How can teachers best enable adult English language learners to interact verbally?

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ABSTRACT

The study revolves around the delivery of an ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) program on conflict management in the workplace to a small group of adult learners studying in a private educational institution in Sydney, Australia. The program was of four days' duration, and was delivered over a four-week period. It involved both in-class and out-of-class tasks, and required learners to analyse their own discourse practices, those of other learners, and those of the speech community in which they were living.

The program had two principle objectives. Firstly, it asked whether learners are able to modify their discourse practices at will in order to achieve successful negotiation outcomes. Secondly, it explored the effect of deliberately altered discourse styles on perceptions of learners held by speech community members.

The methodology employed to achieve these objectives was ethnographic in nature and involved the following processes:

1. Learners were video-taped negotiating with other learners before and after the program.
2. Learners undertook the program aimed at increasing their ability to negotiate in business environments using culturally appropriate spoken language in conjunction with compatible prosodic and paralinguistic features as well as conversation management strategies. Learners kept diaries of their experiences and self-evaluation, and were interviewed following the course.
3. A group of nine native speakers of English viewed the 'before' and 'after' video-tapes and completed a survey aimed at collecting and quantitatively measuring (change in) their perceptions of the learners. This change was statistically analysed using a repeated-measures t test. The effect proved statistically significant overall; $t(80) = 1.990$, $p<.01$, two-tailed.
4. The 'before' and 'after' negotiations were then analysed by the researcher using ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis, modified to include some aspects of facial expression.

The implications of the findings for teaching 'Business English', 'Global English' and 'Speaking' more generally are then discussed.

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at UNSW or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked at UNSW or elsewhere, is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the project's design and conception or in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.

(Signed) ....

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Chapter 1 : The Market for English

In 1999, there were 157,000 overseas students studying in Australia (Department. of Education Training and Youth Affairs, 2000). The majority were from Asian countries (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 2000). Over thirty thousand were studying English in privately owned and operated educational institutions, better known as ELICOS (English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students) schools. These organisations act as a feeder to the tertiary education and vocational training sectors (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 2000), which specify English proficiency levels as an entrance requirement (Austrade, 1999).

By far the most popular courses in the higher education sectors, in which three quarters of all international students are enrolled, are business, business administration and economics (Austrade, 1999). This would suggest that learners within ELICOS have two major contexts, or 'domains' (Fishman, 1972) in which their English skills will be utilised at some time in the future: tertiary academic institutions and business environments. The statistics are supported by anecdotal evidence collected during student interviews that occur on the first day of enrolment into ELICOS schools in which students are asked how they intend to use their English in the future, and from comments made during classroom needs analyses such as the following:

> Nowadays it is a must that you can speak English fluently not only for travelling. When you are employed for an international company then you have to deal with foreign customers or supplier sometimes and if you want to get this well paid positions means that you are able to speak english in a business environment. (U. Beyer, German student, personal communication, 26 October 1998)

> To live in globalized world, To understand Business Society is very important. (K.S. Lee, Korean student, personal communication, 26 October 1998)

> I wanted to know about the Business "Mentality" of the world language: English… Especially in my job, it is essential to know how to interact with different people from other countries. (B. Lembo, Swiss student, personal communication, 29 October 1998)

This focus on the part of the learner is hardly surprising. English has become, in its many variants, the chief language of business and academia (Crystal, 1995), and it is spoken not only by those who want to live in a native English-speaking society such as Australia, or trade with native English speakers, but in negotiations in which English is not the first language of either party (Byrne & FitzGerald, 1996; Kachru 1996; Nickerson, 1998). These forms of usage are of particular importance to the providers of business English products.

The Education Provider Response

To meet this perceived need, 'English' is now packaged and sold through agents to business professionals and students intending to enhance their career prospects by increasing and further developing the skills they have to offer future employers. A series of increasingly specific educational products such as 'Business English', 'English for the Workplace', 'English for Hospitality and Tourism', or 'English for Business Studies' has emerged from this process (English Australia, 2003; St John, 1996).

Despite the targeted marketing, however, there appears to be some confusion amongst educational providers as to what these products are and how to deliver them. Two major approaches used, evidenced in advertising, in the literature and in the experience of the researcher are summarised here.

The first approach treats business as a topic to be analysed and understood using business-oriented media or more academic journal articles, documentaries or interviews as part of the 'content-based' approach advanced by Crandall (1987). This approach is, in effect, a form of 'English for Academic Purposes' (EAP) or 'English for Specific Academic Purposes' (ESAP) since, typically, such courses either contribute to a tertiary

qualification, or are intended to prepare learners for entry into tertiary institutions. In Australia, the large numbers of overseas students entering universities ensure that this type of 'business English' course is an increasingly popular offering provided by private institutions with or without university recognition or accreditation (English Australia, 2003) as well as by universities themselves. Internationally, St John (1996) has argued, the approach has been promoted by "state educational institutions with captive audiences and customers" (p. 4).

While content-based approaches to teaching business English have a demonstrably positive impact on learners' ability to use their English to study (Kasper, 1997), they should not be confused, in their marketing, syllabus design or in teachers' understandings, with courses intended to prepare learners for occupational contexts. Despite the increasing emphasis tertiary business studies place on the practical side of business through such means as case studies (Esteban & Canado, in press), the 'business English' used in an academic context to construct academic texts is clearly not the English used within workplaces (T.P. Brown & Lewis, 2003; Crosling & Ward, 2002), and should therefore not be included under the 'business English' umbrella, nor concern this study which focuses on communication within professional business contexts.

Secondly, a modified form of a 'General English' course, sometimes known as 'English for General Business Purposes' (EGBP) or, alternatively, 'English for Occupational Purposes' (EOP) (St John, 1996) may be delivered, in which a series of generic texts, functions, grammatical structures, and lexis, are taught, as evidenced in textbooks designed to cater for such an approach. Course providers apparently assume that learners will be able to transfer this knowledge to the business contexts in which they find themselves in the future, despite the formulaic nature of the textual approach which tends to discount the individual relationships or particular problem-solving activities that may be involved (Louhiala-Salminen, 1996; Maier, 1992; Schleppegrell & Royster, 1990), as well as the interrelationships between the various written and spoken texts in an authentic setting (Charles, 1998).

The inherent inadequacy of such an approach was confirmed by an worldwide survey of Business English courses and institutions conducted on behalf of one of the largest

multinational accountancy firms discovered a surprising lack of awareness of business goals and their associated linguistic needs which had been determined by the firm itself (Schleppegrell & Royster, 1990). Very few educational institutions "provided professionals with practice in language situations comparable to those they confront at work...[nor] allowed them to...engage in realistic interaction in English" (p.6). Further, since that study was undertaken, and despite the increased demand for such classes, very little appears to have changed. Summarising more recent research on teaching materials aimed at the business English market, Nickerson (2000) noted that even when classroom materials address "traditionally taught business genres, such as the business letter and report... these [are] often used in situations other than those with which they are conventionally associated" (p. 187) or, as is often the case with genres such as email, ignored altogether.

Education providers do not, in the main, appear to take into account the fact that their clients are or will be business people who need to speak English in a business environment to achieve specific business objectives (Schleppegrell & Royster, 1990). Instead, there appears to be an assumption that 'business English' exists independently of its function and context (Charles, 1996), rather than constructing and being constructing by that context as Schegloff (1992a) has argued of talk more generally.

Changing the Provision of English

The approach to the teaching of business English is indicative of a larger dilemma confronting the industry: that relating to how language is perceived, and consequently 'brought into' the classroom for teaching and learning purposes. Too often in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) it appears, the essential purpose for using language, to 'do' or 'act' or 'be', is forgotten (Austin, 1962; Gee, 1989). The way that conversational actions are achieved through a variety of pragmatic means is lost (Levinson, 1983) as 'language' is narrowly reduced in meaning to its morphosyntactic and lexical features and 'English' to a single variety judged 'appropriate' by the teacher, teachers, or syllabus designers involved (Fairclough, 1992a). The objective of TESOL

deteriorates into urging learners along a continuum represented by their interlanguage towards using the target language in a native-like manner (McLaughlin, 1990).

This restricted focus is evidenced in

1. textbooks organised around grammatical structures which continue to be widely used in ELICOS institutions in Sydney and around the world such as the *Headway* series (see, for example, Soars, 1993, 1996),
2. the most widespread form of language teacher training in the industry, the *Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults*, or 'RSA' as it is more commonly known,

3. syllabuses and programs which place considerable emphasis on a grammatical component to the detriment of other features of language,

4. comments typically heard in staffrooms to the effect that teachers are spending the week "doing" this or that grammatical structure regardless of what else might be listed on the syllabus, and

5. assessment methods of rating proficiency which give undue weight to 'accuracy' rather than the strategic use of language such as those usually known as the 'Cambridge Exams' (Cambridge Examinations in Australia, 2003), or those developed by ELICOS institutions for their own internal use.

While there may be newer and more engaging approaches to the teaching of grammar (Ellis, Basturkmen & Loewen, 2002), it is apparent that, as Tannen (1986) aptly expressed it, people "persist in focusing on the aspects of speech they have always been aware of – accent, vocabulary, and rules of grammar" (p.188).

Remnants of an older tradition or belief, reflected in earlier literature, also appear to live on. These involve the notion that it is somehow impossible to teach learners more about the language than its more formal features, that sociolinguistic competence can only be achieved through considerable periods spent living within a country as a second-

language learner and undergoing some degree of acculturation (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985).

If teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) are to meet the needs of learners wishing to use English to interact with others in an increasingly globalised world, this approach to language, learning and teaching, frequently condemned within academic writing, must change at the level of its practical application within the ESOL classrooms of many education providers. Greater consideration will need to be given to the broader resources that language provides in doing and meaning, the uses to which learners may put language and the contexts in which this occurs, the many varieties of English that learners may encounter in the future, and the impact these may have on interaction and, more particularly, its failure. Acceptance of the learners' ability to make choices regarding their language use in particular situations with particular objectives, as well as their *right* to do so, must also be acknowledged by teachers.

These concerns drove the classroom-based research on which this thesis reports. The study may, in fact, be seen as an attempt to address the criticisms discussed above at the classroom level: a "practical application" of how a globalised, resource-rich English can be taught in such a way that learner choice remains central. These concerns were not the only ones involved in attempting to change the provision of English however. Other assumptions had also to be challenged.

Verbal Interaction and its Outcomes

In more closely aligning English with its real life uses and objectives, spoken English assumes an even more critical role for the language learner. Apart from their need "to cope in an industrialised, bureaucratised society which depends very much on the ability of individuals to use spoken language…" (G. Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 24),

> Learners often need to be able to speak with confidence in order to carry out most of their basic transactions. It is the skill by which they are most frequently judged, and through which they may make and lose friends. It is the vehicle of

social solidarity, of social ranking, of professional advancement and of business. (Bygate, 1987, p. 1)

Moreover, once learners leave the learning environment they entered on arrival in Australia, their need to interact verbally becomes even more critical. Verbal interaction is critical both to tertiary education (Micheau & Billmyer, 1987) and in business where it is estimated that seventy per cent of executive time is spent talking (Boden, 1994).

Much of this interaction should not present difficulties because most talk, whether intercultural or not, is problem-free. As van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman and Troutman (1997) put it:

> in order to understand each other and work together people tend to mutually adapt themselves, more or less, to the others. They often learn each other's languages and about each other's special habits, and up to a point accept and respect each other's cultural identities. (p. 144)

At a more localised level of talk as well, Sacks (1987) and Davidson (1984) have demonstrated the preference for agreement in discourse, and the lengths to which speakers will go to avoid causing disagreement or disagreeing as well as warding off rejection.

Despite this, there is ample evidence of miscommunication caused by disparate cultural assumptions or differences in 'discourse style', defined in this study as the adherence to different sociocultural and sociopragmatic norms in talk, such as those described below.

Spoken interaction is highly ritualised (Hymes, 1980; Grice, 1975) but these rituals or norms are not evaluated consistently even within a single 'speech community' of those who supposedly share "rules for conduct and interpretation of speech " (Hymes, 1980, p.54) let alone across cultures (Fairclough, 1992a).

Gumperz, for example, (1992, 1995; Gumperz, Jupp & Roberts, 1990) has described how asymmetries in the use of pitch, pacing and stress in talk influence the success or

failure of interactions as participants deliver, acknowledge or fail to acknowledge 'contextualisation cues' which signal a request for a specific response. He demonstrated the considerable consequences of this communication mismatch in job interviews in which the discourse style of participants appeared to be of greater import than previous experience or skill sets.

Differences in 'turn-taking', the allocation of talk, including distribution, length, bidding strategies, and pausing between turns, not only change the organisation of talk, or pattern of communication, but may affect and even damage the relationships between participants (Clyne & Ball, 1990; Du-Babcock, 1999; Micheau & Billmyer, 1987). In a university-based study, Micheau and Billmyer (1987) found that differences in some aspects of turn-taking of non-native speakers of English impacted their grades in subjects requiring a high degree of (verbal) student participation.

Speech act theorists, too, have shown that the way in which a conversational act is constituted and deployed can have significant effect on whether the person is seen as offensive or polite, and therefore whether their request, complaint, or greeting, for example, is successful (Ebsworth, Bodman & Carpenter, 1996; Houack & Gass 1996; Murphy & Neu, 1996;). Problems occur because speech 'acts', defined by Murphy and Neu (1996) as "the acts we perform when we speak" (p.191), that exist in one culture may not exist in another, are valued differently (Hymes, 1980), structured differently (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Olshtain, 1983), employ different strategies such as irony in their realisation (Clyne, 1985) or are channelled through different media (Clyne, 1985; Macken-Horarik in Feez & Joyce, 1998).

In yet another example, Beal (1990, 1992) demonstrated how culturally different approaches to the use of 'politeness strategies' (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987), relative tolerance of face-threatening acts (Goffman, 1967) and concepts of honesty (J. Thomas, 1985) can damage business relationships and reduce productivity, providing a clear example in doing so, that proximity does not necessarily produce better relationships, but may in fact intensify negative views of other cultures and those acting as representatives of them.

Additionally, there are discrepancies in the way different cultures make use of particular genres: whether they use a meeting, for example, to solve problems or reach a decision or, alternatively, simply to ratify decisions made elsewhere in order to avoid disunity (Byrne & FitzGerald, 1996; Yamada, 1990).

Most crucially, this research and other similar studies reveal the negative consequences for the participants in the kinds of miscommunication discussed above. As Loveday (1982) and FitzGerald (1999) have pointed out, if communication breakdown occurs because of a learner's lack of lexis or grammatical competence or due to his or her phonological unintelligibility, the problem, as perceived by the interlocutor, is merely one of 'language'. When sociopragmatic failure occurs, however, the speakers themselves become the target of negative evaluation because judgements may be made regarding the speaker's character rather than their language skills, and behaviour seen as deliberately flouting convention rather than being culturally influenced (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987; FitzGerald, 1999; Murphy & Neu, 1996; J. Thomas, 1983). Negative interpretations of a person resulting from their not following the 'communication rules' of a particular speech community can, and do, result in discrimination (Clyne, 1985) and, at a broader level, racism (van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman & Troutman, 1997).

Further, since "the consequences of such a situation are scarcely two-way, because inevitably one group wields societal power at the expense of the other" (Boxer, 2002, p. 151), these mismatches and any resulting discrimination have a greater impact on language learners than on native speakers who are used to operating within a society in which

> the dominance of people with a monocultural identity... coincides with the national identity of the state in which they live.... [This] means that they expect everyone living in the state to be like them, to have a simple and single cultural identity. (Byram, 1998, p. 100)

Far from furthering their goals in many interactions, learners may be disadvantaged when they encounter native speakers who continue to behave as if "The reality is that

monolingual, monocultural native speakers are still, often the ‘gate keepers’ in Australian society” (FitzGerald, 1999, p. 130). Because of this, however sympathetically teachers may hope their students are received by the world outside the classroom, native English-speaking gatekeepers and the discrimination they may engender remain an issue that, ethically, should not be ignored by teachers or classroom-based research such as this.

Dealing with Discrimination

The obvious means of forestalling such discrimination being directed against learners because of their non-adherence to sociocultural and sociopragmatic norms in talk, is to teach them what those norms are by introducing to the classroom a broader picture of language which incorporates its paralinguistic and extra-linguistic features. As Gee (1986) has noted, teaching ‘language’ alone, unconnected to one’s understanding of its usage, is simply not possible in any case. It is self-evident that, in directing a class and its content, the teacher can only address the ‘language’ that he or she has ‘knows’ or is aware of. This ensures that cultural norms come packaged with language whether teachers recognise this or not (FitzGerald, 1999), which means, in turn, that the object of study in a classroom is not ‘language’, therefore, but a particular discourse style or set of ‘talking’ behaviours or practices perceived as ‘standard’, ‘normal’ or ‘prestigious’ by the teacher (Gee, 1986).

Adopting an approach which sees the teaching of a broad range of skills, behaviours, and practices rather than just ‘getting students to talk’ (Bygate,1987; Barraja-Rohan, 1997), or learning lexical sets and metalinguistic rules would seem to be an admirable solution. It appears to provide a means of preventing discrimination while at the same time embracing the realities of the native English-speaking teacher-fronted classroom. It also presents a richer and more authentic view of language in recognising its inseparability from social context and culture.

Such a norm-driven approach is fraught with difficulties however, and the reasons for this must be examined since they represent the parameters of the ethical fine line along which an English language teacher walks.

Firstly, the learner may not *want* to learn the sociopragmatic norms of English because they do not want to identified or associated with that culture (Peck, 1996; Smolica, Hudson & Secombe, 1998). As Widdowson (1984) has pointed out, if language teachers correct 'errors' that are not related to the communicative function of learners' utterances, but to their sociopragmatic effect, they are effectively pressuring learners to "join the exclusive club of standard speakers of English" (p.249) when:

> the likelihood is that learners do not want to join such a club, do not wish to be identified with such a group, since they might feel, justifiably enough, that their primary social allegiances lie elsewhere and that they wish to learn another language without being encumbered with the identity of its users.
> (p. 249)

This is borne out by J. Thomas (1983) who notes that while learners are not sensitive to the correction of pragmalinguistic errors, they do become upset when what they perceive as their social competence is criticised, since many people wrongly believe their etiquette is transferable across cultures (Byrne & FitzGerald, 1996; O'Sullivan, 1994). Further, merely teaching cultural norms, implicitly or explicitly, with the expectation that these norms are universal does not necessarily heighten cultural awareness thereby making learners aware of the cultural communication choices they are making (FitzGerald, 1999; Lambert, 1999).

Further, this approach to teaching English may be viewed as a form of 'linguistic imperialism' (Mühlhäusler, 1994) which attacks the culture, values, power and identity of others. This view of the English language can be examined both from an historical perspective in terms of its spread around the globe and links to colonialism with its accompanying biases, as well as in more current terms, in which its privileged position in government, business and education in comparison with indigenous languages continues to be supported in countries across the world (Kachru, 1996; Pennycook,

1994). In Australia too, monolingual education in Australian Standard English holds sway, both within its increasingly multicultural communities as well as within indigenous communities to the detriment of cultural identity as well as literacy (Clyne, 2003; Malcolm, 2003).

Seen from this perspective, English language teaching is an ideological weapon. Teaching 'appropriate' sociolinguistic and behavioural norms infers that 'our' way is the most successful or effective way of living and behaving. It promotes an assimilationist approach to engaging with society which subjugates the self and assumes learners will achieve better outcomes in their interactions by conforming rather than challenging: an attitude which may ultimately have "significant implications for learners' socioeconomic roles" (Auerbach, 1995, p. 9).

Finally, Fairclough (1992a) argues that such norms present a particular view of the world by those whose motives are suspect since:

> In no actual speech community do all members always behave in accordance with a shared sense of which language varieties are appropriate for which contexts and purposes. Yet such a perfectly ordered world is set up as an ideal by those who wish to impose their own social order upon society in the realm of language. (p.34)

These criticisms are persuasive. Clearly such an approach to English language teaching is indefensible, but the rejection of this approach to language teaching does place the teacher in something of a bind. On the one hand, teachers can only teach what they know, and teaching what they know may prevent discrimination while providing learners with greater societal access. On the other hand, such an approach may be rejected by learners at a practical level, and is discriminatory of itself since it privileges certain language practices over others.

However, the alternative approach of teaching a form of English which is unaccompanied by its norms, but is also without the majority of its paralinguistic meaning-making resources, is equally undesirable. Pursuing such an option may mean

that learners encounter discrimination should they need to interact with native speakers of the language, and are left without a choice of communicative strategies, since they are often demonstrably unaware of how their linguistic practices may affect others. Ignorance is not bliss in an intercultural world.

One of the objectives of this research was to move beyond this apparent bind and to determine whether a third way might be found for the concerned teacher. The study hoped to investigate the practicalities of adopting what Pennycook (1994) has termed a critical approach to teaching English. This should involve, he argued, "access to those standard forms of the language that are of significance within the context in which one teaches" (p. 315), while encouraging learners "to develop their own forms of language, culture and knowledge often in opposition to the central norms" privileged within that speech community. It is an approach which acknowledges that

> It is... crucially important that learners own linguistic practice should be informed by estimates of the possibilities, risks and costs of going against dominant judgements of appropriate usage. Learners should have a picture of dominant judgements of when standard English is appropriate, but also of how widely such judgements are shared and followed in practice. And they should be encouraged to develop the ability to use standard English in conventional ways when they judge it necessary to do so, because they will be disadvantaged if they do not develop that ability. (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 54)

It acknowledges the potential for and effects of discrimination, and incorporates the teaching of norms, but without teaching learners "how to parrot foreign cultural codes in order to interact seemingly successfully with foreigners" (Crozet & Liddicoat, 1999, p.118). Instead the aim was to broaden "their scope about whether to flout sociolinguistic conventions or follow them" (Fairclough, 1992c, p. 16). It focused on learner choice supported by awareness, knowledge and skills; in other words, *informed* choice.

This is not a single choice of whether to adopt one discourse style or another, however, but a range of choices which depend in their selection on the situation in which learners

find themselves and the communication goals they hold at that time (FitzGerald, 1999). In this way, the approach becomes a means for the learner to find a balance "between the amount of active command of communication rules that is required to prevent discrimination and that amount which begins to lead to identity loss" (Clyne, 1985, p.18).

The teacher's role in this process is two-fold. Firstly, teachers, when updating their qualifications or undertaking other professional development, must become more aware of the dominant discourse practices within their own culture/s, so that they may be examined critically, rather than taught unconsciously. Secondly, and by applying their increased knowledge, teachers must play an active role in facilitating learner awareness of the choices available to them, and the consequences of those choices, so that learner choices are informed. This dual role formed the basis of many of the decisions related to teaching practice and classroom content made by this teacher/researcher during the course of her research. It also placed the classroom practices of the research in the realm of what Fairclough (1992c) has termed "Critical Language Awareness" (CLA) rather than simply language awareness.

English as an Intercultural Language

Nonetheless, while this critical pedagogical approach may constitute an adequate or even commendable solution to the dilemma within a *second* language learning environment, it ignores a factor critical to the English language pedagogy of the Australian ELICOS industry; namely, that it has a large 'English as a Foreign Language' (EFL) component. The majority of its learners return to a world in which English is increasingly used as a channel of communication by those for whom it is not a first language, with estimations of its use by non-native speakers thought to be between two and four times greater than its use by native speakers (Kachru, 1996).

These learners do not need to be aware of the dominant discourse styles used within Australia, nor its sociocultural norms. They will instead speak English in their own way with others from a variety of different backgrounds who also employ the language

without making use of the discourse style of its native speakers (Bianco, Liddicoat & Crozet, 1999; Kachru, 1985).

It is contended that, to do this, they will make use of "localised educated" form of the language which will

> function independently, without the participation of native speakers, for the use and benefit of non-native speakers... [as a] courier of many cultures and sub-cultures, of myriad values and sets of values, of different religions and of antagonistic political systems. (Chew, 1999, p.42)

This, it is argued, will allow these learners to access the perceived economic benefits related to the use of English, while not challenging their values or identity.

This view of global or international English language use seems to be underpinned by an assumption that a variety of discourse styles will be accommodated by the parties involved. The implication is that, in adhering to their own sociolinguistic norms, interlocutors will somehow understand that the discourse style of others differs from their own, and that successful intercultural communication will automatically result from the interaction.

Research on the way in which cultural diversity affects interaction as well as this teacher's experience of adult multicultural classrooms more generally show this to be a fallacy (Boxer, 2002). Even learners who demonstrate a willingness to understand English as it is spoken by those with a very different first language (L1) background, and who express an interest in the cultural norms of others, find different interactional styles and behavioural expectations a barrier. In the same way that native speakers of English may evaluate speakers of other languages negatively because of differences in their discourse styles (Gumperz, 1992; Micheau & Billmyer, 1987; Murphy & Neu, 1996), learners are just as likely to ascribe differences to rudeness, malice, aggression or stubbornness on the part of other learners simply because of these differences. The problem, put simply, is that sociolinguistic practices are so engrained in every individual that it is difficult for learners to see them as culturally influenced, rather than

as a 'normal' mode of interaction and others, by extension, as intentionally departing from that norm (Byrne & FitzGerald, 1996).

Dealing with this situation requires a new approach to English language teaching, and one has emerged in the literature. ESOL teachers are exhorted to move towards the teaching of 'English as an International Language' (EIL) within a larger process aimed at developing 'intercultural awareness' or 'intercultural competence' (Crozet & Liddicoat, 1999; Irwin, 1996; Kramsch, 1991, 1993; McKay, 2000).

This approach acknowledges the role of 'culture' within language, often at many different levels (Crozet & Liddicoat, 1997; Kramsch, 1993), but the emphasis remains on understanding the 'other' culture rather than implying that a learner "has an obligation to behave in accordance with the conventions of that culture" (McKay, 2000, p. 8). Further, intercultural competence entails understanding the other through a developed awareness of oneself and one's own culture as different, so that "learners... develop a cultural position which mediates between these two cultures" (Crozet & Liddicoat, 1999, p. 113).

The perennial problem of how to implement this theoretical approach at the practical level of the classroom nevertheless remains, particularly in view of the fact that within the ELICOS industry it is not a matter of two cultures represented by the learner and the target language but a multiplicity represented by the cultures of the learners in the classroom. How can this awareness and acceptance of a multiplicity of norms be achieved?

English Language Teaching and Intercultural Awareness in a Multicultural Classroom

Clyne (1994) differentiates between having an 'active' knowledge about or competence in a discourse style (the ability to use the style), and a 'passive' knowledge (simply being aware that such a style exists).

> I argue that biculturalism – and therefore an active command of more than one communicative style (their own and a modified version of that of the 'dominant' group, to which other styles are converging) – is desirable. In addition, a passive command of as many styles as possible would be advantageous. As discourse patterns are closely linked with cultural values, including issues of face, it is not desirable to make people abandon those stemming from their own cultural backgrounds. It is, however, necessary for people of all cultural backgrounds to understand and tolerate one another's discourse patterns. (p. 214)

This 'active/passive command' is a useful distinction to make given that, ultimately, ELICOS institutions are private businesses providing products to clients who have expressed a desire to learn 'English' rather than one to become 'interculturally competent'. As Singh and Singh (1999) write, "knowledge increasingly has value and legitimacy only in so far as it attracts and serves a global (fee paying) client" (p. 74). These clients "are less interested in gaining a critical understanding of [the society] than in gaining as quick an access as possible to the technological and economic benefits they have come to the country to seek" (Kramsch, 1993).

This study attempted to meet the demands of both fee-paying learners and the globalised, multi-norm English language speaking world as well as to address the potential for discrimination by employing an approach which focused on learners' gaining

1. an active command of the dominant discourse style/s of English which the learner could make use of at will, and therefore critically, combined with knowledge of the beneficial and detrimental effects of adhering to certain sociolinguistic norms, while at the same time,

2. creating an awareness, understanding or 'passive command' of the other styles present in the multicultural classroom and how these may affect the perceptions that both parties (the classmates) have of the other.

Implementing and Evaluating the Chosen Approach

Put simply, this project on which this thesis reports is an attempt to demonstrate that such an approach, or 'juggling act' as it might be better termed, is possible through a carefully designed classroom program. Achieving this involved a number of practical considerations that will be addressed here briefly.

Firstly, since we cannot simply assume that "foreign language study will automatically produce intercultural competence" (Lambert, 1999, p. 70), classroom activities had to be explicitly designed to raise this awareness. The task design had to motivate learners to evaluate other cultures and discourse practices positively, rather than judgementally, or in any way that reinforced the negative stereotypes which may have been present in classroom. Additionally, activities had to provide learners with some insight into how their own discourse practices might differ from others, and how they might impact on others in a variety of different situations.

The second issue, and one closely related to the first, was that in examining and teaching the sociolinguistic norms or pragmatic means of talk within English, dominant English discourse styles could not be presented as the unmarked norm, or as somehow 'better' than other norms or styles. This meant an emphasis on awareness of discourse style difference rather than on acquisition of a different discourse style. It involved a focus on choice for particular contexts rather than conformity in all situations, or 'doing as the Romans do'. The 'pragmatics' of the program was therefore not an 'interlanguage pragmatics' which judged learners solely by their ability to produce increasingly native-like target-language, but rather what Boxer (2002) has labelled a 'cross-cultural pragmatics' that involved increasing awareness of the multiplicity of norms of the many 'others' with whom a learner is likely to interact. In this, English was the object of study, but with a clear emphasis on its discourse styles being one approach among many.

Finally, and crucially, although research has been done to establish that learners may be judged negatively because of their discourse style, there has been little empirical work

done on what specific features of that style are likely to cause this reaction. If the goal is the avoidance of discrimination rather than the inculcation of sociocultural norms, ESOL teachers must be clear about the linguistic and paralinguistic features likely to achieve this so as not to be "guilty of unwittingly providing assimiliationist and disempowering practice" (FitzGerald, 1999, p.130).

Shaping the Research Project and its Questions

These goals and the other related considerations identified earlier in this chapter shaped the research project and its associated questions, which are outlined here. The focus of the project was a short English language program developed to appeal to the students at the particular institution at which the research was conducted.

The program content revolved around a linguistic text (a 'subordinate/superior negotiation in a professional context' was finally chosen) that could be useful in a variety of contexts or domains, that would make use of a range of linguistic resources, that would allow learners to experiment with a range of sociocultural and pragmalinguistic norms and that would focus on facilitating the learners' ability to 'do' with language rather than to 'know' about it.

Prior to the course beginning, and following its completion, learners would be video-taped undertaking simulated role-plays (again, workplace-based subordinate/superior negotiations), the scenarios for which may be found in Appendix A. These video recordings of the learners would be viewed firstly by a group of native English speakers from a range of professional backgrounds who would be surveyed on their reactions to the students and the image the latter were projecting through their talk. (The survey may be found in Appendix B). In this way, it was hoped that specific linguistic behaviours could be linked to negative or discriminatory judgements, particularly when the video-taped role-plays were further analysed by the researcher.

Native English-speaking models undertaking the same, unscripted, negotiation role-plays (see Appendix A) were video-taped to raise researcher understanding of the

linguistic text around which the language program was focused and for use in the classroom as teaching materials.

Learner reactions to and experiences of the in-class and out-of-class tasks would be captured using diaries, video-recordings of the classes and ethnographic interviews.

By juxtaposing the various data, and with the goals outlined above, the researcher hoped to arrived at an answer or answers to this question: "How can teachers best enable adult English language learners to interact verbally?" Prior to addressing this question, some thought would clearly need to be given to the following sub-questions:

1. Would it be possible for learners in a classroom environment to develop the ability to manipulate their discourse strategies (or 'talking practices') at will to accommodate perceptions of them formed by native speakers of English and therefore better achieve their goals?

2. What discourse skills or practices would most determine the success or failure of a negotiation (the type of talk chosen to increase learner ability to interact verbally) and should therefore be given preferential treatment in any syllabus aimed at improving verbal interactional skills?

3. How do the learners, as major stakeholders in this process, view this 'enabling'? What teaching practices at classroom level are 'best' from their perspective, in terms of their developing an ability to manipulate their language use?

Research Roadmap

The question then became one of how a path could be steered through the various elements of this investigation so that they come together to form a whole within this thesis. The structure used to achieve this is outlined below.

Chapter One has attempted to place the research in a context. It has done this in terms of the Australian private English language 'market' which revolves around products and services, buyers (the learners), vendors (the schools), and product providers (the teachers). It has acknowledged the changing nature of the market, and the ways in which the products have become increasingly inadequate in terms of their ability to meet the needs of learners, partially as a result of that change, but also because of shifting understandings of 'English', 'language' and 'teaching'. It has argued that these changes pose particular challenges for teachers and described their nature. Finally, Chapter One introduces the research on which this thesis reports: an attempt to meet these challenges, or at least, investigate ways in which they may be met, via the delivery of a short, English language program.

Chapter Two examines the 'content' or 'language' of the program delivered. The discussion walks through the literature on the text chosen (dyadic negotiation between a subordinate and a superior in a workplace environment) but also details the choices made by the researcher as to what to focus on during the language program. This selection process is facilitated by a simple model that deconstructs the type of talk chosen for investigation within the classroom.

The success or otherwise of the teaching approach employed requires evaluation via a clearly defined research process and it is the construction of this staged process which is discussed in **Chapter Three**. This chapter analyses the research question, outlines the paradigms within which the research was conducted and details the variety of quantitative and qualitative methods and tools brought together to answer the questions this research raises, including the development of the role-play scenarios which can be found in **Appendix A** and the survey completed by the native English-speaking reviewer group of the learners which is reproduced in **Appendix B**. In short, all elements of the research conducted *outside* the teaching/classroom process itself are discussed in this chapter.

What occurred *in* the classroom or as part of the language program delivery is the subject of **Chapter Four**. The teaching practices employed, the materials utilised to raise learner awareness of the language of Chapter Two's model (presented in full in

Appendix C), and the teacher's approach to and understanding of learner difference and language acquisition are described. Importantly too, learner response to the program, captured during and following the course in diaries, by video-taping classroom activities and in a video-taped post-course interview is reported in this chapter, since, as is noted in Chapter One, the research project is based on learner choice.

Chapter Five presents the findings that relate to all three research sub-questions, focusing firstly on the language actually used by learners in the simulated workplace negotiations they undertook as part of the four-day language program, and then on evaluating the course via learner response.

The different discourse strategies learners employed prior to and following the course were compared with survey results that showed how native speakers of English familiar with workplace rather than academic settings viewed the learners as a result of the discourse behaviours the latter used. This in turn highlighted the more and less successful components of the course, as judged by the learners and the teacher, in enabling learners to achieve their goals.

Finally, **Chapter Six**, places the research back in the context outlined here in Chapter One: that of the 'Business English', 'Global English' and 'General English' markets within the ELICOS industry. It examines the consequences of the findings for educational institutions, their teachers and syllabus and materials design, in an attempt to better connect the market with research.

Chapter 2 : Defining the Language of 'Negotiation' for Use in the Classroom

Thus far, a need to facilitate the learners' ability to use English in ways that help them achieve specific interactional goals while avoiding negative judgements being made of them has been identified. The importance of raising learner awareness regarding how language is used within business and academic domains in different ways by different speech communities has also been acknowledged. Finally, in increasing learner understanding of language and its uses, we have accepted that while a program designed to achieve these goals may ask learners to manipulate their discourse style to accomplish a particular task, ultimately when and how they make use of particular features of language should be their own, informed, choice.

Criteria in Selecting a Spoken Text

Having identified these needs and goals, a means of achieving them had to be specified, and this entailed the selection of a 'text' or type of talk with which to work with learners as they analysed, experimented with and experienced language (Feez & Joyce, 1998. Expressed in a different manner; if speaking is about 'doing', an activity that the learners could learn to 'do' and that would help them in a variety of contexts and situations had to be identified.

This meant that the researcher needed to make decisions regarding:

1. what the language focus of the class would be, and

2. how she could best understand, from a linguistic perspective, the nature of talk or text she was to choose, at least as it was constructed by some groups of native English-speaking Australians.

Given that learners may be disadvantaged in an interaction because of the tendency for others to judge them negatively due to discourse style differences, it was deemed important to focus on a type of talk that might occur when a learner was made particularly vulnerable by a situation or context. Talk that was inherently problematic rather than 'matter-of course', and that involved discord rather than agreement, was - judged necessary since learners ultimately have to live in and deal with the real world outside the classroom in which conflict is commonplace.

K.W. Thomas (1992) has noted the inevitability of conflict in the workplace, reporting that up to twenty percent of a manager's time may be spent managing its effects. De Dreu, Evers, Beersma, Kluwer and Nauta (2001) observe that "conflict and conflict management at work substantially influence individual, group and organizational effectiveness, as well as wellbeing" (p. 645), while Ury, Brett and Goldberg (1988) have discussed the high costs individuals and organizations may incur if conflict is not managed effectively.

Given its prevalence, talk aimed at resolving conflict in the workplace, or 'negotiation' in this business rather than the TESOL sense (of negotiating or constructing meaning) seemed an ideal text type to investigate in the classroom because, while there are many types of talk that may be considerably more common in both business and academic environments (T.P. Brown & Lewis, 2003), few may have so strong an impact on a person's working life.

Additionally, negotiation is an activity that is transferable across many domains within life including personal relationships, social relationships, and daily transactional business (Firth, 1995). As Gumperz (1976) contended,

> Formal negotiations have begun to play a major role in society. The ability to communicate and negotiate in open meetings, the opening up of channels of communication, is an important factor in maintaining the quality and continuity in urban life. (p. 274)

Negotiation may encompass a variety of strategies and speech acts such as requesting, apologising, complaining, and criticising (K.W. Thomas, 1992; Tinsley, 2001). It involves an abundance of behavioural, linguistic and paralinguistic choice, and those choices are critical to its success of failure (Byrne & FitzGerald, 1996), and it is approached very differently across cultures (Graham, Mintu & Rodgers, 1994; Hofstede & Usunier, 1996; Tinsley, 1998, 2001), and individually (Oetzel, 1998). Crucially, too, a negotiation cannot be planned as a monologue. Its success or failure is necessarily a joint construction, so that the ability to 'interact' rather than simply to 'speak' is brought to the fore.

It should finally be noted that, while the 'negotiation' discussed here is of the type that would be conducted within a workplace environment, the definition does not include the type of talk aimed at selling, buying, or establishing a contractual business relationship between two parties. While this kind of talk is undoubtedly a 'business negotiation' the speech behaviours inherent in this type of linguistic event (Charles, 1996; Graham et al. 1994; Neu 1988) are different from and outside the scope of the talk this study focused on.

Defining and Understanding 'Negotiation' for the Classroom

Having chosen the type of talk to be brought into the classroom as the channel through which this research project could be undertaken, an analysis of the language and language behaviours associated with it was necessary. This examination begins with definitions of 'conflict' and methods, including negotiation, of how to manage it.

K.W. Thomas (1992) provides a definition of conflict that is both useful and highly transferable across domains. He argues that conflict is "*the process that begins when one party perceives that the other has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affect, something that he or she cares about*" (p. 653). This process can take many forms, and Fry (2000) has developed a practical framework, reproduced in part in Figure 2.1 below, to order them at a macro level.

Figure 2-1 Conflict Management Procedures: Adapted from Fry's (2000, p. 337)

unilateral	*avoidance*	
	toleration	unilateral acceptance
	self help/ coercion	unilateral imposition
dyadic	*negotiation*	bilateral agreement
triadic	*friendly peace-making*	separation or distraction
	mediation	bilateral agreement
	arbitration	authoritative ruling (without power to enforce)
	adjudication	authoritative ruling (with power to enforce)
	repressive peace-making	authoritative ruling (with power to enforce)

increasing authoritativeness of third-party roles ↓

This framework of conflict management processes, or 'procedures' categorises them by, firstly, whether they are unilateral, dyadic or involve third parties, and secondly, by the degree of power, or 'authoritativeness' used to enforce the outcomes arising from the procedure.

At the top of the model are processes that do not require the active participation of the party with whom one has a grievance. 'Avoidance' and 'tolerance' involve either ignoring the offending party or the problem at hand, or, as Kruse and Thimm (1992) have added, employing such strategies as 'delegation' and 'vagueness'. 'Self-help' is more akin to revenge since it "entails the use of unilateral action as a way of handling the grievance and may vary in severity from theft to murder" (Fry, 2000, p. 325). These processes had no role to play within this research project, however common their use may have been in the cultures of the learners of this class, simply because the ESOL classroom and teacher could have nothing of value to offer a person intent on using such strategies.

The bottom third of the model contains processes that involve third parties. While arguments could be made for teaching forms of negotiation that facilitate learner access to different adjudication processes or courts within government or the judicial system, these methods of managing conflict are of less benefit to EFL than English as a Second Language (ESL) learners because such processes are specific to particular cultures and judicial systems.

Mediation too, while it may be useful, relies on a society's nominating particular members of the culture to fulfil the mediator role. Students may never be in a situation where they have to work with mediators, and should they be in a position to take on that role themselves, they would presumably have achieved a certain status within that society or have received training or gained qualifications that allowed them to do so. It was decided, as a result, not to teach mediation in this program, although it may have been an interesting exercise in raising intercultural awareness had there been more time available.

In rejecting these third party processes however, a distinct bias became an integral part of the approach to conflict management taken by the researcher, and since this bias has a cultural basis, it is worthy of brief discussion.

Ury, Brett and Goldberg (1988) argue that there are three approaches to resolving disputes; they can be interest-based, rights-based or determined on the basis of the relative power held and exercised by the parties involved. "Interests are... the things one cares about or wants" (p. 5). 'Rights' refers to the application of independent standards such as those set by governments and adjudicated by courts. 'Power' is employed by the authors to mean "the ability to coerce someone to do something he would not otherwise do" (p. 7). Rights-based and, in some cases, power-based dispute resolution approaches fall into the Fry's (2000)'third-party' category, therefore.

Ury, Brett and Goldberg argue that the best method of resolving disputes is via the negotiation of interests. This is because of a) the costs associated with the other two approaches, b) the levels of satisfaction with the outcomes likely to be achieved, c) the detrimental effect rights- and power-based problem-solving procedures may have on the

relationship between the parties, and d) because, they argue, reaching an outcome based on mutual interests is more likely to prevent a recurrence of the dispute.

While their arguments seem immanently reasonable when taken at face value, they in fact express an American, or possibly English-speaking, bias since research carried out by Tinsley (1998, 2001) and other studies discussed by Fry (2000) for example, has demonstrated that different cultures prefer and value more highly rights-based or power-based approaches to conflict resolution.

While this study pursued a dyadic negotiation process that focused on the interests of the parties involved, deliberate attempts were made to acknowledge and engage with understandings of power and rights in the classroom. This 'third way' approach gains support from the literature, which suggests that a sole focus on interests is inadequate in any case. The reasons for this will now be discussed.

Resolving More Than 'Interests'

A 'pure' focus on interests in dyadic negotiation is best represented by an early version of an approach originally developed by John Nash in the nineteen-forties called 'game theory', which can be defined as "a theory of rational decision in conflict situations" (Rapoport, 1974a, p. 1). The very specific definition of rationality involved in game theory is based on interests or what are termed 'payoffs': the resulting benefits accruing to a 'player' from a set of 'outcomes' that are produced from particular choices he or she makes in a negotiation. As Rapoport (1974a) puts it:

> It is assumed that each player is 'individually rational', in the sense that his preference ordering of the outcomes is determined by the order of magnitudes of his (and only his) associated payoffs. Further, a player is rational in the sense that he assumes that every player is rational in the above sense. The rational player utilizes knowledge of the other players' payoffs in guiding his choice of strategy, because it gives him information about how the other players' choices are guided. (p. 1)

While this may be demonstrably true for a dyadic 'sum-constant' situation, in which interests are diametrically opposed and therefore what one player gains, the other must lose in the fight for a single pie, the theory begins to break down in the real peopled world of (somewhat) shared or overlapping interests.

The workings of dyadic *non*-sum-constant games are often exemplified by an experimental model entitled 'Prisoners' Dilemma' (Rapoport, 1974b). In this situation, two prisoners in separate cells are both faced with the option of pursuing their self-interest by confessing and going free (if only one of them confesses) or receiving a reduced sentence (if both confess). If neither were to confess, however, both would shortly be set free: a situation which does not materialise since, of course, they both confess, reasoning, as rational beings, in the same way.

This situation demonstrates that when interests are not diametrically opposed, there are benefits to be had in a 'collective rationality' (Rapoport, 1974b) or 'collective decision-making' (Hargreaves Heap & Varoufakis, 1995). It shows, too, that there may be advantages of communicating one's own strategies to the other, since that may force a change in strategies that ultimately benefits oneself. Finally, it indicates there are gains to be made in the coordination of both players' strategies so that the negotiation becomes a 'cooperative game' rather than a 'non-cooperative game' in which decisions are made independently, providing the resulting outcomes are enforceable (Rapoport, 1974a).

Achieving this coordination when final decisions are not enforceable is more difficult, since it is ultimately based on trust. A Kantian sense of morality that drives negotiators to work towards outcomes for the public good regardless of whether those outcomes are detrimental to the self (Hargreaves Heap & Varoufakis, 1995) may be desirable, but is often unachievable even in situations when the 'public good' is agreed upon. Rapoport's (1974b) 'Tit-for-Tat' strategy in which each player reciprocates the move of the previous player creating incentives to be 'nice', is another attractive and simple, if simplistic, solution. More recently, however, Fehr and Rockenbach (2003) have demonstrated that humans have a preference for trust and 'altruistic cooperation' over

self-interest even when involved in a non-reiterative game. While this 'strong reciprocity' is greater in some individuals than others (Gintis, 2000), and while an altruistic attitude can also easily be damaged by sanctions perceived as overly self-interested (Fehr & Rockenbach, 2003), it does provide additional evidence that 'interests' are not the only payoffs in negotiations.

The fact is that a person's 'humanity' change the nature of negotiation and decision-making. Returning, again, to Rapaport (1974a) we read that:

> Players are often concerned not only with their own payoffs but also with what the co-player gets, sometimes empathizing with him, sometimes, on the contrary, deriving satisfaction from his losses, regardless of what they themselves get. Real players play differently depending on whom they are playing with or against. (p. 9)

To self-interest, therefore, we must also add the effects of affect more generally. Ury, Brett and Goldberg (1988) noted the key role of emotion with negotiation, arguing that,

> Before disputants can effectively begin the process of reconciling interests, they may need to vent their emotions.... Particularly in interpersonal disputes, hostility may diminish significantly if the aggrieved party vents her anger, resentment, and frustration in front of the blamed party, and the blamed party acknowledges the validity of such emotions or, going one step further, offers an apology. (pp. 6-7)

Jehn (1997), too, discusses the prevalence of emotion in conflict management, noting that the 'stress' and 'threat' associated with managing conflict may result in feelings of "frustration, uneasiness, discomfort, tenseness, resentment, annoyance, irritation, fury, rage, reproach, scorn, remorse, and hatred" (pp. 542-543) manifesting, as it did in this particular study of a variety of work groups, in such behaviours, as "yelling, crying, banging fists, slamming doors, and having an angry tone" (p. 544). She demonstrates that 'negative emotion', particularly related to relationship conflict, can have a serious

impact on the ability of workgroups to perform effectively, as personal conflict flows into task and process discord.

Identifying Conflict Types for Use in Scenario Creation

Finally, in this discussion of factors in conflict negotiation that go beyond merely promoting one's self-interest, it is necessary to draw some distinctions between conflicts types, as these were critical to the development of the scenarios used in the classroom program (see appendices A and B).

K.W. Thomas (1992) argued that in addition to goal or interest conflicts there are two other types of disputes, and that the nature of a particular conflict would have to be taken into account in selecting an appropriate decision making model.

The first of these other types he labelled 'judgement conflicts', also referred to as 'cognitive conflicts', involving "differences over empirical or factual issues" in which "the key issue is how to combine the different information, insights, or reasoning of the two parties to form a conclusion" (p. 659). These are similar to Jehn's (1995, 1997) 'task-based conflicts', in that they revolve around substantive issues, are perceived as being distinct from interpersonal or relationship conflicts, and may, she argues, be of benefit to workplace performance, providing there is a degree of group tolerance of this type of conflict.

However, also included in K.W. Thomas' (1992) 'judgment conflicts' is a further type or sub-type that emerged from data gathered in a study on work group conflict by Jehn (1997). These are 'process conflicts' which she defines as "conflict about how task accomplishment should proceed in the work unit, who's responsible for what, and how things should be delegated... [including] disagreements about assignments of duties or resources" (p. 540). This type of conflict is important in a work place context because it may distract focus from the task as well as generating dissatisfaction and increasing staff turnover because of 'role ambiguity' and access to resources.

Secondly, and particularly important in cross-cultural negotiations were 'normative conflicts' which "center on a party's evaluation of how the other *should* behave" (K.W. Thomas, 1992, p. 659). These are a source of Jehn's (1995, 1997) 'relationship conflicts' and tend to involve considerable negative emotion including blame and hostility towards others. While in task-based conflicts disputants are usually able to differentiate between the issue causing the grievance and the people involved in the dispute with the result that a transformation from task-based to relationship-based conflict rarely occurs (Jehn, 1997), relationship or normative conflict is extremely detrimental to work performance and hinders the resolution of all other problems.

Because of this, and because we have already examined the consequences of negatively evaluating the language and other behaviours of those from a different cultural background, the interpersonal and affective aspects of negotiation became a necessary focus of the course and the specific tasks delivered within it. In turn, this focus required and examination of a key element within any relationship: the relative power of the two parties.

Power and its Role in Conflict Resolution

While a number of conceptualisations of power exist, the one utilised in this study argues that the extent to which one person has power over another is a measure of the degree to which the second person is *dependent* on the first in achieving desired outcomes (Emerson, 1962). As Tjosvold (1995) expresses it, commenting on the sources of that dependency, "Managers have power to the extent that they control bonuses, recommendations, praise, knowledge, and other resources that employers value because they affect their goals and outcomes" (p. 726).

This broad definition allows for the a number of additional factors important to an understanding of how power may function in conflict, discussed here briefly.

Firstly, the alternatives available to both parties will increase or decrease the dependence either party has on the other, and therefore the power differential in either

direction (Emerson, 1962; Bacharach & Lawler, 1976). To give the example used by R. Ford and Johnson (1998), if in a dispute between a manager and a subordinate regarding a pay rise the subordinate views seeking alternative employment as a viable option, the subordinate's power increases. Likewise, if a manager views employing someone else to fulfil the same position as an alternative, his or her power increases. Availability is a key determinant in this equation, since these alternatives would clearly be affected by whether the job market favoured the manager or the subordinate at any given time.

Secondly, the sources of this power are various. French and Raven (1959) first argued for the existence of five 'bases of power', but this was later extended by Raven (1993) to six, with many subcategories which explicate the ways in which different individuals exercise the power they have over others, and also ways in which the other party may resist. These include the use of 'coercion' and 'reward', as well as power wielded on the basis of superior knowledge or expertise labelled 'expert power', a strong identification with another party and a desire to join the 'group' to which she or he belongs, called 'referent power', and the ability to persuade, named 'informational power'.

Another source of power identified by French and Raven (1959) was 'legitimacy' or the perception of one party that the other has the right to prescribe the way in which he or she should behave. This may be because of the 'status' or 'authority' of the other, because of 'reciprocity' or an obligation to return a 'good', or because of an obligation to help those who are dependent upon one, also called the 'power of the powerless' (Raven, 1993). Legitimacy power was deemed particularly important to this research project because of the latter's cross-cultural nature, and the prevalent notion within the social sciences that certain cultures accept greater levels of 'power distance' or are more hierarchical and respecting of higher status and authority than others (Hofstede, 1980), and because this affects the manner in which they manage conflict, negotiate and communicate more generally (Graham et al., 1994; Hofsteded & Usunier, 1996; Sriussadaporn-Charoenngam & Jablin, 1999; Tinsley, 2001).

A third additional factor of note in this discussion is that power is fundamentally a matter of perception, and that perception may influence the degree to which power

exists, is exercised, or influences the 'target'. Firstly, as Bacharach and Lawler (1976) argued,

> in any interaction involving the use of power, actors seldom have perfect information about their own and the others' power. Power capabilities are typically ambiguous; hence conflicting parties must use situational cues to form subjective power estimates. By managing impressions of power, a person may feign power capabilities and extract concessions from an adversary greater than would be predicted from objective power capabilities. (p. 123)

Secondly, it is clear that alternatives discussed above must not only be available, but be seen to be available by the person involved. The smaller the level of perceived availability, the greater the perceived level of dependence, and therefore the greater the power the other has over the 'self' (Emerson, 1962; Bacharach & Lawler, 1976).

Further, whether the target *perceives* the use of power as fair or unfair, or, alternatively, consistent or inconsistent with group norms may cause resistance to its exercise either immediately or following initial outward compliance. While not altering the 'magnitude' of power in such a situation, perceptions held by the target may render that power 'positive' so that change occurs in the direction intended by the powerful or 'negative' which may mean resistance or that any compliance observed will not be unrelated to any internalisation in that change (French & Raven, 1959).

Finally, legitimacy power too, is strongly affected by the perceived level of authorisation given to the superordinate party by his or her peers, as well as by the perceived level of endorsement of that power by subordinates (R. Ford & Johnson, 1998).

These elements of power are of critical importance to this study because it aims to facilitate learner ability to negotiate successful outcomes in a situation of conflict. 'Success' here does not imply dyadic or organizational success, but rather success as it is construed by the individual learner involved (Van de Vliert, Nauta, Giebels & Janssen, 1999). If the learner is in a position of power, this success will presumably be

easily achieved. If, however the learner is forced to negotiate from a subordinate power position, as most individuals in most situations are (Georgesen & Harris, 2000), the outcomes desired by the learner may be considerably more difficult to achieve. In this situation, the learner will need strategies to mitigate the effects of power, and the ways in which they may be able to do this are worthy of examination.

Overcoming Power Imbalance

The first strategy in reducing the effects of disparate levels of power in dyadic negotiations, takes us back to game theory emphasis on the benefits of interdependent goals. Bringing power to this equation, Tjosvold (1995) has written that:

> Whether people have a cooperative or competitive relationship may substantially affect the dynamics of power. Studies indicate that even with unequal power, people with cooperative goals exchange resources and productively complete tasks, whereas unequal power competition conditions are characterized by suspicions and refusal to exchange resources. (p. 725)

To this Raven (1993) adds that "when both parties effectively [use] referent power, emphasizing their communality and mutuality, we might find less distancing, less distrust, greater cooperation, and deescalation of conflict" (p. 243).

A second strategy, which the previous paragraph directs us towards, is the careful selection of power strategies. We have already noted the potential for legitimate dependence or legitimate reciprocity to aid the less powerful in creating a sense of obligation in the powerful. It is surely a valid approach, therefore, to ask for help on occasion. Raven (1993) also notes the value using an 'indirect approach' to informational power or persuasion: suggesting rather than directly requesting.

Further, since the subordinate may have skills or knowledge that the superordinate needs, emphasising these by making use of one's 'expert power' could be valuable in a negotiation (Raven, 1993). It appears important, in any case, to stress one's competence

as one of the effects of possessing power is that it appears to lead to enhanced self-beliefs in conjunction with negative stereotyping of the subordinate as less competent (Georgesen & Harris, 2000) and untrustworthy (Raven, 1993). Targets typically attempt to disconfirm these beliefs by 'individuating' themselves, but Georgesen and Harris (2000) have recommended that, as part of this differentiation, they demonstrate the ways in which they are contributing to the success of the manager in order to reduce any sense that person may have that every workplace success is solely to her or her credit.

A final means of reducing the power differential involves "invoking or reducing the power of third parties" (Raven, 1993, p. 237). A manager's legitimate power may be reduced by questioning the support or 'authorisation' he or she commands. Additionally, if the third party is pressuring the manager to coerce the subordinate, questioning the expertise or legitimacy of that third party, and the desirability of its actions and policies, may destabilise the power relationship within the dyad. To this informational power approach, however, Raven recommends a less heavy-handed attitude since, since the effect of power is made greater or weaker depending on whether it is delivered in a "loud, forceful, threatening, or sarcastic mode, or in a softer, friendlier, light-humored mode" (p. 237).

In summary, then, there are a number of ways in which the subordinate party may challenge the superordinate party's power, and while these may not always be effective, or perceived as culturally appropriate by learners, examining the options provides a pathway into the strategies and language learners may choose to achieve their goals.

It should be noted however that these 'power strategies' correlate strongly with P. Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of positive and negative 'politeness strategies', discussed later in this chapter. Because of this, although 'power' was discussed in the classroom with students, and is implicitly used in the analysis of the learner video-taped performances, the language used to do this was not usually the language of the literature on power quoted above, but rather that more commonly used within pragmatics.

Dyadic Negotiation Defined for This Study

We now have a more complex view of conflict and its management, and are moving towards a clearer definition of what is involved in 'negotiation' as a 'text' or type of talk that would enable the researcher to introduce it to the classroom. The goal of the this text, a superordinate/subordinate negotiation, can be restated as enabling learners to remove or mitigate the negative impact that a more powerful other may have or has had on something they care about, through the medium of talk. This talk must maximise their chances achieving successful outcomes, as defined by each learner, given that particular situation. This means that the talk must be able to a) manage any negative emotion held by either party, b) emphasise the benefit or acceptability to the other of the outcomes desired by the learner and c) enable the learner to present both themselves and their arguments as empathetically and credibly as possible, to encourage the goodwill and 'altruism' of, or the positive use of power by, the other.

The question, then, is *how* to achieve this, and since the program is one which purports to teach 'language' and its use, *which* language and language behaviours will be brought into the class. It is to these questions we now turn.

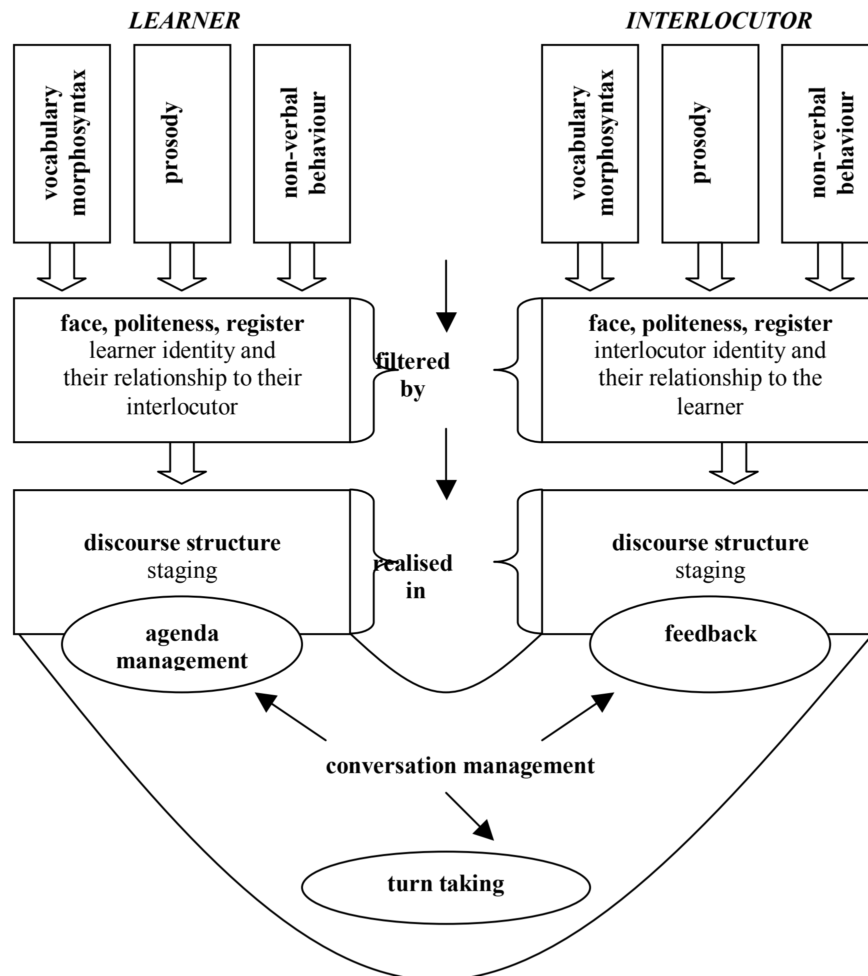
A Classroom Perspective of the Language and Behaviours of Negotiation

To this end, a model (Figure 2.2 below) of the language that may be involved in negotiation, including relevant paralinguistic and extra-linguistic features, is presented, below. This is not done with the intention of explaining language and its relationship to the context and its user in a holistic sense but to organise for discussion purposes, and prioritise for teaching purposes, the language brought into the classroom.

This is an important distinction to make because, in teaching 'language', care must be taken not to teach learners *about* language, but to teach them how to use it for their own ends. As a result, there may be approaches to linguistics which are weaker than others

in terms of their explanatory power, but which are useful tools within the classroom where understanding why and how meaning is made is less important than making meaning itself.

Figure 2-2 The language of negotiation.



The model also indicates the way in which:

1. skills that are traditionally taught (grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation: the ‘what is said’ (J. Thomas, 1983) of English language teaching) were to be incorporated into the body of teaching tasks used during the course delivered as part of the research project.

2. learner identity and the learner's relationship to their interlocutor impacts the way the learner speaks and negotiates.

3. the language the learner and interlocutor bring to the negotiation are mirrored, reflecting commonality but also conflicting interests.

4. much of the language that comes into play is used not to represent the speaker (P. Brown & Levinson 1987), but to manage the interaction involved.

Finally, because all the elements of the model may be said to be culturally influenced in some way, any scrutiny of learner talk using this model will presumably aid in identifying the learner's own sociocultural norms or their 'discourse style'.

The discussion of the model in Figure 2.2 begins at the lower part of the 'U' shape, at the point where the interaction is managed.

Managing Talk at the Micro-Level

Language is not an objective entity, holding value regardless of where, how and by whom it is used (Garfinkel, 1967). Rather, meaning is dependent on, and a product of, the context in which it occurs and the understandings assigned to the talk by the particular participants present at a particular time (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Wittgenstein, 1963/1953). Despite this 'bigger picture' and perhaps counter-intuitively, however, language is constructed, meaning made, and conversational actions achieved at a 'localised' or micro level as part of an interactive process undertaken by the participants (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970). This process, while seemingly ungoverned, is efficient and organised. The reasons for this are described here.

Achieving conversational actions relies on the 'close ordering' or immediate sequencing of at least two utterances which Schegloff and Sacks (1974) named 'adjacency pairs'. The second utterance or 'second pair part' is critical in that it may show the speaker that:

1. the other has understood his or her aims,
2. the other disagrees with him or her, or has deliberately misunderstood, or that
3. the other has not in fact understood the speaker, while believing he or she has.

This close ordering enables any 'troubles' that occur and that have not already been dealt with by the speaker, such as misunderstanding, to be 'fixed' or 'smoothed over' in the following turn or turns in a process called 'repair' (Schegloff, 1992b; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977). It also allows an apparent preference for consensus, agreement and acceptance to operate since any utterance that might not produce a second pair part in keeping with this preference can be reformulated in the following turn, thereby creating the desired accord (Davidson, 1984; Sacks, 1987). In this way, dialogue is generated as a "web of partial mutualities in which... conversationalists manipulate each other's understandings of each other's utterances" (Linell, 1995, p. 181). That this is so provided a mechanism during the research for analysing why learner talk was successful, but also why it 'broke down' in some instances.

Speakers take 'turns' at talking, and this 'turn-taking' is understood to be systematic and orderly, with little 'overlap' caused by two or more parties speaking concurrently, or silence between turns (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). This orderliness is achieved because potential turn-ends or 'transition relevance places' (TRP) are predictable or 'projectable'. Listeners anticipate their approach on the basis of the syntactic, intonation and pragmatic factors involved in the utterance (C.E. Ford & Thompson, 1996; C. Goodwin, 2002; Lerner, 1996; Sacks et al., 1974) although the degree to which they make use of these factors may vary between languages (C. Goodwin, 2002). This projectability allows listeners to bid for turns (if the speaker has not specified the next speaker through the use of a 'first part pair' requiring a response from a particular person) which usually begin, as noted above, immediately after the previous speaker's turn is complete. It is also common, however, and again as a result of TRP projectability, for a second speaker to complete the first speaker's utterance in that person's stead, without necessarily appearing to 'interrupt' (Lerner, 1996).

Turns may be long or short (Sacks et al., 1974) and a number of factors may affect their length and distribution. In settings outside casual conversation, such as a courtroom or more formal meeting, turn length or distribution or both may be pre-specified (Schegloff, 1992a). Turn length, the duration of pausing or silence between turns deemed appropriate, and pre-specified distribution also appear to be, at least in part, culturally influenced (Du-Babcock, 1999; Byrne & FitzGerald, 1996; Murata, 1995; Yamada, 1990).

Turn-taking was of particular importance within this study as an aid in understanding why the learners may have been viewed in the way they were by the English native-speaking reviewer group evaluating student performance on video-tapes after the course. Did the length of turns, pausing between turns, and beginning a turn at points other than TRPs appear to affect the way the learners were viewed? Did the way the students bid for and retain turns impact on the power (or lack or it) they seemed to enjoy?

Very brief turns intended to provide feedback to the current speaker, including actions or minimal responses such as 'yeah' or 'mm hm' and often referred to as 'back channels' (Yngve, 1970) perform additional functions in managing the talk. They may simply acknowledge that a listener is listening, and has no current desire to take on a longer turn, or may indicate, depending on the actual utterance and its pitch contours, a change in accompanying activity, mild agreement, or a need for clarification, to give a very few examples (R. Gardner, 1997).

The use of the back channel indicates the role of listening and its importance within talk, too. As Yngve (1970) noted, while we typically refer to a 'speaker' and a 'hearer', 'listener' or 'interlocutor', the use of back channels implies that "both the person who has the turn and his partner are simultaneously engaged in both speaking and listening" (p. 568). Further, as Sacks et al. (1974) noted:

> An intrinsic motivation is identifiable for listening. In its turn-allocational techniques, the turn-taking system for conversation builds in an intrinsic

> motivation for listening to all utterances in a conversation, independent of other possible motivations, such as interest and politeness. In the variety of techniques for arriving at a new speaker, and in their ordered character, it obliges any willing or potentially intending speaker to listen to and analyse each utterance across its delivery. (p. 727)

Talk is, the authors argued, 'recipient designed'. The way in which talk is constructed and managed provides evidence of the many means that a speaker may use to "display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 727). It is for this reason that the examination of talk at the micro-level is important in a cross-cultural context. The classroom objective is not to teach learners how to manage talk in a particular way, and a way which may well be alien to them, but to

1. compel some awareness of and sensitivity towards others who manage talk differently,

2. to enable them to better detect disagreement and other meanings when they are embedded in a variety of non-lexical forms,

3. to better participate in verbal interactions without creating negative impressions of themselves caused by differences in turn management and distribution, and

4. to enable learners to gain valuable talk time when differing turn allocations make it difficult for them to 'get a word in edgewise'.

This 'other' orientation is not only apparent in the mechanisms used to manage the talk, however, but also in many other choices participants make, which will be discussed as we move 'up' either side of the model shown in Figure 2.2.

Managing Talk at the Macro Level

The researcher believes that in *analysing* talk ethnomethodological CA, which works at the micro-level of talk, is, at least, the most effective starting point in identifying power relationships and social control, since it

1. attempts to assess the interlocutors in their own terms rather than that of those imposed by the analyst,

2. allows the researcher a better mechanism for 'bracketing' the data in order to better examine it – a point taken up in Chapter Three, and because,

3. it is grounded in actual rather than imagined or assumed social interaction (see Billig, 1999; Schegloff, 1997, 1998c, 1999; Wetherell, 1998 on this CA versus CDA debate)

For *pedagogic* purposes, however, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its related Critical Language Study (CLS) analytical and exploratory techniques were deemed to be useful in better understanding the structure of the interaction in its context.

Critical Discourse Analysis & Critical Language Study

Fairclough (1992c) has argued that

> Every discoursal instance has three dimensions: it is a spoken or written *text*; it is an *interaction* between people, involving processes of producing and interpreting the text; and it is part of a piece of *social action*- and in some cases virtually the whole of it. (p. 10)

In analysing talk, Fairclough (1992c) goes on to argue, we need to describe, interpret and explain these three dimensions, with a view to elucidating "the ways in which

power and social control are exercised" (p. 3), and to challenging and effecting change in their use.

In the more formal, controlled, or structured talk of the workplace negotiation, in particular, the management of talk at the macro or discoursal level takes on a more significant role. There are a number of reasons for this. The first is that, in negotiating a matter about which a person may feel very strongly, emotion may have a substantial impact, steering the negotiation 'off-course'. As a result, instead of promoting desirable outcomes, the talk may become hostile and unproductive. To prevent this occurrence, 'agenda management', or in linguistic terms, 'topic management' is critical.

A second reason arises from the very human desire to avoid conflict or give undue prominence to discord within a conversation. Schegloff and Sacks (1974) noted that what they called the 'first topic' rarely begins a conversation in any case. There are openings of the 'how are you' type, which may flow into phatic or 'small' talk (Schneider, 1988) and other unrelated topics as the person intending to address the problematic issue waits in an attempt to 'fit' the topic into the conversation 'naturally': if possible by allowing the other to raise it. They argue that:

> This is so even when the occasion for the conversation was arranged in the interests of that topic. For example, there was a report several years ago in the student newspaper of the School of Engineering at Columbia University about a meeting arranged with the Dean to air student complaints. No complaints were aired. In answer to reporter's questions about why this happened, a student who had been at the meeting replied 'The conversation never got around to that.' (p. 245)

This was also true of one of the two 'model', but unscripted, negotiations between two native speakers of English which were video-taped prior to the course being delivered. In these simulated role-plays between a manager and his subordinate, recorded for teaching and research purposes, the person enacting the role of manager had initiated closing sequences before the subordinate raised the issue she wanted to discuss, almost, it appeared, missing the opportunity altogether. The subordinate, failing to 'fit' her

complaint into the conversation 'naturally,' was forced to raise her concern directly, and did so as the very last topic of conversation.

In facilitating the negotiation of conflict, it is clearly important that the conversation does 'get around to' the problematic issue whether or not that is achieved towards the beginning of a conversation or sometime later as is considered natural both in English (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974) and in at least one Asian culture (Scollon & Scollon, 1983). Again, discourse or agenda management appears to be an appropriate means of achieving this in a workplace context, even if the emphasis an agenda is given in English-speaking business cultures is not shared in others (Paik & Tung, 1999).

Thirdly, the predictive power of some understanding of the discourse structure should be noted. If a negotiator is aware of some of the conversational acts, or stages, that may occur, such as the other venting anger, the negotiator may prepare for them, and thereby manage them more effectively. Likewise, if negotiators have strategies to open the talk, to apologise or to emphasise one's strengths, for example, they may be able to better promote their own interests and manipulate the power imbalance in their own favour, thereby making successful outcomes more likely. This is particularly the case for negotiators operating in a language which is not their own, but even amongst those for whom English is a first language, having an awareness of what may arise reduces the pressure to 'think on their feet'. Some understanding of the managing talk at a macro level should, then, enable learners to negotiate proactively rather than reactively.

Using 'Genre' in the Classroom

Hymes (1980) noted the extremely ritualised nature of talk, arguing that language behaviours appeared to be governed by the culturally specific sociolinguistic norms or rules of a given speech community. Ventola (1995) contended that this was because, "As members of our own society, we have certain specific expectations concerning the structure of the social interaction" (p. 14).

To explain these expectations, and the way in which they affect how talk is structured, the concept of 'genre' has been employed, but in an extended rather than traditional sense. Fairclough (1995) defined the term broadly as " a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity" (p. 14). More specifically, and bringing to the concept the useful notion of an interaction's having predictable 'stages', Martin (1985) characterised genre as a "staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture" (p. 25).

A generic stage is associated with the function it performs within the overall structure of the interaction as a whole. It is the function by which the stage is labelled, rather than the position in which it occurs. For these reasons, stages tend to be genre specific and are not as easily transferable to other interactions or texts in the same way as tags such as 'introduction', 'body' and 'conclusion' might be. Further, while many stages are regarded as 'obligatory' to the genre, others may be 'optional' or even 'recursive', with stages occurring more than once within an interaction, or not at all (Eggins, 1994; Eggins & Slade, 1997).

The generic stages that *might* occur in a negotiation, and the order in which this was likely to happen, although the latter was considered less important than in many generic schema (Eggins, 1994), was determined by examining the model videos, and after consideration of the types of problems that might undermine the agenda. In particular, those stages that enabled them to request the meeting, open and close the talk, stay focused on their agenda rather than the manager's, and better manage affect (theirs or the interlocutor's) were deemed useful stepping stones in moving meetings towards their desired outcomes. The stages were a part of several teaching tasks delivered during the program, and were presented to learners in this fashion:

1. Request a meeting to discuss the problem with your manager.
2. Explain reason for calling the meeting.
3. Explain your position/perspective of the problem.
4. Explain the effect the situation has on you.
5. Ask for a change in your manager's behaviour.
6. Listen to manager's anger/perspective.

7. Restate your manager's perspective so s/he knows you listened.
8. Empathise with manager's position (use flattery if necessary!)
9. Restate your own position (giving good reasons).
10. Ask for change in your manager's behaviour/actions.
11. Thank manager and leave.

It must be kept in mind, however, that since the choice of how to manage the negotiation was ultimately theirs, and since much of the success or otherwise of the negotiation would be a result of the micro-level of conversation management in any case, the emphasis in teaching these stages was on their predictive value. Stages were not presented as either 'obligatory' or 'optional', but rather examined, and chosen for use on their merits. In the same way, stages six to eight above, for example, were identified as potentially reiterative when a number of learners became frustrated that their negotiation was 'going in circles'. In short, genre was available for use as an agenda management tool, rather than as a prescriptive 'rule' book of behaviour for learners to follow. The language used to implement the stages was, likewise, the learners' choice.

Relationships and Language

In moving towards the actual 'language' of the above model, the words and expressions used to negotiate, we are passing through the component so critical to conflict management, that of the learner's sense of self and his or her relationship to an interlocutor.

One approach to understanding this 'self' in a negotiation is via Goffman's (1967) concept of 'face' which he defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p. 5). Goffman argued that a person had not only to establish, maintain and save face during an interaction, but also protect the face of the other. Most people, he argued, will go to considerable effort to maintain (their own and other) 'face' for reasons of "pride" (duty to self), "honour" (duty to others) and "dignity" (p. 9). As a result, face-to-face

interaction is usually “mutually approving”, and social interaction ritualised (p. 88). If, however, this ‘sacred’ sense of self is violated, and expectations of what constitutes proper behaviour infringed, the participants may react with great hostility to the ‘face threatening act’ (FTA). The means of redressing FTAs, and face-wants more generally are many and varied, and were later categorised by P. Brown and Levinson (1987) under the umbrella of ‘politeness’.

Politeness, P. Brown and Levinson (1987) argued, is based on how one party interprets the other’s social needs or ‘face-wants’. Negative face-wants, the desire to get what one wants unimpeded by the other, can be ‘redressed’ or satisfied through a series of strategies the authors labelled ‘negative politeness’. These include the use of deference, apologising, depersonalising requests, explicitly acknowledging debt, and not assuming the other is willing or able to act in a way that benefits the speaker. Since negative politeness strategies are “essentially avoidance-based” (p. 70), aimed at leaving the interlocutor with a ‘way out’ of a difficult situation, there is a tendency to use ‘off-record’ or more ambiguous, indirect means of communicating, so as not to appear to coerce the other, a strategy recommended in the literature on negotiating particularly when given a power imbalance.

Positive politeness, on the other hand, is aimed at fulfilling a perceived need of the other to be approved of. Positive politeness strategies, therefore, emphasise the other’s referent power and mutuality, seen as key to managing conflict, as well as assuming much more about how the other will or should behave, since common ground and reciprocity are inherent in such approaches. Strategies include flattery, sympathy, and expressions of support or solidarity. Specific, direct or ‘on-record’ references to the other’s needs or wants may be made, and offers, promises and reasons for action given.

While P. Brown and Levinson’s politeness theory tends to reference saving the face of the ‘other’, strategies directed at protecting and maintaining what Oetzel et al. (2001) have called ‘self-face’ and ‘mutual face’, “concern for both parties’ image and/or the “image” of the relationship” (p. 238), are also implicitly included. The point is that since ‘face’ is ‘on loan’ to any individual from or others who may reclaim it (Goffman, 1967), self-face work, the defence of one’s own face, and other-face-work, the

protection of the other, are interdependent, and, therefore, of great importance as tools in a negotiation (Roloff & Jordan, 1992).

Because of this, politeness strategies appear to be a more effective way of discussing the types of 'moves' used in managing conflict than the analytical terminology typically employed in the literature on negotiation. In this literature 'competitive' or 'forcing' strategies are compared with 'accommodating' or 'yielding' strategies. In between are moves aimed at 'compromising', or 'problem solving', getting part of what one wants, while forgoing other goals, and 'avoiding' strategies which may result in withdrawal from the negotiation (K.W. Thomas, 1992). While these terms may appear useful on first examination, it seems they are more difficult to define in research situations, particularly when cross-cultural negotiation is involved. Should it always be the case, for example, that an apology represents a compromise while 'involving a third party', avoidance, as Oetzel et al. (2001) have argued? At what point, too, does "giving information about one's own profit positions and priorities" (p. 481) move away from being a 'problem solving' to a 'forcing' position as Van de Vliert et al. (1999) claim? Politeness strategies appear to provide a means of avoiding these somewhat hazy distinctions.

A further reason for using 'politeness strategies' within the teaching model is that their culturally bound usage has been shown to cause considerable discord in multicultural workplaces. In a study conducted in a French-owned, Australia-based business which employed both native French and native Australian-English speakers, for example, Beal (1990) identified three sources of cross-cultural discord arising from different approaches to 'face-work'.

Firstly, she observes that not only do individuals choose different politeness strategies in different situations, one opting for a 'negative' strategy, while the other chooses 'positive', but that the language they choose in selecting the same or similar strategies may also be the source of conflict. She gives the example of requests in which, she states, that while both French and Australians tend to use conventionalised, negative politeness strategies, the form of the requests had resulted in negatively altering the perceptions employees had of each other, to the detriment of working relationships and

productivity generally. These differences, related to morphosyntactic and lexical choice, will be discussed in the section below.

The second issue Beal (1990) identified as being culturally bound were the types of behaviour seen as being 'face-threatening'. She noted that this was particularly true as regards the use of and intrusion into space and room or desk 'territory', the 'ownership' of physical objects which the French perceived as being common property since they were in fact provided by the company, as well as in 'task-oriented' situations in which very different degrees of directness when providing criticisms were seen as being appropriate.

Thirdly, Beal (1990) observes a clash between face wants and other wants. She notes, for example, that a desire for 'sincerity' or 'honesty' might be greater than a need for approval in receiving criticism of one's work, although J. Thomas (1985) has pointed out the difficulty in defining 'honesty' from culture to culture. Beal (1990) also notes that the need to show emotion often overrides face-wants, and that the expression of emotion is more acceptable in French business cultures than in Australian. This difference in the acceptability of affect and the negative stereotyping that it may cause is also attested to by Kochman (1981).

While Beal (1990) intended her study on the cross-cultural application of face-work as a criticism of the applicability of politeness as an analytical tool, her research arguably made understandings of the theory richer. Politeness strategies are clearly a potential source of cross-cultural discord, as well as being an effective tool in highlighting disparities in the 'relationship management' and power management strategies within conflict and negotiation. To address them in the classroom requires an examination of how they are realised in specific linguistic forms, and it is to this to which we now turn.

What Role for Morphosyntax?

In examining the role of 'language' in the traditional sense, and the extent to which the course content would include such features as 'vocabulary' and 'grammar', the 'speech act' became a major tool in highlighting the various norms present in the classroom.

Speech act theory is an approach to language which examines how we 'do' or achieve actions through the language we use. It arose from Austin's (1962) observing that certain 'performatives' verbs, a classic example being 'apologise', 'did' things or achieved actions at the same time that they 'said' them. Austin labelled such actions 'illocutionary acts'. Then, in a series of lectures at Harvard University in 1955, and contrary to the way in which his work has often been represented since, he went on to differentiate such acts and merely "saying something" (p. 95) which he termed a 'locutionary act', "uttering certain noises" (p. 95), or 'phonetic acts' and, finally, 'perlocutionary acts', which referred to the effect/s achieved *by* an utterance, or perhaps by other 'non-locutionary' behaviours in which action takes place without words (Austin, 1962).

Building on Austin's work and redefining much of what he said, Searle (1969) continued to examine the relationship between "what the speaker means, what the sentence (or other linguistic element) uttered means, what the speaker intends, what the hearer understands, and what the rules governing the linguistic elements are" (p. 21). By closely examining the form of an utterance, he attempted to understand how

> the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer. (Searle, 1975, pp. 60-61)

The resulting increased focus on the relationship between this 'background' or cultural heritage of the interlocutors and speech acts meant increased attention was given to the ways in which different speech communities have a tendency to achieve different conversational actions using different conventionalised means (see, for example, Blum-

Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989; Gass & Neu, 1996). It is this last type of analysis which provides the point at which the theory becomes useful in the English language classroom as a means of examining different linguistic practices.

Valid criticisms have been made of speech act theory. Its grouping of utterances into one or another speech act category often appears arbitrary, particularly when a multitude of meanings may be intended, and is typically based on written syntax in any case (Levinson, 1981), which means the micro-level at which meaning is made is ignored. It encourages a view of each utterance as an isolated, monologic entity, unrelated to the utterances around it (Linell, 1995). Additionally, simply asking a person to report on what they *would* say in a particular situation, as speech act research tends to do through the use of 'discourse completion' surveys may not accurately represent real life behaviour (Wolfson, Marmor, & Jones, 1985). Finally, and this criticism will be explored in greater detail below, speech act theory emphasises the lexical realisation of an utterance, not the way in which it is conveyed through the use of pitch and other prosodic features, a feature essential to understanding the illocutionary force of any remark (Couper-Kuhlen, 1986).

Despite these criticisms, speech act theory is, arguably, a useful tool in the classroom, for the following reasons. Firstly, examining speech acts reinforces the degree to which much of the language used in daily life is formulaic, and not constructed anew through a knowledge of the grammar so heavily emphasised within language teaching. Additionally, speech acts demonstrate the importance of 'sociolinguistic competence' within overall 'communicative competence' (Canale, 1983; Hymes, 1979), since they provide examples of social norms, while at the same time making available to learners a tool with which to achieve such acts as opening and closing a meeting.

Secondly, speech acts make plain some of the many differences between language and language behaviours at a simple, easily accessible level. Instead of an approach which implies that 'this is the way we do things here', scenarios can be created in which comparisons are drawn between what is 'normal' for each learner and how that is represented in conventionalised language, and what is normal within the speech communities of other learners and the teacher.

While the researcher does not seek to deny the importance of morphosyntax within language learning, it is her contention that many, equally important features of language are largely disregarded at a classroom level, and given the brief length of the program, it was considered important that these other elements of language were emphasised, even at the expense of 'grammar'. These other features of language will now be discussed.

Paralinguistic and Extra-Linguistic Features of Language

While English language teaching tends to focus on the 'linguistic' features, or formal structures, of language, much is conveyed via its 'paralinguistic' or more specifically, its prosodic aspects, in addition to its 'extra-linguistic' features, often referred to using the term 'non-verbal communication'.

Birdwhistell (1971) described communication as a 'multi-channel' system, comprising verbal content, prosody and body motion. The link between these elements is so fundamental that prosody and body motion have, in some instances, been given more weight than speech itself in the 'meaning-making' process (Ekman, 1988). Facial movement in particular is the subject of much research, not so much because of its capacity to express emotion, but because of its impact on how a speaker is perceived, and its ability to facilitate or inhibit interaction.

Non-Verbal Communication

The discussion of non-verbal communication incorporates a number of areas. Summarised briefly, these are the use of space or 'proxemics', touch or 'haptics', gesture and its function within talk, and 'body posture', 'body motion' or 'kinesics', incorporating 'body torque', with its influence on facial expression and relationship to talk, facial expression. Gaze, while often incorporated into analyses of proxemics and despite its relationship to head movement and posture, has been included here within the discussion on 'facial expression'.

Proxemics

In Beal's (1990) example above, we have already noted the effect culturally dissimilar uses of space and territory may have on how the parties involved view the other. This is not a new discovery. It was Hall (1966, 1968) who first codified the usage of space and noted major cultural differences in its use.

He argued, firstly, that there are major cultural differences in the degree to which space and objects within it are perceived as being 'fixed'. Furniture, such as armchairs, might be judged 'fixed' by individuals from one culture but 'semi-fixed' by those from another in all or only certain contexts such as formal meetings, one's own office space or an office in which one is a guest. Moving furniture might create offence to one party, while the inability to do so may cause the other discomfort. Further, furniture such as a table, might be thought to be in 'public' space within one culture and, together with anything placed on it, in 'private' space in another, affecting assumptions made regarding ownership and territory.

Secondly, Hall (1966, 1968) argued that furniture may be organised in a 'sociopetal' manner conducive to social interaction, or in a 'sociofugal' way that discourages talk, depending on whether interaction is thought to be desirable in a particular environment. He contended that this placement of furniture affects the types of conversation that are deemed appropriate in a particular context as well as the formality or informality of the exchange. Further, he maintained that an arrangement regarded as being sociofugal in one culture might be considered sociopetal in another, and vice versa, again influencing interactions within differently organised spaces.

Finally, Hall (1966) argued that the distance maintained during an encounter, which he labelled 'informal' or 'dynamic' space, was a product of the interactional type and the relationship between the interlocutors involved. His terms 'intimate distance', 'personal distance', 'social distance' and 'public distance' conveyed a sense of American social norms that he argued did not apply in other cultures where differing desired levels of visual, auditory and even olfactory involvement might in determine the interpersonal distance appropriate to a given interaction (Hall, 1968).

This examination and classification of the functional use of space and the construction of territories has a number of implications for engaging in a negotiation with a superior in a workplace environment. Firstly, how an employee enters and seats him or herself in the manager's office will be affected by how the particular manager as well as the organisational culture defines space. It has been the researcher's experience that companies vary in their allocation of space, and how 'closed' or accessible that space appears to be. It may be policy for managers to sit with subordinates in an open plan environment, to be in glass offices with doors kept open unless additional privacy is required, or to position themselves in enclosed spaces separate from the operational area. The employee will need to be aware that they are entering the manager's territory, and that they must therefore be sensitive to their use of furniture, and in particular the manager's desk as they establish co-presence.

A second proxemic consideration is seating preference. Individuals who wish to play a highly participative role in a multi-party negotiation will tend to sit at either end of a rectangular table, while those who wish to remain quiet will usually place themselves near a corner (Hare & Bales, 1963). The preference in a more formal dyadic negotiation is to face the other across a table, which increases the ability to monitor the other, but also facilitates cooperation, according to Gardin, Kaplan, Firestone and Cowan (1973) who conducted a Prisoner's Dilemma Game to test this effect. Alternatively, should the negotiator wish to reduce the formality of the environment, he or she may choose to sit 'side-on' to the manager, gaining proximity and therefore a sense of intimacy (Sommer, 1965). A final choice is to sit side-by-side with the manager, but this is usually a seating position that is reserved for social talk (Hare & Bales, 1963), or task-oriented talk which typically requires mutual handling of paperwork or other objects (Sommer, 1965).

Body Orientation

Another corollary aspect of proxemics is the posture and orientation of the body. 'Postural frames' act as a mechanisms for engagement and disengagement in talk, setting boundaries around a given interaction. It was Scheflen (1972) who first noted

this, commenting that, “When people finish their activity in a group, they indicate this *by discontinuing the postural frame.* They step back, look down and away, turn out from each other, and then go on to other things” (p. 31). They may then re-engage in the interaction “by producing physical movements that show [their] availability” (Szymanski, 1999, p. 8).

Availability and engagement in talk are often signalled by participants ‘mirroring’ each other’s actions, a phenomenon which “appears to occur only between the speaker and the person he directly addresses” (Kendon, 1990, p. 103). This allows participants in an interaction to differentiate themselves from others who may be present, while heightening the ‘bond’ between the two people, processes facilitated by gaze (C. Goodwin, 1980). This ‘congruence’ or ‘synchronicity’ of movement is particular important, maintained Wallbott (1995), if speakers are seeking sympathy from or desire to be positively evaluated by their interlocutors, since a lack of non-verbal congruence can indicate an assertion of independence, and even a violation of the “implicit rules of exchange and interaction” (p. 94).

Building on Kendon’s work, Schegloff (1998a) clarified the way in which a sense of engagement may be evaded by developing the notion of ‘body torque’. Body torque occurs, he explained, when the three segments of the body, ‘above neck’, ‘above waist’ and ‘below waist’, are not in alignment. This divergence projects change in the talk or activity by serving to

> constrain the extendability of action or topic based sequences [of talk], leading the parties to curtail a certain direction of talk and be grudging in contributing to it while it is still in progress. (p. 536)

At sequence end, the body ‘untorques’ inhibiting further conversation, and disengaging the unwilling participant from the interaction.

Since the positioning of the lower body, on which upper body movements are dependent, “strongly communicates people’s frames of dominant orientation” (J.D. Robinson, 1998, p. 99), negotiators who are fully engaged in the interaction will orient

their whole body towards their interlocutor, and attempt to mirror his or her actions. In addition, since the seated position of the trunk and limbs affects perceptions of power (Aguinis & Henle, 2001; Cashdan, 1998), choices made by learners to relax or stiffen their body or to adopt open or closed arm postures may act to their benefit or detriment in the interaction (Mehrabian, 1969).

Arm and hand behaviours are also important in ways that do not relate to body orientation and posture, however, and these are the subject of the following discussion.

Gesture

Gesture is intimately connected with speech. Birdwhistell (1971) wrote that,

> gestures not only do not stand alone as behavioral isolates but they also do not have explicit and invariable meanings. Under analysis, those aspects of body motion which are commonly called gestures turn out to be like stem forms in language. That is, these are bound forms which require suffixual, prefixual, infixual, or transfixual behavior to be attached to them to determine their function in the interactive process. (p. 80)

Because of this close relationship to speech, hand gestures are generally made by the current speaker and fall into three main groupings, categorised by Schegloff (1984) in the following way. 'On-stress' gestures, marking the rhythm or prosodic 'beat' of talk, appear to be used to provide emphasis. 'Iconic' gestures depict or enact the meaning of particular lexis, although they may occur before the referent they enact, or even replace it (M.H. Goodwin, 1980). 'Locatives', a sub-category of iconic gestures reference space, place or direction, or a person or object in a particular space or place.

In addition, non-current speakers use gesture instead of vocalised back channels, to bid for a turn and to avoid relinquishing a turn (Duncan & Fiske, 1985), to show that their last turn was interrupted (by holding a gesture), and that they intend to resume the same talk when the current speakers relinquishes his or her current turn (Schegloff, 1984a).

There are also hand behaviours such as fidgeting, or 'self-grooming' that are 'gesture-like' but which fall into the category of 'touching', discussed below. What must be stated here, however, is that all hand-behaviours, whether they are related to speech, turn-taking or self-touching appear to affect perceptions of the person employing them in talk (Hall & Friedman, 1999) and are therefore worthy of consideration in any process involving the study and analysis of conflict negotiations.

Haptics

Studies of haptics have revealed two major areas of cross-cultural difference. Firstly, the degree to which touching is a part of talk varies between cultures. It is more acceptable to touch others while talking in some than in others, and this categorisation does not appear to be based on 'high/low involvement' or regional dichotomies as had previously been hypothesised (McDaniel & Andersen, 1998; Remland, Jones & Brinkman, 1995). In any case, even in cultures where touching others is relatively frequent, it is still, apparently, an atypical behaviour (Remland, Jones & Brinkman, 1995), and for this reason, was not given high priority in the negotiation model.

The second area of difference between cultures concerns which parts of the body may be touched and to what communicative purpose, which concern arose from an initial, mono-cultural but cross-gender and cross-religious study conducted by Jourard (1966) in the early nineteen sixties. This body/touch 'mapping' is more important in a classroom context for two reasons. Firstly, firstly, touching some body parts is considered 'taboo', and since the where and the how of touching the body varies, learners may unwittingly cause offence or feel offended by a lack of awareness regarding these behaviours.

Secondly, touching is a part of what Fry (2000) has dubbed 'reconciliation rituals'. In an Australian business context, such a ritual is likely to include hand-shaking which must be conducted in a particular manner in order to present positively (Mehrabian,

1971), while in other cultural contexts, presumably, ‘appeasement postures’ such as bowing may be seen as more appropriate.

Facial Expression and Gaze

It was Charles Darwin (1904) who first began observing and publishing on the relationship between facial behaviour and emotion. Although his very popular work, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* had a greater impact on later ethologists, who study animal behaviour, rather than on research into human behaviour (Ekman, 1973), the emphasis of much research remained, until relatively recently, focused on facial behaviours as a form of expression rather than as a means of or adjunct to communication (see, for example, Ekman & Friesen, 1978).

In terms of negotiation and the goals of this research project, two key uses of facial behaviour research are critical. Firstly, the ways in which facial expression may be utilised to construct meaning and manage talk and how this may vary from culture of culture is of obvious import. Secondly, how facial ‘displays’ affect the way speakers or listeners are perceived by their interlocutors will play a major role in the learners’ ability to achieve their negotiation goals. The literature on these areas will now by reviewed briefly.

Facial function was studied by Chovil (1997) and Bavelas and Chovil (1997) who found that facial movement as an expression *to* one’s interlocutor was far more common than an expression *of* one’s emotion, and that, as a result, facial expression plays a major role in communicating responses to another’s speech. In combination with head movements, it can signal interest (Birdwhistell, 1971) or empathy with another’s pain through a process Bavelas, Black, Lemery and Mullet (1986) labelled ‘mimicry’. It has also been found that some responses are realised purely through facial expression, as in the case of a smile used as a back channel (Brunner, 1979).

Facial expression is so indicative of the ‘real message’ being conveyed to a listener, that Thompson, Aidinejad and Ponte (2001) found that older adults tend to reconstruct

conversations based on facial movement rather than verbal content in situations where the two are in contradiction. Children, too, have been found to make similar overall judgements of the communicative intent of messages based on facial expression rather than vocal content (Thompson et al., 2001).

It has also been discovered that facial expressions may provide the only reliable clues to identifying a lie (Ekman, Friesen & O'Sullivan, 1997), since facial expressions, produced on signals from the brain, are involuntary (Ekman, 1997), and the best an individual can do is to attempt to hide them, a process prone to failure or 'leakages' of the real emotion underlying the lie (Ekman, 1988).

Additionally, single components of facial expression, such gaze behaviour, have been shown to have demonstrable effects on how speakers are perceived as people. Maintaining a direct gaze, for example, can mean that speakers are evaluated as more 'mature' (Knackstedt & Kleinke, 1991) and more credible (Brooks, Church & Fraser, 1986), and that conversely, for example,

> gaze avoidant women were viewed by others as less happy and less agreeable… and as less active, less extraverted and outgoing, less conscientious, and less stable… (Larsen & Shackelford, 1996, p. 914).

Smiling, too, has been found to affect perceptions of power and credibility (Aguinis, Simonsen & Pierce, 1998; Cashdan 1998), in addition to being a common tactic used to 'mask' negative emotions. A display of anger or discomfort is so unacceptable in some cultures such as Japan, that when with other people, fabricating a masking smile amounts to a social law or 'display rule' (Ekman, 1997). Hecht and LaFrance (1998) found an additional relationship between smiling and power, with their discovery that those with power could ignore such 'display rules' and smile when they chose, whereas those without or with less power were obligated to follow them, smiling or not smiling as the context decreed.

Finally, the importance of facial expression to language and meaning has implications for the system of turn-taking itself. While Sacks et al. (1974) acknowledged the

contribution intonation makes to the syntactic ‘projectability’ of Turn Construction Units (TCUs), which allow interlocutors to enter a conversation at an appropriate ‘transition relevance place’ (TRP), it was research done by C.E. Ford and Thompson (1996) which, much later, established that turns are considerably more likely to be transferred when syntactic completion is accompanied by intonation and *pragmatic* completion. While this last is, admittedly, difficult to analyse because of its “intuitive and provisional” nature (C.E. Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 150), it is clearly possible that facial expression, as a meaning-making resource, plays a role in TRP projectability, an undeniably complex process.

Clearly, it is important that learners have an awareness of the effect of their facial expression when negotiating, and need some capacity, gained perhaps through awareness and experimentation, of how any incongruence between their face and their talk might negatively impact the impression they make on others, and therefore, on their desired outcomes.

Prosody

The final component of the model used to introduce aspects of language into the ESOL classroom is ‘prosody’. Although the teaching program conducted for this research project touched on a variety of other suprasegmental features of speech, the major focus was on those aspects of prosody constituting the so-called ‘British’ definition: “loudness (a component of stress), duration (a component of ‘rhythm’ and ‘tempo’), pitch (a component of intonation) and pause” (Couper-Kuhlen, 1986, p. 4).

The importance of these features of language to interaction is summed up in this statement by Swerts and Hirschberg (1998) who argued that:

> prosody is known to be a flexible device, which may signal different aspects of dialog structure, such as turn-taking, topic structure, information status, type of speech act, attitudinal and emotional characteristics of utterances, and mutual beliefs of dialog partners. (p. 229)

In addition, research has demonstrated how prosodic choice and difference impact upon the level of success of an interaction, and how speakers are perceived more generally. In his work on the use of primary stress, Gumperz (1992, 1995), for example, has established the discriminatory perceptions and misunderstandings caused by a hearer's not being attuned to the stress cues given him or her by the speaker due to cultural and linguistic difference. Schegloff (1998b) has demonstrated the relevance of pitch in determining the 'tone' of a conversation and how one participant may view and accommodate another, or alternatively, choose not to do so. Swan and Smith (1987) have noted how the rhythm and tempo of learner language can produce an impression of abruptness, while Apple, Kraus and Streeter (1979) discovered that the combination of pitch and speech rate may result in some speakers being view as "less truthful" (p. 715) than others.

Given its role within language and interaction, incorporating prosody into teaching programs would appear to be an obvious step. However, approaches to teaching prosody and pronunciation more generally have 'come full circle' and now appear to favour an emphasis on the segmental rather than the suprasegmental features of speech. Older approaches such as the audiolingual method emphasised underlined "the accurate production of isolated sounds and words" (Pennington & Richards, 1986, p. 207). Over time, however, the meaning-making capacity of prosody came to the fore with approaches focusing on learner ability to use the prosodic features of English in a native-like manner (see, for example, Clennell, 1997; Gilbert, 1994; Pennington, 1989; Rosse, 1999). More recently, again because of its being construed as a form of cultural or linguistic imperialism, approaches have returned to underlining 'intelligibility' on the basis that "treating a native norms as the goal for production... is neither a desirable nor, in fact, a likely outcome" (Jenkins, 1998, p. 124).

Once more, making use of Clyne's (1994) 'active/passive' dichotomy, it seems essential that learners at least have some awareness of the meanings made through the use of prosody in order to avoid

a) misunderstanding the other's meaning and

b) circumventing discrimination because of their own speech production or due to missing ‘cues’ provided by the interlocutor,

as difficult as it may be to ‘teach’ or facilitate such an understanding in speakers of very different L1 backgrounds (Pennington & Ellis, 2000). Further, as Morgan (1998) demonstrated with one class, noting that “several students enjoyed placing particular emphasis on the social response that they wanted to convey” (p. 78), learners may even choose to make use of prosody in an interaction, because it may increase the level of power or control they experience within that talk.

Additionally, it appears misleading to implicitly teach learners that merely manipulating vocabulary and syntax will produce the meanings they may want to construct. Returning to the uses and misuses of speech act theory within the classroom, unless some consideration is given to *how* something is said rather than what is said, learners can and do, in the experience of this researcher, assume that they are more or less polite, more or less assertive, or more less formal in their approach than they actually appear to others, because of what they understand of syntax and semantics. Since this is erroneous, a sole focus on whether a learner’s speech is comprehensible or not is insufficient, particularly in a situation of conflict.

Conclusion: Language in the ESOL Classroom

Of necessity, the review of the language undertaken in this chapter is cursory. It should be reiterated that the model used to frame the discussion did not attempt to describe an approach to language as a whole. It was, rather, an attempt to order and prioritise the ‘language’ that could be taught in a period of 16 hours over four days as the nature of ‘conflict management negotiation in the workplace’ was investigated by learners and teacher in an ESOL classroom. It also raised the major ways in which learner talk was later analysed by the researcher to identify how talk influences the way we are seen as people.

The purpose of this greatly simplified model was to identify the factors that would *most* contribute to a successful outcomes being achieved by learners undertaking a workplace negotiation, while, it was hoped, widening the view of 'language' traditionally taken into the ESOL classroom. It was also intended as a framework through which learners could readily explore and explain differences between their own language practices, and those identified by the teacher and other learners. In short, the model sought to outline the 'do-able' in a classroom context, rather than to explain negotiation, talk or the language of business more generally.

Whether this restricted model of language was a useful one, and how it was deployed in the classroom is the subject of Chapters Four and Five, while the teaching materials used during the course are presented in Appendix C. Before these analyses can be undertaken however, the research process constructed to conduct this evaluation should be described. It is to this description that we now turn in Chapter Three.

Chapter 3 : Research Project: Paradigms & Processes

Introduction to the Research Project

Heidegger (1962/1927) wrote that "every inquiry is a seeking" (p. 264) involving:

1. "that which is asked about",
2. "that which is interrogated" and
3. "that which is to be found out by the asking" (p. 24).

This case study in the interpretivist tradition employs a multi-faceted or 'multi-faced' approach (Taylor & Trumbull, 2000) to understanding these elements, making use of both qualitative and quantitative data gathered using ethnographic and ethnomethodological techniques in a four-stage analytical process, outlined briefly in Chapter One.

Before we can examine the research project design, however, the research question itself must be revisited and explored. The way in which the various research activities or data collection processes addressed these questions is also outlined. Once this has been achieved, some consideration is given to the research paradigm within which the enquiry was conducted, and in particular to the epistemological assumptions made about 'knowledge' and 'knowing', which generated the research project design. Finally in this chapter, there is an extended review of the data collection and analysis components, outlined here:

5. Learners undertook an English language program entitled *Real Life Negotiation* aimed at increasing their ability to interact verbally (manage conflict via dyadic negotiation) in business environments. The course was intended to increase

their ability to use culturally appropriate spoken language in conjunction with compatible prosodic and paralinguistic features as well as conversation management strategies. Prior to the course running, native English speakers were video-taped undertaking two of the same (unscripted) negotiation role-plays. These video-recordings were incorporated into the teaching materials.

6. Learners were video-taped negotiating with other learners before and after the English language program.

7. Learners kept diaries of their experiences and self-evaluation, and were interviewed following the course.

8. A group of nine native speakers of English from non-language teaching backgrounds viewed the 'before' and 'after' video-tapes and completed a survey aimed at collecting and quantitatively measuring (change in) their perceptions of the learners.

9. The 'before' and 'after' negotiations were then analysed by the researcher using Conversation Analysis (CA), modified to include some aspects of facial expression.

10. Triangulation or 'counter checking' process then took place in which the CA analysis was compared to both the learner diary and interview data as well as to the native English-speaking reviewer group data.

As noted in Chapter One's 'research roadmap', the description and investigation of the English language program itself, as well as learner reactions to it, is undertaken in Chapter Four.

Analysis of the research question

The research question, “How can teachers best enable adult English language learners to interact verbally?” can be seen, on closer examination, to involve three major components or sub-questions:

1. Can learners in a classroom environment develop the ability to manipulate their discourse strategies at will to accommodate perceptions of them formed by native speakers of English and therefore better achieve their goals?

2. What discourse skills or practices appear to determine the success or failure of a negotiation and should therefore be given preferential treatment in any syllabus aimed at improving verbal interactional skills?

3. How do the learners, as major stakeholders in this process, view this ‘enabling’? What teaching practices at classroom level are ‘best’ from their perspective, in terms of their developing their ability to manipulate their language use?

Can learners develop the ability to manipulate their discourse strategies at will?

The first of these is simply the question of whether ‘teaching’, or more specifically, a series of teaching tasks, delivered over 16 hours across a four week period, can enable adult learners of English to make choices regarding the discourse styles and strategies they use when negotiating in English with speakers of English and of other languages, with a view to negotiating more successfully by achieving outcomes more acceptable to the student.

The effects of modifying their discourse styles and negotiating strategies were judged by a group of native English speakers from a range of business and professional backgrounds. This ‘reviewer group’, as they were labelled, viewed video-tapes of

learners' undertaking a role-play prior to and following the course. While watching, they evaluated the learners on how they 'came across' in terms of credibility, sincerity, professionalism and other qualities. None of the reviewer group were involved in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), as this has been shown to influence judgement in ways atypical of native speakers of English in general (Eltis, 1989). In other words, efforts were made to ensure that the evaluators of the learner group were more representative of those who would judge the learners in a 'real-life' situation than 'raters' of English language 'proficiency' (Pienemann & Johnston, 1987) using such standards as those set by the *Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings: General Proficiency Version for English* (Wylie & Ingram, 1995), for example. Further, no attempt was made to treat the reviewer group as 'coders' of language and impel them towards internal group consistency. Ekman (1988) has shown that there are great differences in the extent to which people make use of pragmatic cues 'sent out' be speakers when listening to them. In using the reviewer group to address this sub- research question, it was hoped that there would be a range of responses, and the researcher was keen to discover whether, given this range, there were still trends or consistencies inherent in the data.

This question, "Can learners be taught to manipulate their discourse strategies at will to achieve particular goals or adapt to a specific context?" is one largely ignored by the literature to date which has tended to:

a) encourage learners to emulate native English-speaking norms at all times, and within all contexts when using the language (see, for example, Brown & Yule, 1983),

b) focus on the reasons for sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic failure (J. Thomas, 1983) by testing the English negotiation performance of Speakers of Other Languages without prior teaching (see, for example, Murphy & Neu, 1996; Micheau & Billmyer, 1987), or

c) teach learners *about* language and how it 'works' (see, for example, Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997),

rather than approaching language as a series of discourse practices or behaviours that have different consequences, and from which learners can choose.

The debates on how much effect activities within the ESOL Classroom can have on the development of language proficiency without their being an accompanying longer term process of acculturation (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985) as well as beliefs regarding the automatic and unavoidable transfer of first language (L1) discourse strategies to the learner's second language (L2) (Olshtain & Cohen, 1990) have also, it would appear, created assumptions relating second language learners and their inability to change their discourse style to suit the particular context in which they find themselves.

In short, part one of the research question is an attempt to call into question existing hypotheses regarding L1 transfer of discourse strategies.

What negotiation skills appear to determine the success or failure of the negotiation?

The second element of the research question is more complex, but critical to providing a more comprehensive answer to the question. This addresses the issue of which, of the myriad of skills or practices involved in a verbal negotiation, most determine its success. It is an attempt, in other words, to better determine course content; *what* should we be teaching to enable learners to negotiate. This analysis involves correlating the results of

1. the success or lack of it in learners' negotiation performance (as judged by the reviewer group) with

2. the skills they used, or failed to use, to achieve this (as analysed and discussed by the researcher).

The latter recognises the multi-faceted nature or 'multimodality' (Kress, 1999) of spoken language, that a successful verbal interaction involves not only the linguistic skills traditionally taught in English as a Second Language (ESL) classrooms (J. Thomas, 1983), but paralinguistic linguistic elements such as pronunciation (stress, intonation, pitch) and extra-linguistic elements such as body motion and facial expression (Birdwhistell, 1971).

In undertaking this analysis, the researcher hoped to identify exactly which discourse skills or features, from the vast number used by native speakers of English to negotiate successfully in a verbal interaction, *most* contribute to a non-native speaker's ability to negotiate in English.

This was to be done by comparing

1. learner performance data: a video recording of learners undertaking a business negotiation in a simulated role-play, which was deconstructed using Conversation Analysis techniques and

2. the quantitative and qualitative survey data assessing this performance completed by the group of native speakers of English,

and examining the relationships between the two sets of data. Was there a correlation between the linguistic features used or not used by the learners and how the English native speaker group perceived them? If so, what specific features had the greatest effect on these perceptions, in terms of achieving a successful negotiated outcome? Surely it is these linguistic features, which must provide the basis of any spoken language TESOL syllabus.

How do learners view this 'enabling'? What is 'best' for them?

> Any theory of second-language acquisition which does not explicitly take into account classroom data…is seriously incomplete. (van Lier, 1988, p. 23)

It has long been recognised that a teacher's agenda may have very little to do with those held by individual learners (Breen & Littlejohn, 2000; Swain, 1995). That is to say, they not only have different goals, but also, as Guba and Lincoln (1981) argue, place different values on events that occur. What this means in the context of the classroom, therefore, is that 'best' teaching practice viewed from the teacher's perspective may differ greatly from best teaching practice as it is understood by the learners.

The third sub-question of the research attempts to address this perspective and recognises that there is not one evaluation being undertaken in this inquiry, but two. While the first evaluation is largely a 'linguistic' one, involving the data generated by the learners in their video-taped role-plays, the second concerns the activities inside and out of the classroom and the impact these had on the learners' developing awarenesses of language. It involves, in short, inquiry into and evaluation of the learning processes by both the teacher and learners.

In this second evaluation, the stakeholders are different, and one group, the learners, are very much more 'at risk'. Accordingly, as Guba and Lincoln (1981, 1989) contend, they should be given a greater voice, or better, an *equal* voice in constructing the determinants and outcomes of the evaluation. This voice, in turn, provides an additional perspective of the data in the first 'linguistic' evaluation, as well as a means of triangulating it (Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

The data intended to address the third sub-question was gathered largely through the teaching process itself in the form of a 'log-book' or 'diary' rather than via separate 'ethnographic' techniques in which the students were asked to complete tasks not directly related to their own learning. In the diaries, the learner's thoughts about, reactions to and experiences of language and their own learning were recorded in their own words. Those reactions were also captured on video, as sections of the lessons, particularly those showing the learners working collaboratively on tasks, were recorded. In addition to this, however, the learners were interviewed following the course to gain some understanding of how they viewed or assigned value to the course and its practical outcomes.

In these ways, it was anticipated that the potential 'victims' of this research evaluation would became 'agents', or decision makers, developers and implementers of the evaluation, negotiating with the teacher/researcher (the other major stakeholder and voice) a more sophisticated understanding of what best enables adult ESOL language learners to negotiate in English (Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

Research Paradigm

These three questions give rise to further queries regarding the nature of the entities under examination, the nature of reality itself, and how that 'reality' is to be understood. Are we, in fact, studying language or events themselves, or only the way in which those involved perceived and interacted with the language and events? To address this question, the paradigm of the researcher undertaking this project must be explored.

Ontology

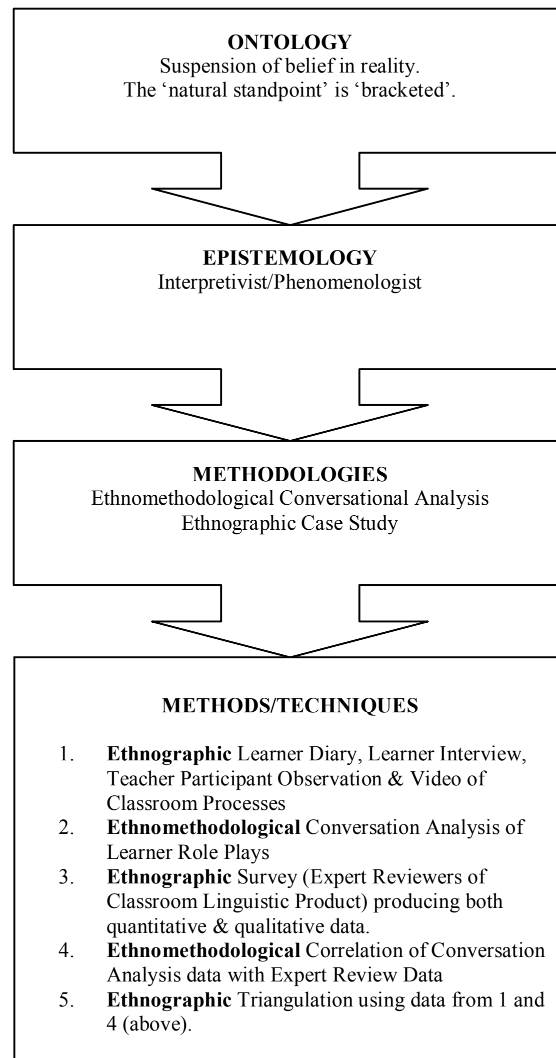
> The safeguarding of the subjective point of view is the only but sufficient guarantee that the world of social reality will not be replaced by a fictional non-existing world by the scientific observer. (Schutz, 1964, p. 8)

As Guba and Lincoln (1994) have noted, the boundaries between what is meant by 'ontology' and 'epistemology' become blurred within certain paradigms, because, unless one is an 'Objectivist' with a belief in a discoverable, knowable and measurable reality existing "independently of consciousness and experience" (Crotty, 1998, p. 5), the study of reality, 'being' or "*what is* (ontology)" is understood to be governed by "*what it means to know* (epistemology)" (Crotty, 1998, p 10.).

This is evidenced in that 'Interpretivism' is judged 'ontology' by Scott and Usher (1999), 'epistemology' by Guba and Lincoln (1994), and a 'theoretical perspective' by Crotty (1998). Heidegger (1962/1927), in fact, argued that 'reality' was a moot point in

any case since any enquiry into 'Being-in-the World' or 'entities-in-the-world' involved focusing the self and its consciousness, his version of 'Dasein', on them, thereby removing any separateness of 'self' and 'object'.

Figure 3-1 Model of Research Paradigm



For the purposes of this enquiry, the researcher follows Husserl (1931/1913), who argued that while we 'know' that the world exists from our "natural standpoint" (p. 106), we "set it…out of action", "disconnect it" or "bracket it" (p. 108), in order to focus on our own perceptions as the core data of research. The Husserlian view of reality gives us entry into the research paradigm model as Figure 3.1 above shows:

Epistemology

The epistemological paradigm used by the researcher is broadly interpretivist, but it is one that is underpinned by a phenomenological rather than a Hermeneutic view of 'understanding', or 'interpretation'. While both approaches acknowledge the dialogic relationship between the investigator and the investigated - what Gadamer (1979/1960) called the 'text' - phenomenology accepts the possibility of an entity outside one's own perception with which to have a relationship. It therefore concedes the impossibility of truly understanding another entity, and gives pre-eminence to:

1. the entities under investigation themselves which "speak to us at first hand" or which "*we directly experience*" (Crotty, 1998, p. 79) as well as

2. the interpreted, reiterative and negotiated relationship between the researcher and these entities,

rather than arguing that the various relationships described by '2' above are the *only* realities constructed by us to make sense of the world (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This paradigm is discussed in more detail below.

What level of 'knowing' can we aspire to?

Schutz (1970) argued that different levels or degrees of knowledge exist, ranging from "ignorance", through "ambiguity", "guesswork", "common sense" or "blind belief", to clarity and "coherence". (pp. 74-75). Far from being interested in truth, he contended, people are content with likelihood, and can even hold incompatible statements to be 'true', or equally valid as a result of the different roles they hold.

While 'guesswork' is an inadequate standard for this or any academic enquiry, in interpreting and acting upon perceived learner needs within the classroom, something less than certainty is held to be an appropriate response given difficulties of interpretation associated with this context.

While Weber (1962/1925) argued “it is not necessary “to be Caesar in order to understand Caesar”” (p. 30), he went on to say that while “emotionally emphatic, artistically appreciative” (p. 30) interpretation was generally proof of understanding,

> The more radically [the goals and values held by those under interpretation] vary from our own ultimate values, the more difficult it is for us to understand them through sympathetic participation. (p. 31)

In a classroom situation, faced with learners from seven different ethnic backgrounds, the values in question are clearly very different from those held by the researcher/teacher, and the limitations of the interpretation or ‘knowing’ must be acknowledged as being, at best, partial and approximate. As Garfinkel (1967) contended:

> the investigator frequently must elect among alternative courses of interpretation and inquiry to the end of deciding matters of fact, hypothesis, conjecture, fancy, and the rest, despite the fact that in the calculable sense of the term “know”, he does not and even cannot “know”… (p. 77)

Because of this, the tempting notion that one can take on the viewpoint of another person viewing the text or object, thereby ‘putting oneself in their shoes’, and enlarge one’s own understanding by merging or ‘fusing’ the second person’s understanding with one’s own in what Gadamer (1979/1960) called a ‘fusion of horizons’, must be put aside. The key to understanding and interpretation lies in ‘phenomenological Interpretivism’ as characterized by Husserl (1931/1913), Heidegger (1962/1927) and Schutz (1970). This involves interpretation *after* the event of the event as a discrete entity (Schutz, 1970).

Phenomenological Interpretivism: Observation and Understanding

> …it is the aim of science to produce a theory which agrees with experience by explaining the thought objects constructed by common sense through the mental constructs or thought objects of science. (Schutz, 1970, p. 271)

Schutz (1970) argued that, without entering into a relationship with the object or person one was attempting to understand, there were three ways in which it or they could be interpreted. The first was by projecting one's own experiences and understandings onto that person and assuming the reasons for their actions to be similar: Heidegger's (1962/1927) 'fore-conceptions' or 'fore-structures'. Heidegger maintained that the 'self' projected its understanding onto objects. He argued that when we observe an object we see it 'as' something. In other words, we fit the new object into our existing structure of understanding, which, Schutz (1970) has argued, is largely "socially derived" since

> The vernacular of everyday life is primarily a language of named things and events, and any name includes a typification or generalization referring to the relevance system prevailing in the in-group which found the named thing significant enough to provide a separate term for it. (p. 96)

This "as-structure" (p. 89) of observation, combines with conceptions we have regarding an object *before* we see it; namely, "fore-conceptions" (p. 91). The observation of an entity then, is merely the assumption, understanding or interpretation of the object in view and our work as enquirers is to make clear those assumptions.

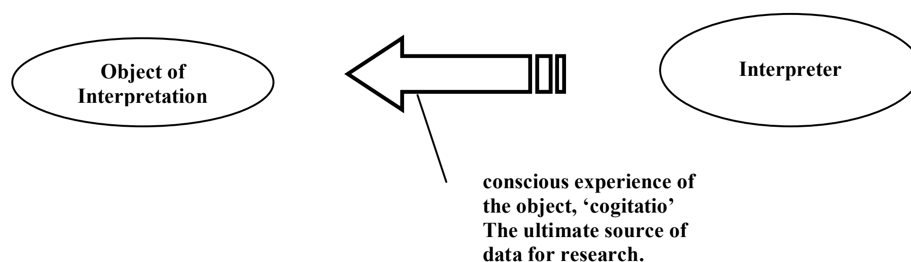
The second means of understanding without entering into dialogue with the entity involves taking one's existing knowledge of that person and their customary behaviour and combining this with predictions regarding the apparent reasons for their current actions which he called "in-order-to and because-of motives" (Schutz, 1970, p. 188) to interpret their behaviour. This second type includes not only individual behaviours, but also the behaviours of actors considered 'typical' or representative of the group in

question: in this case, taking what one knows of learners in general, and applying that knowledge, or set of assumptions, to the learners of this study.

Thirdly, Schutz stated, having no pre-existing knowledge of that person, we could guess at their motives based on witnessed behaviour alone. Collectively, he termed these three modes of interpretation "observation" (p. 188), an activity that plays a substantial role in this research.

Husserl (1931) on whose work Schutz' (1970) writing is partially based, described this process variously as "cogitatio", having a "conscious experience" of, taking a "mental look" at and being "intentionally related to" an object. He argued that this conscious experience was an object in itself. It was the object to focus on once the reality of one's 'natural standpoint' had been bracketed, and in fact all that remained once reality had been bracketed. It can be represented in this way:

Figure 3-2 Conscious Experience, 'Cogitatio', as Object



To this mental examination of the object we bring, argued Husserl (1931/1913), other "non-actual entities" such as our "fancies" or "recollections" (p. 116). In short, we bring our previous experience, assumptions, 'as-structures', 'fore-conceptions', prejudices and the like, so that it cannot be said that we see or know this object, but rather that we interpret it from our own perspective or viewpoint which we can, at best, define, but never rid ourselves of. Consciousness, necessarily *of* something, also "includes *all* experiences" (p. 113.), but these are all our own. Phenomenology makes no claim to understanding another from their point of view. It does however, allow for interaction between objects and the creation of understanding through a dialogue between the subjective views of the interpreter and his or her interlocutor, and this is

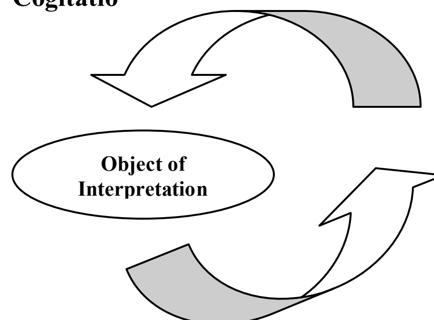
discussed below. Prior to that, however, we must examine the consequences our projection of self onto other objects, be they people or events.

Firstly, we must accept that everything is known via our fore-structures and that therefore there is no independent way of knowing outside this in our social and historical world (Heidegger, 1962/1927).

Secondly, this view of observation or understanding allows for error. Because one is trying to fit the behaviour of another person or persons into one's own meaning systems, or 'meaning context' as Schutz (1970) has labelled it, and the observed person may have a very different set of lived experiences, one's classification of their behaviour may be quite inadequate in describing how they see themselves.

Finally, we need to account for our internal perceptions and reflections. Often in our day-to-day lives, we reflect on what we have observed. This capacity for reflexivity is, if anything, more critical in a research context (Scott & Usher, 1999). In doing so, although we are still 'intentionally' directed towards the original object of our interpretation, we are also interpreting our interpretation. Husserl (1931) argued that this thinking about and reflecting on our original observation or interpretation, or to express it another way, the development of our thinking regarding an entity or event, did not result in a cogitatio of cogitatio (two separate objects), but rather melded into a "single concrete cogitatio" (p. 24). The arrow in the model of consciousness above can more truly be represented as it is in the model below (Figure 3.3), in order to explain how we arrive at a reflexive evaluation, therefore.

Figure 3-3 Inner Reflections of 'Cogitatio'



NB: The arrow, reflecting on itself as well as the object, changes with each reflection.

Hence, in the research process, we have a variety of observations and thus, interpretations including:

1. Researcher of the class: via video and via direct observation

2. Native English-speaking reviewer group of class (via video)

3. Analysis and comparison by researcher of the video-taped role play performance and reviewer group survey results.

Phenomenological Interpretivism: Dialogue between Knower and Known

However, in the case of the researcher analysing the learner group's behaviour from the data generated and from the actions observed during the data collection process, the relationship of the researcher/teacher to the learners was something other than that of an observer of social behaviour. We are talking, in this instance, of shared experience, or co-ordinating temporally two different sets of subjective experiences, as Schutz (1970) would have it.

When we talk about the relationships between:

1. the students learning in the class and the teacher teaching them,

2. the data generated by the learners in their 'learner diaries' and the researcher analysing this "expressive action" (Schutz, 1970, p. 178), or

3. the semi-structured exit interviews discussing the learners' experience,

we are dealing with two people focusing their consciousness, or stream of consciousness, on the other in a series of intentional acts, rather than the 'observation'

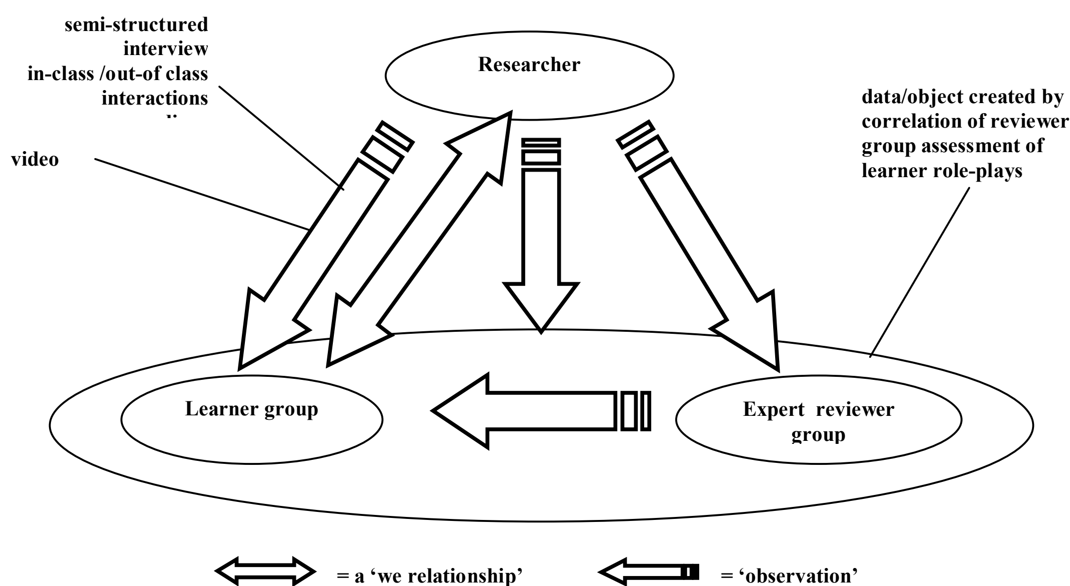
described above. This Schutz (1970) calls a "we-relationship" (p. 187); a concept critical to this enquiry, based as it is on

1. two people undertaking a simulated business negotiation which necessarily involves interaction, and

2. teaching, which of necessity generates a teacher-learner dialogue.

It is not then, the projection of self onto the object (observation) which is of critical importance in this context, but rather the object created by the dialogue between two entities; in this case the researcher/teacher and learners. The question then becomes one of how best to investigate these dialogically created objects ('we-relationships'), represented by Figure 3.4 below.

Figure 3-4 Phenomenological Model



Schutz (1970) suggests that we take account of the 'you' or interlocutor in the interaction by firstly examining the spoken word, then secondly, asking how those words came to be used. This epistemological approach was applied at a methodological level through the use of ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis, chosen as a tool

because it provides a means of closely examining an interaction via the spoken word, as Schutz exhorts. It is also beneficial as a means of 'bracketing' reality due to the time that elapses between hearing or witnessing the interaction and re-examining it, allowing the researcher to put aside his or her initial responses. This 'disconnection' is also necessarily attained because each component of the interaction that the observer chooses to examine can be analysed individually, by the natural 'staging' of the transcription process, so that the researcher's full attention is first given to primary stress, the length of pauses, or a particular group of facial muscles, for example.

A variety of ethnographic means, discussed in further detail below, were then used to triangulate the Conversation Analysis data.

Educational Context

Before we can examine the methods used to explore the relationships between teacher/researcher and learners, and the various perceptions of the learners and their interlanguage development held by themselves, the researcher/teacher and native speaker reviewer group, the learner participants as well as the context, environment or 'setting' must firstly be described.

Institutional Profile

The locus for the classroom data collection component of the research (course delivery, video recording of learner negotiating performance and learner post-course assessment survey) was a private ELICOS (English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students) educational institution.

At the time of the course delivery, the institution had been in existence approximately eight years and was one of the larger ELICOS institutions in Sydney with in the region

of 250 students (although this fluctuated by 30% or more in either direction on a seasonal basis).

The students came from a variety of backgrounds, both culturally and professionally, with the majority being from North Asia (Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese, Chinese) or Brazil. At the time of the course delivery, however, there were increasing numbers from Europe (Czech, German, French, Polish) and from other parts of South America, and also fluctuating numbers of students from South East Asia (Thai, Vietnamese, Indonesian). They generally ranged in age from 17 to 35 with those over 22 years of age tending to be tertiary educated. Many had studied English at secondary and tertiary levels. As such, the learners brought very different social, business and life experience, very different learning strategies and very different linguistic (L1) bases, ranging from tonal to Latin languages, to the school, its classes and culture.

Placement and Assessment Procedures

The school offered General Intensive English courses from 'Beginner' to 'Advanced' levels; a total of eight proficiency levels roughly equivalent to the *Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings* (ASLPR) of '0' to '5' ('zero proficiency' to 'native-like proficiency') (Wylie & Ingram, 1995). In addition, courses in English for Academic Purposes, some of which gave students 'direct entry' to universities, high school preparation classes and 'exam classes' preparing for the series of examinations carried out under the auspices of the University of Cambridge and known generally as the 'Cambridge Exams' were available. Each class had a maximum of eighteen students, with an estimated mean average of fourteen or fifteen. Students attended the school for periods ranging from two weeks to nine months.

On entering the school, students completed a test, proprietary to the school, which was aimed at estimating their current level of proficiency. They were then placed in classes that they attended for 20 hours a week, completing, in addition, a major assignment every term which lasted four weeks. A further five hours a week was expected from students who had entered the country on a 'student visa' and they spent this doing tasks

of their own choice, largely unsupervised, in one of the school's 'self-study' facilities or by taking an additional pronunciation class. At the end of each term students were tested in speaking, reading, writing, listening and grammar, given a written report on their academic progress and were 'put up' a proficiency level if the teacher deemed it appropriate. Each General Intensive English class had two teachers.

Syllabus, Staff and Facilities

The syllabus was of 16 weeks duration at each proficiency level and organised into weekly units. Each unit comprised structural, functional, thematic and, on occasion, socio-linguistic (Canale, 1983), prosodic (Clennell, 1997) and whole-text (Feez & Joyce, 1998) elements, and specified some of the teaching resources which teachers could choose to draw upon. The teaching staff had considerable leeway in determining which elements of the weekly syllabus to focus on, what teaching materials to use, and what methodological approaches to employ in delivering the course. The monthly 'homework' assignment was text-based.

The qualifications and experience of the teaching staff varied. All had a basic undergraduate degree. Perhaps a quarter had a Diploma of Education. Those who did not had completed the intensive four-week *Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults*, commonly known as 'the RSA', and roughly a third of the staff had either completed or were undertaking postgraduate qualifications in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). The teaching experience of the staff ranged from a few months to in excess of ten years.

In addition to the syllabus, each student in a General Intensive English course from Elementary to Upper-Intermediate level (those with an ASLPR proficiency level of between approximately 1 and 3) chose an 'option' class one day a week, in which specific skills were covered (for example, pronunciation or listening), or thematic or text-based materials were used. It was in such a class that the course related to this research project was delivered.

The school was equipped with two computer laboratories, a language laboratory and an extensive library and provided academic and personal counselling, help with immigration, employment and accommodation, 'home-stays', excursions, weekend-long tours and sporting activities.

Learner Participant Profile

So who were the participants?

Nine learners undertook and completed the four-day course, delivered over a four-week period, entitled *Real Life Negotiation*, providing the bulk of the data for this enquiry. All chose to do it as an 'option' class (see above) which was advertised via two flyers prior to the course, within all three Intermediate level classes and to those students judged likely have reached this level of proficiency by the time the course was due to be delivered.

Learner Background and Proficiency Levels

Table 3.1 below provides information on the learners' nationality, (self-reported) first language, age, gender, class level at the time of the course and an estimated ASLPR *'speaking'* proficiency level (Wylie & Ingram, 1995) at the time the course began. This last is given because, although all students were all nominally at 'Intermediate' level (approximately 'S2 ') at the time of the course or just before it had begun, and some had been promoted to 'Upper Intermediate' level at the time of the course, the class levels do not reflect the relative strengths of students, particularly in terms of their ability to interact verbally. Some hypotheses for this, based on the researcher's knowledge of the school and the ELICOS industry, follow.

1. Many teachers appeared to value written skills and the ability to do the grammar based tests given each month more than the ability to speak. The ability to communicate meaning, or even communicate intelligibly using the prosodic

features of English was not, apparently, regarded as a basis for assessing learners' communicative proficiency, or even their 'speaking skills' at a lower level, and the use of a school test that did this was optional.

2. The school had an unwritten policy of promoting students up through proficiency levels as quickly as possible, and no student stayed at any level longer than 16 weeks, the length of the syllabus at any given level.

3. One student involved in the research had purportedly 'lobbied' his way up through the proficiency levels often against the strong opinion of the teachers involved by complaining to management. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this is common practice within the ELICOS industry.

Table 3.1 also gives the student number randomly assigned to each student, and the name under which they chose to be video taped for research purposes to protect their identity, since this is how they will be referenced throughout this thesis.

Table 3-1 Research Subject Information

Student Number	Alias	Nationality	First Language	Gender	Age	Speaking Rating	School Class Level
101	Russell	Japanese	Japanese	M	28	S+1--S2	Upper Intermediate
102	Graeme	Brazilian	Portuguese	M	19	S3	Intermediate
103	Julia	Japanese	Japanese	F	23	S+1--S2	Intermediate
104	Milly	Russian	Russian	F	14	S3-s4	Upper Intermediate
105	David	Korean	Korean	M	28	S2	Upper Intermediate
106	Kate	Czech	Czech	F	23	S3	Intermediate
107	Stephanie	Colombian	Spanish	F	26	S3-S4	Intermediate
108	Chad	Thai	Thai	M	22	S3	Intermediate
109	Sam	Brazilian	Portuguese	M	23	S3	Intermediate

The reasons for student number 104, 'Milly', participating in the research despite her age should be addressed briefly. On arriving at the school, she was placed within the high school English preparation program (see above) with learners of her own age. However, due to:

1. her apparent maturity,

2. her relatively advanced level of English,

3. the fact that she was not intending to study within an Australian or other English speaking secondary school,

4. the fact that she looked at lot older than her peers (various estimates were made as to her age by the 'expert reviewer' group and all fell into the 20+ age bracket), and

5. Milly's own decision to study in the 'adult' classes where she apparently felt more comfortable,

she had been in the General Intensive English program for some time and joined the research project at her own request and on the proviso that other learners were not told her age. Her age did not appear to have any noticeable effect on her ability to participate in the research. She did not, of course, have any prior business experience, but, in this, she was no different from most of the other students; young adults whose knowledge of business came chiefly from their observations of their parents, family, friends or other acquaintances.

Learner Motivations for Undertaking the Course

Learners gave a variety of reasons for undertaking the course, but three broad areas emerged from the brief comments on their forms they completed on enrolment.

The first of these was an apparent general desire to improve their listening, speaking and pronunciation skills, which some of them perceived as being weaker than other areas of their language because of frustrations experienced outside the classroom, or because they had been told by teaching staff that these areas needed improvement via personal communications made to them or on their monthly reports (see above). The

school did run courses aimed at improved these skills, but the comments made by students indicated that these were either not perceived to be sufficiently authentic (giving learners access to the way 'real' English is spoken) or sufficiently business-oriented. These last points provide the basis for the other two broad reasons students gave for wanting to take the course.

Learners also gave as a reason for undertaking the course a desire to be able to participate in 'authentic interaction' effectively. This is evidenced in the following comments made on the enrolment forms such as:

> I'd like to learn real word which is said real Australian… (David)
>
> I want to understand what people talking to me. (Chad)
>
> I want to speak as a native speaker… (Kate)
>
> [I want to learn to] express my opinions – relationships. (Stephanie)
>
> Because I always feel shy to speak with native speakers. (Milly)

Finally, three students listed its benefit to their career as their major reason for undertaking the course, and when nominating the context in which they most wanted to apply their negotiating skills in the future (from a choice of three: professional, academic or social), seven of the nine learners named the first, listing industries such as trade, tourism, theatre, (public and corporate) communications, graphic design and journalism as environments in which they would do this.

It was for this last reason that the negotiation role-plays and the learning tasks given to students during the course were set in a business context rather than an academic one or social one. Teaching material had been prepared for these eventualities, but the learner group was apparently representative of many students studying in ELICOS institutions, in that they reinforced the Austrade (1999) findings mentioned earlier, which established that while many ELICOS students use their English to attend university

(Department of Education Training and Youth Affairs, 2000), the courses they study there are generally business related, indicating an ultimate interest in using their English for business purposes.

Research Methodology

Thus far, we have identified “that which is asked about”, “that which is interrogated” and how it is that we ‘know’. What remains in this description of the search for “that which is to be found out by the asking” (Heidegger, 1962/1927, p. 24) and the theoretical approaches, methodologies and methods by which we ‘interrogate’ or ‘ask’.

At its core, this study is ethnographic. It has a strong ethnomethodological focus however, and the way in which these approaches are blended and applied through the use of a variety of tools must be made clear if we are to interpret the various findings. This is particularly so since ethnography and ethnomethodology have, on occasion, been viewed as incompatible. When Conversation Analysis is used as the neo-ethnomethodological tool, as it is in this study, it has been said by some to “discount” ethnographic data (Tarone, 1994, p. 324), since the linguistic data of the actors is said to speak for itself, without the need for additional commentary.

In fact, ethnomethodology, used as its creator, Garfinkel, defined it, can also be seen as a “sub-type” or “school” of ethnography (P. Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994, p. 249). Its use of language as documentary evidence of common culture (Garfinkel, 1967) can easily be incorporated into the many ethnographic research types, and how this was achieved in this enquiry is described and discussed below.

Ethnography: Combining Approaches to Achieve Triangulation

'Ethnography' began life as a term denoting the study and description of a culture or society (Wolcott, 1999). Observing and describing still lie at its heart as many definitions, such as the following, show:

> The underlying purpose of ethnographic research…is to describe what the people in some particular place or status ordinarily do, and the meanings they ascribe to what they do, under ordinary or particular circumstances, presenting that description in a manner that draws attention to regularities that implicate cultural process. (Wolcott, 1999, p. 68)

Currently, however, ethnography is recognised as encompassing more widely ranging activities and, as a result, might better be described as "a disciplined way of looking, asking, recording, reflecting, comparing and reporting" (Hymes, 1981, p. 57).

Additionally, as Guba and Lincoln (1989) have argued, ethnographic or 'evaluation' outcomes

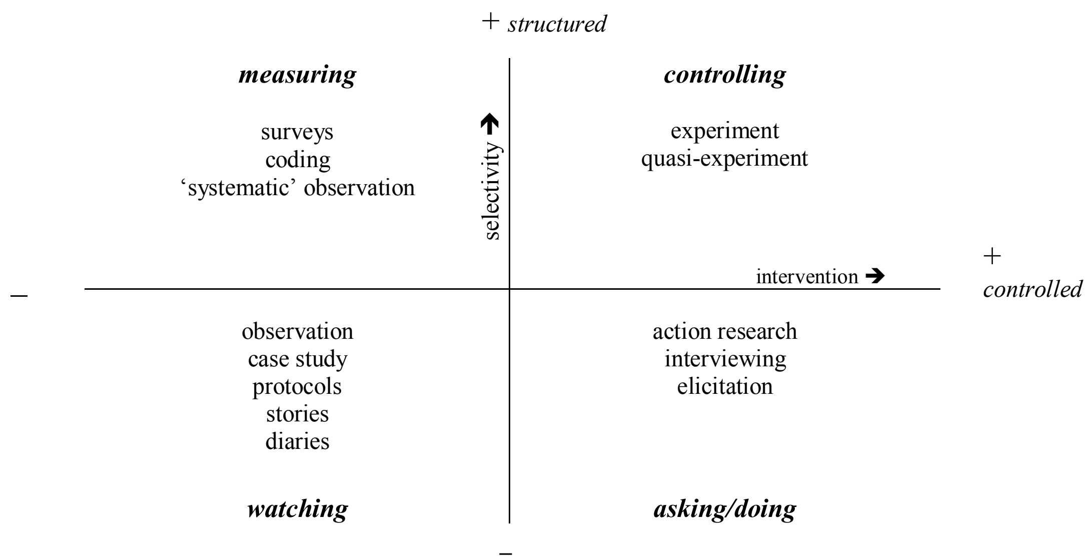
> are not descriptions of the "way things really are"…, but instead represent meaningful constructions that individual actors or groups of actors form to "make sense" of the situation in which they find themselves. The findings are not "facts" in some ultimate sense but are, instead literally *created* through an interactive process that *includes* the evaluator…. What emerges from this process is one or more *constructions* that *are* the realities of the case. (p. 8)

Ethnography involves, then, observation and elicitation, measurement, description, interpretation, reflexive judgements (cogitatio), and negotiated realities (we-relationships). It assesses, explores and generates hypotheses, and it has in its employ a variety of tools to accomplish these activities.

Van Lier (1988) modelled these 'research types' or 'tools' according to, firstly, how much or how little intervention was required to collect the data (and therefore how far

the research was ‘controlled’), and secondly, to what degree data was specified, coded or ‘selected’ in advance: in other words, the degree to which the research was ‘structured’. His model is shown in Figure 3.5 below.

Figure 3-5 Types of Research (van Lier, 1988, p. 57)



This study incorporates tools from all four ‘corners’ of the diagram, acknowledging in doing so the ability of many different methods to represent the social realities involved. It was hoped that working in this way would:

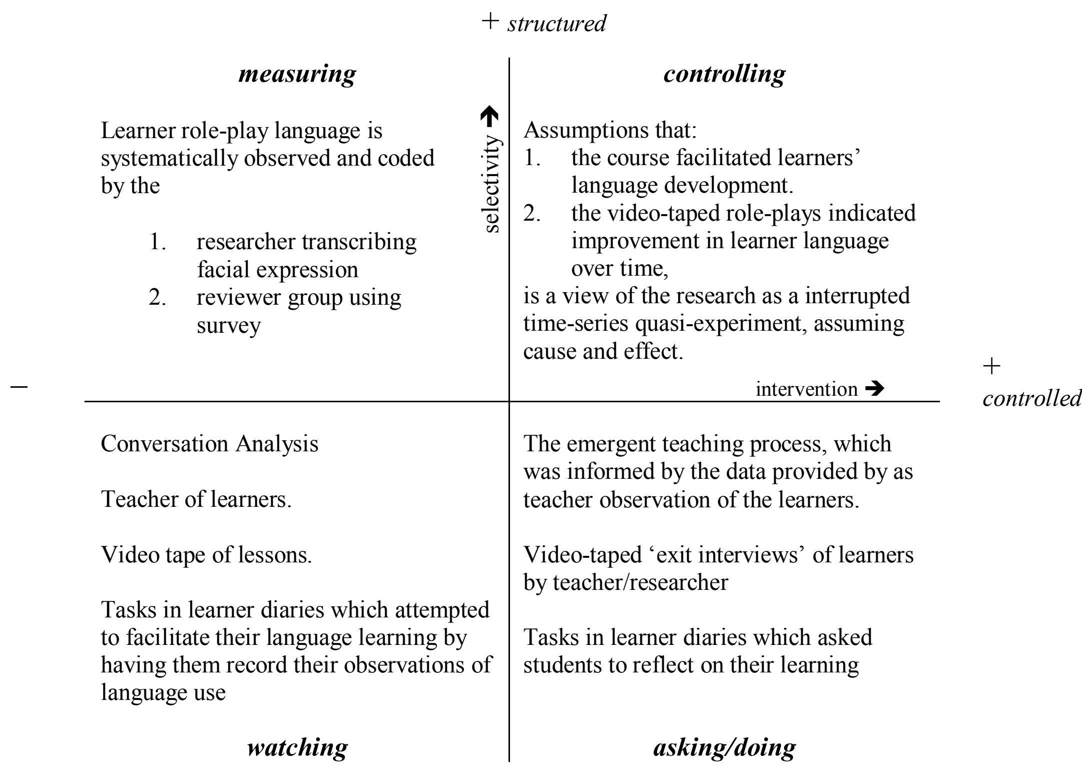
1. provide systematic ‘triangulation’, a critical feature of naturalistic enquiry which entails “exposing a proposition …to possible countervailing facts or assertions or verifying such propositions with other data drawn from other sources using different methodologies” (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, pp. 106-101), and

2. make available a more complex or accurate view of the outcomes (Scriven, 1988) which it is assumed, will be of interest to ELICOS teachers since, as Stake observes, “teaching and learning are highly personalized” (1988, p. 257), while

3. grounding the findings empirically and in measurable terms in view of the need for quantifiable outcomes required by many businesses, including those in education (Kaestle, 1988).

The same model showing the research types used in this study looks like this:

Figure 3-6 Types of Research Used in This Enquiry (Adapted from van Lier, 1988, p. 57)



Controlling

van Lier (1988) has argued that a form of experimentation can produce useful ethnographic data. Of course, in a positivist, scientific sense, an experiment does not establish 'truth'. Any experiment done in a classroom lacks internal validity because of the countless variables that may come into play. Classes are generally not randomly selected or assigned, creating 'bias error' and thereby obliterating external validity. The numbers involved in this study, both in the student population and the 'native speaker' population are subject to 'random error' due to their being too small to be called representative. Finally, and as a result of this, the findings cannot be generalised to other learner populations (Jaegar, 1988; Porter, 1988), even if one could even imagine a teacher wanting to precisely replicate the study by ignoring the context and needs of their specific classroom, treating learners as if they were identical entities and teaching as if providing a commodity.

While acknowledging this, it is important to make plain one's own assumptions and biases as an ethnographer and phenomenologist, and therefore point out an important assumption underlying the research:

It is believed that what occurred in and out of the classroom as a result of teaching tasks assigned to learners had some effect on what they learnt. Viewed in this way, the two learner video-taped role-plays were not merely capturing learner language at different points in time therefore, but were part of a interrupted time-series quasi-experiment (Glass, 1988) which

1. captured learner interlanguage *before* the course (pre-treatment), and

2. captured learner interlanguage *after* the course (post-treatment),

during which time learners were expected to have changed as a direct result of experimentation undertaken and knowledge acquired during the course.

While it is understood that this research does not establish cause and effect in any conclusive sense for the reasons given above, for a teacher to assume that he or she has no effect on a learner's language acquisition is to render teaching in the classroom, and research on the field, meaningless.

In this study, teaching was assumed to have the potential to influence learning by:

1. providing opportunities for learners to produce language which may indicate 'gaps' within it, that they may want to bridge (Swain, 1995),

2. providing opportunities for learners to extend their current abilities through interacting with others to achieve what they could not when working by themselves (Vygotsky, 1978),

3. facilitating conscious hypothesis testing via ‘selective attention’ (Gass, 1991) or ‘noticing’ (Schmidt, 1990), and by

4. focusing a learner’s attentional resources causing unconscious hypothesis testing (Tomlin & Villa, 1994).

For these reasons, part of the research, or at least some of the assumptions underpinning the research, can be understood as controlled ethnographic experimentation. In place of criteria such as generalisability or reliability, concepts such as ‘transferability’ to other contexts (Evans, Lomax & Morgan, 2000) and ‘auditability’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) were used. Instead of internal and external validity, the credibility of the data is established through the process of triangulation using other research types which will now be discussed.

Doing and Asking: Researcher as Participant

Moving clockwise around van Lier’s (1988) model above, to the other more controlled research types involving ‘asking’ or ‘doing’, we come to the data generated in the classroom. It is important to note, firstly, that although this part of the research is ‘controlled’ in the sense of the researcher intervening in the learning process, and directly questioning students about their experiences, it is *not* controlled in the sense of establishing a set of teaching tasks prior to the course, ‘delivering’ these and collecting the results, as if the tasks were the focus of an experiment. The classes conducted as part of the study were a product of an emergent design process, with the researcher undertaking the teaching role. In this sense, then, the course component of the overall study resembles ‘action research’.

Teaching as Ethnographic Research

The divide between research and teaching has repeatedly been noted (van Lier, 1988) with Evans, Lomax and Morgan (2000) going as far as to argue that a preference exists

for proclaiming how little is known about the classroom, rather than examining what is known, and exploring ways of developing that knowledge.

It was a primary concern of this researcher that this study not be one focused purely on language acquisition, which concluded by exhorting teachers to explore the implications of its findings in the classroom. In seeking an audience of teachers, it attempted to deal with the problems that teachers face, everyday they teach, and ground the research squarely in the classroom.

The approach employed to do this was exemplified by Kurt Lewin (1944) who argued that it was not enough to judge the success or otherwise of any group by its 'production' or performance, and that, instead, the link between the group's dynamics and its outcomes required examination. This examination, he contended, should not be based on "a high degree of opinion and tradition", but rather on "a rational understanding about possible alternatives or on clear foresight about what the effects of social actions would be" (Lewin, 1945, p. 128). Further, this 'rational understanding' should not, he maintained, be sought via the laboratory, but rather through "an experimental procedure: (1) where group life can proceed freely; (2) where the total group behavior, its structure and development can be registered" (Lewin, 1938, p. 292).

This approach, for which Lewin (1946) coined the term 'action research', became a methodology that was quickly taken up and refined by researchers within education and other social sciences (Peters & Robinson, 1984). Within a decade, action research was viewed as:

> a diagnosis of a social problem with a view of helping improve the situation [which has] two stages:
>
> (1) A diagnostic stage in which the problem is being analysed and hypotheses are being develop.

(2) a therapeutic stage in which the hypotheses are tested by a consciously directed change experiment, preferably in a social "life" situation. (Blum, 1955, p. 1)

This research project made use of the processes advanced by action research (McNiff, 1993; McTaggart, 1997) in the follow manner:

1. The problems which the learners (the other participants) were experiencing were identified by the teacher by:

    a. asking the learners directly what was difficult for and useful to them, and what areas they wanted to address in future classes,
    b. reading their responses in the 'learner diaries' which acted as a record of their developing awareness of language,
    c. observing the learners' language production in class and on video, and
    d. watching the learners respond to and complete current tasks in class and on video before formulating new ones.

2. Solutions, in the form of teaching tasks for the following class were then developed to address the problems.

3. The solutions were then implemented in the classroom, thereby generating additional data which enabled the teacher to evaluate the solutions and begin the process of problem identification anew in a reiterative process or "spiral of steps each of which is composed of a circle of planning, action and fact-finding about the result of the action" (Lewin, 1946).

This process is in keeping with van Lier's claim that "it is often true that the best people to evaluate a classroom are the people who participate in it, namely the teacher and the learners" (p. 33), and gives all classroom stakeholders a voice in the course development (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). It does, however, raise questions regarding the researcher's multiple roles as participant, observer and evaluator, and how these can be

managed while still attaining the distance or 'bracketing', necessary for reflective research.

Again, Chapter Four will examine what actually happened in the classroom in detail.

Watching and Experiencing: Participant Observation

It should be noted here that, in terms of van Lier's (1988) model, the line between 'asking and doing' on the one hand, and 'watching' on the other, has been crossed. Questions to the learners and the learning diaries, which contained many questions since they were a teaching rather than a research tool, as well as the interviews following the course, clearly fall into the 'asking/doing' category. Recording the classes on video and observing them, observation of the class as it continued, and listening and reading the stories the students chose to write in their diaries or tell the teacher unprompted, form the data that was obtained through relatively non-interventionist and unstructured means. This data may therefore be classified as 'watching' rather than 'asking'.

Importantly, it is this variety in the recording of perceptions of the classroom, both in terms of the channels used to record the processes, and in the differences in time between the actions recorded and the observation of them that addresses the issue of the researcher's undertaking a variety of roles. On the one hand, as Guba and Lincoln (1981) argued, the 'human instrument' has the

> ability to process data immediately upon acquisition, reorder it, change the direction of the inquiry based on it, generate hypotheses on the spot, and test them with the respondent or in the situation as they are created (p. 136),

which type of 'watching' might better be labelled 'experiencing' (Wolcott, 1999) since there is no separation between observation and context and interpretation.

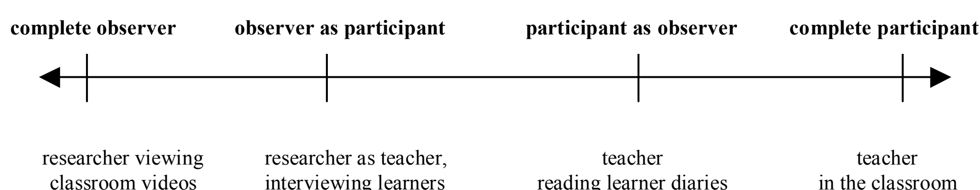
On the other hand, as van Lier (1988) has observed, recording not only provides a retrieval mechanism but also acts as an "*estrangement* device" (p. 37), allowing us to

separate ourselves from the context, and see it, in some ways, as a stranger would, with the benefit of time noted above.

In addition, the different channels made available to all participants, as well as the data provided by the native English-speaking reviewer group meant that the researcher had to "confront and deal with the constructions of others" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) even when they conflicted with her own self image, and the images she held of each individual learner.

In summary, then, these two elements, time and channels, allowed the researcher to undertake a variety of roles, and move across the continuum described by P. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994, p. 248) and depicted in Figure 3.7, while not compromising her ability to reflect on, interpret and evaluate the data collected in the process.

Figure 3-7 Participant Observation: A representation of Atkinson & Hammersley's (1994, p. 248) description of the roles a participant/observer may undertake.



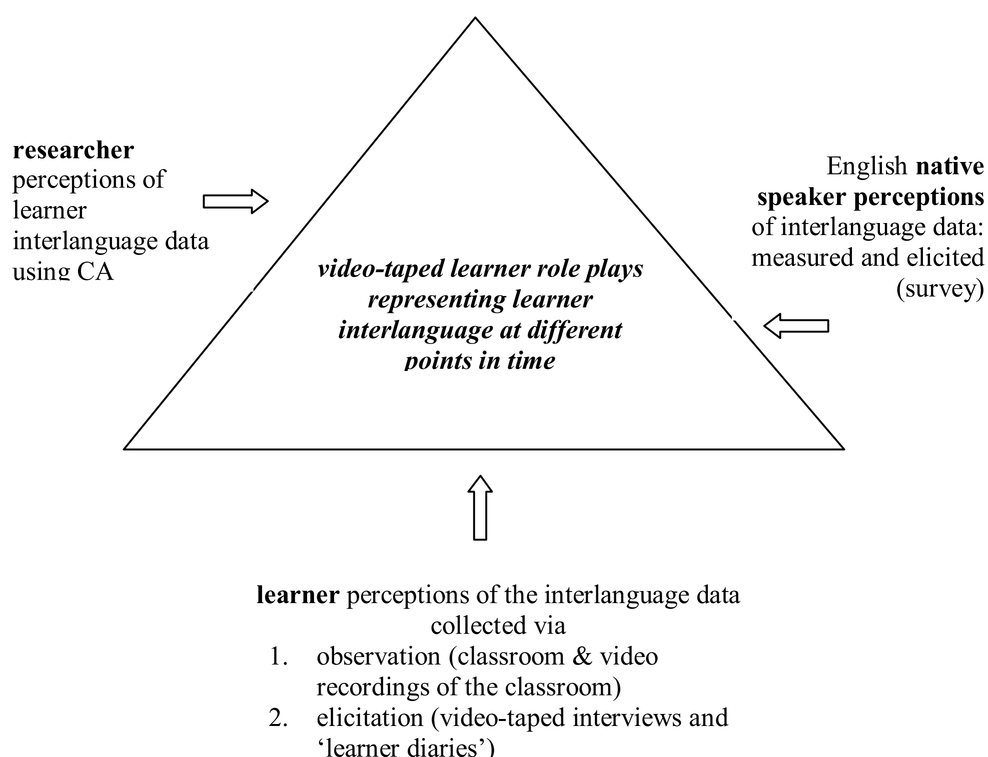
Measuring

The research types we have examined thus far have been focused on learner and teacher perceptions of the language learning process. While these are important for the reasons discussed above, the study revolves around the development of learner language strategies and native English speakers' perceptions of and reactions to the changes brought about by this development. It is these elements to which more empirically-based or quantitative research methods have been applied, the former being evaluated using ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis and the latter measured using an ethnographic survey which was then statistically analysed utilising a 'repeated

measures, related-samples *t* test' typical of pre and post treatment studies (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2000).

As the learner language role-play is considered central or 'primary data', and all other data 'secondary' to or commentary on it (Douglas & Selinker, 1994), the model below (Figure 3.8) has been developed to represent the way in which the many data components are brought together to shape and triangulate the research findings.

Figure 3-8 Data Interaction & Triangulation



The reasons an ethnomethodological approach was chosen as the major interpretative tool for assessing learner interlanguage development and difference are now presented.

Garfinkel's Ethnomethodology

Garfinkel (1967) used:

> the term "ethnomethodology" to refer to the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life. (p. 11)

Since he showed through his research that no expression or utterance was capable of being explained completely, exhaustively or 'literally', these 'indexical expressions' of which he talks (terms that change meaning depending on the context, speaker, time and specific conversation in which they are used and which therefore have no inherent 'truth value'), are not examples of language but rather comprise language itself. All language is, in other words, indexical, or context-dependent. That is to say, Garfinkel used ethnomethodology to examine the way in which language, as an action, and other actions accompanying it, not only represent, but rather *constitute* people's reality; what they 'do' or accomplish.

This is, he argued, a deliberate, rational process through which people make choices about how to interact based on their own interests, which tends to produce normative social behaviour as people choose, on the whole, to adhere to predictable patterns that will not produce the "moral outrage" (Heritage, 1984, p. 95), anger or hostility noted by Garfinkel (1967) in his experiments which deliberately chose to flout those norms.

Garfinkel (1967) based his view of the norms or patterns underlying social behaviour on the work of Mannheim (1952/1928), arguing that an action or utterance was not only "documentary evidence" (p. 78) of an underlying pattern, but also a creation of that pattern with each use. Consequently, a norm or pattern of use is not permanently defined or static but is, rather, constituted anew with each decision to make use of it by the common cultural community.

As Heritage (1984) summarises it, to achieve adherence to and the recreation of a social norm,

> three basic conditions are required…: (1) social participants are aware of the norm; (2) they are, on occasion, capable of reflexive anticipation of the interpretative consequences of breaches of the norm and, (3) they attribute (1) and (2) to each other. (p. 117)

This view of intersubjectivity (how it is that we understand and can communicate with each other) has enormous consequences for language use, language teaching and intercultural communication generally.

Firstly, even if these 'norms' or patterns of behaviour are created on a step-by-step basis each time they are brought into being, so that the outcomes or rules of the interaction are not predictable in advance (Garfinkel, 1967), it has to be asked why we know of them, and why we are able to make judgements about the effects of not adhering to them and taking one path or avoiding it.

Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) argued that people achieve membership of an interaction or society through this "mastery of natural language" which allows them to "be engaged in the objective display of commonsense knowledge of every activities" (p. 342).

If the ability to interact in this manner and with this knowledge is something innate in us as members of a social group, and if we communicate and act on this basis, what happens to those from outside the social group who come to a given interaction with a different knowledge base? How are they to know how to proceed through an interaction, or judge the other's meaning? Are they always to be faced with the hostility known usually only to those who choose to flout societal norms?

In asking learners to make choices about their language use that will achieve the most effective negotiating outcomes possible, the research is effectively asking them to demonstrate an 'operational knowledge' of how a community of educated, native English speakers living and working in Australia might use language to negotiate. They are called on to demonstrate what Garfinkel (1967) has called "common sense knowledge of social structures" and "socially-sanctioned facts-of-life-in-society-that-

any-bona-fide-member-of-the-society-knows" (p. 76), but of a society of which they have not been a member.

Therefore, when this research projects raises the question, "What negotiation skills determine the success or failure of the negotiation?" it is asking, firstly, what operational knowledge the members of one social group or society have that enables them to make particular linguistic and behavioural judgements and choices. Secondly, it poses the question of whether people with different operational knowledge can learn to make similar choices (thereby changing their discourse style) to achieve their desired outcomes as rational beings.

It was hypothesised that, rather than having to internalise societal and interactional norms (Heritage, 1984) through a process of acculturation, that learners would be able to make the same kind of judgements in a second language that they make in their own language. It was also judged that, as learners are able to regulate their own goals, learning processes and cognitive strategies (Boekaerts, 1999), that they would also be able to learn how it is they can anticipate, make and act on these social and linguistic judgements.

The extent to which these hypotheses were validated was assessed by an examination of the learners' role-play performances using Conversation Analysis (CA). In this, CA as a tool was not only a device useful in 'bracketing' the conversations from reality, but the major means by which learner language was evaluated by the researcher.

While it would have been possible to use other analytical methods to deconstruct or understand the learner performance talk, CA was chosen for two major reasons.

Firstly, it allows the researcher to separate the coding/transcription procedure from the analytical process. In the main, it is possible to complete the coding or recording of the talk without having to make judgements about the nature, the intent, or the meaning held within the talk as one is forced to do using:

1. a modified or unmodified form of Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness or 'face' management strategies, as do Spencer-Oatey (2002) and Beal (1990, 1992)

2. some form of speech act analysis in which the coder assigns a series of illocutionary labels to the talk, as do Planken (2002) and Murphy and Neu (1996),

3. business negotiation analysis which labels talk in terms of its coder-defined 'moves' or functions as do Charles (1996), De Dreu et al. (2001) and Tinsley, O'Connor and Sullivan (2002),

4. Ekman and Friesen's (1978) facial coding system in which must have faith that particular muscular movements are necessarily representative of particular emotions, or make guesses oneself of the meaning of those emotions, or

5. the 'genre' approach frequently attached to systemic functional linguistics analysis which assigns 'stages' to talk, as do Eggins and Slade (1997).

If one must judge in order to code, it is arguable that the 'bracketing' desired by the phenomenologist is not taking place. With CA, however, the transcription process, when complete, contains no inherent judgements or assumptions (Schegloff, 1977). In examining the transcription, and in comparison with other fully coded transcriptions, the researcher is free to run a multitude of mental tests during the analytical and triangulation process, looking for patterns amongst the apparent chaos of talk at a *micro*, rather than macro level: a good reason in itself to opt for CA rather than other forms of analysis.

Secondly, CA is a tool that, although complete in itself, can be overlaid with other analytical approaches (the 'mental tests' of the previous paragraph). In analysing the learner data, the researcher made use of *all* the analytical techniques critiqued above to a greater or lesser degree. The reason this was possible, however, was that each time, and with each examination, she was free to study the raw data afresh.

This myriad CA multiple technique analysis was then triangulated by the measurement and evaluation of reactions to this same data by the native English-speaking reviewer group, using an ethnographic survey.

Finally, the learner role-play data was then examined by the researcher a second time using CA, this time taking into account the reactions of the reviewer group which is some cases differed greatly from the image held of the learners by the researcher/teacher. The researcher looked for correlations and discrepancies between learner linguistic choices and the reviewer reactions to those choices.

Multi-Layered Data Triangulation

In summary, the case study combines ethnomethodological data with a range of qualitative and quantitative ethnographic data to achieve triangulation which serves to "clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen" (Stake, 1994, p. 241). It attempts to explore the true multi-dimensionality of language (Shohamy, 1994) and the complexity of learner interlanguage development, in a way that endeavours to add value to the teaching of English as a second language.

The means by which the data is collected to these ends is discussed below.

Data Collection Methods: Four-Stage Analysis

We now turn to the data collection process itself, examining the methods on their merits in more detail. As noted above, it is a four-stage process that can be ordered, chronologically, in the following manner:

1. **Delivery of the ESOL course**, entitled *Real Life Negotiation*, and described in Chapter Four below (with its materials presented in Appendix C), over a four week period, during which time data was collected through these means:

a. Observation of the class by the teacher/researcher.
b. Video-recording of parts of the lessons.
c. Learner diaries which although primarily used as teaching tools, capture learner experience and developing awareness of language.
d. Video-recording of 'exit-interviews' following the course, in which learners gave their perspectives of how the course had changed their understanding of language.

It should be noted that while these data collection procedures are examined in detail in this chapter, it was decided that the language course itself (the 'treatment' rather than its associated data collection processes) merited its own full chapter for discussion (see Chapter Four below).

2. **Transcription** of the learner role-play scenarios, video-taped *before* and *after* the course using ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis.

3. **Survey** (reproduced in Appendix B) of the perceptions of a group of native speakers of English who watched the video recordings of the learner role plays (reproduced in Appendix A). The survey used coded (quantitative) and uncoded (qualitative) means to capture the reactions of the reviewer group to the learners as negotiators and as people.

   Reviewer group data was then compiled and the quantitative component statistically analysed utilising a repeated measures, related-samples *t* test aimed at determining whether changes learners had made to their discourse style during the course affected the way in which they were perceived by the reviewer group to a *statistically significant* degree.

4. Finally, **triangulation** took place. The reviewer group data (both quantitative and qualitative) was compared with the role-play transcriptions, learner generated diary and interview data and classroom video tape data. This comparison aimed at explaining

a. the reasons (embedded in the talk) for any statistically significant changes noted by the reviewer group,
b. consistencies and inconsistencies within the reviewer group data,
c. why talk, particular in the pre-treatment video, appeared to fail,
d. why talk, particular in the post-treatment video, appeared to be successful, and
e. why learners made use of certain strategies rather than others.

In short, the fourth triangulation stage attempted to answer the research questions by exposing consistencies and inconsistencies in the views of the research experiences of the various stakeholders (the reviewer group, the learners, the researcher). In particular, differences in the following were examined:

a. Researcher view of learner interlanguage versus reviewer group view of learner language.
b. Learner evaluations of their language learning versus teacher perceptions of it.
c. Teacher's in-class perceptions of the learning process versus later teacher perceptions after viewing/reading the in-class video-tapes, learner diaries, and video-taped exit interviews.

In combination, these constitute the analytical techniques used in the research. Each technique, with the exception of the teaching process itself, will be addressed here individually.

Gathering Data from the Classroom

The first tools relate to the collection of data of and from the learners during the delivery of the course, prior to the course, and following its completion. Some of these, such as the video recordings of the classroom and role-plays represent common

methods of data collection. Others, such as the learner diary, have been adapted to suit the purposes of this research.

Diary as Learning Tool

The use of diaries for both research and pedagogic purposes has grown in popularity with the increasing 'focus on the learner' and their experiences of learning (Parkinson & Howell-Richardson, 1990, p. 128). This is because diaries do what quantitative techniques are simply incapable of. That is, they provide a highly personalised, non-reductionist and therefore more complex view of experience. While a seemingly straightforward approach to micro-ethnography, the studies involving diaries and the uses to which the data from them is put vary considerably. An examination of these different styles and methodological constructs is undertaken here to shed light on the diary study component of this research project.

According to Bailey (1991), diary studies are first and foremost "first person case studies" (p. 60), in which the research analyst, should that be a different person from the diarist, adopts a non-interventionist approach, allowing the diarist learners to record any experiences that come to mind, writing as much or as little as they choose. The format imposed by interpretation is essential, she argues, but ought to be brought into being when the raw data of the diary is manipulated after the event.

This approach allows for what Bailey calls the 'natural experiments' of ethnography, or unforeseen events, to occur and be recorded along with responses to them by learners and diarists, thereby providing information on learning and the classroom, or learner interaction outside the classroom (Peirce, 1994), that could not be obtained in any other fashion.

There are two major problems with such an approach. The first is that it does not enable the researcher to garner information specific to the enquiry at hand. Bailey (1991) herself has noted that her interests as a researcher and as a language learner, when she undertook both roles as part of one study, were so different that the focus of

the study changed completely as a consequence. As a learner, she simply could not bring herself to focus and write on the area she had determined on studying as a researcher.

The second issue arising from this naturalistic approach is the quantity, or lack of it, and complexity of the information may not benefit the study at hand. As Parkinson and Howell-Richardson (1990) put it, "The multiplicity of diary [data] uses can sometimes be a handicap rather than a benefit…" (p. 135). They chose, instead, to give the learners under analysis specific topics or categories to address in accordance with the topology they were ultimately to use to examine learner experiences.

The diaries kept by learners as part of this research project were similarly directed and in fact, may not be considered 'diaries' as such by some proponents of the technique, but rather 'logs' (McDonough & McDonough, 1997) used for specific pedagogic purposes.

In his book on using role-play scenarios to teach English to Speakers of Foreign Languages, Di Pietro (1987) recommends that students use a log to record what they have learnt that day. In this way, each student is able to pursue an individualised learning plan, and keeps a record of the vocabulary items, grammatical 'rules', and any other linguistic knowledge that they, personally, were presented with, or garnered, during the class.

The learner diaries in this study were an attempt to gather data in a manner containing elements of both this 'log of items' learning approach, and the naturalistic, but category directed approach of Parkinson and Howell-Richardson (1990).

Learners were given a series of questions after each class to which they recorded responses. The questions asked for learner responses to a variety of linguistic and learning issues, and included queries on:

1. learner perceptions of what they had learnt from the class and from specific tasks,

2. how learners perceived their own ‘performance’ of tasks, and their analysis of reasons for this,

3. how learners perceived the performance of others, or of the native-speaking models (video-taped for the research) in terms of its success or failure and reasons for these.

4. learner perceptions and analyses of English used aloud in public domains (on trains, buses and so on),

5. learner analyses of their own strengths, weaknesses, learning goals and perceptions of improvement, and

6. learner concerns and surprises arising from in-class or out-of-class activities.

The learners wrote as much or as little as they liked (the response length varied greatly) and a number of them added additional, unsought entries that took the form of stories, letters to the researcher/teacher and comments on events they had participated in, overheard or witnessed.

It can be seen from this that the diaries were used in a manner that is unusual in diary research. That is, that were not only used to gather “retrospective data” (Bailey, 1991), that is, the learners ‘introspective’ and ‘intuitive’ interpretations of events and experiences (Seliger, 1983), but also “introspective data”, that is, data recorded as the task is being completed (Bailey, 1991). The reason this was possible, an issue that must be addressed since it is often argued that all diary data is, by definition, retrospective, either being recorded immediately after an event or after some lapse of time, is that some diary entries constituted a task within themselves. In other words, in observing language in public domains, or of viewing themselves or others on video, learners recorded their newly arising awareness, and this recording of observations constituted the learning task itself: the focusing attentional resources on language, the creation of the awareness, or ‘noticing’.

This is not to say, however, that diaries are not frequently used as pedagogic tasks. The keeping of a diary is quite a common practice in TESOL (Harmer, 1991). However, using a diary as a record of learning, of the moment when interlanguage is restructured and language acquisition takes place (McLaughlin, 1990) is not an activity found recommended in standard texts, and this brings us to the issue of the validity of such a process.

The unreliability of learners' knowledge about their own shifting interlanguage was highlighted in a diary study conducted by Schmidt and Frota (1986). Assertions made about his own language acquisition by the learner diarist were only partially supported by the audio-taped data used to triangulate it, despite Schmidt's (1990) later assertions that all learning had occurred consciously through his 'noticing' a difference between his own interlanguage and the target language. This inconsistency supports findings that a knowledge of language or metalanguage differs from what Widdowson (1990) termed linguistic 'competence', or the ability to use language (Alderson, Clapham & Steel, 1997; Seliger, 1979). This in turn implies that, at least to some degree, learning may occur at an unconscious level as Krashen (1994) has argued. It would therefore follow that learners cannot themselves fully know what they are learning and cannot, therefore, record that acquisition.

However, it must be noted that the debate regarding whether learning is a conscious or unconscious process has typically defined language acquisition very narrowly as the ability to manipulate syntax and, further, that, the results have been contradictory (see, for example, Carroll & Swain, 1993; Lightbown, 1987; P. Robinson, 1996; Seliger, 1979; Spada, 1987; Tomlin & Villa, 1994). The acquisition goals of this study, on the other hand, did not revolve around learners' increasing their knowledge of the formal linguistic code underlying language, or 'grammatical competence', but instead emphasised knowledge relating to sociolinguistic and discourse competence in which conscious knowledge may be employed, and in which, therefore, conscious learning may play a greater role.

It was for these reasons that the diaries are considered a valid record of learner's increasing awareness of language and language acquisition. Learners were, for example, asked to observe native English speakers, other students and themselves on video and were asked to respond to questions regarding facial expression. This activity was a pedagogic task aimed at raising learner awareness of how meaning is conveyed without the use of words (Geis, 1995). Since language acquisition is not only the acquisition of the linguistic code as it relates to utterances and their syntax, but also a knowledge of its prosodic features, its sociolinguistic usage and its discourse structure (Canale, 1983; Hymes, 1979), diary records of their surprise as students realised what they had been 'doing' with their eyes or face, and how this differed from what a native English speaker would do, are evidence of conscious language acquisition, or the conscious 'restructuring' of learner interlanguage, also evidenced in later video role-plays. That this language acquisition does not relate to the understanding or use of syntax does not invalidate the fact that restructuring and acquisition occurred.

In addition to this record of language restructuring, the learner diaries also attempt to understand and to direct the strategies learners employed to forward their own learning. The objective in directing or promoting students' learning strategies is that it is generally accepted that more effective learners are able both to articulate their learning strategies (Wenden, 1986) and to manipulate them to achieve their own goals, while less effective learners utilise less strategies and are often unaware that they are employing those they do use (Oxford, 1992).

Chamot and O'Malley (1994) grouped these strategies into three which they labelled "Metacognitive, Cognitive and Social/Affective Language Learning Strategies" (p. 375). They described metacognitive strategies as those used "to plan, monitor, and evaluate a learning task" and the learner's own performance, cognitive strategies as those used to manipulate, both physically and intellectually, the materials used in the task or the text itself, and social/affective strategies as those used to interact with other learners and to maintain one's own morale (p. 375).

An assumption underlying the manipulation of the learner strategies is that it is possible for learners to change and adapt existing strategies, replacing them either permanently

or on occasion with those they may find more effective in regulating and promoting their learning (Boekaerts, 1999). This additional pedagogic use of the diaries is in keeping with the research question of how *best* to enable adult English language learners to negotiate, since any answer regarding this facilitation process cannot simply be a matter of course content or linguistics, but must also be one of learning, teaching, and the interaction between the two constructs.

The diaries, then, have a three-fold purpose. The first is that of a pedagogic tool, to both stimulate and record interlanguage change, particularly of the linguistic features related to the pragmatic competence of each learner. The diaries 'capture' these moments of learning, and provide insight into what triggered these realisations, while still providing data which acknowledged a distinction between learner production of language and learner perceptions of language (Cohen & Olshtain, 1994). Secondly, the diaries were used pedagogically and ethnographically to record and promote awareness of learner strategies, on the basis that these strategies are as critical to language acquisition as language itself. Thirdly, the diaries provided multiple 'insider' views of the classroom process, tempering the observation done by the researcher. The assumption that learners can reflect on and articulate their own learning strategies was then put to further use in an additional ethnographic participant observation technique, that of the semi-structured interview.

Video-Taped Post-Course Evaluation Interview

Immediately following the final video-taped role play, the learner participants were given a questionnaire which asked them to:

1. evaluate the course,
2. assess the degree to which they had benefited or not benefited from the particular learning processes involved in the course,
3. analyse what they had learnt or gained from the course, and

4. identify any areas which they feel would have been of benefit to them in achieving their learning goals, but which were not covered by the course.

The questionnaire used two survey techniques. The first six questions asked the students to rate their perceptions of an increase of lack of it in their general English communicative competence or proficiency using a "linear, numeric scale" (Alreck & Settle, 1995, p. 128). A scale of 10 was used in which '1' was 'no improvement at all' and '10' was 'improved a lot'. The second six questions were open ended, asking students to name concepts, linguistic features or make short comments on the course, their own learning and any new found learning, cultural or linguistic knowledge. The answers to these questions were necessarily short because of the space allocated to note them down, and the time given students before they were video-taped. The reason for this was that the questionnaire was intended as a prelude to the video-taped interview; a method of prompting learners to think about the answers they wanted to make before the interview, rather than an interviewing tool in itself.

The interview which followed has been termed 'semi-structured' (Wolcott, 1999) because while the questions listed on the survey provided a starting point, learner participant answers provided the foundation for follow-up questions which were quite different for each student as a consequence. This approach allowed the researcher to personalise each interview, and its dialogic nature ensured that, unlike the diaries in which the learners' meaning were not so much negotiated as interpreted due to the time lapse between the questioning and response, the interviews were more truly representative of the negotiated 'we-relationship' (Schutz, 1970) between each learner and the teacher/researcher.

The interview also allowed the students more freedom than the structured learner diaries for two further reasons. Firstly, it gave learners the opportunity to raise issues of direct interest and concern to them, rather than those of immediate interest to the researcher. In this, it acted in the manner recommended by Bailey (1991) for diary studies. Students commented on differences between English and their specific culture, achievements which were personal to them and evaluated quite differently to the way

students are traditionally evaluated by ESOL teachers, at least in this particular educational setting, and uses to which they had put the English learned during the course in domains outside the classroom.

Secondly, a large number of the learner participants apparently felt considerably more comfortable providing feedback verbally rather than in writing. It must be remembered that all the data gathered from learner participants as part of the research was provided by them in English; their second, or in some cases, third, language. Given their levels of proficiency (see below), and the inevitability that for each student, some macro-skills (Harmer, 1991) would be more developed than others, it was important that learners be given the opportunity to respond both in written and verbal form.

Finally, the interviews enabled the researcher to focus more on individual learners rather than on the whole class. As a teacher, it is very easy to focus on the group, a perspective that appears to treat the class as a single entity with defined social roles and relationships moving through a set classroom ritual (Prabhu, 1992). The interview was a strong reminder that each member of the class viewed the classroom and its events in a completely different and individual light, providing data for an examination of nine different 'cogitatio' or 'conscious experiences' of the course (Husserl, 1931/1913), rather than the single experience of the researcher.

The semi-structured video-taped interviews gave rise to some quite unpredicted data, and suggested that the course generated learning in areas unforeseen by the researcher whose focus was on the teaching of negotiation skills and pragmatic and intercultural awareness.

Learner Performance Data Role Plays

> Conversation analysis…is concerned with the analysis of the *competences* which underlie ordinary social activities. Specifically it is directed at describing and explicating the competences which ordinary speakers use and rely on when they engage in intelligible, conversational interaction. At its most basic, the objective

> is to describe the procedures and expectations in terms of which speakers produce their own behaviour and interpret the behaviour of others. (Heritage, 1984, p. 241)

In this study, Conversation Analysis has been used not so much to explain how speakers *produce* their own behaviour, since the learning diaries and classroom video are the means by which this is analysed, but rather to explain how the behaviour of others (in this case, the learners) is *interpreted*, and why this is so.

Learner speech is investigated or interpreted in two ways. Firstly, a group of native English speakers were asked how they would interpret the communicative behaviour of the learners, as seen on video. What reactions did they have to the speech, to the communication styles, to the communicative strategies used by each learner? How did each learner 'come across' as a person? Would they have judged it a successful communication or not, and why, *in their view*, was this so?

This data was then compared with what they learners actually did when communicating. What linguistic, prosodic, kinesic and proxemic features were used by the learners to produce these reactions or interpretations in the native speaker group? How did the features used produce more or less favourable responses amongst this group, and why was some speech considered more appropriate than others? This second interpretation or analysis of learner speech was undertaken by the researcher using ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis.

That being the objective, two issues require some examination:

1. the actual method of data collection for later analysis, involving a number of choices, and

2. the nature of the data collected.

The data collection of the role-plays collected before, half-way through, and after the course, was a means to:

1. collect data at different points in time, which, given the relatively high number of interventions in between times was liable to be quite dissimilar, and

2. motivate learners and allow them to track their own development in a way that 'made sense' to them, given that the data collection resembled 'tests', which process they were familiar with given the assessment procedures of the school (see above), and

3. provide learners with a means to assess and modify their own behaviour, which appeared to cause them considerable surprise, and in some cases, concern. Comments to the effect that they had no idea that they appeared to others or behaved "like that" were common, and the video recordings themselves became the main pedagogic tool in modifying their own communication style and therefore their own interlanguage. As a result, a greater number of video recordings of learners were made than had been originally intended (for purely research purposes) and were made available for learners to watch in their own time, as a direct result of their demands.

This leads us to the issue of video as a means of data collection and the reasons for its use in this study.

Use of video to record speech

A variety of techniques are employed to record speech behaviours. As noted above, speech act theorists have often used a 'discourse completion test', which acts as a short questionnaire, asking respondents to record in writing what they believe they would say in response to a given situation or utterance (Cohen & Olshtain, 1994; Rintell & Mitchell, 1989). These are problematic, as Wolfson et al. (1989) have noted, because written data differs in a great number of ways from how people actually speak and, in addition, because it would appear that people are generally unable to report their speech accurately, in any case.

Conversation Analysts, on the other hand, emphasise naturally occurring data, and have therefore made extensive use of audio-taping. This method also has its limitations in that it does not take in any of the kinesic and proxemic features of language, the fact that we communicate and make meaning through the use of our facial expressions, gestures and use of space.

Video was chosen for use in this study to avoid these limitations and because:

1. no ethical research methodology to date has found a way to wholly counteract Labov's (1969) "Observor's Paradox". The fact is that the process of data collection (whether in writing, through human channels or via audio or video equipment) may alter behaviour – and therefore the data collected. At best, arguments offered in defence only amount to claims that the research participants came to accept or ignore the equipment (see, for example, Aston, 1988a) or that the research subjects came to accept the observer as, Schiffrin (1987), for example asserts. Given these limitations and the context (a classroom environment, which is not a socially authentic environment for the business negotiation undertaken in any case), video at least provides a means of recording actual performance, rather than imagined or hypothesised performance, as a written "discourse completion test" would. It is also worth noting that much of what we do in constructing talk is not affected by the presence of absence of recording equipment in any case.

2. It is the only method which admits the array of paralinguistic features of language so critical to meaning-making (Kress, 1999; Labov, 1982) and in doing so truly captures what Gumperz (1982) has called "the knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers must have to initiate and sustain conversational involvement" (p. 325).

Setting for the Data Collection

Conversation Analysis is usually applied to naturally occurring data that can be easily described as having been collected is this or that setting. In the case of this study, however, in which the data analysed using CA was produced by simulated role-plays, describing the 'context' becomes a more complex issue.

At one level, as with much language acquisition research, the role play was conducted within a 'classroom setting', as a more or less typical classroom activity or task. From a CA perspective however, this explanation is less than adequate, because, as Schegloff (1992a) has argued, a setting is determined not by what an onlooker, be they social scientist, linguist or a casual observer, determines, but by the kind of talk that takes place, and the way in which the talk is distributed.

Giving the example of a courtroom, he states:

> To focus just on the turn-taking organization, it is the "courtroom-ness" of courtrooms in session which seems in fact to organize the way in which the talk is distributed among the persons present… there are socially organized procedures for determining when they can talk, what they can do in their talk, and the like. (pp. 112-113)

In a classroom, and in the discourse occurring immediately before the role-plays began, the organization of the talk reflected the roles of the participants involved. That is to say, the teacher generally directed the events, often allocated speaking turns, had the acknowledged right to redirect the talk back to herself and take a turn almost at will by speaking in a louder voice than the other participants. The learners, on the other hand, usually won turns by requesting permission take that turn when addressing the teacher, used a different pitch and volume when addressing each other rather than the teacher, did not address each other at the same time as addressing the teacher and so on. There was also, as is typical of classroom settings, a system of official and unofficial "addressees" at any given point in time, which might involve the whole class, a small

group or one student (Goffman, 1981, p. 133). Students becoming 'bystanders' in this process would talk through 'asides' to each other.

Once the role-plays began however, the 'classroom-ness' of the talk vanished and the socially-organised procedures directing the talk became those of a dyadic business meeting taking place in a superior's office. The participants ceased to be learners with particular ways of relating to each other, and became superior and subordinate in a very different relationship that necessarily shaped the manner in which the talk was constructed and the space of the classroom, now turned business office, utilised. The person now identified as the subordinate had to gain permission to enter the manager's territory, to sit, to make use of the desk and to address the desired agenda. Both students in their respective business roles had to bid for turns in a very different manner to that used in a classroom.

As Schegloff (1992a) argued,

> not everything *in* the setting is *of* the setting... Indeed, it is through the ways in which the talk (and other conduct) is produced that the work setting is realized (by and for *its participants*, in the first instance) as a concerted interactional accomplishment. (p. 117)

It is therefore arguable that the talk during the role-plays and that at other times represented, as Fairclough (1992b) has expressed it, different "*orders of discourse*" (p194) while the setting or context in which the data was collected operated at two levels. At one level, the setting was the classroom, the activity, a classroom activity, and the participants, students enacting the roles of business people. At another level, the setting of this research, while physically situated in a classroom, became, in more than the imagination of the students, a realistic if not authentic business setting more closely reflecting the participant roles, spatial organization and talk of that type of environment than it did an educational institution. This factor was key not only to the analysis of the learner talk-in-interaction, but to the creation of the role play scenarios.

Role-Play Scenarios

The many types of conflict and approaches to its management via negotiation have been discussed in Chapter Two.

In selecting scenarios for learner experimentation, a number of considerations came into play. Firstly, it was decided that conflict involving judgements about behaviours, and processes (including the distribution of responsibility) as well as substantive matters would be more representative of work place conflict than mere problem-solving or task-based dispute (K.W. Thomas, 1992; Jehn, 1995, 1997).

Scenarios involving multi-layered conflict, particularly when a power differential was included, would be more likely, it was judged, to produce what Linell (1995) called 'miscommunication sequences' frequently involving "social or emotional conflicts…emotional or personal hostility, competition, [and] non-cooperative attitudes…" (p. 177) rather than the "mutuality" (similar assumptions and background knowledge) and "reciprocity" (expectations regarding how the interaction will evolve) necessary to understanding and therefore to agreement (p. 179). It seemed better, in short, to ask learners to experiment with greater asymmetries rather than mutualities in a negotiation in order that they could explore cultural and linguistic difference.

Secondly, given the definition of conflict used in the study and stated in Chapter Two, the conflictive scenarios had to involve situations that learners could 'care about'. The role-play simulations needed, therefore, to easily generate an emotional response both in learners and in the native English speaker observation group. Without this affective involvement, a display of the kind of communicative competencies underlying social actions discussed above would not have been possible, and the reviewer-interpreters of learner behaviour would have had no context in which to base their judgements regarding appropriateness or lack of it. Thus, in developing suitable role-play scenarios, the question became one of what would easily generate affective involvement across cultures and diverse experiences of business and its relationships. The answer revolved around 'face'.

Finally, it should be noted that perceived 'proficiency levels' were *not* a consideration in developing the scenarios (although the language describing them was made as clear and direct as possible) because the level of difficulty involved undertaking the role play would depend very much on each learner's own life experiences and relationships, rather than with lexical sets that might be presumed to have.

Scenario One, *Public Humiliation*, which generated the pre-course learner speech data, presented a situation in which the learner's manager had abused a subordinate in front of a client, as a result of the employee's making a mistake which was to have negative financial consequences for their company. The task, which is produced in Appendix A as it was given to the students, was to approach the manager and ask this person never to repeat the behaviour, while not denying responsibility for the error itself, which generated additional process and task-based conflict also requiring redress.

This public loss of face produced powerful emotive responses among learners acting as 'the employee', as well as among the reviewer group and the native English speakers who modelled the role-play for pedagogic purposes.

Scenario Two, *Losing the Tender*, the post-course role-play scenario, involved an employee being 'blamed' for a financial loss arising from the actions and non-cooperation of another employee. This time the task, presented in Appendix A using the same wording as was given to students, was to explain the cause of the problem without appearing to 'pass the buck' to a manager who held this employee responsible. To do this, it was assumed that more substantive issues regarding the inadequacy of organisational processes would need to be addressed.

This second scenario produced less affective conflict and hostility than the first not because, it would appear, of the situation per se, but because the learners had modified their behaviour both as 'managers' and 'employees', entering quickly into conflict prevention and reconciliation rituals to prevent the conflict escalating (Fry, 2000). Both parties were therefore able to maintain face more easily during the meeting. The reviewers, however, reacted even more strongly to the second scenario, most claiming

that they ‘knew this person’ in their own working life, and discussing the consequences of having to relate to someone like this in a highly emotive manner.

To this extent, the scenarios, developed from suggestions from a variety of business professionals, appeared representative of experiences that all participants could relate to on a personal level, based as they were on face issues common to both business, social and academic environments. The speech recorded, therefore, was not authentic, but undoubtedly realistic.

There were, of course, a number of limitations, related to the fact that any simulated role-play is not a ‘real-life’ engagement. The most obvious difference is that the learners were ‘told’ the nature and state of their relationship with their ‘manager’. This may not have been typical of the relationships they develop or would develop in a business context, and may have, consequently, put the students in a position in which they would never find themselves, with an identity that they had trouble relating to.

Secondly, as R. Ford and Johnson (1998) have argued, the estimation of the other’s power in an organization is critical to one’s behaviour in a negotiation; certain options may be pursued or avoided depending on how much collective support one party believes the other has. Since the learners were told only that they had limited power in relation to their manager due to the short length of time they had been in the company (‘before’ negotiation), they had no way of knowing how much support their manager had from further up the company, and therefore what kind of punitive action their manager might have been capable of, surely a factor in any similar authentic negotiation.

Non-native interlocutor

What next deserves some attention is the choice made to have learners simulating both roles (manager and subordinate), rather than have the learners interact with a native English speaker enacting the role of the interlocutor.

Cohen and Olshtain (1994) used such an interlocutor in their research into non-native speakers' production of speech acts. The advantage of this approach can be easily seen in that the learners whose sociolinguistic proficiency in the target language was being assessed were responding, or at least given the opportunity to respond, to a dialogic approach with its accompanying signalling and inferencing strategies that is native to the speakers of the target language.

These native speakers would be using what Gumperz (1995) has called "contextualization conventions" which he defined as

> systems of indexical, metapragmatic signals that, when processed in coocurrence with propositional content, serve to frame a speech exchange and thereby access and retrieve contextual presuppositions in terms of which speakers assess the communicative intent of constituent utterances. (p. 102)

As these contextualization conventions, realised in discourse structure, pitch, rhythm, stress and so on, differ across languages, failure to respond to these can and does result in complete misunderstandings regarding the intentions and meanings of each party (Gumperz, 1992), and a failure to realise one's communicative goals. These features of language are, therefore, of great importance in examining the communicative competence and adaptability of language learners.

There are, on the other hand, some serious shortcomings with using such an approach, particularly in the context of teaching, which assumes that learners will ultimately develop a level of proficiency that enables them to be independent of the classroom and its support mechanisms.

Cohen and Olshtain (1994) note, for example, that their native speaker interlocutors were responsible for making judgements about when the role-play was complete. The onus was on them, in other words, to 'close' the talk. While for the purposes of analysing speech act performance this may be adequate, closing a negotiation, or in fact any conversation, requires complex knowledge (presumably unconscious on the part of a native speaker, but certainly not for non-native learners of English using that

language) of the micro and macro-structure of talk discussed in Chapter Two. Observing how a non-native learner of English was able to accomplish or not accomplish this task is certainly a significant part of this study.

This criticism can be expanded to include the accomplishment of the entire negotiation, in fact. Schegloff and Sacks (1974) demonstrated that the topic or topics of talk are introduced, pursued and concluded through work done by the conversational participants deploying their knowledge of the "proper sequential organization" (p. 258) of talk. Non-adherence to this order requires verbal acknowledgement by the participants, and violation of its norms may be seen as an expression of anger.

Using a native-speaker of the target language to guide learners through this process, repair non-adherence to any norms, or 'make allowances' for violations as teachers are wont to do with learners, but which they do not do as 'members' of most other social groupings to which they belong, is not only obstructive to students learning to use these skills, but counteracts any ability to review their true interactional proficiency. Forwarding their topical or agenda-related goals was, some learners noted, one of the most difficult 'mechanisms' of negotiation to manage, and this acquired expertise is certainly not a factor this study could afford or would choose to ignore.

Additionally, as discussed in the rationale for this enquiry, in teaching learners to become competent speakers using a discourse style alien to their own, the goal and the teaching methodology employed was not aimed at putting pressure on them to adapt to a native-English speaking style, but rather to become aware of their own discourse style and its features, to be able to adapt to and use that of English as a sample 'alien' style and to become aware and accommodate the discourse style of others.

For this reason, all negotiations were undertaken by learners with highly dissimilar discourse styles (for example, the speakers of European languages with the Asian). All learners undertook both roles in all negotiations, learning to negotiate from a position of both less and more power, and all learners were ultimately evaluated on their ability to direct and organize the negotiation in a way that met their goals, but without the discourse style to which they were most accustomed - an approach recommended by

Gimenez (2001), as most representative of, and best in terms of promoting the flexibility needed to negotiate in, a multi-cultural world.

Modified CA Transcription and Analysis of Learner Role Play Data

In transcribing the 'before and after' learner role-plays, two concerns were paramount. Firstly, the data had to be legible and the information contained within it clear to the community at which this study is directed; namely, those who teach English to speakers of other languages.

Many conversation analyses, quite reasonably, are aimed, at least initially, at increasing the understanding of language and its use within the community or communities of linguists and social scientists. Should this be the goal, the use of a standard transcription methodology instantly recognisable to students of social interaction such as that developed by Jefferson at the time the technique first emerged is an obvious choice (J.M. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984).

However, without training, or at least a good deal of practice, reading and interpreting data transcribed in this manner can be difficult. The elements which give the speech its character are often obscured by the punctuation or other coding devices used in transcription. At worst, the gist of the talk is lost to the untrained reader who must accept as given the assertions made regarding it by the researcher.

It must be restated that this research arose from classroom practice, and is aimed at informing and changing that practice. Unless the data can be easily read and understood by teachers, there is little likelihood that this will be achieved.

With this in mind, an approach more closely resembling a standard written text was chosen in which the speech or dialogue is recorded in a 'theatrical play-like' format. Each 'speech' by the 'actors', or, in this case, learner participants, was recorded using standard Australian English spelling. Each 'speech' was transcribed with interlocutor back channels and overlapping speech embedded within it so as to enable the reader to

follow the ‘flow’ of the speech and therefore the gist of what the learner participants were communicating.

This approach would appear, however, to undermine the benefits of using ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis. If each utterance by both speakers, regardless of who appears to hold the floor at any given time, is not given equal weight in the analysis, how can a real understanding of the talk-in-interaction be achieved? How can the subtleties of the power relationships, the symmetries and asymmetries (Linell, 1995), the conversation management techniques employed by the negotiators and the real meanings of the talk be understood?

This question brings us to the second concern in determining an appropriate transcription method for this study, and it is one which, to some degree, works in opposition to the first. Of the many linguistic, kinesic and prosodic features of the discourse which can potentially be transcribed, which will best represent the learners' talk, and identify the causes of the reactions which the native-speaker reviewer group had towards the learner-participants?

In recording too many features, the data becomes a jumble of hieroglyphics to the non-technical reader, and trends may become obscured by the many possible variables. In recording too few, we may miss key information about the interaction, thereby defeating the purpose of the study. This is particularly problematic since much can be understand from the minutiae of talk. As Heritage (1984) argued, “no order of detail can be dismissed, *a priori*, as disorderly, accidental or irrelevant” (p. 241) because interaction, by its very nature, is assumed to be structurally organised and contextually-oriented.

A further issue in making choices regarding the transcription, is that, in CA, as has already been stated, it is not the role of the researcher, as an outsider to the interaction, to apply his or her understanding of the meanings of the interaction by codifying speech in one way or another. From an ethnomethodological perspective, it is the interactants' interpretations and inferences that are relevant, and these may only be discovered through the analysis of the transcription as documentary evidence of the talk. In opposition to this, however, it could also be argued that in not transcribing every detail

of the interaction, including all kinesic motion, every facial muscular movement, and every prosodic feature, *de facto* choices have, in fact, been made. That which has been included in the transcription has been deemed more important to the interaction than that which has not.

The solution to these problematic questions lies in a compromise, but not one which is unmanageable, uninformed or detrimental to the overall enquiry. The compromise achieved in this study was founded on:

1. an informed selection of the features and behaviours transcribed, based on prior research into the way in which linguistic, kinesic and prosodic features of language affect attitudes towards the speaker or 'displayer' of these features or behaviours, and

2. an acknowledgement that while the choices made when transcribing are based on past research, they necessarily involve a subjective component, as the researcher analyst makes decisions regarding which category the linguistic or paralinguistic features of the interaction being coded fall into

Sacks (1992) himself noted the difficulty in achieving uniformity among researchers in the coding of speech as the 'coders' applied their judgement to the raw data and produced different answers. Commenting on this debate, Bavelas and Chovil (1997) have since argued that what is termed 'objectivity' in classification is merely intersubjective agreement in any case, and that further, as humans able to interact and interpret the variety of meaning involved in discourse, in addition to being humans with metalinguistics training, researchers have the capacity to comprehend meaning on one level, while attending "to how that meaning was conveyed" (p. 340) via the development of

> a clearly structured protocol that guides the analyst from step to step, requiring him or her to make relatively broad and easy decisions first and then move to more specific or difficult ones. (p. 340)

It is the rationale behind and the structure of this 'protocol' which we turn to next.

Decisions in the Transcription Process

The rationale behind the choices made in transcription can be best described by dividing the transcription data into three areas:

1. transcription of **verbal data** or **utterances**, which is perhaps the most straightforward given the quantity of research using conversation analysis techniques and literary traditions of recording dialogue,

2. transcription of **facial expression and body motion**, which have been previously been shown to have a significant impact on the way speakers are perceived by their interlocutors and others, and

3. transcription of **prosodic features** which is focused more on what to omit than what to include, since a detailed transcription of data would clearly render the text less readable, and since there is already an extensive body of research on the effect of prosody on interaction, and how its features can be taught in the classroom.

Transcription of Lexicalised and Non-Lexicalised Utterances

As noted above, the role-plays have been transcribed so that an untrained reader can follow them as they would a play. Each piece of dialogue by an 'actor' or learner in this case begins on a new line and continues until the end of that 'speech'. Because there were only two participants in each simulated negotiation, plain font was used to denote the 'employee' in each situation, this being the participant *viewed* on the video recording, and italics used to indicate speech by the 'employer' in order that the reader is quickly aware who is speaking at any given point in the dialogue.

These ‘pieces of dialogue’ or ‘speeches’ are similar to ‘turns’, but one element rendered the transcription style unusual. Common back channels or minimal responses such as ‘mm hm’, ‘oh’ or ‘yeah’ (R. Gardner, 1997) which tended to be present at the end of clauses or ‘transition-relevance places’ (Sacks et al., 1974), but which did not appear to cause the speaker to hesitate in his or her speech were embedded in the transcription immediately after the word they followed or ‘overlapped’, rather than being recorded on a separate line. This was done to facilitate the non-technical reader’s or ESOL teacher’s sense of the conversation.

Overlapping speech, was also recorded in square brackets, with the font type (*italics*/plain) indicating which party produced which utterances.

Also transcribed were those utterances variously described as ‘fillers’ or ‘response cries’ (Goffman, 1979) such as ‘um’ and ‘er’, making appearance particularly when the learners

> have lost their places, can’t find a word, are momentarily distracted, or otherwise find they are departing from fluently sustained speech… [as] speakers make it evident that although they do not now have the word or phrase they want, they are giving their attention to the matter and have not cut themselves adrift from the effort at hand. (p. 229)

Prolongation of the vowel sounds in these non-lexicalised utterances were common and are recorded in the same way as other prolonged sounds, that is, by using a technique which is common to both linguistics and literature: the insertion of extra letters to convey their drawn out quality, as in, for example, “sorryyyy”.

Other non-lexicalised utterances or vocalisations such as laughter, or exhalation are recorded in brackets and inserted into the transcription in this way: {laughter}.

Finally, it should be noted that where the learner speech was unintelligible the transcription records this: (unintelligible). Where speech was unclear, but the

researcher was able to make a reasonable prediction regarding what the phrase was, the phrase is also bracketed, (like this), to show the uncertainty surrounding it.

Transcription of Facial Expression

Findings on facial expression, outlined in Chapter Two, clearly have a bearing on the current study, and were therefore incorporated into the learner role-play transcriptions. Given that the context in which the role-plays were simulated was that of a business environment, facial expressions that studies have shown to be linked with credibility, sincerity, and power are key (Aguinis et al., 1998). Equally clear therefore is that gaze behaviours which may convey insincerity or weakness and smiles which may mask a variety of other emotions must be recorded. Added to these, looks of concern variously acknowledging the mistakes the speaker has made (expression of emotion), the difficulty of the manager's position (mimicry), and the attention paid to the manager and his or her solutions were regarded as critical (Bavelas & Chovil, 1997; Ekman, 1979).

How to determine their occurrence within the role play and describe their variation is a much more difficult issue however, and one which warrants an explanation here. The three main areas (gaze, smiles and brow movement) are discussed individually.

Gaze

One of the ways in which people express their engagement in an interaction is through gaze (Goffman, 1963). However, even among culturally similar native English speakers, there is a great individual difference in the degree to which conversational interactants maintain their gaze, as well as an apparent difference between the level of eye contact expected when listening in comparison with that maintained when speaking. Gaze maintenance when listening is higher (Kendon, 1990), and speakers appear to use strategies such as restarts to attract listener gaze if it is absent (C. Goodwin, 1980).

Also of interest is research which shows that gaze plays a major role in directing a turn towards different recipients (C. Goodwin, 1979) and, it would seem, in projecting turn end and turn change (Kendon, 1990).

Superficially, transcribing gaze, or eye-contact would seem straightforward. A person is either looking into the other's eyes, or they are not. Certainly, this single behaviour is recorded using 'shadow', so that speech during which eye-contact was lost, is recorded used a reduced font size, in this manner.

However, difficulties soon emerged, and it became apparent that a quantitative recording of contact/non-contact alone did not adequately describe the gaze behaviours used. In transcribing one learner participant's gaze behaviour, for example, it was discovered that while maintaining eye-contact during each utterance, he repeatedly looked away, shifting his gaze rapidly from side to side, creating an impression that there was considerably less eye-contact than was, in reality, the case. In addition, two of the learners appeared to the researcher to have a very direct gaze, but on transcription, it was found that they spent a great deal of time looking away from their interlocutor, but then gazing very intensively into the other's eyes. In other words, they reinforced a sense of direct eye-contact by first looking away, then gazing intensely across the table.

Yet another learner tilted her head forward in what appeared to be a very submissive posture. She then glanced at her interlocutor repeatedly from 'under her lashes' creating a sense that she was flirting by 'batting her eyelids'! This combination of head position and gaze clearly created a separate behaviour not shown by the duration-based transcription, which would frustrate an over-simplified finding correlating gaze avoidance and perceptions of submission, as Larsen & Shackelford (1996) discovered in one study on the issue.

It was decided that incorporating these individual head positioning behaviours into the transcript would render it unreadable, so such behaviours are transcribed separately, and raised in the discussion section of this enquiry. The issue of gaze behaviours shows too, that, as Schegloff (1993) argued, mere quantification of features such as laughing, or in

this case, gaze direction, is not sufficiently descriptive of the nature of talk-in-interaction. The behaviours must be taken in context of where, when and how they were uttered or displayed.

Smiling

In transcribing the data differentiating between a smiling and non-smiling expression, determining a coding protocol proved to be considerably more difficult than had been anticipated because:

1. many muscular movements can combine to form what is recognised as a ‘smile’ (Ekman, et al., 1997), and these movements can vary greatly in intensity (Ekman & Friesan, 1978).

2. there are many reasons for smiling which in turn produce different facial expressions labelled ‘smile’ (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998),

3. there are known to be cultural/regional differences in the way smiling is perceived by native English speakers (Birdwhistell, 1971), and

4. smiling and ‘not-smiling’ are not single, stable bi-polar states but rather a gradation between which participants move, something which is often not recognised by researchers using ‘stills’ of video recordings or photographs (Bavelas & Chovil, 1997).

Despite this, the literature on facial expression generally distinguishes between two types of smiles: the ‘real’ or ‘Duchenne’ smile and all other smiles which are considered ‘fake’, ‘masking’ or ‘display’ smiles, created to cover negative feelings regarded as inappropriate to or disadvantageous in the situation.

In 1862, Duchenne, a French anatomist, noted that when joyous emotion was expressed through a smile, the muscles around the eye, the “orbicularis oculi muscles”, contract,

causing wrinkling or 'crows feet' (Ekman, Davidson & Friesen, 1990, p. 342). This finding has not only been reinforced by research since, but can also be seen in such contemporary phrases as 'the smile did not reach his eyes'.

In determining how smiling would be recorded, with the view to investigating a correlation between native-speaker reviewer group reactions and facial expression, a salient factor was that, although clues to a person's real emotion are available through their facial expression most particularly, most observers fail "to make use of the behaviours most relevant to detecting deceits" and, as a result, "people unwittingly collude in maintaining rather than uncovering deception" (Ekman, 1988, p. 174). In other words, while those in Ekman's (1988) study who were able to detect lies reporting relying on the face to give them this information, most chose to take the given facial expressions at 'face value'.

It was therefore considered futile to code a variety of smiles other than those reflecting the fake/real dichotomy in order to capture information from those reviewers who may have made use of this major 'deception cue', because non-Duchenne smiles which might register anger, fear or any other emotion could have been interpreted in any number of ways by the reviewers, if they were not ignored.

The second issue of note is determining smile coding was that the role-play scenarios actually encouraged learners to feign emotion since the students were required to act appropriately given a business context in which they played the part of an employee with less power than their interlocutor, the 'boss'. Hecht and LaFrance (1998) have established that those in a position of relative weakness must closely conform to display rules if they are not to be seen in a negative light. In view of this, coding aimed at uncovering 'deceit' would be meaningless, while that which identified masking smiles and looks of empathy, however fake, of value in assessing the learners' credibility.

Thirdly, we turn to the issue of what constitutes a masking smile as distinct from a facial expression in which no smile is present. The usual definition of a smile, true of both Duchenne and masking smiles, is that the corners of the lips turn upward pulled by the zygomatic major muscle (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998). According to Ekman and

Friesen's (1978) Facial Action Coding System, this is Action Unit 12. This study also recorded 'half-smiles' as masking smiles however, since it is not necessary to 'grin' to convey that you are smiling or putting on a brave, happy face, and because smiling that resembles 'smirking' may well cause the speaker to be evaluated negatively by anyone viewing them. This is Action Unit 20, the "Lip Stretcher", in which "the lip corners and skin adjacent to the lip corners are pulled laterally slightly" (Ekman & Friesen, 1978, p. 5.2).

In this study, Duchenne smiles are thickly underlined and masking smiles, transcribed with a broken underline.

Brow Movement

We now come to the reasons for recording eyebrow movement in conjunction with other facial changes. As noted above, one of the major roles of facial expression is to communicate one's reaction to another's emotion. Facial movement is much greater in a face-to-face situation than in one in which the participants cannot see each other, such as the telephone (Chovil, 1997). Speakers re-enact the emotions and actions of past scenes, recreating them for the other through gesture and facial expression. More interesting is the fact that listeners often convey the emotion felt by their interlocutor by wincing or crying, for example, in what is called 'mimicry'. This was originally thought to be an expression of vicarious emotion resulting from internal cognitive processes, but is now recognised as an expression of empathy, or more specifically 'knowing' and 'caring' about what the other is relating (Bavelas et al.,1986).

It is not, however, only in response to an extreme, emotionally intense situation that learners do this. In 'normal' conversation, as well as when backchannelling using facial expression, listeners respond to the speaker by, for example,

> turning the corners of the lips down in appreciation of something serious, pressing the lips together in concern or suspense, closing the eyes briefly ("I don't want to see this"), and raising the brows in alarm or disbelief. (Bavelas & Chovil, 1997, p. 343)

As we have seen in Chapter Two, a successful negotiation rests on the notion that the interlocutors feel 'heard' or 'understood', and since facial expression plays a major role in this, it is clearly worth transcribing. The question becomes one then, of how and what to transcribe to determine whether learners were displaying mimicry appropriate to the use of English in this particular context.

While the universality of facial movement is not in dispute because of its physical and involuntary nature (Ekman, 1997; Russell, 1995), the representation and attribution of emotion to particular facial movements does exhibit some difference across cultures, particularly as cultural difference increases and literacy decreases (Russell, 1995), and the management of facial displays appears to differ even more (Ekman, 1997). Within Western cultures, however, there does appear to be a strong correlation between certain eyebrow movements and emotional expression. The way in which specific muscular movements were chosen for transcription and their relationship to emotion are now described.

In his work on facial expression, Ekman (1979) identified three major motions (muscle movements) that could be made by the brows. These, which he labelled Action Units (AU) 1, 2, and 4, are described in Table 3.2 below:

Table 3-2 Summary of Brow/Forehead Movements (Ekman, 1979)

Action Unit	Description of the movement
1	The inner portion of the eyebrow is raised upwards, causing wrinkles on the forehead directly above the nose.
2	The whole eyebrow is raised (both inner and outer portions) causing wrinkles across the whole forehead.
4	The eyebrow are drawn together, causing wrinkling between the nose.

Combinations of these Action Units are also possible, providing facial expressions AU 1+2, AU 1+4, AU 2+4 and AU 1+2+4.

AU4 it is associated with difficulty and is therefore critical for the purposes of this study. On its own, it is associated with anger or distress, but when combined with AU1 or AU1+2, looks of concern, fear, regret, and sadness are produced: the basic components of mimicry. As a result, it was decided to transcribe each use of AU4 in combination with AU1 or AU2 by the learner participant playing the role of the employee. This coding practice is adhered to when the participant is both speaking and listening. AU1+2+4 and AU1+4 are noted in the transcription using a thin underline <u>in this manner</u>.

Another facial muscular combination is also achieved using AU4. When the lips are stretched (AU20), a movement also involved in creating a masking smile, in combination with AU4, a more extreme expression commonly known as a 'grimace' is formed. A number of the learners made this expression frequently *while they were speaking*, seeming, in doing so, to convey regret to the researcher. In order to examine the effect on the native speaker group, and to examine the relationship between this expression and the talk, grimaces were recorded using this symbol 👽 immediately prior to the syllable accompanying the expression.

Transcription of Body Motion

A brief examination of Birdwhistell's (1971) body motion transcription system brings with it the realisation of how complex kinesic transcription necessarily is. Head movement alone, without facial movement, requires 57 different codes, with hand movement incorporating considerably more (pp. 299-275). The detail required for any quantifiable analysis would, in short, render the transcription illegible, except for the technical reader. For this reason, only the most basic of hand movements and body orientation are discussed, and these are not recorded in the transcription itself, except in the case of any actions of short duration, such as shaking hands, throwing the body back in the chair, bowing and so on. These are recorded in brackets in the following way: {shake hands}.

The body motion analysed in the discussion of the research fell into three main areas:

1. hand behaviour
2. use of desk
3. overall body orientation

Hand Behaviour

The discussion of hand gestures is limited to the major ways in which each learner makes use of their hands when speaking and listening. The video-taped role-plays were examined with a view to establishing whether, for example, the learners tended to make 'on-stress' gestures punctuating their speech, used 'locatives' referencing space, or made 'iconic' gestures which appeared to enact the lexis itself (Schegloff, 1984a).

It was of interest too, to discover whether hand gestures were used for functional purposes such as opening and closing the meetings, bidding for turns (Schegloff, 1984a), denying others turns (Duncan & Fiske, 1985), providing feedback instead of speech to avoid interruption (Schegloff, 1984a), and conveying sincerity with 'hand on the heart' type gestures (Scheflen, 1972), particularly given cultural difference in gesture use (Kendon, 1997).

Further, given the emphasis in the classroom on learning through the imitation of others, noticeable changes in learner gesture behaviour between the first and second meetings were scrutinized.

Use of Desk

In addition, the use of the table between the interlocutors, the 'manager's desk' is examined, to ascertain whether the level of encroachment on the employer's 'territory', via the placement of notes, arms or hands had any impact on how the learners were viewed.

Body Orientation

Finally, the participants' body orientation and overall body motion was commented on for three reasons.

The first is that, as M.H. Goodwin (1980) demonstrated, the propositional content of an utterance can be expressed kinesically. In her analytical study, a speaker evaluated a building by holding her body down low to express her awe: an action that continued through what would otherwise have been a 'pause' (see below). In this example, body motion is very much like, or even a part of, mimicry described above (Bavelas et al., 1986). Movements important to communicating meaning such as these were bracketed in this manner: {places hands flat on table and half bows across them}.

Secondly, visible physical action has also been found to be of importance in announcing one's availability to listen and talk, particularly when re-engaging talk which has lapsed amongst 'copresent' participants alerting others to imminent talk to which they will be required to respond (Szymanski, 1999).

Thirdly, different sitting positions and body orientations communicate the extent to which interlocutors are engaged or disengaged in conversation (J.D. Robinson, 1998; Schegloff, 1998a) and together with gaze behaviours reinforce or detract from communication of personal power. As Aguinis et al. (1998) have noted, perceptions of power are influenced by how 'relaxed' a person appears, and body language is assumed to play a role in this. To this end, overall sitting positions and any major changes to them are described and discussed together with either gaze direction, hand movements or of the use of the desk.

Transcription of Prosody

Despite the value of prosody in both understanding language and in teaching English to speakers of other languages as well as its impact on how speakers are perceived,

discussed in the Chapter Two, it was decided *not* to transcribe many of its main features for the following reasons.

Firstly, the impact of many prosodic elements on how speakers are perceived has already been the subject of much research (see for example, Gumperz, 1992, 1995; Schegloff, 1998b, Swan & Smith, 1987; Apple et al., 1979).

Secondly, the use of prosody in constructing talk is relatively well understood. The obvious influence of stress and pitch change on the production of irony, an apology or indirect criticism are well documented (Clennell, 1997), and there are studies on less observable uses of pitch change such as its use to report and evaluate another's voice (Couper-Kuhlen, 1999).

Thirdly, research on prosody has made its way into standard textbooks widely available and commonly used in Australian ELICOS classrooms such as *Speaking Clearly* (Rogerson & Gilbert, 1990). As a result, in answering the question of how best to teach adult learners of English to negotiate in that language, directing learner attention to pitch change and primary stress among other prosodic features (depending on the group of learners) is a given. When so many other features of language remain unexplored, at least in so far as language classroom is concerned, it seemed pointless to make prosody a focus of this study.

For these reasons, apart from the transcription of the extension of vowel sounds in utterances (duration) which has been noted above, only one major prosodic feature, pause, is transcribed. The reasons for transcribing this feature are now examined.

Discontinuous Speech: Gaps, Pauses and Lapses

Silence within conversation can be threatening or even dangerous (Sacks, 1992). It can be indicative of 'trouble', a lack of 'mutuality', or a 'breakdown' within talk. On these grounds alone, its identification and analysis are critical to our understanding of learner interaction.

Sacks et al. (1974) identified three forms of silence that arise within the turn-taking system of talk-in-interaction. The first is a 'pause': any intra-turn break that does not occur at a transition relevance place and is, therefore, "not to be talked in by others" (p. 715).

The second is the 'gap' which they defined as "silence after a possible completion point" (p. 715), which arises when a) current speakers decide to continue their turn because other speakers have not self-selected or because the next potential speaker selected by the current speaker has rejected the turn and b) when the next speaker leaves a pause before beginning the speech of their turn. This is necessarily brief, since this minimal break, if extended, becomes a 'lapse' in conversation. A lapse results when the turn-taking options allowing for other speakers to 'self-select' and enter the conversation, or for the current speaker to continue speaking, are rejected, leaving a silence. While this only occurred in the first role-play, and apparently as a result of the researcher failing to instruct learners to close the conversation by physically leaving the 'office' they had supposedly entered to conduct the negotiation, it created discomfort and is therefore transcribed with its duration.

'Gaps' were of particular interest in this study because of the number of Asian participants. Byrne and FitzGerald (1996) have noted that, contrary to the findings of Sacks et al. (1974) who discovered that, in their data, the majority of turn transitions have no gap or overlap, Asian speakers have a tendency to leave a gap between turns, before speaking. They noted two effects of this communicative difference for speakers involved in intercultural communication. Firstly, they demonstrated the panic that native speakers of English experience when asked to pause (in the sense of leaving a 'gap') between turns. Secondly, they observed the frustration expressed by speakers of Asian languages when no gap occurs, making it difficult for them to self-select a turn due to the lack of 'space'.

For these reasons, gaps and pauses of longer than a 1.5 seconds are noted together with their duration in brackets in this way: {pause 2.2 sec.}. The single term is deployed because of its widespread usage in non-technical language.

Segmental Aspects of Pronunciation

Before concluding this discussion on the rationale underlying the transcription of prosody, one last point must be raised. Given the question put to the reviewer group asking them to evaluate the comprehensibility of each learner's speech, it might be expected that comments on the segmental elements of pronunciation would be a focus. Certainly a number of the learner participants were extremely difficult for those unused to ESOL student-talk to understand. It was apparent too that one learner had dismissed the speech of a number of her peers from Asia as incomprehensible, and so appeared to make little effort to understand them.

A transcription that might highlight the causes of comprehensibility or incomprehensibility was not undertaken for two reasons, however. Firstly, a meaningful transcription would require transcription using phonetic script which is unreadable without considerable practice. Secondly, as with the case of prosody, the teaching of the segmental elements of pronunciation appears to be accepted and possibly commonly undertaken if the available textbooks are taken as a guide. The effects on comprehension of 'mispronouncing' or not clearly differentiating between different sounds are well known and well documented, having been translated into references for teachers (Kenworthy, 1987; Swan & Smith, 1987). Repeating the work of others on an issue not central to this study would, in short, seem of little or no value.

A summary of the transcription notation can be found in Appendix E.

Survey of Learner Speech by English Native Speaker Group

Having described the techniques employed to collect the data, and the method used by the *researcher* to analyse the learner role-play, we now move to the means employed to analyse it from the perspective of those not involved in teaching or linguistic analysis: the English native-speaking reviewer group.

Research has demonstrated quite clearly that there is much about language and its use that we do not consciously know or realise even as we speak and listen to others, but which we perceive and react to unconsciously. We make judgements about a person's character, their good intent or lack of it, their attitudes towards ourselves and others based on linguistic and paralinguistic cues we are constantly fed, but which we may have no conscious awareness of during an interaction.

When we speak of 'analysing' learner speech therefore, there is clearly a need to approach the data in two ways. The benefits of its more technical examination using Conversation Analysis techniques have been discussed above. There is also, however, a need to view the learner speech in a way similar to that in which a member of the kind of social group the learner is likely to encounter outside the classroom might do. In doing business, in developing relationships, in pursuing their goals and negotiating desired outcomes, how will learners be perceived? Having undertaken training in manipulating their discourse style to suit their purposes, will the way learners speak, and negotiate be perceived differently? What is it in their language that is causing these kinds of reactions amongst the review group?

Description of the Native Speaker Reviewers

The group of nine people who assembled to view the learner speech via the two video recordings of them participating in two different negotiation scenarios, were professionals from a range of academic and private and public sector business backgrounds who spoke a variety of English as their first language, and who had never taught ESOL, nor studied linguistics. They were aged in their thirties, forties and fifties, and were predominantly (77%) male. Requests for these unpaid volunteers were made by email and telephone through a 'word of mouth' process. We turn now to how we can we best depict the role that these reviewers were asked to play.

The role of the native speaker reviewers

It has already been noted that the focus of Conversation Analysis is on interactant or 'member' understandings of the production and interpretation of talk in a given interaction, and the necessity to understand talk in *their* terms, using the talk alone as documentary evidence of the meanings (Heritage, 1984). However, there are ways in which the learners of this study were *not* members of the talk they produced since, as already noted, 'members', are held to be those who have a "mastery of natural language"(whatever the language) and can produce and display "commonsense knowledge of everyday activities" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970).

These learners were experimenting with the commonsense knowledge of English in a business context, and in that sense, the degree to which they had 'mastered' this knowledge could only be assessed by members who demonstrably had that knowledge: 'real' speakers of English in a business context. For this reason, rather than relying solely on the documentary evidence of learner talk, additional, or 'secondary' data commenting on that talk was judged to be beneficial to its overall evaluation.

Douglas and Selinker (1994) argue for the usefulness of two kinds of 'secondary data' when interpreting learner interlanguage primary data. The first form is that addressed by the learner diaries and interviews of this study, that is, commentary by the participants themselves. The second type of secondary data constructive to learner language interpretation is, they argue, the commentary of 'subject specialist informants' who, particularly in more technical areas, are needed to "gain access to interlanguage intention" (p. 121) which may not be clear as a consequence of the lack of proficiency in learner speech.

Hence, in this study, the 'reviewers' act as subject specialists, or as 'members' in an in ethnomethodological sense. They were assumed to be 'expert' in the area of Australian workplace relationships, not, it should be noted, in a technical sense, as an industrial relations lawyer or trade union representative might be, but rather in the sense that they would represent people who work every day, who are involved in the negotiation and

renegotiation of business relationships with others working internally and externally to their organizations.

The majority of the reviewers were working for large organizations (multi-national companies, government or larger universities) and all were in 'white-collar' positions because, while this is not representative of the Australian workforce as a whole, it is in keeping with the kind of professional occupations the students themselves would eventually enter, as tertiary educated adults from comfortable socio-economic backgrounds with additional education in English (see above for a discussion of the learner participants).

The subject specialist 'knowledge' of business relationships and appropriate ways to conduct them is the 'tacit' knowledge described by Lincoln and Guba (1985), therefore. It is the knowledge, or a way of 'seeing' (Kuhn, 1996), of a member of a common social grouping, rather than that of a technician, social scientist, linguist, psychologist or other academic. The way in which this tacit knowledge of the type of linguistic and paralinguistic behaviour appropriate to the environment was accessed is reviewed here.

Developing Performance Indicators

Given that the role-plays were a form of negotiation, rather than a third-party mediation, arbitration or adjudication (Fry, 2000), the only true indicator of success had this been an authentic situation, would have been whether the two-parties involved were content with the outcomes. Did they get what they wanted, or something that they could, at least, accept?

Because this was simulated behaviour, and behaviour judged by 'outsiders' rather than the interlocutors and negotiators themselves, the question became one of whether the learners' negotiation strategies would achieve this goal had the meetings been conducted in an authentic workplace context. Would they have communicated appropriately enough, argued clearly and convincingly enough, and generated sufficient empathy to achieve their desired results? The reviewer group was asked to make

judgements about what Austin (1962) called the 'perlocutionary force' of speech: it was the effect of speech on the listeners, rather than the actual words uttered, that was assessed.

A study conducted by Murphy and Neu (1996) asked native speakers of American English to assess the negotiation performance of a group of Korean students trying to persuade a lecturer that their grade for a particular assignment was unfairly low. They asked the English native-speaking university students listening to the audio-taped dialogues to make 'acceptability judgements'; did they consider the student had been 'aggressive', 'friendly', 'respectful', 'intelligent' 'informal', 'to the point', 'confident', 'credible', and 'appropriate'? Their use of these indicators raises two questions:

1. How were these indicators established as the most relevant to the context?

2. Was the 'yes/no' response questionnaire an adequate measure for what is essentially an intuitive assessment or 'gut reaction'? Did it not propel respondents to bi-polar judgements they may not have been as willing to make with a less blunt instrument?

The Semantic Differential Scale

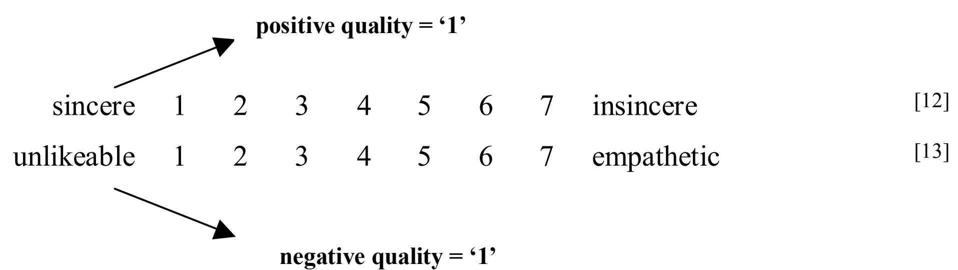
Alreck and Settle (1995) argue that an enquiry into the *image* held of an object, person or event is best satisfied by a Semantic Differential Scale, which measures not only respondents' position on a given subject, but the intensity of that evaluation. In this scale, a series of bipolar adjectives (e.g. 'hot' and 'cold') are placed on continua, and respondents determine the degree to which the entity under assessment is either by selecting a number. In this study, the numbers represent a continuum in which one extreme of the performance indicator has the value '1', its opposite, '7', and in which '4' would, therefore, correspond to a neutral perception, in this way:

sincere =1 ←→ *insincere =7*

This allows the measurement of an ideal, while avoiding a common tendency respondents have to "dichotomize" (p. 105).

Each continuum is organised so that negative values are first presented on the left, then on the right in the following manner:

Figure 3-9 Excerpt from the English Native-Speaking Reviewer Group Survey



This 'reverse-coding' attempts to circumvent the 'yea-sayer, nay-sayer' bias, or tendency on the part of some to agree either positively or negatively. The issue then is how to identify the adjectives most relevant to the context and activity.

Selecting Performance Indicators for the Semantic Differential Scale

In examining differences in the negotiation styles of Caucasian and Afro-Americans, Kochman (1981), argues that the former require participants to behave "calmly, rationally, unemotionally, and logically" (p. 40). The display of emotion is not thought to be appropriate, and should the latter group, following their norms of interaction, bring greater affectivity, such as anger or hostility to the negotiating table, they are apparently considered "devious" (p. 40).

This last term identifies further expectations. Negotiators are expected address the proceedings in 'good faith'. It appears quite common to doubt the sincerity of those from a different culture to one's own (see, for example, Beal, 1992; J. Thomas, 1985),

and negotiations in which one party views the other as in any way dishonest or dishonestly motivated, quickly fail.

The word ‘logical’ is also of interest since it signals the importance of culturally based shared knowledge: common sense or ‘reason’. This reciprocity is key in any interaction since it is expected, often without its being made explicit, and failure to share certain knowledge is, in addition, a major reason for miscommunication (Gumperz, 1995; Linell, 1995). The concept of arguing ‘logically’ brings with it notions of clarity, ‘rightness’ based on fact or hard data, rather than the despised ‘emotion’, as well as the expectation that the interlocutor can do no other than understand and agree with the arguments presented, if he or she will only ‘listen’.

Listening, in turn, is something that negotiation training manuals emphasise strongly. ‘Active listening’, the acknowledgement of what was said, expressions of empathy for one’s interlocutor, and the ability to “Put yourself in their shoes.” (Fisher & Ury, 1991, p. 23), to listen and understand the reality of the other appears generally accepted as a lauded (if not commonly pursued!) goal in English-speaking Western society.

Further, there is the concept of ‘appropriateness’. As Scheflen (1972) notes

> *A characteristic of institutions is their low tolerance for paracommunicative variation.* Thus non-traditional features of dress, speech, gender identification, skin color, ethnicity, and family background are used as bases for negative evaluation. (p. 142)

People who do not conform to the norms of a particular social grouping in the way they present themselves and interact are often penalised for not doing so regardless of any official organisational policies that may exist (Scheflen, 1972), so it is important that any non-conformity in interactional behaviour does not negatively impact the learners’ ability to achieve their goals. Rather than ask about ‘appropriateness’ however, since it gives rise to the question, “appropriate to what?”, terms such as ‘professional’, which includes a sense of ‘appropriate in a work place environment’ were used.

Finally, and in many ways at the crux of the matter, is whether or not the learners could command the empathy they may need to persuade their interlocutors of their right. A number of studies found that judgements are not made so much about communicative ability or behaviour, but of personality (see for example Ebsworth et al., 1996; Micheau & Billmyer, 1987) and increased contact with a different culture does not necessarily increase tolerance of this but rather tends to decrease it, producing increased levels of racism and individual dislike (Beal, 1994; Tannen, 1984).

In summary, a variety of descriptors can easily be identified as being relevant to a negotiation occurring in a work place context, and these are presented in Table 3.3 below. To ensure that the terms used evoked a response in the reviewer group members, more than one continuum was used for each notion and these were not placed on the survey consecutively. This is because care must be taken to avoid an automatic and unthinking response which survey fatigue often creates (Alreck & Settle, 1995).

Table 3-3 Key Performance Indicators in Native Speaker Reviewer Group Survey

performance indicator categories	*actual descriptors used*
1. ability to communicate	a) intelligible/unintelligible b) clear (arguments)/vague c) a good listener/doesn't listen
2. negotiates in 'good faith'	d) sincere/insincere e) credible/implausible
3. affective display is viewed as appropriate	f) over emotional/reasonable g) aggressive/submissive
4. appropriateness to (workplace or professional) context	h) professional/unprofessional i) responsible/undependable
5. ability to command empathy	j) empathetic/unlikeable

It should be noted that a design error became apparent during data compilation. While all other continua had a clear 'positive'/'negative' dichotomy, allowing the researcher to argue that the learners had or had not changed a particular discourse strategy in a way that was viewed positively and to what degree they had done this, one of the indicators of appropriate affective displays, 'aggressive/submissive' could not be treated in this

manner. The most desirable assessment on this indicator would have been a ‘4’: neither aggressive nor submissive, which renders it more difficult to assess than other indicators. It would therefore have been better, with hindsight, to have had two indicators in its place: ‘aggressive/assertive’ and ‘submissive/assertive’.

The Likert Scale

As well as the Semantic Differential Scale, two further methods of eliciting attitude were used, to ensure that regardless of the terminology employed, respondent views on the learners would be captured. The first of these was a Likert Scale, measuring ‘position’ rather than the image, but having the advantage of collecting data to which a numeric value can be assigned (Alreck & Settle, 1995). Five statements were made of which approximately half were negative and half positive. The respondents were required to state whether they agreed or disagreed (strongly or mildly) with the statements. The statements used were as follows:

1. The person is a successful negotiator.
2. The person’s behaviour is unnatural.
3. I would help the person in this situation if I were their boss.
4. The person is difficult to understand.
5. The person is business-like in their approach.

The ‘Open-Ended Invitation’

Additionally, respondents had the option of making any further comments they wished on the learners, and on their reasons for their views. This was particularly effective in

1. capturing strong feelings of empathy or antipathy a number of respondents apparently felt towards the learners,

2. understanding the strategies that the respondents felt were, or would have been, appropriate to the negotiators' aims,

3. collecting information about learners' performance as 'managers' which the reviewers were not asked to directly assess, but which obviously had some impact on the 'employees' ability to negotiate, and

4. gaining some insight into the degree to which the scenarios themselves were effective, realistic and capable of generating an emotional response.

The surveys used by the reviewer groups for each learner can be found, in full, in Appendix B.

Statistical Analysis of the Survey Data

Once the reviewer group survey data had been collected, it required collation and statistical analysis. The results are presented in tables in Chapter Five, which show how learners (both the class as a whole, as well as each individual) rated in both role-play performances on each sub-scale or indicator, as well as variation in the ratings amongst the reviewer group (Standard Deviation).

The 'before 'and 'after' results were further analysed using a repeated-measures *t* test aimed at establishing whether the effect or change between the 'before' and 'after' performances or 'treatments', was statistically significant for each sub-scale or indicator.

The effect in both directions which were statistically significant are noted; $t(7 \text{ or } 8) = 2.365 \text{ or } 2.306$, $p<.05$, two-tailed. Results representing a large effect is further highlighted by shading; $t(7 \text{ or } 8) = 3.499 \text{ or } 3.355$, $p<.01$, two-tailed.

In order to understand whether this change represented an 'improvement' or 'deterioration' in the learners' performance (the learner being viewed more positively in

the first case and negatively in the latter), the direction of the subscales, previously manipulated to avoid the 'yea-sayer, nay-sayer' bias noted above, had to reversed so that any improvement resulted in a positive '*t*' score, and deterioration in a negative one. Table 3.4 shows the direction in change was statistically recorded:

Table 3-4 Direction in which difference is recorded

A. implausible → credible
B. aggressive → submissive
C. insincere → sincere
D. unlikeable → empathetic
E. vague → clear
F. over-emotional → reasonable
G. undependable→ responsible
H. unintelligible → intelligible
I. does not listen → good listener
J. unprofessional → professional

K. Successful negotiator? disagree → agree
L. Behaviour is unnatural? disagree → agree
M. I would help this person? disagree → agree
N. Difficult to understand? disagree → agree
O. Business-like in approach? disagree → agree

The exception to this is the aggressive ←→ submissive continuum, in which a neutral result, '4', is clearly the optimum one, and the '*t*' effect cannot be judged as either intrinsically positive or negative: a flaw in the research design, noted above.

Where the reviewers did not record a response, both before and after results were deleted when statistically analysing effect, causing '*n*' to fluctuate between eight and nine.

Triangulation: Interpreting the Data, Answering the Research Questions

Having completed the statistical analysis, the data could then be tabled in a variety of ways, in order to investigate correlations between this reviewer group data, the learner role-play transcription data, and the learner ethnographic data. In short, it was time to triangulate the data and attempt to answer the research questions.

Different views of the data contributed to answering different components of the research questions. The following views or constructions of the data were available, and are here matched to the relevant research sub-questions:

Research Sub-Question #1

The first research sub-question, "Would it be it possible for learners in a classroom environment to develop the ability to manipulate their discourse strategies (or 'talking practices') at will and so change the way they are perceived?" would firstly be dealt with by examining the reviewer group survey data from these perspectives:

1. How the class as a whole presented themselves in terms of each individual indicator (e.g. sincerity-insincerity) in the before and after performances.

2. All aspects of each individual learner's performance between their pre- and post-treatment performances.

3. The perceptions held by the reviewer group of changes in learner's negotiating strategies (before and after role-plays), captured by the commentary, 'open-ended invitation' data.

Subsequently, the role-play transcription data was compared with this survey data to explore how learner discourse strategies had changed (evidenced in the talk itself) and how these changes might explain or fail to explain reviewer group reactions to the learners.

Finally, learner self-reports of changes they consciously choose to make are of particular interest when this data is placed alongside the transcription data, because of the emphasis in this study on learner choice and their ability to manipulate their discourse style to suit specific contexts or goals.

Research Sub-Question #2

In triangulating the data to address the second research sub-question: "What discourse skills or practices would most determine the success or failure of a negotiation, and should therefore be given preferential treatment in any syllabus aimed at improving verbal interactional skills?" the change or treatment effect is less important than drilling down into individual learner survey and transcription data to search for obvious consistencies. The consistencies sort would link strongly positive or negative reactions to the learners' performance with discourse strategies that are clearly apparent in the transcription.

Variation in perceptions held by the reviewers of particular learners, in terms of one or more indicators, measured using standard deviation and tabled in the findings is also of interest in addressing this sub-question. If a discourse behaviour identified in the transcription data produces a diverse range of responses or a combination of very strong and very weak (to non-existent) responses, as Ekman (1988) has demonstrated that different 'listeners' or interlocutors are want to do, the behaviour or strategy in question may not be worth including in a short, intensive language program.

Alternatively, having contrasted the variation with learner self-reported understandings of what they had intended to do or were experimenting with, a finding might be made, instead, that the area be approached differently in a another delivery of the language program.

Research Sub-Question #3

This brings us to the third sub-question: "How do the learners, as major stakeholders in this process, view this language learning process or 'treatment'? While this sub-question is addressed in the findings, to find any real answers entails an examination of the four day ESOL language program (or 'treatment') before, during and after which this data was collected. This examination is the subject of Chapter Four.

Chapter 4 : Delivering the Course: Teaching, Learning and Task Design

Introduction

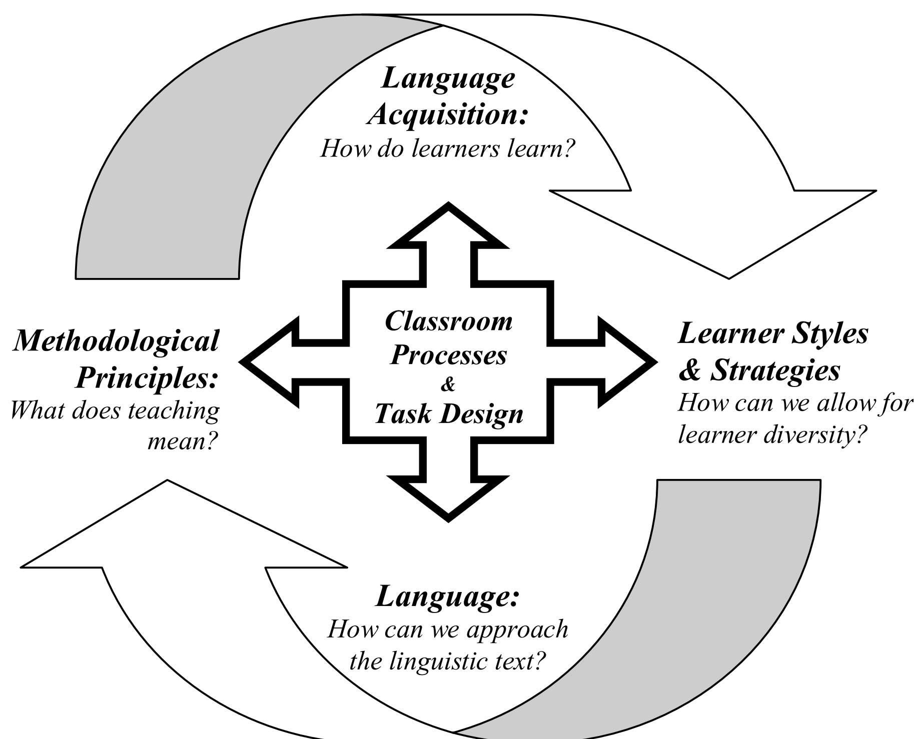
We have now arrived at the core of this classroom-based research: the events of the classroom as the course was delivered, and the assumptions regarding teaching, learning and language acquisition that generated those events.

To make clear these assumptions, and to adequately address the umbrella research question - "How can teachers best enable adult English language learners to interact verbally?" –the mental framework, or model, used by the researcher/teacher must be described. Some attention is also given to the TESOL literature which informed the program and task design.

A Model of Classroom Processes

Examining the events of the course and the classroom and how best to optimise them involves four crucial components or questions. These are represented by the diagram below (Figure 4.1), then summarised and, finally, fully described in this chapter.

Figure 4-1 Approach to Task Design



Firstly, the activities and events of the classroom are mediated by a teacher's understanding of what his or her role is, the teacher's relationship to the learner, and what it means to 'teach'. These understandings represent the teacher's methodological principles that both direct and respond to all that occurs in the classroom.

Secondly, classroom undertakings embody assumptions regarding language acquisition, or what it means to learn, since, presumably, activities are only promoted if they are perceived to be of benefit to the learners' goal of extending their linguistic competence. These assumptions regarding language acquisition have an impact not only on the target language of content of classroom activities, but also on the type of activities conducted, or 'teaching method'.

Thirdly, classroom events and the tasks that initiate them must cater for the diverse learning strategies, cognitive styles and affective responses that may be represented in the classroom. If these are not recognised, the approach driven by the other three

components will be too uniform, too inflexible, and ultimately unsuccessful in the case of some learners, particularly those whose cognitive style differs greatly from the teacher's (Willing, 1988).

Finally, since this study is an inquiry into teaching language, the way in which the language, or linguistic text is approached is fundamental. An understanding of the way in which the text is constructed must be achieved, then thought given to how the learners are encouraged to experience the text, in this case 'negotiation', deconstruct it, then jointly and independently construct and create the language in a manner that is relevant to them.

There is considerable and necessary overlap and interaction between these four components. Not only is the model reiterative, but each component drives and is influenced by the others, which means the model's arrows, could be shown moving in either direction. This renders the separate analysis of the components extremely problematic. As a result, the discussion of the methodological principles underlying the course, with which we begin, includes a description of this teacher's understanding of how it is that learners learn as well as the way in which the concepts of teaching and learning are interrelated.

Principles Underlying the Teaching Methodology

In 1979, Hosenfeld argued that the traditional focus within language teaching on methodology and the learners' response to it was a view of the language-teaching world that should be inverted. The key lay in understanding the learner, she contended, with the focus on the classroom being not on the tasks, but on the facilitation of learning from those tasks. This was recognition that, in the words of Carl Rogers (1951), "*We cannot teach another person directly; we can only facilitate his learning*" (p. 389).

This focus on the learner and the related concept of the 'learner-centred classroom' (Nunan, 1988; Tudor, 1996) has driven much of the research done in second language

pedagogy. This has had the result that educated teachers can be assumed to have an increased awareness that what they do in the classroom should cater for diverse learner sensory modes, cognitive styles, learning strategies, motivations and affective responses (Arnold & Brown, 1999; Bailey, 1983; Oxford, 1990; Willing, 1988).

There is also pressure on teachers to increase the level of learner input into and control over a syllabus or the way in which it is delivered. This is evidenced in:

1. the increased use of **needs analyses** which gather information not only on learner interests, but on previous educational experience, learning style preferences and language usage goals (see, for example, Nunan, 1990; Willing, 1989),

2. **negotiated 'process' curricula** in which "the *actual* syllabus of the classroom is an unfolding compromise between the original pre-designed syllabus and the individual teacher's alertness to those aspects of learner agendas that may be revealed during classroom work" (Breen & Littlejohn, 2000, p. 9),

3. the increased use of **group and project work** which gives greater autonomy to learners (Killen, 1998) since it is they who make most of the choices regarding the work undertaken both in terms of activity and content,

4. **change in teachers' perceptions of their own roles** (Katz, 1996; Underhill, 1999), which has placed greater emphasis on teachers as facilitators of a learning process undertaken by the students rather than as 'instructors' in a knowledge transfer process,

5. approaches which encourage increased **learner self-regulation** (Aoki,1999; Boekaerts, 1999; Pintrich, 1999) which achieve their effect by raising learner awareness of the choices involved in successful learning, and

6. a **less rigid adherence to lesson plans** as learner needs 'of the moment' become the focus (Bailey, 1996).

Despite the plethora of research however, and the dissemination of these laudable aims and approaches via teaching 'resource books', Freeman (1996) claims that research has *not* improved teaching practice because, he argues, a teacher's response to research resembles the following:

> That's interesting… but what does it mean for me in my classroom? How does it relate to the learners I'm teaching? What am I supposed to *do* about it in my situation? (p. 88)

This study assumes that any attempt to address the research question necessarily incorporates answers to these questions posed by Freeman's hypothetical teacher. The key to this incorporation lies in the following principles underpinning the teaching practices of the course, which will now be discussed.

Blurring the Boundary Between Teacher and Learner

Firstly, viewing a classroom as either teacher-focused or learner-focused is not necessarily a useful dichotomy in every TESOL context. This is not only because classroom events and behaviours are "mutual constructions of teachers and students" (Freeman, 1996, p. 93), but also because, in the ideal world envisioned by this research, everyone in the classroom is both teacher *and* learner, and these roles are crucial to *all* classroom participants, a concept which will be explained below.

Zone of Proximal Development

This notion arises from the work done by Vygotsky (1978) in the nineteen-thirties and earlier when he attempted to define and explain 'learning' and 'development', concepts as relevant to adults as they were to the children he studied. Vygotsky argued that there were two recognisable levels of achievement. The first was the level of achievement that had already been attained and could be demonstrated *independently* by the person

in question, which he called the "*actual* developmental level" (p. 84). The second was the *potential* level of achievement that a person is able to attain when working with either guidance from a teacher or parent or by working together with more capable peers. The difference between these two levels he termed the 'Zone of Proximal Development' (ZPD). Learning was, he argued, a matter of extending one's current abilities through interacting with others to achieve what one could not when working by oneself, by undertaking tasks whose difficulty lay within this ZPD.

Learners as Teachers

When this view of learning and development is set in an adult ESOL environment, the role of learners as teachers is plain. It is the learners themselves who are Vygotsky's 'peers'. It is their ability to work cooperatively with other learners to achieve more than they could alone, to act as models for less capable peers, and to accept help in the form of cooperation or modelling that makes learners the most valuable teachers of each other in the course, as indicated by these learner statements:

> The most useful thing is that I watched another student's negotiation. It was very instructive for me. When I find their good point, I can improve my skill.
>
> (Russell, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> Before [in the past] I want to talk someone (unintelligible) [I was] scary about my mistake. I think oh maybe worry, something's wrong. But, but, yeah (unintelligible) because I think after this course if I say something wrong it doesn't matter my friends [classmates] give help to me, tell me what is right and give help to me.
>
> *You said you learnt so much from other students?*
>
> Yes, I learnt from… copy acting, copy the word… it's fast to learn – just copy the person {makes iconic gestures indicating many people}…
>
> (Chad, Thai Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

The most useful thing I learnt from [Kate] today. Because of her face. It's wonderful how she can use flattering face. I want to do the same.

(Milly, Russian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

I think that the most useful thing was to see my peer in the same real situation as I was in.

(Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

[In the past] I didn't use body language {moving her arms from side to side and swaying} but I can use [it now], I think.

Did you copy? How did you learn this? Who did you copy from?

Stephanie. Her body language is so beautiful and goooood.

(Julia, Japanese Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

The methodological approach also means that most of the talk in the class is undertaken by learners with other learners, unmediated by the teacher, who is monitoring, acting as resource when needed and learning herself from the discussions in progress.

Teacher as Learner

The teacher, therefore, becomes a student of the learners, their learning processes and how the target language is viewed from the 'outside'. Without actively monitoring learners, questioning them, talking with and listening to them, watching their responses to tasks, to other learners, and to features of English and its usage, it would be impossible to come to any effective understanding of how such a course should be designed for its recipients on an ongoing basis. It would also be very difficult to manage the affective factors that inevitably come into play.

According to this view of the teacher, learning does not stop at the classroom door. During the study, discussions with learners outside class proved to be of noticeable value. In conversations with the learners in the library, hallways, or computer rooms,

they raised anxieties and confusion relating to the course, particular aspects of tasks that had been difficult or of interest to them, told of situations at work and home where they had made use of their negotiation skills, as well as making requests for tasks that addressed particular skills.

In summary, therefore, inside and outside the classroom, the teacher's role is to be continuously learning how to teach learners how to learn as well as actively undertaking the latter activity.

Defining 'Teaching': Awareness Through Experience

This blurring of the boundaries between teaching and learning has two implications. Firstly, the approach necessitates a change in the traditional meaning of 'teach'. The goal of the course was not to 'teach' in the sense of 'telling' learners what they should or should not do with the language or 'presenting' them with information on its use. An attempt to impose knowledge on adult learners or to act as though one was the only or ultimate repository of knowledge is unlikely to succeed. The goal, instead, was to initiate an awareness-raising process through which the learners came to some understanding of how they were accustomed to achieving a conversational act in their own culture and how that might differ from English-speaking and other cultures present in the classroom. The teacher attempted to raise learner awareness of language use by creating tasks that were aimed at learners'

1. identifying past experiences, current practices and beliefs,
2. experiencing their own behaviour through role-plays,
3. observing and analysing their own behaviours on video,
4. observing the behaviour of other learners and providing feedback on it,

5. receiving feedback on their behaviour from other learners,

6. observing and analysing the language use of others in public places or at home,

7. observing and analysing language use of the native-speakers of English in the video-taped model negotiation,

8. experimenting with language in order to observe the effect it had on others,

9. undertaking problem-solving tasks (sequencing, matching, and so on), and

10. reflecting on their changing understanding of language and learning, as the course progressed.

The strong emphasis on learner experience in the course was in recognition of its value as a resource (Dewey, 1963; Lindeman, 1961) and its importance to learner identify. As Knowles, Holton and Swanston (1998) note:

> To children, experience is something that happens to them, to adults, their experience is who they are. The implication of this fact for adult education is that in any situation in which the participants' experiences are ignored or devalued, adults will perceive this as rejecting not only their experience, but rejecting themselves as persons. (pp. 66-67)

Transfer of Control from Teacher to Learner

The second implication of the teaching-learning fusion is that it necessitates the relinquishment of a great deal of teacher control of classroom interaction and the syllabus. There is a shift from "This is what I want my students to learn" to an acceptance that each learner will not only learn differently but will learn different language or skills because of the different objectives they bring to the classroom, the different experiences they have within the classroom, the different understandings they

apply to the learning environment, and the different interpretations they take away as a result.

Ensuring Learner Acquisition in the Classroom

In outlining the methodological principles underlying this study, the researcher's understanding of how language is acquired has already been stated. Put simply, language learning takes place when learners are helped by their more capable peers, and help their less capable peers to achieve the tasks set by the teacher that would be impossible for at least some class members to achieve alone.

However, in the same way that expressions such as 'facilitation' and 'learner-centred' are readily cited by those who continue to employ conventional teaching methodologies, it is easy, too, to pay 'lip service' to such concepts as the transfer of control over learning to learners and peer-teaching. Unless what occurs in the classroom is significantly altered, these terms and concepts are meaningless, although this is not to argue that change should be uniform. Unfortunately, an environment in which learners teach as they learn can not be simply 'made to happen' by issuing demands to learners that they teach, help and learn from each other, since, as Oxford (1990) has noted, "Research shows that on their own, with no special training or encouragement, language learners do *not* typically report a natural preference for cooperative strategies" (p. 146).

This produces a bind since, without cooperation, learners are not 'learning' in the Vygotskian sense, but simply producing what they can already produce alone in a classroom, which, operating in this mode, resembles a test environment.

The key to this conundrum is interaction brought about not through exhortation, but via its implementation in task design. It has to be noted here, however, that since interaction is a hotly debated concept within second-language learning, its effects and should be clarified.

The Value of Interaction

Researchers such as Foster (1998) have argued that interaction is over-rated as a means of promoting second language acquisition. Mackey, Gass and McDonough (2000), too, appeared disappointed with and surprised at the results of their dyad interactional research which showed that learners were rarely aware that their interlocutors were providing morphosyntactic feedback, and made no attempt, as was the case with the dyad learners of Foster's (1998) study, to modify their interlanguage towards the target language, despite earlier research with contrary findings (Mackey, 1999).

This argument is based on a very limited view of 'interaction' and contains two major flaws. Firstly as Pica, Holliday, Lewis and Morgenthaler (1989), have noted, even if non-native speakers are given models of the target language by native speakers intent on correcting them, they have no reason to adjust their output.

Secondly, language acquisition does not revolve around the mastery of grammatical structures 'presented' by the teacher, nor is learning about absorbing what a teacher or institution has decided a learner 'needs'.

As Swain (1995) has noted, students have their own agendas and what they choose to focus on may not be grammar. Additionally, and more importantly, this approach to teaching and learning ignores the nature of creating meaning through talk. As Donato (1994) puts it,

> framing the study of L2 interaction in the message model of communication masks fundamentally important mechanisms of L2 development and reduces the social setting to an opportunity for "input crunching"… where meaning appears fixed, immutable, to be sent and received, what is lost is the collaborative nature of meaning making. (p. 34)

Donato (1994) argues that interaction is about the construction of co-knowledge through peer problem solving which he demonstrates using recordings of an in-class task, which

show learners arriving at an understanding of language through their joint construction and negotiation of it. They start work on the task with varying degrees of knowledge, and finish the class using more target-like forms of the language, but without moving through stages of understanding concurrently, and by making different contributions to the discussion of the constructed language.

Learning is generated, then, by interaction with peers. The link between the two is the cognitive restructuring which, this study contends, must take place for language acquisition to occur. As Slavin (1996) reasons,

> Research in cognitive psychology has long held that if information is to be retained in memory and related to information already in memory, the learner must engage in some sort of cognitive restructuring or elaboration of the material…. One of the most effective means of elaboration is explaining the material to someone else. (p. 50)

Initiating such restructuring is one goal of interaction and since interaction cannot be achieved by asking learners to interact, its attainment must come about through tasks which are designed to modify classroom events in its favour.

Comprehensible Output

A further goal of interaction lies in the production of what Swain (1995) labelled 'Comprehensible Output'.

In arguing that Krashen's (1994) 'Comprehensible Input' was not in itself sufficient stimulus for language acquisition to occur, Swain (1985, 1995) argued that as well as the encouraging the long-recognised benefit of increased fluency, demanding that learners make their output comprehensible to other learners had three additional advantages.

Firstly, learners may be forced to notice the gap between what they wanted to say and their current ability to express themselves, and this may, in turn, encourage them to bridge that gap. Secondly, interaction provides the opportunity for hypothesis testing. Thirdly, Swain (1995) argued that interaction, in a task focused on reflecting on language rather than creating meaning, developed the metalinguistic awareness of learners. This last point is particularly interesting since as Mackey, Gass and McDonough (2000) point out, and as the finding of this study reinforce, "A major goal in any interaction is to understand one's partner and morphosyntax can be relatively unimportant in the goal of understanding" (p. 493).

In other words, if a teacher is attempting to develop learners' understanding of the structural aspects of language, then the interaction should be set up so as to focus on those. On the other hand, if the task is based on meaning and its co-construction, then it would appear pointless to demand that learners demonstrate 'uptake' of morphosyntax peripheral to their communication.

Where Interaction Fails

This is not to argue that interaction per se is positive. Aston (1986) noted a tendency among language learners to arrive at an 'agreement' without any real understanding having been reached. By this he meant that students would reach agreement without having understood what their interlocutor, another student, was saying. The agreement reached, placing emphasis on forwarding the interaction rather than problem-solving, was therefore 'formal' in nature rather than 'substantive'. It was a means of being polite to fellow classmates without losing face oneself, or causing others to do the same. Foster's (1998) findings were similar in that she could see no desire on the students' part to determine the causes of miscommunication, concluding that, "If we think this is an undesirable state of affairs and would prefer our students to pursue communication breakdowns until they are resolved, it is probably necessary to show them how to do this, and why" (p. 19).

It is also necessary, it could be added, to give learners a real-life communicative reason to manage communication breakdown by placing them in a situation in which they themselves are motivated to pursue the conversation through to a successful outcome. Interaction for its own sake is unlikely to engage any learner.

Interaction may also fail when a learner group consists only of learners of weaker ability who are ultimately unable to do the task resulting in an increasing sense of failure, or "learned helplessness" (Cohen, 1994, p. 16). In addition, while Abrami and Chambers (1996) have argued that interaction motivates learners by providing competition and appealing to the pro-social or affiliative tendencies of some learners, .a study by Morris and Tarone (2003) has shown that interaction may cause or exacerbate interpersonal conflict as less confident and less able learners see the 'help' they received from other learners as "criticism and even mockery" (p. 325).

Further, as Steiner (1972) aptly describes it,

> Members of a group may hold different views concerning the proper pattern of collective action, and may be immobilized by their disagreement or end up producing a patchwork of poorly coordinated or even contradictory behaviours. (p. 8)

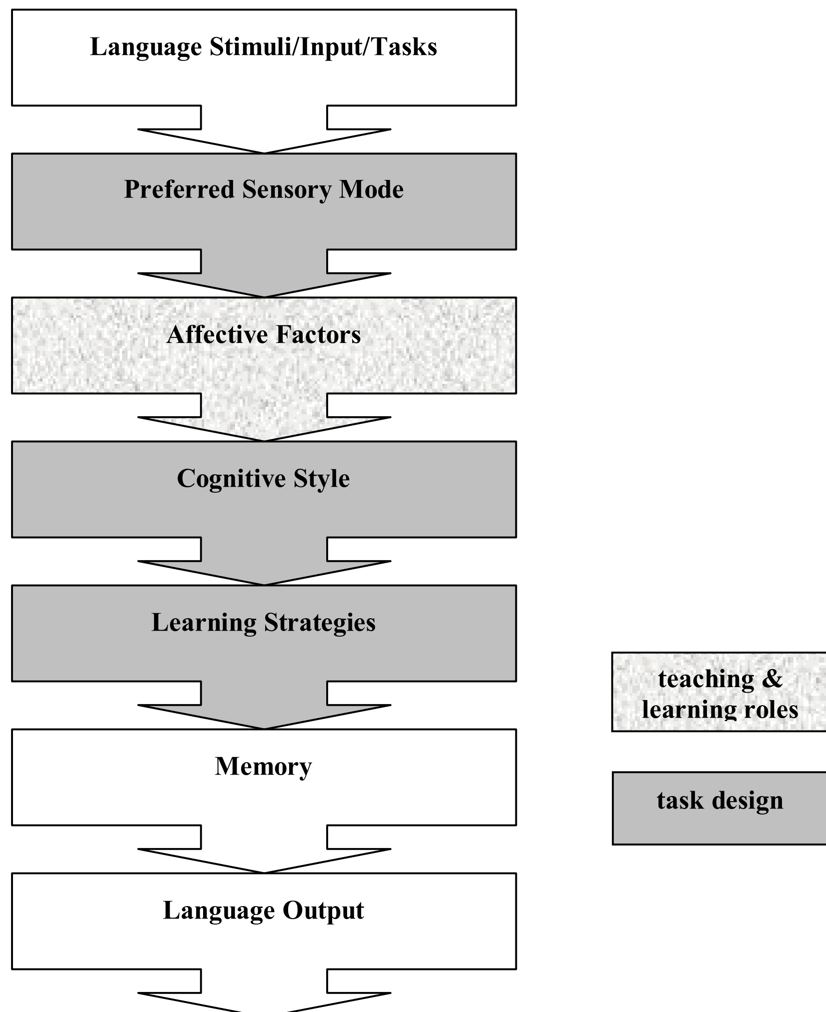
Nevertheless, if cognitive restructuring is to take place through elaboration and analysis, if learners are to develop their understanding by the collaborative completion of tasks which are beyond their individual capabilities, and if they are to effectively plan, direct and regulate their learning strategies to gain the maximum benefit from the classroom environment (Bershon, 1992), interaction is critical.

To manage that interaction, and any group membership troubles that may arise from it, however, it is necessary to arrive at some understanding of the diverse learning styles and strategies learners bring with them to the classroom. It is these which are briefly addressed next.

Recognising Learner Diversity in the Classroom

Willing (1988) used a model similar to that presented below to explain how classroom processes are filtered by learners and impact on language learning. While this model is extremely useful in representing the complex factors that come into play in the classroom, it is this researcher's contention that the various components can be addressed or managed in different ways.

Figure 4-2 Learner Motivations, Styles and Strategies (Adapted from Willing, 1988, p. 59)



Managing Learning Diversity: Tasks Versus Teaching

The categorisation this study proposes is between those learner factors that must largely be dealt with as they arise, in that moment, and those for which planning and preparation in the form of task design can be undertaken.

Affective Factors

Affective factors such as anxiety, inhibition, extroversion or introversion, self-esteem, and motivation (Arnold & Brown, 1999), for example, have been demonstrated to have an extensive impact on learning (Bailey, 1983; R.C. Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Stevick, 1999), for the reason that, as Wlodkowski (1993) put it, "When adults learn anything under any circumstances, their emotions will be involved" (p. 178).

However, with the exception of modifying feedback and assessment procedures so that these do not encourage comparison between learners that might negatively impact self-esteem and anxiety, most affective issues arising in a classroom must be dealt with at an interpersonal level, with the teacher or learners making speedy decisions based on their current knowledge of the persons involved. The management of affect changes with every group of learners, and with every class as the learners' daily experiences change and impact their emotional state. Affective factors are, in short, locally managed and are most affected by the way the teacher perceives his or her role and relationship to the learners.

Preferred Sensory Mode

Many elements of learner diversity can be better predicted in terms of their impact on the class and on learning than can affective factors. Planning and preparation for these differences can be systematically embodied in the task design so that classes are not directed towards a single type of learner but *all* learners. One of these is what Willing (1988) termed 'preferred sensory mode', but which has also been discussed elsewhere

as ‘learning style’, ‘perceptual learning channel’ (Reid, 1987), or a particular application of Bandler and Grinder’s (1976) ‘Neuro-Linguistic Programming’.

This is the view that people are able to absorb information, interact with the world or learn more easily through different sensory channels, of which there are four. When applied to a learning environment, the sensory styles may be described as follows:

1. **Auditory** learners learn best through hearing information, lecture style or via audio-tapes. While very few students in previous studies were found to prefer this style of learning, given its prevalence in Western learning institutions (and perhaps more generally), there are some indications that learners develop better auditory learning skills and a greater preference for learning in this way as they proceed through the education system (Reid, 1987).

2. **Visual** learners need to see the written word and often prefer reading, charts and video-taped materials.

3. **Kinesthetic** learning is experiential ‘whole self’ style of learning, such as that provided by role-play, or interaction with the broader community outside the school environment.

4. **Tactile** learning refers to ‘hands on’ learning which outside the TESOL environment might involve building models, doing experiments and so on (Reid, 1987), but within it, can be assumed to refer to manipulating cards, objects or realia.

A major study by Reid (1987) which examined the stated learning preferences of over 1,200 ESOL students from more than ten ethnic backgrounds as well as native English-speaking Americans, found an overwhelming preference for kinesthetic and tactile sensory modes (many learners are ‘cross-category’), regardless of ethnic background.

These authors appear to suggest that, in designing tasks and materials for a successful language program:

1. a bias towards experiencing and doing, rather than seeing and listening should be inherent in the task design, and

2. aural and visual tasks should be made available to learners, and these sensory modes be combined with the kinesthetic and tactile tasks as much as possible, in order to allow every learner to learn in a manner they find easiest.

Cognitive Style

Difference in cognitive style is another learner element in the classroom that is better addressed at a 'course content' level in addition to behaviour management at the at a pedagogic level. Cognitive style refers to how students approach learning on an internal psychological level, and how they respond to the external environment: in this case, the classroom. Willing (1988) writes that:

> Cognitive psychology now recognizes, for example: differences in the manner of deployment of attention (scanning; focusing); in the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of categorizing behaviour; in susceptibility to cognitive dissonance versus tolerance for the unusual or ambiguous; in the tendency to take risks or to be cautious. (p. 41)

Because of this, frameworks for analysing cognitive style (Willing, 1988; Witkin & Goodenough, 1981) are helpful in understanding a variety of in-class learner behaviour, such as why some learners apparently expect greater levels of teacher direction.

A major continuum traditionally associated with cognitive style is this (Willing, 1988):

According to Witkin and Goodenough (1981), there are two major differences between Field Independent (FI) and Field Dependent (FD) people in relationship to their environment. Those who are Field Independent have a tendency to manipulate external referents to conform to their internal standards or perceptual framework. Field Dependent people, on the other hand, tend to view their environment as a given, limiting their problem solving or cognitive restructuring ability to some degree. FI learners are therefore thought to be more autonomous than FD learners who require a more structured environment, although not one of their own making.

The second major difference is that the interpersonal competencies of those who are Field Dependent are said to be greater than Field Independent people.

> the former kind of people, more than the latter, pay selective attention to social cues; they favor situations that bring them into contact with others over solitary situations; they prefer education-vocational domains that are social in content and require working with people; they seek physical closeness to people in their social interactions; and they are more open in their feelings… (Witkin and Goodenough, 1981, pp. 43-44)

The path recommended to facilitate problem solving for these people is, therefore, allowing them better access to others and the information that others can provide to enable them to solve problems that they may not be able to address on their own.

What this means to the second language classroom, according to Willing (1988), is:

1. FD learners prefer team work, while FI learners prefer individual problem solving,

2. FI/FD mismatching of learner to teacher may cause negative evaluations to be made by one party of the other, and

3. FD teachers underestimate FI learners and FI teachers (of whom the researcher/teacher of this study is one) tend to *over*estimate the abilities of FD learners.

In his 1988 study however, Willing found that the majority of second-language learners could not be readily assigned to the FI/FD dichotomous categories, but could be classified as 'cross category' as Table 4.1, below, shows:

Table 4-1 Willing's FD/FI Cross Category Findings (1988, p. 157)

Redefined Category	Definition	Student % per Category
FD Concrete	Traditional FD definition (above)	10%
FD Authority Oriented	Passive in their approach, and preferring a highly directed classroom environment	30%
FI Analytical	Traditional FI definition (above)	10%
FI Communicative	Analytical, but liking social learning and interaction, and 'democratic' decision making	40%
Mixed (across categories)	Traits fell across the above categories	10%

Interestingly, in this study of 517 learners from over thirty different ethnic backgrounds (Willing, 1988, p. 109), there was found to be no correlation between cultural background and cognitive style because, Willing surmises, so much depends on the individuals experience within the society, rather than societal behaviour more generally.

Learners in this study were not given the analysis questionnaire used to place students in one category or another in the Willing study. However, having worked with the students closely, and observed and recorded their behaviour particularly as regards their

interaction with others and their approach to problem solving tasks, the researcher placed the learner participants of this class in the categories shown in Table 4.2, below.

Table 4-2 Estimated Learner Participant Cognitive Styles

Learner Participant	Number	Nationality	Category
Russell	101	Japanese	FI Analytical
Graeme	102	Brazilian	FI Communicative
Julia	103	Japanese	FD Concrete
Milly	104	Russian	FI Analytical*
David	105	Korean	FD Authority Oriented
Kate	106	Czech	FI Communicative
Stephanie	107	Colombian	FI Communicative
Chad	108	Thai	FD Concrete
Sam	109	Brazilian	FI Communicative

* Milly is difficult to place as, while demonstrating a plainly analytical approach, her desire to interact with other others varied and appeared to based on a need for support from one person (Kate) rather than a need to affiliate or learn with the help of others.

While 'labelling' learners in this way is, of course, subjective as so many of the judgements teachers must make are, it was considered a useful mechanism in

1. addressing the research question, taken up in Chapter 5's findings and,

2. categorising learners in a way that was not based on cultural or L1 factors.

Learning Strategies

A final component of learner diversity that strongly influences task design is difference in learner strategies. As Ehrman and Oxford (1990) note, "language levels at all levels use strategies" even though "some are relatively unaware of those they use" (p. 313). Boekaerts (1999) has argued that students approach learning in two fundamentally different ways. She contends that there are learners who "mainly rehearse and memorize the study material" (p. 447) and those who employ what she labels a 'deep-

processing approach' in which they relate the data at hand to other contexts, ideas and experiences of their own.

This polarity is reflected in a model that Prabhu (1991) used to argue that supposedly 'new' methods of teaching are sometimes, in essence, very similar to more traditional approaches, and that the fundamental division between the two is whether learners are asked to imitate or problem-solve. Since neither approach to learning appears to be a better predictor of successful language acquisition (Boekaerts, 1999), the obvious course is to cater for both major approaches to learning by ensuring that the range of tasks delivered during the course involved both opportunities to imitate and rehearse as well as to solve problems and relate ideas to previous experience.

It is to syllabus and task design we now turn, as the methodological principles and understandings of the learner and learning described above, are brought to bear 'negotiation' as a linguistic text.

'Negotiation': From Text to Classroom Activities

While negotiation as a text has been examined in Chapter Two, the manner in which it was to become a series of classroom events and tasks is yet to be discussed. We, therefore, now turn to:

1. the model used to effect this transformation, and

2. the manner in which classroom tasks were designed to reflect the earlier model presented in this chapter (language, methodological principles, language acquisition, and learner styles and strategies).

Of prime importance, as noted earlier in this chapter, is that learning be relevant to and grounded in the learners' experience. As a result, before learning can focus on the 'skills' or 'linguistic features' involved in developing a better understanding and

construction of a text, the relevance of that text, and a 'need' to learn must be established. In this course, the approach taken to achieve this is perhaps best described by Swanson and Law's (1998) 'Whole-Part-Whole Learning Model'.

Whole-Part-Whole Learning Model

This model is one in which the whole 'text' or learning goal is gradually deconstructed and finally reconstructed. Firstly, learners are presented with the 'whole' of what they will be studying. In the case of this project, this was a simulated negotiation. This provided learners with a mental framework for understanding the tasks that were ahead of them, the challenges they faced, and, in addition, allowed them to access and draw upon any prior knowledge and experience they had regarding the overall learning task.

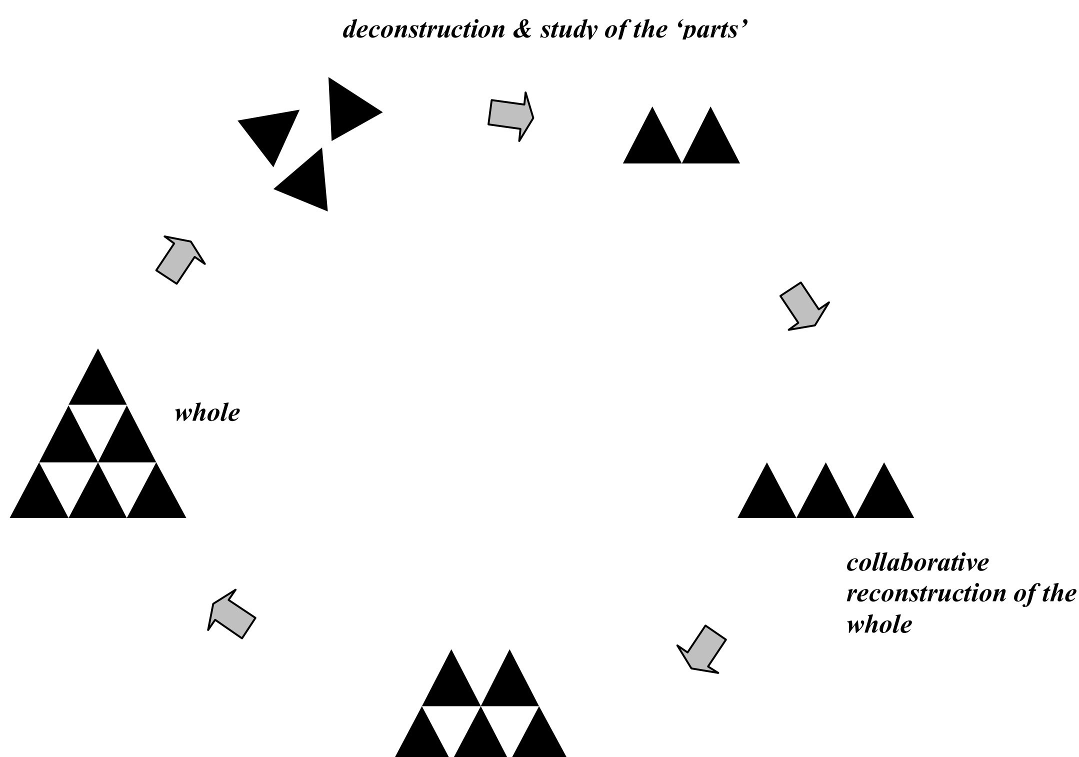
In accordance with this approach, the 'whole' was then deconstructed, and learners examined parts, or even sub-parts of the overall text. In this study, a 'part' was, for example, the discourse structure of the negotiation, and a sub-part the intonation, or vocabulary involved in moving from one stage in the discourse structure to the next.

This approach meant that the goal or focus is not on the completion of a single 'task' whether or not that task incorporated pre-task and post-task components. Rather, the emphasis remained on the whole text, and the series of tasks undertaken to understand its parts were clearly related to the whole. In this sense, the course could be said to have been 'text-based' (Feez & Joyce, 1998) rather than 'task-based' (Skehan, 1996; Willis, 1996).

Ultimately, the learners returned to the whole, independently constructing the negotiation, in this case, with the use of the sub-skills they had acquired during the learning process. Although Swanson and Law (1998) represent their model in a linear fashion, the whole-part-whole approach to learning might best be visually represented as circular and reiterative, as similar models by Feez and Joyce (1998) and the Metropolitan East Disadvantaged Schools' Program (1989) contended, with the 'whole

text' the beginning and end point of each iteration, as the model shown in Figure 4.3 demonstrates.

Figure 4-3 Examples of the Whole Part Whole Learning Model (Swanson & Law, 1998)



The question then becomes one of how these 'parts' can be taught, while:

1. continuing to deploy the methodological principles discussed above which embody a particular understanding of the nature of learner language acquisition, and

2. acknowledging the vastly different cognitive, learning and affective styles and strategies learners bring with them to the classroom.

The answer, as in the case of facilitating language acquisition through interaction, lies in careful adherence to task design principles and systematised matching of task type to the learning goal it was aimed at achieving. It is this that will now be examined.

A Framework for Task Design

The discussion thus far has demonstrated the need for tasks designed or activities undertaken in and out of class to reflect:

1. the fusion of teacher/learner roles,

2. an understanding that learning and therefore language acquisition occurs through both learner-learner and learner-teacher interaction,

3. analysis and deconstruction of the text and its relationship to the learners' experience, and

4. learner diversity, particular as it is evidenced in preferred sensory modes and learning strategies.

The nature of talk also requires that learners are not required to 'produce' language simply for the sake of its accurate reproduction, but they are motivated to talk by a desire to co-construct meaning with other learners, which puts paid to the notion that learners be asked to repeat or perform tasks in order to achieve the 'accuracy' that might be lost in the quest for 'fluency' (Skehan, 1996).

Further, since 'direct instruction' or 'telling' students about language and how to use it is not an optimal strategy, the issue is one of how to raise learner awareness about language so that, through a process of discovery and elaboration, cognitive restructuring can take place. While this study has argued against exhorting learners to do, to say, or to learn certain things, the messages the teacher wanted to convey to them via the tasks are presented here, in the imperative, as instructions in order to clarify the classroom goals:

1. Go and observe how the language 'works'. How are people 'out there' constructing language?

2. Reflect on and analyse what *you* do with language, both in your own culture and when you use English.

3. Determine the differences between the way you communicate and the way others do and then make decisions regarding your own English language use in the future.

Because these are the goals around and toward which classroom events and activities were developed, the question became one of how to achieve them through specific tasks. The parameters set out above imply, however, that in conceptualising a framework for task development, there was a need to depart from that proposed by Skehan (1996) in which activities are sequenced according to their ability to:

1. "**reduce cognitive load**" (p. 54) during a 'pre-teaching' or 'pre-task- phase' in which learners are introduced to the target language, or are able to activate existing knowledge,

2. **encourage fluency** or be manipulated through a variety of factors to focus learners on accuracy,

3. provide **public or repeat performance opportunities** during which learners are 'encouraged' or pressured to **greater levels of accuracy** and restructuring while they "**discourage excessive fluency**" and

4. produce **synthesis and analysis** of the task by repeating its target language through additional or "**parallel tasks**" (p. 56).

It also required movement away, at least primarily, from the framework within which the tasks were categorised by the level of interaction they achieve by the specification of (Pica, Kanagy & Falodon, 1993):

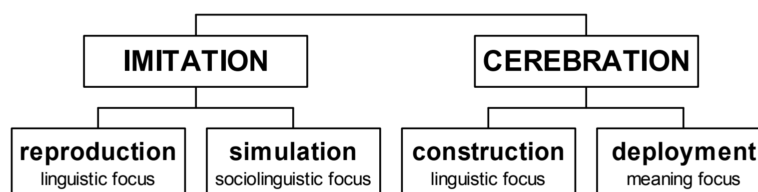
1. **Information Distribution:** How the information is distributed among the learner parties (information gap), and whether learners are able to act as suppliers and requestors of information, of undertake only one of these roles.

2. **Outcome Multiplicity or Singularity**: Whether there is a single 'right' answer or outcome, or whether multiple acceptable outcomes are possible.

3. **Goal Convergence or Divergence:** Whether learners are working towards the same goal in undertaking an activity, or have diverse (but related) goals.

In the place of these models, a framework that categorised tasks according to the *work they demanded of learners* was required. Since the whole-part-whole model provides a means of sequencing tasks, the framework sought is not one that embodies sequential order. However, it had to accommodate tasks that allowed learners to experience the whole text, along with those which enabled learners to deconstruct the text into its component parts. It was also required to speak to learners whose tendency was to imitate along with those who were able to manipulate new knowledge in a variety of ways. For this, we return to the model mentioned above, and represented below, which was developed by Prabhu (1991). The manner in which it is applied to in this study will now be described and examined.

Figure 4-4 A representation of Prabhu's (1991) model of task types



Imitation, Prabhu (1991) contended, concerns working towards a model and attempting to reproduce that model, or aspects of that model as closely as possible. This definition is broadly inclusive, with tasks ranging from mechanical 'drilling', through the memorisation of formulaic and functional 'chunks' or samples of language, to the

reconstruction of a written text with a relatively rigid discourse structure, such as those to be found in some academic writing.

A further, and fundamental, distinction drawn by Prabhu is between tasks which focus on linguistic forms or structures, and those which concern themselves with matching language to its context, or the sociolinguistic aspects of language.

In contrast to 'imitation', problem-solving, or, as Prabhu (1991) labelled it, 'cerebration', involves the learner thinking things out – finding ways of distinguishing between sounds or sound sequences, looking for workable rules for putting together word sequences, puzzling out reasons why sentences are right or wrong, applying gives rules to make choices between alternatives, guessing the meaning of a word, making the most sense of what is heard or read, performing a pieces of reasoning on the strength of what is know or can be inferred, or putting meaning across as well as can be done with available resources of language. (p. 50)

Cerebration is also divided into two categories. 'Construction' revolves around attempts by the learner to understand language and its features, while 'deployment' is meaning focused and involves tasks in which the learner negotiates meaning using "what cognitive abilities of inferring, reasoning, relating, etc, they possess, and what linguistic resources they command" (p. 54).

Of additional benefit is that many cerebration activities involve both opportunities for interaction in which the resources of the learners' more capable peers can be tapped, and opportunities for kinesthetic and tactile learning.

Table 4.3 summarises the ways in which the many considerations of the classroom are reflected in the task design. The table shows:

1. the **textual goals** of each task (left-hand column), by indicating whether the task provides learners with an experience of the 'whole text' or its smaller 'sub-parts' (Swanson & Law, 1998),

2. the **learner effort** categories of Prabhu's (1991) model (right-hand columns), indicating that a task involves the deployment, construction, simulation or reproduction described above,

3. the **interaction** involved in the task indicating whether it is done as group work, pair work, individual work or whether it is 'collaborative seatwork' (Cohen, 1994): an activity that may be undertaken with others but can also be done alone, since the interaction is not inherent in the task (middle column; see the key below), and

4. the **task type** itself (middle column), which gives an indication of

    a. the **sensory mode** involved in the activity (observing = visual, role play, discussion = kinesthetic, listening = auditory or sequencing and matching = tactile), and
    b. the **learning strategies** that the students were encouraged to use.

Lesson plans, as well as all original materials associated with the tasks themselves may be found in Appendix C. They have been labelled in terms of the above criteria: textual goals, learner effort, interaction and task type.

Table 4-3 Match Task Type with Text Segment Goals

Textual & Learning Goals	Description of Task Type	Prabhu's 'Learner Effort'	
experience of whole texts (workplace negotiation)	• 'before' and 'after' role plays **P** • discussion of previous negotiating experience **G** • unscaffolded observation of and in target language community (record obtained during exit interviews and in diaries by questioning) **OC** • simulated business negotiation/meeting **G** • reflection on own learning experiences in the learner diary **I**	*cerebration*	*deployment*
awareness-raising, analysis and interpretation of textual components	• guessing games: What effect am I having with my face, body or pronunciation? **G** • sequencing of discourse structure **P** • matching statements with clarification responses **P** • register replacement and cloze tasks **I or P** • analysis of the display of power in video-taped model negotiation, 'Plagiarism' **I or P**	*cerebration*	*construction*
	• in-class mini-role plays in which different skills were practised/experimented with **P & G** • model-driven analysis of own performance (video observation) **OC** • model-driven analysis of other learners' performance **G** • scaffolded observation and analysis of and in target language community **OC**	*imitation*	*simulation*
memorisation of lexis & formulaic language **practice identifying & producing sound**	• identification, recording and later memorisation of lexis used in video-taped model negotiation, 'Public Humiliation' **OC** • out-of-class pronunciation tasks completed in language laboratory to enable learners to record and compare their pitch, stress, sound production with native English language speakers. **I** • memorising sample language from in-class tasks in 'construction' above for use in in-class role plays **I**	*imitation*	*reproduction*

key: **G** = group work **P** = pair work **I** = individual in-class work
OC individual out-of-class work (diary or pronunciation homework)
I or P = student choice to work together or individually, with most working choosing to work in pairs.

It is clear on examination of this application of Prabhu's model that the degree of interaction can be easily manipulated after the other goals of the task have been determined via the allocation of different roles to different learners in a 'game' format, or by giving a pair or group of learners 'cards' to manoeuvre, rather than individual worksheets. Interestingly, it was the researcher's experience in this study as it has been with other classes, that once learners have been forced to rely on the resources of others through cooperative learning tasks that require them to do so because of the manner in which information and responsibility is distributed among learners (Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 1991), they tend to make use of peer resources and work together by choice even when they need not. While Cohen (1994) has rejected the kind of tasks that can be done alone as mere 'collaborative seatwork', arguing that interaction should be enforced through task design in every situation, the quality of interaction is high if learners themselves find it of benefit.

Finally, it is not this researcher's contention that nothing may be learnt working alone, but simply that learning opportunities are greatly reduced. Prabhu's model demonstrates the way in which individual learning may play a role in both reproductive learning and in some forms of deployment. Learning alone outside class may also increase the time learners are able to spend in the group class environment undertaking collaborative problem-solving and simulation activities.

Having outlined the principles and assumptions underlying the course, it is now time to describe what actually happened and the manner in which learners responded in class, out of class, in their diaries and in the exit interviews following the course. It should be noted that the discussion of each lesson and the out-of-class activities that followed them is limited. Major or salient aspects of the classroom tasks and activities, the learner response and the teacher's input are highlighted, but it should not be assumed that, because they were not mentioned, that any of the aspects of teaching, learning, and language embodied in Figures 2.2, 4.1 and 4.2 were put to one side in any given lesson. Ethnography involves choice, and the picture, provided next, of the classroom and its processes represents that choice.

Real Life Negotiation: Course Outline, Aims & Activities

Introduction and Advertising

In consultation with the school, it was decided to run the course as an ‘option’ class (see Chapter Three) for learners who would be

1. at ‘Intermediate’ level at the time the course began or was advertised, and

2. present for the duration of the course.

Some consideration was given to delivering the course as part of an academic preparation class, but this, it eventuated, was not feasible because the syllabus of the academic class was long-established and too dense to ‘add’ further content to it.

The course was advertised at Intermediate and Pre-Intermediate levels in class time using the flyer that appears on the following page (Figure 4.5). A meeting was then held in which:

1. the course content was explained in greater detail, and a brochure providing this information was given to each learner,

2. learner obligations, particularly as regards homework, and interview completion were explained to them,

3. the ethics form was explained and discussed, and

4. the researcher’s objectives were described to the learners.

Figure 4-5 **Initial Course Flyer**

Real Life Negotiation

for Business & University

Sometimes your success in life depends on your ability to solve problems by talking to people.

It becomes more difficult when the person causing your problem:

- has more power than you
- only speaks English
- doesn't know you or like you…

So how do you get what you want?

The Course

[School Name] is offering you the opportunity to learn how to negotiate like an English native speaker by developing skills in:

- ✓ Negotiation strategies
- ✓ Conversation management
- ✓ Indirect politeness
- ✓ Using intonation to persuade and convey sincerity
- ✓ Active listening and empathy

"Real Life Negotiation" will run on 4 Wednesdays: 16/8 – 6/9, in normal class time.

This course is part of the Simone's postgraduate research. Students will be required to do a lot of homework, and make time to be video taped before and after the course.

This is a course for students who really want to improve their speaking and are really prepared to work on it.

Are you interested?

Come to the meeting: Wednesday 2nd August at 2.15 **in rooms 305-306**

The meeting had the effect of repelling at least one learner, while ensuring another signed up for the course in which she had previously had no interest:

> To tell the truth, when I came to the first meeting with you er… [I thought] Oh shit, y'know, [the course]'s not for me. Okay, I can go, I can come early in the morning, I can do my homework, but you say you're so strict. I say oh no no ooooohhhh and Kate, I asked Kate to go [to the pre-course registration meeting] and she said "Oh no, it's not useful" and I said "go with me". But when we're all in the meeting, I said I will [leave], I don't want [to do this course], and she said {thumping finger on the table} SIGN, you SIGN {laughter}.
>
> (Milly, Russian Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

During the meeting, the learners booked to undertake the first video performance, for which they received scenario instructions. This role-play provided a basis for structuring the course, and Week One in particular, since the videos indicated linguistic weaknesses, and areas of apparent cultural difference. In addition, the video performances provided the researcher/teacher with some information on the proficiency level at which we would be working. Strangely, since the researcher had been working at the school for over a year at the time the course started, and therefore had a relatively clear idea of what 'Intermediate' implied, the videos, and the inability of the learners to negotiate successfully, greatly surprised her.

Week One: Stages of a Negotiation

Each week, the researcher teacher set down a series of

> **'aims'** which specified the concepts the teacher hoped to enable learners to understand or become aware of, as well as
>
> **'outcomes'** which were goals or competencies the teacher hoped learners would be able to achieve during the lesson, or in the future as a result of having undertaken the lesson.

Tasks, reproduced in Appendix C together with the Lesson Plans, were then designed to facilitate the learners' achieving these goals and outcomes. The Week One aims and outcomes are presented below:

Lesson Plan Excerpt 1

Aims:	1. To make students aware of the discourse structure of negotiation, and the benefits of using it, in achieving their goals. 2. To give students specific tactics that enable them to realise the discourse structure at a lexical level.
Outcomes:	1. Students have an understanding of what 'negotiation' means. 2. Students understand negotiation as a staged process, which they can begin to use. 3. Students have some strategies for managing this process (and their agenda) lexically.

The lesson started with small group discussion on the learners' previous negotiation experiences, which was followed by a comparison of the learners' analyses of their own first negotiation (without having seen the video-recording of it at this point). They had done this analysis before the class as their first 'learner diary' task (Appendix C, Task 1A), and the activity produced a range of interesting comments, including the following:

> [I didn't feel listened to] because he just hear my word but don't try to get the meaning what I said. He believe that he do always the right thing. His only mistake is gave this job to me.
>
> (Chad, Thai Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> The negotiation didn't go the way I expected, because I couldn't speak fluently. What's more, I couldn't understand my own words which I managed to speak… I was nervous, so I couldn't understand what he said and I didn't know what I should say… The most difficult thing is that I have to keep talking. I don't think I can persuade some to do something by speaking a few speech [words], but I can't [speak for extended periods of time].
>
> (Russell, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> It sounds silly but before filming I thought we could get a script. When I met Simone [the teacher/researcher] I knew there is not script. (Oh terrible)
>
> (David, Korean Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> I didn't have plausible arguments.
>
> (Graeme, Brazilian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> [The most difficult thing was] vocabulary. Because Milly spoke a lot of words which I don't know the meaning. I was disappointed my English.
>
> (Julia, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

Following these discussions which were aimed at contextualising the negotiation as a text common within and relevant to their lives, the main difficulties experienced by the learners during the 'before' negotiation were elicited, producing the following list:

- loss of control over the agenda
- 'forgetting' own objective
- feelings of defensiveness
- inability to 'find the right words' to explain position
- inability to listen to the interlocutor because of focus on own argument
- inability to understand the vocabulary used by the interlocutor
- expected more direction from the boss
- expected the boss to be more authoritarian

The rest of the lesson was spent understanding the stages a negotiation might pass through which was aimed at providing students with strategies for:

1. controlling the agenda, and not losing sight of their objectives,

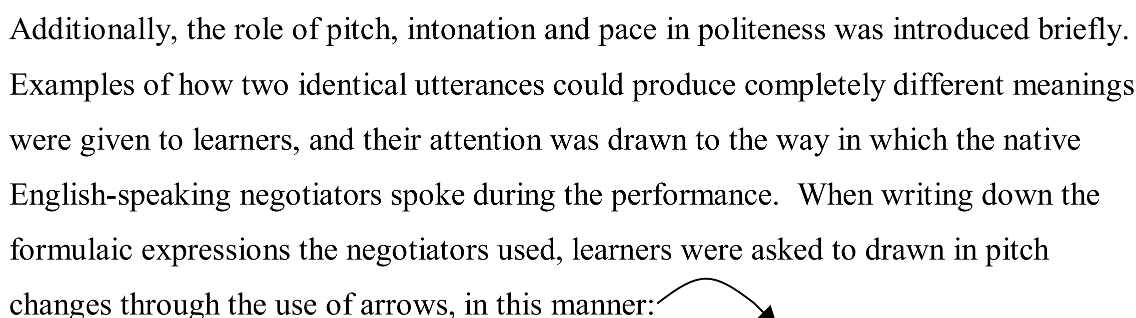
2. accepting their interlocutor's hostility and being able to manage it,

3. entering and leaving the room, as well as moving the meeting forward. These last were chiefly lexical in form.

The stages, listed and discussed in Chapter Two, were presented as a pair-work sequencing activity (Appendix C, Task 1B).

Having sequenced the stages, the students were asked how they might be represented in language (Appendix C, Task 1C). This, in turn, became a prediction task for the following activity: a video recorded prior to the course of two people undertaking the same negotiation, *Public Humiliation*, which learners had done prior to the course (Appendix C, Task 1D). The video provided learners with an example of how the negotiation could be undertaken, and to help them identify formulaic language commonly used in business to request, thank, take leave of someone, apologise, empathise with feelings of anger, and return to an agenda when the negotiation has been sidetracked.

Additionally, the role of pitch, intonation and pace in politeness was introduced briefly. Examples of how two identical utterances could produce completely different meanings were given to learners, and their attention was drawn to the way in which the native English-speaking negotiators spoke during the performance. When writing down the formulaic expressions the negotiators used, learners were asked to drawn in pitch changes through the use of arrows, in this manner:



At the time, the video-taped negotiation done by two native-speakers of English with outstanding communication skills, which was unscripted, seemed too difficult a text for the learners to understand and learn from, but on watching the major negotiation undertaken in Week Three, as well as the final 'after' negotiation, it was apparent that the learners had observed and internalised many features of this negotiation, other than the lexis. These included the use of flattery, stating one's worth to the organization, a sombre and 'concerned' facial expression, brief and repeated nodding to indicate attention and understanding, and expressions of concern for breakdowns in organisational communication generally which deflected from the communication problems at hand. It is interesting to note that, had they not completed one of the other

optional classes based on understanding current affairs, this may have been the first unscripted listening the learners had ever had to analyse in a classroom situation, given the apparent reliance on textbook 'listenings' prevalent in this school and others.

Following Day One, learners were given a learner diary task (Appendix C, Task 1E) asking them to record their impressions of the lesson. As noted in the preceding chapter, this was based on Di Pietro's (1987) log/diary method, and it produced the following comments:

> Interesting: How the intonation and voice tone can change the idea of the conversation…
>
> The same day, after class I went to work in a restaurant where I was waitress and I feel that I know the way to talk with they. I don't obtained my objective but I feel good in this moment and find the way to insolve the misunderstanding. This day I prove how important… is this class.
>
> (Stephanie , Colombian Learner Participant, Diary Entries)

> [Today I learnt] don't smile, and keep looking his eyes at the time of negotiation. But it's difficult for me, because I don't know which direction I'm looking at while I'm thinking of next my speech…
>
> The strange thing is that 'empathise with manager's position'. I <u>don't</u> think, In Japan, I say to my boss, 'I understand you [are] <u>under pressure</u>.
>
> The most useful thing [I learnt today] is a stage in a negotiation. If I didn't know it, I would quarrel with someone everytime.
>
> (Russell, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entries)

> The most useful things I learnt today is expressions about my face, my face always smile but in English I'm to make serious face, it difference from my culture.
>
> (Chad, Thai Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

I confused about intonation and voice. I can't believe that it is so necessary when you negotiate.

(Milly, Russian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

[The most interesting thing about today was] voice tone. When we say 'thank you', low and high tone become different meaning. It's very interesting.

(Julia, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

I am surprised because there are a lot of level [on] which [to] control myself so to progress communication and then finally get my aim.

(David, Korean Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

While the researcher had originally intended to ask learners to complete an identical task following each lesson, she later decided to make the learner diary tasks more specific to what had occurred in each lesson, or to the evaluation of an event or text, such as the learners own video-taped performance, another's performance, or a speech produced by native English speakers.

In addition, following Day One, each learner received a handwritten note from the teacher thanking them for the particular efforts they had made during the class. The letters gained an positive response from the learners, and were thereafter written following each lesson to every learner.

Week Two: Politeness Strategies & Facial Expression

Lesson Plan Excerpt 2

Aims:	1. To develop in students an awareness that truth and sincerity are culturally defined, both in terms of behaviour (what is sincere) and its presentation (how you show/express sincerity to others). 2. To introduce students to the concepts of 'face' and 'indirectness' and provide them with some means to adapt their language to them.
Outcomes:	1. Students can appear to be sincere (and therefore credible) to native English speakers even though their L1 way of expressing sincerity is different. 2. Students have an awareness of the importance of the other party's 'face' in a negotiation, and can 'reframe' their own arguments in a way that appeals to their interlocutor.

The second day of the course was aimed primarily at facilitating learner awareness of how sincerity, politeness and a variety of emotions are conveyed in their own culture and how this may differ from the expression of the same emotion in the cultures of the other class members and the teacher.

A series of small group guessing games were played (Appendix C, Lesson Plan 2, & Tasks 2A, 2B), in which each learner had a turn at making a request or a statement while expressing a particular emotion specified by a card they had just picked up. As they played, learners had to guess what emotion was being expressed and record exactly what the nominated learner was doing with his or her eyes, face, and voice and record that on a separate worksheet. This was the point at which Chad, as is discussed in the findings chapter below, discovered that he did not know how to manipulate his facial muscles to produce a frown, which created intense discussion amongst the learners regarding the acceptability or otherwise of displaying emotion.

This was also the class in which Russell, the Japanese learner, practised maintaining eye contact with the help of other learners, who monitored him in a mini-role play that was conducted for learners to experiment with their new-found knowledge (Appendix C, Task 2C). The researcher's diary notes, as a direct response to Russell's claiming that having to maintain eye contact had "upset" him:

> I haven't allowed for their feelings in changing discourse strategies. Of course it is confronting, and they will feel upset. But I didn't pursue this, and perhaps I should have.
>
> (Teacher's Diary Notes, Week 2)

Students were also surprised to learn that it is voice, or more specifically, pitch and intonation which more commonly convey politeness rather than the lexical and syntactic forms that they had learnt in textbooks. The researcher's diary notes of Graeme (Brazilian Learner Participant):

> Asked him how can you make the statement "Can I ask you not to do that again?" more polite – and he immediately added please. In other words – looked for lexical solution to the problem. Was very surprised to find 'please' doesn't make things more polite necessarily – or even usually – and this had to be done with the voice.
>
> (Teacher's Diary Notes, Week 2)

Following their experimentation with face, and voice, learners were set an out-of-class diary task (Appendix C, Task 2D) aimed at

1. increasing their awareness of the role of face and voice in making meaning,
2. challenging them to use the target language community within which they were living as a learning resource and
3. check up on the authenticity or credibility of what they were being taught, as the researcher has frequently noted that learners give greater credence to what they see and hear in the 'real world' than what the teacher or textbook tells them.

The learning diary entries and 'exit interviews' showed this activity stimulated them to 'hear', see and take note of elements they had not previously noticed about the language and its features. Learners recorded that:

> In Japan, we don't use our hand. Not so move our face. So it looks overstate for me."
>
> (Julia, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> Most of [the people on the train] are contacting eyes when they are talking. In Korea we don't contact all the time. It means very rude and some times looks impudent manner.
>
> (David, Korean Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

David also commented that it was considerably easier for them to understand native English speakers by the end of the course because his increased awareness of staging or discourse structure increased his predictive abilities, a point taken up in the findings when listening comprehension is discussed more generally.

The facial expression tasks led to questions of politeness and indirectness. Students were asked to complete a series of replacement and matching tasks (Appendix C, Tasks 2E, 2F). which attempted to enable them to use a range of positive politeness strategies by providing them with sample indirect, formulaic language. These strategies included:

1. framing requests and giving reasons for them in terms of the manager's wants and needs,

2. assuming mutual commitment to common goals and a common in-group through the use of 'we' and 'our company',

3. using "I feel…" statements, which cannot be negated, rather than accusatory "You did…" statements, to avoid disagreement based on perceptions of the problem and escalating blame,

4. expressing sympathy with the position of and admiration for the manager through the use of flattery, and

5. avoiding words perceived as 'negative' in business environments such as 'angry', 'difficult' or 'problem'.

Reframing, and particularly flattery, were strategies some of the learners identified as being immediately useful, and a number had used them before course completion two weeks later:

> I have used it [negotiation skills learnt during the course] one time
> *Really. Tell me what happened*?
> Flattery {laughter} 'Cause my homestay don't like that sometimes I get home late for dinner or some meals so she was one day, I could see her face
> *very angry?*
> and I said "Oh I'm sorry, I know that you are a very good cook and your food is wonderful, but sometimes, I love your food but… I didn't get… and she was "oh thank you, but don't do it again…"
>
> (Graeme, Brazilian Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

> In difficult situations now I know to say what I'm thinking but with polite words… that's very nice and that's very useful for me. [I'm] always doing [negotiating] because here in the home and today when I failed the drive licence test
> *Oh god, I'm so sorry. What did you say?*
> I wanna say I kill the man {laughter} but
> *don't say that*
> yeah yeah but I was polite and tried to know why, the problem and how can I say, do everything good…
>
> (Stephanie, Colombian Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

> *You don't use [negotiation skills] at work?*
> Yes, I tried to use it {laughs}. I asked my boss if I can have more hours of working but it's quite difficult to talk to her. She started to be angry so I said "Ooh, don't be angry, I LIKE this job, I want to continue …"{laughs} and

> oooooohhh… so she interrupt her mood and she to be more friendly… yeah, yeah maybe I used something from negotiation.
>
> (Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

Finally, learners were given a series of out-of-class tasks with two objectives. The first was obvious: a self-evaluation task collected data on how learners viewed their own changing language use (Appendix C, Task 2I). In addition, the tasks asked learners to tick:

1. the strategies that they had not been able to make use of in the past (as evidenced by the 'before' video), as well as

2. those strategies they were now able to make use of at will if they chose.

The second objective was, therefore, to provide learners with a sense of how much they had learnt about using English and about their own language use in a period of two weeks. It was hoped that this would be engender confidence, which, as it eventuated, was not the case. A number of comments that arose from this task, particularly those relating to learner surprise at seeing their own behaviour, are recorded above. However, this task, reproduced below, produced additional points of interest.

The first of these arose from the question: "What was the best thing you did?". A typical response was that of Julia, who wrote: "Nothing. It's terrible." Although admitting to have acquired a number of skills, both in this evaluation and at the end of the course, Julia exhibited anxiety and a lack of self-esteem throughout the course, as evidenced in her exit interview statements and in a letter to the teacher written in her diary:

> I felt depressed on Wendnesday because this class was difficult for me. I couldn't make sentences immediately and everybody can speak English very well better than me.
>
> (Julia, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

Self-esteem is closely related to anxiety and inhibition and is a potent factor in language-learning affect. It appears to be related to the learners' sense of control, power and autonomy, as the Oxford and Ehrman (1993) definition indicates; "Self-esteem is a self-judgement of worth or value based on feelings of "efficacy". Efficacy implies that some degree of control exists within oneself" (p. 194).

Aoki (1999) argues that autonomy does not mean an abrupt handing over of power to the learners who may or may not be ready to start making or managing the decisions it requires. As L. Atkinson (2000) has explained, putting learners who are accustomed to a highly directive environment into a low-directive one which they are required to organise and control is not only unproductive, but threatening for them. Aoki (1999) also points out that total learner independence is not a goal since language learning requires interaction which implies interdependence. Her definition sees learner autonomy "as a capacity to take control of one's own learning in the service of one's perceived needs and aspirations" (p.144).

Developing such a capacity clearly takes time, and learner comments such as Julia's display affect that no teacher could want as a by-product of his or her class. The comments demonstrate a need for explicit and better management of anxiety, whether it arises from competition with other learners as is common (Bailey, 1983), or is generated by moving too quickly and without scaffolding into the low-directive environment mentioned in the previous paragraph.

A final point of interest arising from the self-evaluation following Day Two, was the evidence in the diaries of learners making definite choices about what they wanted to improve about their language, and what they felt they had achieved at that point. The differing responses were an indication that learners were taking control of the syllabus on an individual basis. Responses to the questions "What do you <u>most</u> want to improve?" and "Where have I have I <u>improved</u> most?" included:

> I want to improve my speaking skill because I need a few minutes to express my opinions. And when I think about it during the discussion I often forget eye-

contacts. Therefore if I could speak fluently, I would keep doing eye contact during the discussion.

(Russell, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

There are two things which I want to most improve about myself – my English (express what I really want to say) and intonation of my voice (how to say it not to be monotone).

(Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

Basically I can't speak fluently so I want to speak fluently and then at the same time my face and voice is terrible. I was laughing all the time but I didn't know that before I saw the video. So I want to control my face more sirious when I speak my mistake or listen to manager's anger.

(David, Korean Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

I have to be more direct in my negotiation making all estages for I can't get lost during the negotiation.

(Sam, Brazilian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

Face. I can't make serious face.

(Julia, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

The most important is the new vocabulary, the way to use indirect language and use flattery. I am not good to elougize people but now, I know, is very important.

(Stephanie, Colombian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

I know how to make reliable and make my boss believe me.

(Chad, Thai Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

[I want to be able] to use indirect language. I always say very simple sentences. Sometimes they are not polite and people stop listening to me.

(Milly, Russian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> Now I know how begin a conversation with my boss, and I know how develop it, using voice, face, and the right words… When the course started, I didn't know what to say and how to say. But now I understand that. I know what I have to say next and I should say indirectly.
>
> (Graeme, Brazilian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

These claims to improvement were supported by the simulated role-play, *False Promises* (Appendix C, Tasks 2G, 2H) given out to learners at the end of Week Two's class and undertaken on Day Three, in which their performances, from the teacher's perspective, were considerably more sophisticated. Learners seemed to not to struggle with language as they had done previously, appeared more responsive to their interlocutors, did not become 'bogged down' in 'did/did not' style argumentation, presented their arguments more assertively rather than simply apologising and used facial and gaze behaviours that were, again from the teacher's viewpoint, more congruent with their goals.

More importantly, however, the diaries show that process and progress from the learner's perspective, the definitive evaluation of the course, and the best representation of the true classroom curriculum.

Week Three: Staying 'On-Track' in Trouble-Filled Talk

Lesson Plan Excerpt 3

Aims:	1. To strengthen students ability to clarify, particularly with the aim of gaining commitment to their objectives. 2. To develop in students some ability to 'self-repair' – clarify their arguments. 3. To develop in students the ability to manage and control the negotiation agenda.
Outcomes:	1. Students can use a variety of clarification strategies to cater for situations where they: a. don't understand, b. think their interlocutor is lying or avoiding the issue, or c. want to demonstrate they are listening though restatement. 2. Students can use some strategies to 'self-repair'. 3. Students can use some agenda management strategies to a. gain commitment (pin the other person down to specifics). b. refer back to previous points in the conversation.

Wednesday of Week Three seemed a turning point for the class. One of the causes of this appeared to be the peer review the learners conducted of each other as they undertook a second 'full' role-play (Appendix C, Task 3A), the scenario for which they had been given to read the previous week. In addition to a checklist which they used to evaluate each other's performances, more for the purpose of giving the current performances their full attention than as a learning tool, each learner was required to say what had most impressed them about the role-player's performance. This meant that at the end, they had a small pile of written compliments to take away with them.

This appeared to have a 'confidence-boosting' effect reflected in the diary by positive statements regarding features of their language which they had previously seen as problematic, such as:

> I think that the most remarcable improvement was listening comprehension. I was able to listen my partner (boss) without thinking about (concentrating to) my problem → I was able to respond (to listen) him.
>
> (Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> Today I made my face more serious and sincere. From today I'll control my face. I think I got a new skill.
>
> (David, Korean Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> I can improve indirect language. Before learning it, I didn't notice it even though I watch video many times.
>
> (Russell, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> I improved most on estage. I think now I can do all stages.
>
> (Sam, Brazilian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

In addition to perhaps mitigating some of the anxiety mentioned above, there were two benefits of the role-play task. Firstly, as the comments recorded above in 'Learners as Teachers' demonstrate, they learnt a substantial amount from watching each other's performances. Secondly, as the learners demanded to watch themselves on video a second time, this video-tape, which had previously been taken as a record of the class should it be needed, was made available to them to view in their 'self-access' time after class. Since they already had a substantial amount of 'homework' for the week, it was interesting to note that they judged this additional task worth the time and the effort.

The remainder of Day Three was spent undertaking a number of tasks that were aimed at moving toward the negotiator's goal in situations in which

1. the 'boss' was particularly angry or abusive,
2. the negotiator was struggling to express him or herself and needed to 'start again' with a clearer, differently expressed argument,
3. one party could not understand either the argument or language of the other,
4. the objective of the meeting became 'lost' in other argument, or
5. the boss was unwilling to commit to the negotiator's objective.

Two problem-solving tasks which also provided learners with sample language were used to achieve this: a card-matching task in which a statement, clarification, and response were sequenced (Appendix C, Task 3B) and a cloze (Appendix C, Task 3C).

The design of these tasks was fundamentally flawed, since the ability to deal with conversational troubles is not so much a matter of having formulaic language to use in response to the trouble but rather, in the case of the ESOL learners, being motivated to pursue a goal regardless of any embarrassment arising from the miscommunication.

There appear to be two reasons for this embarrassment. The first is that it is easy for learners to simulate understanding where there is none, for reasons of perceived politeness or maintaining face (Aston, 1986). Both Julia and David specifically stated that if they could not understand the other party, it was a result of their own inadequacy. The effect of this was not to apologise and ask for clarification, but to 'go along' with the conversation in the hope that the meaning will become clearer. These comments, and Aston's (1986) findings, indicate that other learners may have felt the same way.

Secondly, as students from different Asian cultures such as Japan, Korean and Indonesia have explained it to this researcher, their status in relation to their interlocutor must be known before they feel comfortable communicating. This status may be difficult to identify in a second-language classroom. If the status is different, as in the case in which one learner is older than the others, the lower-status learner may avoid challenging the other, or even expressing an opinion out of deference.

The challenge for the teacher, then, is to develop meaning-focused deployment tasks in which the learners are presented with *additional* motivation to repair troubles and ensure that they do understand the other party in a substantive rather than a formal sense. The means of doing this will be discussed in the findings in terms of rewriting and thereby improving the whole course.

The final task was given to the learners at the end of the day to be done as homework (Appendix C, Tasks 3D, 3E). It involved watching the second video of native-English

speakers undertaking a simulated, but unscripted, negotiation. This model video, entitled *Plagiarism*, involved a university lecturer, 'Dr King', and one of her students, 'Sam', accused of plagiarism when he submitted an essay identical to that of another student. The task set asked learners to determine the kinesic, facial and vocal features of the negotiation that embodied the power differential and influenced the affect between the two. Learners were also asked to identify extra-linguistic features of Sam's language that they may have wanted to make use of themselves.

Learner response to this task was detailed and impressive. Most of them noticed and were able to record many extra-linguistic and paralinguistic features of Dr King's language, including her use of the desk space and reasons for her appearing relaxed when Sam was obviously tense. Sam's expression of emotion had appealed to many them, both in his use of his whole body, and his facial expression. The manner in which he developed his arguments, and actively listened were also remarked on.

This task would have been more effective if it had been accompanied by a task to aid comprehension of the negotiation. With no scaffolding, learners simply watched and listened to the video repeatedly until they could understand what was happening. Their only aid was each other and the learner who chose to undertake the task alone, David, did not understand the outcome of the negotiation even when he had completed the other components of the task successfully.

Week Four: Agreeing, Disagreeing and Persuading

Lesson Plan Excerpt 4

Aims:	1. To raise students awareness of the power, face, agenda-control turn-taking issues involved in multi-party negotiations. 2. To give students specific tactics to enable them to negotiate successfully in multi-party negotiations.
Outcomes:	1. Students will be able to present their point of view, express agreement and disagreement using appropriate indirect language, facial language and pronunciation. 2. Students will be more practised at restating the position of others in order to garner support. 3. Students will be able to bid for a turn without appearing to interrupt through the use of body language.

On the last day of the course, the focus changed from two-party conflict management to multi-party problem-solving in which interpersonal relationships were dealt with less explicitly, in favour of substantive business issues.

Following a discussion on the *Plagiarism* video, the learners were asked to complete a task, as it was read or 'spoken' by the teacher (Appendix C, Task 4A). The objective of the task was to draw the learners' attention to the role of the intonation, pace, stress, facial expression factors mentioned in Chapter Two, as well as a number of discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987), rather than explicit lexis typically presented by textbooks such as "I think" or "I don't agree" used in expressing opinion (see, for example, Klippel, 1984). That it succeeded in doing this was evident in the learners' response to the task. Learners had started the course assuming that lexis alone would give them the 'answers', and that words carry intrinsic meaning. The task appeared to help them move to an understanding of how pitch, which they drew in by hand using arrows, hesitation, and 'creasing' of the face, could indicate disagreement when the 'yeah' or 'okay' of the response did not.

This apparently fundamental lesson was left until last because the intention was to enable learners to recognise disagreement in native-English speakers, rather than to provide a mechanism through which to do so themselves. (It is worth noting, however,

that since this study was conducted, the researcher has encountered a learner who used the language (lexis, pausing and pitch) of this task on the very same day as the class to express her reluctance to do the dishes, to the annoyance and amusement of her host mother and host father respectively. This would indicate that learners, if so motivated, may choose to take on these skills, and may be able to do so relatively easily.)
The decision not to undertake work on agreement and disagreement until Week Four was misguided however. This was mainly because when the linguistic feature of interest involves sociopragmatic behaviour that is different from what the learners' 'know', either because of their cultural background or because of previous study, learners have a tendency to reject it (J. Thomas, 1983). This reason for this may be that learners are apt to separate social, behavioural or pragmatic knowledge, which they 'know' and therefore do not need to learn, from linguistic or English language knowledge, which they do not 'know' and are intent on learning.

As a result, tasks based on pragmatic features of language appear to be more successful if learners are required to 'test' the language on 'real people' - as distinct from teachers! - by observing or talking with them. It is the experience of this teacher/researcher that, when they are required to do this, undertaking tasks similar to those completed in the learner diaries, learners often express surprise that the broader community uses such an expression or a particular behaviour. Such a 'reality check' task on disagreement behaviours would clearly have been of benefit, therefore. It would also have allowed learners to check the teacher's sense of 'appropriate' behaviours and practices against actual practices, so that judgements made were based on the learners' own sociolinguistic experience (Fairclough, 1992a).

The major task which took the remainder of the class was a simulated role-play from *Business Roles* (Crowther-Alwyn, 1997) in which the learners were given a problematic business scenario, roles such as Marketing or Human Resource Manager and an overall 'position' on the problem which they are required to present during the meeting, but are not required to adhere to in arriving at a solution. The task, which was video-taped, was not successful, and the learner comments give a fair indication of the reasons for this:

> I was afraid of silence at first (that we will not be able to discuss) but our discussion was enveloped quite quickly. I seem that it wasn't discussion all time, sometimes there were just "short" speeches in our debate.
>
> (Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> [I did not understand what others said because] because I didn't concentrate on what others said. My brain was full of my role.
>
> (Russell, Japanese Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> I'm sorry, but I can't understand Asian people sometimes, so I need to listen very, very carefully… I listened carefully, but there was no [convincing] arguments.
>
> (Milly, Russian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> [I did understand the others] but not (at) all becase everybody present their idea in different way.
>
> (Chad, Thai Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

> When someone say something everybody agree but nobody take a decision, so the meeting was going to anywhere.
>
> (Sam, Brazilian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

In summary, the simulated role-play represented a series of speeches, rather than jointly constructed talk in which one utterance generated the next, and was closely related to it. There are two likely reasons for this.

Firstly, the task preceding the negotiation that provided sample language of ways in which to 'side with' another person's position was clearly inadequate in terms of its ability to enable learners to build coalitions (Appendix C, Tasks 4A). This is critical because, as Rapoport (1974a) has stated, the two key questions in a multi-party negotiation are "(1) How will a set of players of a given game partition themselves into coalitions? and (2) How will the members of each coalition apportion their joint payoff

among them?" (p. 5). To counter this, learners may have required some prior 'lobbying' activity in which they had opportunities to discuss their position with others individually. This would have a) been more representative of multiparty negotiations in a workplace environment in Australia, where, presumably, a negotiator has some understanding of the 'politics' and positioning of those with whom he or she has to negotiate, and b) been more in keeping with negotiation practices in Asia (Byrne and FitzGerald, 1996;Yamada, 1990).

Secondly, and returning to the most significant deficiency within many of the 'before' and 'after' negotiations, that they are monologic rather than dialogic, even though not conducted by a single person, is the 'listening' problem. Since this requires a range of measures, it must be part of the discussion that examines the course in an overall sense, and how it might be redeveloped to better enable learners to interact verbally.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, what took place in the classroom is described in relation to the researchers assumptions regarding learning, teaching, language acquisition and task design. Events that occurred, problems that arose, task success and failure as well as learner records of their response to the class and their growing awareness of their own discourse style and that of others are portrayed.

We are, therefore, at the point where the course and its effects must be evaluated. This entails addressing the research questions directly: a task which is undertaken in Chapter Five.

Chapter 5 : Findings: How can teachers best enable learners to interact verbally?

Introduction

In order to answer the overarching research question, 'How can teachers best enable adult English language learners to interact verbally?' the various data sets (CA transcription, reviewer group, and learner generated ethnographic material) created during the course of this research must firstly be examined in the light of the three sub-questions:

1. Would it be possible for learners in a classroom environment to develop the ability to manipulate their discourse strategies (or 'talking practices') at will to accommodate perceptions of them formed by native speakers of English and therefore better achieve their goals?

2. What discourse skills or practices most determine the success or failure of a negotiation (the type of talk chosen to increase learner ability to interact verbally) and should therefore be given preferential treatment in any syllabus aimed at improving verbal interactional skills?

3. How do the learners, as major stakeholders in this process, view this 'enabling'? What teaching practices at classroom level are 'best' from their perspective, in terms of their developing an ability to manipulate their language use?

This chapter addresses these questions in the order in which they appear.

Can learners change their discourse strategies at will?

The first of these questions, challenging the assumptions of much literature on cross-cultural discourse, is easily addressed. The answer is, simply, yes. The transcriptions demonstrate that learners did change the way in which they talked and in doing so, as is apparent in Table 5.1, altered the way others – in this case, the reviewer group - perceived them. These great differences in perceptions of the learners as people, professionals and negotiators (shown by the performance indicators listed at the top of the table) are clearly evident in the mean scores presented below.

Table 5-1 Mean Average Ratings (and Standard Deviation) of Students by Reviewer Group, or Before and After Performances.

	credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	**aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7**	**sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7**	**unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7**	**clear =1 ←→ vague =7**	**over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7**	**responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7**	**unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7**	**good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7**	**unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7**	**successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5**	**behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5**	**I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5**	**difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5**	**business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5**
Before															
M	**4.25**	**5.06**	**3.94**	**4.23**	**5.01**	**3.77**	**4.35**	**3.94**	**4.31**	**3.31**	**3.86**	**2.75**	**3.25**	**2.77**	**3.75**
SD	1.52	1.54	1.42	1.25	1.50	1.47	1.31	1.43	1.29	1.45	1.04	0.99	1.10	1.02	1.10
After															
M	**3.01**	**4.05**	**2.89**	**4.99**	**3.41**	**4.79**	**3.17**	**4.96**	**3.49**	**4.74**	**2.70**	**3.36**	**2.34**	**3.41**	**2.56**
SD	1.28	0.94	1.16	1.07	1.51	1.35	1.34	1.25	1.32	1.35	1.07	0.94	0.89	1.02	1.08

Moreover, as shown by the *t* scores in Table 5.2 below, change occurred in a positive direction. Reviewers evaluated learners more favourably in the negotiation following the course than in the pre-treatment negotiation and this effect was highly statistically

significant for *every* performance indicator whether it related to the learners' perceived ability to communicate, their sincerity, their affective or contextual appropriateness or their ability to command empathy; $t(80) = 1.990$, $p<.01$, two-tailed.

Table 5-2 Difference Between the Before and After Performances.

	implausible → credible	**aggressive → submissive**	**insincere → sincere**	**unlikeable → empathetic**	**vague → clear**	**over-emotional → reasonable**	**undependable→ responsible**	**unintelligible → intelligible**	**does not listen → good listener**	**unprofessional → professional**	**successful negotiator? disagree → agree**	**behaviour is unnatural? ? disagree → agree**	**I would help this person? ? disagree → agree**	**difficult to understand? ? disagree → agree**	**business-like in approach? ? disagree → agree**
∑D	98	81	85	61	124	83	94	81	64	114	93	49	73	49	95
√∑D	326	323	311	225	472	301	350	229	260	356	237	167	173	101	227
SD	1.62	1.75	1.67	1.50	1.89	1.64	1.74	1.36	1.63	1.57	1.28	1.32	1.16	0.95	1.20
Std Error	0.18	0.20	0.19	0.17	0.21	0.18	0.19	0.15	0.18	0.18	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.11	0.13
t	**6.81**	**5.19**	**5.67**	**4.53**	**7.40**	**5.61**	**6.04**	**6.64**	**4.41**	**8.14**	**8.14**	**4.16**	**7.06**	**5.79**	**8.83**
n	79	80	81	81	79	81	80	80	79	80	80	80	79	79	80

NB: *Differences have been listed so that the positive characteristics appear first, and positive differences represent improvement.*

Differences in 'n' occurred due to reviewer group members neglecting to record an answer.

The design flaw associated with both 'aggressive' and 'submissive' having a negative connotation is discussed in Chapter 3 above.

However, while results for the whole class provide evidence that learners are able to make decisions that change their discourse styles in such a way as to increase their chances of meeting their goals, several key outcomes varied dramatically from student to student. These were:

1. the degree to which change was effected (indicated by the size of each learner's *t* score on any given indicator; e.g. sincerity/insincerity),

2. the strength of that effect from indicator to indicator and (indicated by stronger and weaker *t* scores across all a single student's indicators), and

3. in one case, the direction of the effect (whether the *t* score was positive or negative).

Additionally, there was, in some cases, enormous variability in how a student was perceived in terms of one or more performance indicators, signalling that:

1. the effect of specific learner behaviours was different for different interviewers (evidenced in both the Standard Deviation for each indicator in Table 5.2 and in the tables presented in Appendix D),

2. certain speech behaviours had little effect on some reviewers while affecting others strongly, as Ekman (1988) has found, or, perhaps most likely,

3. for both these reasons.

What discourse skills or practices most determine the success or failure of a negotiation?

Because of this variation, and in order to address the second research sub-question, "What discourse skills or practices most determine the success or failure of a negotiation?" we need to delve into the talk during both role-play performances by each individual learner. This 'drill down approach' is critical for two major reasons.

Firstly, any class is not a single entity, but a group of individuals. Moreover, the class participating in this research was, as with many TESOL classes in Australia, made up of

learners from many different cultures and, therefore, with many different ways of speaking. In this educational context, a course designed to address the research question of how best to teach learners to interact verbally must be able to cater for and adapt to that inherent diversity in ways that may not be necessary with a more homogenous EFL class taught elsewhere in the world. Catering for this level of diversity entails allowing each individual student's problems and needs to drive the course creation and modification, and focusing, therefore, on learners rather than on 'language'.

Secondly, as discussed in the previous chapter, teaching has been described as a practice in which the teacher learns from his or her students through a variety of processes including observation and more active means of gaining feedback. As research grounded in the classroom, the learners' views and responses to the course, its content and the teaching practices used to deliver it are paramount in addressing *all* the research questions, not merely that relating directly to learner response. For that reason individual learner data must be examined closely to enable that learning by the teacher and researcher to take place.

Accordingly, we now ask; how did each learner talk? How was their talk in the pre- and post-course negotiations different? Are there any apparent correlations between their talk and how they were viewed by the reviewers? Does a detailed analysis of the talk provide any explanation the consistencies and the inconsistencies amongst the reviewer group? Most importantly, in addressing the second sub-question, what does their talk tell us about what should be incorporated into a future course in terms of facilitating their success when negotiating?

Major themes that emerged from this individual examination are summarised briefly below, and provide an answer to the second component of the research question; what discourse skills and practices determine the success or failure of a negotiation? These included:

1. **Responses** which directly addressed the previous utterance of the interlocutor, particularly when that response signalled some conversation 'trouble' or

negative emotion were essential in achieving mutuality and clarity, and imply that strategies which facilitate **listening, clarification and comprehension**, while obvious skills, are some that need more attention than they are perhaps generally given. Students need to move away from 'formal' agreement with the other party to initiating repair if and when they do not understand.

2. **Positive politeness strategies**, which assume shared needs and managerial cooperation, and which give gifts to one's interlocutor in terms of indicating understanding and empathy were also obviously valued above negative strategies which create greater social distance between manager and subordinate.

3. Closely related to politeness strategies and responses, a level of **indirectness** was clearly expected of negotiators. This extended not only to the manner in which they referred to the problem at hand, but also to the way they expressed opinions, gave explanations and made requests for change. This appeared to affect the learners' ability to pursue their goals by avoiding intensifying the conflict, and was therefore of great import.

4. Having determined **constructive goals and strategies** for solving the 'substantive' issues surrounding the problems, as distinct from the problems surrounding the negotiators' relationship with the manager, prior to entering the meeting, was also a factor is setting some learner apart from others.

5. **Facial expression** was plainly important. Not smiling when apologising, discussing problematic behaviour or receiving criticism, and instead, simulating concern through the use of direct gaze and brow creasing reaps rewards in terms of the way in which one is viewed by others.

6. **Body motion**, and particularly hand behaviour and the use of the desk, appeared to influence the sense of the speaker's professionalism, and it is suspected, power. Rather than there being any clear norms for these behaviours, a reduction in positions that imply discomfort and disengagement,

and, conversely, an increase in behaviours that imply confidence and commitment to the interaction (reinforcing the learner's use of positive politeness strategies) appeared to be viewed positively.

7. Likewise, while English speakers apparently tolerate a wide variety of **gaze behaviours**, and levels of eye contact, if eye-contact is minimal, or certain gaze behaviours are combined with apparently 'disengaged' head positions, they may have a disastrous impact on how the learner is perceived, as we will see below.

8. The **opening and closing stages** of a negotiation are clearly critical in defining acceptable and unacceptable behaviour with a business context as the ratings of those who violated those norms in the first negotiation so strongly indicate. Reviewers noticed, approvingly, *every* learner who shook hands when leaving, and we have already seen the results, realised in lapses, stand-offs, perceptions of aggressiveness and oddity which are caused by variation to these ritualised sequences.

9. The **role of the superordinate player** in a negotiation and expectations of that person and the way in which **power** is used as a result of perceptions of the superordinate was a major factor in several of the negotiations.

10. Finally, while such a goal is clearly not achievable in a four-week period, a level of **comprehensibility** in learner speech is critical to their being understood, at least by those interacting with them occasionally, or initially.

The most salient findings of the reviewer group are discussed in relation to the other two data sources: the reviewer commentary data, and the transcriptions themselves (for a summary of the transcription notation, see Appendix E). This discussion takes the form of an exploration of the relationship between reviewer perceptions of the learners and their negotiating skills as well as changes in those perceptions and actual learner negotiating behaviour, be that linguistic, paralinguistic or extra-linguistic.

Not all aspects of each learner's performance are discussed. Rather, aspects of negotiating behaviour that are common to a number of students are discussed in relation to one: usually the learner who drew the most significant response from the reviewer group on any given performance indicator (see Appendix D). The influence any of these negotiating behaviours should have on a future version of the course is taken up more fully in the concluding sections of this chapter.

Finally, it should be noted that, for the most part, learners are examined according to how the conduct themselves in the role of the employee, which was the basis on which they were rated by the reviewers. However, because interactions are co-constructed, and the employee's behaviour and speech is, at least, influenced by their interlocutor, some commentary on learner behaviour in their role as 'boss' is incorporated into the discussion, particularly when it was the subject of reviewer comments or when it appeared to have a major impact on the employee interlocutor's ability to negotiate.

Opening and Closing Talk

For the teacher and researcher, there are two key messages to be gained from Russell's (Learner 101, Japanese) performance, and these arise from a close study of his first (pre-treatment) performance rather than from the second negotiation, in which he made great improvements, according to the reviewer group. The two behaviours of interest relate to:

1. the manner in which Russell opened the conversation, and
2. his constant 'fidgeting'.

Table 5-3 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'Russell', Learner 101 (Japanese).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
	before: M	**4.63**	**3.11**	**3.78**	**2.78**	**5.22**	**3.22**	**4.75**	**3.22**	**4.67**	**2.56**	**4.33**	**2.33**	**3.44**	**2.25**	**4.33**
Russell	SD	1.51	1.76	1.48	0.67	1.39	1.20	0.71	1.09	1.00	1.13	0.50	0.71	0.53	0.71	0.71
101	after: M	**3.00**	**3.89**	**3.00**	**4.78**	**3.33**	**5.00**	**3.44**	**4.78**	**3.78**	**4.78**	**2.78**	**3.11**	**2.22**	**3.22**	**2.33**
	SD	1.58	0.93	1.12	1.09	1.12	0.87	1.67	1.09	1.39	1.39	1.20	0.93	0.67	0.83	1.32
	∑D	13	-7	7	18	17	16	10	14	8	20	14	7	11	7	18
	SD	1.41	1.92	1.64	1.32	1.36	1.48	1.83	1.42	1.05	0.83	1.01	1.39	0.67	0.83	1.00
	t	**3.26**	**-1.21**	**1.42**	**4.54**	**4.15**	**3.60**	**1.93**	**3.28**	**2.53**	**8.00**	**4.60**	**1.67**	**5.50**	**2.97**	**6.00**
	n	8	9	9	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	9

key: **4.00** = p<.01, two-tailed
3.00 = p<.05, two-tailed

Interestingly, as Russell's survey results presented in Table 5.3 show, interpretations of his behaviour varied amongst reviewers in the 'before' performance, particularly as regards the following three quality indicators:

1. implausible → credible
2. aggressive → submissive
3. insincere → sincere

For these three categories, ratings of Russell's behaviour varied by five points, out of a possible six (see Appendix D): results that clearly require some discussion.

We need to explore what Russell did to open and close the talk that generated these perceptions, and this involves a closer look at reviewer *comments* on his behaviour which, unlike the quantifiable data, were remarkably consistent.

Their disquiet regarding the introduction is understandable on examination of the transcript, from which this fragment is taken:

Fragment 5-1 Learner 101: Before

***Manager*:** *Come in* {Russell walks in and sits}

Russell: Um I know that is, that was my fault but er don't do that in front of my client anymore please

NB: A summary of the transcription notation can be found in Appendix E.

On entering the manager's office and seating himself, Russell launches into his request for change in the manager's behaviour towards himself without any preliminary speech acknowledging the power differential between the two parties, his making use of the manager's time and office space, or allowing the setting of the 'tone' of the conversation via the negotiation of pitch.

Schegloff (1998b) argued:

> openings of conversations are interactional moments in which the current state of the relationship between the participants relative to its state at last contact (if any) is initially worked through… Parties in effect work through such issues as their respective identities…, their respective current states, moods and so forth and arrive at some order in which their concerns will get mentioned and taken up. (p. 243)

He notes that, because of this, conversations open with very short turns which often make use of extremely ritualised utterances, to enable, he claims, participants to focus on the manner in which their interlocutor is presenting him or herself through pitch, body orientation, facial expression and dress.

This is not only true of 'casual conversation', but also of 'institutional' or 'transactional' talk such as the business negotiations undertaken by these students which, are usually preceded by some measure of phatic communication to establish the participants' social identities before the talk germane to the transaction itself is entered into (Aston, 1988a, 1988b).

What, then, 'should' have happened? Typically, the summons 'Come in' given in response to a knock on the door, would be countered with an 'answer' (Schegloff, 1978). This establishes co-presence and availability and would have had the added benefit of allowing Russell to demonstrate his understanding of their relationship (Schegloff, 1992b).

It is unlikely, too, that two native English speakers in the same situation would have made the request that the manager modify his future behaviour without some preliminary talk, or without some attempt at what Schegloff and Sacks (1974) labelled 'fitting': waiting for or creating a place in the conversation at which the topic the speaker wishes to raise may appear to arise 'naturally'.

In short, the ordering or sequencing of the opening flouted English speaking social norms, and, as Anderson (1988) has found, native speakers will allow for linguistic 'errors' in conversation, but are less likely to accept 'procedural errors' in staging.

Further, it was not only Russell's manner of opening that had serious consequences, but also the way in which he 'closed' his 'before' performance:

Fragment 5-2 Learner 101: Before

Russell:	➔ So you say mm I have no chance to err to work that client
Manager:	*Yes you can chance, have a chance but you need to prove* [mmm] *(that) you are a… {pause: 2.1} I think it's very bad, never more*
Russell:	➔ But if er if you give me a chance I, I would work er {pause: 2.1} I would very work very much

Manager: *Yes I wouldn't want to give you a chance but maybe I will give you*

Russell: (okay) {pause: 2.8} mmm {lapse: 6.4}

Err, that's it {directed to the researcher video-taping}.

Having achieved one of his goals (avoiding having his employment terminated), Russell mumbles "okay" which could be seen as 'pre-closing' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974). However, when this is not reciprocated with a 'pass', in the form of a returned 'okay' from the manager, he makes no further attempt to use any device to shut down the conversation, or to 'repair' the damage caused by the lack of response (Schegloff, 1992b), and this results in a lapse. Admittedly, this was the first role-play video-taped, and Russell had not been instructed to leave the room on finishing, as was the case with all but the student immediately after him. Had this directive been issued, typical closing devices such as interlanguage forms of "I'd better let you get on with your work", "I've got to go", or "thank you for your time" may have been employed to avoid 'walking out on' the manager. In any case, this lapse was the only one that occurred in any of the role-plays, and, from the onlooker's perspective, its effect was extremely disquieting.

This effect is in keeping with Vuchinich's (1990) findings on closing conflictive talk. He categorised the interactive mechanisms by which conflict can be closed in this manner:

1. Those which use a 'terminal exchange':
    a. submission
    b. compromise

2. Those in which no terminal-exchange adjacency pair is evident:
    a. stand off
    b. withdrawal

As discussed above, the dyad did not use a terminal exchange to close the conflict. Russell attempts to reach a compromise by offering a concession, as indicated by ➔ in

Fragment 5.2 above but his manager, Graeme, continues to attempt to force him into submission and will not accept the offered compromise. Realising that compromise will not be possible, Russell removes himself from the conflict by simply withdrawing, which is not only extremely uncommon (2% of conflicts in Vuchinich's study were closed in this way) but also socially disruptive in the extreme.

Sequencing was not the only sociopragmatic violation that occurred in the opening and closing stages, however. It is unlikely that the reviewer group members accepted the level of directness employed by Russell in his opening request to the manager, "don't do that in front of my client anymore please", which can only be seen as face-threatening (Goffman, 1967), particularly given the manner in which it is formed, combining an imperative with 'please' to construct a request. Typically, a request of this nature is extended in length, and incorporates increased syntactic complexity to soften the strength of its demand and render it more acceptable (Anderson, Aston & Tucker, 1988). The inappropriateness of this directness is not only evident in the transcript, but also in reviewer comments of which the following is characteristic:

> VERY direct and to the point. Needs to soften introduction.

In fact, the majority of the conversation can be seen as a series of adjacency pairs in which the first pair parts consist of requests, assertions and complaints which are then followed by rejection, disagreement, and counter-complaint second pair parts. The sense of conflict is emphasised by there not being evidence of the types of strategies typical in conflicting talk. Davidson (1984) has noted the tendency of speakers to monitor for possible rejection, and to extend their utterance or modify subsequent assertions, requests or invitations to avoid further rejection. Further, she argues that rejections often take much less direct forms than can be seen in this transcript (below), such as silence or weak agreements represented by vocalisations such as ""hm," "uh huh," and "yeah"" (p. 112). In Russell's first performance there is no evidence of attempts to 'soften the blow' of the mutual criticisms, and no subsequent attempt to address the rejections that follow, which is unusual since, as Suzuki (1994) found, Japanese, like their English-speaking American counterparts, clearly differentiate

between criticising the position a person has taken, or 'argumentativeness', and 'verbal aggressiveness': criticising the person themselves.

Fragment 5-3 Learner 101: Before

Russell: Um I know that is, that was my fault but er don't do that in front of my client anymore please

***Manager*:** *Yes you did a terrible mistake and our company's looking bad, we can, we can lost another cli, client, we lost one client, I think is not good er*

Russell: But just the one times, er look, and did you look at my err result? my result has been good, and just one mistake

Manager: *Yes but a terrible mistake*

Russell: Yeah, I understand that (wasn't) my fault but, {clears throat} but I was humiliated er by my client, so please don't do that anymore

Manager: *Yes and you never more do, do it, it's very, very difficult for me and I say you, and I will say again I, I lost money it, it never can happ(en)*

The source of this confrontational behaviour is of interest because it would not appear to be the result of first language strategy transfer from Japanese. Yamada (1990) has noted the reluctance of Japanese to use a 'meeting' as an appropriate speech event in which to make decisions because of the possibility this introduces for disunity and conflict to occur. He argues that:

> Japanese use the meeting place for the reciprocal expression of community rather than as the actual setting for the exchange of formal, business-related information. However, because of this cultural preference for community and nonconfrontational interaction, the Japanese meeting often appears to have the tone of a casual conversation, rather than a business meeting. (p. 282)

This preference is hardly reflected in Russell's approach and comments he made during class may explain the reasons for this. Simply put, he had no strategies with which to

address the issue at hand because, as he argued, he would never take these kinds of concerns or complaints to a manager: the meeting would simply never take place.

In Russell's 'after' performance, he modified his behaviour in regard to both his level of orientation towards the manager's talk and in the level of directness employed. He went through the process of greeting his manager, requesting time, and explaining his embarrassment about the events under discussion. He did not make his request for more resources and help in his working relationship with the Information Technology (IT) department until several turns were complete, and the manager had himself requested that he provide a solution. The raising of this 'unmentionable' was therefore 'fitted' into an appropriate position within the talk (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974), as shown in Fragment 5.4 and indicated by ➢.

Following Russell's presentation of a solution, he then requests agreement to that solution from the manager, thereby providing a chance that the desired successive utterance would be forthcoming, and that the manager would have be 'on-record' as having made a commitment to the desired change.

In addition, an increase in the level of indirectness in many of his statements made in the 'after' performance is apparent in such as utterances as "I'd like to explain to you", "I'm not sure" and "can we agree that", taken from the fragment below, and also signalled by ➔.

Fragment 5-4 Learner 101: After

Manager: *Come in*

Russell: Hello Graeme

Manager: *Hi Mr Russell*

Russell: Can I have a few minutes?

Manager: *Yes have a seat please* {Russell sits down}

Russell: I like to talk to you about the event of ABC company *[mm]* um I feel devaluated for this mistake but this mistake is, was not my mistake *[mm]*

➔ and I'd like to explain to you *[yes]* about that mistake [(and but mm)]

Manager: *[I know] (unintelligible) very concerned about this issue.*

Russell: Yeah and this mistake is the, the comp, computer system didn't meet ABC company's *[mm]* [and] at that moment I, I didn't have enough resources ➔ *[mm]* [and] I'm disappointed in IT system, IT and I'm not sure IT's a good function for this company

Manager: *Yes, understand what you means but how, how could you, could you, how could we do for solution,* [er] *solution you propose*

Russell: ➢Yes er {draws in breath} er I've never have enough re, resources to put er together tender properly so it er, I will be more committed to the company if I get mm enough resources and I've been working here for 5 months and *[yes]*, and I've made an effort to contact er to IT but er now I ➔ can't so *[mm]* mm can, can we agree that you will let IT cooperate with me {points both hands at chest}?

What this indicates in terms of addressing the second research sub-question is that the emphasis on opening and closing the talk is critical, and that some means of providing learners with formulaic language to do this, such as the model videos used in this research, makes it easier for students to undertake this part of the interaction this successfully.

Kinesics: Aggression or Submission?

We now turn to the second issue raised by the reviewers, and noted by the researcher as she described the body motion behaviours when transcribing: fidgeting. During the before performance, Russell repeatedly pulled on the zipper of his jacket, and touched his nose, and other parts of his face. This was combined with two other behaviours which made him appear extremely uncomfortable. Firstly, he made very little eye contact when he talked, usually only returning his gaze to his interlocutor on stressed words such as 'chance' and 'much' in Fragment 5.5 below. This gaze behaviour was exacerbated by his not only losing eye contact, but by his staring so far away from the manager: up, down and to the left and right hand sides.

Fragment 5-5 Learner 101: Before

Russell: But if er if you give me a chance I, I would work er {pause: 2.1} I would very work very much

Secondly, while listening, Russell maintained more eye-contact, but made no facial movement beyond 'twisting' his lips into various positions (sucking them in, pushing them out, and from side to side), and this, too, presented as 'fidgeting' rather than 'expression', since it was not combined with brow or eye muscular movement.

The combination of these gaze and body behaviours together with the abruptness of his opening, and lack of orientation to the manager's concerns may explain the variability in responses to him in terms of the degree to which he appeared aggressive or submissive. His fidgeting and lack of eye contact was interpreted by some reviewers as "nervous" and "shameful/guilty" with one reviewer going as far as to state:

> Student overwhelmed by the humiliation and has obviously taken it very personally and unable to go beyond the humiliation.

It is possible that those who focused on Russell's expressed "humiliation" and his apparent discomfort found him more submissive, while those who focused on his staging and directness, particularly given his lack of power in this situation, rated him as aggressive, "bossy", "attacking", and "inappropriate" (reviewer comments).

In the second role-play, in addition to the changes noted above, Russell stopped fidgeting, leaving his hands on the table instead, except to gesture to himself when saying "I" or "me", which seemed to emphasise the emotional content or of the talk. With the help of other learners, he also learnt to maintain more constant eye contact, although this occurred at some cost to himself. The video-tape of Week 2's lesson in which one student was asked to prompt Russell each time he lost eye contact, shows Russell's reaction to attempting this. The question "How do you feel?" received the answer, "Upset".

This reaction raises the question as to how one incorporates a discourse strategy such as the maintenance of eye-contact into the course. It is clearly of importance in terms of the student's learning to interact successfully. Equally plain, however, is that students have to feel comfortable in the learning environment and with a particular set of peers before such changes and experiments should be attempted.

The ratings Russell received for his second performance differed dramatically from the first, with statistically significant improvement occurring in eleven of the fifteen qualities he was assessed on, as can be seen in Table 5.3 above.

Positive Politeness: Claiming Common Ground

What student number 102, Graeme (Brazilian), teaches us about the practices it is better to use when negotiating with native English speakers at least is that the use of positive politeness strategies is viewed more positively than negative politeness strategies, which seemed to be the natural preference of most students in this class.

An examination of the transcripts of Graeme's 'before' and 'after' performances reveals a striking difference in the politeness strategies he chose to use, and the increased control he appeared to gain over of the second negotiation as a result. Reviewer comments reflect the apparent passivity of Graeme's role in the first role-play, and note, with clear approval, the change that takes place in the second:

Table 5-4 Reviewer comments on Learner 102

typical 'before' comments	typical 'after' comments
1. "102 threw self on the 'mercy' of the Mgr…. no control of situation or outcome"	A. "…constructed arguments well and even proposed a credible solution…"
2. "Did not defend himself"	B. "Good intro & summary UPFRONT.
3. "Did not even deal with the fact that the boss chewed him out…"	C. Acknowledges position of company and offers constructive solutions. Action oriented…"
4. "Too apologetic… Must have ORDER in the discussion; no flow through with discussion of facts to desired outcome."	D. "Positive suggestions of solutions"
5. "waits for the boss to contribute – does not really know what is expected of him"	E. "Explained his position well. Raises issues…"

In fact, Graeme's only strategies in the first role-play were to apologise twice and to ask that his employer 'give him a second chance' in order to allow him to prove his worth to the company, as Fragment 5.6 shows. Additionally, the entire conversation lasts a total of 1 minute, 27 seconds, hardly sufficient to explore any issues, or reach allow the parties to agree on a way forward.

Fragment 5-6 Learner 102: Before

Graeme: I need to speak with you and I'm really, really sorry. I did a terrible mistake [yeah] and I know very difficult for you *[yeah]*

Manager: *{pause: 1.6}{draws in breath} So my, our reputation is getting bad because of you. Er if I had said that in front of your client er our reputation would have been very bad.* [Yes] *So actually I, I help you*

Graeme: Yes, you, you are, you are reason, you have reason, {looks down} and I'm, I'm working hard and the first time that I, I, I do something wrong, and I would like to know I'm really, really sorry and, and I would like to have another chance, I, for show for you that I can do something better. (I…)

Manager: *{pause: 1.6}{Okay, I, I'll give ahh only one chance* [yes] *but*

Graeme: {pause: 2.4} Thank you. I'll work hard and, and (not) disappoint you and our company.

In his second role-play, Graeme uses a range of strategies, some of which may be viewed as components of what Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) labelled an "apology speech act set" that includes "… (1) an explanation or account of the cause which brought about the offence; (2) an expression of the S's [speaker's] responsibility for the offence; (3) an offer of repair; (4) a promise of forbearance" (p. 207).

However, his apology or partial apology is not only far less direct, being implicit rather than stated, but was also embedded in:

1. an attempt to allot part of the blame or responsibility to the IT department, and

2. a statement of his strengths and value to the company which attempt to increase his credibility and counter any impression of incompetence through the use of the 'expert power' discussed in Chapter Two.

Fragment 5.7 below demonstrates the way in which he accomplished these tasks:

Fragment 5-7 Learner 102: After

Graeme:	Thank you. Okay, I would like to, to talk with you about the tender that we lost lots of money *[yeah]* and to explain my position *[yeah]* and {slight head shake} I know that, that it had a, a big impact on our company *[hm]* but I'd like to explain that it wasn't my, my fault I think the problem was that we, we didn't have a good communication with IT *[mm hm]* department *[mm hm]* so {shakes head} and I don't know how, I don't have any skills about computers and technology *[mm hm]*, information technology, so I, I, I didn't have time and so I couldn't check it *[mmm]*, so I'd like to know (what's happen)	*statement of agenda* *acknowledgement of responsibility/fault* *assigning blame elsewhere* *explanation or account of the cause which brought about the offence*
Manager:	*Okay, as you know mmm our company lost a lot of money* [yes] *and ahh our company mmm look bad so ahh what can I do support*	
Graeme:	Yes I, I appreciate your position but I, I have been here (by) ten years, for ten years I have work in here *[yeah]* and I always put all my work in, in it, it never happened the first time and I think that the best thing for what we do now is that we, I'd like to, to ask for you if, if we can have more communication, more meetings between our, my department *[mm hm]* and the, the IT department *[mm]*, I think it will be (better), good.	*acknowledgement of responsibility/fault* *statement of strengths* *proposed solution (= offer of repair + promise of forbearance)* *statement of value of solution*
Manager:	*Okay. I (I'll ask them)*	
Graeme:	Okay, so, when, when can I, how can I make it?	*request for action on proposed solution*

Interesting, too, in Graeme's use of various strategies is that he employs 'reframing' as a technique in the 'after' role-play (Fisher & Ertel, 1995). Both the explanation in which blame was assigned elsewhere and in the proposed solution, the people and personalities involved were not mentioned. Instead, Graeme implies that the change is needed by the company to ensure it functions more effectively, and that the mistake that

occurred was due to a lack of departmental interaction, rather than specific persons not doing their job competently. This is a clear example of Graeme's attempt to redefine the conflict as one involving processes and tasks rather than one about relationships (Jehn, 1997). He further strengthens his position by requesting specific responses and action from his manager, giving himself the opportunity to address any concerns that the manager continued to harbour.

Kinesics: Displaying Confidence

The second key finding to be garnered from a comparison of Graeme's performances is that body orientation, body movement and facial expression are key in portraying a sense of professionalism and responsibility (refer to the *t* scores in Table 5.5 below).

The changes in these areas that Graeme effected were striking. During the 'before' performance, Graeme sat very straight, but with his shoulders slumped or sagging forward, well back from the manager's desk, and kept his hands in his lap for the whole negotiation. His body moved not at all, and his head, very little. He made minimal facial movements, and the facial expression he did exhibit was, arguably, inappropriate: a masking smile as he apologised the first time, which can be seen in Fragment 5.7 above.

When he entered the 'manager's office' for the second negotiation, he put his notes on the desk and extended his arms out towards the manager on either side of the paper, in such a way as to, firstly, assert control over half the space, and, secondly, to engage the manager in the conversation through the creation of a intimate huddle from which, presumably, it would have been difficult for the manager to disengage (J.D. Robinson, 1998; Schegloff, 1998a). The top of his torso was tilted slightly backwards and his shoulders were pulled back, so that his chest points forward toward his interlocutor creating an impression of confidence (Aguinis & Henle, 2001; Cashdan, 1998; Mehrabian, 1969): a change that Graeme made consciously after watching his 'before performance', according to comments he made during the exit interview.

Graeme gestured constantly with his hands (although his arms stayed in place), using gesture to punctuate his speech, to refer to himself and his manager, and, occasionally, to make special references. His head moved slightly from side to side as he talked, and he nodded slightly as he listened.

His facial movement also increased dramatically. Fragment 5.7 above shows some of the change to his facial expression: the look of concern (AU4) that was present on his face for most of the negotiation. What the transcription does not show is the constant movement in this expression. It was punctuated by upward brow movement (AU2), so that there was constant movement between the two.

Table 5-5 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'Graeme', Learner 102 (Brazilian).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
	before: M	**3.67**	**6.11**	**4.00**	**4.56**	**4.78**	**3.78**	**4.33**	**4.33**	**4.44**	**3.33**	**4.00**	**2.78**	**3.22**	**3.00**	**3.67**
Graeme	SD	1.12	0.78	1.41	1.33	1.39	1.20	1.32	1.00	1.01	0.87	0.71	1.09	1.20	0.87	0.87
102	after: M	**2.67**	**3.33**	**2.67**	**5.11**	**2.67**	**5.22**	**2.89**	**5.22**	**3.33**	**5.11**	**2.44**	**3.56**	**2.44**	**3.67**	**2.22**
	SD	1.00	0.71	0.87	0.78	1.12	0.97	0.93	0.83	1.00	1.05	0.73	0.73	1.13	0.50	0.97
	∑D	9	25	12	5	19	13	13	8	10	16	14	7	7	6	13
	SD	1.73	1.09	1.66	1.24	1.54	1.33	0.73	0.78	1.27	1.30	0.73	1.09	1.20	0.71	0.88
	t	**1.73**	**7.62**	**2.41**	**1.35**	**4.12**	**3.25**	**5.96**	**3.41**	**2.63**	**4.10**	**6.42**	**2.13**	**1.94**	**2.83**	**4.91**
	n	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

key: **4.00** = p<.01, two-tailed
3.00 = p<.05, two-tailed

Examining the survey results shown in Table 5.5 above, we see major changes in the following 'personality' indicators (those that comment more on the way the student is viewed as a person, rather than as a negotiator):

1. submissive ←→ aggressive
2. undependable ←→ responsible
3. unprofessional ←→ professional

The movement from take took place in the aggressive ←→ submissive indicator is the difference that is most obvious, and the one that reviewers were most in agreement on. Graeme was rated 'extremely submissive' (M = 6.11, SD = .78) in the first role-play, but judged slightly more assertive than neutral (M =3.33, SD = .87) in the second. The improvement was statistically significant, $t(8) = 2.306$, $p<.05$, two-tailed. This would seem to indicate some correlation between the use of space, body motion and facial expression in asserting power and demanding engagement from the other party.

The second indicator, undependable ←→ responsible, is more interesting. In not specifically accepting that he was at fault in the second role-play, and by 'passing the buck' to a degree, Graeme was seen as *more* responsible, not less. This may be because of a preference amongst the reviewer group for certain politeness strategies over others.

P. Brown and Levinson (1987) posited a range of strategies to deal with the 'negative face wants', the desire to be unimpeded, of one's interlocutor. One option when communicating one's want's without impinging on the other is to apologise, the options selected by Graeme in the first negotiation. The second option is to disassociate both the speaker and the listener from the infringement via one of three strategies that depersonalise the context and the players. This was path Graeme took in the second role-play, avoiding references to specific persons by speaking about departments and processes in their place, as described above.

Secondly, we see a switch, in the first negotiation, from the sole use of negative politeness strategies that increase social distance between the players (P. Brown &

Levinson, 1987) to the use of a range of positive politeness strategies in the second. These included:

1. claiming common ground through an expressed interest in the company and its effective cooperation and by the use of in-group identity markers such as "our company",

2. assuming that his manager views Graeme as a 'co-operator' and that they will therefore both be working together to avoid the reoccurrence of the problem which was, in fact, Graeme's fault, and by

3. fulfilling the manager's positive face wants by sympathising with the manager (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987).

The reviewer group reacted particularly well to Graeme's stance in proposing solutions to prevent the problem reoccurring in the future (point two above), labelling this behaviour "constructive" and "positive" although a number commented on the lack of "detail" or "complexity" in his solutions. He was also rated as the 'clearest' of any student in any negotiation for this performance ($M = 2.67$, $SD = .07$) on the clear ←→ vague indicator.

It would appear then that, in a workplace environment at least, aligning oneself to one's interlocutor, and establishing common ground, solidarity or reciprocity, is more important in being seen as 'responsible' than taking responsibility for one's action in itself. It would also appear that a depersonalised, 'off-record' approach to negotiating is more highly regarded than a more direct 'on-record' style. This perhaps explains why Graeme rated so highly on the "This person is business-like in approach" indicator ($M = 2.22$, $SD = .97$) and the statistically significant improvement in his 'unprofessional ←→ professional' indicator rating from a mean of 3.33 ($SD = .87$) in the first role-play to 5.11 ($SD = 1.05$) in the second.

Finally, it is worth noting that Graeme made statistically significant improvement in eleven of the fifteen indicators overall, $t(8) = 2.306$, $p<.05$, two-tailed. This would

seem to indicate that, rather than behaviour change impacting specific perceptions, the effects are, instead, cumulative or encompassing. Perceptions of personality and not made separately to those of competence as a negotiator or professionalism of an employee.

Affective Display

From Julia's (Learner 103, Japanese) 'before' negotiation, we learn how unacceptable a display of emotion in a workplace context is thought to be. Although statistically significant improvement occurred in all but one performance indicator (as shown in Table 5.6's *t* scores), the extremity of some of the ratings, and the high degree of consensus amongst reviewers' perceptions of her is of greater import than the change itself.

In this pre-treatment negotiation, the reviewer group evaluated Julia, of all the students, as being the most submissive and over-emotional, the least credible, dependable, business-like and professional, and as having the worst listening skills (see Appendix D). Reviewer criticism of her fell into two major areas, represented by the following reviewer comments:

1. "Sorry, sorry, sorry – is that all she can say", "No intro - 'sorry', 'please' – defensive – on back foot", "No argument, just emotional statements". "The boss did most of the negotiation and 103 was a passenger."

2. "Smiles too much." "Has not taken the situation seriously."

The criticism that Julia smiled too much will be addressed below as the same censure was applied, and even more strongly, to other learners.

However, the first criticism, that Julia was over-emotional and overly apologetic is indicative of an intriguing power relationship, and will be addressed here.

Table 5-6 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'Julia', Learner 103 (Japanese).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
	before: M	**6.00**	**6.89**	**4.78**	**4.11**	**6.00**	**1.89**	**6.11**	**4.00**	**5.22**	**1.67**	**4.89**	**2.22**	**4.22**	**2.78**	**4.67**
Julia	SD	0.53	0.33	1.39	1.54	1.22	0.93	0.93	1.66	1.09	0.50	0.33	0.97	0.67	0.97	0.50
103	after: M	**3.00**	**3.89**	**2.89**	**5.22**	**3.00**	**4.89**	**3.00**	**5.00**	**3.44**	**4.78**	**2.78**	**3.89**	**2.33**	**3.78**	**2.56**
	SD	1.00	1.17	1.05	0.83	1.07	1.27	1.32	1.12	0.88	1.20	1.09	0.60	0.71	0.67	1.13
	∑D	24	27	17	10	24	27	28	9	16	28	19	15	17	9	19
	SD	1.07	1.32	1.36	2.03	1.31	1.80	1.45	1.12	1.20	1.17	1.05	0.87	0.60	0.71	0.93
	t	**7.94**	**6.80**	**4.15**	**1.64**	**6.48**	**4.99**	**6.42**	**2.68**	**4.44**	**8.00**	**6.01**	**5.77**	**9.43**	**4.24**	**6.83**
	n	8	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

key: **4.00** = p<.01, two-tailed
3.00 = p<.05, two-tailed

Negative Politeness: Power and Submission

The transcription shows that when Julia enters the manager's room, she has no sense of having any power with which to bargain. Her voice, which shakes, and her facial expression (masking smiles, blinking and grimacing) seem to indicate extreme nervousness or fear:

Fragment 5-8 Learner 103: Before

Manager:	*Come in. Oh, it's you, hello*
Julia:	Hi Milly how are you
Manager:	*Fine*
Julia:	{pause: 1.6} Um {voice shakes} I'm s', I have to apologise to you, I'm so {blink} sorry
Manager:	*{pause: 2.2} Yeah yeah but I don't know how it, how it can happen*
Julia:	{pause: 1.6} Uuuuum it's {blink}just er my {blink} mistake, my mis take sorryyy {shuts eyes}, I'm, sorryyyy {shuts eyes}

Her perceived lack of power meant that she did not address the issue of her manager's bad behaviour. This in turn meant that she was limited to two options that were, firstly, to apologise, and secondly, to ask that she be allowed to keep her job: the perceived paucity of alternatives no doubt contributing to her feelings of powerless (R. Ford & Johnson, 1998).

Julia effected the two conversational actions of apologising (Fragment 5.8) and requesting (Fragment 5.9) with almost child-like 'on-record' directness and simplicity, evidenced in lexical choices such as "It's my mistake", "I'm so sorry" and "I don't want to move this company". Her use of "please" reinforced her lack of power, and emphasised the highly emotional nature of her talk which incorporated drawn out syllables, lexical repetition and high-pitched primary stress.

Fragment 5-9 Learner 103: Before

Julia:	Aahh but I don't, I don't want move this company, please I want to, I want to stay here

The abject subservience was reinforced by the brutality of the manager's responses, which put Julia, as one reviewer expressed it "totally at the mercy of the manager".

Even the opening, above, "oh it's you", uttered with dropping intonation, conveys contempt. Two of the manager's responses, emphasised by a lengthy pause typical of rejection (Davidson, 1984; Schegloff, 1992b) before they are 'dropped like bombshells,' appear here:

Fragment 5-10 Manager's responses (Learner 104) to Learner 103: Before

Julia: {pause: 1.6} Um {voice shakes} I'm s', I have to apologise to you, I'm so {blink} sorry

Manager: *{pause: 2.2} Yeah yeah but I don't know how it, how it can happen*

Fragment 5-11 Manager's responses (Learner 104) to Learner 103: Before

Julia: Aahh but I don't, I don't want move this company, please I want to, I want to stay here

Manager: {pause: 1.8} Er yes okay but I'm, I'm not really satisfied with your, with your job at all

More extraordinary are Julia's replies to her manager's criticisms, which are initially difficult to categorise as 'responses' because, at least superficially, they do not appear to be constrained in the usual way by the previous utterance (Schegloff, 1984b) by conforming to any typical second pair part (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974). If the manager's statements in Fragment 5.12 below are classified as 'criticisms' or 'pejorative assertions', a second pair part must surely fall into one of the following categories:

1. **Acceptance** of the criticism (and)
2. an apology, and/or
3. a commitment to refrain from the behaviour under attack.

or

4. A **rejection** (of the criticism), and/or
5. counter-criticism, which may be accompanied by an
6. expression of hurt and/or an

7. expression of offence taken, (similar to a rejection/counter criticism).

In other words, with variations, the options are largely to accept or reject the criticism, while Julia's response, "Oooh but what do you mean," indicated below by ➔, appears to be a request for clarification.

Fragment 5-12 Learner 103: Before

Manager:	*Yes but our company must pay a large sum of money and it's we have a very bad reputation now*
Julia:	➔Oooh but what do you mean
Manager:	*{pause: 2} I mean that we must pay a large sum [uh huh] for this client*
Julia:	Aahh but I don't, I don't want move this company, please I want to, I want to stay here
Manager:	*{pause: 1.8} Er yes okay but I'm, I'm not really satisfied with your, with your job at all*
Julia:	➔Uh huh
Manager:	But I can give you another chance

A closer examination of this response which takes into account the high pitched primary stress on 'what' clearly conveying surprise rather than confusion, as well as her facial expression at the time, demonstrates that Julia was not seeking clarification, however, but instead attempting a rather complicated repair, protesting against or refuting the "offensive, insulting, silly, or wrong assertion" (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 156) made by her manager.

It has generally accepted that silence or weak agreement can be implicative of rejection (Davidson, 1984). Clarification, too, may be used to achieve the same end (Pomerantz, 1984). Further, Julia's use of "oh" which precedes her utterance, acknowledges that the utterance is not "topically coherent" with the previous turn (Schegloff, 1984b. p. 38)

and signals her intention to reject the manager's assertion through the use of a 'dispreferred second pair part'.

This method of response is of importance because the way in which the manager understood Julia's rejection of her criticisms, as indicated by the subsequent utterance, may have contributed to Julia's negative 'listening' rating even though it was the manager, rather than Julia who demonstrated less ability to 'recipient design' her utterances. As Schegloff (1992b) noted, there is an expectation that this subsequent turn is the appropriate place to address conversational trouble. Pomerantz (1984) had this to say about how the initial speaker (the manager) may have been expected to do this had she not understood a Julia's response for what it was.

> If a recipient does not give a coherent response, the speaker routinely sees the recipient's behaviour as manifesting some problem and deals with it. He or she may abandon the attempt to get a response, may infer the recipient's response but let it remain unarticulated, or may pursue an articulated response. (p. 152)

In this negotiation, the manager appears to have accepted Julia's 'responses' in Fragment 5.12 above as firstly, a literal request for more information (and further criticism!) and, in the second case, as acceptance of her criticisms. In other words, the manager has taken Julia's response to mean, more or less, what she wants them to mean, manipulating them to fit into her 'world view' in much the same way as Garfinkel (1967) established that hearers of even random and contradictory responses do. In responding to Julia in this way, the sequence engenders a sense of asymmetry and an impression that the parties were not listening to and understanding the other.

In any case, the manager's rejection of Julia's apology, the mounting abuse directed at Julia, Julia's acceptance of the power differential through her increasing use of deferential and apologetic negative politeness strategies and her failure to reject the criticism, had the cumulative effect of extending the social distance between the two, and increasing the power imbalance.

That reviewers became exasperated that she made no attempt to rectify this by putting forward her own case regarding the manager's behaviour is apparent in their comments. This is in keeping, apparently, with expectations of those with low power to attempt to rectify the power balance by manipulating the situation they find themselves in (Georgesen & Harris, 2000). Far from undertaking such a strategy, she concludes the 'business' of the interview by begging for her job (see ➔ below). As a result, by the end of the negotiation, the manager, Milly, had clearly established that Julia's employ was in her gift and that there were conditions attached to its return to Julia. Julia acquiesced to these by thanking Milly in a way that produced gales of laughter and visible cringing amongst the reviewer groups. Clearly, this was a negotiation conducted in terms of power rather than interests (Ury, Brett & Goldberg, 1988).

Fragment 5-13 Learner 103: Before

Julia: ➔ Aahh but I don't, I don't want move this company, please I want to, I want to stay here

Manager: {pause: 1.8} Er yes okay but I'm, I'm not really satisfied with your, with your job at all

Julia: Uh huh

Manager: But I can give you another chance

Julia: Ah really?

Manager: *Yes I can*

Julia: Mm hm

Manager: Er and do what I think {pause: 2.5} but it's very bad what, what you, what you have done it's very bad, [mm hm] it's not about money actually it's about our reputation and it's not very good, but okay I can give you another chance and you must work hard, really hard.

Julia: Oh thank you, thank you Milly {leans forward across table extending hands to Milly}, you've saved my life {leans back in chair, crossing flat palms across her chest}, oh thank you

Manager: *{pause: 2.3} You're welcome*

The inappropriateness of positive politeness strategies within Japanese society was constantly reinforced by comments made in class by the Japanese learners, Julia and Russell, who observed that even statements such as “I understand that you are under pressure” or “I can appreciate your position” would be totally unacceptable if directed at one’s workplace superior.

However, they were not the only students who expected to relate to authority figures in the workplace very differently to the way Australians do, if national industrial relations laws are any indication of the behavioural parameters Australian employers work within. Most of the class went into the first negotiation with the expectation of having their employment terminated, and most of them became atypically dictatorial and even abusive on undertaking the employer role, and not only because of their inability to use ‘softer’, less direct, as J. Thomas (1984) has suggested is often the case. They reacted with surprise to the suggestion that there could be any other way to treat an employee, other than in an overbearing, domineering manner, and one learner, Milly, remarked during and again following the course that should could not see why she should be polite to people who ‘worked’ for her since her father’s only strategy was to yell at his employees.

This learner behaviour reflects the tendency towards an enhancement in self-evaluation and an inclination to derogate one’s subordinate on being told one has power even for the space of a single negotiation (Georgesen & Harris, 2000). It also directly contradicts the proposition of Ting-Toomey and Kurogi’s (1998) face-negotiation theory that in high power distance cultures, those occupying high-status positions are likely to treat subordinates benevolently in comparison with relatively low power distance cultures such as Australia, in which managers are said to be more likely to express criticism and disapproval strongly and directly.

In any case, an examination of the transcript renders the ratings more comprehensible. What is interesting however is that Julia was rated as highly empathetic, while, in apparent contradiction to this, most reviewers averred very strongly that they would *not* help this person if they were her boss (indicator number 13). This is certainly not indicative of the altruism that supposedly characterises negotiations (Fehr &

Rockenbach, 2003) and would seem to indicate that an active expressions of 'fellow-feeling' is not deemed appropriate in a professional context, or is overridden by other considerations. Alternatively, the literature on power, so clearly lacking in Julia's presentation of herself may provide the key to why professionals chose not to help a person to whom they felt some personal empathy.

Georgesen and Harris (2000) argue that those in a position of power tend to justify that power by using and maintaining negative stereotypes and evaluations of their subordinates, particularly by casting doubt on their competence. This relationship between power and competence may explain why Julia rated so badly in terms of 'credibility' and 'professionalism', but also suggests reasons for the reviewer group, in the main managers themselves, being unwilling to actively help a person whose competence, credibility and professionalism were in question because of her own acceptance of her extremely subordinate and powerless position. The inclusion of a 'competent ←→ incompetent' performance indicator would have gone some way to clarifying this relationship, as would additional exploration of why reviewers expressed irritation with those learners perceived as less powerful.

Finally, while in Julia's first performance her behaviour was assessed as being the most 'unnatural' of the learners, her second negotiation gave her the highest rating among all students in the opposite direction! This provided evidence of something the researcher has long suspected, and which has been a considerable source of irritation to her. While the study of linguistics, and more particularly, pragmatics, demonstrates the degree to which value judgements such as 'honesty' and 'sincerity' are culturally based (J. Thomas, 1985), it has been quite common in this researcher's experience to hear teachers making these kind of judgements regarding students without apparent reference to how the student's own sociocultural norms might affect their behaviour.

Of course, it is difficult in a classroom with people from so many cultures to constantly inhibit one's reactions as a native speaker of English to the students by having to think about the how they are making use of facial expression, intonation and politeness strategies. However, the onus is on teachers, and other whose work includes a high degree of intercultural communication to make this effort.

This research, on the other hand, attempts to redress this imbalance from another angle: enabling the learners to address the problem. Certainly, the problem does not reside in the learners' behaviour, but in the way they are perceived. The researcher/teacher taught on the clearly stated assumption that all learners in the class were sincere, and all were polite in terms of their own culture. The goal then became one of *manufacturing* the sincerity of another culture: that of the English speaker in Sydney, Australia, through the use of facial expression, prosody, and lexical choice, skills critical to the success of a negotiation.

Julia's behaviour in the first negotiation represented her understanding of behaviour appropriate to the context should the situation have occurred in Japan. Her second negotiation, for which she had prepared extensively and in which she attempted to use every technique she had learnt in the course, was a deliberate attempt to manufacture the types of behaviour she understood would be acceptable in this culture. That the first was perceived as highly unnatural, and the second as natural demonstrates how little is understood about intercultural communication at a practical, applied level. It also confirms the degree to which learners are able to manipulate their discourse style if they choose to do so.

Losing Credibility: Non-Cooperative Negotiators

Milly (Learner 104, Russian) provided more data of interest while acting in the superordinate role with Learner 105 than in her role as employee in either negotiation. Also, much of what the researcher learnt from Milly related to teaching and learning strategies, rather than the linguistic content of the class.

However, the change in her 'before' and 'after' performances is also significant because it throws into question previous finding on positive and negative politeness strategies (that positive strategies seemed to be preferred). Additionally, in doing so, the researcher was forced to examine her method of enhancing interaction at a fundamental

level: that of facilitating active listening and cooperation with other learners who may not *want* to talk with their peers.

Milly, alone of the learners, was rated more negatively in her second role-play than in her first, shown by the negative *t* scores in Table 5.7 below. Although the difference in only one of the performance indicators, that measuring credibility, was statistically significant, the overall trend, and that she did not make the improvements that all other learners achieved, demands examination.

Table 5-7 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'Milly', Learner 104 (Russian).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
	before: M	**3.11**	**4.22**	**2.89**	**5.00**	**4.22**	**3.44**	**3.67**	**5.11**	**3.67**	**4.11**	**3.25**	**2.88**	**3.13**	**3.50**	**3.63**
Milly	SD	1.36	1.79	1.05	1.00	1.64	1.67	1.32	1.05	1.12	1.45	1.16	0.99	1.13	0.93	1.19
104	after: M	**3.67**	**4.78**	**3.44**	**4.44**	**4.56**	**3.89**	**4.11**	**5.33**	**4.11**	**3.89**	**3.33**	**3.11**	**2.89**	**3.78**	**3.44**
	SD	1.58	1.09	1.33	1.51	1.67	1.54	1.45	1.22	1.27	1.76	1.22	0.93	1.05	0.67	1.24
	∑D	-5	-5	-5	-5	-3	4	-4	2	-4	-2	-1	2	1	2	0
	SD	0.53	1.42	0.88	1.81	2.06	1.24	2.07	0.44	1.81	2.33	1.46	1.67	0.99	0.71	1.07
	t	**-3.16**	**-1.17**	**-1.89**	**-0.92**	**-0.49**	**1.08**	**-0.64**	**1.51**	**-0.74**	**-0.29**	**-0.24**	**0.42**	**0.36**	**1.00**	**0.00**
	n	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	8	8	8	8

key:
4.00 = p<.01, two-tailed
3.00 = p<.05, two-tailed

Firstly, as is clear from the transcriptions, Milly did change her negotiating strategies and her facial expression. Reviewer comments on the first role-play noted, repeatedly, that she "begged", and that this was viewed negatively. Examining the transcript in Fragment 5.14, we can see that:

1. this 'begging' takes the form of five direct, on-record apologies, using the words "I'm sorry",

2. Milly goes on record as incurring debt, with the words "if you can forgive me it will be really great", and

3. Milly gives direct, on-record reasons for needing and wanting to keep her job, (money for her family) in a move that not only ignored her manager's negative face wants (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987), but met with the reviewers' extreme disapproval.

Fragment 5-14 Learner 104: Before

Milly: I'm really sorry about it, and I know (that) it was my fault but, um I really need this job and I really need money for, for my family *[mm mm]* and it, it have never happened before and it will never happen again I promise you and, and if you can forgive me it will be a really great but I just want to tell you that ah I don't, I don't like when people talk about my problems or my [mistakes] *[mm mm]* when they are a lot of people or clients or some, someone I just want to ask you not to do, to do it again, *[mm mm]* um because I'm really shy person and I don't want. I know that you were very furious but ☻ tsk I don't like it because it's my personality, I can't

Manager: *I see, mmm*

Milly: Yeah and, and I'm really sorry about it [mm mm] it will never happen again I promise you

Manager: *But I have never heard such a big mistake*

Milly: Tsk I know but I'm really sorry because I'm ah have, have been here not very long *[mm mm]* that's why (unintelligible yes it was my) I promise you again it will never happen again *[mm mm]*.

Manager: *But he, he was a very important person*

Milly: {sigh} I know but what can I do, I know I just, I'm really sorry, {pause: 3.5} I don't know what can I do to improve the situation

Manager: *ahh mmm well {pause: 4.3} If you can promise um {pause: 2} I, I can, {pause: 3} I can think about your, your job, mm*

Milly: mm, and I can come tomorrow and you will give me an answer?

Manager: *Aahh yes tomorrow I will give you answer*

Milly: Yes, okay, thank you very much

Manager: *You're welcome*

Milly: And, I'm so sorry

Manager: Okay

Apologising and 'begging', however, were not her only strategies. As can be seen in Fragment 5.15, she was one of the very few students who raised the issue of the manager abusing her in public. She not only discusses her concern, but also makes an on-record request that the manager discontinue this behaviour and gives a reason for asking.

Fragment 5-15 Learner 104: Before

Milly: …but I just want to tell you that ah I don't, I don't like when people talk about my problems or my [mistakes] *[mm mm]* when they are a lot of people or clients or some, someone I just want to ask you not to do, to do it again, *[mm mm]* um because I'm really shy person and I don't want. I know that you were very furious but tsk I don't like it because it's my personality, I can't…

Additionally, when her manager continues to reject her apologies, Milly throws the ball back into the manager's court with an indirect request, indicated by ➔below, to the manager that she, Julia, initiate a solution to the problem. This has the effect on forcing Julia into agreement, albeit an extremely weak agreement, with her, with she follows through by asking for a commitment to her request, again indicated by ➔.

Fragment 5-16 Learner 104: Before

Manager: *But he, he was a very important person*

Milly: {sigh} I know but what can I do, I know I just, I'm really sorry, {pause: 3.5} ➔ I don't know what can I do to improve the situation

Manager: *ahh mmm well {pause: 4.3} If you can promise um {pause: 2} I, I can, {pause: 3} I can think about your, your job, mm*

Milly: ➔ mm, and I can come tomorrow and you will give me an answer?

Manager: *Aahh yes tomorrow I will give you answer*

In summary, Milly's approach to the 'before' negotiation was to use a range of direct or 'on-record' negative politeness strategies which made her position and goals clear while, in the main, maintaining the social distance between herself and her manager. Her gaze behaviour is, likewise, quite direct with eye contact usually being lost only during word searches. Following each loss of eye contact, she 'stared intently' at her interlocutor, which gaze behaviour was apparently achieved by looking at the manager with her head tilted forward slightly.

In Milly's second negotiation, her strategies change. Firstly, Milly apologises directly only once, and at the end of the conversation, although she does acknowledge fault indirectly. Secondly she makes use of some positive politeness strategies by recognising the cost to the manager of her mistake with expressions such as "I know that you're under pressure". Evidence of this can be seen in Fragment 5.17 below:

Fragment 5-17 Learner 104: After

Milly: {pause: 1.9} {exhale} um I feel really humiliated and I know that you're under pressure because of this situation our {exhale} company lost a lot of money and it was really great deal for, for our company and {exhale} I don't really know what, what happened because I worked really hard this month and I, I asked IT manager to prepare tender but she give it only in, in the day when I must give it to ABC and {exhale} I didn't, I haven't no time to check it.

In addition to this, her raising of the key issue, the lack of cooperation on the part of the IT manager, 'Janice Porter', whose tardiness and incompetence was responsible for the company's financial loss, was considerably less direct than in the first negotiation. The statements and requests were hedged with 'softeners', and not pursued when the manager failed to respond to them:

Fragment 5-18 Learner 104: After

Milly:	…[but] to tell the truth she wasn't really helpful (unintelligible)
Manager:	*Yeah okay you know this had significant financial impact on our company, soo I don't how, how can I to solve this problem*
Milly:	Yeah I know unfortunately I can't turn clock back {exhale} I know that (in the) next time we can it could I hope that it will never happened again and maybe it's the best thing to ask IT manager to sign off tender
Manager:	*I, I just concerned about the relationship between the, yours and IT, from IT, there is some problem?*
Milly:	I don't, I don't know, maybe we need, I need some meetings with another managers t' to talk about our problems {pause: 5.6} I don't know

The transcription, from which Fragment 5.18 is taken, also provides evidence of a marked change in facial expression. Milly's brows are creased (AU4) throughout the negotiation and her expression is intensified by nodding and grimacing. In addition to this, her mouth is slightly open and her head tilted sideways for most of the role-play, giving her a repentant or 'dying duck' look, or so it appears to the researcher. This effect is emphasised by constant sighs and lengthy pauses of approximately two seconds in which Milly shakes her head while looking downwards, as well as by speaking considerably more softly than she did in her first negotiation. Finally, there are requests to the manager that he understand Milly's lack of expertise and knowledge, and well as the impact of the event on her emotional state, as is evident in the following statements:

Fragment 5-19 Learner 104: After

Milly:	I don't really know what, what happened because I worked really hard this month and ☻I, I asked IT manager to prepare tender but she give it only in, in the day when I must give it to ABC and {exhale} I didn't, I haven't no time to check it.
Milly:	It's {exhale}, actually, I'm not very good at computers, it's not my field of expertise, and I didn't have time to, to check it I just trust IT manager
Milly:	I don't, I don't know, maybe we need, I need some meetings with another managers t' to talk about our problems {pause: 5.6} I don't know
Milly:	Ah yeah, thank you very much *[yeah, okay]* {pause 2.1} *[mm hm]* thank you I'm, I'm really sorry, {pause: 2}☻ I don't know, I, I, I, I so frustrated about this situation. {pause: 1.6}
Milly:	{pause: 1.9} {exhale} um I feel really humiliated

In summary then, Milly demonstrated that she could effect a great deal of change in her discourse style. It is unfortunate that these changes were viewed even more negatively than her approach in the first negotiation with the result that she lost credibility. Reviewers wrote:

> Woman too submissive, wrong words "I don't know occurred", "I'm not good with computers…" She needs to slate the blame to Janet earlier.
>
> Presenting too many problems to the manager without solutions. Quite a depressing outcome.
>
> This person's approach was so negative.

The question therefore becomes one of why Milly choose to make these changes, and how she could have been encouraged, during the teaching process, to make those that would better enable her to achieve her goals.

‘Teaching’ Socio-Pragmatic Norms

As noted elsewhere in this study, learners were not explicitly directed to change their discourse style in a particular way. Rather, the teaching approach was to increase learner awareness of their own sociolinguistic and sociopragmatic norms governing interaction in their own culture, in Australian culture and, incidentally, in the cultures of the other learners in the class. It was assumed that this increased awareness would enable learners to make choices about they way they would interact in a given situation.

One way in which Australian sociopragmatic norms were conveyed to the learners, was via two video-taped model negotiations that the learners were required to watch and analyse. Many of the learners went a step further than this, and imitated much of the body motion, the wording and the facial expression used by the models. Milly’s behaviour and lexical expression clearly mimicked one of the models, ‘Suzanna’, but in a manner which did neither of them justice. The reasons for this can only be guessed at, but the researcher/teacher is of the belief that Milly’s motivation and attitude toward other cultures was at the heart of the deterioration in her performance.

In comparison with other students in the class, Milly appeared to be less open to the ideas of accommodating other cultural norms by either modifying her own behaviour or by trying to understand the language and position of others who were culturally different from herself. Additionally, as a teenager, she arguably had less experience of having to adapt to the views and conform to the expectations of others that is typically demanded in workplace environment. This made her very difficult to deal with as a ‘manager’ as the next learner’s results will show. It also meant that changing her discourse style was not something she felt was necessary, particularly given her view of behaviour appropriate to the workplace, mentioned above and perhaps best exemplified in the statement she made during her exit interview following the course:

> It’s [negotiating in English] really different from Russian even though use it with my sister, it’s really different because when, when you see, I saw my father at the office, he just shouting and just because now he just tried not to lose his temper but he just shouting and (unintelligible).

> *So you're saying that it's acceptable to shout? If you're angry, it's okay to shout?*
> Yeah, it's okay. Maybe it's not okay but everyone do it, just and…
> *So it's been very different for you [during this course]?*
> When I was boss I just tried to, tried not to shout but huuuh, huuuh, huuuh {exhales/growls in apparent frustration}.

As Lindeman (1961), labelled the 'father of adult education', argued as early as 1926, adults do not learn 'subjects' that might one day be relevant to them at some point in the future. Their learning must be directly relevant to their life and to situations they expect to arise within it. This implies that, generally, they must see an immediate need or use for the knowledge they acquire. If that need was not apparent to Milly, and she undertook the second role-play as an academic exercise, emulating behaviour that she did not see as appropriate or useful, it is not surprising that her behaviour appeared artificial.

As has been noted earlier, learners frequently have their own agendas, and Milly made good use of aspects of the course in a way that was directly applicable to her as the following diary entry shows:

> 3 days ago I went home very late and my sister yelled to me. She said that I will never go out again. I went to my room, read all the papers from our lessons, then came to my sister's room I explained everything, how it was important for me and why I didn't call her. I used eye contack my voice were low and I use flattering. And… I won!!! Tomorrow I'll go out again with the same friend.
>
> (Milly, Russian Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

There are certainly aspects of the teaching approach that need modification, which will be discussed below, but allowing learners to choose what they learn is not something that this researcher believes should be altered, in an adult learning environment.

Unintelligibility: The Basics of Pronunciation

Jenkins (1998) has argued that a basic level of comprehensibility should be the goal of pronunciation teaching rather than a focus on the suprasegmental aspects of pronunciation and their effect on how learners are perceived. While this is not reasoning with which this researcher concurs, since this study goes some way to showing how necessary the latter is, David's (Learner 105, Korean) performances demonstrate that comprehensibility is a hurdle which must first be cleared in any attempt to enhance learners' negotiating skills.

In both the before and after negotiations, David was rated the most difficult to understand, as can been seen by the shaded performance indicators in Table 5.8 below, and tables for the same indicators in Appendix D. This lack of intelligibility was such that a number of reviewer group members felt that his overall negotiation skills were impossible to assess. Well before the reviewer group noted this difficulty however, David approached the teacher before class, having watched, as required, the video tape of his first performance and confessed that he could not understand himself, and that this had been a revelation. He raises this again in the exit interview following the course during which he said:

> I have a lot of problems {laughs} but before I didn't know that. When I see my picture [on the video] I can understand I have a lot of problems. For example, pronunciation, body language and especially the face.
> *So you didn't know?*
> I didn't know that. When I talking about I think I didn't smile but er, ah, the first time…
> *[When you saw yourself on] The first video?*
> Oh my god {raises hands in air, raises eyebrows}

Table 5-8 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'David', Learner 105 (Korean).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
	before: M	**5.11**	**5.11**	**4.56**	**3.67**	**5.78**	**4.67**	**4.00**	**2.33**	**4.22**	**2.78**	**4.00**	**2.67**	**3.44**	**1.89**	**4.00**
David	SD	1.17	1.05	1.33	1.00	1.30	0.87	1.22	1.32	1.48	1.48	0.71	1.00	0.88	0.78	0.71
105	after: M	**3.67**	**3.89**	**3.33**	**4.44**	**4.22**	**4.67**	**3.44**	**3.89**	**3.56**	**4.11**	**3.11**	**2.89**	**2.44**	**2.22**	**2.78**
	SD	1.32	0.78	1.50	1.51	1.86	1.32	1.51	1.83	1.51	1.54	1.27	0.93	1.01	1.39	1.09
	∑D	13	11	11	7	14	0	5	14	6	12	8	2	9	3	11
	SD	1.88	1.56	2.39	1.56	1.33	1.41	1.94	1.88	2.35	1.50	1.36	1.39	1.22	1.32	1.09
	t	**2.31**	**2.35**	**1.54**	**1.49**	**3.50**	**0.00**	**0.86**	**2.48**	**0.85**	**2.67**	**1.95**	**0.48**	**2.45**	**0.76**	**3.35**
	n	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

key: **4.00** = p<.01, two-tailed
3.00 = p<.05, two-tailed

The first thing that teachers can learn from his performance, therefore, is that it is absolutely necessary that students are given the opportunity to hear how they sound to others, by means of audio or, preferably, video tape, as this course did. The researcher has frequently noted what a startling experience this can be, even for learners at an advanced proficiency level. Surprising too, is that learners appear to think that they sound the way they intend to sound, or that they present in the way that they intend to present, and that this presentation and pronunciation mirrors target language group members, even in cases in which this is far from being the case.

Further, it demonstrates, if such a demonstration were needed, that it is not enough to tell a learner that he or she is incomprehensible. David had undergone repeated assessment which analysed and gave him feedback on his pronunciation, but this had clearly had had no impact, if his astonishment and apparent distress at seeing himself for the first time, were a measure.

Cooperation Versus Competition: The Dynamics of Power

The second striking feature of David's rating is that he was rated as having the worst listening skills in the 'after' role-play. As was noted above, Julia received the lowest rating overall on the good listener ←→ does not listen indicator, but this was for the 'before' role-play. A notable commonality between the two performances was that the interlocutor/manager for both performances was Milly.

In conducting the classes, the researcher/teacher had hypothesised that facial expression played the key role in conveying the *appearance* that the 'employee' was listening to his or her employer. She therefore taught class members to crease their brows and maintain eye contact with their interlocutor when listening. While this was apparently valuable for other reasons that will be discussed below, an examination of Julia's 'before' and David's 'after' transcripts indicates that other factors are more important than facial expression in demonstrating that one is actively listening to and considering the speech of the other.

After one of the two reviewer groups watched the negotiation between Milly and David, one reviewer burst out, "When you see two people talking to each other like this, you feel like picking them up and knocking their heads together". When asked to explain, the same reviewer said "They're not listening to each other". An inspection of the transcript shows David constructing very lengthy turns which are completely uninterrupted by backchannels from Milly. When she does eventually take a turn, her response appears to bear no relationship to anything David has just said, with one exception at the end of the negotiation. The reasons for this will now be discussed.

Fragment 5-20 Learner 105: After

David: Thank you. um today um I want to discuss with you the event of this, the tender.

Milly: *[yeah]*

David: Er mm tsk, I really feel upset this time I don't know how can explain it but I'm not sure the IT, IT tsk couldn't meet the (ABC's) company' expectations, if, I ah, I just tend to think if I, if IT did that ah we wouldn't lost ah this contact because (ABC) company's our really potential customer so I tsk, I really feel bad.

Milly: *{pause: 1.9} I'm not sure I follow you.*

David: {pause: 4} okay ummm yeah, I've been working hard in this company and then tsk I've put in the hours and then I have experienced five years this ah marketing and tenders tsk so our company has, has got ah ah best image from the customers and then it brought us good reputation and our company has been de tsk, developing but ah I think, I tend to think the customer is more important and then our department is more close(r) the customer so if we got ah more resources mm for future tenders our company will be more ah competitive power and then more developing and we need so, what I wanna just say is ah tsk we need more ah good resources for the future it's ah for our company.

Milly: *Yes but you can appreciate that I'm under pressure because of this situation. I'm concerned about how a mistake like this could happened because our company lost a lot of money, (a) really good, good client*

David: Yeah I understand your position and yeah but I can't, I can't check everything it's my (mis), it's my mistake um yeah I know it so, um and you know, actually um I don't know a lot of, a lot of things for the computers so I didn't check it everything so I really ah, I really feel it's my mistake but no um I think we need more good relationships between the, the other department especially the IT but I, I'm not sure the IT ah they wanna help us because you know um I have no power to order the IT the, ☻the Janice Porter so could you ask her to cooperate with us and then I have um, can I have a significant for, from IT

Milly: *{pause: 1.6} Yeah I, I will say to her, um I think you need, you need to be more careful in the future (with this)*

David: yeah, ☻yeah, I under☻stood, yeah

Milly: *{pause 2.5} because our company can lose a lot of clients because of this [mm hm] [(I think)]*

David: Yeah so I just ah tend to think um if we our um the marketing and tenders

department has more good resources and then if we get a more good relationship between the IT so is more good competitive power our company (for) yeah

Milly: *Yeah {pause: 3.2} yes but actually I'm really disappointed, frustrated, [yeah] because of this situation*

David: Mm hm, yeah, okay, yeah I know you're under pressure and I, I know you're good um manager and then you're working ahh longer than me and then you have a good rel, good relationship between e, every department, yes so I think, I just tend to think you're, you can to control the relationship between the me, our department and the IT so could you ask her, the Janice Porter, to more good relationship between us.

Milly: *Yes I will, will talk to her*

Milly's most antagonistic response from the researcher's viewpoint was "I'm not sure I follow you". It gave rise to this reaction from one reviewer: "I'm not sure I follow you" – is she THICK?"

This formulaic 'chunk' of language had been part of a teaching task, created at the request of learners, which was aimed at their developing clarification strategies for the occasions when they could not understand what their interlocutor had said.

In this case however, the phrase did not appear to be used to increase understanding of the propositional content or to forward the interaction through increased levels of mutuality and reciprocity, but rather to reject David's request for understanding and to put on record her disagreement with him. It appeared to be used, in conjunction with the lack of conversational feedback as David was speaking, and the lengthy pauses before she spoke, to communicate Milly's hostility and her expectation that a different response was required from David.

What that response should be becomes evident from Milly's additional turns. While the turns take the form of direct criticism, a demand for an apology is clearly implied. Her determination to receive an apology is indicated by her refusal to address any of the issues that David raises.

Mismatched Monologues: Failure to Listen

Miscommunication between the same interlocutors was also present in *Milly's* (Learner 104, Russian) second negotiation. Reading the manager's responses alone, a progression, or the pursuit of an agenda, is apparent. However when David's responses are read in conjunction with Milly's utterances, his responses do not appear to address hers. The lack of 'close ordering' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974) gives a sense that the two have previously determined and quite distinct agendas which they are pursuing regardless of what the other communicates at any given time. Their talk flouts any notion of recipient design or mutuality and, in doing so, provides an extreme example of miscommunication. David's responses which appear to bear no relationship to Milly's are indicated by ➔ in Fragment 5.21.

Fragment 5-21 Learner 104: After

Milly: {pause: 1.9} {exhale} um I feel really humiliated and I know that you're under pressure because of this situation our {exhale} company lost a lot of money and it was really great deal for, for our company and {exhale} I don't really know what, what happened because I worked really hard this month and I, I asked IT manager to prepare tender but she give it only in, in the day when I must give it to ABC and {exhale} I didn't, I haven't no time to check it.

Manager: ➔ *Yeah, alright [um]*

Milly: [So] I didn't know it was

Manager: ➔ *Yeah I'm really sorry about (to took) you really upset this time, ummm I'm just concerned about um how mistake like this happened.*

Milly: It's {exhale}, actually, I'm not very good at computers, it's not my field of expertise, and I didn't have time to, to check it I just trust IT manager *[mm],* [but] to tell the truth she wasn't really helpful (unintelligible)

Manager: ➔ *Yeah okay you know this had significant financial impact on our company, soo I don't how, how can I to solve this problem*

Milly: Yeah I know unfortunately I can't turn clock back {exhale} I know that (in the) next time we can it could I hope that it will never happened again and maybe it's the best thing to ask IT manager to sign off tender

Manager: ➔ *I, I just concerned about the relationship between the, yours and IT,*

from IT, there is some problem?

Milly: I don't, I don't know, maybe we need, I need some meetings with another managers t' to talk about our problems {pause: 5.6} I don't know

Manager: ➔ *Yeah okay you know this had significant financial impact on our company, soo I don't how, how can I to solve this problem*

Milly: I don't, I don't know, maybe we need, I need some meetings with another managers t' to talk about our problems {pause: 5.6} I don't know

Manager: ➔*Mmm alright mmm yeah, I know you're good worker and you're always to putting in the hours sooo {pause: 2} mm I just to suggest so {pause: 2} I, I just to like to you have, (have a) (unintelligible) one chance*

The course did, of course, provide strategies for dealing with interlocutor hostility, or anger, which is an expected part of many negotiations. The first model video portrayed, for example, the employee 'Suzanna' allowing her manager to express his anger and then empathising with the manager's position and feelings. David attempted to do this with his responses "Yeah I understand your position" and "Mm hm, yeah, okay, yeah I know you're under pressure and I, I know you're good um manager and then you're working ahh longer than me and then you have a good rel, good relationship between e, every department…".

However, in the same way that Milly did not respond to David's statements, he did not appear to be sensitive to her prompts for an apology, nor did he make attempts to respond directly to the concerns she raised: "you need to be more careful in the future" and " our company can lose a lot of clients because of this". Instead, he went forward with proposals to address the broader problem, communication with and incompetence within IT, rather than with proposals and strategies to address the immediate problem: Milly's anger with his performance, and her anger that he did not conform to her expectations of him as her subordinate.

In short, there was a lack of coherence in both conversations at a discourse or macro level, with both sides intent on putting forward their own position and being either unwilling, or unable, to address their interlocutor's. Additionally, the failure to use

'adjacent positioning' in their utterances (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974) meant discord escalated at an interactional level. The question of whether this was a result of a lack of will or a lack of skill is a critical one. As Willing (1992) argued as regards problem-solving conversations in the workplace:

> if… it should happen that one or both of the partners have a will *not* to interpret each other's contributions as coherent, then nothing will cause their discourse to be unified – even if all the right markers are present and if the topic area shows apparent unity. (p. 40)

On the other hand, the two may have been unable to interpret the other's arguments. Rather than viewing Milly's silence and lack of feedback during David's turns as hostile, it could also be seen as a feature of her conversational style. Nowhere in *any* of the four transcripts in which she speaks did she make any kind of minimal response or 'continuer' (R. Gardner, 1997) such as 'mm hm' or 'uh huh' at transition relevance places, although she does appear to use nodding as a backchannelling mechanism in their place (M.H. Goodwin, 1980). Additionally, she remarked on more than one occasion that she could not understand some of the Asian speakers, and given David's unintelligibility, this could have been true during this role-play. Further, lengthy pauses are typical of Milly's speech regardless of whom she is speaking with, and contrary to the literature, she was not the only non-Asian to deploy these pauses throughout her talk.

David, on the other hand, commented in class that he had considerable difficulty understanding other class members, so his not pursuing Milly's concerns may have been a result of an inability to comprehend what she was saying. It could also have been the case that, while understanding the propositional content of Milly's statements (the criticism), that he missed their illocutionary intent (demand for an apology).

Finally, David may have been displaying a culturally-based reaction to criticism. Koreans, it is argued, are extremely status conscious, and negotiate in terms of hierarchy (Paik & Tung, 1999). In his role as subordinate, 'talking back' or rejecting criticism may have not been viewed as an option. Instead, in his first role-play, David puts on a

masking smile each time he is criticised. He also looks away, and even laughs, as Fragment 5.22 demonstrates:

Fragment 5-22 Learner 105: Before

Manager: *here we have a big pity* [mm hm, yeah] *now,* [yeah] *now I'm look like liar and our company er looks like closing house, (hunting) house. So* [tsss ☻ {David laughs}] *{pause: 2.1} how can you explain it me? You're not good* [☻ {David laughs}] *worker.*

David: Er, sorry yeah I know yeah but um yeah I know it but I love, I love my job

This facial expression was another feature of David's language which came as a surprise to him when he saw the video, according to his self-reports. He deliberately stopped smiling during all further negotiations, massaging his face and frowning in preparation for each one. As a result, in the second role-play David did not cover the emotion he felt at being criticised, be that anger or embarrassment, with a masking smile, but continued to maintain eye contact and crease his brow (AU4) instead.

His actual utterances remain very similar however. He employed a series of brief responses, nominally accepting the criticism such as "Yeah okay mm" and "Er sorry yeah I know yeah" in the first negotiation and "okay ummmm yeah" and "Yeah, yeah, I understood yeah" in the second.

It is therefore very difficult to make judgements about whether there was a lack of will to negotiate or whether David and Milly simply needed more and different sorts of practice at listening, clarification, directly responding to the other, and pursuing different kinds of strategies (aimed at addressing both the problem and person) when negotiating.

What is clear is a correlation between unity in interaction via the recipient design of utterances and perceptions of being listened to or heard. However 'empathetic' learners looked through the manipulation of their facial expressions, unless their 'responses' were viewed as responses, and mutuality in the interaction was generated by *both*

parties commitment to a single agenda, learners were perceived as 'not listening', a finding that reinforces both Tjosvold's (1995) emphasis on cooperative goals and Sacks' et al. (1974) comments on the intrinsic importance of listening.

What this means for future reiterations of the course is that the teacher would have to find other ways of 'teaching listening'.

In any case, David's results showed a marked and statistically significant improvement in how the reviewer group perceived him, although there was a very strong deviation in a number of performance indicators, particularly clear ←→ vague. Perhaps because of the discontinuities in the conversation, some reviewers saw his arguments as "so vague and kept skipping all over the place", "very confusing" and as "infinite loops" while others commented that he "got into complexity of situation – power, authority, cooperation from IT", and "very focussed on the problem - I'm impressed! He is good!".

Failure to Repair: The Effects of Silence

An initial examination of Kate's (Learner 106, Czech) reviewer ratings show a student who performed comparatively well in relation to other learners in the first negotiation, and improved in her second, without attaining any particularly striking results in either a positive or negative direction.

What is interesting however is that Kate was perceived as being more proactive and clear in terms of her strategies in the second negotiation, even though an examination of the transcript does not appear to support this. This perception forced the researcher to look for other factors that may have caused this, and there appear to be two: silence and gaze.

The survey ratings shown in Table 5.9 provide evidence of statistically significant changes in four indicators. The 'after' performance saw Kate rated as less submissive,

more professional, and a more successful negotiator with a more business like approach than in the first performance.

Table 5-9 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'Kate', Learner 106 (Czech).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
Kate 106	before: M	**4.11**	**5.78**	**3.89**	**4.56**	**4.78**	**3.89**	**4.00**	**4.11**	**3.33**	**3.56**	**3.56**	**2.89**	**2.67**	**3.33**	**3.56**
	SD	1.27	0.83	1.45	0.88	1.56	1.45	1.32	1.27	1.12	1.13	1.01	0.93	1.00	0.87	0.73
	after: M	**3.00**	**4.56**	**2.78**	**5.11**	**3.67**	**4.33**	**3.11**	**5.00**	**3.33**	**4.78**	**2.67**	**3.44**	**2.33**	**3.56**	**2.56**
	SD	0.87	0.88	0.67	0.78	1.22	1.58	0.93	1.12	1.22	1.09	0.87	0.88	0.71	0.73	1.01
	∑D	10	11	10	5	10	4	8	8	0	11	8	5	3	2	9
	SD	1.54	0.97	1.69	1.33	1.76	2.24	1.45	1.54	1.32	1.09	1.05	1.24	0.71	0.67	1
	t	**2.17**	**3.77**	**1.97**	**1.25**	**1.89**	**0.59**	**1.84**	**1.74**	**0.00**	**3.35**	**2.53**	**1.35**	**1.41**	**1.00**	**3.00**
	n	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

key: **4.00** = p<.01, two-tailed; **3.00** = p<.05, two-tailed

A closer examination of the negotiations brings out many points of interest, however, and Kate's 'before' role-play is discussed first.

Kate was rated as highly submissive in the first negotiation (M = 5.78, SD = .83), with the majority of reviewers commenting on her seeming inability to direct the talk, and observing that she 'missed the point' and that arguments 'drifted', although this was not

reflected consistently to any great degree in the clear ←→ vague indicators (M = 4.78, SD = 1.56).

The reasons for this are not immediately apparent from the transcript itself. The conversation runs through relatively successful opening exchanges (the only incongruent note was David not inviting Kate to sit down forcing her to make the request herself), in which co-presence is established. Following this, Kate apologises, accepting full responsibility for the source of conflict, albeit without, at any time, raising the issue of the manager's behaviour, although she is clearly not alone in this approach, as we have seen.

Although this apology is met with further criticism of her behaviour and its impact on her company, the oppositional exchanges do not continue. Alone of all the students negotiating as the employee in the 'before' scenario, she makes a 'concessional offering', proposing that she go back to the client and make an attempt to restore the situation to its former state. This offer is accepted by the manager, who then partially absolves her of blame because of her age and inexperience. As a result of this, the conflict is resolved not by a 'submission' terminal exchange, as is the case of most of the students, or with a 'stand off' as in Russell's case, but with a compromise, which is relatively rare (Vuchinich, 1990), and, presumably, more conversationally difficult to achieve.

Finally, the terminal exchange, with its reinvocation of the agreed compromise, its repetition of 'okay' and 'bye' and its inclusion of thanks, appears typical and successful in its structure (Schegloff & Sacks, 1974), with the exception of Kate's wishing her boss a 'nice day', a greeting that what was viewed as somewhat inappropriate to the context by at least one reviewer.

In short, then, Kate does appear to have clear strategies (an apology and a proposed solution), she does achieve an outcome which is acceptable to both parties, and she gains acknowledgement from the manager that there are reasons for her mistake (even if they do not relate to his abusive behaviour). Why then does her argument lack direction?

While Kate does appear to achieve her conversation goals, she seems to have great difficulty in getting her manager, David, to respond to her talk. Early on in the conversation, there is a 6.5 second silence attributable to Kate, since she is shaking her head and has her mouth open as if about to continue speaking. This silence is not a 'lapse' since conversational action is still current, but it is indicative of conversation trouble. This 'trouble' appears to arise out of her having reached several transition relevance places in which she could reasonably have expected David to provide minimal feedback or begin a turn, even though she does not use any specific adjacency pair strategies to hand the talk over. He does neither and she finally resorts to "say me something please".

A similar problem occurs again later when, again reaching what she apparently feels is the end of her turn, at which a pause rather than a turn change occurs, she says "what do you mean?" as a way of compelling him to respond. These instances of Kate's having to go on-record in forcing speaker change are noted in the transcription below by ➔.

Fragment 5-23 Learner 106: Before

Manager:	*Hi, {pause: 2.8} come in*
Kate:	Hello David
Manager:	*Oh hello, Kate*
Kate:	Could I sit please?
Manager:	*Yeah, sit down*
Kate:	How are you?
Manager:	*Yeah, I'm fine, and you?*
Kate	Ohh {exhale/laugh}, not so (much) I, {pause: 1.9} I don't know how to start er first I, I want to apologise erm because of troubles which I made to our company and you I know, ahh, I, {pause: 1.8}I said to Mr Brown wrong information about our company, I know it, I don't know why, maybe I was very tired, {makes eye contact} I'm a beginner, I don't know {pause: 3} how to do it exactly, {makes eye contact} so {pause: 6.5 during which she clears throat, shakes head, mouth open as if she's about to continue speaking } ➔ say me something please {laugh}

Manager: *Umm, Okaay, I'm yeah, um, yeah really I'm sorry but mm you know, we, ah these days our company is very bad, economic problem yeah whatever, sooo you know that Mr, Jack Brown is our most very, very, very er important person, client to our company, you know* [yes I know it] *soo he's er, {exhale} you know, yeah, yesterday he, he felt, maybe I think he felt our company has, ah looks very bad, and tsk,* [mm]

Kate: Yeah I know but I have one suggestion maybe I, I can do, er meet him again and I, I will explain him everything and, um, I hope that he will understand me, {pause: 2.2} ahh, I don't know, I like this work I, I want to do it, I want to continue work here in this company because {pause: 2.3} it's very important for me *[mm hm]* So {pause: 1.6} ➔ what do you mean?

Manager: *Yeah but, yeah, I think you're very young and I think you have many chance and you have a lot of time and I think you need more, a lot of (unintelligible) experience so if you wanna, if you wanna met Mr Brown, yeah it is free, it's your, it's your mind, and if it is possible {pause: 1.6} we, you should, you should meet Mr Brown and tell him and explain whatever.*

Kate: Okay. *[okay]* So mm I will explain him everything *[okay]* and after aah I will come again and I will say you everything about our speech.

Manager: *Okay, it is possible, [yeah]*

Kate: [Oh] thank you very much, thank you

Manager: *Okay*

Kate: Have a nice day, bye

Manager: *Bye*

It is becoming increasingly clear on examination of the transcriptions that when the interactional talk is mismatched, and the responses given by one party do not 'respond to' or directly address the previous turn of the other speaker, the person being evaluated is assessed more negatively, regardless of the clarity, direction or reason of their own talk. In other words, it is a learners' ability to create *mutually* successful talk that affects perceptions positively. If the other party (the boss in this case) is not listening, or not comprehending, or pursuing his or her own agenda to the detriment of the talk, the learner acting in the employee role is viewed negatively.

In summary, therefore, David's lack of response created obvious problems in the talk which may have been attributed by the reviewers to Kate's inability to steer the conversation forward. Further, it is true that had Kate asked questions (the first pair part of a question-answer adjacency pair) prior to the 'breakdowns' in talk, and had these been better related to the talk itself, the lengthy pauses could have been avoided. It may be then that she was 'blamed' for not better repairing or avoiding the troubles which occurred and had she done so, may have been seen by the reviewers as having 'better directed' the talk.

Gaze and Body Orientation: Creating Credibility

In addition to the criticisms relating to the lack of direction in the talk, Kate was labelled as considerably more implausible than not (M = 4.11, SD =1.27), and there was great variance in how sincere she appeared to be, with ratings varying six points from one end of the seven point scale to the other.

Given the literature on gaze and its effects on how the 'gazer' is perceived discussed in the previous chapter, it is difficult not to look for answers to the questions raised by these ratings in her gaze behaviour, which because of the way in which it was combined with certain postures, was extraordinarily difficult to transcribe.

In the first role-play Kate sat about 30 centimetres away from the desk, with her hands in her lap: a position highly indicative of dislike for her interlocutor (Mehrabian, 1969). Her head was tilted forward and, because of this, the 'home position' of her gaze was downwards (Schegloff, 1998a). The combination of her head and body home position had two effects. Firstly, it did not indicate full engagement in the interaction, or attention to the recipient of the talk (C. Goodwin, 1980). Secondly, it conveyed a clear sense of compliance or submission.

Additionally, although Kate had maintained eye contact considerably more when listening, as Kendon (1990) has noted is typical, there was relatively little eye contact

when she was speaking. She tended only to make eye-contact on stressed words, and to glance at transition relevance places as can be seen in Fragment 5.24 below:

Fragment 5-24 Learner 106: Before

Kate Ohh {exhale/laugh} not so (much) I, {pause: 1.9} I don't know how to start er first I, I want to apologise erm because of troubles which I made to our company and you I know, ahh, I, {pause: 1.8}I said to Mr Brown wrong information about our company, I know it, I don't know why, maybe I was very tired, {makes eye contact} I'm a beginner, I don't know {pause: 3} how to do it exactly, {makes eye contact} so {pause: 6.5 during which she clears throat, shakes head, mouth open as if she's about to continue speaking } say me something please {laugh}

Manager: *Umm, Okaay, I'm yeah, um, yeah really I'm sorry but mm you know, we, ah these days our company is very bad, economic problem yeah whatever, sooo you know that Mr Jack Brown is our most very, very, very er important person, client to our company, you know* [yes I know it] *soo he's er, {exhale} you know, yeah, yesterday he, he felt, maybe I think he felt our company has, ah looks very bad, and tsk,* [mm]

Low levels of eye contact have been associated with perceptions of insincerity (Iizuka, 1992) submissiveness, weakness, inefficiency, and irrationality (Brooks et al., 1986). This feature of Kate's talk would, therefore, go some way to explaining the variation in the sincerity ←→ insincerity and over-emotional ←→ reasonable performance indicators, as well as why she presented as more 'implausible' than 'credible' (M = 4.11, SD = 1.27). In addition, the way in which she made eye-contact, by keeping her head tilted forward, and glancing under batted eyelids rather than a directing a 'full gaze', at David could well have contributed to other negative perceptions of her personality (Larsen & Shackelford, 1996).

In the second role-play Kate's demeanour changed dramatically. She held her head up and met the manager's gaze far more directly and more often, looking down only briefly at clause endings. She showed a roughly equal amount of concern (AU4), but used grimacing on occasion to punctuate the expression of emotion and problematic situations. She still sat apart from the desk but lent forward repeatedly and used her hands more often in iconic gestures, creating an impression of much greater engagement, more action, and more emotion.

Kate did change her strategies, but not to any great degree. She gave an apology as she did in the first negotiation, but, as she spent more time explaining the situation, was seen by the reviewer group to have 'taken more responsibility' than she did in the earlier role-play. Interestingly, given that she did not proffer any solutions to the problematic situation, she was seen as being more 'proactive'. A number of the reviewers went as far as to comment favourably on her raising and pursuing solutions of which the transcript itself provides no evidence.

In contrast to the first negotiation, the boss was eminently responsive to her, and this made the difference in Kate's negotiating skills more difficult to evaluate in ways which will now be discussed.

Firstly, as was noted in Chapter Two, there are cultural as well as individual differences in negotiating styles. These range from toleration of the problem, through avoidance, 'self-help' or revenge, settlement and mediation through third party processes and to the style used in this course, 'negotiation' in which outcomes are arrived at through joint decision making (Fry, 2000).

Chad, learner 108, who acted as the manager in the 'after' negotiations for Kate and the following learner, Stephanie, had a clear preference for either avoidance or tolerance as methods of dealing with anger or conflict, a preference which is, evidently, typically Thai (Sriussadaporn-Charoenngam & Jablin, 1999). In an early class, he explained how he had often been in trouble with Thai school authorities, and had used avoidance or tolerance mechanisms to deal with a variety of situations. Facially expressing anger was so alien to him, in fact, that it took him approximately one hour of moulding his face in front of a mirror before he was able to product a frown, which he then practised.

In the first negotiation, as Chad explained, he behaved as authority figures do in Thailand. That is, he expected to have his rank recognised, that his employee would be dependent on him and apologetic, and that his role would be somewhat paternal: he would admonish and guide (Sriussadaporn-Charoenngam & Jablin, 1999).

In the second negotiation, understanding that he was expected to behave less dictatorially, he absolved his interlocutors from all blame and, as one reviewer put it took 'too much responsibility for the problem', leaving Kate, and Stephanie, the student following her, without a conflictive situation to negotiate.

Admittedly, Kate could still have proposed solutions and pursued changes to the organisational structure of the company (which she chose not to do), but the manager's constant reassurances meant she was not in a situation where she had to manage conflict as the other students were, and she was herself in the first negotiation. This made it difficult to evaluate her second performance on equal terms.

The implications of this and other 'managerial' performances are that the course needs to explore the role of the manager and different ways of managing conflict as they were discussed in Chapter Two above, since there are clear cultural differences that affect the way in which students interact.

Sincerity: Manufactured or Real?

Stephanie (Learner 107, Colombian) arrived in the class a good negotiator, and left without having improved to any statistically significant degree. She was a useful participant in the study for two reasons however. Firstly, she was seen by many of the other learners as a good role model, and they reportedly deliberately imitated a number of her behaviours, particularly as regards hand movement and facial expression. Secondly, as she was rated the most responsible and reasonable of all the learners for *both* negotiations, the most credible and natural for the first, and the most sincere for her second, her behaviour is worth studying to gain an insight into the features of her discourse style that were highly evaluated, particularly given that a close examination of her facial expression would indicate that she was angry, and lied to cover that emotion.

Table 5-10 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'Stephanie', Learner 107 (Colombian).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
	before: M	**2.78**	**5.00**	**3.11**	**5.22**	**4.44**	**5.00**	**3.44**	**4.56**	**4.67**	**4.67**	**3.00**	**3.33**	**2.78**	**2.78**	**3.00**
Stephanie	SD	1.20	1.12	1.54	0.97	1.74	1.41	0.88	1.59	1.32	1.41	1.12	1.12	1.20	1.39	1.41
107	after: M	**2.56**	**4.00**	**2.44**	**5.33**	**3.67**	**5.56**	**2.67**	**4.75**	**3.44**	**5.00**	**2.44**	**3.56**	**2.00**	**3.22**	**2.22**
	SD	1.42	0.76	1.01	0.87	1.73	1.01	1.12	1.39	1.67	1.50	1.13	1.01	1.00	1.39	1.09
	ΣD	2	8	6	1	7	5	7	0	11	3	5	2	7	4	7
	SD	0.97	1.20	1.32	0.78	2.82	1.24	1.20	1.69	1.92	0.50	1.13	1.09	1.72	0.88	1.09
	t	**0.69**	**2.37**	**1.51**	**0.43**	**0.83**	**1.35**	**1.94**	**0.00**	**1.91**	**2.00**	**1.47**	**0.61**	**1.36**	**1.51**	**2.13**
	n	9	8	9	9	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	9	9	9	9

key: **4.00** = p<.01, two-tailed; **3.00** = p<.05, two-tailed

Ekman (1988) argued that:

> Emotions…may betray a lie. The simplest case is one in which the liar attempts to fabricate convincingly an emotion which is not felt. Few people are good at this, although most of the time people get away with it, simply because most the time, the target of the lie does not care whether the emotion displayed is feigned or real…. There are what I call "reliable" behavioural signs of emotion…. Narrowing the red margins of the lips in anger is an example of such a reliable sign of anger, typically missing when anger is feigned, because most people can not voluntarily make that movement. (p. 165)

There are moments in the conversation, indicated by ➔ in Fragment 5.25 below, when Stephanie, thwarted in her attempt both to retain the management of a particular account, and in her attempts to gain acknowledgement from her manager of her worth, displays this sign of anger on her face. However, there is no sign of this in the transcript which shows her, lexically, accepting defeat and submitting to the manager's decision:

Fragment 5-25 Learner 107: Before

Stephanie Ah well em I, I don't feel good about last appointment er with er mr…er Jack Brown and I like to talk with you about this

Manager: *Sure but you know the mistakes➔ you made has made our company lose many money, you know that*

Stephanie ➔Yeah I know. I know it's a big mistake but I know too that I am good in this er in this job and I have ☻been here maybe five years ago and that's the first mistake and I know in this type of positions we have many problems and that's a big problem for the, for the er (employers) but I think that's not the way, I think um you can tell me just to me, ne, when we left the, the appointment but I don't like if we have any problems er we try to solve in front of the ➔client.

Manager: *Mm I apologise I say that er in front of the client, but I afraid that I should take this job➔ back to me because I think you can't do this anymore ➔so I'm so sorry I should, I should take back this job*

Stephanie ➔ Okay that's good I like to talk about, about this because if sometimes can, er er this situation again, I ☻don't like, *[yeah, yeah I know]* [I don't like] because I am…

Also of interest are the moments through the talk when she displays a masking smile. Ekman (1988) has argued that "…masking smiles , are…a sign of deception about negative emotions" (p. 171), and there is clearly 'nothing to smile about' at the moments when these masking smiles occur: chiefly through her boss' criticism of her, and when she is explaining that she is uncomfortable about her manager's behaviour.

It should be noted here, too, that a detailed examination of the transcript and video tape was not necessary to detect these emotional fabrications. They were obvious to the researcher when she first viewed the tape, particularly since they were reinforced by an increase in pitch, often indicative of lying (Ekman, 1988), and the first factor another teacher commented on when shown Stephanie on tape. Further, it should be noted that, although Stephanie rated very highly in terms of sincerity amongst the students by the reviewer group, there was a high level of variance in the overall rating (M = 3.11, SD = 1.54), particularly for the 'before' performance which we have been considering. Interestingly, she became more 'sincere' in her second negotiation (M = 2.44, SD = 1.01) when her use of masking smiles drops dramatically.

How, then, did Stephanie manage to fool 'some of the people for some of the time', and present as so credible, natural, responsible and reasonable? There are a number of indicators we can point to explain this.

Firstly, not only do speakers differ significantly in what aspects of their face, body and pitch they choose to and are able to modify when simulating behaviour (Ekman, O'Sullivan, Friesen & Scherer, 1991), but listeners show great diversity in their apparent ability to detect the 'leakages' or 'deception cues' of the type displayed by Stephanie. Those who are able to detect fabrication appear to be heavily reliant on facial cues, but listeners often 'collaborate' in the deception by ignoring what may seem obvious to others (Ekman, 1988).

Secondly, deception cues may be ignored because it is deemed appropriate to ignore them. The cultural difference in 'honesty' has already been noted (J. Thomas, 1985). That varying degrees of truthfulness, or alternatively, 'tact', may be seen as appropriate depending on the context and relationships involved is also a reportable phenomenon (Sacks, 1975). Employees may lie to avoid developing a conversation to a depth or in a direction in which they do not wish it to go (Sacks, 1975) or because unavoidable role conflict and allegiance motivates them to lie (Grover & Hui, 1994). In 'lying', therefore, Stephanie may not have 'fooled' those watching, but simply behaved in what they considered an appropriate and professional manner.

Thirdly, Stephanie made overt use of positive politeness strategies, for which the reviewer group appeared to have a preference. In the first negotiation when she raises the issue of the manager's behaviour, her concern is raised in the context of the impact of the manager's behaviour on the company and its client, and she appears to assume that the manager will see the behaviour as she does, and expect him to want to address her concern as much as she does, conveying that they are collaborators in the situation (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987), as can be seen in Fragment 5.26 below.

When the manager rejects her perception of the problem, she then thanks him for his understanding, and for allowing her to 'talk about this', thereby fulfilling his face wants by giving him 'gifts': understanding and cooperation (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987). The result of this is that he *apologises* for his behaviour, the only manager to do so in any of the first role-plays, offering her this as a concession that she accepts:

Fragment 5-26 Learner 107: Before

Stephanie Yeah I know. I know it's a big mistake but I know too that I am good in this er in this job and I have been here maybe five years ago and that's the first mistake and I know in this type of positions we have many problems and that's a big problem for the, for the er (employers) but I think that's not the way, I think um you can tell me just to me, ne, when we left the, the appointment but I don't like if we have any problems er we try to solve in front of the client.

Manager: *Mm I apologise I say that er in front of the client, but I afraid that I should take this job back to me because I think you can't do this anymore so I'm so sorry I should, I should take back this job.*

Stephanie ➔ Okay that's good I like to talk about, about this because if sometimes can, er er this situation again, I don't like, *[yeah, yeah I know]* [I don't like] because I am…

Manager: *[Yeah yeah] just I just felt angry* [yeah] *at the moment* [yes] *I apologise of that but I hope, ahh, last time if I give you the job like this, I hope you can do well and in the past you do, you did well I know that* [yeah] *so I hope, I hope that in the future if I give you the same job like this you can do well, and before you want to say something, or you want to do something, you can check, okay*

Stephanie Yeah of course, yeah, it's, it's a good, it's very good for me, and it's nice to talk to with you in this opportunity and I will try to don't mistake

a mistake like this again.

Finally, Stephanie's gaze behaviours display high levels of engagement in the commitment to the interaction. Her gaze leaves the face of her interlocutor only when she is engaged in 'word searches', and she frequently intensifies her gaze by opening her eyes wider and drawing her brows together (AU4) more tightly. Her hands, particularly in the second negotiation reach out to her interlocutor frequently and both punctuate and enact much of her talk.

These strategies become even more noticeable in Stephanie's second role-play, chiefly because of her interest in learning how to use these strategies in English, which, she reported, she makes great use of in Spanish, and were particularly useful, according to her, in her chosen field: public relations.

This raises a further point regarding the learning of intercultural discourse skills. While for some, negotiating in English involved 'manufacturing sincerity', for others, it meant learning how to undertake conversational actions in English in a manner which more closely corresponded to the way they did them in their first language. A number of the learners, including Stephanie, reported feeling frustrated when speaking in English because they were not able to communicate with the subtlety and the indirectness that they are accustomed to using when communicating in their mother tongue. They expressed satisfaction at their increased ability to manipulate English to better represent their 'normal' manner of communicating and to better represent themselves as people. For these students then, negotiating did not involve manufacturing sincerity, but rather achieving sincerity in another language.

Some examples of Stephanie's overt use of 'reframing' strategies which put her own problems in the context of their benefit to the company are shown in the series of fragments below:

Fragment 5-27 Learner 107: After

Stephanie yeah but, I, I, I want er, in the future, I think for the company, for the name of the company, for our team, it's mo, <u>more important</u> to talk about this, and I, I'm feeling that I don't have um, res, ah, company of other people thinking in the same way, because <u>I'm feel alone</u> in this, *[(which)]* and I'm very worried *[yeah]* about the company about the name of the company our, our, what I say for this our client what we have to take and we don't have it, and I, I think we need to {narrows eyes}, I need um resource

Manager *[Resources?]*

Stephanie [resource of], of the company

Fragment 5-28 Learner 107: After

Manager: *Yeah, and anything (further?)*

Stephanie: yes, um, yes um, Janice Porter

Manager: *Oooh, Manager IT*

Stephanie: [I, I need..]

Manager: *[(have a) problem with her?]*

Stephanie: Nooo it's not a problem with her, but we need to, to do more, to work together, more together, because it's, it's important now to do, to find some way to take the company with our client in good, in good, ah, to do this, this business to fi, good finish and… {pause: 1.9}

Fragment 5-29 Learner 107: After

Stephanie yeah but, I, I, I want er, in the future, I think for the company, for the name of the company, for our team, it's mo, <u>more important</u> to talk about this, and I, I'm feeling that I don't have um, res, ah, company of other people thinking in the same way, because <u>I'm feel alone</u> in this, *[(which)]* and I'm very worried *[yeah]* about the company about the

name of the company our, our, what I say for this our client what we have to take and we don't have it, ☻and I, I think we need to {narrows eyes}, I need um ☻resource

In summary, Stephanie is a case study of the powerful impact the combined use of positive politeness strategies, facial expression and body motion has on perceptions of a person's credibility, dependability and reason, so critical to operating effectively in professional contexts. It justifies the emphasis on these elements during the course, and shows that display smiling, discussed in more detail below, is a danger in any conversation that might be termed 'serious'.

The Use (and Abuse) of the Smile

"Too happy." "Too jovial." "Too flippant." "Smiling too much for seriousness of situation." These were the reviewer reactions to Chad (Learner 108, Thai), who was rated as the most 'insincere' of all students for the first negotiation (see Table 5.11 below). Examining possible causes of this reaction taught the researcher much about

1. the importance of facial expression and its being perceived as congruent with the interactional situation and

2. the enormous cultural differences in the way those in superordinate positions are regarded.

Table 5-11 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'Chad', Learner 108 (Thai).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
	before: M	**5.33**	**5.22**	**4.89**	**3.67**	**5.75**	**3.22**	**5.11**	**3.33**	**4.78**	**3.00**	**4.67**	**2.44**	**3.89**	**2.67**	**4.22**
Chad	SD	0.87	0.97	0.93	1.00	0.71	0.83	0.93	1.00	1.09	1.22	0.50	1.01	0.93	1.12	0.67
108	after: M	**3.11**	**4.44**	**2.89**	**5.00**	**2.78**	**4.11**	**2.89**	**4.89**	**3.25**	**5.00**	**2.33**	**3.22**	**2.13**	**3.33**	**2.44**
	SD	1.36	0.88	1.36	1.00	1.48	1.69	1.36	1.27	1.39	1.12	0.87	1.09	0.64	1.00	0.88
	ΣD	20	7	18	12	23	8	20	14	12	18	21	7	16	6	16
	SD	1.72	0.67	1.87	1.12	1.25	1.17	1.48	1.33	1.77	1.12	0.87	1.86	0.53	1.50	1.20
	t	**3.89**	**3.50**	**3.21**	**3.58**	**6.52**	**2.29**	**4.50**	**3.50**	**2.39**	**5.37**	**8.08**	**1.26**	**10.58**	**1.33**	**4.44**
	n	9	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	8	9	9

key: **4.00** = p<.01, two-tailed
3.00 = p<.05, two-tailed

One reason for this is readily apparent: Chad smiled throughout the negotiation, even laughing occasionally, while undertaking such conversational activities as an apology, an acknowledgment that he had made a mistake, and a proposal to rectify the error. Such behaviour is incongruent with these kinds of activities as they are understood in Australian professional environments, and as such was met with incredulity and even anger by reviewer group members. The extent of his "smiley" behaviour is shown in the following fragment:

Fragment 5-30 Learner 108: Before

Manager:	*Good morning, have a seat please*
Chad	Thanks, um I have something to tell you *[uh]*, yeah, at the meeting with client last week, *[mm hm]* I have a mistake, I give the wrong information {nods} with the client *[mm]* so this is cause of this problem today *[mm hm]* yes and I have apologise you, yeah, for this event
Manager:	*Yeah, yea' but they are very important client, you, you couldn't do that.*
Chad	Ooh I don't know how to do, I don't, tsk I want to prove myself in this job, yeah, but I don't know how to do {laughing}, I'm sorry for this event.
Manager:	*{pause: 1.8} Yes but ah I don't know if the, if you, was a good idea to, to employ you because ah tsk, if you, if you, I know you were good, ah until now, now, you were good results here but you really, this client is for me it's ah very [{exhale}] important.*
Chad	Noooo I can't {laugh}, can I do something yeah, for, for help you for this event, I think it's my mistake, yeah, it's big mistake. I'm fau, fau, it's my fault, it's um, I have to apologise you and client, can I do anything for help, to prove, um yeah to improve this event in a good way {holds hands out, fingers splayed, then wider in question}

In addition to his facial expression, the form of Chad's apology may have affected reviewer perceptions of his dependability. While an apology may develop in a variety of ways, it has a tendency, when produced over several turns, to include such acts as an explanation, and a promise of forbearance. In other words, the person who acknowledges fault, is expected to provide some reasons for having committed the error, and, presumably having understood how it came to be, is expected to promise not to repeat the fault (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984).

Chad does neither. Instead, he states that he does not know how the putative business mistake, which he describes as giving the customer the "wrong information", occurred, even going as far as to state that he had not realised the customer was important to the company! Further, far from providing any promise not to repeat the mistake he appears to be reliant on the manager's direction or help to repair the problem, as is apparently

typical in Thai business cultures (Sriussadaporn-Charoenngam & Jablin, 1999), prompting Sam, the manager, more than once to show the way forward.

Chad produces a solution, or an offer to attempt a solution, only after the manager meets these indirect requests for guidance with rejection (indicated in Fragment 5.31 below by ➔), and even this is conditional on his receiving help from Sam if the 'solution' should fail.

In short, the apology is proffered without an accompanying acceptance of the responsibility for reparation, which explains Chad's very high rating on the responsible ←→ undependable indicator (M = 5.11, SD = .93).

Fragment 5-31 Learner 108: Before

Manager:	*Yeah, yea' but they are very important client, you, you couldn't do that.*
Chad	➢ Ooh I don't know how to do, I don't, tsk I want to prove myself in this job, yeah, but I don't know how to do {laughing}, I'm sorry for this event.
Manager:	*{pause: 1.8} Yes but ah I don't know if the, if you, was a good idea to, to employ you because ah tsk, if you, if you, I know you were good, ah until now, now, you were good results here but you really, this client is for me it's ah very [{exhale}] important.*
Chad	➢ Noooo I can't {laugh}, ➔ can I do something yeah, for, for help you for this event, I think it's my mistake, yeah, it's big mistake. I'm fau, fau, it's my fault, it's um, I have to apologise you and client, ➔ can I do anything for help, to prove, um yeah to improve this event in a good way? {holds hands out, fingers splayed, then wider in question}
Manager:	*{pause: 1.9} Er I don't know what can I do {laughs}*
Chad	➢ Okay, ahhh, um, mmm, I feel bad that I have caused, I am reason for this problem, ➔ you can say something to me, or want me to do anything?
Manager:	*Er, maybe you can, you can go, I don't know if you can, you can er, er, fix the mistake or 'cause you*, [yeah] *you make the mistake you have to, to do something for the client because the, the company's lost too many, too much money*
Chad	Yes oh I don't um at first I don't know he's important with our company

yeah so (it's the wrong mistake wow) ➔ I don't know how to do, yeah, so bad

Manager: ⇨ *I don't know too {both laugh*

Chad Can you, um okay um I will fix ah this problem, okay, I try to fix, if I can't I'll need help from you, ➔ okay?

Manager: *Okay*

Attitudes to Authority: Role of the 'Boss'

Chad's explanation of his mistake may also be viewed in another light. In research that examined attitudes towards and expectations of managers across the public and private sectors, Sriussadaporn-Charoenngam and Jablin (1999) found that the traditional Thai organization was:

> a vertical structural system in which there must be an unbroken upward flow of documents and approval. Correspondence, reports, requests of various kinds have to be sequentially transmitted in writing until they arrive at the ultimate superior, in whom power and authority are concentrated. The boss is assumed to know everything for which s/he is responsible. It is the subordinate's responsibility to provide all information that the superior needs for responding to questions that people outside his/her section or department might ask. (pp. 387)

The 'reward' for this behaviour is that the boss then assumes responsibility for their subordinates' actions and is expected to protect them and make all consequent decisions regarding these actions which the subordinates are then simply expected to carry out. Seen in this light, Chad's informing his boss of his mistake and expecting him to 'take over' from there is not only reasonable and the behaviour or a 'good' employee, but an outward demonstration of respect for and deference towards his manager. The Sriussadaporn-Charoenngam and Jablin (1999) study found, in fact, that not providing guidance was the behaviour *least* associated with a competent manager or supervisor.

Further evidence of these differing expectations is provided by the first negotiation. Chad's apparent expectation that his manager will be the 'guiding light' through the

current problem create an additional asymmetry as Chad repeatedly appears to be surprised by his manager's responses to his utterances. This produces, not pauses, but turn-introductions in which Chad expresses confusion or laughing rejections of what Sam is expecting of him. These are indicated in Fragment 5.31 above by ➢.

In turn, Sam, who seemed to expect Chad to provide solutions to the problems the latter had created, clearly had not given thought to where he would take the problem, and, therefore, the conversation, when its lack of direction almost caused complete breakdown in laughter, indicated by ⇨ above. This had an interesting outcome. On the first day of the course, which followed the video-taping of the 'before' negotiation, Sam gave 'moving the conversation forward' as the most difficult aspect of undertaking the negotiation, and he chose to focus on this aspect of negotiation first, validating the need for a generic structure, discussed in Chapter Two.

In the second negotiation, Chad went from being rated as the second least successful negotiator (M = 4.67, SD = .50) to the *most* successful (M = 2.33, SD = .87). He also rated as highly empathetic (M = 5.00, SD = 1.00) and very professional (M = 5.00, SD = 1.12). The reviewer commentary changed dramatically as well, with reviewers commenting on his "positive suggestions", his "addressing the issues" and his "better idea of situation". Two also specifically commented on the 'increase' in his sincerity. While almost every reviewer noted that the greater levels of success in the negotiation was due, in part, to the boss, Kate, being "too agreeable", and too dismissive of the problem (an feature of the talk set up by Chad himself, who had treated her in a similar fashion, as noted above), improved perceptions of Chad, must surely have their roots in his altered behaviours.

Firstly, Chad's facial expression became one that frequently showed concern by drawing his brows together (AU4), and the ever-present masking smile of his first negotiation is seen rarely.

Secondly a great reduction in his hand movements is evident. In the first negotiation, Chad's elbows are on the desk and the home position of his hands is folded on the desk. However, his hands rarely return fully to this position, but flick constantly towards it,

moving around as if he were washing them, then back up and outward. He makes outward, circular and shaking movements with his hands, and uses his fingers to punctuate his speech. As one reviewer commented: "Wacko – his hands are really flying – if he were a bird he would fly!".

Chad clearly made a decision to reduce his hand behaviour at some point between the 'before' and 'after' negotiations, in which choice he differed from other students who, according to their self reports, greatly admired Stephanie's hand behaviour, and wished to emulate it. Firstly, during the latter negotiation, rather than reaching out towards his interlocutor, he engages by leaning forward. Initially, his hands are not even visible, being in his lap. When they do emerge in iconic gestures, or to punctuate his speech during the negotiation's more emotive moments, they return to their original position. There is no longer tension produced by the wildly flailing, then washing hands, but a far more sober effect.

Also missing from the second negotiation are the repeated prompts to the manager to direct the talk, and any action following the meeting. In their place Chad uses a variety of strategies including apologising (this time including an explanation and a promise of forbearance), apportioning blame to a third party, and, when criticised, making ample use of flattery, of which one example is given here:

Fragment 5-32 Learner 108: After

Manager: ... but you have to remember that it's mistake and, *[yes]* [yes]

Chad *that I ask to you because er you have more experience in this position, yeah, and everyone in this company, in each department believe in you, trust in you,* [mm hm] *if you talk something with (the) for need help they willingly help, yeah*...

An additional strategy which addressed his manager's 'positive face wants' was the explicit assumption that Kate, the manager, will want everything that Chad wants, will share every goal, will identify every need in the same way as exemplified by Fragment 5.33:

Fragment 5-33 Learner 108: After

Chad Yes, yes, I try to do [best for], yes, next, every time I try to do best for this company 'cause I work at here for a long time, ye, I love this company very much, it's good to our company that we work together and we make understanding in every story *[yeah, yeah, yeah]* yeah, and can I, can I ask you for next help, for next tender, yeah, can I get more help from IT department [mm mm] [yeah], and can I get more um, more resources *[yeah, yeah]* of each tender because it more helpful to me, [yeah]

Dominating Talk: Turn-Taking and Self-Repair

Aside from this changed strategies, is a marked alteration in his manner of speaking and interacting. Chad's second negotiation presents as a 'barrage' of talk, with much longer turns on the part of Chad, in which Kate, the manager, appears to have trouble inserting backchannels in the flow of talk, let alone gaining an extended turn. There are frequent lengthy overlaps, and occasions when Kate appears to be forcibly stopped from continuing her turn by Chad's interruptions. While there were no comments on Chad's tight hold of the floor in this negotiation, during the negotiation in which Chad acts as the manager, and Kate, the employee, one reviewer notes that the "boss keeps interrupting". Again, playing the role of the manager with Sam as employee, he was judged "too aggressive" and a "loser". Fragment 5.34 from this last negotiation best exemplifies this behaviour:

Fragment 5-34 Learner 109: before: Shows Chad, Learner 108, in Role of Manager

Sam: I know but ah it's just one mistake and ah I know it's cost too, a lot of money for the company but I'm, I'm here I know for a short time but I

Chad: *nooo this is, this is your job you should more re sponsible like now yeah* [I know] *[have to] ah yeah you have to study about client*

The reasons for this dominating and intrusive effect are worth closer examination. The first obvious cause is the placement in Kate's talk of Chad's utterances. He does not

wait for the next transition relevance place, but cuts in with a response as soon as, semantically, he feels that one is required, as ➔ in this fragment shows:

Fragment 5-35 Learner 108: After

Manager:	*[mm], I think that I have to talk with er, with the manager of IT as well because it's um communication mistake between, between your department and between IT department* [yeah that's right yup] *so, yeah, I, I know you, I know that* ➔ [oh thanks, great] *you are really hard worker that you are really good help to our company [yeah] so don't worry about it but you have to remember that it's mistake and* ➔ [yes] *[yes]*
Chad	➔ that I ask to you because er you have more experience in this position, yeah, and everyone in this company, in each department believe in you, ➢ trust in you, *[mm hm]* if you talk something with (the) for need help they willingly help, yeah, *[mm]* because of Janice and me are the same position, ➢ similar, so we like er friends, I can't ask for more help, but if you talk with her, ➢can you talk with her, it's good for me, yes. ➢ it's *[yes]* very kind of *[yeah, yeah, yeah]* you to talk
Manager:	*Okay, I, [I will talk to her] and*
Chad	➔ *[thanks very much]*, *I feel* better*, yeah*
Manager:	Okay, okay, don't worry about it, so, er I think that the, the best way will be when we will er organised er some meeting ➔ *[yeees, good]* altogether and we, we have to speak about this, because it's very important thing to have good er, inter, internal er, communication generally ➔ *[yeah]* between departments in our company *[yeah, yeah]*, yes?

Secondly, Chad's talk is extremely fast-paced, and he often fails to slow on primary-stress words, or even at clause ends, rushing through transition relevance places, thereby thwarting any attempts by his interlocutor to gain the floor.

Another means by which he extends his turns is through the use of frequent repetition, not actually repeating the self-same words, but following a phrase with a close reformulation of the original idea as noted in Fragment 5.35 above by ➢. This combination of pace, reformulation, and some degree of incomprehensibility caused one reviewer to comment that Chad "babbled on".

On repeatedly viewing this negotiation, the researcher wondered whether this apparent need to constantly 'take back' and continue turns arose from an inability to understand what others were saying. This possibility is another perspective from which the need to teach students to 'listen' differently must be addressed.

Despite his 'babbling' however, perceptions of Chad during the second negotiation were generally very high with one reviewer commenting: "I'm impressed. Such a friendly chap." This may indicate that dominance of the floor is not viewed negatively, and also calls attention to the overriding importance of facial expression as a tool in achieving credibility.

Agenda Control: Managing Anger

In the first class following the pre-treatment video recording, Sam (Learner 109, Brazilian) expressed frustration about not knowing how to move a negotiation forward, or avoid being 'side-tracked' by his interlocutor hostility or rigidity.

Although rating relatively well in the 'before' negotiation, Sam made substantial improvements in his 'after' performance, garnering perceptions that he was the most empathetic, intelligible and professional, the best listener and the easiest to understand. Credibility and clarity were the areas in which he made the greatest improvements, the latter being represented by the following three indicators:

1. clear ←→ vague
2. intelligible ←→ unintelligible
3. This person difficult to understand (agree ←→ <u>disagree</u>)

Table 5-12 Mean Average Ratings of Before and After Performances, and Difference (Effect) Between the Performances for 'Sam', Learner 109 (Brazilian).

		credible =1 ←→ implausible =7	*aggressive =1 ←→ submissive=7*	*sincere =1 ←→ insincere =7*	*unlikeable=1 ←→ empathetic =7*	*clear =1 ←→ vague =7*	*over-emotional =1 ←→ reasonable =7*	*responsible =1 ←→ undependable =7*	*unintelligible =1 ←→ intelligible =7*	*good listener =1 ←→ does not listen =7*	*unprofessional =1 ←→ professional =7*	*successful negotiator? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*behaviour is unnatural? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*I would help this person? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*difficult to understand? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*	*business-like in approach? agree =1 ←→ disagree =5*
	before: M	**3.78**	**4.11**	**3.56**	**4.56**	**4.22**	**4.78**	**3.78**	**4.44**	**3.78**	**4.11**	**3.00**	**3.22**	**2.44**	**2.78**	**2.67**
Sam	SD	1.48	1.05	1.13	1.01	1.48	0.97	0.97	1.13	1.56	1.36	1.12	0.83	1.24	0.83	1.41
109	after: M	**2.44**	**3.67**	**2.56**	**5.44**	**2.78**	**5.44**	**3.00**	**5.78**	**3.13**	**5.25**	**2.44**	**3.44**	**2.22**	**3.89**	**2.44**
	SD	1.13	0.50	1.42	0.88	1.39	1.13	1.58	0.67	1.73	1.28	1.13	1.24	0.97	0.93	0.88
	∑D	12	4	9	8	13	6	7	12	5	8	5	2	2	10	2
	SD	0.71	1.24	0.87	0.93	1.13	0.87	1.09	1.12	0.74	1.07	1.01	0.83	0.97	0.78	0.97
	t	**5.66**	**1.08**	**3.46**	**2.87**	**3.83**	**2.31**	**2.13**	**3.58**	**2.38**	**2.65**	**1.64**	**0.80**	**0.69**	**4.26**	**0.69**
	n	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	8	9	9	9	9	9

key: **4.00** = p<.01, two-tailed
3.00 = p<.05, two-tailed

This appears to demonstrate that what he learnt during the course (empathising with any anger, but returning to one's own agenda using the 'stages' and gaining commitment) was helpful in his being able to manage both the meeting agenda and his manager's hostility.

Before examining the possible causes underlying perceptions of improvement, however, it may be useful to investigate the reasons he presented more positively than most other learners in both negotiations.

Firstly, scrutinising both transcriptions, it is evident that every turn Sam takes produces a direct response to the previous turn. While it could be argued that every turn taken by every learner does this even if not to parties outside the talk, at least to its participants, or 'members', the transcripts and self-reports from the learners themselves indicate that this is not so. Learners find it difficult to understand other learners. When they face an interaction as problematic as this one seemed to them, it appears as much as they can cope with to focus on their own agendas, without addressing that of their interlocutor. They are reluctant to use clarification strategies when they do not understand, as to do so seems either impolite or represents a loss of face (Foster, 1998). The result of this is, as a number of studies have found 'formal' rather than 'substantive' agreement (Aston, 1986) and an appearance of 'interaction' which is not in fact dialogic but could better be described as a 'dual-monologue', in the sense that two unrelated monologues are occurring concurrently.

Secondly, Sam shows an apparent predisposition toward the use of positive rather than negative politeness strategies, framing his arguments in terms of mutual obligations to the 'company' and its clients rather than focusing on the personal behaviours involved. This behaviour is so pronounced that, in commenting on the second negotiation, one reviewer writes, "The person brought solutions to "our" problems and did not linger over blame", even though Sam did not actually refer to the problem using this pronoun at any time.

Some features of Sam's behaviour did change however. In the 'before' negotiation a number of reviewers commented on his "too casual" and "too open and relaxed" body language, as well as, extraordinarily, the Homer Simpson T-shirt Sam had chosen to wear that day.

In the first negotiation, Sam sat close to the desk, but leant back, and appeared to have slidden slightly down into the chair. Consequently, he did not appear to be fully engaged in the talk, and this impression was reinforced by his gaze, which, cast downward for relatively lengthy periods as he spoke, further removed Sam from full engagement in the often abusive interaction. In addition to the loss of eye-contact, there

are clear 'leakages' of emotion, which, as with Stephanie, appear to be anger or resentment of the manager's criticism.

Fragment 5-36 Learner 109: before

Sam: I'd like to talk to you about {spreads arms outwards in front of him} the meeting yesterday

Manager: *Oh, big mistake*

Sam: ah big mistake but I, I think you, you couldn't say in front of the client like you, you did [yesterday] *[ooh]* because it's ah, I know I make the mistake { shakes head} but it's ah you it's f, bad for me for, for you and for client

Manager: *oh I don't know how to do because this is important client of our cus, ah this is important customer, I don't know how to do, I* [a] *had to do like this because it's your mistake*

Sam: I know but ah it's just one mistake and ah I know it's cost too, a lot of money for the company but I'm, I'm here I know for a short time but I

Manager: *nooo this is, this is your job you should more re sponsible like now yeah* [I know] *[have to] ah yeah you have to study about client*

Sam: no (but) until now I have, have to good results and never make mistakes, any mistakes

Manager: *ah then maybe it's my fault get a, get your job*

Sam: I don't think so maybe I can prove to you ah *[oh]* not a mistake to employ me

The pace of Sam's talk during the 'before' negotiation is fast, creating a tension which is accentuated by his hand behaviour. Sam's hands were placed at the edge of the desk, and moved constantly, gesturing with open fingers towards the manager, Chad, and, also, repeatedly turned over the notes he had taken into the meeting with in him. This adds to the sense of unease generated by the manager's attacks on Sam.

In the second negotiation, as one reviewer puts it, Sam is less "gung ho". He leans forward over the desk, with his arms alongside his notes, and moves them much less, maintaining engagement with the manager (Schegloff, 1998a). Further, when there is hand movement, it is much smaller and more controlled. He speaks more slowly and

softly, which makes a noticeable difference to the viewer's sense of his control of the situation, and, therefore, his power within the relationship.

Sam's strategies in the second negotiation are very, very clear: an assessment generally shared by the reviewers who made the following comments:

> Negotiator is clear and to the point. He is there to address the issues – clear about presenting the problem.
>
> Good intro to situation presenting real issues up front.

On entering the room and passing through co-presence preliminaries, Sam launches into a lengthy turn, punctuated only by his manager's minimal responses, which:

1. states the problem and acknowledges the severity of its impact on the company,
2. details the cause of the problem (blaming IT in the process),
3. proposes two solutions and reasons for them,
4. gives a promise of forbearance on the condition that the second solution is acted upon, and
5. requests managerial commitment to the second (and major) solution.

The turn that achieved this is shown here:

Fragment 5-37 Learner 109: After

Manager: *Come in.*

Sam: Hi can I have a few minutes?

Manager: *Sure please have a seat.*

Sam:	Thank you {sits down} ah I'd like talk to you about the ABC tenders *[mm]* ah because I know we (have done) a mistake in there and I'd like to talk, because ah it's not just is, is a big mistake I know the company lost a lot of money but aahh, the, the problem is I received the informations from the IT too late and just two days before we have to hand on the, the tender and er, I didn't have enough time for check everything and (I) have some, somethings is wrong, it's ah the computers is different because that data we, we lost. So, ah, I, I'd like talk, to explain this *[mm hm]* and er talk because in this tender I have too many problems with the IT, er with Janice because er when I start to make this, this tender I go talk to her, er and I ask for informations but every time she, she didn't nothing and just when have two, two days for hand in the tender she give me the informations. So I'd like to, to ask, to, to ask to you for er talk to her for make more cooperative because er in the next tender it happen we can lost a client again, it's not, I don't want this of course, but ah in the, if possible ah, we, maybe we need to more people here for, for work because I can't do everything alone and have ah if you have one people for check one part of tender, it's ah, I think this mistake will not, will not have again. It's possible to do that?	*acknowledgement of mistake* *impact on company* *explanation of problem* *apportioning blame elsewhere* *solution one & reasons* *major proposal & reasons* *promise of forbearance* *request for commitment*

While a number of the reviewers negatively noted that lengthy turn, they all, ultimately, approved of the clarity with which he presented and complexity of his strategies, as the following comments demonstrate:

> 109 made long speech – OK – but did not allow Mgr [103] to interrupt – went all the way to suggestions related to complexity of situation."

> Guy gave good steps to improve. (But guy needs to take breath earlier & ask for words from boss).

When Sam 'took a breath', inevitably having to face his manager's disappointment or anger regarding the lost tender, he manages to diffuse the situation by assuring the manager of his sympathy for her position – a practice apparently typical of Brazilians dealing with authority (Amado & Vinagre Brasil, 1991), which in turn produces a commitment from her to both of his proposals. Thanking her and initiating the first pair

part of a typical close, he follows the conventional sales force wisdom of 'getting what you want and getting out' and leaves. The lengthy turn discussed above represented more than half the interaction, being of 2 minutes, 17 seconds in a meeting that lasted just under four minutes.

Transcription 5-38 Learner 109: After

Manager: *Come in.*

Sam: Hi can I have a few minutes?

Manager: *Sure please have a seat.*

Sam: Thank you {sits down}ah I'd like talk to you about the ABC tenders *[mm]* ah because I know we (have done) a mistake in there and I'd like to talk, because ah it's not just is, is a big mistake I know the company lost a lot of money but aahh, the, the problem is I received the informations from the IT too late and just two days before we have to hand on the, the tender and er, I didn't have enough time for check everything and (I) have some, somethings is wrong, it's ah the computers is different because that data we, we lost. So, ah, I, I'd like talk, to explain this *[mm hm]* and ● er talk because in this tender I have too many problems with the IT, er with Janice because er when I start to make this, this tender I go talk to her, er and I ask for informations but every time she, she didn't nothing and just when ● have two, two days for hand in the tender she give me the informations. So I'd like to, to ask, to, to ● ask to you for ● er talk to her for make more cooperative because er in the ● next tender it happen we can lost a client again, it's not, I don't want this of course, but ah in the, if possible ah, we, maybe we need to more people here for, for work because I can't do everything alone and have ah if you have one people for check one part of tender, it's ah, I ● think this mistake will not, will not have again. It's possible to do that?

Manager: *Um, yes, um, I really upset about this situation. I know you're good performer, tsk of course, you're good performer but I need you to be more careful in the future. You, you can appreciate that I'm under pressure because of this situation and…*

Sam: {pause: 3.6} No okay I, er I understand you, you are upset *[mm hm]* with me, sure {laugh} but ah the problem is I, I, I don't know a lot about computers *[mm hm]* and we, we had just two days for, for, make the, for check everything and because that I miss this, this point and ● it's happen *[yeah]*

Manager: *{pause: 1.8} Okay I, I talk Janice and I talk to my boss about the people t, to go to work wi, with you*

Sam: Ooh okay. Oh it's great because if I, if I have cooperation with IT and have more people, more staffs working for me I, I, I'm sure it's not happen again *[{giggle}]*, okay?

Manager: *Okay*

Sam: Ah, thank you very much for your time okay. See you

Manager: *See you*

The success of Sam's second negotiation delivers a valuable lesson when teaching negotiation. It clearly demonstrates the importance of:

1. taking clearly defined goals into a meeting,

2. asking for commitment to one's strategies,

3. dealing with the anger of the other person immediately it arises, and not moving forward until that person is prepared to do the same.

Conclusion: A 'Pragmatic' Approach to Teaching Language

In summary, then, it is clear that learners made considerable changes to the way in which they negotiated with others, that, in turn, significantly altered the way in which they were viewed by English-speaking professionals. This has allowed us

1. to identify the discourse skills and practices that would best enable learners to interact verbally in a workplace conflict, summarised prior to this discussion, and

2. to draw some conclusions regarding what 'worked' in the course, and what should be modified, in addressing the overall research question.

The students participating in this study had been learning English for years when they arrived in this class. That they were able to demonstrate such substantial change in the way they were able to use English in such a short time is testament to the incorporation of pragmatics as the driving force behind the course content.

Because 'pragmatics' is a broad term, encompassing so many aspects of discourse used in the construction of meaning, making it central to the ESOL classroom would seem to imply that teachers need to greatly improve their knowledge of language.

However, by viewing one's learners on video prior to the beginning of a course, as the researcher/teacher did in this study it is very easy, for the native speaker of English at least, to make decisions regarding which features of language to bring to the learners' attention.

As a native speaker of English, it was clear to the researcher that smiling when apologising, for example, would generally be viewed negatively by other native English speakers. The same applied for displays of anger as well as pleas for sympathy. This type of tacit knowledge is available to any member of a particular speech community or culture.

Watching a video-recording of learners, ESOL teachers, without formal linguistic knowledge, can shape a syllabus around the learners using these simple questions:

1. What is 'normal' for you, the learner (that you are probably not aware of)?

2. What is 'normal' for me, the teacher (which I did not realise until I saw you behave differently)?

3. What is normal in the cultures represented by your peers in this class (so we know the range of behaviour we may be dealing with in the future)?

4. What do we want to do with this knowledge?

These questions, used in this study, initiated the 'action research' approach or process described in Chapter Three. The use of this simple process and its questions focused the course on how meaning is constructed through *whole* language behaviours, including the para- and extra-linguistic, rather than through its lexis and morphosyntax alone.

With this class and with this text, it resulted in a heavy emphasis on the use of facial expression in different cultures, and a focus on positive politeness as a means of generating empathy and voicing demands without showing obvious self-interest.

The process provided a mechanism through which to bring linguistics into the classroom to alter the events occurring within it. Its success, however, should not be judged by the 'before' and 'after' performances alone. Rather, the learners' increased and broadened awareness, at course end, of how language 'works' and how many behavioural elements combine in making-meaning as recorded in their diaries and exit-interviews, are the real evidence of success, even in the case where the tasks involved were inadequate.

How do learners view this 'enabling' of their ability to interact verbally?

This brings us to the third sub-question of how the learners, as major stakeholders in the research process perceived the course and the teaching practices as they reflected on their developing their ability to manipulate language.

Although learner perceptions, garnered from their diaries and interviews have already been used to explain how the course developed, how it was received in the classroom, and how it affected the choices learners made regarding their discourse, the course itself has yet to be evaluated in this light. This evaluation follows.

Learner Choice

Worth examining first is what 'worked'. The obvious answer to this question was the reseacher/teacher's conscious decision to allow learners to choose the linguistic features they would work with and employ in the negotiations in accordance with what they believed would be useful to them and also with how they saw themselves as people.

‘Allow’ in this situation is, of course, redundant. As has been discussed previously, learners have their own agenda and learn what they choose in any case. However, building this into the course so that instead of giving learners material to ‘learn’, they are given problem-solving activities to discover the uses and effects of language and explicitly asked to make choices about them, was, at least for this teacher, a change in approach.

This level of choice appeared to result in a high degree of confidence in using the skills they had chose to acquire, and an increased self-belief in their ability to interact with others.

> I learnt how to make strategy, strategies during conversation. Because [in the past] every time I said what I want to say directly but mm I can use indirect and I use strategy, I can think strategy.
>
> (Russell, Japanese Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

> One day when I came late and, and Claudia was serious with me
> *this is you host mother*?
> yeah that’s my work, some money [for acting as nanny]. Then I tell her “my understanding is…”{laughter} and I expressed in very, very good… I was relaxed when I finish because [in the past] sometimes I was ‘Oh my god, what I’m gonna say in this moment?’.
>
> (Stephanie, Colombian Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

> I feel I’m improved. When I talk with someone I can feel, control my face, intonation, and body language. Before learning negotiation I didn’t know it and I couldn’t feel it but during this class I felt it is most important thing. It’s not just business situation but all of our life. I hope it will make me more competitive, natural speaker.
>
> (David, Korean Learner Participant, Diary Entry)

Use of Video

The key to learners' being able to make decisions about their own language use in an informed manner was video. Repeatedly video-taping learner language production and setting tasks that ask learners to evaluate themselves allows learners to

1. see how they appear to others and

2. decide whether they want to change or maintain their language usage and behaviours.

Instead of the teacher assessing the learners, this process enabled them to assess themselves. In place of the umbrella learning plan of a more defined syllabus in which handing learning over to the learners is often difficult to achieve, each learner was able to develop, and develop reflectively, an individualised learning plan. The value of this shown both in their requests to see *additional* video-recordings of themselves, and in comments such as these:

> [Watching the first video, I learnt] I have to speak more clearly because my voice is not clear and very low. Maybe, I think, maybe other people difficult to understand for my speech. I have to speak more clearly....
>
> (Russell, Japanese Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

> *What did you learn about yourself?*
> I have a lot of problems {laughter} but before I didn't know that. When I see my picture I can understand I have a lot of problems. For example, pronunciation, body language and especially the face.
> *So you didn't know?*
> I didn't know that. When I talking about I think I didn't smile but er, ah, the first time…
> *[When you saw yourself on] The first video?*
> Oh my god {raises hands in air, looks away and raises eyebrows}
>
> (David, Korean Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

Do you think your English is easier to understand now?

I hope so, but I'm not sure about my English because I can't correct my English because I can't hear me and it's very strange hear my voice [on the video] when I record the tape. It was very surprise and I have problems with my intonation brrrr brrr brrr {imitates flat intonation} and its very boring.

(Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

Doing Better Next Time

In terms of addressing how the course could be improved to better cater for learner needs and wants, a series of specific questions have been posed. These questions are based on the difficulty, confusion, and anxiety reported by the learners and well as problematic areas identified by the teacher in class and during the analysis of the before and after negotiations. These questions, presented below, will be addressed individually.

1. How can learners be encouraged to address troubles within the talk, so that the talk is dialogic rather than monologic in nature?

2. How can the learners' lack of business knowledge, understanding of power relationships, behaviour and vocabulary be compensated for, and should it be seen as a lack in any case?

3. How could the task design be made more effective in raising awareness of (the pragmatics of) language, encouraging its use and catering for different learning styles?

4. What in the teacher's approach or in the course design itself should be added or changed in order to better cater for learners' very different learning styles?

Dialogic Talk

> ***How can learners be encouraged to address troubles within the talk, so that the talk is dialogic rather than monologic in nature?***

This first question is crucial, both in providing answers to the research question of this study as well as in terms of teaching 'speaking' more generally. It is critical because, as this and other studies discussed above have shown, learners have a tendency to continue a conversation without clarification when they do not understand their interlocutor (Aston, 1986). The 'going on regardless' creates a sense of 'concurrent monologue' because, as the misunderstanding increases, learners continue to pursue their own agenda, making statements that disregard the previous utterance of the other person.

Increasing Listening Comprehension

It is first worth noting that a number of students cited their increased ability to 'listen' and comprehend the speech of others as the major benefit they received from the course. However, as the examination of the transcripts above show, it remained a area in which much improvement was needed.

Addressing this problem requires a two–pronged approach for the reason that the miscommunication has two separate causes. The first is poor listening comprehension. If a student has not understood large parts of an utterance, and has underdeveloped predictive skills, his or her response is unlikely to be directed at the misunderstood sequence of prior utterances. The approach used to counter this must not be one that merely tests students by providing numerous listening texts with comprehension questions, however. An effective method should provide learners with predictive and analytical skills that they can apply to what they hear around them should they be living in the target language community. Prosody and discourse structure have a clear role to play here.

One simple and apparently effective way to increase comprehension skills is to provide students with pronunciation lessons that raise their awareness of how language sounds when it is not written.

At the beginning of this course, learners were set several out-of-class tasks from the commonly available pronunciation textbook, *Speaking Clearly* (Rogerson & Gilbert, 1990), as well as a number designed by the teacher using unscripted, audio material. These tasks introduced learners to the concepts of linking, reduction, sentence stress and pitch, as well as providing samples of typical conversational feedback. Russell from Japan, one of a number of learners who reported that their greatest achievement during the course was an increase in comprehension, attributed most of this improvement to the fact that he listened to these tapes on a daily basis, completing all tasks at least five times over the four-week period.

The tasks were completed by learners in the school's audio laboratory that had a facility that allowed learners to record themselves, mimicking the taped voices, in a manner typical of the traditional audio-lingual method. Russell reported that he had not realised that he spoke softly and indistinctly, and also that he gave feedback using the traditional Japanese 'un' which actually sounds like 'mmm' with dropping pitch. He had decided to modify this in favour of 'oh yeah' and 'mm hm', he explained in the exit interview. It appears that in debunking all audio-lingual tasks as repetitious and lacking in meaning, we have discarded a tool that can be used in an awareness-raising process and to good effect.

Another element of the course that learners reported as having been of benefit in increasing their comprehension was understanding that discourse is structured or 'staged'. Although there was insufficient time to examine a large number of conversational discourse structures, the fact that they were made aware that such structures existed, and as David explained in his exit interview, not merely as a matter of "fixing my language" but as a tool to aid in comprehension, appeared to increase their predictive skills.

> When I ride on the train I listen the other people's dialogue… Before people discuss I didn't listen the other people's dialogue but after this class… I manage to listen to what are they saying ah then if I can't understand [I think] what's the next stage? so other people's listening, I imagine what is saying.
>
> (David, Korean Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

In her exit interview Stephanie remarked, "You never see the process [staging] in a book" and while this is not accurate, it is true to say that discourse structure analysis is used more commonly in written texts than in spoken ones, with a few exceptions (see, for example, Catt, 1998; Comfort, 1996; Slade & Norris, 1986).

Another learner who reported a substantial increase in his comprehension, Graeme from Brazil, claimed that during the course he had built up his vocabulary and at a much faster rate than usual, learning two hundred words per week for the duration of the course, that he was now able to understand casual conversations around him. The factor prompting him to do this seemed to have been the community listening tasks set. As with David, he had not previously listened to those around him in trains or buses and when he did this, he heard the words he had been studying. Graeme and the other Brazilian, Sam, reported that this had been a motivating factor in their study.

In summary, then, it could be said that, in teaching learners 'speaking', it is of paramount importance that 'listening' is given equal importance, and that a variety of strategies, such as those described above, are used to promote it.

Encouraging Clarification

> *What are you most proud of?*
>
> Listening, because it's very important and er sometimes I can't to listen somebody because I have to thinking about my problem and I can't er respond after so maybe listening, I think that
>
> *So you mean you listen better now?*
>
> Yeah, Yeah, I'm able to concentrate to speech of another, other people, person

> *Right, oh that's great. Why is that? How did this happen? Why can you do this now?*
> I think that it happened because of people from different cultures, and their pronunciation is difficult to understand and I have to concentrate er…er but I'm er I know how to…, I understand them now because I know their pronunciation and I know that somebody can't to pronounce some letter and now I know what does it mean without this letter…
>
> (Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

The second cause for the monologic nature of the learner dialogue revolves around maintaining face: not embarrassing oneself or one's interlocutor by asking for clarification or repairing troubles more generally. Learners need to be motivated to pursue talk whatever the direction it takes. This study proposes three strategies to accomplish this.

Firstly, the nature of the spoken text learners are asked to construct is critical. A glance through commonly available textbooks indicates that learners are often expected to 'give opinions' or 'discuss' a topic. Learners can and often do achieve this without understanding their interlocutor/s because there is simply no reason to do so unless they are either curious about others or they have been given a task which requires them to record the opinions of others in some way.

When learners are given a text that requires them to solve a problem, however, it becomes difficult to successfully complete the task without achieving substantive understanding and agreement. There are two major task types that accomplish this. The first extends the 'discussion' concept and involves solving a specific problem using the input of the small group. This works particularly well if group members have differing information (an 'information gap' task) or if members have to draw a diagram, fill in a form or manipulate physical objects because misunderstandings are more easily identified and more attention is being paid to the objects rather than the talk. However, while this task type is more likely to succeed than a simple opinion-exchange because focus is removed from the players, a lack of interest in the input of other group members can still cause failure.

If, on the other hand, learners are given a transactional text type in which they have different roles and must strive to achieve the best possible outcome for themselves, learners are more likely to be forced to clarify any misunderstandings. These texts can range from the relatively straightforward, such as reporting your car missing from a car park, to the more complex negotiations used in this course. They 'work' because the meaning-focused nature of the task provides learners with incentive to understand and clarify what their interlocutor is saying. If that incentive is still not sufficient for a particular learner, the talk tends to quickly break down, and the learner experiences a loss of face because he or she simply has not been able to complete the task.

In addition to allowing learners to test the effect of their own language production on other learners and forcing them to deal with that effect, transactional role-play text types are of benefit because they:

1. provide learners with an opportunity to relate language to their own experiences,

2. enable learners to become aware of any disparity between the goals and current ability,

3. allow learners to test the effect of their own language production on other learners, and force them to deal with that effect,

4. provide opportunities for hypothesis testing, and experimenting with newly learnt vocabulary

5. allow learners to express themselves if they choose without threat of exposure since they may, but are not required to, acknowledge 'ownership' of any behaviours or opinions expressed while enacting a role, and

6. provide a means of allowing learners to see themselves as they are seen by others, and to modify their behaviours in order to present themselves as they wish to be seen, through the use of video.

The third tactic available to teachers is an artificial device added to a discussion or role-play, such as the one used on Day Four of the course which was unsuccessful because of the lack of coherence in the talk.

In an intercultural communication project in which they filmed a group of employees from a diverse range of cultural backgrounds participating in a meeting conducted in English, Byrne and FitzGerald (1996) experimented with a range of turn-taking styles. As the meeting progressed, participants were asked to modify their turn-taking behaviour in a variety of ways, such as by pausing between turns and pre-sequencing turns, before commenting on how these changes affected their discussion, and their ability to contribute to it.

One modification used was a requirement that each speaker reformulate the turn of the previous speaker and seek their agreement that this reformulation was representative of their interlocutor's opinion before they were able to 'voice' their own concern. When English language learners are asked to use this strategy, and only able to gain the floor when they have agreement from the previous speaker that they have understood his or her utterance using the formulaic "So what you're saying is…", the results are striking, for a number of reasons.

Firstly, the task acts as an immediate indicator of comprehension. In recent classes, students whom this teacher had thought of as reasonably effective group members were shown to have an extremely limited ability to understand their peers - and, conversely, considerable skills in mimicking understanding! Other learners were able to produce coherent discussion and arrive at a solution to the problem quickly, one group reporting that they felt they had had their first 'real' discussion in English. 'Quieter' learners who in previous classes had trouble gaining a turn through their being 'shouted down' by more assertive speakers were able to participate more fully in the discussion. Finally, and most importantly, knowing that they could not gain a turn unless they could summarise the opinion of the current speaker, learners began to seek clarification from the current speaker when they could not understand them. The 'listeners' questioned

pronunciation or particular lexis, offered different words for those they were unable to understand, and asked questions regarding the speaker's opinion or reasoning.

Overall, the task was reported as being 'difficult' but 'very useful', and the teacher was left with a strong sense that had she used it in the course on which this study reports, it would have been of great benefit in overcoming the problems experienced by the learner participants.

In summary, then, the course as it was delivered went some way in raising learners' listening comprehension because it included pronunciation, discourse structure or 'staging', collaborative problem-solving, and 'reality check' tasks which compelled learners to view language as it is used in the community. To improve the course, a greater number of meaning-focused 'deployment' tasks, and the clarification task described above would have been of benefit to the learners in encouraging clarification techniques, particularly if learners could be persuaded to try this outside the classroom.

Contextual Business Knowledge

> ***How can the learners' lack of business knowledge, understanding of power relationships, behaviour and vocabulary be compensated for, and should it be seen as a lack in any case?***
>
> I like this vocabulary of business, business language because its special word and expression and it's very exciting for me to use it because it's something official… I'm not Kate, just normal, but I'm employee. I'm a boss – it's a game. I don't know if I'm able to use this negotiation in the real life because I use it here as a game. It's… I like it, it's something I don't know, exciting for me but I don't know if I'm able to use it in a real…
>
> (Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

In the experience of this teacher, there is a substantial difference between teaching learners who have been working, often in large corporations and firms, for a number of

years and those who have recently graduated from or are currently enrolled in secondary or tertiary educational institutions, as was the case with the learners involved in this study. This difference is most evident in their understanding of the influence of the relationships involved in doing business. Those learners with no work experience exhibit very little tolerance of error, misjudgement, delay, lack of client focus, differences in approaches to problem-solving and the opinions of others in addressing a particular problem. They expect, in short, a 'perfect world'.

Learners with professional experience, on the other hand, appear to understand that doing business involves a wide range of behaviours and frequent compromise in order to maintain relationships. This affects their approach to and construction of written and spoken business English texts. They may bring creative ideas to the management of a given problem, based on strategies they are able to articulate clearly. They also exhibit a tendency towards managerial behaviours that encourage rather than abuse, and negotiate rather than direct, although, predictably, this differs from individual to individual.

Finally, learners who have worked have some knowledge of business processes and vocabulary, at least within their field. This gives them a considerable advantage over learners who do not have this knowledge, since they do not have to expend attention on 'word searches' as they speak, but instead are able to concentrate on listening to others, persuading them of the worth of their ideas, or the pragmatics of meaning construction.

What does this mean for a course such as this one?

Intertextuality

First of all, the course, as it was delivered, would be better located within a broader Business English course. This would have two benefits. Firstly, learners would have the opportunity to amass a vocabulary and broaden their understanding of business processes by working with others on different scenarios and by reading different texts. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the verbal texts of the course could be

integrated with written ones, such as emails implementing actions plans decided on in the meetings, memos summarising the meetings, letters confirming negotiation outcomes, job descriptions, and documents proposing business process reengineering that might prevent similar problems arising in the future.

The negotiations of this course could also be combined with other verbal texts, such as the business planning meetings, sales calls, trade negotiations, follow-up negotiations with the client or other department heads, or, as was suggested by both Brazilian students at the end of the course, telephone negotiations which in global businesses may be more common than face-to-face meetings.

Further, in a broader Business English course, the use to which meetings are put in different cultures, the role of superordinates in such meetings and the way power is perceived in different cultures could be explored.

This intertextuality requires both time and a broader Business English syllabus which this ELICOS institution did not offer, even as an 'option' or elective component. Given this situation, and that the school attracted relative few business professionals as a result, an alternative approach to the course must also be given consideration.

As has already been noted, the researcher was unsure up until shortly before the course began whether it would be run for learners wanting to enter university and therefore studying English for Academic Purposes (EAP) or whether it would be offered as a 'Business English' option. While material prepared prior to the course, such as the video-taped model negotiations and the role-play scenarios themselves, was developed to cater for both eventualities, an alternative course of action may have been more suitable for these learners, at least.

Developing a Non-Business Negotiation Course

The course could have revolved around more 'everyday' negotiations such as problems regarding rented property, banking, invoices, or the booking of accommodation or

travel. Two factors render the use of these types of scenario inappropriate, however. Firstly, product or service-based, specialist vocabulary and contextual knowledge is still required, and this knowledge is specific to Australia. If the objective of such a course is to teach 'English as a Second Language' (ESL), to a group of learners who are or intend living in Australia, then such a course may well be of value. If the students are intending to return to their country of origin, as was the case with these learners with one exception, the only time they use English may be in a professional context.

Ultimately, language teaching cannot be disassociated from its context. Greater consideration of the context in which the learners may be using language, and greater consideration of how to 'teach' the context as well as the language would have been of benefit to this course.

Additionally, the preparation of a greater range of scenarios in which the students have greater levels of contextual knowledge would be of value. These could be based on different workplace environments, difficulties the learners may have with their home-stay, school or teachers while living in Australia, and difficulties arising in social or familial situations. This range of scenarios would provide learners with the opportunity to experiment with their new-found negotiation skills, and would also, it is hoped, facilitate the transferability of those skills from context to context.

Finally, it must be noted that the modifications recommended here require time. The course was of four day's duration and should it be run within such a limited timeframe again, there are limits to the material or tasks that can be 'added' to it. Any modifications made to the course would clearly have to fall within the timeframes provided by the particular educational institution involved and these time constraints would clearly have a major impact on what could be achieved.

Task Mix, Modification & Arrangement

How could the course task design be made more effective in raising awareness of language, encouraging its use and catering for different learning styles?

From Language 'Provision' to Experimentation

The first required change in the course design must be a movement away from the very heavy emphasis on the provision of model language, albeit through problem-solving tasks, towards tasks that allow learners to experiment with language, or 'deployment' tasks (Prabhu, 1991). While formulaic language is critical to negotiating the possible variations would be better kept to a minimum. After all, very few learners will need five ways to achieve a conversational act, but one or two. Further, if their use is a requirement of an otherwise meaning-focused task, learners are not left to ascertain how best to incorporate the new expression/s into their interlanguage at a later date. They would have the opportunity to attempt this at the time when the language is under consideration. This change supports the need, discussed above for more negotiating opportunities and a greater range of scenarios.

Diversity of Models

Secondly, in recognition that observation as well as experience is critical to the learning process, a greater number of realistic or authentic samples of talk should be incorporated into the program, along with tasks that facilitate learner analysis of these. These 'samples' could include not only a greater range of video-taped, scenario-based simulated role-plays undertaken by competent English-speaking negotiators such as those used in the course, but also available existing video footage of negotiations, such as that by Byrne and FitzGerald (1996) described above, and other spoken interactions not involving negotiation.

Additionally, greater use of speech in the community as a sample could be incorporated, since learners who had access outside the school to different interactional experiences reported greater levels of self confidence in their ability to interact than those who did not. One option would be to run the class on a 'project' basis, in which learners were responsible for analysing the talk in a particular environment, whether that be their host family, place of work or an organization in which they had gained permission to study. Alternatively, learners could be given a 'set' of different interactional texts to 'listen out for' over the course of the programme, ranging from requests for help such as those heard in banks, utilities, department store information desks and so on.

It is not enough, however, to provide learners with a range of models to 'watch' or 'listen to' however. Although the diary and video-analysis questions used in the course were of value in the sense that learners reported new discoveries, greater consideration should be given to analysis of the content. This is because such 'reality check' tasks can often leave the learners with a sense of not being able to understand "anything" which is detrimental to their confidence, and in turn to their motivation to accept and manage high levels of ambiguity. Rather than questions drawing learners' attention to the language use involved in the models, conventional 'listening' tasks that facilitate comprehension should also be employed.

Integration of In-Class & Out-Of-Class Tasks

This implies either an extension of the course beyond the original four days, or an increase in out-of-class work. The latter may be of benefit for two reasons. Firstly, the amount of language input learners retain will be at least partially dependent on the amount of revision and 'practice' they undertake, although the manner in which they do this is clearly of import (Bialystok, 1981; Rubin, 1975). Secondly, since many learners may have little understanding of how best to review or reinforce in-class learning tasks (O'Donnell & Dansereau, 1992), the tasks developed around observing video and community models have the added advantage of teaching them how to revise, and how to learn more generally. The community listening tasks in particular provide learners with mechanisms to make use of the linguistic opportunities provided by the community

in which they are living, something many learners often show no tendency to do (Oxford, 1990). In short, integrating out-of-class observation and analysis tasks with in-class experiential or deployment tasks maximises the classroom experience while facilitating the development of new learning skills.

Sequencing and Pace

A third change that the data suggests would be of benefit is bringing forward the multi-party meeting of Week Four to Week One, in order to raise learner awareness of the importance of a) listening to others, b) responding directly to them, and c) clarifying as necessary, as well as allowing them to practise these skills, using the 'reformulation of prior turn' exercise described above. Placing this lesson at the end of the program meant that the skills introduced seemed an addendum to the course as a whole, rather than being central to it.

This was part of a larger problem: the pace of the course. Most of the learners commented how much they were asked to absorb during the course and how quickly. As Milly put it:

> It was too fast for me… In principle I learn very quickly but...
>
> (Milly, Russian Learner Paticipant, Exit Interview)

This issue would be addressed to some degree by increasing deployment opportunities which allowed learners to experience language rather than 'learn' it for future use. However, moving the group negotiation forward would have the additional benefits of allowing learners to

1. begin the course by listening more, and speaking less,

2. develop 'reframing' skills using scenarios which require them to present their arguments in a manner acceptable to others in the 'meeting' before the focus on pragmatics began, and

3. build up a certain amount of business-related vocabulary before, again, having to consider politeness strategies or facial expression.

In short, the ability to listen to others and express themselves on business matters in a strategic manner should be the subject of focus before issues of facial expression, positive politeness and staging are dealt with. While this study demonstrates the magnitude of the latter features in how learner speech is perceived, learners seem to be able to incorporate them into their interlanguage more quickly than they can learn to express themselves generally on business-related matters, or listen to others while clarifying speech they cannot understand.

Teaching Approach

> ***What in the teacher's approach or in the course design itself should be added or changed in order to better cater for diversity?***

> [Now] I can have the confidence {hitting fist against he other hand emphatically}…
>
> (David, Korean Learner Participant, Exit Interview)

The major 'teaching' issues in delivering a course such as this one do not relate to the content or tasks, but instead revolve around teacher-learner relationships and affect. Given that the course involved many activities that learners had never attempted before, the frequent presence of a video camera, constant self-evaluation and peer review, it is hardly surprising that anxiety management is an area to which greater consideration should have been given.

Learner-Teacher Communication

However, removing the factors causing the anxiety from the course is not the solution to the high anxiety levels reported by some learners. Unfortunately, the 'anxiety-producers', identified above, were precisely the components from which the learners, reportedly, gained most benefit. The answer, therefore, lies instead in increasing the level of communication between teachers and learners, and also increasing the number of performance indicators in the evaluations in which learners have forced to evaluate themselves positively.

Greater levels of communication could easily have been achieved by the teacher's collecting the diaries on a weekly basis, instead of at the end the course, and responding to the concerns raised in them directly. This letter or diary exchange between teachers and students, a practice found in a number of ELICOS institutions in Sydney, would have extended the use of the diaries as a teaching tool from a self-evaluation log to a mechanism for monitoring morale, and for directly reassuring learners had they wished to raise their concerns with the teacher.

A second means of managing anxiety within the class would have been to conduct formal, individual 'consultation' sessions between teacher and learners. These would have provided learners with an opportunity to voice any concerns, and for the teacher, to respond with a concrete proposal to address those concerns. Again, this is a teaching practice not uncommon in Sydney's ELICOS schools, and one that is easily implemented.

Confidence-Supporting Self-Evaluation

A third way in which anxiety could be better managed is by ensuring that the self-evaluation procedures used during the course are focused more on what the learners can do, at least to some degree, rather than on what they are not able to do as yet. This is often a matter of simply checklist design. Rather than requiring a yes/no can/can't do response to a question, asking learners to place themselves on a continuum may be

better. An ‘I can do this about 10%’ must surely be more confidence-supporting than a response which reinforces the learner’s sense of not being capable of something.

Acceptance of Divergent Cognitive Styles

A final ‘modification’ to the teaching approach and practice that would improve the programme is the teacher’s greater acceptance of and trust in cognitive and learning styles that were different from her own.

In terms of what this categorisation of cognitive style (see Table 4.2 in the previous chapter) meant to the classroom, the following observations can be made:

1. The amount of interaction required of the learners was justified in the case of *this class* given the percentage learners who would choose to work with others rather than work alone. Their desire for interaction was also evidenced in the students’ choosing to complete many of the out-of-class tasks together. With a different group of learners, the teacher/researcher might have to accept that many more learners would prefer to do much of their work alone. Russell (FI Analytical), for example had a very clear preference to work alone and, occasionally, having to work with other learners in simulated negotiations appeared to cause him a deal of stress. Interestingly, he did much more out-of-class task work than was required, and claimed that it was this that provided the greatest benefit to him of the course (exit interview). The diary kept by the teacher/researcher shows that she did not believe that Russell was learning very much, until the exit interview, diary and his ‘after’ performance clearly contradicted this.

2. The (FI) teacher vastly underestimated the need of the FD learners for direction and structure, to the point of being startled by David’s initial request for a “script” which he could learn in order to complete the pre-course role play. This weakness also, arguably, increased Julia’s anxiety about the class expressed in

her learner diary (above), and to the teacher directly out-of-class in casual conversations with her.

3. The teacher overestimated the ability of the FD learners to work alone (completing the out-of-class tasks). This had an effect on Chad, in particular, who missed Day Three due to illness and work. While he appeared to learn very effectively in the class with other learners, he did not appear to gain much benefit from the diary and self-evaluation techniques. This was apparently also true of the other FD learner, Julia.

In summary, then, to counter the effects on some learners of the teaching approach with its emphasis on experimentation, a greater level of structure and clarity, perhaps in the form of a flexible but pre-planned syllabus given out to students beforehand, or in the form of a class-planned syllabus determined in an earlier class and disseminated to the students soon after, could be of value. Likewise, an explicit statement in the course handout or a lesson on the value of 'trying' different learning strategies and 'new' learning activities may be helpful in future courses.

Conclusion: From this Class to Others

This chapter has attempted to make sense of the many data sets generated by this research and provide answers to and discussion around the research questions. In doing so it has answered the overall research question of how teachers can best enable adult English language learners to interact verbally, at least as regards the particular class involved in this study.

A different class may well have produced different findings because, as Lewin (1944) said,

> A group is not a stationary thing but a process of interaction between people. Group life proceeds like a river within a frame of certain conditions.... To

> understand any group life (1) we have to know the channel through which it flows, that is, the factors of tradition, physical setting, legal forms of organizations, power of outside groups, etc., which keep the life of that group within certain boundaries. We have to know the form of the channels, where branches meet and where they part, where they come from and where they lead to. (2) We have to know the obstacles that slow down group life, the strength of its boundaries, its inner contradictions, or more generally the strength and nature of the "restraining forces". (3) Finally, we have to know what the forces are that keep group life flowing and what the different factors are that determine the velocity of group life. (pp. 395-396)

While the directions in which this group was to flow, or considerations of longevity, were outside the scope of this study, the other elements mentioned by Lewin in this statement have now been addressed. The question of what this group and this classroom could mean for other learners and other teachers remains, however. It is this broader issue of transferability, particular as regards approaches to teaching verbal interaction, to which we turn in Chapter Six.

Chapter 6 : Conclusion: Implications for Teaching 'Speaking'

Finally, we turn to the place of this study in the broader TESOL context. The implications of the research is discussed from three angles, including:

1. the way in which 'Business English' might be delivered,

2. the way in which 'Speaking' is taught, and

3. as an interpretation of 'Global English'.

The Delivery of Business English

Despite the obvious need for Business English (BE) discussed in Chapter One, the definition and, consequently, the provision of BE courses has been problematic for the TESOL industry. As this is partially because "Business English is a materials-led movement rather than a research-led movement" (St John, 1996, p. 15), studies such as this one provide data that may help to change this imbalance. What this research tells us about the way in which BE is delivered is discussed here.

Limitations of this Study and Suggestions for Further Research

Before examining the implications of this research for teaching Business English, however, we must first outline the study's limitations, particularly given that the course:

1. lasted four days over 16 hours,

2. was not embedded in a broader BE program, and

3. was delivered to a class in which most of the learners had never undertaken full-time work.

Firstly, the course focused on a single type of text: that of managing conflict through a dyadic negotiation. While this was considered a worthwhile type of discourse to investigate as discussed in Chapter Two, they are many other, more common types of workplace-based discourse. Crosling and Ward (2002), for example, found that talk was used far more often for the purposes of 'Building Relations' and 'Informal Conversation' than for 'Conflict Management' or other forms of negotiation by recent graduates in a variety of industries within Australia. Likewise, T.P. Brown and Lewis (2003) estimated in their study of talk in the workplace that "50% of the...talk was social and 50% work focused" (p. 97). Given this, it would be interesting to investigate how a BE course that integrated explored relationships via a variety of text types affected learners' ability to interact verbally.

Secondly, in focusing on verbal interaction, the study ignored the way in which verbal and written texts are often integrated in the workplace with written texts referencing oral events and vice versa (Nickerson, 2000). Again, any relationship played out through a single type of interaction is not representative of relationships that develop in and between businesses and their employees. A more integrated study may well have produced a greater level of awareness amongst learners of the connection between language and human relationships within the workplace, and further research may explicate this.

Finally, and related to the two points made above, the negotiations of this research were, of course, simulations, and were therefore not a reflection of real environments, real relationships and real problems. Since this would be true of any BE course, unless it were to be conducted within a company using authentic company materials, this does not invalidate the findings produced in this study. However, research that followed BE

course graduates into an authentic workplace and collected additional data there would surely add further to our knowledge of how BE should be constituted.

The Implications of the Study for the Teaching of Business English

Despite these limitations, the findings of this study provide a number of ideas about how to address some of the more problematic areas of Business English, such as those noted by St John (1996) in her review of BE course delivery in the 1990s.

Firstly, the course does provide a means of avoiding the Western European/North American bias inherent in most BE materials (St John, 1996) in increasing learners' understanding of business interaction and its associated language. While still meeting the expressed wants of the learner clients to learn standard or 'real' English, the teaching approach meant that learners were simultaneously exploring their own sociocultural and sociolinguistic norms and those of the other learners at the same time they were investigating English language use in Australian business environments. This approach is arguably more realistic in today's globalised business world in which so many business relationships are dependent on intercultural understanding, point taken up in the concluding section of this chapter.

Secondly, and closely related to the first point, the study presents a practical way in which BE can be taught without reducing texts to formulaic models which must simply be reproduced 'parrot-fashion', in the way many BE materials demand (Louhiala-Salminen, 1996; Maier, 1992).

Professional communication revolves around "an integral relationship to a specific and known audience" (Faber, 2002). It is about the co-construction of talk through which one establishes one's own identity and while building a relationship with one's interlocutor (Henderson, 1987). To put it even more strongly, as Schegloff (1995) does, "Conversational interaction may...be thought of as a form of social organization through which the work of the constitutive institutions of societies gets done – institutions such as the economy, the polity, the family, socialization, and so on. (p. 187).

Given this understanding of talk, reducing BE interactions to formulaic models which ignore the way individual learners wish to 'be' in the (business) world is absurd. Providing "practice in language situations comparable to those they confront at work" (Schleppegrell & Royster, 1990, p. 6) via realistic simulations in which students work through problems as themselves, with their own knowledge of the world and relationships, is clearly preferable.

'Speaking': An Isolated or Integrated Skill?

In addition to the way Business English is delivered, the research has consequences for the way in which teaching 'speaking' is approached more generally. Typically, 'English', as it is conceptualised within TESOL, is viewed as consisting of four 'macro-skills': speaking, writing, reading and listening (Harmer, 1991). A further distinction is the grouping of the two former categories as 'productive skills' and the latter two as 'receptive skills' (Harmer, 1991).

Leaving aside the fact that understanding written and aural texts requires learners to negotiate meaning (Savignon, 1991), a cognitive function that must surely be classified as 'active' or 'productive', approaching 'speaking' as a distinct activity is unsound.

This study demonstrates that 'speaking' is by its very nature, dialogic. It is the product of collaboration between two or more people who, in order to avoid the collapse of the talk, must also listen as well as speak.

Further, in judging a student's ability to 'speak', criteria such as the ability to produce extended talk, comment on a variety of topics, use a wide range of complex vocabulary, produce talk that is 'grammatically correct' in a written sense, or contribute quantitatively more talk to classroom discussions than other students are not adequate predictors of a learner's ability to 'speak'. These criteria, used to a greater or lesser degree in both informal assessments as well as in more formal examinations, do not

determine whether a learner is able to achieve a conversational act or goal, the fundamental reason for talk, but only whether he or she can sustain a monologue: a relatively rare text in social and professional life.

Any theoretically sustainable approach to teaching speaking must, therefore, both teach and assess learner ability to listen and understand the interlocutor, to clarify what she or he does not understand or pursue any 'troubles' that arise more generally, and to respond to the interlocutor's utterances in a coherent manner. Additionally, since the purpose of talk is to 'do' or achieve a conversational act, paralinguistic and extra-linguistic elements of the talk that constitute part of the overall meaning must be consistent with that conversational goal. If these elements continually subvert the learner's intention, creating dissonance or even breakdown in the talk, the learner cannot be said to be a good 'speaker', because their goals are not attained.

Assessing Learners' Ability to Talk

This has a further major implication for the teaching of speaking. In achieving conversational coherence or 'mutuality', and therefore in achieving conversational goals, the elements of 'English' that currently constitute many a syllabus are inadequate at best. If the interlocutors learners encounter interpret the latter's talk and intentions on the basis of *how* they talk rather than *what* they say, which every interlocutor will and must do to a greater or lesser extent, the vocabulary and morphosyntax of the conventional syllabus will not be sufficient.

An examination of textbooks commonly used in ELICOS institutions indicates the continuing preoccupation with the structural elements of language in making meaning. While many now include some formulaic language in the form of what are known as 'functions', and, less frequently, the role of pitch, these are not presented as central to the construction of talk.

It is difficult to understand the reasons for this when the literature on facial expression, politeness strategies, staging and body motion is examined. As this research confirms,

these features of language have such a critical effect on how learners are and will be perceived that not to make them aware of this is clearly remiss, particularly, given that, left to their own devices, many learners never become aware of these linguistic features, and may suffer discrimination as a result.

There is a clear need, therefore, to not only incorporate extra- and paralinguistic features of language and talk such as facial expression, staging, and body motion into the syllabus, but to make these components of language central to teaching rather than desirable 'extras', as more recent competency based syllabuses such as the *Certificate in Spoken and Written English* (Hagan, et al., 1993) attempt to do. However, unlike many competency-based syllabuses that require learners to use such features of language 'appropriately', the emphasis should instead be placed on:

1. learner awareness of their own use of such language and behaviours,

2. learner ability to identify the meaning of such behaviours when used by others (whether native or non-native speakers of English), and

3. increased tolerance of the use of such behaviours by others.

TESOL Professional Development and Resources

This implies a substantial change in the way teachers think about and approach the 'language' they teach. If available resource books and staffroom conversations common in the experience of this researcher are used as an indicator, teachers appear to feel obliged to amass some degree of knowledge of the morphosyntactic structure of the language, and it is apparently acceptable that they do so by asking their peers or making use of reference guides. This also appears to be true, although perhaps to a lesser degree, of the phonological components of language.

Any examination of the resource books or textbooks available to teachers who may be inclined to 'teach' the use of facial expression or body motion in making meaning

produces extremely limited material. The latter may be represented by drawings or photographs of a variety of gestures with an accompanying discussion of what they may indicate (see, for example, Chanock & Moar, 1986; Viney & Viney, 1996), or, the comparative use of hand-shaking or bowing in different cultures (see, for example, English & Lynn, 1995). While it may exist, the researcher has yet to uncover any ESOL resource material that examines the use of facial expression during talk, nor hear any discussion in any staffroom in any ELICOS institution regarding 'how to teach it', or its role or relative importance to language.

The skewed nature of available resources projects a particular view of language and the construction of meaning, in which pragmatics plays a limited role. Unless a more holistic view of language and discourse is encouraged by TESOL professional education and the development of resource books and textbook material, there is little motivation for the extra-and paralinguistic features of language to become central feature of the classroom, regardless of what a syllabus demands. Teachers will, presumably, be left to work with a 'common-sense' approach to language, based on those linguistic elements brought to their attention in their own education: namely, grammar.

From 'Can Do' to Conflict Management

Another aspect of language that is rare in standard textbooks and teaching that was proved to be effective in raising learner awareness of culturally different discourse styles in this study was conflict management. As Carter (1997), Burns, Gollin and Joyce (1997) and, more recently, Pennycook (2003) have commented, spoken texts used in the classroom are often modelled and practised as if real world talk is always unproblematic and conflict-free. The reality is that, even in a relatively simple transactional interaction, task-related or process problems often arise and, in addition, interlocutors do not behave in ways that the speaker wants or expects them to, causing the 'normative conflicts' discussed in Chapter Two (K.W. Thomas, 1992). That many interactions involve an inherent conflict of interest appears unrecognised, as does the impact of not allowing learners experience of dealing with conflict.

This study provides an example of how the English taught can be moved away from the unrealistic textbook variety, to a more authentic and usable variety. While the scenarios used in this study were limited to talk between subordinates and superiors employed by the same organization, they differed from many classroom role-plays in that:

1. there was clear recognition parties involved had conflicting interests,
2. neither party was clearly morally 'right' or 'wrong', but both had legitimate grievances,
3. they were based on an unequal power relationships, and
4. they acknowledged that, to be truly successful, outcomes required the renegotiation of the relationship as well as the resolution of the substantive problem under discussion (Jehn, 1997).

The benefits to learners evidenced in their reported increased confidence in dealing with problematic situations outside the classroom and greater ability to manipulate their discourse style to accommodate the situation at hand, demonstrate the value of providing learners with conflictive situations to experiment with.

These benefits override the criticisms that are made of conflictive scenarios, as they are of authentic texts more generally: that they are "too difficult" for learners to access and deal with, and that learners are "not ready for" such texts.

Using such criticisms as a basis for continuing to use unproblematic texts ignores a basic learner need to interact in and with the world outside the classroom, by reducing the usefulness of the classroom as a 'preparation ground' for that world. If not in the classroom, and if not now, when, it must be asked, will learners ever be ready to deal with troubled talk if they are not given strategies to deal with, opportunities to experiment with and experience of such talk? How are they ever to learn to manage the ambiguity a foreign language presents, to develop strategies for furthering

communication when they do not understand or cannot immediately achieve their goals?

Regardless of whether learners are 'ready for' a problematic encounter or not, it is likely that, living in Australia, and having to undertake numerous activities such as shopping, accessing government services, living with those from different cultures in accommodation which they must find, pay for and maintain, and working with and for others, these situations arise and must be dealt with by the learner in any case. To 'dumb-down' spoken and aural texts by ignoring their fragmented, co-constructed complexity in an attempt to meet learner needs is more likely to hinder than help them. Further, as Auerbach (1995) has pointed out, not teaching learners to deal with problems that arise when, for example, landlords, employers, or service providers do not fulfil their obligations covertly promotes subservience to and assimilation of cultural norms. 'Can-do' texts come with the messages: 'Don't rock the boat', 'Do things they way we do them, and you'll be fine'.

There is life outside the classroom, and it is a life that learners return to every day after class. To ignore its existence both as a challenge to learners and as a resource for language learning, is to ignore the fact that learners wanting to acquire English are not doing so, typically, as a philosophical exercise. They are learning English to be able to use it effectively and competently in achieving their individual goals. This research, through its use of conflictive scenarios, attempted to do that.

Models and Scripts as Norms

Another way in which this study may be viewed is as an example of how the socio-pragmatic aspects of language may be 'taught', language use modelled and cultural norms examined, without, it is hoped, presenting those models as the 'right' way of speaking English, or imposing impose social norms upon learners. The study provides an alternative to the rigid analysis and use of modelling, and the 'planning' of speech. It recognises that because, "Humans are…contextual and sociocultural 'pattern recognisers' and actors" (New London Group, 1999, p. 31), and because they are

unlikely to change the social and cultural expectations others have often them at least in the short term, models are useful in raising awareness of different cultural norms and the expectations others may have of them. In the end, however, learners are also constructors of their own immediate social reality (Eggins & Slade, 1997), and need to make their own decisions about the social mores and norms they wish to adhere to and those they do not (Fairclough, 1992a). Using models as examples of the 'right' way of behaving or speaking, rather than as one example of a culturally-specific norm which members of the local speech community may or may not adhere to in any case, removes choice from learners. Forcing them to use patterns, specific lexis or 'target language' structures will thwart learner attempts to actively construct their own meanings, which are congruent with their own goals and socio-cultural identity (Brady & Shinohara, 1999).

What this means regarding the use of models is that they are not patterns on which behaviours are to be based, but rather samples of language to be examined by learners in order that they come to their own understanding of how language is used within the speech community or communities around them. They are not guides to 'appropriate' behaviour, but illustrations of possible language practices which may or may not be taken up by the learner (Fairclough, 1992a). In short, they are *descriptive* rather than *prescriptive* in purpose (Auerbach, 1995). Used in this way, therefore, models simultaneously,

> ensure that students have access to those standard forms of the language that are of significance within the context in which one teaches; and, second, that students are encouraged to use English in their own way, to appropriate English for their own ends. (Pennycook, 1994, pp. 315-316)

In analysing models and norms of behaviour, it is important that learners are not asked to pre-script dialogue, as is common in textbooks. Tasks which ask learners to pre-plan and record speech to be 'rehearsed', 'practised', or 'presented' later, teaches them only that the interlocutor's input in a 'dialogue' is irrelevant to what they, the learners, want to achieve in that conversation. In life, conversation is not scripted and cannot be so, since meaning is a jointly constructed phenomenon. To teach, or to imply through

teaching, that scripting a conversation will in some way help learners to interact with others verbally not only fails to help them to deal with the ambiguity associated with interacting with a language which is relatively 'new' to them, but fails to promote the development of skills which will allow them to improve their ability to interact successfully.

Giving Learners Choice

Such an approach also fails to take into account learner autonomy and choice. Learner reports during and after the course itself provide confirmation of learner ability to make effective choices, firstly, as regards the means by which they are most able or willing to learn and, secondly, regarding their own language development.

As the quotations from the diaries and exit interviews above show, learners have preferences regarding the extent to which and how they will learn from their peers, from models, from experiences in the community, from self-analysis via video, from out-of-class individual study activities and from specific in-class task. Additionally, the learner reports show how competently and to good effect they were able to use these strategies, often transferring skills from one environment or type of talk to another.

The role of the teacher, it would appear, is to raise learner awareness of these myriad opportunities by setting tasks, even once, that enable learners to experience these different means of learning. Raising learner awareness of *how* to learn in this manner emerges as even more valuable objective than teaching them *what* to learn since it allows learners to continue to learn after the teacher has left the classroom, and the learners have left the school.

This makes research into which approaches best facilitate 'language acquisition' somewhat redundant. Questions of whether it is better to teach the 'rules' of language explicitly or not, what task parameters best encourage verbal interaction, or whether increased levels of interaction facilitate interlanguage restructuring become moot if the

learners are placed in a position of deciding, *individually*, what is best, at this point in time, for *them*.

Similarly, in terms of content, variety in the sense of the provision of a multiplicity of learning opportunities, and acceptance by the teacher that learners will acquire language in a way meaningful to them if they are only given the means to do so, are of prime importance. If each class member learns different 'language' as they did in this research class, and has a completely different focus, it is only indicative of learners driving the process, rather than the school, the syllabus or the teacher.

English as a Global Language

> Everything was quite difficult for me because of my English especially. The strangest things were customs of Asian people for me.
>
> (Kate, Czech Learner Participant, Week 1 Diary Entry)

> Culture is strange, and interesting and difficult to me.
>
> (Chad, Thai Learner Participant, Week 1 Diary Entry)

Finally, this research can be viewed as a case study of the teaching of 'English as an Intercultural Language'. As discussed in Chapter One, the ownership and development of English is increasingly in the hands of those for whom it is not a first or native language for a wide range of purposes (Chew, 1999; Kachru, 1996). However, as was also noted, the choice to use English while retaining one's native sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic norms does not address the problem of misperceptions occurring as a result of differences in discourse styles (Boxer, 2002). The same negotiation scenario used in this study before the course began, for example, has, in a more recent class, resulted in previously friendly and cooperative learners leaving the room amidst anger, abuse and accusations of betrayal because of incompatible behavioural expectations. Only structured debriefing sessions enabled these learners to understand that they were dealing with intercultural difference rather ill-will or aggression.

The program designed for this study demonstrated how a language class can be a means of increasing awareness of different interactional and behavioural norms. A teacher is not necessarily, as Gee (1986) has argued, compelled to teach a single discourse style when teaching 'English language'. Rather, teaching English, or any other language for that matter, can be used as a mechanism to explore a variety of discourse styles represented by those present in the classroom. As learners come to an understanding of what is 'normal' to the teacher, they are also increasingly aware of what is normal to them, and how their cultural norms differ from others, because it was English used by those from other cultures that they compelled to deal with, rather than English used by native speakers.

This highlights the need for experimentation in the language classroom because learners need to find their own path between the language and their own sociocultural identity. They need to make informed choices about how they will use the language for their own ends, and they need to build tolerance of the identity of others (Brady & Shinohara, 1999; Peck, 1996).

Finally, it also underscores the opportunities inherent in a multicultural classroom where learners have immediate access to a number of the varieties of the language that they may interact with in the future. With some knowledge of the effect their own discourse style may have on others, and of how the interactional behaviour of others may affect them, successful intercultural communication may be more likely than were they simply left to 'talk', unaware of the enormous cultural implications of such an act.

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Appendix A: Pre-Course, Post-Course & Model Role-Play Scenarios

'Public Humiliation' Pre-Course & Model Scenario

Two days ago, you met with a client. Three people were at the meeting:

1. you,
2. your boss and
3. the client (whose name is Jack Brown).

During the meeting, you gave the client wrong information with two results:

1. It made your company look bad.
2. It will cost your company money.

Your boss was furious. S/he told you IN FRONT OF THE CLIENT that:

1. you were incompetent, and that
2. s/he would be taking over the relationship with the client from now on.

You know you made a big mistake, but you feel totally humiliated by his/her treatment of you.

The negotiation:

Go and see your boss. The objective of your meeting with him/her is that s/he never speaks to you like that in front of a client again.

Background Information:

About you:

1. You haven't been in this job long, so you feel you have to prove yourself.
2. Until now, your results have been good, but you feel the results have been unrecognised.
3. No job is worth being yelled at publicly, to you.
4. You don't have a good rapport with your boss. You feel s/he is controlling.

About the boss:

1. You are under pressure from management to perform. This client is critical to your department's success
2. You feel employing this person was a mistake.
3. You have already been criticised by YOUR manager for your lack of people management skills.

'Losing the tender' Post-Course Scenario

tender: a long business document asking another company to buy your services, and giving them good reasons to do buy from you. = a written business proposal.
call centre: a HUGE room/s filled with hundreds of people taking telephone calls. These people sell products, answer enquiries, help you pay bills etc.
utilities: companies which provide electricity, water, gas and telephone services
annually: every year
IT: Information Technology department. They manage computers and telephone systems.
specifications: technical requirements. Things your computer systems must do if you want to sell to this customer.
Request for Tender: the document which tells you what your potential customer (ABC) wants to buy. It says "please send us this kind of tender".
resources: help and information. Staff and money to help you work.
put together: write
status: power
uncooperative: unhelpful
on the line: you might lose (your job)

You are *Manager, Marketing & Tenders* for a large call centre company that provides services in billing and customer service for banks and utilities.

Your organization has just lost a tender worth millions of dollars annually. The reason is that the computer systems proposed by IT did not meet the ABC Company's (your customer) specifications written in ABC's Request For Tender.

Your tender was hundreds of pages long. You couldn't check everything – and you don't know a lot about computers anyway. You are furious because:

1. IT has lost the company a lot of money.
2. you look bad,
3. you never have enough resources to put together tenders properly. They are hundreds of hours of work.
4. the Head of IT, Janice Porter, has the same status as you. She doesn't have to do what you tell her and she is very uncooperative.

The negotiation:

You have a meeting with your boss. S/he is extremely disappointed and your job is on the line. The objectives of your meeting with him/her are to:

1. explain your perspective (IT lost this contract, not me),
2. to get more resources for future tenders and
3. get guaranteed cooperation in the future from IT.

For this negotiation, you must decide on the details about your job (how successful you have been until now, how long you have worked there etc) with your classmate, the boss.

You must also decide how to reframe and use indirect language. Be careful how you blame IT…

'Plagiarism' Model Scenario

A month ago, a student in your class, John, borrowed an essay from you. John said he wanted to borrow it because he didn't know how to write essays well, and he wanted to look at yours.

Without your knowing, he copied your essay and handed it in to the lecturer, as if it were his. You handed in yours too.

You got your essay back yesterday. A note from the lecturer said that s/he had given you "fail" because the essay was plagiarised. You will fail the course because of this.

You asked John to go to the lecturer and tell him/her he had copied your essay. He refused.

The Negotiation:

Go and see your lecturer.

The objective of your meeting is to persuade him/her that you didn't copy the essay – John did. You want him/her to give you the result you deserve.

Background Information:

About you:

Your parents are paying for your course. They will be very angry if you fail a subject.

The university class is very big. You have never spoken to the lecturer.

About the lecturer:

You don't know who wrote the essay and who is lying. You have never spoken to these students.

You have never seen either student's writing before – this was the first essay of the course.

University policy says that plagiarised essays must be given a "fail" result, even though you may be able to decide who wrote the essay by asking them questions.

You would be happy to set both students another essay.

Appendix B: Reviewer Group Survey

Negotiator's Number: ……………………………………………

(this appears on the screen before each performance)

FIRST NEGOTIATION

Please circle one number on *each line* below to show your opinion of the person in this *first* negotiation.

credible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	implausible	[10]
aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	submissive	[11]
sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere	[12]
unlikeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	empathetic	[13]
clear (arguments)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	vague	[14]
over emotional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reasonable	[15]
responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	undependable	[16]
unintelligible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	intelligible	[17]
a good listener	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	doesn't listen	[18]
unprofessional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	professional	[19]

Please pick a number from the scale to show how much you agree or disagree with each statement. Write this number in the space provided to the right of each statement. You are assessing the person's *first* negotiation only.

Scale:
1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neutral
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

The person is a successful negotiator.	____	[20]
The person's behaviour is unnatural.	____	[21]
I would help the person in this situation if I were their boss.	____	[23]
The person is difficult to understand.	____	[24]
The person is business-like in their approach.	____	[25]

Please record any comments you wish to make on the person in this negotiation (reasons for your assessment etc).

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SECOND NEGOTIATION

Please circle one number on *each line* below to show your opinion of the subject in this *second* negotiation.

credible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	implausible	[10]
aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	submissive	[11]
sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	insincere	[12]
unlikeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	empathetic	[13]
clear (arguments)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	vague	[14]
over emotional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	reasonable	[15]
responsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	undependable	[16]
unintelligible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	intelligible	[17]
a good listener	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	doesn't listen	[18]
unprofessional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	professional	[19]

Please pick a number from the scale to show how much you agree or disagree with each statement. Write this number in the space provided to the right of each statement. You are assessing the person's *second* negotiation only.

Scale:
1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neutral
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

The person is a successful negotiator. _____ [20]

The person's behaviour is unnatural. _____ [21]

I would help the person in this situation if I were their boss. _____ [22]

The person is difficult to understand. _____ [23]

The person is business-like in their approach. _____ [24]

Please record any comments you wish to make on the person in this negotiation (reasons for your assessment, comparisons between the first and second negotiations etc).

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Appendix C: Teaching Materials Used in Class

The format of each class is presented in a 'lesson plan' that takes the form of a set of instructions the teacher/researcher wrote for herself and took into class. Actual teaching materials (worksheets and card games) then follow. These materials are referenced in the lesson plan by the lesson number and letter: e.g. (Task 1B) = the second task for which materials were made in the first class. Tasks for which no materials were required (such as those done on the whiteboard) are described in the lesson plan.

Directly under the task name and assigned number, the task description is listed. This records, as did Table 4.3, the task's

1. interaction type
2. learner effort,
3. textual goals, and
4. task type.

Any 'card' task that required cutting up for sequencing or matching purposes is presented in a table format using broken lines, and is preceded by a scissors symbol: in this way:

Request a meeting to discuss the problem with your manager.
Explain reason for calling the meeting.

Out-of-class or 'learning diary' tasks are also presented here. These were given out at class-end for students to glue into their diaries and complete at a time of their choosing.

Teaching materials that were not original but came from standard textbooks are not reproduced here. It is for this reason that the 'pronunciation homework pack' completed by students in the language laboratory over the duration of the course is not presented here (with the exception of one task referred to in Lesson Plan 3.

A number of materials have been reduced in size for presentation in this appendix, but otherwise no changes have been made to the materials as they were first used in the research on which this thesis reports.

Lesson Plan 1

Aims:	1) To make students aware of the discourse structure of negotiation, and the benefits of using it, in achieving their goals. 2) To give students specific tactics that enable them to realise the discourse structure at a lexical level.
Outcomes:	1) Students have an understanding of what 'negotiation' means. 2) Students understand negotiation as a staged process, which they can begin to use. 3) Students have some strategies for managing this process (and their agenda) lexically.

1) Discussion using "Your negotiation experience" worksheet (Task 1A).

2) Students in groups to discuss the pre-course video negotiation. Refer to the questions that were given out to students (learning diary) immediately after the pre-course video-recording of students undertaking *Public Humiliation*:

   a) Did the negotiation go the way I expected? Why? Why not?
   b) Did I convince the boss of my arguments? Why? Why not?
   c) Did I feel listened to? Why? Why not?
   d) What was the most difficult thing for me during the negotiation? Why?
   e) Who was wrong and who was right in this negotiation? Why?

3) Elicit main difficulties and write them on the board.

4) Sequence stages of a negotiation in pairs (Task 1B).

5) In pairs, develop ideas for how those stages could be realised lexically – write these on an overhead transparency (OHT) (Task 1C).

6) Watch *Public Humiliation* video. Did Suzanna follow these stages? (All but number 5). What problems did not using number 5 ("ask for change in manager's behaviour") cause her? (The meeting almost closes without her stating her main reasons for being there. She has to backtrack right at the end.) (Task 1D).

7) What language did Suzanna use to effect the stages? Add these to OHT and 1D worksheet).

8) Redo *Public Humiliation* role play (see Appendix A).

9) Were students more successful this time? What stages did they use, and which did they forget?

10) Give out post-class evaluation sheets (Task 1E).

Task 1A: Your Negotiation Experience

Small Group: Deployment: Experience of Whole Text: Discussion

Think of a difficult negotiation you have had in these environments:

1. Your family
2. At work (or in a part time job)
3. At school or university
4. With a government agency or service company (telephone, rent etc)

Choose the worst negotiation you have had. Discuss:

1. What happened?
2. How much anger did you show? How did you show it (face, physical violence, words)?
3. Were you polite or rude? How (what words or tone of voice did you use)?
4. Did you negotiate successfully? What factors made the negotiation a success or failure?
5. Have you had any difficult negotiations in Australia? What happened? What made them difficult? Were they successful or not? Why?
6. How do you think English speakers negotiate differently from people in your culture?

Task 1B: Stages in a Negotiation

Pair: Construction: Analysis of Textual Components: Sequencing of Discourse Structure

Request a meeting to discuss the problem with your manager.
Explain reason for calling the meeting.
Explain your position/perspective of the problem.
Explain the effect the situation has on you.
Ask for a change in your manager's behaviour.
Listen to manager's anger/perspective.
Restate your manager's perspective so s/he knows you listened.
Empathise with manager's position (use flattery if necessary!)
Restate your own position (giving good reasons).
Ask for change in your manager's behaviour/actions.
Thank manager and leave.

Task 1C: Lexical Realisation of Stages

Pair: Construction: Analysis of Textual Components: Discussion of Ways in Which Stages May be Realised Using Learners' Existing Lexical Knowledge

Write down the words you could use for each new stage of the negotiation.

1. Request a meeting to discuss the problem with your manager.

2. Explain reason for calling the meeting.

3. Explain your position/perspective of the problem.

4. Explain the effect the situation has on you.

5. Ask for a change in your manager's behaviour.

6. Listen to manager's anger/perspective.

7. Restate your manager's perspective so s/he knows you listened.

8. Empathise with manager's position (use flattery if necessary!)

9. Restate your own position (giving good reasons).

10. Ask for change in your manager's behaviour/actions.

11. Thank manager and leave.

Task 1D: Watching the Model Video

Individual & Pair: Simulation & Reproduction: Analysis of Textual Components for Memorisation of Formulaic Language: Scaffolded Observation via Video

Watch the video *Public Humiliation*. Does the negotiator, Suzanna, follow these stages? Tick (✓) the stages you hear.

☐ Request a meeting to discuss the problem with your manager.

☐ Explain reason for calling the meeting.

☐ Explain your position/perspective of the problem.

☐ Explain the effect the situation has on you.

☐ Ask for a change in your manager's behaviour.

☐ Listen to manager's anger/perspective.

☐ Restate your manager's perspective so s/he knows you listened.

☐ Empathise with manager's position (use flattery if necessary!)

☐ Restate your own position (giving good reasons).

☐ Ask for change in your manager's behaviour/actions.

☐ Thank manager and leave.

Now watch the video again. Write down what Suzanna says in this stages.

Task 1E: After Class Evaluation

Individual: Deployment: Experience of Whole Text: Learning Diary Reflection on Learning Experiences

Answer in detail!

1) What did **I** learn today?

    (a) negotiation & people skills
    (b) communication strategies
    (c) vocabulary & new expressions
    (d) grammar

2) Did I apply what I learnt in the negotiation practice? Why? Why not?
3) What am I still confused about, after this lesson?
4) What was strange? interesting? difficult?
5) What was the most useful thing I learnt today? Why?

Lesson Plan 2

Aims:	To develop in students an awareness that truth and sincerity are culturally defined, both in terms of behaviour (what is sincere) and its presentation (how you show/express sincerity to others). To introduce students to the concepts of 'face' and 'indirectness' and provide them with some means to adapt their language to them.
Outcomes:	Students can appear to be sincere (and therefore credible) to native English speakers even though their L1 way of expressing sincerity is different. Students have an awareness of the importance of the other party's 'face' in a negotiation, and can 'reframe' their own arguments in a way that appeals to their interlocutor.

1) Make 3 statements on the board about myself, one of which is a lie. Students to identify which it is:

    a) I have had 23 jobs in my life. This is the best one.
    b) I have been to Antarctica. My grandmother took me before she died. They run summer tours down there and it was the best experience of my life.
    c) When I was four, I fell 2 metres onto concrete, head first, and split my head open.

2) Students to do the same. Then ask, how did you know which was a lie? What happened to their voice? Their face?

3) Showing emotion game in threes (Task 2A):

    a) Each student takes 2 cards:

        i) 1 emotion card
        ii) 1 question or statement card.

    b) They make the statement or ask the question while expressing this emotion. The other students have to guess the emotion. (They will not know all the words, but if they get the emotional gist, that's fine.)

4) Fill in the "Showing emotion" worksheet, in terms of native English speakers. This will bring out vocabulary such as 'crease your forehead', 'shrug', 'raise your eyebrows', 'hesitate' etc. (Task 2B).

5) Mini-negotiation: practise using their face and voice to convey sincerity (Task 2C).

6) Give out "listening for emotion" homework (Task 2D).

7) Remind students of *Public Humiliation* video. Elicit for reframing:

   a) Was Suzanna in a position of power when she went into the meeting? Why not?
   b) Did she convince her boss that her shouldn't sack her?
   c) Did she beg/grovel to do this? (NO). How did she do this? Answers:

      i) She contextualised the mistake, (I'm new)
      ii) She listed her strengths and value to the company
      iii) She flattered Trevor (I value your feedback, you have a lot of experience)

8) Do firstly, the "Indirectness" worksheet (Task 2E), followed by the "Reframing" worksheet (Task 2F) in pairs. (NB: The worksheets need to be done together, because, in reworking or 'reframing' arguments, students need expressions to realise them.)

9) Check answers by watching video again. Compare Suzanna's solutions to students' solutions.

10) Hand out the role play "False Promises" to do on Day 3 (Task 2G).

11) Hand out worksheet "Reframing practice" that goes with the scenario "False Promises" – as homework (Task 2H).

12) Ask students to watch the video-recording of themselves this week (the pre-course role-play). Give out accompanying worksheet (Task 2I).

Task 2A: Showing Emotion Game:

Small Group: Construction: Awareness Raising & Analysis of Textual Components: Guessing Game to Experiment with Pronunciation & Facial Expression

✂ **Emotion cards**

sincere (= truthful)	sarcastic & joking
angry	depressed
happy	confused
sarcastic & nasty (= contemptuous)	deferential (≈ polite)
rude (I don't care about you)	shocked (= very surprised)

✂ **Question and Statement Cards**

Could you help me?	I felt devalued.
What do you mean by that?	I made a mistake.
I'm really sorry.	What can I do to change this?
Are you saying you don't want me here?	Tell me what you think.
Could I ask you not to do that again?	Thank you for your time.

Task 2B: Showing emotion

Small Group: Construction: Analysis of Textual Components: Discussion re Facial Expression / Pronunciation

Use these expressions to work through your answers:

1. **Can I ask you not to do that again?**
2. **Thank you very much.**

emotion	What happens to your face?	What happens to your voice?
sincere		
deferential		
happy		
angry		
sarcastic & joking		
sarcastic and nasty		
rude (uncaring)		
depressed		
confused		
shocked		

Showing emotions and cultural difference. Discuss:

1. Are any of these emotions difficult for you to show?
2. How is showing these emotions in English different from in your culture?
3. Which of these emotions are unacceptable in a business environment in your culture?
4. Which of these emotions are unacceptable in a business environment in English?

Task 2C: Mini-Negotiation

Pair & Small Group: Deployment & Simulation: Experience and Analysis of Whole Text: Simulated Meeting & Model-Driven Analysis of Other Learners' Performance

Boss	**Employee**
Yesterday you asked your employee to have a report on your desk before s/he went home last night. This report is urgent, and should have been finished two days ago. You have a meeting with your boss this morning, and you must present this report. You got in to work this morning and the report isn't there!	Yesterday your boss asked you to finish a report and put it on his/her desk before you went home last night. You worked until 11pm last night, but you couldn't finish the report, because a colleague had not supplied you with the figures you needed. You don't want to tell your boss this because this colleague is a friend, but you need to explain to the boss why the report isn't done.

Task 2D: Listening for Emotion

Individual: Simulation: Interpretation of Textual Components: Learning Diary Scaffolded Observation of Target Language Community Speech

Listen for two people talking. (in a train, bus, pub, your home stay)

Wait until <u>one</u> person is doing <u>most</u> of the talking, and answer these questions:

1. What emotion is the person conveying?
2. What is his/her face/voice doing?
3. What is the story about? (If you can understand it.)
4. How is the second person responding? Voice? Face? Words?
5. How is watching these people talk different from watching people talk in your country?

Task 2E: Indirectness

Pair: Construction & Reproduction: Interpretation of Textual Components & Memorisation of Formulaic Language: Replacement & Matching Worksheet

Some words are 'taboo' in business culture, because they are too 'negative'. Replace the underlined words in the sentence with indirect words from the box.

address	issue	concerned
challenging	disappointed in	concern

1. This is a big problem for me.
2. How can we solve this problem?
3. It's going to be difficult.
4. I am angry with you.
5. I am very worried about this.

Match these ideas with a more indirect way of saying them.

Employee's point of view:

direct	indirect
1. You're lying about…	A. I'm not sure I follow you…
2. You made me feel stupid…	B. Could I ask you not to…?
3. Listen to me!	C. I felt devalued when you….
4. You're unfair.	D. My understanding is…
5. You don't know what you're talking about.	E. My understanding is…
6. You treat the other staff better than me.	F. This is not my biggest concern right now.
7. Don't do that again!	G. I'm sure your can appreciate my position.
8. I don't care!	H. I feel my work is not always recognised.
9. Bullshit! (You're wrong.)	I. I feel my work is not always recognised.

Boss' point of view:

direct	indirect
1. You're not a good worker.	A. I need you to be more careful in the future.
2. I don't think you should be doing this job.	B. I'm concerned that you're not putting in the hours.
3. You have to work harder.	C. I'm concerned about how a mistake like this could happen.
4. You should be more careful.	D. I'm concerned about your performance.
5. How could you do this?	E. I'm not sure this is the right job for you.
6. I'm in trouble because of you.	F. You can appreciate that I'm under pressure because of this situation.

What is the major difference between direct and indirect sentences?

Think back to *Public Humiliation*. A lot of you were very abusive when you played the boss! There are people who behave like this, but, as a good negotiator, you don't need to – and it is not considered "professional" in this culture.

1. **Make a list of all the things you wanted to say or did say when you were the boss.**
2. **Rewrite them in an indirect way.**

Summary:

In English, it is often not acceptable to say directly what you think.
We use **indirectness** to tell the other person our opinion without making them angry.
Sometimes this seems "dishonest" to people from other cultures. Please remember:

1. There are many different ways of being polite. "Politeness" depends on your culture.
2. Even if you are indirect, the other person will understand exactly what you mean.
3. You can negotiate successfully OR you can show your anger – not both!

Task 2F: Reframing

Pair: Construction & Reproduction: Interpretation of Textual Components & Memorisation of Formulaic Language: Role-Play Strategy Planning Worksheet

In *Public Humiliation*, the employee, Suzanna, needs to communicate some ideas Trevor, her boss, doesn't want to hear. How could she change them so they sound better to him?

example:

idea	***reframed***
This is only the first mistake I've made and you're going to sack me – after all the hard work I've done.	*I really apologise for this mistake. I know it had a big impact. However, can I ask you keep in mind that:* • *I am new,* • *I'm going through a steep learning curve, and* • *I am really working hard to add value to the company?*

Reframe these ideas:

1. When you got angry you made me look bad.
2. You never tell me if I'm doing good work or bad work.
3. This is my client. I found him.
4. You haven't given me any training.
5. Don't ever yell at me like that again.

Watch *Public Humiliation* again, and find out what she did say. Write down her reframed arguments.

Summary:

Reframing **means making your request sound better to the person who is listening.**

Don't say: "I want this…". Say:

1. It is good for the **company** that I have this.
2. I will be **more committed** to the company if I have this.
3. You will look like a **good boss** if you give me this.

Give **business reasons** or use **flattery**! Think how the other person thinks.

Task 2G: Business Scenario: False Promises

Individual: Construction: Interpretation of Textual Components: Role Play Preparation Homework

You started a new job 6 months ago. It is a new industry for you, and you were very excited about joining the company.

You saw this job as a chance to start to use you new skills. You have just finished studying (web design? sales? training? computing? personnel? management?). Although your new boss said you would continue doing your old job initially, s/he also promised that:

1) You would move into an area where you would be using your new skills very quickly.

2) You would be "first in line" for this kind of job.

3) You would only continue to do your old job "for a while".

Last week a position in your study area came up. A colleague was given this position. You were not even told this position was available.

The negotiation:

Go and see your boss. The objective of your meeting with him is to get a <u>commitment</u> to your starting in the promised role. You want a definite start time, and you want to know exactly what you have to do before then.

Background Information:

About you:

You have worked really long hours to show your commitment to this new company.

You would never have accepted a new job that was the same as your old job.

You can't understand communications within this company. There appear to be no regular meetings, no newsletter, no training, no performance reviews. How does everyone know what's going on???

About the boss:

The company is very "dynamic". You need everyone to do what's needed NOW –because the industry is competitive and constantly changing.

This employee has skills, but you don't think s/he's good enough to promote before other people who have been here longer.

You told him/her in the job interview that there were opportunities to move into different roles within the company, but you didn't <u>promise</u> anything…

Task 2H: Reframing Practice: False Promises

Individual: Construction: Interpretation of Textual Components: Role Play Preparation Homework

You will do this negotiation. Before you do it, make a list like this:

things I want to say	reframed (so they sound good to my boss!)
✓ requests ✓ your feelings	✓ business arguments ✓ restating his/her arguments ✓ flattery

Make sure you really think about your boss' position.

Task 2I: Self Evaluation of Pre-Course Video

Individual: Simulation: Interpretation of Textual Components: Learning Diary Model-Driven Analysis of Own Performance

Watch the video of yourself recorded before the course. Answer these questions HONESTLY:

1. What surprised you most about your own performance?
2. What can you do now that you couldn't do then (since you started doing the course)?
3. What was the best thing you did?
4. What thing do you most want to improve?
5. Have you improved since the course started? How?

Which stages did you complete? Tick ✓ the ones you did.

- ☐ Request a meeting to discuss the problem with your manager.
- ☐ Explain reason for calling the meeting.
- ☐ Explain your position/perspective of the problem.
- ☐ Explain the effect the situation has on you.
- ☐ Ask for a change in your manager's behaviour.
- ☐ Listen to manager's anger/perspective.
- ☐ Restate your manager's perspective so s/he knows you listened.
- ☐ Empathise with manager's position (use flattery if necessary!)
- ☐ Restate your own position (giving good reasons).
- ☐ Ask for change in your manager's behaviour/actions.
- ☐ Thank manager and leave.

Lesson Plan 3

Aims:	1) To strengthen students ability to clarify, particularly with the aim of gaining commitment to their objectives. 2) To develop in students some ability to 'self-repair' – clarify their arguments. 3) To develop in students the ability to manage and control the negotiation agenda.
Outcomes:	1) Students can use a variety of clarification strategies to cater for situations where they: a. don't understand, b. think their interlocutor is lying or avoiding the issue, or c. want to demonstrate they are listening though restatement. 2) Students can use some strategies to 'self-repair'. 3) Students can use some agenda management strategies to a. gain commitment (pin the other person down to specifics. b. refer back to previous points in the conversation.

1) Students in groups to discuss their self-evaluation of pre-course video negotiation. Refer to questions in the learning diary:

   a. What surprised you most about your own performance?
   b. What can you do now that you couldn't do then (since you started doing the course)?
   c. What was the best thing you did?
   d. What thing do you <u>most</u> want to improve?
   e. Have you improved since the course started? How?
   f. Did I maintain eye contact through most of the meeting?
   g. Did I keep me voice low to show I was serious and sincere?
   h. Did I smile when I was listening?
   i. Did I use indirect language?

2) Role play "False Promises" in pairs with whole class watching (refer back to Task 2G).

   a) Before beginning ask for any questions about the task (things students didn't understand)

   b) Tell students to say when they don't understand. Elicit some examples of how to do this and write them on the board:

      i) I'm not sure I follow you.
      ii) Could you explain what you mean by that?

iii) I'm sorry, I'm not with you. Can you say that again?
iv) I'm not sure I understand. (Can you run that by me again?)

c) Ask all students to assess the other students using the peer assessment worksheets (Task 3A).

d) When they've all finished, hand out all the student assessments (each student should have one from every other student in the class), and give them time to read these.

3) Clarification (Task 3B): Students work in pairs. Each student should have one set of cards in three colours:

a) boss' statement cards X 9 (blue)
b) student clarification cards X 9 (yellow)
c) boss' replies after request for clarification X 9 (green).

4) Explain to students that they will be learning ways to:

a) control what happens in a negotiation,
b) how to clarify things they don't understand, and
c) stop the boss avoiding them.

5) Get students to put the cards in order.

6) Do "Getting Commitment" worksheet (Task 3C).

7) Students to prepare for "Plagiarism" negotiation and role play this in threes (Task 3D).

a) Read and understand negotiation.
b) Think of what they want to say and reframe this.
c) Plan how they will ask for commitment.
d) Think of what the lecturer will say – and reframe (for restatement and empathy).

8) Set homework. Students are to watch the model video of *Plagiarism* if they have time, with accompanying worksheet (Task 3E).

9) Hand out after class evaluation sheets (Task 3F), and ask students to finish pronunciation homework – in particular the "Road Accidents" listening task (Task 3G). Remind them that they are not listening to what Helen and Meredith say, but what the interviewer says in response – ie the <u>feedback</u>.

NB: Students requested the opportunity to see themselves role-playing 'False Promises' on video. This was made available to them.

Task 3A: Peer Assessment Worksheet

Pair & Individual: Deployment & Simulation: Experience of Whole Text & Interpretation of Textual Components: Simulated Meeting: Model-Driven Analysis of Other Learners' Performance

Student name:…………………………………………….

Which stages did the student complete? Tick ✓ the ones they did.

☐ Request a meeting to discuss the problem with their manager.
☐ Explain reason for calling the meeting.
☐ Explain their position/perspective of the problem.
☐ Explain the effect the situation has on them.
☐ Ask for a change in their manager's behaviour.
☐ Listen to manager's anger/perspective.
☐ Restate their manager's perspective so s/he knows they listened.
☐ Empathise with manager's position (use flattery if necessary!)
☐ Restate their own position (giving good reasons).
☐ Ask for change in their manager's behaviour/actions.
☐ Thank manager and leave.

Did they:

☐ maintain eye contact through most of the meeting?
☐ keep their voice low to show they were serious and sincere?
☐ not smile when they were listening?
☐ use indirect language
☐ sound deferential?

What most impressed you about this student?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

Task 3B: Clarification

Pair: Construction & Reproduction: Interpretation of Textual Components: Memorisation of Formulaic Language: Matching Formulaic Responses

✂ **Boss' Statement Cards**

Thank you for raising this concern with me.

You can appreciate that there are other people with more experience than you.

I'm not sure you have enough experience.

I'll certainly consider you for future promotion as those roles become available.

It might be some time before a position becomes available.

I'm not sure this is the right job for you.

This company is under enormous pressure at the moment.

Right now you can contribute more in your current role.

I'll need to assess your performance before I can promote you

✂ Clarification Cards

I appreciate your taking the time to listen. Could I step back a moment though. You said, I would be promoted?	Are you saying that these other people will all be promoted before me?	Are you saying that you're not going to promote me?
When is that likely to happen?	When is that likely to happen?	In what way?
In what way?	So what you're saying is I'm to do this role for the foreseeable future?	Okay, What do I need to do to get that promotion?

✂ Boss' Reply Cards

Yes, that's right, but it's a matter of when.	Well, I guess that's the most likely situation	I guess I'm saying that you need to get to know the company better before we can promote you.
I'd say 6 months.	I'd say 6 months.	Well, you're obviously not familiar with the industry, although you're very well-qualified.
Well, there's a new competitor in the market and…	Yes, I think so. For the next 6 months anyway.	You need to demonstrate commitment, and gain more industry knowledge.

Task 3C: Getting Commitment

Individual & Pair: Construction & Reproduction: Interpretation of Textual Components: Memorisation of Formulaic Language: Cloze Worksheet

When you negotiate, the most important thing is to reach your goal.

At the end of your meeting, you need a promise from the other person.

To achieve this, you need to ask a question and get a positive response. Sometimes you have to wait for this answer. Sometimes you have to ask two or three times.

These are two examples of how to do this:

1. If I _____________________. will you/I (not) _____________________?
2. I'm willing to commit to _____________________. Can we agree that you will (not) _____________________?

Think of the role plays you have done. Fill in the blank spaces above for these role plays.

Task 3D: Plagiarism Role Play Scenario

Pair: Deployment: Experience of Whole Text: Simulated Meeting

A month ago, a student in your class, John, borrowed an essay from you. John said he wanted to borrow it because he didn't know how to write essays well, and he wanted to look at yours.

Without your knowing, he copied your essay and handed it in to the lecturer, as if it were his. You handed in yours too.

You got your essay back yesterday. A note from the lecturer said that s/he had given you "fail" because the essay was plagiarised. You will fail the course because of this.

You asked John to go to the lecturer and tell him/her he had copied your essay. He refused.

The Negotiation:

Go and see your lecturer.

The objective of your meeting is to persuade him/her that you didn't copy the essay – John did. You want him/her to give you the result you deserve.

Background Information:

About you:

Your parents are paying for your course. They will be very angry if you fail a subject.

The university class is very big. You have never spoken to the lecturer.

About the lecturer:

You don't know who wrote the essay and who is lying. You have never spoken to these students.

You have never seen either student's writing before – this was the first essay of the course.

University policy says that plagiarised essays must be given a "fail" result, even though you may be able to decide who wrote the essay by asking them questions.

You would be happy to set both students another essay.

Task 3E: Plagiarism Model Video

Individual / Small Group: Simulation & Construction: Analysis of Textual Components: Learner Diary Scaffolded Observation of Target Language Community & Analysis of Power*

Watch the video, *Plagiarism*, and answer in detail:

NB: "kick out" and "send down" = expel/ forced to leave the university

1) Who has the most power in this situation, Dr King or Sam? Write down at least 5 things in their behaviour (voice, body language words etc) that tell you this.
2) Sam gets Dr King 'on side' (she believes in him and supports him) very quickly. How does he do this? List at least 3 things.
3) Write down 2 things that Sam does in this negotiation that you want to copy next time you negotiate (you haven't done them before).
4) Sam doesn't achieve his objective. What commitment does he get from Dr King instead?
5) Sam has committed a "crime" according to the university, but Dr King doesn't abuse him. How does she tell him he has done something wrong? (= explain her own position)?

* This was set as individual homework, but students choose to work on it in small groups.

Task 3F: Road Accidents

Individual: Simulation: Interpretation of Textual Components: Listening & Pronunciation Homework Pack Task

You will hear two people talking about an accident that happened to them.
As you listen:

1. Make a list of all the **feedback** (questions, words, sounds) given by the **listener** that you hear.
2. Mark the **intonation** used in the feedback.

Helen	Meredith

Lesson Plan 4

Aims:	1) To raise students awareness of the power, face, agenda-control turn-taking issues involved in multi-party negotiations. 2) To give students specific tactics to enable them to negotiate successfully in multi-party negotiations.
Outcomes:	1) Students will be able to present their point of view, express agreement and disagreement using appropriate indirect language, facial language and pronunciation. 2) Students will be more practised at restating the position of others in order to garner support. 3) Students will be able to bid for a turn without appearing to interrupt through the use of body language.

1) Students in groups to discuss the *Plagiarism* video negotiation. Refer to questions in the learning diary (Refer back to Task 3E):

   a) Who has the most power in this situation, Dr King or Sam? Write down at least 5 things in their <u>behaviour</u> (voice, body language words etc) that tell you this, eg:

      a. deferential pronunciation used by Sam – hesitant & high
      b. confidence displayed by Dr King – loud clear, dropping intonation
      c. type of questions used by Sam – what do I have to do…
      d. Dr King's approach – disclaimer of responsibility until towards the end.
      e. forms of address – "Doctor" and "Sam"
      f. Sam waits until invited to sit down.
      g. Sam thanks Dr King profusely – uses 'grateful'

   b) Sam gets Dr King 'on side' (she believes in him and supports him) very quickly. How does he do this? List at least 3 things, eg:

      a. Explains he shares the same feelings "I feel robbed too"
      b. Explains the pressure he's under very well – parental situation, being upset for failing, his commitment to the course and study generally.
      c. Looks absolutely pain-stricken and desperate – born out by academic playing Dr King who said he "looked like a desperate student and I couldn't refuse to help him"! – ie he shows himself as vulnerable.

   c) What are the 2 things that Sam does in this negotiation you want to copy?

   d) Sam doesn't achieve his objective. What commitment does he get from Dr King instead? Another chance at writing the essay, which will make use of the reading he's already done.

   e) Sam has committed a "crime" according to the university, but Dr King doesn't abuse him. How does she tell him he has done something wrong? eg:

a. You can appreciate my position, I'm not a detective.
b. There are 490 students in the class.
c. I'm bound by university regulations.
d. Plagiarism is theft. ie legitimises through external standards

2) Agreeing and Disagreeing. Remind students that native speakers do not usually agree or disagree directly (I think, I don't agree etc). Do worksheet "Agreeing and Disagreeing" with the teachers reading out the responses (Task 4A). (Responses A-J are intonation based. K-P are mostly ways to disagree in a meeting situation.

3) Students to mark intonation patterns on Agreeing & Disagreeing worksheet.

4) Work in groups of 4-5. Give out opinion sheets and have students mark their own opinions (1-5). Practice giving opinions using intonation and indirect language in the same groups (Task 4B).

5) Did anyone have trouble being heard? Return to *Public Humiliation* video. What does Suzanna do when she wants to speak (particularly at the end when the boss wants to get rid of her)? Elicit that we bid for turns using eye and body language, in big groups.

6) Give out *The Magazine* role play from *Business Roles* (John Crowther-Alwyn, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 6-13)

7) Ask students what is the deciding factor in winning a negotiation when you have a big group of people (= others' support). How do we get this? (Reframing arguments to appeal to other people.) Ask students to reframe their arguments to appeal to others. (The introduction section of *The Magazine* role play is very important in doing this.)

8) Divide the class into two groups. Each student is given a role-play card and the scenario '*The Magazine*'. Do the negotiation twice, video-taping each time. When each negotiation is finished, the students who were negotiating fill out the self-evaluation sheet (adapted) from *Business Roles* for their learning diary (Task 4C) while the group of students who were watching feel out the peer evaluation sheets. Discuss the results of the peer evaluation with students.

9) Hand out the scenario for post-course role play, '*Losing the Tender*'. Ask if anyone has any questions about the final video role-play and book video times.

Task 4A: Agreeing and Disagreeing

Individual: Simulation: Interpretation of Textual Components: Scaffolded Observation of Target Language Community Speech

Decide whether these responses agree or disagree with the statement.
Pay careful attention to your teacher's voice and face as the responses are read.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree

Your boss: "I tend to think we should give Sarah the job."

Response	**Agreement**
A. Absolutely.	___________
B. We could do that.	___________
C. Yeeeaaaaaah, yeah.	___________
D. Yeah, for sure. Her people management skills are good.	___________
E. Okay. Okay. Her people management skills are good.	___________
F. Hmm Hmm. What kind of training do you think she'd need?	___________
G. I'm not sure…. But she's probably the best person.	___________
H. Brilliant idea. What'll we tell Mark though?	___________
I. Yeeeah, but, what would we tell Mark?	___________
J. Weeell, that sounds fine.	___________

Jane: "We really don't have the budget to do that."

Response	**Agreement**
I think that's a crucial point, Jane, but…	___________
Jane's concern with the budget is understandable of course,	___________
My understanding is that…	___________
Of course Jane is right, but I feel we should also consider…	___________
I'm with Jane on this one…	___________
As Jane as said, we really do have to look at the bottom line first.	___________

Now practise making these responses – think about your intonation and face.
Mark in rising and falling intonation with arrows:

Task 4B: Agreeing & Disagreeing Experiment

Small Group: Simulation: Interpretation of Textual Components: Practice and Experimentation using Facial Expression & Pronunciation

	strongly disagree ------- strongly agree				
Personal problems should never be an excuse for bad work.	1	2	3	4	5
The best person should get the job, even if she's pregnant.	1	2	3	4	5
You should never lie when selling, for any reason.	1	2	3	4	5
It's better to employ young people. They have more energy.	1	2	3	4	5

Give reasons for any statements you make.

Task 4C: Reviewing the Multi-Party Meeting

Pair & Individual: Deployment & Simulation: Experience of Whole Text & Interpretation of Textual Components: Simulated Meeting: Model-Driven Analysis of Own & Other Learners' Performances

Answer in detail!

1) Did the meeting go the way I expected? Why? Why not?
2) Was I well-prepared for the meeting?
3) Did I contribute to the outcome of the debate? Why? Why not?
4) Did I participate sufficiently?
5) Did I talk too much?
6) Was I successful in convincing others with my arguments?
7) Was it clear what I meant when I spoke?
8) Did I understand what others said? Why? Why not?
9) Was it a good discussion? Why? Why not?
10) Did I listen carefully to the others, and change my mind when they gave me convincing arguments?
11) Could I improve my vocabulary, intonation or body language? How?

Adapted from *Business Roles*, J Crowther-Alwyn, Cambridge University Press, 1997

Task 4D: The Magazine Peer evaluation

Pair & Individual: Deployment & Simulation: Experience of Whole Text & Interpretation of Textual Components: Simulated Meeting: Model-Driven Analysis of Own & Other Learners' Performances

1) Who got the most support in the meeting? Why?
2) Whose made the best arguments? Why?
3) Who listened best? How do you know?
4) Who talked the most? Why? Did they talk too much?
5) Who controlled the meeting? Why? Who had the most powerful body language? What did they do?

Appendix D: Variation in Reviewer Group Perceptions

Each table presents the minimum, the maximum and the average score each learner received in terms of one continuum (eg credible/implausible). This provides data on the variation amongst the reviewer group in perceptions held of learner performance.

Tables are group in terms of the scale (Semantic Differential or Likert) in which they appeared, and then in terms of their performance indicator categories.

Numbers listed across the top of each table (for example, "min 110") refer to its survey item or question number (see Appendix B, above).

Semantic Differential Scale

Ability to communicate

unintelligible 1 ◄------------------► 7 intelligible						
min 117	avg 117	max 117	min 217	avg 217	max 217	student #
2	**3.2**	5	3	**4.8**	6	101
3	**4.3**	6	4	**5.2**	6	102
2	**4.0**	6	3	**5.0**	6	103
3	**5.1**	6	3	**5.3**	7	104
1	**2.3**	5	1	**3.9**	7	105
3	**4.1**	6	3	**5.0**	6	106
3	**4.6**	7	3	**4.8**	7	107
2	**3.3**	5	3	**4.9**	7	108
3	**4.4**	6	5	**5.8**	7	109

clear 1 ◄-------------------► 7 vague						
min 114	avg 114	max 114	min 214	avg 214	max 214	student #
3	**5.2**	7	2	**3.3**	5	101
2	**4.8**	7	2	**2.7**	5	102
4	**6.0**	7	2	**3.0**	5	103
2	**4.2**	7	2	**4.6**	7	104
3	**5.8**	7	1	**4.2**	6	105
2	**4.8**	7	2	**3.7**	6	106
2	**4.4**	6	1	**3.7**	6	107
5	**5.8**	7	1	**2.8**	6	108
3	**4.2**	6	1	**2.8**	5	109

good listener 1 ◄-------------------► 7 does not listen						
min 118	avg 118	max 118	min 218	avg 218	max 218	student #
3	**4.7**	6	2	**3.8**	6	101
3	**4.4**	6	2	**3.3**	5	102
4	**5.2**	7	2	**3.4**	4	103
2	**3.7**	5	2	**4.1**	6	104
3	**4.2**	7	1	**3.6**	6	105
1	**3.3**	5	2	**3.3**	6	106
3	**4.7**	6	1	**3.4**	6	107
3	**4.8**	6	1	**3.3**	6	108
1	**3.8**	6	1	**3.1**	6	109

Negotiates in 'good faith'

sincere 1◄-------------------► 7 insincere						
min 112	avg 112	max 112	min 212	avg 212	max 212	student #
1	**3.8**	6	2	**3.0**	5	101
2	**4.0**	6	1	**2.7**	4	102
2	**4.8**	6	2	**2.9**	5	103
2	**2.9**	5	1	**3.4**	5	104
2	**4.6**	6	1	**3.3**	6	105
2	**3.9**	6	2	**2.8**	4	106
1	**3.1**	5	1	**2.4**	4	107
3	**4.9**	6	1	**2.9**	5	108
2	**3.6**	5	1	**2.6**	6	109

credible 1◄--------------------►7 implausible						
min 110	avg 111	max 110	min 210	avg 210	max 210	student #
2	**4.6**	7	1	**3.0**	6	101
2	**3.7**	5	2	**2.7**	5	102
5	**6.0**	7	2	**3.0**	5	103
1	**3.1**	5	1	**3.7**	6	104
3	**5.1**	7	1	**3.7**	5	105
2	**4.1**	6	2	**3.0**	5	106
1	**2.8**	5	1	**2.6**	6	107
4	**5.3**	7	1	**3.1**	5	108
2	**3.8**	6	1	**2.4**	5	109

Affective Display Viewed as 'Appropriate'

over-emotional 1 ◄--------------------► 7 reasonable						
min 115	avg 115	max 115	min 215	avg 215	max 215	student #
1	**3.2**	5	4	**5.0**	6	101
2	**3.8**	6	4	**5.2**	7	102
1	**1.9**	4	3	**4.9**	6	103
1	**3.4**	6	2	**3.9**	6	104
4	**4.7**	6	3	**4.7**	7	105
2	**3.9**	6	2	**4.3**	6	106
3	**5.0**	7	4	**5.6**	7	107
2	**3.2**	5	2	**4.1**	7	108
3	**4.8**	6	3	**5.4**	7	109

aggressive 1◄--------------------►7 submissive						
min 111	avg 111	max 111	min 211	avg 211	max 211	student #
1	**3.1**	6	3	**3.9**	6	101
5	**6.1**	7	3	**3.3**	5	102
6	**6.9**	7	2	**3.9**	5	103
2	**4.2**	7	3	**4.8**	6	104
4	**5.1**	7	3	**3.9**	5	105
5	**5.8**	7	3	**4.6**	6	106
4	**5.0**	7	3	**4.0**	5	107
4	**5.2**	7	3	**4.4**	6	108
3	**4.1**	6	3	**3.7**	4	109

Appropriateness to (professional or workplace) context

unprofessional 1 ◄-------------------► 7 professional						
min 119	avg 119	max 119	min 219	avg 219	max 219	student #
1	**2.6**	4	2	**4.8**	6	101
2	**3.3**	5	3	**5.1**	6	102
1	**1.7**	2	3	**4.8**	6	103
2	**4.1**	6	1	**3.9**	6	104
1	**2.8**	6	2	**4.1**	7	105
2	**3.6**	5	3	**4.8**	6	106
2	**4.7**	6	2	**5.0**	7	107
2	**3.0**	6	3	**5.0**	7	108
2	**4.1**	6	3	**5.3**	7	109

responsible 1 ◄-------------------► 7 undependable						
min 116	avg 116	max 116	min 216	avg 216	max 216	student #
4	**4.8**	6	1	**3.4**	6	101
2	**4.3**	7	2	**2.9**	5	102
4	**6.1**	7	2	**3.0**	5	103
2	**3.7**	6	2	**4.1**	7	104
2	**4.0**	6	1	**3.4**	6	105
2	**4.0**	6	2	**3.1**	5	106
2	**3.4**	5	1	**2.7**	5	107
4	**5.1**	6	1	**2.9**	5	108
3	**3.8**	5	1	**3.0**	6	109

Ability to command empathy

unlikeable 1◄-------------------► 7 empathetic						
min 113	avg 113	max 113	min 213	avg 213	max 213	student #
2	**2.8**	4	3	**4.8**	6	101
2	**4.6**	6	4	**5.1**	6	102
2	**4.1**	7	4	**5.2**	6	103
4	**5.0**	6	1	**4.4**	6	104
2	**3.7**	5	2	**4.4**	7	105
3	**4.6**	6	4	**5.1**	6	106
3	**5.2**	6	4	**5.3**	7	107
2	**3.7**	5	4	**5.0**	7	108
3	**4.6**	6	4	**5.4**	7	109

Likert Scale

This person is difficult to understand. strongly agree 1 ◄-------------------► 7 strongly disagree						
min 123	avg 123	max 123	min 213	avg 213	max 214	student #
2	**2.3**	4	2	**3.2**	4	101
2	**3.0**	4	3	**3.7**	4	102
1	**2.8**	4	3	**3.8**	5	103
2	**3.5**	4	3	**3.8**	5	104
1	**1.9**	3	1	**2.2**	5	105
2	**3.3**	5	3	**3.6**	5	106
1	**2.8**	5	1	**3.2**	5	107
1	**2.7**	4	2	**3.3**	5	108
2	**2.8**	4	2	**3.9**	5	109

The person is a successful negotiator.						
strongly agree 1 ◄-------------------► 7 strongly disagree						
min 120	avg 120	max 120	min 210	avg 210	max 210	student #
4	**4.3**	5	2	**2.8**	5	101
3	**4.0**	5	2	**2.4**	4	102
4	**4.9**	5	1	**2.8**	4	103
2	**3.3**	5	1	**3.3**	5	104
3	**4.0**	5	1	**3.1**	5	105
2	**3.6**	5	2	**2.7**	4	106
1	**3.0**	4	1	**2.4**	5	107
4	**4.7**	5	1	**2.3**	4	108
2	**3.0**	5	1	**2.4**	4	109

The person's behaviour is unnatural.						
strongly agree 1 ◄-------------------► 7 strongly disagree						
min 121	avg 121	max 121	min 221	avg 221	max 221	student #
2	**2.3**	4	2	**3.1**	4	101
1	**2.8**	4	2	**3.6**	4	102
1	**2.2**	4	3	**3.9**	5	103
2	**2.9**	4	2	**3.1**	5	104
1	**2.7**	4	2	**2.9**	5	105
2	**2.9**	4	2	**3.4**	4	106
2	**3.3**	5	2	**3.6**	5	107
1	**2.4**	4	2	**3.2**	5	108
2	**3.2**	4	2	**3.4**	5	109

I would help the person in this situation if I were their boss.						
strongly agree 1 ◄--------------------► 7 strongly disagree						
min 122	avg 122	max 122	min 222	avg 222	max 222	student #
3	**3.4**	4	2	**2.2**	4	101
1	**3.2**	5	1	**2.4**	5	102
3	**4.2**	5	2	**2.3**	4	103
2	**3.1**	5	1	**2.9**	4	104
2	**3.4**	5	1	**2.4**	4	105
2	**2.7**	5	2	**2.3**	4	106
1	**2.8**	5	1	**2.0**	4	107
2	**3.9**	5	1	**2.1**	3	108
1	**2.4**	4	1	**2.2**	4	109

This person is business-like in approach.						
strongly agree 1 ◄--------------------► 7 strongly disagree						
min 124	avg 124	max 124	min 214	avg 214	max 214	student #
3	**4.3**	5	1	**2.3**	5	101
2	**3.7**	5	1	**2.2**	4	102
4	**4.7**	5	1	**2.6**	4	103
2	**3.6**	5	2	**3.4**	5	104
3	**4.0**	5	1	**2.8**	4	105
2	**3.6**	4	1	**2.6**	4	106
1	**3.0**	5	1	**2.2**	5	107
3	**4.2**	5	1	**2.4**	4	108
1	**2.7**	5	1	**2.4**	4	109

Appendix E: Summary of Transcription Notation

LINGUISTIC, PROSODIC, FACIAL OR BODY FEATURE	SYMBOL	EXAMPLE
	VERBAL LANGUAGE	
‘employee’ speech	plain font	Um I know that is, that was my fault
‘employer’ speech	italics	*Yes you did a terrible mistake and our company’s looking bad*
overlapping speech at end of turn or caused by failed bids, & backchannels	square brackets […]	*can I get more help from IT department* [mm mm] *[yeah], and*
non-lexicalised vocalisations	{bracketed notation}	say me something please {laughter}
unclear speech	(unclear speech)	for the er (employers) but I think
unintelligible speech	(unintelligible)	*er I get just some little (unintelligible) information*
	FACIAL EXPRESSION & BODY MOTION*	
loss of eye contact	smaller font	but er don’t do that
Duchenne smile	thick underline	I don’t know too
all other ‘masking’ smiles (AU12, AU20 without AU4)	broken line	I have to apologise to you
drawn brows (AU4)	thin underline	I know that you’re under pressure
grimace (AU20 combined with AU4)	👽 (prior to syllable which contains the grimace)	👽 Yeees I feel really upset
movement of hands - body	{bracketed notation}	Thank you {shakes hands}
	PROSODY	
prolonged sounds	extra letters	my mistake sorryyy, I’m, sorryyyy
pause	{pause & duration in seconds}	I don’t know {pause: 2} how to do it (pauses shorter than 1.6 seconds not recorded)

*NB: All facial expression notation refers to the person playing the ‘employee’ role, regardless of who is speaking.