of repetitions in the responses to ICA levels. Five in total. There was one *represent*, deployed to show listenership (1.2) and consideration of the proposed idea (1.61). Repetition in the form of self-repair occurred once, denoting the speaker's desire to be more accurate (1.62). There were also two occasions when repetition was a matter of dysfluency (1.20, 50). Four of them occurred in response to *L1 ICA*, and one after *L3 ICA*.

Last in the number of occurrences were the hedges. There were only two, of which one was an epistemic hedge lowering the strength of an exemplification that came after an *L1 ICA*, and 1 was an interpersonal hedge lowering the importance of the question the participant was about to ask in line 55, which was in response to *L1 ICA*.

#### 4.3.3 "Not in this house"

The interaction sequence that will be analysed below revolves around the cultural understandings and practices involving tea and coffee drinking. The exploration of the meaning of 'tea' involved tea-drinking habits, a comparison with coffee, and the relevance of that information to the Londoners at that table. As it has been, the general development of the Negotiation will be explored first.

This conversation was recorded on the following lunch day and happened just after eating lunch and having dessert. The hosts are taking the guests' requests for tea or coffee, asking what kind of tea and coffee they prefer. This communicative practice of the hosts was precisely what provoked the non-understanding that fuelled this Negotiation. Ellen signalled the *misalignment* of that cultural understanding to hers and was joined by most of the other participants at the table who shared their own experiences and perceptions. Read the entire conversation below:

- |   |         |  |
|---|---------|--|
| 1 | Jamie   | do you want more tea or coffee?                        |
| 2 | Juliana | no i've got tea thanks                                 |
| 3 | Paola   | there is coffee? Tea or coffee?                        |
| 4 | Esther  | {to Paola} either one (1) {to Ellen} what kind of tea? |
| 5 | Lana    | rooibos tea.   |

6 Esther o::h  
7 Lana you got it, right? you did it the last one  
8 Paola oh yeah the last one  
9 Juliana yeah that was nice=  
10 Lana =with milk please  
11 Esther okay  
12 Lana thank you  
13 Paola i mean if you want use rooibos for me as well so  
(...)  
22 Lana at home that's all like normal tea @@@=  
23 Paola =yeah hm  
24 Juliana yeah (.) i ask uhm-  
25 Lana -want tea or workman's tea? @<1>@@</1>  
26 Juliana <1> people </1> have come or go to my house and say i offer them tea  
27 and they and i ask what kind of tea would you like and said just tea (.) that  
28 doesn't help me much (.) <2> i've </2> got like five different <@> types  
29 </@> and i don't have english tea 'cause i keep forgetting buying it  
30 Esther <2> yeah </e>  
31 Lana <@> ah </@>  
32 Paola at home like in italy you uhm you i mean if you say tea it's just a black  
33 tea (.)=  
34 Juliana =uhm=  
35 Paola =so if you want something else like the- the decaffeinated one or like the  
36 herbal tea there is another word for it  
37 Juliana hmm that's good to know  
38 Paola yeah  
39 Kate it is not tea <un> x </un>  
40 Paola it is not tea there is no tea in the word for it we call like <it> tisana </it>  
41 Kate <it> tisana </it>  
42 Juliana that's very interesting  
43 Esther yeah it's like that in french as well  
44 Kate yeah  
45 Juliana cause in brazil <3> we don't have that </3>  
46 Paola <3> tisana is all the herbal ones </3> but you won't put tea (.) so we call  
47 tea just the caffeinated unless uhm you say decaffeinated but erm:=  
48 Juliana =for some reason because i think that italy has such a tradition with coffee:  
49 i would expect them to be just as brazil in that sense that we- most people  
50 like <4> 95% or more would have </4> coffee and then just maybe 5 to 3%  
51 would have tea=  
52 Paola <4> yeah? but we have tea- but we have tea (.) </4> =no- no- NO (.)  
53 NEVER after lunch  
54 Lana @ <5> @@ </5>  
55 Paola <5> NEVER </5> that don't won't- that won't be a question: <6> after  
56 lunch </6>  
57 Esther <6>@@@</6>  
58 Juliana <6> good to know- good to know I'm not crazy </6>=  
59 Paola =after lunch people would ask coffee or not that's it=  
60 Juliana =@@ yes right?  
61 Paola either coffee <7> or not in Italy </7>  
62 Juliana <7> and we ask for a little one </7> we just ask like this and everybody  
63 knows it's coffee (.) would you like a little one? {making hand  
64 gesture of holding/offering a small cup of coffee} <quiet> and they  
65 would know it's coffee </quiet>  
66 Paola <quiet> yeah now tea would be like maybe afternoon</quiet>  
67 Lana hmm  
68 Paola afternoon like yeah towards evening like as a break  
69 Lana not <@> in this house </@> @@

70 Kate @@

71 Juliana @@

72 Kate sounds to me like rules what like in: I think in <8> Spain they have coffee  
73 before eating </8>

74 Paola <8> it's not that it's a rule but you don't say it </8>

75 Kate whereas in here- we don't <un> xx </un>

76 Lana <@> -it's just whatever (.) if you fancy it? </@> @@

77 Kate @@ yeah

78 Jamie even we don't say it <change in the voice> we will not speak of such  
79 things </change in the voice>

80 Lana @@ <9> @@@ </9>

81 Kate @@ <9> @@@ </9>

82 Paola @@ <9> @@@ </9>

83 Juliana @@ <9> @@@ </9>

84 Jamie <9> (we eat dessert at twelve) </9>

85 Kate if you have both is it like milk and coffee is that not only acceptable in the  
86 morning and if you had it in-

87 Paola -normally you would- you would only ask for a cappuccino in the morning  
88 but not in the afternoon (.) afternoon it's just coffee coffee

89 Kate i don't know if this is the problem that I like milky coffee so i don't know

90 Paola yeah but I mean with milky coffee you ask for a macchiato=  
91 Kate =yeah

92 Paola which is like a- an espresso <10> but </10> <quiet> it's with a little bit of  
93 milk </quiet>

94 Kate <10> yeah </10>

95 Paola nowadays you know you can do you know whatever- whatever <fast> you  
96 want </fast> they want- they want order then you-

97 Lana <@> if you want starbucks <@> @@

98 Paola yeah, yeah, if you are paying...

99 Juliana if you're paying they don't (really) @@@

In the conversation above, the topic is developed in four stages:

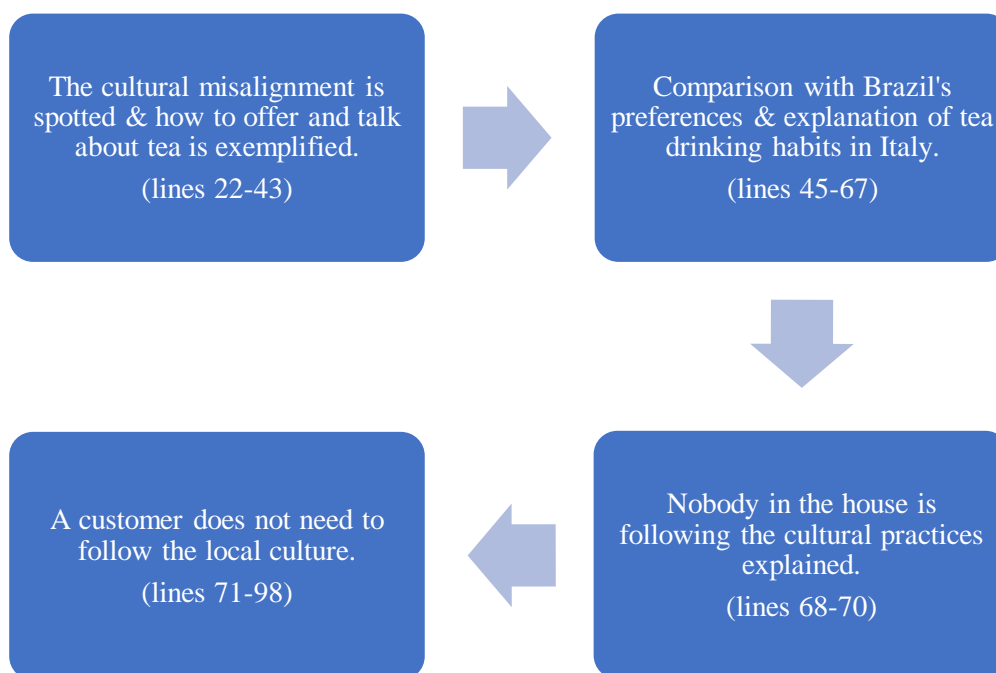


Diagram 3



The first stage is marked by the discussion of the meaning of the word ‘tea’ that is provoked by the diversified offer of tea. To Lana, ‘tea’ means the only tea one could offer. Lana is from Northern Ireland, but her family is currently in England, in a town that she defines as quite “monocultural”. To Juliana, ‘tea’ is a category of hot drinks represented by different kinds (flavours). Moreover, ‘tea’ means black tea to Paola, who explains that the only other option to ‘tea’ would be decaffeinated tea or ‘tisana’, herbal tea. Esther adds that ‘tisana’ is a term also used in French.

In the second stage, from the above definitions, the participants start drawing close parallels that focus on the protagonist role of tea or coffee drinking in Brazil and Italy. In the third stage, Lana brings the Negotiation that had revolved around international differences back to their recent local experience by laughingly highlighting that nobody in the house was following the cultural rules shared by Juliana and Paola. She proposes that ‘this house’ does things differently, making evident the fluidity of the realisation of the cultural aspects exemplified.

At the last stage of Negotiation, another destabilising factor is brought up, this time by Kate. From her own experience, she mentions some coffee drinking “rules” she had observed in Spain to check its similarity with the Italian culture. Paola explains that she believes drinking coffee before eating is something you do not see in Italy, not a rule *per se*. At this point, Kate states that a paying customer does not have to conform to the local cultural expectations.

Thus, this Negotiation started from not meeting Lana’s expectations, went through the comparison of terms and cultural practices concerning tea, coffee and their corresponding drinking habits in Brazil, Italy, and Spain, to arrive at accounts of the fluidity and, then, subversion of those practices. The reality of the national cultural practices and their cultural understandings presented in the participants’ explanations were expanded in possibilities and made flexible by the situation they were experiencing together.

Now, extracts of the same conversation will be analysed from the perspective of ICA levels and the pragmatic strategies relevant to each cycle of demonstration of intercultural communicative practices.

ICA			
	1	Jamie	do you want more tea or coffee? Clarification Request
	2	Juliana	no i’ve got tea thanks
	3	Paola	there is coffee? Tea or coffee?

<b>L3</b>	4	Esther	Comprehension check + Clarification Request <b>{to Paola} either one (1) {to Ellen} what kind of tea?</b> Clarification Request (Specific Query)	
	5	Lana	rooibos tea.	
	6	Esther	o::h	
	7	Lana	you got it, right? you did it the last one Metadiscursive Evaluation	
	8	Paola	oh yeah the last one Comprehension check	
	9	Juliana	yeah that was nice= Short response + Represent	
	10	Lana	=with milk please Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Evaluation	
	11	Esther	okay Short response	
	12	Lana	thank you Short Response	
	13	Paola	i mean if you want use rooibos for me as well so Discourse Marker	
			(...)	
	<b>L1</b>	22	Lana	<b>at home that's all like normal tea @@@=</b> Metadiscursive Code Glossing
	<b>L1</b>	23	Paola	<b>=yeah hm</b> Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L1</b>	24	Juliana	<b>yeah (.) i ask uhm-</b> Backchannel of Agreement + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act	
	25	Lana	-want tea or workman's tea? @<1>@@</1> Clarification Request	

Given the context of London, ‘tea’ usually means a specific kind of tea, socially implied as ‘English breakfast tea’ through a shared repertoire of practices, Esther’s clarification request, “what kind of tea?” (1.4), in the form of a specific query, stands as a demonstration of *L3 ICA*. Either from awareness gained through the practice of hosting international guests for lunch or from her understanding of ‘tea’ as a category, not a pre-assigned type, Esther transgresses the borders of the local linguacultural practices by expanding Jamie’s “tea or coffee” question (1.1). In response, Ellen chooses rooibos tea and is followed by Paola’s and Juliana’s interest in the same tea.

Next, Lana highlights the clash between Esther’s tea offering practice and the one she learned ‘at home’ (1.22). Anecdotally sharing that information, she explains how offering tea is done in her home in a way that assumes the local tea-drinking culture is homogeneous. She displays an *L1 ICA* because she acknowledges cultural differences that stem from the perceived homogeneity of a communicative practice in her family (home). Both Paola and Juliana agree and, consequently, echo that *L1 ICA*. Then, Juliana shares her own experience.

#### ICA

<b>L3</b>	26	Juliana	<1> people </1> have come or go to my house and say i offer them tea
	27		and they and i ask <b>what kind of tea would you like and said just tea (.) that</b>
	28		<b>doesn't help me much (.) &lt;2&gt; i've &lt;/2&gt; got like five different &lt;@&gt; types</b>

	29		</@> and i don't have english tea 'cause i keep forgetting buying it Cooperative Overlap + 3 Meta. Illoc. Acts + Clarification request + Meta. Evaluation + Meta. Justification
L3	30	Esther	<2> yeah </2> Backchannel of Agreement + Cooperative Overlap
	31	Lana	<@> ah </@> Backchannel of Understanding

In lines 26-9, Juliana displays *L3 ICA*, telling others about the communicative practices of her guests in the UK, who would reply 'tea' when she asked what they wanted to drink. She clarifies that it does not make sense not to name the type of tea one is referring to. She also mentions that she keeps forgetting to buy English tea, which adds to her transgression of the local social norm. Juliana's account of this cultural clash is supported by Esther's agreement (1.30) and Lana's expression of understanding (1.31). In Esther's agreement, there is also a demonstration of *L3 ICA*, as she echoes the previous statement classified as such. Next, Paola also joins in sharing what the word 'tea' means 'at home'.

ICA	L1	32	Paola	<b>at home like in italy you uhm you i mean if you say tea it's just a</b>	
		33		<b>black tea (.)=</b> Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Metadiscursive Code Glossing	
		34	Juliana	=uhm= Wait-and-see Backchannel	
		35	Paola	=so if you want something else like the- the decaffeinated one or like	
		36		the herbal tea there is another word for it Metadiscursive Exemplification	
		37	Juliana	hmm that's good to know Metadiscursive Evaluation	
		38	Paola	yeah Backchannel of Agreement	
		39	Kate	it is not tea <un> x </un> Metadiscursive Code Glossing	
		40	Paola	it is not tea there is no tea in the word for it we call like <it> tisana </it> Represent + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act	
		41	Kate	<it> tisana </it> Represent	
		42	Juliana	that's very interesting Metadiscursive Evaluation	
		L2	43	Esther	<b>yeah it's like that in french as well</b> Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Exemplification
		L2	44	Kate	<b>yeah</b> Backchannel of Agreement

In line 32, Paola demonstrates *L1 ICA* by bringing up a sense of national uniformity when she explains that the term 'tea' means just 'black tea' in Italy, her 'home'. Then, Esther engages in the discussion to point out that *tisana* is also present in French (1.43). That is a display of *L2 ICA* because she is establishing common ground between the Italian, the

French, and the British for having these two broad categories of tea and tisana/e or herbal tea in their repertoires. The same *L2 ICA* is echoed in Kate's agreement.

<b>ICA</b>	45	Juliana	<b>cause in brazil &lt;3&gt; we don't have that &lt;/3&gt;</b> Metadiscursive Justification
<b>L1</b>	46	Paola	<3> tisana is all the herbal ones </3> but you won't put tea (.) so we call
	47		tea just the caffeinated unless uhm you say decaffeinated but erm:= Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts
	48	Juliana	=for some reason because i think that italy has such a tradition with coffee:
<b>L1</b>	49		<b>i would expect them to be just as brazil</b> in that sense that we- most
	50		people like <4> 95% or more would have </4> coffee and then
	51		just maybe 5 to 3% would have tea= Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent
	52	Paola	<4> yeah? but we have tea- but we have tea (.) </4>
	53		=no- no- NO (.) NEVER after lunch Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Evaluation + 2 Self-repetition (Emphasis)
	54	Lana	@ <5> @@ </5> Backchannel of Amusement
	55	Paola	<5> NEVER </5> that don't won't- that won't be a question: <6>
	56		after lunch </6> Competitive Overlap + Meta. Illocutionary Intent + Self-repetition (Dysfluency)
	57	Esther	<6> @ @ @ </6> Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Amusement
	58	Juliana	<6> good to know- good to know I'm not crazy </6>= Competitive Overlap + Meta. Evaluation + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + (Reduced) Meta. Code Glossing
	59	Paola	=after lunch people would ask coffee or not that's it= Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
	60	Juliana	=@@ yes right? Backchannel of Amusement + Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L1</b>	61	Paola	<b>either coffee &lt;7&gt; or not in Italy &lt;/7&gt;</b> Represent
	62	Juliana	<7> and we ask for a little one </7> we just ask like this and everybody
	63		knows it's coffee (.) would you like a little one? {making hand
	64		gesture of holding/offering a small cup of coffee} <quiet> and they
	65		would know it's coffee </quiet> Competitive Overlap + 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts + Metadiscursive Code Glossing

Juliana reveals she expected Brazil and Italy to be similar in their preference of coffee over tea. As both Brazil and Italy are great producers and consumers of the coffee industry, Juliana expressed her prediction of those countries having similar linguacultural understandings and practices. This was categorised as a display of *L1 ICA* due to the treatment of cultural national borders as fixed and monolithic when it comes to the predicted value people in those countries attribute to coffee and tea.

In line 61, Paola demonstrates *L1 ICA* when she reports the stereotypical attribution of a behaviour to all who live in Italy with the represent, "either coffee or not in Italy". It is relevant to mention that, at a follow-up exchange we had about this part of

the conversation, Paola explained that ‘either coffee or not in Italy’ is a common saying in Italy (1.61). Therefore, here, it is considered as a represent of a broader discourse, an echo of the linguaculture that was learned through the socialisation processes Paola experienced. In the continuation of her talk, Juliana adds an example of how the way coffee is offered in Brazil to strengthen the argument that coffee (implied in the question, ‘a little one’) is the default hot drink to have after meals and in general (1.62-5).

<b>ICA</b>	66 Paola <quiet> yeah now tea would be like maybe afternoon</quiet> <small>Metadiscursive Exemplification</small>
	67 Lana Hmm <small>Wait-and-see Backchannel</small>
	68 Paola afternoon like yeah towards evening like as a break <small>(Reduced) Metadiscursive Code Glossing</small>
<b>L3</b>	69 Lana <b>not &lt;@&gt; in this house &lt;/@&gt; @@</b> <small>Metadiscursive Interpretation</small>
	70 Kate @@
	71 Juliana @@ <small>2 Backchannels of Amusement</small>

In the extract above, when Lana says, “not in this house”, she is bringing her metadiscursive interpretation of their current local experience to say that it contradicts the international accounts of cultural practices and understandings explained by Paola, Juliana and Esther. She is displaying *L3 ICA* through the observation of the fluidity and situatedness of the repertoire of practices concerning their understandings of tea and coffee and their drinking preferences. In other words, in one statement, Lana is calling everyone’s attention to the fact that they had expanded their understandings through this exchange of information but were contradicting those ideas with their actions. She was one of them, who was drinking Rooibos tea instead of just ‘normal tea’, accompanied by Juliana and Paola who were having tea ‘after lunch’, instead of coffee. Hence the acknowledgement of her point through laughter. Next, Kate brings up her experience with how people have coffee in Spain and ‘here’ (London or the UK) in order to compare it with Paola’s account of Italy’s<sup>7</sup> social rules regarding that matter.

<b>ICA</b>	72 Kate <b>sounds to me like rules what like in: I think in &lt;9&gt; Spain they have</b> 73 <b>coffee before eating &lt;/9&gt;</b> <small>Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Exemplification</small>
	74 Paola <9> it’s not that it’s a rule but you don’t say it </9> <small>Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</small>
	75 Kate whereas in here we don’t <un> xx </un>
	76 Lana <@> -it’s just whatever (.) if you fancy it? </@> @@ <small>(Reduced) Metadiscursive Code Glossing</small>

<sup>7</sup> Italy’s is used here instead of Italian because Kate is following the other participants and referring to countries, territories and political entities, not nationalities.

<b>L2</b>	77	Kate	@@ Yeah <small>Backchannel of Amusement + Backchannel of Agreement</small>
	78	Jamie	<b>even we don't say it &lt;change in the voice&gt; we will not speak of such</b>
	79		<b>things &lt;/change in the voice&gt;</b> <small>2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts</small>
	80	Lana	@@ <10> @@@ </10>
	81	Kate	@@ <10> @@@ </10>
	82	Paola	@@ <10> @@@ </10>
	83	Juliana	@@ <10> @@@ </10>
	84	Jamie	<10> (we eat dessert at twelve) </10> <small>4 Backchannels of Amusement + 3 Cooperative Overlaps Cooperative Overlap</small>

First, Kate expresses that she sees the cultural practices negotiated so far as “rules”. Then, with the interpersonal hedge “I think”, she shares the example that explains what she means (1.72-3). The hedge lifts the weight of full responsibility for the truth value of that information without relinquishing the intended effects of sharing it. It is an introduction to her point, which is, “whereas, in-, here, we don’t” (1.75). The approach to coffee drinking cultural practices in lines 72-3 also falls into the same classification as the previous comparisons made by Juliana and Paola - *L2 ICA*. Then, Paola attempts to take the floor but gives up (1.74). Although the last two words of Kate’s statement were unintelligible, we can see Lana interpreted it as referring to the coffee drinking practices ‘here’, as she laughingly says, “it’s just whatever. If you fancy it”. Lana’s interpretation of Kate’s comparison of social rules is responded with laughter and agreement (1.77). Then, Jamie compares the generalisation of having unspoken rules concerning the communicative practice of ordering milky/white coffee after lunch (1.78-9). This is a display of *L2 ICA* because Jamie highlights common ground between his national culture and the ‘Italian’ culture (1.74) that can cause clashes with perspectives such as Kate’s. In response, everyone shows understanding and amusement, and Jamie adds what he would say is how this is done by the group he names ‘we’ (1.84).

<b>ICA L1</b>	85	Kate	if you have both is it like milk and coffee {to Paola} <b>is that not only</b>
	86		<b>acceptable in the morning and if you had it in-</b> <small>Comprehension Check (candidate reading)</small>
	87	Paola	-normally you would- you would only ask for a cappuccino in the
	88		morning but not in the afternoon (.) afternoon it’s just coffee coffee <small>Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Meta. Exem. + Meta. Illoc. Act + Meta. Code Glossing – Self-repetition (Emph.)</small>
	89	Kate	i don’t know if this is the problem that I like milky coffee so i don’t know <small>Interpersonal Hedge + Discourse Marker</small>
	90	Paola	yeah but I mean with milky coffee you ask for a macchiato= <small>Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</small>
	91	Kate	=yeah <small>Backchannel of Agreement</small>
	92	Paola	which is like a- an espresso but <quiet> it’s with a little bit of
	93		milk </quiet> <small>Metadiscursive Exemplification + Metadiscursive Code Glossing</small>

	94	Kate	yeah Backchannel of Agreement
L3	95	Paola	<b>nowadays you know you can do you know whatever- whatever</b>
	96		<b>&lt;fast&gt; you want &lt;/fast&gt; they want- they want order then you-</b> 2 Discourse Marker + Self-repetition (Emph.) + Self-repetition (disfluency) + Self-repair + Self-repetition (disf.)
L3	97	Lana	<b>&lt;@&gt; if you want starbucks &lt;@&gt; @ @</b> Metadiscursive Exemplification
L3	98	Paola	<b>yeah, yeah, if you are paying...</b> Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
L3	99	Juliana	<b>if you're paying they don't (really) @@@</b> Represent

The last part of the conversation begins with Kate checking her comprehension of the social rule about milky coffee drinking in Italy. This is another case of stereotypical *L1 ICA*, as she asks (to Paola), what is acceptable in all of Italy (1.85-6). Then, Paola confirms that one would only ‘ask for’ a cappuccino in the morning, but in the afternoon, only “coffee coffee” (1.88). In a follow up conversation, I confirmed that the self-repetition there indicates emphasis and denotes a specific kind of coffee, black coffee. Then, Kate explains why she might be having an issue with this ‘rule’, because she has a preference for milky coffee. To which Paola replies with the suggestion that she could order a “macchiato” (1.90). After Paola defines what macchiatos are made of (1.92-3), Kate backchannels understanding to both the suggestion of macchiato and its definition (1.91, 94).

The last turn taken in this Negotiation begins when Paola shows *L3 ICA* by pointing out that nowadays we can disregard linguacultural expectations of others if we are their customers (1.95-6). In this part of the interaction, there is a discussion about the experience of subversion of cultural practices influenced by the power relations of economic exchanges, highlighting the complex, fluid and emergent nature of intercultural communication. Her line of thinking is complemented by Lana, who also exemplifies the option of choosing “Starbucks” (1.97) instead. Both utterances (1.97, 99) come into agreement with what was said in lines 95-96, reverberating its initial display of *L3 ICA*. Again, the findings of ICA levels and their relevant pragmatic strategies are summarised below:

ICA Levels + Strategies	Strategic Responses
----	Clarification Request + Comprehension Check + Clarification Request
<b>L3 - Clarification Request + Specific Query</b> (1.4)	Metadiscursive Evaluation + Comprehension Check + Short Response + Represent + Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Short Response + Short response + Discourse Marker

<p><b>L1 - Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Clarification request</b> (1.22, 25)</p>	
<p><b>L1 – Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.23)</p>	
<p><b>L1 – Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.24)</p>	
<p><b>L3 – Cooperative Overlap + 3 Meta. Illocutionary Acts + Clarification Request + Meta. Evaluation + Meta. Justification</b> (1.26-9)</p>	
<p><b>L3 – Backchannel of Agreement + Cooperative Overlap</b> (1.30)</p>	<p>Backchannel of Understanding</p>
<p><b>L1 – Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Meta. Code Glossing</b> (1.32-3)</p>	<p>Wait-and-see Backchannel + Metadiscursive Exemplification + Metadiscursive Evaluations + Backchannel of Agreement + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Represent + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Represent + Metadiscursive Evaluation</p>
<p><b>L2 – Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Exemplification</b> (1.43)</p>	
<p><b>L2 – Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.44)</p>	
<p><b>L1 - Metadiscursive Justification</b> (1.45, 48-9)</p>	<p>Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts</p>
<p><b>L1 – Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent</b> (1.48-51)</p>	<p>Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Evaluation + 2 Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Backchannel of Amusement + Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Amusement + Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + (Reduced) Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Backchannel of Amusement + Backchannel of Agreement</p>



<b>L1 - Represent</b> (1.61)	Cooperative Overlap + 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act Metadiscursive Exemplification + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Exemplification + Wait-and-see Backchannel
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Interpretation</b> (1.69)	2 Backchannels of Amusement
<b>L2 – Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Exemplification</b> (1.72-3)	Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + (Reduced) Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Backchannel of Amusement + Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L2 – 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts</b> (1.78-9)	4 Backchannels of Amusement + 3 Cooperative Overlap + Cooperative Overlap
<b>L1 - Comprehension Check (candidate reading)</b> (1.85-6)	Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Exemplification + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Interpersonal Hedge + Discourse Marker + Backchannel of Understanding + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L3 – 2 Discourse Markers + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Self-repair + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + Meta. Exemplification</b> (1.95-6)	
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Exemplification</b> (1.97)	
<b>L3 – Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)</b> (1.98)	
<b>L3 – Represent</b> (1.99)	

Table 5

In terms of ICA levels, it can be said that this Negotiation became necessary because Esther's communicative practice at *L3 ICA* disrupted Lana's understanding of that topic. Lana recognised (or realised) that she was used to thinking about tea through a monochromatic lens, displaying *L1 ICA* (1.22, 25). After this initial plurality and

flexibility expressed through an *L3 ICA* display, there is a predominance of comparisons that stay at a national culture level, keeping the conversation mainly at *L1 and L2 ICA*. Those comparisons are cut through by the defiance of cultural norms with *L3 ICA* subversive points made with “that doesn’t help much” (1.26-9), “not in this house” (1.69), and drawn to a smooth close with, “whatever they want to order” (1.95-6), followed by an example, an agreement, and a repetition that concurred with that position. Once again, the Negotiation ends when a participant conveys the idea that all the cultural ‘rules’ discussed to that point did not apply to customers, bringing to the fore the role of power relations in the rule-bending of cultural norms. So far, in the past three conversations analysed, it can be observed that the Negotiations have ended when the plurality and fluidity of the concept(s) being negotiated overrule the value of fixed cultural understandings.

In the pragmatic strategies deployed in the demonstrations of ICA levels, the majority was again *metadiscourse*. For instance, nearly all displays of *L3 ICA* were produced through metadiscourse, among which metadiscursive illocutionary acts was the most common, with three *L3 ICA*, two *L2 ICA*, and one *L1 ICA*. Exemplification featured next, with occurrences concentrated in higher ICA levels, two in *L2 ICA* and two in *L3 ICA*. The others (code glossing, justification, illocutionary intent, evaluation, interpretation) happened only once or twice in *L1 or L3 ICA*, without relevant patterns.

*Repetitions* were significantly common in the displays of ICA levels, with six out of eight occurrences in *L3 ICA* and located at the end of Negotiation, where the participants articulated their views on the malleability of cultural norms/rules in business relationships. Finally, the three conversations analysed thus far have had a clarification request either functioning as an indicator or featuring the trigger of the Negotiation, the latter being accurate about the present one (1.4).

In most cases, the demonstrations of ICA levels were responded to with either metadiscourse or backchannels. The *metadiscursive* strategies were deployed in five evaluations, eight illocutionary acts, four exemplifications, and nine code glossings. With those numbers, it can be said that constant feedback was given on the value of the information being provided, steering the conversation to a direction where meta-descriptive words, sentences and examples were produced in order to expand and complexify the topic.

The participants *backchanneled* with amusement eight times and with understanding twice. Although there was not as much stand-alone laughter as in the previous two conversations, some utterances were spoken laughingly, and, on a few

occasions, participants laughed at their own observations, keeping the group engaged in a light-hearted tone. This friendly attitude towards diverse perspectives on drinking tea and coffee fuelled the Negotiation with a sense of listenership and interest, which was only reinforced with the backchannels of understanding.

The next most used strategy was *overlaps*, which were deployed eleven times. There were five competitive overlaps, produced by a participant who wanted to add information in order not to be misunderstood (1.46-7, 52-53, 55-6) and one who wanted to evaluate the talk and strengthen her point with an anecdote (1.58, 61-5). All four occurred after *L1 ICA*. The six cooperative overlaps followed *L2 and L3 ICA* demonstrations and indicated the participants' eagerness to contribute to the discussion a little more often after higher ICA levels had been displayed.

Moreover, nine *repetitions* were used to feedback understanding and listenership. There were three represents (other-repetition), six self-repetition (disfluencies, emphasis and self-repairs). Unlike in ICA displays, six of those responses with repetitions were after *L1 ICA*, and only two were found after *L3 ICA*.

#### 4.3.4 "Matemba"

The following conversation to be analysed is an example of how intercultural meaning can be co-constructed in interaction. The context is the missional community's meeting, where they have just had lunch and are beginning one of their meetings. The topic negotiated came about in a conversation between Amber and Dwaine when they were getting ready for the meeting. They thought it would be an exciting topic to discuss in the group, so Amber brought it up again. She shares what is conveyed through the metaphorical use of the saying with the Shona word 'matemba' as it is understood in Zimbabwe. Because understanding is a two-way street, the other participants join in with approximating examples to help Amber and better grasp what she is trying to convey.

First, the whole conversation will be presented for an overview of the development of this Negotiation. Then, I will divide this process into stages and underscore how the meaning of the topic changes during the conversation.

- 7 Amber =in our language (.) that there's a saying when people say (.) like if they want  
8 to say you need to wake up (.) don't just be ah s-s-sleeping (.) not sleeping=  
9 Wilson =be sitting around=  
10 Amber =yeah don't just be: wake UP (.) like -like not waking up in the real sense  
11 but BE WISE <1> ahm </1>

12 Dani <1> alright wake up </1> =  
 13 Amber =don't be foolish=  
 14 Dani =hm -hm -hm  
 15 Amber =we say wake up isn't it  
 16 Paul yeah WAKE UP  
 17 Wilson yeah  
 18 Dani metaphorically  
 19 Paul wake up and smell the coffee  
 20 Wilson yeah <un> xx </un>  
 21 Amber in Zimbabwe we also say that uhm it's like a proverb relating  
 22 to these little things <sho> matemba </sho>  
 23 Dani Ok  
 24 Amber they are called <sho> matemba </sho>  
 25 Dani uhum  
 26 Amber but you see their eyes are out  
 27 Dani hmm  
 28 Amber but we are eating them  
 29 Dani uhum uhum  
 30 Amber so people like don't be stupid like in <sho> matemba </sho> who are  
 31 with their eyes open but they are being eaten=  
 32 Dani =O:k=  
 33 Amber =<2> @@@@ </2>  
 34 Serina = <2> @@ </2>  
 35 Paola <2> ah:: </2>  
 36 Amber i hope you get it  
 37 Dani <@> Uhum </@>  
 38 Lizzy uhum  
 39 Serina absolutely  
 40 Lizzy yeah that's a good one  
 41 Paola <un> xx </un>  
 42 Dani @@

In this Negotiation, the proverb built around the Zimbabwean view of 'matemba' has generated new cultural understandings co-constructed and shaped by the specific examples provided by participants through English expressions. Maybe because Amber is talking about it for the second time, she explains what the proverb means before she introduces the proverb itself. I divided this Negotiation into three stages.

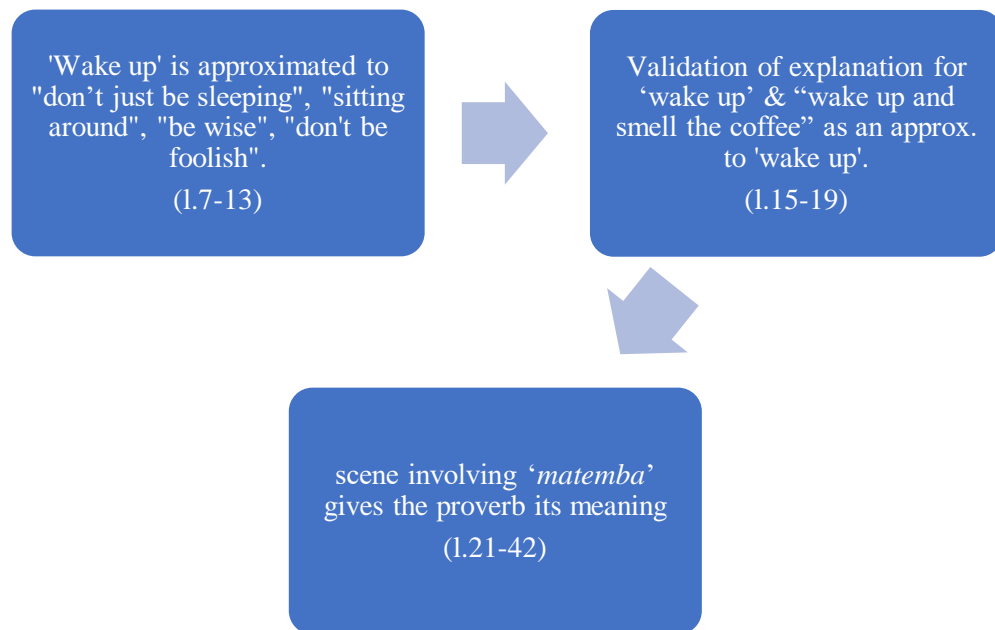


Diagram 4

The first one is composed of the introduction of the expression ‘wake up’ to explain the coming Zimbabwean proverb. Then, ‘wake up’ is handled by Wilson, Dani and Amber herself as a term that also needs to be clarified. Amber begins this process by saying that wake-up means. Wilson takes her hesitation as a request for help and provides an alternative explanation that is well received by Amber, who continues defining ‘wake-up’.

In the second stage, Amber checks if her explanation for ‘wake up’ was correct to the others. This might have been because she feels more comfortable speaking Shona than English, something she mentioned before in the data recorded. Paul, Dani Wilson, who are all British born, confirm that ‘wake up’ seems to work well as a metaphor for what Amber wants to explain. Paul also adds an English expression that he seems to believe would make the meaning even clearer.

In the third and last stage, Amber finally mentions the Zimbabwean proverb she had already started defining. Preventively, again, Amber describes the scene involving ‘matemba’ that gives the proverb its meaning. Finally, when examples had been given and doubts cleared, she explained the proverb related to ‘matemba’. Then, Amber receives immediate feedback from Dani, Serina, Paola, Lizzy, indicating their understanding. This response consolidates that, even those who were not verbally participating in the conversation, Serina, Paola, and Lizzy understood what ‘matemba’ in the Zimbabwean proverb means.

Moving forward, I will examine how this exchange happened in terms of ICA levels and the use of strategic moves.

ICA			
L3	7	Amber	=in our language (.) that there's a saying when people say (.) like if they want to say you need to wake up (.) don't just be ah s-s-sleeping (.) not sleeping= Metadiscursive Exemplification + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Self-repair
L3	8		
L3	9	Wilson	=be sitting around= Metadiscursive Exemplification
L3	10	Amber	=yeah don't just be: wake UP (.) like -like not waking up in the real sense but BE WISE <1> ahm </1> Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repair + Metadiscursive Exemplification
L3	11		
L3	12	Dani	<1> alright wake up </1> = Backchannel of Agreement + Represent + Cooperative Overlap
L3	13	Amber	=don't be foolish= Metadiscursive Exemplification
	14	Dani	=hm -hm -hm Wait-and-see Backchannel

Above, Amber shows *L3 ICA* by taking the initiative to propose a liminal approximation of the English expression ‘wake up’ to mediate the Negotiation of a Zimbabwean saying. English is used as a tool for Negotiation not despite its cultural load but because of it, for it is the communicative resource shared (at different levels of ability) by all the interlocutors present. Amber introduces the metadiscursive exemplification ‘wake up’. After that, Wilson seems to interpret Amber’s self-repair as a request for help, and he offers another example (1.9), which denotes the same ICA level. Amber agrees with him and tries to be more specific herself by self-repairing again and providing a new example (1.9-10). Dani agrees and shows understanding through a repetition of “wake up” (1.12) and is followed by Amber’s third example, “don’t be foolish” (1.13). Both Amber’s second and third attempts to clarify the Zimbabwean proverb continue displaying *L3 ICA*, as she uses a variety of English expressions to prepare the other interlocutors for the coming foreign word. The fact she keeps looking for a closer expression in meaning and understandings to the one she wants to introduce shows that she is aware that culturally loaded words and expressions are particularly abstract and subjective, which makes them hard to match across linguacultures.

ICA			
L3	15	Amber	=we say wake up isn't it Comprehension Check + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
	16	Paul	yeah WAKE UP Short Response + Represent
	17	Wilson	yeah Short Response
	18	Dani	metaphorically Metadiscursive Interpretation

<b>L3</b>	19	Paul	<b>wake up and smell the coffee</b> <small>metadiscursive exemplification</small>
<b>L3</b>	20	Wilson	<b>yeah</b> <un> xx </un> <small>Backchannel of Agreement</small>

In line 15, Amber uses the comprehension check to enquire with the other speakers how they understand the expression ‘wake up’ while, at the same time, she positions herself as an English speaker with, “we say”. The fluidity in this move is in her awareness of the partial knowledge that one can have of a language while, at the same time, seeing themselves as belonging to its community of legitimate speakers and having ownership of that language. Then, Paul and Wilson provide a positive short response supporting the choice of the expression ‘wake up’ in the sense proposed by Amber. Dani expresses her understanding through a metadiscursive interpretation, summarising it with “metaphorically” (1.18).

Next, Paul also demonstrates L3 ICA bringing up yet another metadiscursive exemplification in the form of an idiomatic expression (1.19). As with any idiomatic expression, this one is also reliant on cultural sharedness. Therefore, by using another figurative expression, he approximates linguacultures, which are more culturally (social context) dependent than the category of the previous metadiscursive exemplifications suggested thus far. His idiom is met with Wilson’s agreement, which echoes Paul’s demonstration of *L3 ICA*.

<b>ICA</b>	<b>L3</b>	21	Amber	<b>in Zimbabwe we also say that uhm it’s like a proverb relating</b>
		22		<b>to these little things</b> <sho> <b>matemba</b> </sho> <small>metadiscursive illocutionary act</small>
		23	Dani	ok <small>Wait-and-see Backchannel</small>
		24	Amber	they are called <sho> <b>matemba</b> </sho> <small>metadiscursive illocutionary act</small>
		25	Dani	uhum <small>Wait-and-see Backchannel</small>
		26	Amber	but you see their eyes are out
		27	Dani	hmm <small>Wait-and-see Backchannel</small>
		28	Amber	but we are eating them
		29	Dani	uhum uhum <small>Wait-and-see Backchannel</small>

In line 21, Amber finally presents some of the saying/proverb she had been explaining. She responds to Paul’s idiomatic example displaying *L3 ICA* by portraying herself as simultaneously part of the group she is talking to and the Zimbabweans (1.21-2). Then,

she brings the Shona word “*matemba*”, which is at the centre of the scene that describes the proverb she has been negotiating pre-emptively. Amber goes on speaking and provides more information about the cultural view of ‘matemba’, followed closely by Dani’s continuous wait-and-see backchannels.

<b>ICA</b>		
<b>L3</b>	30 Amber	<b>so people like don’t be stupid like in &lt;sho&gt; matemba &lt;/sho&gt; who are</b>
	31	<b>with their eyes open but they are being eaten=</b> Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Exemplification
	32 Dani	=o:k= Backchannel of Understanding
	33 Amber	=<2> @ @ @ </2>
	34 Serina	= <2> @ @ </2> Backchannel of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap
	35 Paola	<2> ah:: </2> Backchannel of Understanding + Cooperative Overlap
<b>L3</b>	36 Amber	<b>i hope you get it</b> metadiscursive illocutionary intent
	37 Dani	<@> uhum </@> Backchannel of Understanding
	38 Lizzy	uhum Backchannel of Understanding
	39 Serina	absolutely Short Response
	40 Lizzy	yeah that’s a good one Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Evaluation
	41 Paola	<un> xx </un>
	42 Dani	@ @ Backchannel of Amusement

At this point of the conversation, Amber summarises what she has been talking about with one last example, ‘don’t be stupid’ and links it to the ‘matemba’, making the application of the Zimbabwean proverb vibrant and easy to understand to this English-speaking group, showing *L3 ICA* once more. The possibility of applying this concept to other contexts can also be seen in how she introduces it, “so *people* like don’t be stupid...” (1.30). The indeterminate ‘people’ word choice and the international context where the understanding of this proverb is being negotiated makes it open-ended in its reach beyond Zimbabwe’s geographic and cultural boundaries. That is, this proverb would apply to anyone who can be considered “people”. Then, Dani, Serina, and Paola backchannel that they are understanding.

In line 36, Amber continues displaying *L3 ICA* by stating her desire for the other interlocutors to understand what she had just said. Amber shows her awareness of the diversity of linguacultural backgrounds present through the use of “you”, highlighting her concern with how their linguacultural repertoires made sense of her explanation. Interpersonally, her statement also functions as a friendly invitation for questions in case



there were any. This invitation is responded to with backchannels of understanding and amusement, indicating that Dani and Serina had comprehended what she had said to a satisfactory level. In line 40, Lizzy also expresses her positive evaluation. The findings of ICA levels and their relevant pragmatic strategies can be summarised as below:

<b>ICA Levels + Strategies</b>	<b>Strategic Responses</b>
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Meta. Exemplification + Self-repair (1.7-8)</b>	Wait-and-see Backchannel
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Exemplification (1.9)</b>	
<b>L3 – Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repair + Metadiscursive Exemplification (1.10-11)</b>	
<b>L3 - Backchannel of Agreement + Represent + Cooperative Overlap (1.12)</b>	
<b>L3 – Metadiscursive Exemplification (1.13)</b>	Wait-and-see Backchannel
<b>L3 - Comprehension Check + Meta. Illocutionary Act (1.15)</b>	Short Response + Represent + Short Response + Metadiscursive Interpretation
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Exemplification (1.19)</b>	
<b>L3 - Backchannel of Agreement (1.20)</b>	
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Illocutionary act (1.21)</b>	4 Wait-and-see Backchannels
<b>L3 – Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Exemplification (1.30-1)</b>	Backchannel Understanding + 2 Backchannels of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Understanding + Cooperative Overlap

L3 – Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent (1.36)	2 Backchannels of Understanding + Short Response + Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Backchannel of Amusement
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Table 6

In this conversation, the ICA levels displayed by the participants is very high. For instance, the fact the Negotiation of cultural understandings is initiated pre-emptively is itself a choice that denotes at least some cultural awareness. It all started from Amber's desire to prevent misunderstandings when talking about a word particularly loaded with cultural meaning. She and the other participants displayed *L3 ICA* by using their shared linguacultural resource at hand, the English language, with substantial complexity and liminality throughout the interaction.

Once more, there was a predominance of *metadiscourse* where ICA levels were being displayed. With six occurrences of exemplification, three illocutionary acts, and one illocutionary intent, Amber and the other participants attempted to reach a shared understanding of what '*matemba*' meant in the proverb. Therefore, the exemplification worked as a bridge between linguacultures that scaffolded all the English-speaking participants' steps into another linguaculture to form their own understanding of the cultural topic being Negotiated. The comprehension check (1.15) can be interpreted as the representation of the liminality of an ELF speaker, who identifies herself as a legitimate user of the language and double-checks the sharedness of her understanding of an expression. Furthermore, there were three instances of backchannels of agreement where the previous *L3 ICA* was echoed.

Among the strategies that featured in-between (or in response to) displays of ICA levels, there were *backchannels, a represent, self-repairs, and metadiscursive exemplifications, an interpretation and an evaluation*. Given that all the conversation was carried out with displays of *L3 ICA*, all the responses were also related to those displays. The *backchannels* steered the conversation on a route filled with adjustments. The most relevant were the six wait-and-see backchannels that prompted the main speakers to continue providing examples because their audience was engaged but not yet grasping what they were trying to convey. The four instances of backchannels of understanding were used from the middle to the end. The three backchannels of amusement were uttered in two different moments to support the talk.

The second most used strategy was *repetition* in the form of a represent and self-repairs. Both self-repairs happened at the very beginning the of Negotiation and seems to have reverberated as an invitation for contribution from the other participants. The

represent in, “alright wake up” (1.12), was also an important feedback to Amber, who, after that, went in pursuit of establishing a shared understanding of ‘wake up’ to function as a parallel to ‘Matemba’.

The third most common strategies in the response to ICA levels were *metadiscourse*, with one occurrence of interpretation, and one of evaluation. In the flow of the ICA levels demonstrated before them, the interpretation of the figurative ‘wake up’ in, “metaphorically” (1.18) and the positive evaluation, contributed substantially towards a greater seemingly shared understanding of the Zimbabwean proverb being Negotiated. There were also two occurrences of *overlaps*, which were both cooperative, indicating understanding.

#### 4.3.5 “Kids is not nice to say”

In this conversation, the meaning of the word ‘kids’ and its appropriate usage is brought to discussion by Paola and negotiated with other participants. It becomes relevant for interpreting this interaction that Paola is an Italian speaker of English who learned English mainly by herself while living in London for the past seven years<sup>8</sup>, and Paul is an English, L1 speaker of English, and an English teacher. As it has been done with the previous conversations, I will present the whole conversation first and then describe the development of the topic.

- |    |        |   |
|----|--------|---|
| 1  | Paola  | paul (.) paul paul i’ve been told that kids is not nice to say at school  |
| 2  | Paul   | <1>{quietly} to say what? {quietly}</1>                                   |
| 3  | Paola  | <1>like to use the wor-</1> to call them kids it’s not-                   |
| 4  | Serina | -oh really?=<br>=not nice?  |
| 5  | Paul   | =not nice?  |
| 6  | Serina | not nice?   |
| 7  | Lizzy  | who says that?  |
| 8  | Paola  | hmm: it’s like our head {Paul making monsters noise playing with his son} |
| 9  | Serina | oh really?  |
| 10 | Paola  | ah basically we are writing like sessions so: it’s li-                    |
| 11 | Paul   | -it’s not very formal=<br>=it’s not formal                                |
| 12 | Paola  | =it’s not formal  |
| 13 | Paul   | no no <2> no no </2>  |
| 14 | Paola  | <2>yeah yeah </2>   |
| 15 | Paul   | not if you’re writing about them <3> in a </3> report or something        |
| 16 | Paola  | <3> yeah </3>   |
| 17 |        | it’s not because it can be mistaken with another word like -like          |

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<sup>8</sup> The information that Paola had been living in London for the past seven years was acquired in 2019.

18 they told me something (.) like- like pigs? what's the word {background  
noise}

19 pi- i don't know (.) pigs are not called kids?

20 Paul no:

21 Lizzy OH a baby goat is a kid (.) a baby goat

22 Paul {quietly} a baby goat {quietly}

23 Paola <4> GOAT </4> (.) ok not pigs ok yeah

24 Serina <4> yes yes </4>

25 Lizzy kids is an informal <5> word- </5>

26 Paul <5> i think it's a perfectly-</5>

27 Paola -so well-

28 Lizzy -but there's no insult there's no insult

29 Paul no one would be insulted by being called kids

30 Serina {quietly} no {quietly}

31 Paola so it's not that if not you know never like TEACHERS have never told me  
32 anything about calling them kids but because of this head that we have

33 Serina hum

34 Paola she was basically revising our session (.) our session eh that we were like  
35 writing and that we need to write word by word like and {voice change} ok  
so

36 kids now we are going to do this and bla -bla -bla {voice change} write that

37 Lizzy hmm

38 Paola and she said well here needs to be changed (.) you cannot call them kids  
39 you have to call them children

40 Lizzy it's a little bit old fashioned english isn't it

41 Paul what?

42 Lizzy not liking kids

43 Paul i -i -i was just wondering if it's kind of some new PCE thing that you  
44 <6> can't </6> call them kids because

45 Serina <6> hm: </6>

46 Lizzy i thin-

47 Paola no no she is not a teacher

48 Lizzy i think-

49 Paola -she's not a teacher she's a dietitian

50 Lizzy i think that an older generation would find kids slightly american  
51 slightly unusual

52 Paul it's not coming from-

53 Paola {mobile vibrates} {Paola answers the call} hello (.) hi {walks away}

54 Dani do you think it's originated from america?

55 Lizzy i believe so

56 Dani i think so too

57 Lizzy but there's no- there is no insult-

58 Dani -hm=

59 Serina =no=

60 Lizzy =intended

61 Paola it's just another way of calling children

62 Paul i know but we can't assume it's everyone's <un> xx </un>=

63 Dwaine <7> i used to work for an organisation where we called street kids and then  
64 some people said that kids are the young ones of the goats </7>

65 Paola <7> {chatting on the phone in the background} </7>

66 Dani uhm

67 Paul <8> so <un> xx </un> </8>

68 Lizzy <8> they are </8> but i don't think there's an insult invol- involved in it  
69 i should change <un> x </un> you know we should <un> xx</un>

70 Paul =<un> xx </un> no kid would feel insulted <9> by being </9> called kid

71 Lizzy <9> no: </9>

72 Dani i don't think so

73 Paul it would only be at a-  
74 Dwaine -i'm not <10> **good** <un> xx </un> </10> about it the context of street kids  
75 Paul <10> super (PCE) <un> x</un> </10>  
76 yeah yeah  
77 Dwaine then somebody (.) but that's just the circumstances <11> they're in  
78 isn't it </11>  
79 Amber <11> and it was told </11> we're actually told NO (.) people in zimbabwe  
80 call them street children  
81 Dwaine hm hm yeah  
82 Wilson is it?

It can be observed above that Paola seems puzzled by the information she was given concerning the use of the word 'kids' and is seeking Paul's opinion on the matter. This Negotiation can be roughly divided into three stages. Here is the summary of the most important conceptual/understanding changes in the development of the term 'kids' in this interaction:

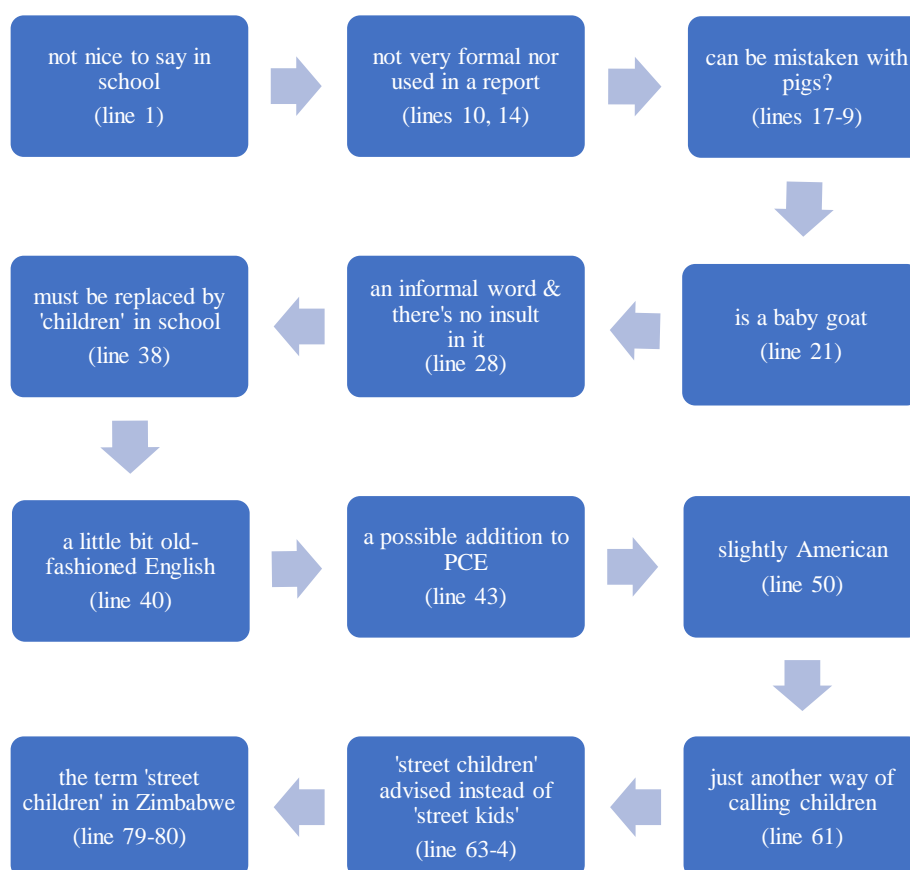


Diagram 5

The first stage revolves around understanding why Paola introduces the word 'kids' as inappropriate (not nice) to say at school. Paul proposes that 'kids' is "not very formal". Paola then narrows the question down and asks whether 'kids' cannot be mistaken with

‘pigs’, and Lizzy adjusts the semantic link between kids and a specific animal by clarifying that “a baby goat is a kid”. She also adds that using ‘kids’ is just a way of being informal, and it is not insulting.

The second stage is about the participants’ opinions and expanding on possible origins of views. Lizzy interprets Paola’s supervisor’s attitude towards the term ‘kids’ as “a little old-fashioned”. Then, as an alternative, Paul proposes that the kids/children's appropriateness issue could originate from the “PCE” (Professional Certificate in Education). Lizzy stands by the idea that the friction is likely to be caused by a generational and an English variety difference.

Then, Dwaine shares with the group that he has had a similar experience working for an organisation that required their staff to refer to whom he would typically call “street kids” (1.63-4) as children to avoid the semantic link to goats. Amber, Dwaine’s wife, points out that ‘street children’ is what they were told children are called in their country of origin (1.79-80). After that, this specific topic leads to a new related discussion, one on using the term ‘girls’ to refer to grown women, which will be explored as a separate conversation in the following section.

In sum, the cultural understandings of the term ‘kids’ mentioned above transit through the possible influence of generational gaps, new educational codes of practice, linguistic varieties (American English), personal understandings, national cultures, and contextual professional demands. Next, I will explore each step of this conversation from the ICA levels and strategic moves perspective.

ICA			
L1	1	Paola	paul (.) paul paul i’ve been told that <b>kids is not nice to say at school</b> 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts
	2	Paul	<1>{quietly} to say what? {quietly}</1> Clarification Request
	3	Paola	<1>like to use the wor- </1>to call them kids it’s not- Self-repair + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
	4	Serina	oh really? Metadiscursive Evaluation
	5	Paul	-not nice? Represent + Clarification Request + Utterance Completion
	6	Serina	not nice? Represent
	7	Lizzy	who says that? Clarification Request
	8	Paola	hmm: it’s like our head {Paul making monster noises playing with his son} Metadiscursive Code Glossing
	9	Serina	oh really? Metadiscursive Evaluation
	10	Paola	Ha basically we are writing like sessions so: li- Discourse Marker
L0	11	Paul	<b>-it’s not very formal</b> Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Evaluation
L0	12	Paola	<b>it’s not formal</b>

			Represent
L0	13	Paul	<b>no no &lt;2&gt; no no &lt;/2&gt;</b> Backchannel of agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
L0	14	Paola	<b>&lt;2&gt; yeah yeah &lt;/2&gt;</b> Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
	15	Paul	not if you're writing about them <3> in a </3> report or something
L0	16	Paola	<b>&lt;3&gt; yeah&lt;/3&gt;</b> Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement
	17		it's not because it can be mistaken with another word like -like they
	18		told me something like pigs? what's the word pi- {background noise}
	19		i don't know (.) pigs are not called kids? Meta. Illoc. Act + Discourse Marker + 2 Comprehension Checks

The first demonstration of ICA introduces the topic that will be Negotiated. In line 1, Paola is intrigued about the contextual nuances of the meaning of a word that can be classified as *L1 ICA*, for it recognises that different social groups might have distinct views on a topic that she once believed to be general shared knowledge. Paul requests more information, prompting Paola to rephrase what she had just said. In this repetition, she deploys a different metadiscursive illocutionary act, “call” (1.3). Then, Paul echoes “not nice” with a rising intonation to show his surprise and to request clarification once more. Serina also joins the discussion by showing her surprise.

Upon Lizzy’s enquiry about who had said what Paola is mentioning, Paola answers that it was her superior at work (her head). When Paola describes the context, Paul conceptualises and evaluates ‘kids’ as not a “very formal” word (1.11). At this point, Paul’s take on ‘kids’ not being very formal does not seem to consider it a cultural matter, making that statement a display of *L0 ICA*. That is followed by Paola’s repetition and agreement which echoes the effect of *L0 ICA* twice (1.14,16).

ICA	20	Paul	No Short Response
	21	Lizzy	OH a baby goat is a kid (.) a baby goat Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
	22	Paul	{quietly} a baby goat {quietly} Represent
	23	Paola	<4> GOAT </4> (.) ok not pigs ok yeah Represent + Backchannel of Understanding + metadiscursive interpretation
	24	Serina	<4> yes yes </4> Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
L0	25	Lizzy	<b>kids is an informal &lt;5&gt; word- &lt;/5&gt;</b> Metadiscursive Code Glossing
	26	Paola	<5> i think it's a perfectly-</5> Competitive Overlap + Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Evaluation
	27	Paul	-so well- 2 Discourse Markers
L0	28	Lizzy	<b>-but there's no insult there's no insult</b> Metadiscursive Evaluation + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
L0	29	Paul	<b>no one would be insulted by being called kids</b> Other-repetition (rephrasing) + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act

In this part of the conversation, Lizzy rephrases what Paola and Paul had said into “kids is an informal word” (1.25), likewise demonstrating an *L0 ICA* through the non-acknowledgement that this is a term that may be interpreted differently depending on one’s linguaculture. Then, Paul begins to express his opinion, but Lizzy cuts him off. She expresses a general prediction of the reception of the term ‘kids’ (1.28), which is reverberated by Paul (1.29). For not establishing to whom ‘kids’ is not insulting, these statements, especially the second one, also fall into *L0 ICA*. Then, Serina backchannels with agreement (1.30), consequently displaying the same *L0 ICA*.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L3</b>	31	Paola	so it’s not that if not you know never like <b>TEACHERS have never told me anything about calling them kids</b> but because of this head that we have
	32		<b>Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</b>
	33	Serina	Hum
			Wait-and-see Backchannel
	34	Paola	she was basically revising our session (.) our session eh that we were like
	35		writing and that we need to write word by word like and {voice change} okay
	36		so kids now we are going to do this and bla -bla -bla {voice change} write that
			Self-repetition (disfluency) + 4 Discourse Markers
	37	Lizzy	Hmm
			Wait-and-see Backchannel
	38	Paola	and she said well here needs to be changed (.) you cannot call them
	39		kids you have to call them children
			<b>3 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts</b>
<b>L2</b>	40	Lizzy	<b>it’s a little bit old-fashioned english isn’t it</b>
			<b>Metadiscursive Evaluation</b>
	41	Paul	what?
			Clarification Request + General Query
	42	Lizzy	<b>not liking kids</b>

In the extract above, when Paola explains she had never “been told” anything about the way she called ‘kids’ (1.31-2), she is displaying *L3 ICA* by expressing her reliance on her previous interactional experience to interpret the cultural information provided by her “head” at work concerning the term ‘kids’. Serina’s and Lizzy’s wait-and-see backchannels (1.33, 37) prompts Paola to keep on explaining the scenario.

After Paola shares what her ‘head’ said specifically (1.38-9), Lizzy responds with an evaluative statement (1.40,42). Regarding a particular way of viewing the term ‘kids’ as old-fashioned English conveys *L2 ICA* because it recognises that linguacultural understandings and uses may change over time.



ICA	L2	43	Paul	i -i -i was just wondering <b>if it's kind of some new PCE thing that</b>
		44		<b>you &lt;6&gt; can't &lt;/6&gt; call them kids</b> because metadiscursive illocutionary intent + metadiscursive illocutionary act
		45	Serina	<6> hmm </6> Wait-and-see Backchannel + Cooperative Overlap
		46	Lizzy	i thin-
		47	Paola	no no she is not a teacher Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Metadiscursive Code Glossing
		48	Lizzy	i think- Self-repetition (Emphasis)
		49	Paola	-she's not a teacher she's a dietitian 2 Metadiscursive Code Glossing
L2		50	Lizzy	<b>i think that an older generation would find kids slightly</b>
		51		<b>american slightly unusual</b> Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent
		52	Paul	it's not coming from-
		53	Paola	{mobile vibrates} {Paola answers the call} hello (.) hi {walks away}
		54	Dani	do you think it's originated from america? Comprehension Check (candidate reading)
		55	Lizzy	i believe so Short Response
		56	Dani	i think so too Short Response

In lines 43-4, Paul introduces the possibility that another sphere of society (the PCE - Professional Certificate in Education) may be the source of that hostile take on the word 'kids'. By recognising the possibility that this interpretation of the term kids could be originated in the PCE culture/paradigm, Paul is showing awareness of the temporal and changing nature of the social norms within the teaching profession in Britain, displaying L2 ICA. Considering that possibility, Paola dismisses Paul's suggestion by providing further explanation of the context, in which her 'head' is a dietitian, not a teacher.

In lines 50-1, Lizzy expands on what she meant by old-fashioned English. She carefully makes her point more specific by relating the negative view of the term 'kids' to an older generation. It would also be plausible to consider she is referring to a British older generation given the underscoring of "American" as the unusual, outsider variety of English. Lizzy's statement is conveying *L1-2 ICA* because it recognises the existence of a diversity of linguacultural groups within the broader cultural group of British speakers of English. It is *L1 ICA* because it is stereotypical about the older generation, but it also displays *L2 ICA* for highlighting the heterogeneity of communicative practices among the British. Given the gradation of previous points made towards variety within groups, I will consider this mention as a display of *L2 ICA*.

I think it is relevant to add that if the relational context is considered, the Negotiation did begin with an Italian speaker of English expressing the desire to hear what a British born, who is a teacher of English, thought about the controversial use of

the word being discussed. Therefore, there is ground for interpreting her interest being directed to the English/British take on that topic.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L0</b>	57	Lizzy	<b>and i- but there's no ins- there is no insult-</b> Metadiscursive Evaluation
	58	Dani	-hm= Wait-and-see Backchannel
<b>L0</b>	59	Serina	=no= Backchannel of Agreement
	60	Lizzy	<b>=intended</b>
	61		it's jus- it's just another way of calling children Metadiscursive Justification
<b>L3</b>	62	Paul	<b>i know but we can't assume it's everyone's &lt;un&gt; xx &lt;/un&gt;=</b> Metadiscursive Interpretation
<b>L3</b>	63	Dwaine	<7> i used to work for an organisation where <b>we called street kids and then</b>
	64		<b>some people said that kids are the young ones of the goats &lt;/7&gt;</b> Metadiscursive Exemplification + 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts
	65	Paola	<7> {chatting on the phone in the background} </7>
	66	Dani	Uhm Wait-and-see Backchannel

In line 57, Lizzy expresses her opinion generalising the intentions of the effect or the use of the term 'kids'. Therefore, there is a disregard for how people of other linguacultural backgrounds might receive the word 'kids', making that statement another instance of *L0 ICA*. Next, Dani and Serina backchannel listenership (1.58) and agreement (1.59), which invites Lizzy to continue justifying her point (1.60-1). Paul, however, challenges the perspective that everyone would act or react the same to the matter. Through the problematisation of Lizzy's predictions of intentions and effects, Paul (1.62) demonstrates a more layered view of the term being negotiated, which denotes an *L3 ICA*.

Dwaine joins the Negotiation by providing an example of another perspective, as Paul had hinted was possible (1.63-4). He illustrates how the term 'kids' can be considered inappropriate in other settings other than schools and not necessarily be related to a generational gap. With an example of another professional context that requires the same use of the term 'children', Dwaine is recognising the existence of heterogeneity within groups, which would make this an *L2 ICA*. However, this statement comes into the bigger picture of the Negotiation as an act of support of the previous statement (1.62), making it a display of an echoed *L3 ICA*. That is, Paola's workplace and Dwaine's previous workplace are both in English speaking contexts that have linguacultural views and practices that diverge from Paola's and Dwaine's personal views. On both reported occasions, they were told to change how they refer to children, which indicates the existence of the previous differing takes on the matter clashing with the situated professional expectations/demands.

<b>ICA</b>	67	Dwaine	so <8> <un> xx </un> </8> Discourse Marker
<b>L0</b>	68	Lizzy	<b>&lt;8&gt; they are &lt;/8&gt; but i don't think there's an insult invol- involved in it</b>
	69		i should change <un> x </un> you know we should <un> xx</un> Cooperatively Overlaps + Short Response + Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Evaluation
<b>L0</b>	70	Paul	=<un> xx </un> <b>no kid would feel insulted &lt;9&gt; by being &lt;/9&gt; called kid</b> metadiscursive illocutionary act
<b>L0</b>	71	Lizzy	<9> no: </9> Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement
	72	Dani	i don't think so Short Response
	73	Paul	it would only be at a- Epistemic Hedge

Again, Lizzy cooperatively overlaps Dwaine's (unintelligible) utterance and predicts that the intended message of the term 'kids' is not an insulting one (1.68). The culturally unaware generalization places this perspective in *L0 ICA*. Similarly, Paul goes on to predict that "no kid would feel insulted by being called kid" (1.70), falling in the *L0 ICA* category for the same reason. Then, Paul seems to mention an exception to the rule. Unfortunately, the end of that sentence was not intelligible in the audio file.

<b>ICA</b>	<b>L3</b>	74	Dwaine	<b>-I'm not &lt;10&gt; good &lt;un&gt; xx &lt;/un&gt; about it &lt;/10&gt; in the context of street kids</b> Metadiscursive Exemplification
		75	Paul	<10> super (PCE) <un> x</un> </10>
	<b>L3</b>	76		<b>yeah yeah</b> Cooperative Overlap + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Backchannel of Agreement
	<b>L3</b>	77	Dwaine	then somebody (.) <b>but that's just the circumstances &lt;11&gt; they're in</b>
		78		<b>isn't it&lt;/11&gt;</b> Metadiscursive Justification
	<b>L3</b>	79	Amber	<b>&lt;11&gt; and it was told &lt;/11&gt; we're actually told NO (.) people in</b>
		80		<b>zimbabwe call them street children</b> 3 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts
	<b>L3</b>	81	Dwaine	<b>hm hm yeah</b> Backchannel of Agreement
		81	Wilson	is it? Comprehension Check

Dwaine displays *L3 ICA* through an evaluation that particularises the contextual moral weight that could justify the organisation's concern about using the term 'street children' and indirectly reporting on the changing nature of the term in his repertoire (1.74). Paul overlaps cooperatively with Dwaine and backchannels with agreement, subscribing to the same *L3 ICA* displayed by Dwaine in the previous utterance. Then, Dwaine also justifies

their position (1.73-4). In practice, he acknowledges how the politically correct plays into this word choice and its enforcement highlights the linguacultural dissensions happening in their society. With the introduction of “then, somebody” (1.77), Dwaine explains that had his understanding and practices related to ‘street kids/children’ changed through interaction with “somebody” at work. Signposting those examples of heterogeneity within a society could be seen as a demonstration of *L2 ICA*. However, talking about changes in his own repertoire of understanding concerning kids/children makes this a display of *L3 ICA* because it highlights the fluidity and emergence of his linguaculture.

Amber portrays another context where children living on the streets are referred to as street children, not street kids (1.79-80). She is displaying an *L3 ICA* by using a personal anecdote that happened in Zimbabwe, where they were “told” (1.79) there is a social norm about how children are referred to if they are living on the streets. Then, Dwaine backchannels with agreement (1.81), echoing the *L3 ICA*. Here is the summary of the ICA levels and related strategies in this interaction:

<b>ICA Levels + Strategies</b>	<b>Strategic Responses</b>
<b>L1 – 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</b> (1.1)	Clarification Request + Self-repair + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Represent + Clarification Request + Utterance Completion + Represent + Clarification Request + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Discourse Marker
<b>L0 - Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Evaluation</b> (1.11)	
<b>L0 – Represent</b> (1.12)	
<b>L0 – Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)</b> (1.13)	
<b>L0 – Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)</b> (1.14)	
<b>L0 - Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.16)	Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Discourse Marker + 2 Comprehension Checks + Short Response + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + 2 Represents + Backchannel of Understanding + Metadiscursive Interpretation +

	Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
<b>L0 –Metadiscursive Code Glossing</b> (1.25)	Competitive Overlap + Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Evaluation + 2 Discourse Markers
<b>L0 –Metadiscursive Evaluation + Self-repetition (Emphasis)</b> (1.28)	
<b>L0 – Other-repetition (Rephrasing) + Meta. Illocutionary Act</b> (1.29)	
<b>L1 – Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.30)	
<b>L3 – Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</b> (1.31-2)	Wait-and-see Backchannel + Self-repetition (Disfluency) + 4 Discourse Markers + Wait-and-see Backchannel + 3 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts
<b>L2 – Metadiscursive Evaluation</b> (1.40)	Clarification Request + General Query
<b>L2 – Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent + Meta. Illoc. Act</b> (1.43-44)	Cooperative Overlap + Wait-and-see Backchannel + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + 2 Metadiscursive Code Glossings
<b>L2 – Interpersonal Hedge + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent</b> (1.50-1)	Comprehension Check (Candidate Reading) + 2 Short Responses
<b>L0 – Metadiscursive Evaluation</b> (1.57)	Wait-and-see Backchannel + Backchannel of Agreement + Metadiscursive Justification
<b>L3 – Metadiscursive Interpretation</b> (1.62)	
<b>L2 – Metadiscursive Exemplification + 2 Meta. Illocutionary Acts</b> (1.63-4)	Wait-and-see backchannel + Discourse Marker
<b>L0 – Cooperative Overlap + Short Response + Interp. Hedge + Metadiscursive Evaluation</b> (1.68-9)	

<b>L0 – Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act</b> (1.70)	
<b>L0 - Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.71)	Short Response + Epistemic Hedge
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Exemplification</b> (1.74)	
<b>L3 – Cooperative Overlap ++ Self-repetition (Emphasis) Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.76)	
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Justification</b> (1.77-8)	
<b>L3 – 3 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts</b> (1.79-80)	
<b>L3 – Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.80)	Comprehension Check

Table 7

As shown in the table above, the first third of the conversation had a very low level of ICA. The occurrences of *L1 ICA* had the general awareness of linguacultural differences as their main characteristic, followed by eight displays of *L0 ICA*, where the participants did not acknowledge the issue was not (just) linguistic. The *L2 and L3 ICA* were displayed in alternation, including three more *L0 ICA* instances. The occasions where *L2 ICA* was being expressed were marked mainly by the acknowledgement of changes that occur to a linguaculture over time as well as the heterogeneity within cultural groupings, such as the professional grouping of teachers within the broader community. The seven occurrences of *L3 ICA* were instances of reliance on less stable and more nuanced sources of understanding, such as one’s personal experience.

In this interaction, the Negotiation came to an end with *L3 ICA* with illocutionary acts (‘told’ and ‘call’) to illustrate the point made in the previous utterance. It reinforced that there are other settings where the sensitivity to the difference between ‘kids’ and ‘children’ is quite widespread. Therefore, leaving the cultural understanding still open-ended and diverse - a characteristic of *intercultural awareness (L3 ICA)*. This data adds

to the pattern of beginning the Negotiations with low ICA levels and ending them with high ones.

Again, the communicative strategies used while ICA was being displayed presented an overwhelming majority of *metadiscourse*, with twenty-two occurrences. Metadiscursive illocutionary acts were used eleven times, with two in *L0* and *L1 ICA*, three in *L2 ICA*, and four in *L3 ICA* describing how people *refer* and *respond to* the words 'kids' and 'children' in each grouping or individually. With a similar discursive function, there were two metadiscursive illocutionary intents in *L2 ICA*. Metadiscursive evaluations were deployed five times, with four in *L0 ICA* and one in *L2 ICA*. This showed a relevant presence of low awareness of the legitimacy of different interpretations. Metadiscursive exemplifications occurred twice, once in *L2 ICA* and once in *L3 ICA*, which denoted the use of examples to compare how separate groups relate specifically to the terms 'kids' and 'children'. Metadiscursive code glossing was also used twice, in *L0 ICA*, to define the meaning of the term 'kids' as if it were general knowledge. There were six instances of *repetitions*: self-repetition (emphasis) on four occasions, other-repair once, and a represent once. Five of them occurred in *L0 ICA* and were deployed by Lizzy to support Paul's perspective on the word 'kids' being both informal and not insulting.

There were also three *backchannels of agreement*. The first instance agreed with the generalisation about the reception of the term as non-offensive. Therefore, repeating a *L1 ICA* display. The second functioned the same way. Moreover, in the third one, a participant agreed with the information added to his statement by someone else, echoing, therefore, her demonstration of *L2 ICA*. There were two *overlaps* when ICA was being displayed. They were cooperative overlaps in *L0 ICA* when Paola expressed her agreement on 'kids' not being a very formal word.

When it comes to the strategies used when responding to those demonstrations of ICA, *metadiscourse* was the most frequently used. There were three evaluations in response to *L0* and *L1 ICA*, where a participant showed surprise when she heard about the antagonism towards 'kids' and when they evaluated the use of the word 'kids' as non-offensive. There was one justification that followed *L0 ICA* explaining why 'kids' is not offensive (1.61), four occurrences of code glossing, spread across *L0*, *L1*, and *L2 ICA*, five illocutionary acts, following a *L0 ICA* and *L1 ICA*, where the Paola refines her question, and three after *L3 ICA*, where she presents more details of the context of her question. There is also an interpretation in response to *L0 ICA* was deployed to confirm the understanding that kids are not considered the young of the pigs but of the goats.

Next in frequency came *backchannels* amounting to eight appearances. In two instances, the backchannels indicated agreement with Paola's and Lizzy's points after an *L0 ICA*. In the other, the participants demonstrated listenership through five wait-and-see backchannels, supporting the talk, not necessarily understanding or supporting the point being made following displays of *L0*, *L1* and *L3 ICA*.

Also, with seven occurrences, *repetitions* came third in the frequency of pragmatic strategies used in response to ICA levels. There were three self-repetitions for emphasis after *L0 and L2 ICA*. Then, two cases of represents, all after *L1 ICA*. There was also a case of disfluency (*L3 ICA*) and a self-repair (*L1 ICA*).

Next, *overlaps* had three occurrences categorised into cooperative and competitive overlaps. The two cooperative overlaps happened after *L0* and *L1 ICA* and were responsible for demonstrating interest, first agreeing that kids were baby goats and later supporting the talk with a wait-and-see backchannel. In the only competitive overlap, a participant spoke over someone else to express his opinion in response to *L0 ICA*.

*Comprehension checks* were deployed in three occasions, after displays of *L0*, *L2*, and *L3 ICA*. The first comprehension check was a significant moment in the conversation when Paola checked if pigs were also called kids. The second moment was when Serina checked if the term kids came from America. Then, the last one was a demonstration of surprise about the use of the term being discussed in Zimbabwe. Therefore, it would be accurate to say that the comprehension checks in the responses to ICA levels here worked as a discursive tool to check the understanding of information that had supporting roles in the developing of this conversation.

Lastly, two *hedges* were used, both after *L0 ICA*. First, the epistemic hedge was deployed when the participant was about to introduce an exception to a rule concerning a situation where the term 'kids' would be offensive. As Paul was interrupted by another participant and part of his talk unintelligible, it was not possible to tell whether this could also be considered a new display of ICA. In the instance of an interpersonal hedge, Paul was also about to explain why 'kids' was an acceptable term, but he was also interrupted.

#### 4.3.6 "I'm not a *girl!*"

The next conversation to be analysed concerns the appropriateness of calling a female adult a 'girl'. The participants negotiate the social groups and situations where this cultural practice would be acceptable and bring in examples to defend their points. The



Negotiation is permeated by the social markers of age, relationship types, and gender differences.

- 1 Lizzy i thought it was interesting when rob came back from kenya  
2 he used to talk about the girls that they worked with (.) and i  
3 remember thinking but aren't these young women?  
4 Dani <1> hm: </1>  
5 Wilson <1> hm </1>  
6 Lizzy and i tried to establish are they over eighteen? (i believe) they were</2>  
7 Amber <2> yeah yeah: </2>  
8 Dani <2> hm: </2> they were  
9 Lizzy i thought shouldn't we be calling them young women?  
10 Child they're still girls though  
11 Lizzy and he said they like being called girls (.) and i was like no no no i can call  
12 serina a girl (.) <3> i can call </3> my friends <4> girl </4> (.) we can  
13 use that as informality between ourselves=  
14 Amber <3> a girl </3>  
15 Dani <4> hm </4>  
16 Serina <4> hm</4>  
17 =yeah=  
18 Lizzy =when i'm being referred to by other people  
19 Dani hm  
20 Lizzy ahm i'm not a girl<5> i'm a </5> woman=  
21 Serina <5> no </5>  
22 =i'm a woman  
23 Dwaine <6> @@@@ </6>  
24 Amber <6> @@@@ </6>  
25 Serina <6> @@@@ </6>  
26 Lizzy <@> it's been a very long time since i was a girl </@>  
27 Child you ARE a girl (.) it's not like you changed genders  
28 Dwaine <7> @@@@ </7>  
29 Amber <7> @@@@ </7>  
30 Dani <7> @@@@ </7>  
31 Lizzy i didn't change gender <un> xx </un> AGE  
32 Child yeah but you're still a girl  
33 Lizzy if you can call daddy boy (.) you can call me girl  
34 Paul {quietly} i'm not a boy {quietly}  
35 Dani <8> @@@@ </8>

36 Amber <8> @@@@ </8>  
37 Dwaine <8> @@@@ </8>  
38 Serina <8> @@@@ </8>  
39 Wilson <8> @@@@ </8>  
40 Dwaine <@> <un> xxxxx </un> girl now you knew it was (coming this way) </@>  
41 Paul i wouldn't call lizzy a girl (.) i wouldn't  
42 Child state your gender  
43 Amber but i call my three boys boys=  
44 Lizzy =but that's different=  
45 Paul =yeah yeah  
46 Lizzy you could even call them your babies (.) and we would all understand  
47 what you meant  
48 Dani hm hm  
49 Dwaine ok  
50 Wilson i'm just saying i -i -i think you -you -you when you're referring to your  
51 wife or your partner you say {singing voice} my girl my girl {singing  
52 voice}  
53 Amber yeah exactly  
54 Wilson with all the respect but <9> to refer to women </9>  
55 Lizzy <9> but if you called ME a girl </9> i'd be like excuse me i'm a woman  
56 Amber @@@@  
57 Serina yeah yeah  
58 Wilson don't think paul would approve of that  
59 Amber @@@  
60 Dwaine @@  
61 Child you're just a grown-up girl  
62 Lizzy <10> yeah I am a grown-up girl </10>but (.) it seems a little-  
63 Serina <10> @@@ </10>  
64 Dwaine {to the child}-ok in terms of gender yes you're right (.) yeah  
65 Amber <un> xxxxx</un>  
66 Wilson from a certain age you no longer are a girl=  
67 Lizzy =and in France-  
68 Amber -this is really nice the <11> strawber- the raspberry one </11>=  
69 Dwaine {to Amber} =<12> cherry </12>  
70 Lizzy <11> they are polite (.) if you're a young woman say i'm</11> <12> under  
71 </12> thirty you're a-  
72 Paola -{to Amber} <12> blackberry </12>=  
73 Lizzy =<fr> mademoiselle bonjour mademoiselle </fr> an over thirty  
74 it doesn't matter if you're a widow or not you're a <fr> madame </fr>  
75 so when i go to <un> xx </un> they say bonjour madame <un> xxxx </un>  
76 Paul you could be <15> <fr> mademoiselle </fr> </15>  
77 Serina <15> madame is </15> single? madame is for-  
78 Lizzy -you could be either single or married <16> you it's just a slightly older lady  
79 Serina <16> ah:: </16>  
80 Paul <fr> mademoiselle </fr> is like ms  
81 Serina or like-  
82 Lizzy -but they don't ask questions about your marital status they make  
83 assumptio- they just they have a younger woman name and an older  
84 woman name  
85 Serina ah:=  
86 Lizzy =but they're both equally polite  
87 Paul yeah  
88 Serina ok

Four different perspectives on the appropriate use of the word ‘girl’ are expressed throughout this Negotiation. Here are the most important conceptual developments that occur:

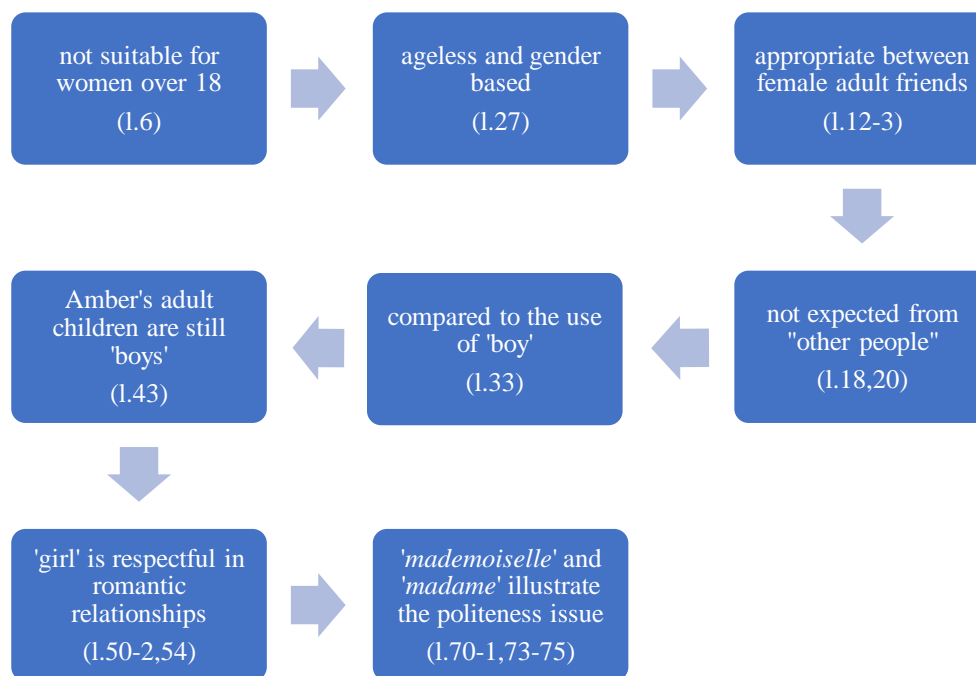


Diagram 6

The first perspective expressed is Lizzy’s. She proposes that “girls” is not a suitable word to refer to young women who are over 18. Then, her child<sup>9</sup> joins in and relates the use of the term ‘girl’ to the female gender. Lizzy’s following explanation states that ‘girl’ is suitable if used by female friends. Hence, she does not expect other people, who are not included in this category, to refer to her in that way.

Next, Lizzy draws the link between the general use of the term ‘girl’ to a younger age range by arguing that she has not been a girl for a long time. Her child continues defending that she is still a girl because she has not changed genders. That is when Lizzy brings up the dyadic comparison ‘boy’ and ‘girl’. By equating the use of those two words, she is proposing that one can understand when it is acceptable to apply the word ‘girl’ by considering when it is appropriate to call someone a ‘boy’. Paul does not accept being called a boy and defends that women should not be called ‘girls’ either.

<sup>9</sup> Although these meetings are conducted by the adult members of the missional community, some of their children are sometimes present doing something else in the background.

Then, the child stands by his opinion that ‘girl’ is an ageless gender marker. And Amber agrees with his perspective by reporting that she refers to her adult children as ‘boys’. But, according to Paul and Lizzy, this application that works due to its particular relational context. At this point, Wilson says it is respectful to refer to one’s own partner as a ‘girl’. The romantic relationship expands the scope of close relationships which most participants seem to agree on as suitable contexts for the terms discussed.

Finally, Lizzy introduces the French terms ‘*mademoiselle*’ and ‘*madame*’ to illustrate what she believes to be a more polite way from another culture to refer to adult women. She underscores that those terms have no correlation with one’s marital status and are flexibly applied to slightly younger or older women, both equally polite. Here, the mention of a different linguacultural practice functions as a parallel that focuses on the politeness aspect of the Negotiation. Lizzy is subtly defending that women should be treated politely.

In sum, in a conversation where participants of diverse linguacultural backgrounds are present, the appropriate use of the term ‘girl’ is debated and stretched. Now, I will revisit this conversation to analyse the ICA levels and related pragmatic strategies being displayed.

<b>ICA</b>	1	Lizzy	<b>i thought it was interesting when rob came back from Kenya he used to talk about the girls that they worked with (.) and i remember thinking but aren’t these young women?</b>
<b>L0</b>	2		<b>Metadiscursive Evaluation + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Metadiscursive Code Glossing</b>
	3		<b>&lt;1&gt; hm: &lt;/1&gt;</b>
	4	Dani	Wait-and-see Backchannel
	5	Wilson	<1> hm </1>
	6	Lizzy	Wait-and-see Backchannel + Cooperative Overlap and i tried to establish are they over eighteen? (i believe) they were</2> Metadiscursive Illocutionary intent + Comprehension Check + Metadiscursive Interpretation

The Negotiation is opened by the expression of *L0 ICA* in lines 1-3, where Lizzy introduces her perspective with the metadiscursive evaluation, “I thought it was interesting”. The cultural unawareness is in identifying and questioning a term that differs in use from her own but without the acknowledgement that this could be a linguacultural difference. More specifically, Lizzy highlights a linguacultural item in Rob’s linguistic repertoire of practices that might have been originated from his personal experience with locals in Kenya in a way that disputes its appropriateness, and ultimately, its linguacultural legitimacy.

	7	Amber	<2> yeah yeah: </2> Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
	8	Dani	<2> hm: </2> they were Cooperative Overlaps + Short response
L0	9	Lizzy	i thought <b>shouldn't we be calling them young women?</b> Comprehension Check + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
	10	Child	they're still girls though Metadiscursive Code Glossing
L0	11	Lizzy	<b>and he said they like being called girls (.) and i was like no no no i</b> Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
L1	12		<b>can call serina a girl (.) &lt;3&gt; i can call &lt;/3&gt; my friends &lt;4&gt; girl &lt;/4&gt;</b> (.) we can use that as informality between ourselves= 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts
	13		
	14	Amber	<3> a girl </3> Represent + Cooperative Overlap
	15	Dani	<4> hm </4> Wait-and-see Backchannel
	16	Serina	<4> hm</4> Cooperative Overlap + Wait-and-see Backchannel
	17		=yeah= Backchannel of Agreement

Lizzy's questioning continued her argument with the metadiscursive illocutionary intent, "and I tried to establish" and closes it with a rhetoric reply (1.6). Later (1.9), in the interpretation presented in the form of a rhetorical question, Lizzy displays *L0 ICA* due to the generalisation of the "we" combined with the specification of what females over eighteen in Kenya should be called. The same *L0 ICA* is displayed through the disregard of the legitimacy of different communicative practices when Lizzy says, "and he said they like being called girls (.) and i was like no no no..." (1.11). However, that statement is followed by a description of her own cultural practices (views) in a personalised manner. Given that it is still a justification of only one 'right' way of referring to girls/women, it is a display of *L1 ICA*.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L1</b>	18	Lizzy	<b>=when i'm being referred to by other people</b> metadiscursive illocutionary act
	19	Dani	hm Wait-and-see Backchannel
<b>L1</b>	20	Lizzy	<b>ahm i'm not a girl&lt;5&gt; i'm a &lt;/5&gt; woman=</b> Self-repetition (Rephrasing)
<b>L1</b>	21	Serina	<5> no </5> =i'm a woman Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement + Represent
	22		
	23	Dwayne	<6> @@@@ </6>
	24	Amber	<6> @@@@ </6>
	25	Serina	<6> @@@@ </6> 3 Backchannels of Amusement + 2 Cooperative Overlaps
	26	Lizzy	<@> it's been a very long time since i was a girl </@> Metadiscursive Code Glossing
	27	Child	you ARE a girl (.) it's not like you changed genders Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Meta. Justification

28	Dwaine	<7> @@@@ </7>
29	Amber	<7> @@@@ </7>
30	Dani	<7> @@@@ </7>
3 Backchannels of Amusement + 2 Cooperative Overlaps		
31	Lizzy	i didn't change gender <un> xx </un> AGE Self-repetition (Rephrasing)

In the extract above, Lizzy expresses that she expects people who are not her friends to behave in a particular way when referring to her. Again, she is displaying *L1 ICA* because she is relating other's behaviours to herself, to an extent, portraying a personal perspective that indicates some awareness of her own linguaculture. Next, Lizzy complements her thought by rephrasing, "Ahm, I'm not a girl. I'm a woman" (1.20). Here, although she describes her own linguaculture, she is completely overlooking the fact that, to people of different linguacultural repertoires using English, the meaning of those two words can vary, for they are significantly culture-dependent. In response, Serina echoes Lizzy's *L1 ICA* (1.21-2).

<b>ICA</b>	32	Child	yeah but you're still a girl Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L3</b>	33	Lizzy	<b>if you can call daddy boy (.) you can call me girl</b> 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts
	34	Paul	{quietly} i'm not a boy {quietly} Other-repetition (other-repair)
	35	Dani	<8> @@@@ @ </8>
	36	Amber	<8> @@@@ @ </8>
	37	Dwaine	<8> @@@@ @ </8>
	38	Serina	<8> @@@@ @ </8>
	39	Wilson	<8> @@@@ @ </8>
5 Backchannels of Agreement + 4 Cooperative Overlaps			
<b>L2</b>	40	Dwaine	<@> <un> xxxxx </un> girl now you knew it was (coming this way) </@>
	41	Paul	<b>i wouldn't call lizzy a girl (.) i wouldn't</b> Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act

In line 33, Lizzy displayed *L3 ICA* by drawing on the gender equality discourse to get her message across to her child. It is an approach to the topic that allows her to not subscribe to any specific culture while defending a cultural perspective. She invites her child to decide on the appropriateness of insisting she is supposed to be called a girl as she parallels that term with its dyad 'boy'. After Dwaine teases Lizzy, Paul aligns himself with Lizzy's statement and, consequently, also demonstrates *L3 ICA* level (1.41).

<b>ICA</b>	<b>L3</b>	43	Amber	<b>but i call my three boys boys=</b> Metadiscursive exemplification + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
		44	Lizzy	=but that's different= Metadiscursive Evaluation
		45	Paul	=yeah yeah Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
<b>L0</b>	46	Lizzy	you could even call them your babies (.) and <b>we would all understand</b> <b>what you meant</b> Metadiscursive Exemplification + Metadiscursive Interpretation + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act	
		47		
<b>L0</b>	48	Dani	hm hm Backchannel of Agreement	
<b>L0</b>	49	Dwaine	ok Backchannel of Agreement	
<b>L2</b>	50	Wilson	i'm just saying i -i -i <b>think you -you -you when you're referring to</b> <b>your wife or your partner you say {singing voice}</b> <b>my girl my girl {singing voice}</b> metadiscursive exemplification + 3 metadiscursive illocutionary acts + 2 Self-repetitions (Disfluency)	
		51		
		52		

In line 43, Amber demonstrates *L3 ICA* when she highlights the heterogeneity within the family while also taking into account the gender difference. She is pointing to another layer of complexity, through which it is possible to see that appropriateness will depend on the relationship type that one has with the person they are referring to as a 'boy' or 'girl', not their age.

Then, Lizzy explains what she meant by saying Amber's example is a different context (1.44) and presents a generalisation of potential interpretations of Amber's example (1.46 and 47). Although the group is considerably diverse in linguacultural backgrounds, Lizzy expresses the assumption of uniformity concerning the reception/interpretation of the other interlocutors, displaying *L0 ICA* (1.46). Dani and Dwaine echo that *L0 ICA* by agreeing with her point (1.48,49).

At this point, Wilson adds another layer of complexification about different perspectives and consequential differing communicative practices within the family sphere, this time, between a husband and his wife (1.50-2). By underscoring the idea of variables within groups, Wilson is demonstrating *L2 ICA*.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L2</b>	53	Amber	<b>yeah exactly</b> Backchannel of Agreement + Metadiscursive Evaluation
	54	Wilson	with all the respect but <9> to refer to women </9> Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
<b>L1</b>	55	Lizzy	<b>&lt;9&gt; but if you called ME a girl &lt;/9&gt; i'd be like excuse me i'm a woman</b> Competitive Overlap + Meta. Illocutionary Act + Discourse Marker + Meta. Code Glossing
	56	Amber	@ @ @ @ @ @ Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L1</b>	57	Serina	<b>yeah yeah</b> Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
<b>L3</b>	58	Wilson	<b>don't think paul would approve of that</b> Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent
	59	Amber	@ @ @
	60	Dwaine	@ @ 2 backchannels of amusement
	61	Child	you're just a grown-up girl Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Epistemic Hedge
	62	Lizzy	<10> yeah I am a grown-up girl </10>but (.) it seems a little- Backchannel of Agreement + Represent + Epistemic Hedge
	63	Serina	<10> @ @ @ </10> Cooperative Overlap + backchannels of amusement
	64	Dwaine	{to the child}-ok in terms of gender yes you're right (.) yeah Metadiscursive Evaluation + Backchannel of Agreement
	65	Amber	<un> xxxxx</un>

This extract begins with Amber's agreement with Wilson's proposition in the previous lines (1.53). Then, Wilson continues to explain what he meant. Lizzy interrupts him to problematise the nuances of another type of relationship, the one between him and her. In line 55, she overlaps Wilson's utterance and displays *L1 ICA* by explaining how she would (hypothetically) interpret and react to his action through her linguacultural repertoire. Amber backchannels with amusement and Serina with agreement, echoing *L1 ICA*. Wilson recognises that Lizzy's point is valid (1.58), displaying *L3 ICA* by combining Lizzy's perspective with his knowledge about Paul's repertoire of practices (behaviours) as her husband predicts Paul's response to that hypothetical situation. It is a case of Intercultural Awareness because it stands in the liminality of Wilson's interpretation that is based on Lizzy's views and his experience of Paul's views.

<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L2</b>	66	Wilson	from a certain age you no longer are a girl=
	67	Lizzy	<b>=and in France-</b> Metadiscursive Exemplification
	68	Amber	-this is really nice the <11> strawber- the raspberry one </11>= Metadiscursive Evaluation
	69	Dwaine	{to Amber} =<12> cherry </12> Completion Overlap
	70	Lizzy	<b>&lt;11&gt; they are polite (.) if you're a young woman say i'm&lt;/11&gt; &lt;12&gt;</b>
	71		<b>under &lt;/12&gt; thirty you're a-</b> 2 Metadiscursive Code Glossings + Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Exemplification
	72	Paola	-to Amber} <12> blackberry </12>=



	73	Lizzy	=<fr> mademoiselle bonjour mademoiselle </fr> an over thirty
	74		it doesn't matter if you're a widow or not you're a <fr> madame
	75		</fr> so when i go to <un> xx </un> they say bonjour madame <un> xxxx </un> Metadiscursive Exemplification + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
L3	76	Paul	you could be <13> <fr> mademoiselle </fr> </13> Metadiscursive Exemplification
	77	Serina	<13> madame is </13> single? madame is for- Competitive Overlap + Comprehension Check
	78	Lizzy	-you could be either single or married <14> you it's </14> just a slightly older lady 2 Metadiscursive Code Glossing + 2 Epistemic Hedges
	79	Serina	<14> ah:: </14> Backchannel of Understanding
	80	Paul	<fr> mademoiselle </fr> is like ms Metadiscursive Exemplification + Discourse Marker
	81	Serina	or like- Discourse marker
L2	82	Lizzy	-but they don't ask questions about your marital status they make
	83		assumptio- they just they have a younger woman name and an older
	84		woman name 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts
	85	Serina	ah:= Backchannel of Understanding
	86	Lizzy	=but they're both equally polite Metadiscursive Evaluation
L2	87	Paul	yeah Backchannel of Agreement
	88	Serina	ok Backchannel of Understanding

In lines 67, 70, and 82-4, *L2 ICA* is displayed twice when Lizzy proposes the common ground of distinguishing between younger and older women in English and the French spoken in France. In line 76, with an example, Paul displays *L3 ICA* when he applies the term “*mademoiselle*” to Lizzy. The term was introduced as something people say in France. So, he is dislocating that term from its linguistic and discursive origin, initially France, to refer to someone in that conversation, which is carried out predominantly in English (an ELF interaction) and in another geographic territory (London - UK). At that moment, the word ‘*mademoiselle*’ is being used in a liminal manner that is not attached to a pre-determined social grouping (the French). Instead, ‘*mademoiselle*’ is functioning in its situated meaning to characterise Lizzy according to Paul’s opinion.

Lizzy continues expressing *L2 ICA*, mentioning the that “they don’t ask questions” (l.82) and “they make assumptio-” (l.82-3). Lizzy evaluate the French’s communicative practices as “both equally polite” (l.86). This stereotypical approach to communicative practices would have been considered *L1 ICA* if it had not been the continuation of the display of *L2 ICA* in lines 67 and 70. It is not a generalisation that stands alone, but within a contextual comparison of cultural features that acknowledges possible differences between the paradigms ‘*mademoiselle/madame*’ and ‘*girl/woman*’.

The Negotiation of the topic ends when Paul backchannels with agreement (1.87), echoing *L2 ICA*.

<b>ICA Levels + Strategies</b>	<b>Strategic Responses</b>
<b>L0 - Metadiscursive Evaluation + Meta. Illocutionary Act + Meta. Code Glossing (1.1-3)</b>	2 Wait-and-see Backchannels + Cooperative Overlap + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent + Comprehension Check + Metadiscursive Interpretation + Cooperative Overlap + 2 Backchannels of Agreement + Short Response
<b>L0 - Comprehension Check + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act (1.9)</b>	Metadiscursive Code Glossing
<b>L0 -Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act (1.11)</b>	
<b>L1 – 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act (1.12)</b>	Cooperative Overlap + Represent + Wait-and-see Backchannel + Cooperative Overlap + Wait-and-see Backchannel + Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L1 –Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Self-repair (1.18, 20)</b>	Wait-and-See Backchannel (1.19)
<b>L1 - Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement + Represent (1.21)</b>	3 Backchannels of Amusement + 2 Cooperative Overlaps + 2 Metadiscursive Code Glossings + Metadiscursive Justification + 2 Backchannels of Amusement + 2 Cooperative Overlaps + Self-repetition (Rephrasing) + Backchannel of Agreement + Meta. Code Glossing
<b>L3 – 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts (1.33)</b>	Other-repetition (other-repair) + 5 Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L3 - Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act (1.41)</b>	
<b>L3 – Metadiscursive Exemplification + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act (1.43)</b>	Metadiscursive Evaluation + Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)
<b>L0 – Metadiscursive Exemplification + Meta. Illocutionary Act + Meta. Interpretation</b>	

(1.46-7)	
<b>L0 – Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.48)	
<b>L0 – Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.49)	
<b>L2 – Metadiscursive Exemplification + 3 Meta. Illocutionary Acts + 3 Self-repetitions (Disfluency)</b> (1.50-2)	
<b>L2 – Backchannel of Agreement + Meta. Evaluation</b> (1.53)	Discourse Marker + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act
<b>L1 ICA – Competitive Overlap + Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act + Discourse Marker + Meta. Code Glossing</b> (1.55)	Backchannel of Amusement
<b>L1 ICA – Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis)</b> (1.57)	
<b>L1 - Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent</b> (1.58)	2 Backchannels of Amusement + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Epistemic Hedge + Backchannel of Agreement + Epistemic Hedge + Cooperative Overlap + Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L2 – Meta. Exemplification + 2 Competitive Overlaps + 2 Meta. Code Glossings + Discourse Marker + 2 Meta. Exemplification + Meta. Code Glossing + Meta Illoc. Act</b> (1.67, 70, 73-75)	Metadiscursive Evaluation + Completion Overlap
<b>L3 – Metadiscursive Exemplification</b> (1.76)	Competitive Overlap + Comprehension Check + 2 Metadiscursive Code Glossing + 2 Epistemic Hedges + Backchannel of Understanding + Metadiscursive Exemplification + 2 Discourse Markers
<b>L2 – 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts + Metadiscursive Evaluation</b> (1.82-4, 86)	Backchannel of Understanding
<b>L2 - Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.87)	Backchannel of Understanding

Table 8

In the conversation analysed above, there is an even distribution of ICA levels being displayed. However, it is noticeable that the conversation starts with very low ICA levels. In this case, the initial displays of cultural unawareness (*L0 ICA*) do not lead to communication problems; it triggers a Negotiation that seems to be directed to fine-tuning shared understandings. The first demonstrations of basic cultural awareness occur when Lizzy shows awareness of her own linguaculture by describing how she expects others to refer to her (1.12) (*L1 ICA*). ICA increases and gets to *L3 ICA* when Lizzy draws on the discourse of gender equality to make a point (1.33). After alternating levels, the Negotiation, like all the others analysed in this study, comes to a close with a high level of ICA (*L2*), making the result more diverse and multi-layered than when it started.

When it comes to the pragmatic strategies used in demonstrations of ICA levels, *metadiscourse* was the most common one, with a predominance of illocutionary acts (with eighteen occurrences), followed by exemplifications (with eight occurrences). The presence of illocutionary acts shows a recurrent use of words to describe the way discourse is realised, such as ‘say’, ‘ask’ and ‘refer to’ spread across *L0*, *L1*, *L2*, and *L3 ICA*, with slightly greater concentration on the higher levels. The exemplifications were deployed in the expressions of *L0*, *L2* or *L3 ICA*. With seven out of eight within *L2* and *L3 ICA*, there were parallels drawn to define further one’s understanding of the matter, establish differences between groupings concerning specific aspects in an ‘us-them’ approach, or transgress more simplistic views. In this Negotiation, both metadiscursive illocutionary acts and exemplifications seem to be discursive paths that often convey cultural awareness levels; eight out of nine exemplifications and eighteen out of nineteen illocutionary acts displayed ICA levels. Metadiscursive evaluations were deployed on three occasions, one *L0 ICA* and two *L2 ICA*. The first one was deployed while displaying *L0 ICA* and triggered this Negotiation. The second was the one (1.53) was praising the precision and validity of an example that argued for a more nuanced view of the point. The third (1.86) was the last input of content in comparing between French expressions and the English ‘girl’, which drew the Negotiation to a close.

There were also four instances of *overlaps* in displays of ICA. The first one was a cooperative overlap in *L1 ICA* that occurred when a participant agreed with the statement that Lizzy was not a ‘girl’ anymore. The others were competitive overlaps, which happened respectively in *L1* and *L2 ICA*, where the participant wanted to particularise a point she was making and ask a comprehension checking question. *Backchannels of agreement occurred six times*, echoing the display of ICA levels that happened immediately before them at *L0*, *L1*, and *L2 ICA*.

Among the strategies used in response to (or after) the displays of ICA levels, *backchannels* stood out once more. Backchannels of amusement were the most common, with thirteen occurrences, five after *L3 ICA* and eight after *L1 ICA*. Laughter signalled engagement and agreement on the comical aspect of the points being made throughout the conversation. It also invited more participation/contribution towards the continuation of the Negotiation. Likewise, the backchannels of agreement, with seven occurrences (two following *L0 ICA*, four *L1 ICA*, and one after *L3 ICA*) legitimised the participants' perspectives and invited more talk on the matter. The five wait-and-see backchannels following denotations of both *L0* and *L3 ICA*, showed that the participants were interested but needed more information in order to position themselves in the matter of appropriateness of the term 'girl' to refer to adult females.

Next, the second most used strategy was *metadiscourse*, with eleven instances. The metadiscursive of evaluation came after *L3 ICA*, featuring as opinions on the example being provided in the middle and at the end of the Negotiation (1.44). The metadiscursive illocutionary act, where the verb 'refer' was related to women, following a demonstration of *L2 ICA*. The metadiscursive interpretations occurred after displays of *L0* when a participant shared how she concluded that the term 'girl' was inappropriate for the context at the beginning of the conversation (1.6). There was also a metadiscursive justification when the child was justifying calling his mother 'girl' after *L1 ICA*. There was one use of metadiscursive illocutionary intent in response to *L0 ICA*, featuring as part of the metadiscursive interpretation process and one evaluation of the pudding's characteristics (1.68).

There were nine occurrences of *overlaps*, of which eight were cooperative overlaps in response to displays of *L0* and *L1 ICA*. They were characterised by backchannels of agreement and wait-and-see, deployed to support the topic (agreement) and the talk (wait-and-see). There was also one competitive overlap after *L3 ICA*, where the participant takes over the floor to check comprehension (1.77). Furthermore, there was a completion overlap (1.69) after *L2 ICA*, but it was not related to the central Negotiation of cultural understanding.

The strategies with fewer occurrences were repetitions, comprehension checks and clarification requests. The repetition happened in the form of one represents following *L1 ICA*, where the repetition of the word 'girl' indicated listenership and agreement. The only two comprehension checking instances appeared in response to *L0* and *L3 ICA*, where the participants posed the question that started the Negotiation process (1.9) and where Serina checks her understanding of 'madame' (1.77).

#### 4.3.7 “A fart is trump”

The following conversation is a case of Negotiation of understanding in which the topic starts as predominantly linguistic and changes into predominantly linguacultural. That is, a common knowledge word is explained and then culturally expanded and repurposed. The context is the same lunch interaction as conversations 4.2 and 4.3. Juliana introduced the topic previously, telling the other participants about a friend who says she knows she is comfortable around people when she feels free to fart near them. Not surprisingly, that information starts a laugh in the group. Ellen, however, is puzzled about what the word ‘farting’ means. She does not “let it pass” and decides to enquire about it quietly. Then, the Negotiation that begins as an attempt to clarify the linguistic meaning of the word ‘farting’ unexpectedly unfolds into an intercultural political conversation, where the term ‘trump’ is introduced as an older English word that also means ‘fart’.

1 Ellen { to Esther } <quiet> what do you call (parting)? </quiet>  
2 Esther farting?  
3 Juliana @@@@  
4 Ellen <quiet> you call it parting? </quiet>  
5 Esther no no no @@ <fast/quiet><@> what do we call farting?  
6 </@></fast/quiet><@> does anyone want to explain farting? </@>  
7 Jamie farting?  
8 Lana gas  
9 Jamie farting like ga:s  
10 Juliana there are like different smells <1> different noises </1>  
11 Esther <1>@@@</1>  
12 Juliana different consequences=  
13 Ellen <un> xxxx </un>  
14 Lana =that is it exactly=  
15 Juliana =different types of accidents  
16 Ellen <@> oh no </@> @@@  
17 Lana @@@@  
18 Jamie so you don't teach it as (in) english schools? (.) really (sad) @@@@  
19 Esther @@@  
20 Juliana yeah yeah yeah  
21 Ellen so how do i pronounce that fa:rting.  
22 Lana fa:rting  
23 Jamie <spel> F-A-R-T (.) A-R-T </spel>  
24 Ellen <spel> f-a-r-t </spel>  
25 Jamie <spel> i-n-g </spel>  
26 Ellen yeah=  
27 Lana =another thing (.) in england or the uk it's called trump (.) we just call  
28 it trump which is quite funny considering the president <1> <@>  
29 of the united states </@> </1>

30 Esther <1> oh i did not understand </1> i did not know it was called that=  
31 Lana =not used but yeah  
32 Esther is it the same word  
33 Lana it's the same word yeah  
34 Jamie it's like bill or <un> x </un>  
35 Juliana trump (.) the fart is the trump  
36 Lana a fart is trump (2) yeah  
37 Juliana i know fart as other things  
38 Lana well that's like  
39 Juliana and i know trump as other things  
40 Lana yeah yeah @@@@ but it was quite funny when hmm:: the election was  
41 going on=  
42 Juliana =uhu=  
43 Lana =in like 2016 or something (.) I was living with two american like this  
44 american couple (.) and they well had the well they got on like the what do  
45 you call the like on TV and (.) I don't know yeah the topic of farting then  
46 did come up and hmm like different words for it in ehm british English and  
47 in american english and- and yeah i was like yeah we call it TRUMP and  
48 they were like (.) <@> OH THAT'S FITTING </@> <2> @@@@ </2>  
49 Esther <2> @@@@ </2>  
50 Juliana <2> @@@@ so apparently </2> you were in good company  
51 Jamie <@> yeah </@>  
52 Juliana politically speaking  
53 Lana <3> @@@ </3>  
54 Esther <3> @@@ </3>  
55 Juliana Good

The development of the conversation above can be divided into its three most relevant moments.

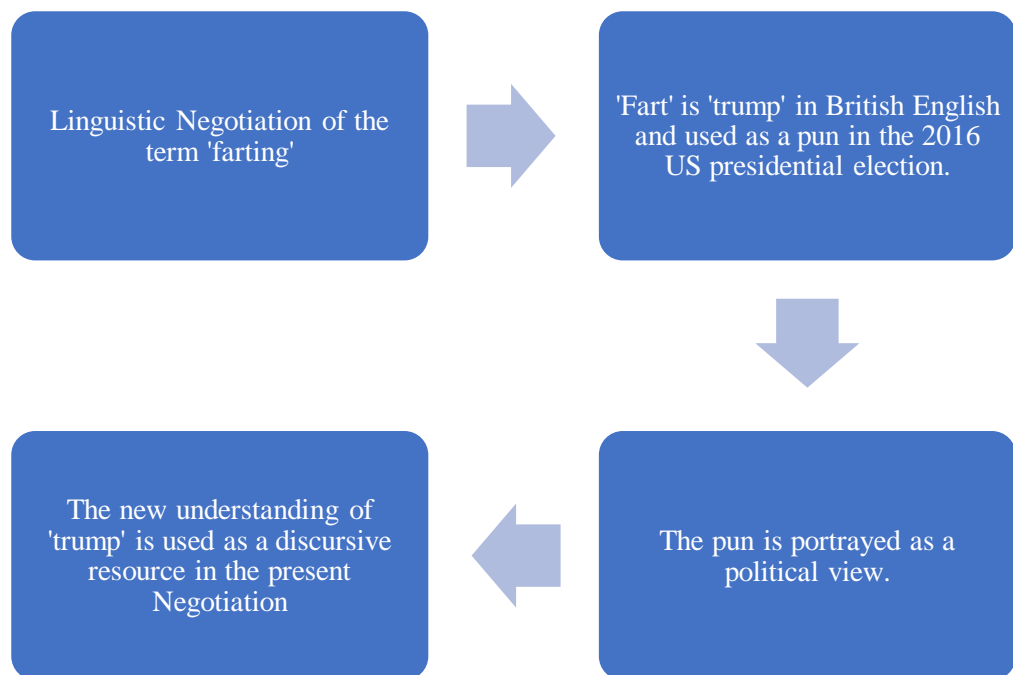


Diagram 7

In the first one, Ellen signals the non-understanding of the word “farting” by explicitly asking about its meaning. From that moment until line 26, Esther, Juliana, Jamie and Lana contribute with the pronunciation and spelling adjustments, with its definition as ‘gas’ and with associations that aim to clarify its meaning. At this point, it is solely a Negotiation of linguistic understanding, where the word’s spelling and pronunciation are clarified. At the same time, its meaning is being co-constructed through an association between the term and a recognisable bodily function common to every human being.

The second development in this conversation happens when Lana adds to the linguistic meaning of farting its British synonym ‘trump’ and underscores its current political relevance. Here, the understanding of the term ‘fart’ is expanded by the addition of another lexicon. Rarely used today in that sense, ‘trump’ is received as a novelty by the other participants.

The third moment of topic development was the jokingly link between the term trump and the American presidential candidate, Donald Trump. Lana reports that, in 2016, when she mentioned to her American flatmates that ‘trump’ meant ‘fart’ in British English, they found the connection between their view on Donald Trump and the idea of fart “fitting”. The name of the presidential candidate (at the time) gained the connotation of fart, something generally considered negative.

Lastly, the fourth development happens when Juliana, who is a Brazilian living in London, appropriates the new understanding of the term ‘trump’ as a discursive resource to express her views.

Now I turn to the ICA levels. Unlike the other conversations analysed in this study, the first occurrence of an ICA level display is in the middle of the Negotiation. That is because this conversation begins as (primarily) a Negotiation of linguistic understanding. Although it is possible to map the pragmatic strategies used from line 1-26, they are not happening about ICA levels. Therefore, they are not the focus of this study. The only exception is the fact this conversation becomes a Negotiation of a non-understanding through the use of a clarification request in, “what do you call (parting)?” (line 1), a trait present in all the conversations of this study.



<b>ICA</b>			
<b>L3</b>	27	Lana	=another thing (.) in england or the uk it's called trump (.) we just
	28		call it trump which is quite funny considering the president
	29		<1> <@> of the united states </@> </1> Discourse Marker + 2 Meta. Illocutionary Acts + Meta. Code Glossing + Meta. Evaluation
	30	Esther	<1> oh i did not understand </1> i did not know it was called that= Competitive Overlap + Discourse Marker + Meta. Illocutionary Acts
	31	Lana	=not used but yeah Short Response
	32	Esther	is it the same word Comprehension Check
	33	Lana	it's the same word yeah Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Represent + Short Response
	34	Jamie	it's like bill or <un> x </un> Metadiscursive Exemplification
	35	Juliana	trump (.) the fart is the trump? Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Comprehension Check
	36	Lana	a fart is trump (2) yeah Represent + Short Response
	37	Juliana	i know fart as other things Metadiscursive Justification
	38	Lana	well that's like Discourse Marker
	39	Juliana	and i know trump as other things Metadiscursive Justification

In lines 27-29, Lana explains why the term ‘trump’, which featured as the name of a controversial American politician, may sound funny in the UK. By doing so, she makes relevant to the current conversation the impact that a word of British origin had on another cultural national group's presidential campaign. This dislocation of meaning resignifies both ‘fart’ and ‘trump’ to the participants, as it crosses linguacultural and political borders reaching that ‘super-diverse’ audience in London with its newly gained significance. Lana’s discursive move can be considered a display of *L3 ICA* due to the linguacultural layers of creativity, flexibility and mobility added to the co-construction of a cultural understanding in that conversation.

<b>ICA</b>			
	40	Lana	yeah yeah @@@@ but it was quite funny when hmm:: the election was
	41		going on= Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Backchannel of Agreement + Backchannel of Amusement + Meta. Evaluation
	42	Juliana	=uhu= Backchannel of Agreement
	43	Lana	=in like 2016 or something (.) I was living with two american like this
	44		american couple (.) and they well had the well they got on like the what do
	45		you call the like on TV and (.) I don't know yeah the topic of farting
	46		then did come up and hmm like different words for it in ehm british
<b>L3</b>	47		english and in american english and- and yeah <b>i was like yeah we call it</b>
	48		<b>TRUMP and they were like (.) &lt;@&gt; OH THAT'S FITTING &lt;/@&gt;</b> <2> @ @ @ @ @ </2> Epistemic hedge + Discourse Marker + 2 Meta. Illoc. Acts + Meta. Evaluation
	49	Esther	<2> @ @ @ @ @ </2> Backchannel of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap

With the anecdote above, Lana is again displaying *L3 ICA*, as she stirs the Londoners at the table to the existence of an emerging nature of localised/cultural understandings of the term ‘trump’ through its use as a pun in the US political context, as well as adding a new semantic nuance to the name of the (then) presidential candidate, Donald Trump.

<b>L3</b>	50	Juliana	<2> @@@@ so apparently </2> you were in good company <small>Competitive Overlap + Backchannel of Amusement + Discourse Marker + Meta. Evaluation</small>
	51	Jamie	<@> yeah </@> <small>Backchannel of Agreement</small>
	52	Juliana	<b>politically speaking</b>
	53	Lana	<3> @@@ </3>
	54	Esther	<3> @@@ </3> <small>Cooperative Overlap + 2 Backchannels of Amusement</small>
	55	Juliana	good <small>Metadiscursive Evaluation</small>

Here, Juliana responds to this story with laughter (1.50), and, in her last three utterances, shows understanding and appropriation of the new conceptual application of ‘T/trump’ as ‘fart’ to express her own political views through the approval of others’ statements. Therefore, those two statements demonstrate a linguacultural fluidity that blurs the lines of the power that national cultures have over linguacultural understandings as it travels via expressions of ideological discursive stands, in a liminal communicative move characteristic of *L3 ICA*.

ICA Levels + Strategies	Strategic Responses
----	Clarification Request + Specific Query (1.1)
<b>L3 – Discourse Marker + 2 Meta. Illocutionary Acts + Meta. Code Glossing + Meta. Evaluation</b> (1.27-9)	Competitive Overlap + Discourse Marker + 2 Meta. Illocutionary Acts + Short Response + Comprehension Check + Represent + Meta. Code Glossing + Short Response + Metadiscursive Exemplification + Self-repetition (Emphasis) + Metadiscursive Code Glossing + Comprehension Check + Represent + Short Response + 2 Metadiscursive Justification + Discourse Marker + Backchannel of Agreement + Self-repetition (Emphasis) Backchannel of Amusement + Metadiscursive Evaluation + Backchannel of Agreement
<b>L3 – Epistemic Hedge + 6 Discourse Markers + 2 Metadiscursive Illocutionary Acts + Meta. Evaluation</b>	Backchannel of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap

(1.43-8)	
<b>L3 – Competitive Overlap + Backchannel of Amusement + Discourse Marker + Meta. Evaluation</b> (1.50, 52)	
<b>L3 – Backchannel of Agreement</b> (1.51)	2 Backchannels of Amusement + Cooperative Overlap
<b>L3 – Metadiscursive Evaluation</b> (1.55)	

Table 9

As mentioned before, this Negotiation only presented displays of ICA levels from line 27 onwards, where a cultural understanding is introduced. The participants' interaction with those cultural aspects begins at *L3 ICA* and goes on at the same level until the very end. The recurrent characteristic of this high level of ICA was the complex linguacultural encounters that occurred when the British English meaning of 'trump' was linked to the political meaning of the same word in the US. Then, that new understanding was used to express an international political view of the diverse group of participants.

As in the previous conversations, there is a predominance of *metadiscourse* in the displays of ICA levels. The most common were the metadiscursive illocutionary acts and evaluations, with four occurrences each. The illocutionary acts were all variations of the word 'call' deployed to describe things. The evaluations were used to express the participants' opinions, first about applying the term trump to the political scenario in the US, then about the political positioning of the people involved in the anecdote shared by Lana. Then, there was also one metadiscursive code glossing, where the term trump was equated with trump—all of them in displays of *L3 ICA*. After metadiscursive strategies, there were eight uses of *discourse markers* (for addition, exemplification, and lack of sufficient knowledge), one *epistemic hedge*, "or something", one *competitive overlap*, where a laughing utterance was overridden by the metadiscursive evaluation of what had just been said, and one backchannel of agreement, where the participant agrees with the evaluation of the political positioning in the anecdote.

In response to the demonstrations of ICA levels, which stayed at *L3 ICA* throughout, the most used strategy was *metadiscourse*, with eight instances. There was one exemplification, two code glossings, one evaluation, two illocutionary acts, and two justifications. Second in frequency was *backchanneling*. There were six backchannels, two of agreement and four of amusement. The instances of agreement were related to the

multiplicity of trump meanings and how funny it is that trump means fart. The demonstrations of amusement were both about the amusing nature of the British English meaning of trump and a demonstration of support. Besides that, there were also four *repetitions*, of which one was a repetition, and two were self-repetitions for emphasis. Then, there were three *short responses*, all used by Ellen to respond to comprehension checks and emphasize her proposal. There were also two *discourse markers* and two *comprehension checks* about trump (fart) being the same word as trump (presidential candidate's name) and confirming that 'a trump' means 'a fart'.

## 5 Discussion

In this thesis, the conversations of two communities of practice were analysed when cultural understandings were being Negotiated. Composed primarily of multilingual speakers of English, those interactions were also characterised by English being used as a lingua franca (ELF). Although there were not many significant deviations of what is considered 'Standard English', the relevance of acknowledging the ELF context is in the participants' diverse linguacultural repertoires - one of the main reasons for the need of engagement in the process of clarification or fine-tuning of understandings.

The two communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) that were part of the same broader church community had in common the central enterprise of building closer friendship within their groups. This goal was mentioned and emphasised by each of the participants in the interviews and in the answers to the questionnaire. Such a predisposition for friendliness was observed in the conversations analysed, where strategies were deployed to overtly support the talk and the other interlocutors. The relational context also seems to have influenced the participants' initiative of signalling non-understanding, and therefore, not 'letting-it-pass', given the low level of face threat. Behaving according to the interactional goal of those CoPs, the participants were keen to seize the opportunities to learn more about each other's linguacultural backgrounds.

Here, the findings from the analyses in the previous chapter will be compiled and interpreted in an attempt to answer the research questions proposed in this study. I will also signal how those findings add to the previous research mentioned in the literature review. The compilation will be organised into tables that visually summarise how the findings have been categorised so far. This way, patterns can be more easily identified. First, the focus will be on the order of appearance of ICA levels to discuss how that seems to have impacted the development of the Negotiations, addressing the research questions one and two. Then, I will interpret the interrelation between pragmatic strategies and the displays of ICA levels, which will address the research question three.

### 5.1 The ICA levels and how they affected the unfolding of the Negotiations

Starting from the premise that not everything that is language can be considered cultural (Risager, 2006), only the utterances that communicated a linguacultural aspect were classified as a display of ICA Level. As explored in the literature review, the data analysis illustrated that an empirical examination is necessary to identify the parts of one's linguistic repertoire that are linguacultural. More specifically, this study showed that one

way linguaculture emerges in conversation and becomes observable is when terms, expressions or practices are brought to the forefront to be fine-tuned or clarified by the interlocutors themselves. In the seven conversations analysed, the participants were the ones who highlighted the linguacultural differences that were real and relevant enough to be Negotiated. It means that the same topics could have been shared knowledge for other participants and, consequently, gone unnoticed as items (or practices) of language that carry culture - linguaculture.

Baker's ICA model (2011, 2015, 2018) was adapted in the methodology chapter to describe in more detail how *L1, L2, and L3 ICA* could be expressed via linguistic practices in naturally-occurring intercultural communication through ELF. Studying how displays of ICA impact the conversations of multilingual speakers of English in London answers to the call for more practice-orientated ICA research. By showing ICA in unscripted action, addressing the gap left by many (or maybe most) studies on ICA whose data were 'prompted' meta-discussions, which limited the impact of their findings to the conceptual side of ICA. For instance, Humphreys and Baker (2021), Abdzadeh and Baker (2020), Kian (2018), and Baker (2012) investigated through interviews and reflective writings (forums, short written assignments, and field notes) how language students *talked about* their views on culture or language and culture. For instance, in both Baker (2012) and Abdzadeh and Baker (2020), the student participants were interviewed before and after being exposed to a short course on ICA to track the development of ICA as an ELT goal.

Regarding the studies that have generated practice-orientated ICA data, the present study adds to them because its data went beyond the classroom context of interaction and was not generated through a guided or semi-scripted experience/interaction. An example is Yu & van Maele's (2018) investigation of the possibility of fostering ICA through English reading classes in Chinese colleges. The authors created a class "flow" (design) to develop reading skills intertwined with ICA learning goals (Baker, 2012, 2015) and seemed to have achieved an increase in occurrences of displays of ICA Level 2 through a gradation of activities. Although their participants displayed ICA while identifying and comparing cultural aspects to create reflective questions, those activities were guided by instructions to achieve specific educational goals.

In addition, there were two similarities between Yu & van Maele's (2018) study and this thesis that included a methodological choice and a relevant finding. The first similarity is that they also created specifications (a simplification, rather than an

expansion) that helped operationalise the model to classify the data generated as Level 1 or Level 2 of ICA. Moreover, the second similarity is that they also identified a display of ICA below Level 1, but it was exemplified only once and without a rationale that supported their interpretation (p.367-8).

Another practice-orientated ICA research that contributed to the field but was also limited by the educational setting was Kusumaningputri and Widodo's (2018) study in Indonesia. The authors reported that photographs and guided tasks were used to enhance the ICA of English students. The main result is that the tasks helped students understand that "culture is situated within layers of constructed perspectives" (p.59). Like in the previous study, Kusumaningputri and Widodo made a valuable contribution to intercultural communication in education, especially by outlining the steps to develop ICA in class through a student-centred use of photographs. However, once more, besides being shaped by the educational interactional context, the displays of ICA levels in that data are not naturally-occurring communication because the participants were prompted to approach the photographs with the particular goal of discussing cultural matters.

Unlike the data collection of those studies, my research participants were not prompted to talk about culture and had as their interactional goal something more "organic" from our everyday lives, the explicit intention to build a deeper connection with those within their CoPs (Wenger, 1998). This organic aspect contributed to generating more realistic data where the participants carried out trivial activities such as offering hot drinks to guests, expressing their political views, sharing an exciting proverb, or discussing what to call 'pudding'. For this reason, it is also the kind of data that can inform the teaching of *linguistic and discursive practices* that foster ICA through language teaching.

A hybrid study that analysed interview data, focus groups, and naturally-occurring conversation was Baker (2009) - data also used in Baker (2011, 2015). In this case, the interview and focus groups data originated from a Thai university setting, while the naturally-occurring conversation was recorded in a café in Bangkok by one of the research participants from the university setting. Unlike the ICA assessment at the utterance level performed here, Baker preferred to assess the conversation as a whole and said, "this extract demonstrates culturally-based references expressed through the medium of ELF communication that is fluid and negotiable, with both participants having to adapt to alternative semantic associations for *petanque*" (Baker, 2009:583). For this reason, the method chosen for the present thesis contributes with a more in-depth investigation of how ICA plays into different parts of the same conversation, providing

insights into how situated the displays of ICA can be and the factors that may impact the unfolding of the Negotiation (Zhu, 2015).

Moving on to the discussion of the findings, it is also important to reiterate that, in this study, the ICA levels are approached as a moment-by-moment feature of a cultural understanding Negotiation that does not define an individual's average ICA Level or even their personal ICA Level concerning the topic being Negotiated. Rather, I have examined the communicative practices where ICA levels are displayed to understand how the different levels affect the development of the Negotiation, identifying and describing patterns found in the beginning, middle, and ending of the conversations. Besides, as communicative and cultural practices are ever-changing according to the context, communicative goals and knowledge of the topic, it would not be accurate to say that the understandings demonstrated in conversations recorded between the years 2018-2019 are still how those participants perceive those particular topics.

#### 5.1.1 Level 0 ICA – Cultural Unawareness

This analysis differs from Baker's (2011, 2015), so the ICA model needed some adjustments to be applied coherently. The identification of this need resulted in the further development of the ICA model by including the description of more communicative practices that characterize the ICA levels to address the research goals of this study. Those adapted and expanded parameters were listed in the methodology chapter, section 3.5.5. Moreover, the three ICA levels proposed by Baker as a theoretical tool to distinguish the individual's ICA levels implies the likelihood that everyone will display some ICA level when dealing with cultural aspects in conversation. While cultural or intercultural awareness is likely to be displayed in answers to questions at interviews or questionnaires about intercultural communication, in naturally occurring conversations, there was a need to create an ICA level that is below Level 1.

*Level 0 ICA (LO ICA)* was added to the list of possible ICA levels displayed in conversation. Standing for cultural unawareness, *LO ICA* was used to account for situations where a speaker used a term or a paradigm particular to a linguaculture while behaving as if that given term/paradigm/practice were common knowledge to the other interlocutors. Those occurrences were identified where a speaker did not show acknowledgement of a cultural influence through explanations or definitions that would have made the linguacultural practices clearer to those of other linguacultural backgrounds. In the data analysis, *LO ICA* was found in the conversations below.



In ‘**Cold milk heats you up?**’ (1.3-15), when Esther introduces and explains the idea of chocolate milk being perfect for that day without demonstrating an awareness that the heating and cooling paradigm was not common knowledge to the group.

In ‘**Pudding is like pie. Is it that?**’ (1.1-6), when Ellen asks for confirmation that a pudding is a type of or similar to a pie, not showing awareness that the use of the term pudding could be a regional way of referring to something else, a feature of a linguaculture.

In ‘**I’m not a girl!**’ (.1-26), Lizzy disregards the possibility that there are other culturally legitimate ways to use the word ‘girl’ that differs from the understanding she expresses as common knowledge and appropriate.

Besides making ICA levels more encompassing, the addition of *L0 ICA* contributes to a more in-depth consideration of the effect that the lack of pre-emptive work can have on the unfolding of a conversation where a cultural topic is central. Now, the chart adapted and expanded <sup>10</sup>for this study to describe the communicative practices that characterise particular ICA Levels Assessment (section 3.5.5) at the utterance level has been expanded with the addition of *L0 ICA*:

<b>THE ICA ASSESSMENT CHART</b>	
<i>L0 ICA</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uses a term/paradigm/practice particular to a linguaculture while behaving as if that given term/paradigm/practice were common knowledge to the other interlocutors.</li> </ul>
<i>L1 ICA</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explains, expresses an opinion, or describes culture-related behaviours that stay at the stereotypical level.</li> <li>• Compares others’ “culturally induced behaviour[s], values, and beliefs” with their own, also at the stereotypical level.</li> <li>• Acknowledges the possibility of varied understandings due to cultural differences with demonstrations of agreement and/or interest in the topic.</li> </ul>
<i>L2 ICA</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognises that cultural norms are “relative”.</li> <li>• Besides acknowledging possible varied understandings due to cultural differences, those understandings are seen as “provisional and open to revision” (ibid.).</li> <li>• Highlights the common ground between specific cultures and predicts “mismatch and miscommunication”. In practice, the speaker adjusts his/her pronunciation (from another ‘local’ to a standard or the current ‘local’), and/or vocabulary (in terms of region or level of sophistication), and/or grammar (level of complexity, standardness or locality) to become more intelligible to interlocutors of other linguacultural backgrounds.</li> </ul>

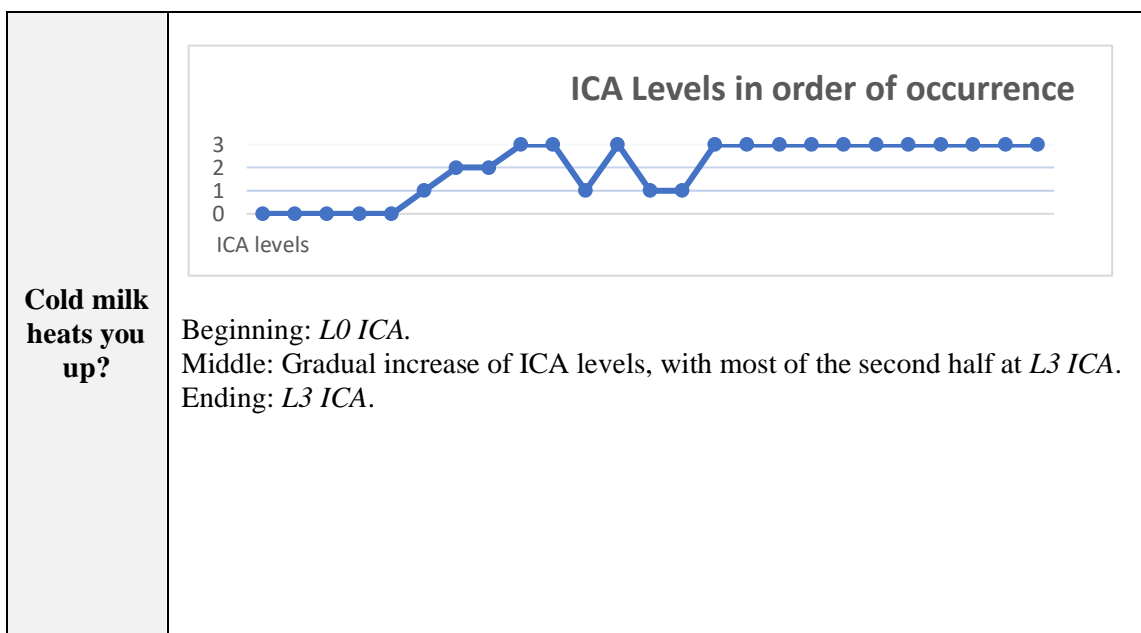
<sup>10</sup> As mentioned previously, this chart is heavily based on Baker (2011).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Avoids or rejects value judgements when comparing aspects of different cultural practices and artefacts.</li> <li>• Demonstrates awareness of heterogeneous understandings and/or practices within the same family, church, city, country and other social groups.</li> </ul>
<b>L3 ICA</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Refers to cultural groupings and their practices without fully subscribing to any of them or subscribing to more than one same type of affiliation (i.e. positioning oneself as a legitimate speaker of a second or foreign language, disregarding comparisons to ‘prestigious’ speakers of that language).</li> <li>• Engages with culture-based concepts as related to specific cultures but also moves beyond that understanding through “emergent and hybrid [communicative practices or accounts] of intercultural communication”.</li> <li>• Overtly defies linguacultural practices commonly ascribed to cultural groupings with whom one generally identifies. (i.e. a Brazilian individual who offers tea instead of coffee to guests).</li> <li>• Shows openness to and engagement in the mediation of fractioned, fluid, emergent, diverse understandings of the same topic.</li> <li>• Highlights or shows awareness of the role of experiential knowledge in one’s cultural understanding.</li> </ul>

Tablet 10

### 5.1.2 The ICA levels and the development of the Negotiations

Now, moving on to how the ICA levels displayed seem to have affected the development of the Negotiations, I will describe and discuss the patterns found at the beginning, middle, and ending of the conversations.



<p><b>Pudding is like pie, is it that?</b></p>	<div data-bbox="478 185 1410 461"> <p>ICA Levels in order of occurrence</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Point</th> <th>ICA Level</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>1</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>4</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>6</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>7</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>8</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>10</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>11</td><td>3</td></tr> </tbody> </table> </div> <p>Beginning: <i>L0 ICA</i>.  Middle: Starts with <i>L1 ICA</i> then goes up to <i>L3 ICA</i> with one drop before the end.  Ending: <i>L3 ICA</i>.</p>	Point	ICA Level	1	0	2	0	3	1	4	1	5	1	6	3	7	3	8	3	9	1	10	3	11	3																		
Point	ICA Level																																										
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<p><b>Kids is not nice to say</b></p>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <p>ICA Levels in order of occurrence</p> </div> <p>Beginning: <i>L1 ICA</i>.  Middle: Mostly at <i>L0 ICA</i>, intercalated displays of <i>L1, L2 and L3 ICA</i>.  Ending: <i>L3 ICA</i>, made of five displays in sequence.</p>
<p><b>I'm not a girl</b></p>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <p>ICA Levels in order of occurrence</p> </div> <p>Beginning: <i>L0 ICA</i>.  Middle: Predominance of <i>L1</i>, but <i>L2, L3, and L0 ICA</i> alternate equally.  Ending: <i>L3 and L2 ICA</i>.</p>
<p><b>A fart is trump</b></p>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <p>ICA Levels in order of occurrence</p> </div> <p>Beginning: <i>L3 ICA</i> from line 27.  Middle: <i>L3 ICA</i>.  Ending: <i>L3 ICA</i>.</p>

Table 11

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

In the seven conversations analysed, four conversations started at *L0 or L1 ICA*, marked by very low or no awareness of the existence or legitimacy of other possible understandings concerning those conversation topics. In two of the conversations with

lower ICA levels at the beginning, the complete lack of pre-emptive work to tackle possible misalignments of cultural understandings seems to have caused the need for Negotiation. In the other two, the speakers explained what they meant pre-emptively, and the Negotiation became about fine-tuning, co-constructing what the main speakers were attempting to communicate through the participation of the other interlocutors.

In **‘Cold Milk heats you up?’**, Esther displayed *L0 ICA* by saying, “hmm, and then there’s, of course, chocolate milk” (1.3). That statement is not considering that the other participants may not know why there is an “of course” attributed to that information.

In **‘Pudding is like pie, is it that?’**, Jamie demonstrates *L0 ICA* by not acknowledging that the use of pudding as a category is a cultural use of the word, not just a linguistic synonym of cake. In other words, “pudding” is not just another word for dessert. There was a blurry cultural aspect not being acknowledged at the very beginning of the Negotiation.

In **‘Kids is not nice to say’**, Paola displays *L1 ICA* by approaching Paul to clarify the unexpected implications of the term ‘kids’ in school. There is an awareness of other linguacultures, but at this point, it is not clear whether it is originated in the English language, in the British/English culture, or the school institutional culture.

In **‘I’m not a girl’**, Lizzy displays *L0 ICA* (1.1-3), where she is disregarding a possible diversity of understandings concerning the appropriate use of the term ‘girl(s)’. She does so by using the pronoun “we” when referring to how the whole social group she is part of or the group she is talking to, describing how they are all supposed to call females of a particular age.

Two Negotiations began with and were carried out entirely at *L3 ICA*. In **‘Matemba’**, Amber proposes ‘wake up’ as an English approximation to the Zimbabwean term she was about to introduce. That is a demonstration of *L3 ICA* as she shows intercultural awareness by pre-emptively explaining what Matemba means and using a phrasal verb in English that would denote a similar cultural meaning to the other interlocutors.

In **‘A fart is trump’**, Lana displays *L3 ICA* by connecting a word connotation for trump that is particular to the UK to the US 2016 presidential election. When Lana links those two contexts through the ‘fart’ meaning of the word ‘trump’, she resignifies both the British word and the presidential candidate’s name to that group of interlocutors with diverse linguacultural backgrounds. That communicative practice puts in evidence the emerging and liminal characteristics of intercultural communication.

Besides the Negotiations starting with low ICA levels and the ones that only had *L3 ICA*, there was one characterised by a clash of *L3 and L1 ICA* that triggered the Negotiation. It was in ‘**Not in this house**’, where Esther opened the conversation topic with the question, “what kind of tea?” (1.4), directed to Lana. This question is received by Lana as a transgression of linguacultural boundaries and comments on it, saying, “at home that’s all like normal tea” (1.22). The first utterance (1.4) is a display of *L3 ICA* for its outside-the-box characteristic, which is more in tune with the diversity of cultures in the room. Then, one can say this Negotiation started from the clash of those ICA levels, a type of post-trouble interaction that was not originated in a non-understanding per se, but in Lana’s desire to explore the differences of cultural understanding between her experience growing up and Esther’s practices concerning that topic.

According to this data, the unawareness of cultural differences on the topics seems to have caused the absence of pre-emptive work that would have tackled potential linguacultural misalignments before they became a communication problem. Corroborating with this interpretation is the evidence that the opposite happened where the Negotiation began at *L3 ICA*. Those conversations that began with a high ICA level were Negotiations where speakers showed awareness of cultural diversity by pre-emptively mediating between various linguacultural perspectives while, at times, also presenting liminal perspectives.

## THE MIDDLE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

The ICA levels between the first and the last displays in the seven conversations presented: two beginning and remaining at *L3 ICA*, four with a mixed middle, and one with a gradual increase of ICA levels. The analysis of the middle of the Negotiations shows that the displays of the participants’ awareness of other linguacultures fluctuated in sight of the expansion and/or relativisation of the topic in examples, explanations, tentative readings, and the testing of conceptual boundaries. In most cases when the fluctuation went downwards, from *L3 ICA* to *L0, L1 or L2 ICA*, the lower ICA levels were displays of resistance to the complexity proposed through the idea at *L3 ICA*. The gradual increase or sustaining of a high ICA level supports the criticism made by Matsuo (2012, 2015) about the problem of the centredness on the individual’s process in Byram’s ICC (1997), instead of on the process of interaction of different cultural repertoires. That is, those results exemplify how in and through intercultural Negotiation, one’s intercultural awareness on each topic is enhanced, complexified, beyond the observation

and comparison of the behaviours and communicative practices of “objectified” others (Matsuo, 2012:350).

In the analysis of naturally occurring data, it could be seen how the participants’ awareness of other ways of doing and being was affected by their interaction with nuanced realities. In this process, all interlocutors were agents of change, not only the ones whose linguacultural aspects originated the discussion. Another relevant finding is how *L3 ICA* would be replaced by a lower level primarily through opposition, a resistance to the complexification of the Negotiation. I will list the Negotiations that fit those ‘patterns of change’ and succinctly reiterate what was happening when the ICA levels were changing.

### **Gradual increase of ICA levels**

In ‘**Cold milk heats you up?**’, after Esther introduces the topic at *L0 ICA*, the new paradigm goes through an increase in complexity as its understanding is co-constructed during the conversation. First, the idea of heaty and cooling foods is associated with Esther’s mum and with Chinese thinking (*L1 ICA*). Then, Jamie, who knows Esther’s mum, understands this may be a misalignment caused by cultural differences and takes up the role of mediator, requesting further information (*L2 ICA*) (1.19). Then it goes up to *L3 ICA* for the first time when Esther conceptualises the paradigm as something you “sorta have to like feel” (1.28), and the experiential aspect is introduced as necessary to understand it. Therefore, understanding the new paradigm demands recognising it in one’s reality, which implies transgressing boundaries (liminality) and necessarily creating new meanings and understandings (the emerging aspect).

A brief *L1 ICA* generalisation (1.51) opposes the experiential aspect proposed right before it (*L3 ICA*) with an ‘us and them’ perspective and unclear discrimination of who ‘we’ are. Then, the Negotiation goes back to and mostly remains at *L3 ICA*, when the participants start to try out the new paradigm by applying the newly learnt understanding to their local context. Cultural boundaries are challenged in this process of application of the newly learned paradigm. It can be observed that a significant change in ICA levels happens from the introduction of the topic to the moment that the conversation is coming to an end.

## Mixed ICA Levels

In ‘**Pudding is like pie. Is it that?**’, after the topic is introduced through a display of *L0 ICA*, Esther mediates the Negotiation. She leads the participants on the journey of co-operatively understanding the difference between pudding and dessert. She does so at *L1 ICA* when she links that use of pudding to the English and points out through stereotypical generalisation that ice cream is also considered pudding by ‘people’ in England. The ICA Level increases and starts mainly alternating between *L3 and L2*, with participants trying to tell whether something is a dessert or a pudding based on personal experiential knowledge and the possibility of the preference between the terms being regional. Again, the experiential aspect of conceptualisation of a cultural understanding denotes Intercultural Awareness (*L3 ICA*) in its fluidity and emergent character. That proposal is confronted by Jamie’s resistance (1.65-7) to liminality as he insists on only one way of using the word (*L1 ICA*). However, the ICA level goes back to *L3* when Lana proposes the possibility that ‘pudding’ is both experiential and regional (1.60-1), which denotes the existence of groups within groups (regions within a country) and points out a topic in which they may differ, characterising displays of *L3 ICA*.

Moreover, in ‘**I’m not a girl!**’, after Lizzy states her opinion about calling young females over 18 ‘girls’, she strengthens her argument by personalising the context of use of the term, “if you can call daddy boy, you can call me girl” (1.33) (*L3 ICA*). In this Negotiation, the alternation of ICA levels happened primarily due to personal examples mixed with the underlying discussion of gender equality, which made the linguacultural perspectives more nuanced and situated. When the participants referred to their interpretation of specific situations they generally experience, they expressed their awareness of their own linguaculture, and primarily while defending those are the only ways ‘girl’ should be used. There are a couple of moments when the ICA levels went to *L2* and *L3* because, whether consciously or not, they were distancing themselves more from the ‘common knowledge’ argument that the term ‘girls’ has to be understood and used the same way by everyone.

In ‘**Not in this house!**’, as explored previously, this Negotiation begins with the clash of *L3* and *L2 ICA* displays about how one offers and takes their tea. Then, the middle of it is marked mainly by alternations between *L1* and *L3 ICA*, with some sequences of *L2* as well. The occurrences of *L1 ICA* were mentions of other linguacultures (Italian, Brazilian Portuguese, and communicative practices in Spain) from a stereotypical (fixed) perspective. The *L3 ICA* displays were characterised by reported



and current disruptions of London's culturally expected communicative practices concerning the topic.

'**Kids is not nice to say**' begins at *L1 ICA* but drops to *L0 ICA* for eight displays, followed by fluctuations mostly between *L2 and L3 ICA*. The cultural unawareness level in this Negotiation is mainly displayed through generalising assumptions that do not acknowledge that differences in its use and perception might be cultural. The nuances acknowledged through *L2 ICA* were the contextual possibilities, which included the generational gaps, and a teacher's certificate guidelines. The *L3 ICA* occurred where the participants acknowledged personal experience as their source of linguaculture concerning their understanding of the word 'kids' ' appropriateness.

### **Constant high ICA Level**

In '**Matemba**', Amber and other participants who joined her in the co-construction of the cultural understanding of the Zimbabwean proverb stayed at *L3 ICA* throughout the Negotiation. After she introduced "wake up" as an approximate translation of the message in the proverb that she was pre-emptively explaining, she got support from other participants, who offered more examples of approximations. Those were demonstrations of *L3 ICA* because individuals of varied linguacultural backgrounds used the English language to mediate the cultural divide between the Matemba proverb and those sitting in that room in London. Besides, there is a liminal demonstration of linguacultural membership where Amber identifies herself as a (legitimate) speaker of English while also asking for confirmation of what the metaphorical use of the expression 'wake up' means (1.15). It shows that one can feel like they are part of a group of speakers to a certain extent while not subscribing to all the benefits and characteristics of that group, such as being sure about the shared understanding of a frequently used phrase.

In '**A fart is trump**', the Negotiation of cultural understanding starts from the middle of the conversation with a display of *L3 ICA* (1.27-9). The following demonstrations of ICA levels stay at *L3 ICA* and are characterised by how the implications of 'trump' meaning 'fart' connect the British English linguaculture to the 2016 US presidential elections. The characterisation of *L3 ICA* is in the deterritorialisation of the term 'trump' to function as the expression of a political view in the US with relevance to the Londoners at that particular conversation.

## THE ENDING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

Most Negotiations ended with displays of *L3 ICA*. Now, I will explain why the ending of most conversations can be considered *L3 ICA* and what that means to the outcome of the Negotiations.

‘**Cold milk heats you up?**’ ends with Jamie trying to test the boundaries of applying the paradigm they were talking about during the Negotiation. It is an *L3 ICA* display because he is challenging the new paradigm beyond the national borders that were already disregarded in the middle of the conversation. The stretching of possibilities is no longer about Chinese thinking or the heating and cooling foods in English cuisine. It can be observed that he is already engaging with the new concept to the extent of trying to subvert it by checking how malleable and adaptable it is. The emergent/creative aspect of his utterance draws this Negotiation to an end, where the new paradigm belongs to the participants and is shaped according to their particular needs and curiosities.

‘**Pudding is like pie, is it that?**’ ends with a “yes” (1.70), which agrees with the previous statement, “and you just don’t want to confuse anyone. They just never use pudding as the generic term” (1.68-9). Those are *L3 ICA* displays because they recognise the complexity, fluidity, circumstantiality, regionality, and experiential aspect of knowing and using the term pudding proposed by Jamie at the beginning of the conversation. That perspective shapes the conversation, which started as a linguistic clarification attempt into a very plural linguacultural use and understanding of the term discussed.

‘**Not in this house**’ ends with a statement (1.94-5) at *L3 ICA*, recognising that, no matter what the national culture is concerning tea and coffee offering and drinking, other factors will affect people’s communicative practices. In this case, Paola was referring to the fact that customers can have whatever type of coffee or tea they want because they are paying for it. Therefore, there is a relativisation of what happens in Italy, in her case. Boundaries of those communicative practices become blurred, fluid and, consequently, more flexible. There is an expanded understanding of possible practices concerning that topic combined with the flexibility about how those aspects play out in real life. Paola's observation also reinforces the lack of real-life validity of those customs already pointed out by Lana (1.68).

‘**Matemba**’ ends with “I hope you get it” as a display of *L3 ICA*, which is Amber’s acknowledgement of the participants’ linguacultural backgrounds' diversity, also functions as an indirect invitation for feedback on what she had just attempted to explain. She is taking a mediator role and using the English language as a tool to achieve

her communicative goal. Her awareness of diversity among the participants leads Amber to check, despite the variety of approximations/synonyms provided, if there may still be room for difficulties in comprehending the Zimbabwean proverb explained. At the end of this Negotiation, the participants seemed satisfied with the co-constructed understanding they had of the proverb, which were expanded rather than simply translated through the English synonyms provided as semantic approximators.

**'I'm not a girl!'** technically ends with *L2 ICA*, which denotes an advanced cultural awareness with the acknowledgement of layers of heterogeneity within linguacultures. This conversation ends with the (seemingly unnoticed) contradiction of the main argument, when an L1 speaker of English appropriates of a term of another linguaculture (French) to support the argument that the term 'girls' is not appropriate for referring to adult females. In this process, Paul's flexible and liminal communicative practice concerning a word in French went against what he and Lizzy were arguing others should not do with the word 'girl', namely, to use it in the description of females with a looser sense of age boundaries. This was not a case of *L3 ICA* because both Lizzy and Paul did not go beyond their acknowledgement that another linguaculture allows for more flexible age-related understandings concerning the addressing of women. While they provided evidence that languages have different linguacultural parameters, they did not recognise the legitimacy of the effect of differences in the use of English in or from other contexts or repertoires.

**'A fart is trump'** ended with "good" (1.55), an evaluation of the new understanding of the term 'trump', which developed in the conversation into the expression of a political view. With this evaluative statement, Juliana conveys her own views by approving the political stand of Lana's friends. The display of *L3 ICA* is in the resignifying of the word 'trump' to make it a tool for the demonstration of a political stand that goes beyond the American political context. In that Negotiation, the approval of the association of 'trump' with 'fart' is an ideological stand that is not bound to a specific linguaculture or nation.

**'Kids is not nice to say'** ends at *L3 ICA* because the characteristic *L2 ICA* display features a supporting exemplification for the previous *L3 ICA*. In line 73, Dwaine displays *L3 ICA* when he points out the relevance that the context has in legitimising the appropriateness of the term 'street children' instead of 'street kids'. Then, the example provided by Amber about the communicative practices about this topic in Zimbabwe strengthens Dwaine's point. It expands the participants' views concerning the topic, leaving the discussion more nuanced and open-ended.

In sum, the endings of the extracts were characterised by high ICA levels, in which six out of seven were *L3 ICA*. That is, in most cases, the conversations were drawn to a close only after the topic was expanded to the point there was no right or wrong, just a variety of possibilities. In other cases, the intercultural understandings discussed were made clearer via semantic layers added in cooperation with other interlocutors. This finding shows that the semantic layering of the topics marked the success of the Negotiations. In practice, in the end, the participants seemed more concerned about understanding each other's views than about agreeing on a single shared perspective. The fact that these two faith-based communities of practice had the goal of deepening their connection with each other should be considered a possible reason why diversity of thinking was dealt with positively. Had this been a business setting or in any other context of interaction with high stakes, as analysed in Cogo (2012), the unfolding of the Negotiations might have been significantly different.

## 5.2 The relation between the pragmatic strategies and the displays of ICA levels

This section will outline the patterns of the identified pragmatic strategies to interpret how the ICA levels were expressed at the utterance level. The examination of the data below will provide a picture of what was happening within and around the displays of ICA levels during the Negotiations and deepen our understanding of how ICA levels are communicated and responded to when it comes to pragmatic strategies.

### 5.2.1 The strategies that initiated the Negotiations

Like in the investigation of the interplay of ICA levels, examining the use of pragmatic strategies in those Negotiations rendered the identification of a few relevant interactional patterns. To start from the beginning(s), the participants did not 'let' the non-understandings 'pass' and tackled blurry concepts with *clarification requests*. The presence of a clarification request marked five beginnings of the Negotiations that were triggered by non-understandings.

What the clarification requests had in common was the low level of ICA, *L0* or *L1*, or being a Negotiation of linguistic understanding, as it is the case in the extract 'A fart is trump'. The other four beginnings were characterised by pre-emptive work to introduce/share/discuss a (new) cultural understanding. They presented a pattern in the

use of metadiscursive *code glossing, illocutionary act, and exemplification* – sometimes a number of them combined in one utterance.

<b>Non-understandings with CLARIFICATION REQUESTS</b>		
<b>Conversation &amp; Line</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>ICA Levels</b>
Heating and cooling (1.6)	Reduced Metadiscursive Code Glossing	0
Heating and cooling (1.19)	Meta. Illocutionary Act	2
Pudding is like pie (1.6)	Discourse Marker	0
Kids is not nice to say (1.1)	Meta. Illocutionary Act	1
Kids is not nice to say (1.2)	Represent	1
A fart is trump (1.1)	Specific Query	-
<b>Pre-emptive work with METADISCOURSE</b>		
<b>Conversation &amp; Line</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>ICA Levels</b>
Matemba (1.8)	Illocutionary Act + Exemplification	3
A fart is trump (1.27-9)	Discourse Marker + Illocutionary Act + Code Glossing + Evaluation	3
I'm not a girl (1.1-3)	Evaluation + Illocutionary Act + Code Glossing	0
<b>Pre-emptive work with CLARIFICATION REQUEST</b>		
<b>Conversation &amp; Line</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>ICA Levels</b>
Not in this house (1.4)	Specific Query	3

Table 12

Some of the Negotiating process initiations are repeated because in “**A fart is trump**”, there were two Negotiations, and, in ‘**Kids is not nice to say**’, two clarification requests were used sequentially, with only one denoting an ICA level. As underscored in the literature review, the clarification requests presented by Björkman (2014) and Kaur (2010) were expressed in the form of ‘specific enquiries’ and ‘other-repetition’, respectively. In this study, new strategies identified as expressing the function of clarification requests were found: metadiscourse and discourse markers. Specific enquiries were called ‘specific queries’ because they can be considered a type of ‘query’ like the already established ‘generic and minimal queries’ (Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Cogo and Pitzl (2016). Moreover, the term ‘*reduced*’ metadiscursive code glossing was used to describe utterances where metadiscursive conceptualisation is expressed through a shorter form, without using metadiscursive terms of definition (i.e. means, stands for).

Although the lower ICA levels had already been signalled as a potential underlying cause for culturally-based non-understandings, the new information here is the relation between those low ICA levels and the use of clarification requests to begin a Negotiation. That is, five out of six clarification requests were used to signal non-

understandings within contexts of *L0 or L1 ICA* at the beginning of Negotiations. Even the *L2 ICA* in ‘**Cold milk heats you up?**’ was a mediation effort that was a response to a sequence of five displays of *L0 ICA*, where the fact the interactants were unaware they were discussing a cultural topic seemed to be part of the communication problem. However, the pre-emptive clarification request is an example of how this strategy was also used in pre-emptive work that denoted a high ICA level. The conclusion is that clarification requests were used to respond to low ICA levels and display high ICA levels.

Likewise, there is a predominance of metadiscourse in the pre-emptive work of Negotiation. This finding indicates a characteristic explanation attached to introducing culture-related content that the participants were aware could be new to the other interlocutors. The ones that displayed *L3 ICA* presented the topics as fluid and Negotiable, generally through linguacultural approximations and personalisation. Both approximations (examples) and personalisation allowed space in the concept for the particularities of the situated meanings to bridge the divide between the new concept and the interlocutor’s frames of reference.

For instance, the metaphorical “wake up” in ‘**Matemba**’ was an exemplification that aimed to approximate the linguacultural repertoire of the interlocutors to the metaphorical meaning of the Zimbabwean proverb. The clarification request that displayed *L0 ICA* explained a view of a linguacultural item in a more rigid, monolithic way, which did not allow for any other legitimate possibilities of use and understanding. This finding showed that not every linguacultural topic brought up in an interaction composed of multilingual speakers will cause a communication issue. Once a speaker is aware of possible intercultural misalignments of understandings, those views can be Negotiated pre-emptively and smoothly, lessening the probability of non-/misunderstandings.

### 5.2.2 The pragmatic strategies in the displays of ICA levels

PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES IN THE DISPLAYS OF ICA LEVELS

Strategies	Cold milk heats you up?	Pudding is like pie. Is it that?	Not in this house	Matemba	Kids is not nice to say	I’m not a girl	A fart is Trump	TOTAL

Metadiscourse Booster	L0	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>L0</b>
Metadiscourse Justification	L0	-	L1 L3	-	L3	-	-	<b>L0 L1 L3x2</b>
Metadiscourse Illocutionary Act	L1 L2	L1	L1 L2x2 L3x3	L3x3	L0x2 L1x2 L2x3 L3x4	L0x4 L1x4 L2x6 L3x4	L3x4	<b>L0x2 L1x9 L2x13 L3x18</b>
Metadiscourse Illocutionary Intent	L3	-	L1	L3	L2x2	L1	-	<b>L1x2 L2x2 L3x2</b>
Metadiscourse Evaluation	L0	-	L3	-	L0x4 L2	L0 L2x2	L3x4	<b>L0x6 L2x3 L3x5</b>
Metadiscourse Exemplification	L1x3 L2	-	L2x2 L3x2	L3x6	L2 L3	L0 L2x5 L3x2	-	<b>L0 L1x3 L2x9 L3x11</b>
(Reduced) Metadiscourse Code Glossing	L0 L3x2	L1x2 L2	L1x2	-	L0x2	L0 L1	L3	<b>L0x4 L1x5 L2 L3x3</b>
Metadiscourse Interpretation	L3	-	L3	-	L3	L0	-	<b>L0 L3x3</b>
Metadiscourse Mediation	L2	L1	-	-	-	-	-	<b>L1 L2</b>
Metadiscourse Specificity	-	L1	-	-	-	-	-	<b>L1</b>
Epistemic Hedge	L2 L3x2	L1x2	-	-	-	-	L3	<b>L1x2 L2 L3x3</b>
Interpersonal Hedge	L1 L2	L2	L1 L2	-	L0 L2	-	-	<b>L0 L1x2 L2x4</b>
Comprehension Check	L3x7	L0	L1	L3	-	L0	-	<b>L0x2 L1 L3x8</b>
Clarification Request	L0 L2	L0	L1 L3x2	-	-	-	-	<b>L0x2 L1 L2 L3x2</b>
Backchannel of Agreement	L3x2	L3	L1x2 L3x2	L3x3	L0x4 L1 L3x2	L0x2 L1x2 L2x2	L3	<b>L0x6 L1x5 L2x2 L3x10</b>
Backchannel of Amusement	L3	-	-	-	-	-	L3	<b>L3</b>
Self-repair	-	-	-	L3x2	-	-	-	<b>L1 L3x2</b>
Self-repetition (Emphasis)	L1	-	L3x2	-	L0x3 L3	L1	-	<b>L0x3 L1x2</b>

								<b>L3x3</b>
Self-repetition (Disfluency)	L3	L1x2	L1x2	-	L3	L2x3	-	<b>L1x4 L2x3 L3x2</b>
Other- repetition (Rephrasing)	-	-	-	-	L0	-	-	<b>L0</b>
Other-repair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Represent	-	L3	L1 L3	L3	L0	L1	-	<b>L0 L1x2 L3x3</b>
Competitive Overlap	L1	-	-	-	-	L1 L2x2	L3	<b>L1x2 L2x2 L3</b>
Cooperative Overlap	-	-	L3x2	L3	L0x2 L3	L1	-	<b>L0x2 L1x2 L3x4</b>
Completion Overlap	-	-	-	-	L2	-	-	<b>L2</b>
Discourse Marker	-	L0	L1 L2 L3x3	L3	-	-	L3x6	<b>L0 L1 L2 L3x10</b>
Specific Query	-	-	L3	-	-	-	-	<b>L3</b>
Utterance Completion	-	-	-	-	L1	-	-	<b>L1</b>

Table 13

L0 = Level 0 ICA, L1 = Level 1 ICA, L2 = Level 2 ICA, L3 = Level 3 ICA  
L0,1,2,3= occurred once, x2= occurred twice, x3= occurred 3 times, xn= occurred n times.

In interpreting the use of strategies in displays of ICA levels, I will consider the combination of occurrences at *L0 and L1 ICA* as low and the ones in *L2 and L3 ICA* as high. According to the table above, *Metadiscourse* was the most common pragmatic strategy deployed in the displays of ICA levels. Among the metadiscursive strategies, Illocutionary Acts occurred forty-two times, displaying L0x2, L1x9, L2x13, L3x18, with variations of the words or phrases: say, ask for, ask, call, tell, talk about, refer to, am/is/are like (colloquialism), indicating a significant predominance of their use to express higher ICA levels, *L3 and L2*. This finding shows that higher ICA levels were often demonstrated through ‘reported illocutions’ that described how others said things and the function of those things in the conversation (question, explanation, definition, request).

The *Metadiscursive Exemplifications* were used fourteen times, and mainly in L3x11, followed by L2x9, L1x5, and L0. The participants attempted to make their new paradigms clearer through examples, either in a pre-emptive move or in a post-trouble



Negotiation of a non-understanding. The high-level ICA examples added layers of complexity to the concepts being Negotiated, with no example carrying the same semantic qualities of the concept that was being explained. So, in most cases, the participants used examples to clarify the new linguacultural item while keeping it fluid.

The fluidity of this process could be seen in the deployment of a locally relevant example to help others understand a foreign concept that could only be interpreted through semantic approximation. Consequently, the inevitable inaccuracy of an approximation invited more Negotiation, which enriched the co-constructed understandings of the meanings being Negotiated. Those exemplifications could be seen more substantially in '**Cold milk heats you up**', '**Pudding is like pie. Is it that?**', '**I'm not a girl**' and in '**Matemba**'.

However, there were occasions where *L0 and L1 ICA* were conveyed through examples. First, the three *L1 ICA* occurred in '**Cold milk heats you up?**' when Esther provided examples of 'English foods' to explain what she meant when she generalised that English food is heating (1.65-6). Second, *L0 ICA* in '**I'm not a Girl**' (1.55), where the interlocutor shows awareness of her own linguacultural repertoire without showing that other ways of viewing the topic are also legitimate.

*Metadiscursive code glossing* was used fourteen times with a slight concentration on the lower ICA levels, L0x4, L1x5, L2, L3x3. It shows that the participants made use of explicit conceptualisation of things/ideas/practices at all levels of ICA but seemed to have done it more often when displaying lower ICA. Further focused studies would be necessary to verify if this pattern is truly relevant to lower ICA characterisation. That is, if speakers tend to code gloss more when expressing a less interculturally aware view of a concept.

There were also fourteen occurrences of *Metadiscursive Evaluation* in L0x6, L2x3 and L3x5. The participants expressed metadiscursive evaluations at both low and high ICA levels with a slight concentration on the high levels. When considering the role of this strategy in the display of ICA, it is crucial to do so with the caveat that expressing an opinion usually comes with the burden of partiality, which may inaccurately convey an inflexible take on something. Another methodological approach and more focused investigation on this matter would be needed to better understand to what extent the participants' understandings of those topics are indeed a display of unidimensional, static thinking or just an emphatic position that is situationally expressed in such a way.

The *Backchannels of Agreement* were used twenty-three times and were evenly spread across the ICA levels – L3x10, L2x2, L1x5, L0x6. They were occasions where an

ICA Level was demonstrated by mirroring the previous one when agreeing with it. So, as a result, it would be correct to say that demonstrations of agreement were not used more towards any particular range of ICA levels. It is not clear whether agreeing was a way to support the talk or express one's positioning regarding some information. This is another research path to be pursued through a more focused study.

As for the pragmatic strategies that composed *displays of L0 ICA*, given its few occasions of use, it was only possible to identify a relevant pattern of non-occurrence. Utterances with metadiscursive illocutionary intent, mediation, specificity, epistemic hedges, self-repetition (emphasis and disfluency), self-repair, competitive overlap, and specific query were not deployed in *L0 ICA*. Possibly, the non-acknowledgement of cultural differences may have resulted in the lack of efforts towards the elaboration of a more precise definition that would include questions targeting specific information, metadiscursive explaining, the need for epistemically hedging those ideas, and a more heightened engagement that could be displayed via competitive and completion overlaps.

### 5.2.3 Pragmatic strategies in the responses to ICA levels

#### PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES IN THE RESPONSES TO ICA LEVELS

Strategies	Cold milk heats you up?	Pudding is like pie. Is it that?	Not in this house	Matemba	Kids is not nice to say	I'm not a girl	A fart is Trump	TOTAL
Backchannel of Amusement	L0x6 L1x6 L3x8	L1x7 L3	L1x2 L2x5 L3x2	L3x3	-	L1x8 L3x5	L1 L3x4	<b>L0x6</b> <b>L1x23</b> <b>L2x5</b> <b>L3x23</b>
Backchannel of Understanding	L3x2	L1x3 L3	L1	L3x4	L0	L2x2 L3	-	<b>L0</b> <b>L1x4</b> <b>L2x2</b> <b>L3x8</b>
Wait-and-see Backchannel	L2x2 L3	L1	L1	L3x6	L0 L2x2 L3x2	L0x2 L1x3	-	<b>L0</b> <b>L1x4</b> <b>L2x4</b> <b>L3x10</b>
Backchannel of Agreement	L1 L3x5	L1	L2	-	L0x2	L0x2 L1x4 L3	L3x2	<b>L0x4</b> <b>L1x6</b> <b>L2</b> <b>L3x8</b>

Metadiscursive Booster	L3x2	-	-	-	-	-	-	L3x2
Metadiscursive Justification	L1	-	-	-	L0	-	L3x2	L0 L1 L3x2
Metadiscursive Illocutionary Act	L3	L1x3	L1x4	-	L0 L1 L3x3	L2	-	L0 L1x8 L2 L3x4
Metadiscursive Illocutionary Intent	-	L1	L1x2	-	-	L0	-	L0 L1x3
Metadiscursive Evaluation	L3x2	L1x3	L1x3 L2 L3	L3	L1x2 L0	L3		L0 L1x8 L2 L3x5
Metadiscursive Exemplification	L2x2 L3x3	L1x2	L1x2 L3	-	-	L3	L3	L1x4 L2x2 L3x6
Metadiscursive Code Glossing	L3x2	-	L1	-	L0 L1 L2x2	L0 L1x2 L3x2	L3	L0x2 L1x4 L2x2 L3x5
Metadiscursive Interpretation	-	L1	-	L3	L0	L0 L1	-	L0x2 L1x2 L3
Metadiscursive Mediation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Metadiscursive Specificity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Epistemic Hedge	-	L1	L1	-	L0	L1x2 L3x2	-	L0 L1x4 L3x2
Interpersonal Hedge	L3	L1	-	-	L0	-	-	L0 L2
Comprehension Check	-	-	L1	L3	L0 L2 L3	L0 L3	L3x2	L0x2 L1 L2 L3x5
Clarification Request	L3	L1x3	-	-	L1x3 L2	-	-	L1x6 L2 L3
Other-repetition (Other-repair)	-	-	-	-	-	L3	L3	L3x2
Represent	L3	L2	L1 L3x2	L3	L1x2	L1	L3	L1x4 L2 L3x5
Self-repetition (Self-repair)	-	-	L3	L3x2	L1	-	-	L1 L3x3

Self-repetition (Emphasis)	L3x2	-	L2x2	-	L0x2 L2	L3	L3	<b>L0x2 L2x3 L3x4</b>
Self-repetition (Disfluency)	L1x2 L3	-	-	-	L3	-		<b>L1x2 L3x3</b>
Competitive Overlap	L3	L1x2	L1x4 L2	-	L0	L3	-	<b>L0 L1x6 L2 L3x2</b>
Cooperative Overlap	L0 L1x2  L3x3	L1x4	L2 L3	L3x2	L0 L2	L0x2 L1x6	L3	<b>L0x4 L1x12 L2x2 L3x5</b>
Completion Overlap	-	L1	-	-	-	-	-	<b>L1</b>
Discourse Marker	L3x2	L1	-	L3	L0x2 L1 L2 L3x4	L2 L3x2	?	<b>L0x2 L1x2 L2x2 L3x10</b>
Short Response	L3x3	-	-	L3x3	L0x2 L2x2	L0	L3x3	<b>L0x3 L2x2 L3x9</b>
General Query	-	-	-	-	L2	-	-	<b>L2</b>
Utterance Completion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>-</b>

Table 14

The most used strategies in response to ICA levels were backchannels, metadiscourse, repetitions, and overlaps. First in the rank was the category *backchannel of amusement*, which was found fifty-seven times at L0x6, L1x23, L2x5, and L3x23. *L3 ICA* and *L1 ICA* were the ones most responded to with laughter. In those responses to *L3 ICA*, there was a common denominator found. On all of those occasions, laughter occurred after either the application of the new term/paradigm, or attempts to stretch those concepts, or acknowledging the slipperiness of the term. In those situations, it could be interpreted that the participants showed support to the interlocutors who were bringing new cultural paradigms and aspects in a nuanced manner by letting him/her know how much they were understanding while he/she was attempting to explain things. There was also a frequent presence of laughter in response to displays of stereotypical or unilateral cultural views (*L1 ICA*).

Along with cooperative overlaps and backchannels of agreement, laughter was one of the most obvious ways the participants expressed their support of each other's talk and built rapport. It materialised the relaxing and friendly atmosphere described in the interviews and questionnaires. This strategy of talk management did not only express the

relational aspect of the interaction but also prompted the interlocutors to continue talking, which led the participants to further Negotiation of the topics.

The *backchannels of understanding* that followed displays of ICA levels were fifteen, and deployed after L0, L1x4, L2x2, L3x8, which means they were displayed more often after *L3 ICA*. This practice denoted a tendency to show support and provide feedback on the effectiveness of explaining the linguacultural concepts being discussed, especially when the topics were being approached via a higher level of complexity and flexibility.

*Metadiscursive evaluations* occurred fifteen times after L0, L1x8, L2, and L3x5. The lower ICA levels combined received about 33% more metadiscursive evaluations than the higher levels. The responses to *L0 ICA* had in common that the participants were treating a cultural topic as a linguistic one. The eight evaluations after *L1 ICA* occurred in response to stereotypical remarks and generalisations at the national level, generally complaining about how difficult it was to understand how the concept being Negotiated worked.

*Overlaps* were used by participants thirty-five times. The completion overlaps only happened once. However, there were eleven competitive overlaps at L0, L1x6, L2, L3x2, and twenty-two were cooperative overlaps at L0x4, L1x12, L2x2, and L3x5. In both types of overlaps, the strategy was used more often after lower ICA levels, with a more significant discrepancy in the competitive overlaps, which indicated the competition for the floor when the encounter of linguacultures was not being treated as a complex matter. There were also more cooperative than competitive overlaps, 2/3, showing the participants' active engagement through overlap was, frequency wise, more supportive than antagonistic. This incidence of cooperative communicative practices is congruent with the friendly atmosphere described by the participants in the interviews and questionnaire answers and contributed to the Negotiations by keeping the conversation going with engagement and excitement.

*Represents* were also particularly common in the responses to ICA levels. There were 11 occurrences, which were at L1x4, L2 and L3x6. They were primarily used after extremes of the ICA levels, *L1 and L3*, and had different functions. The most common function was agreement and alignment (Cogo and House, 2018:214) with seven occurrences. Then, three signalled that something is correct (Mauranen, 2012:222) and two where a representative was used for clarification (Cogo and House 2018:214).

Functions of Represents in responses to ICA levels		
Cold milk heats you up	1.73 ( <i>L3 ICA</i> )	signalling it is correct
Pudding is like pie	1.61 ( <i>L2 ICA</i> )	clarification
Not in this house	1.8 ( <i>L3 ICA</i> ) 1.41 ( <i>L1 ICA</i> ) 1.98 ( <i>L3 ICA</i> )	agreement and alignment agreement and alignment agreement and alignment
Matemba	1.16 ( <i>L3 ICA</i> )	signalling it is correct
Kids is not nice to say	1.2 ( <i>L1 ICA</i> ) 1.18 ( <i>L1 ICA</i> ) 1.19 ( <i>L1 ICA</i> )	clarification agreement and alignment agreement and alignment
I'm not a girl	1.14 ( <i>L0 ICA</i> ) 1.22 ( <i>L1 ICA</i> )	agreement and alignment agreement and alignment
A fart is trump	1.33 ( <i>L3 ICA</i> )	signalling it is correct

Table 15

When it comes to the interplay between ICA levels and represents, it can be seen in the table above that the *L1*, *L2* and *L3 ICA* happened before the participants used repetition to express that something said was correct or to ask for clarification. This fact may indicate that displays of some level of intercultural awareness prompted the participants to use other-repetition to provide feedback on the correctness of what was being said (3x) or to ask for clarification (2x). The represents that expressed agreement and alignment occurred mainly after *L1* and *L3 ICA*, with only one *L0 ICA*, indicating a preference to show agreement with one of the ends of the spectrum in (inter)cultural awareness – either agreeing on stereotypical (generalising) views or with flexible, subversive, or liminal approaches to meaning.

### Summary

Through Negotiation, the participants' understandings of a topic were complexified, and deeper social connections were built as they skillfully used pragmatic strategies that created a space for differing perspectives to co-exist. While there were moments of resistance, the participants generally allowed each other to express their views whether they were stereotypical, disregarding plurality, or more liminal, flexible and fractioned. In addition, there was a willingness to hear and engage with each other's views to deepen their friendships. This study has also added to previous works on faith-based communication (McNamee, 2011; Fader, 2006; Poloma, 1997), as it revealed aspects of the communication among CoPs members that were not part of the senior leadership of

the broader church community. It also expands the interactional contexts of ELF research, which had not included faith communities to the present date.

Above, I also analysed how strategic communicative choices in and around the displays of ICA affected the development of the Negotiations. The most relevant findings showed that the Negotiations initiated with pre-emptive work were characterised mainly by the use of metadiscursive strategies, with only one exception of a clarification request. Those pre-emptive strategies displayed (mostly) a high ICA level, expressing the awareness of the importance of explicitly and/or critically positioning oneself concerning culture-related topics to avoid communication misalignments. In the only case of pre-emptive work displaying *L0 ICA*, the participant seemed unaware that she was entering a 'cultural territory' when she explained her views. The occasions with post-trouble work were marked by the precedence of low ICA levels (*L0 or L1*), which were engaged with utilising clarification requests of different forms.

In the display of ICA levels, talk about the talk (*metadiscourse*) was the most used strategy, with most illocutionary acts and exemplifications featuring in the display of high ICA levels (*L2 and L3*). The utterances where participants were defining something were found more often in displays of low ICA levels (*L0 and L1*). The expression of agreement also displayed ICA levels by mirroring their immediate previous utterances. Their predominant presence after high ICA levels indicated a greater desire to show agreement when heterogeneity or fluidity had been expressed. When it comes to displays of *L0 ICA*, it was observed that they could not be found in particular strategies.

The way the participants used pragmatic strategies in response to displays of ICA presented a majority of *backchanneling* strategies, among which laughter (amusement) stood out as expressions of support of the talk and enjoyment. Backchannels of understanding were the second most deployed, especially in response to demonstrations of higher ICA levels. Another relevant piece of data is that metadiscursive evaluations were used twice as many times to provide evaluative feedback when the topic was handled in a very generalising manner. Finally, overlaps featured prominently, with a majority of cooperative overlap instances, in which the participants were showing a high degree of engagement and establishing a relaxing atmosphere of interaction.

Overall, it was possible to observe that the ICA levels that triggered the Negotiations showed patterns of pragmatic strategies and seemed to impact how the Negotiation unfolded in terms of how much complexity of cultural understandings featured in the discussion. When the Negotiations (not necessarily the conversation) began with lower ICA levels (*L0 or L1*), the development (middle) of the conversation

showed a fluctuation of ICA levels. When it started pre-emptively at *L3 ICA*, it was carried out entirely at the same level until the end. Those patterns revealed that whether a Negotiation is initiated pre-emptively at a high ICA level or post-trouble after a low ICA level may affect how it is handled from that moment. Inside the Negotiations with oscillation of ICA levels, some demonstrations of discursive resistance to more complex and liminal positionings were identified, which explained why the ICA level would decline from *L3 to L2, L1*, or even to *L0*. However, maybe the most significant finding is that the participants seemed satisfied or happy to move on from the Negotiations when they were at *L2 or L3 ICA*. In other words, the Negotiations ended when the cultural understandings had been stretched and destabilised and/or acknowledged as liminal, situated or temporary, when the conversations were no longer about agreeing but about understanding each other's views and practices.



## 6 Conclusion

In this exploratory case study, I approached naturally occurring conversations with the combination of theoretical constructs adapted to investigate the existence of patterns that deepened our understanding of Intercultural Awareness (ICA) in ELF communication. While these findings cannot be generalised, they constitute an empirical base for expanding the theory I drew on to examine the interrelations between ICA levels and pragmatic strategies in the unfolding of Negotiations of cultural understandings. Moreover, this theoretical expansion, substantiated with conversation data analysis, points to new paths of investigation that can overlap with areas of interests in intercultural communication, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, cultural studies, anthropological linguistics and language pedagogy.

Besides expanding the ICA levels (Baker, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2018) to include Level 0 ICA for ICA assessment at the utterance level, this thesis brings three main contributions to intercultural communication through ELF by answering the research questions proposed. First, the data shows that the ICA level that initiates a Negotiation may impact how the participants work out the diversity of views as the conversation unfolds. So, an immediate question that departs from this finding is whether, in other contexts, one would also have a greater chance of establishing a more flexible and constructive Negotiation of cultural understandings by beginning those discussions at *L2 or L3 ICA*. Based on this hypothesis, new studies can be conducted to investigate whether pre-emptive behaviours, the acknowledgement of legitimate heterogeneity, and the awareness that language and culture are Complex Adaptive Systems (Larsen-Freeman, 2007, 2018) could foster better intercultural (personal or business) relationships.

Second, all the conversations analysed ended at a high level of ICA (*L2 or L3*) indicated that the Negotiations of cultural understanding were dropped or drawn to a close when the heterogeneity and complexity of understandings were acknowledged and/or accepted as unavoidable. Again, identifying this pattern at the end of Negotiations that had the overarching goal of deepening relationships can be relevant to studies that will tackle international and intra-national intercultural communication issues. Attempting to understand each other's linguacultural views and practices made the interactants more knowledgeable about the topics Negotiated, deconstructing the idea that divergence and liminality of thinking are inherently problematic to multicultural relationships. The way the Negotiations were carried out seemed to be more influenced by the *participants' attitudes* towards difference and stability than by the differences and stabilities at play.

After conducting this study, I believe that displaying a high intercultural awareness in our communicative practices means legitimising other ways of being, doing, and viewing, which are in-flux, complex and not necessarily mainstream. Legitimising difference does not mean not having a position or an opinion. It just means allowing different cultures to co-exist without a hierarchy, translating the awareness of the practical implications of interacting with the ‘multi-linguacultures’ that make up the communicative repertoires of multilinguals.

New research efforts can expand the findings of the present study by applying a version of the analytical model developed here to other relational and interactional contexts, with other types of CoPs (like business, academia), or communities that do not have CoP characteristics, virtual spaces on the internet, or multilingual classrooms, to name a few possibilities. Moreover, focused studies on the display of particular ICA levels or the interplay of particular strategies with ICA levels would also allow for a more in-depth exploration of a more significant amount of data, which would increase their degree of representativeness. Such research endeavours are likely to reveal more interpretation angles that could be helpful to further our understanding of how Negotiation is being conducted in new contexts where multilinguals interact.

Third, as an EFL teacher for over 15 years, I have constantly felt challenged by the pedagogical implications of the heightened variability of ELF. For this reason, I plan on pursuing some of the research paths mentioned above myself. That is because connecting the dots between ICA and its realisation in conversation at the discursive and pragmatic level may inspire further research that will inform ELF-aware pedagogical practices. For instance, the displays of ICA levels interrelated to the pragmatic strategies found in this case study have the potential to expand Murray’s ‘pragmatic competence’ in ELF communication, beyond the proposal of training language learners to identify pragmatic patterns in ELF contexts (Murray, 2012:321).

Although it has been found that explicit metapragmatic instruction can increase ‘pragmatic fluency’ (House, 1996) of English learners, converting that awareness into “procedural forms” (p.250) was admittedly not possible in the duration of that study. Indeed, setting out to catalogue, let alone teach, the particular pragmatic practices of a social group would be a monumental task. When it comes to ELF communication, where the linguacultural repertoires are mostly unpredictable and faster than in first language communication, what is helpful to research and teach in pragmatic communicative practices will not be attached to any specific group. For instance, House (2013) studied

how ELF users increased their pragmatic competence by deploying the discourse markers ‘yes/yeah’, ‘so’ and ‘okay’ as expressions of (inter)subjectivity and connectivity.

So, primarily, the most significant contribution of my case study makes to the field of pragmatics in ELF research is relating the use of *metadiscursive* strategies (predominant among others) to the prevention of communication problems in Negotiations of cultural understandings and to displays of higher ICA levels. Secondly, this study also lays new theoretical grounds for research that can result in *teachable* linguistic and discursive practices that prevent or aid in resolving culturally-based non-/misunderstandings. It means that research based on this ICA analytical model combined with pragmatic strategies can refine and develop further a timely theorisation of Negotiation strategies that are particularly relevant to ELF-aware language teaching. Those investigations can consolidate the already found and identify new relevant strategies that are not bound to any particular linguaculture but enhance ELF users’ ability to handle the linguistic and linguacultural variability of ELF communication. Related findings have the potential to become actionable information for language teachers who would like to raise their learners’ awareness of ELF *and* prepare them with practical tools for communicative situations that are significantly more layered, emergent and flexible than L1 communication.

Besides the functional benefits of being better equipped for the Negotiation of cultural understandings, I envisage that learners can be taught to appreciate moments of Negotiation of linguistic or cultural understandings as an opportunity for personal growth. The contact with different ways of viewing, doing and being should have the positive effect of stretching and ultimately expanding one’s repertoire of possible legitimate interpretations, increasing their genuine appreciation of diversity. As a foreign language educator and now a linguist, I reckon that developing an ‘L3 ICA posture’ is crucial to experiencing intercultural communication that promotes connection and peace. So, it is a personal realisation to humbly contribute towards valorising of the willingness to understand each other’s cultural views and communicative practices, especially when they seem to diverge.

In line with the proposal of ‘revolutionary love’ (Chabot, 2008; Lanas and Zembylas, 2015; Barcelos, 2021) and ‘English for peace’ (Friedrich, 2007), and Byram’s (1997, 2021) ‘critical cultural awareness’, I believe that language educators have a far-reaching platform that comes with the power to influence society to handle cultural differences peacefully. Such perspective agrees with Mendes’ (2019:47) interpretation of intercultural action as “something that needs to be built, because it does not exist except

through the desire and the work of human beings” (my translation)<sup>11</sup>. After all, essential changes in society happen over long periods and through lots of collaborative work from those who dare to believe it is possible to pursue peace intentionally. Building environments where people feel safe to express diverging cultural understandings takes work, and, in the context of language teaching, it can be promoted by practising curiosity, critical thinking, and empathy through emancipative reflections based on empirical works like this.

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<sup>11</sup> In the original (language): “A ação intercultural precisa ser construída, porque ela não existe senão através do desejo e do trabalho humanos” (Mendes, 2019:47)

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Sociocultural Interview Guideline

Note: This interview is an attempt to take a snapshot of the research participant's perception of his/her linguistic and cultural repertoire. This information is an important contribution for the researcher's interpretation of the Negotiation of meaning and cultural understanding in the data that is being collected. Therefore, please, answer it as accurately as possible. Your anonymity will continue to be preserved as explained in the information sheet already in your possession.

#### **First name (or nickname):**

<b>1</b>	What's your definition of language?
<b>2</b>	What's your definition of culture?
<b>3</b>	Describe the influence of your city/country of birth in how you use and understand language.
<b>4</b>	Describe the influence of your city/country of birth in your (personal) culture today. For instance, how it is or isn't part of how you see the life, how you behave, and your values.
<b>5</b>	Did you grow up or live somewhere other than where you were born? If so, where and how long? Did that affect your use and knowledge of language(s) and your (personal) culture in any way? How?
<b>6</b>	Which languages do you use? Would you say you can both understand and communicate yourself with them? How would you describe your ability in each of them?
<b>7</b>	Would say that your knowledge in those languages is limited to a certain field or topic, such as knowing some French used in cooking, some German to read on philosophy, or Spanish for traveling and eating out?
<b>8</b>	Can you name other origins of culture that have enhanced your cultural understanding of yourself and of others apart from your immediate family and the shared local culture of the places you have lived in?
<b>5</b>	How would you describe the Sunday lunches and their purpose?

Thank you!

***Juliana Souza da Silva***

MPhil/PhD student in Linguistics

Date: September 2018

### **INFORMATION SHEET**

As part of my Linguistics studies in the Department of English and Comparative Literature at Goldsmiths, University of London, I would like to carry out a study involving the recording of conversations of multilingual speakers of English in London. I am going to transcribe portions of the interactions and will look for the use of communicative strategies that appear in the speech that I have recorded.

I have approached you because I am interested in recording the process of Negotiation of meaning and cultural understanding in conversations where the interactants are of varied linguistic and cultural backgrounds and use English to communicate. The recording will take about probably 1-2 hours depending on the length of the actual lunch meeting. I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time throughout the period of my data collection. At every stage, your name will remain confidential. The data will be kept secure and will be used for academic purposes only.

If you have any queries about the study, please feel free to contact myself or my course supervisor, Alessia Cogo, who can be contacted on [a.cogo@gold.ac.uk](mailto:a.cogo@gold.ac.uk).

Signed

**Juliana Souza da Silva**  
[jsouz001@gold.ac.uk](mailto:jsouz001@gold.ac.uk)



## **Goldsmiths, University of London**

Department of English and Comparative Literature

### CONSENT FORM

Project title: **Lingua Franca Negotiations of Cultural Understandings: interrelating Intercultural Awareness and Pragmatic Strategies**

The Information Sheet relating to this project has been read by me and it has been explained to me by Juliana Souza da Silva.

I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and all (if any) questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements for my participation as described in the Information Sheet.

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, without any financial payment, and that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any time throughout the period of the fieldwork/data collection of this research project.

I have received a copy of this Consent Form and the accompanying Information Sheet.

Name:

Signed:

Date:

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