Anne Barron

Pragmatic Competence in EIL

Citation details
Barron, A. (2021). Pragmatic Competence in EIL. In: Tajeddin, Z., Alemi, M. (Eds.): *Pragmatics Pedagogy in English as an International Language*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. pp. 19-43.
https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003097303-2
First published: 11.12.2020 by Routledge

CHAPTER TWO

Pragmatic Competence in EIL

Anne Barron

INTRODUCTION

Spoken by 379 million native speakers (NS) scattered around the globe, English is the third most spoken language by NS worldwide (Statista, 2019; see also Crystal, 2019). Added to this are some further 896 million speakers worldwide who have English as a second language alongside other/another language(s) (see Crystal, 2019). This widespread use of English means that the English language is characterised by "messiness" (Matsuda, 2017, p. xiii) in that it consists of a wide range of varieties, both regional and social, in all corners of the globe. From a pragmatic perspective, Kachru (2017), writing in the *Oxford Handbook of World Englishes* on speech act variation in World Englishes pragmatics, notes that "Users of English do not use the language to make meanings in identical ways. They do not respond to invitations, make requests, pay compliments, apologize, and so on, in the same ways" (p. 276; see also Barron, 2017a, 2019; Schneider, forthcoming). In other words, there is variation in pragmatic norms across the varieties of English.

In the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context, in contrast, the concept of English is much less "messy." In a recent self-report questionnaire-based study of teachers focused on investigating teaching practices of EFL in Germany and Sweden, Forsberg, Mohr, and Jansen (2019) report that pupils in the EFL context are exposed to a neutral variety or to the target varieties of British English (BrE) or American English (AmE) or a mixture of both of the latter varieties. In addition, these authors note that EFL teachers in Germany and Sweden experience a conflict between the ideal of the goal of communicative fluency on the one hand and that of NS English on the other. In other words, although stating that the teaching goal should be to be able to use the English language to communicate, the teachers at the same time view BrE and AmE as "the 'correct' forms of speaking or using English" (Forsberg et al., 2019, p. 51; see also Tajeddin, Alemi, & Pashmforoosh, 2018). This contradiction is, Forsberg et al. (2019) suggest, closely tied to the focus of published materials on BrE and AmE NS norms (Henderson et al., 2012; Simon, 2005).

As noted in Forsberg et al. (2019) just detailed and elsewhere, communicative language teaching, building on Hymes' (1972) concept of communicative competence, is today a dominant approach adopted by EFL education departments and teachers alike. This approach takes as its goal to enable language learners to use language to communicate with others. Pragmatic competence is an important part of being communicatively competent (e.g., Bachman & Palmer, 1996) and there has been much research on describing the linguistic resources needed to use language (e.g., on apology strategies) and on describing variation on a micro-social level, i.e., on the influence of situational factors, such as distance, hierarchy, and degree of imposition, on pragmatic-functional knowledge. Overall, however, there has until recently been little systematic attention paid to pragmatic variation on a macro-social level, i.e., pragmatic variation across regional and social varieties (Schneider & Barron, 2008). Rather, BrE and AmE have been presented as homogeneous wholes and as the "correct" norms (Forsberg et al., 2019). Thus, the fact that pragmatic norms vary across the regional and social varieties of English has not been communicated in the language classroom (Barron, 2005;

Bieswanger, 2008). Given, however, that the aim of EFL teaching is to communicate and given that communication norms vary across varieties, it would seem time to revisit the notion of what pragmatic competence means for the English as an International Language (EIL) context.

Research in EIL accepts and values the plurality of English and rejects the idea of a single variety of English (Marlina, 2018). EIL pedagogy examines the extent to which the teaching of English today mirrors and prepares learners for the "real English" they (will) meet outside of the classroom context with the aim to provide recommendations for the development of English Language Teaching in the global world (Marlina, 2018, p. 5). One aspect of EIL is its use in the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) context. Previous research has examined what the status of English as a global lingua franca means for conceptualisations of pragmatic competence (Taguchi & Ishihara, 2018). In contrast, the present article focuses on the other reality of present day English in an international context, i.e. the multitude of varieties of English to which users of English are exposed in the global context. Currently, information on the varieties of English in the school context is typically limited to selective information on the orthographical, lexical and phonological levels and focused for the most part on contrasting BrE with AmE (Bieswanger, 2008; Forsberg et al. 2019). The present paper, however, examines research on pragmatic variation across the varieties of English and explores what intralingual macro-social pragmatic variation in English means for conceptualisations of learner pragmatic competence in the EIL language classroom.

In the following, we first look at pragmatic variation across the varieties of English and in particular at insights from variational pragmatics and World Englishes. We look at the types of pragmatic variation which occur, examine the breath of pragmatic variation and also explore variety-specific and variety-preferential variation. Following this, we look at recent definitions of pragmatic competence and explore the nature of the concept in models of communicative competence before then examining the role intralingual pragmatic variation plays in conceptualisations of pragmatic competence. An empirical study focusing on pragmatic variation in responses to thanks in Canadian English (CanE) and English English (EngE) illustrates some of the concepts and debates relevant in the study of macro-social pragmatic variation. Finally, the paper turns to what the existence of intralingual pragmatic variation in English means for conceptualisations of learner pragmatic competence in the EIL language classroom and we close with some suggestions for future research.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS AND EXISTING RESEARCH

Pragmatic Variation

Research in EIL is informed by research on ELF and by research on the varieties of English (Marlina, 2018; McKay, 2018). Research on the varieties of English is located in the areas of World Englishes and variational pragmatics. In the following, we sketch the contribution of these two areas of research to the study of pragmatic variation and we also discuss how they relate to each other (Barron, 2019). We start with some basic concepts in the study of pragmatic variation.

A basic differentiation made in the study of intralingual pragmatic variation is that between (a) micro-social pragmatic variation and (b) macro-social pragmatic variation. Micro-social pragmatic variation deals with the influence of situational factors, such as social dominance, social distance, and degree of imposition, on pragmatic norms. Macro-social pragmatic variation is concerned with pragmatic variation according to such factors as region,

gender, age, ethnic identity, and socio-economic status. As mentioned above, pragmatic research was long focused on the investigation of micro-social pragmatic variation. In contrast, macro-social pragmatic variation was not until recently systematically research and instead a homogeneous pragmatic norm was assumed (Barron 2005; Schneider & Barron, 2008). Studies, thus, looked at the pragmatics of "English" or "German," for instance, without looking systematically at regional or social variation within either language.

Influenced by cross-cultural pragmatics and modern dialectology, variational pragmatics emerged in this research context. Its emergence made the study of intra-lingual pragmatic variation according to macro-social factors the focus of systematic analysis. Variational pragmatics thus investigates the influence of region, gender, age, ethnic identity, and socio-economic status on pragmatic conventions within one language. A basic premise of the field is that research should be empirical and contrastive and use comparable data since it is only such data that can highlight the relationships between varieties (Barron, 2014, 2017b, forthcoming; Barron & Schneider, 2009; Schneider, 2010; Schneider & Barron, 2008). Particularly relevant for the discussion of global variation across English is the question of region. In variational pragmatics, in contrast to the case in dialectology, region can be conceptualised on a supranational, national, sub-national, and also on local and sub-local levels (Schneider & Barron, 2008). Variation on the supranational level refers to norms shared among varieties or languages, as when Nilsson, Norrthon, Lindström, and Wide (2018) speak of a "pragma-cultural area" involving the Nordic countries (p. 81). Variation on the national level refers to national varieties of pluricentric languages (e.g., Germany vs. Austria). Sub-national variation denotes variation within different regions (e.g., variation between East and West Germany). Local level variation contrasts conventions in different towns or cities (e.g., Munich vs. Hamburg), and sub-local variation means variation existing within a town or city (e.g., Hammer, Clonard, Ballmacarrett—all working class districts in Belfast; see Milroy, 1981) (Barron, 2019).

Variational pragmatic research identifies six levels of analysis: (a) the formal level (e.g., discourse-pragmatic markers, pragmatic routines), (b) the actional level (e.g., speech acts), (c) the interactional level (e.g., sequential patterns), (d) the topic level (e.g., content and topic management), and (e) the organisational level (e.g., turn-taking) (Schneider & Barron, 2008) and finally (f), a sixth level proposed by Félix-Brasdefer (2012), namely the stylistic level (e.g., polite/ plain styles, pronominal address forms). In addition, recent work suggests that these levels might be supplemented with a prosodic level, a metapragmatic level, and non-verbal level (Schneider, forthcoming). Empirical analyses sometimes also combine these levels. To date, most work has been on the actional level.

Variational pragmatic analyses have revealed much in common between intralingual varieties, but also both variety-specific and variety-preferential features. On a pragmalinguistic level, the strategies for realising speech acts have, for instance, been found to be broadly similar across varieties (e.g., Barron, 2008, 2017a). Variety-specific variation is recorded where a specific linguistic form realising a particular function in language is recorded in one variety but not in another. An example is *will I* + agentive verb*?* which realises a *question future act of speaker* offer strategy in Irish English (IrE) whereas *shall I* + agentive verb*?* realises the same strategy in BrE (Barron, 2011) (see also, e.g., clause-final *like* in IrE (Nestor, Ní Chasaide, & Regan, 2012)). Variety-preferential variation, on the other hand, is recorded when the same pragmalinguistic strategies and forms are employed, but there is a different distribution of preferences for particular strategies and forms across the varieties compared.

Similar to variational pragmatics, World Englishes is also concerned with the description of varieties across the globe. From a broad perspective, World Englishes deals with inner and outer circle varieties; from a narrow perspective only with outer circle Englishes (see also Marlina 2014; McKay 2018). Research in World Englishes in both broad and narrow perspectives traditionally encompasses descriptions of the traditional language system. The study of pragmatic variation, in contrast, is still in its infancy despite an early recognition of the existence of pragmatic variation across varieties of World Englishes (Barron, 2017a, p. 224 for an historical overview).

Research in World Englishes shares a number of common denominators with research in variational pragmatics. Both are concerned with describing intralingual varieties. Both promote linguistic equality among varieties, whether standard or non-standard, and thus act to work against any stigma attached to linguistic variation. On the other hand, a number of differences should be pointed out. While World Englishes focuses specifically on intralingual variation in English, variational pragmatics encompasses intralingual variation across all pluricentric varieties. In addition, variational pragmatic research focuses, unlike World Englishes, on pragmatic variation alone. World Englishes, in contrast, analyses all levels of variation. Of these, the pragmatic level has received the least attention. Also, variational pragmatics deals with regional variation at several levels and at social variation. It also explicitly deals also with the interaction of region and social factors and looks at how these interact with micro-social factors. World Englishes, on the other hand, focuses on variation at the national level. Finally, unlike World Englishes, variational pragmatics aims at contrastive research. An exemplary overview of variational pragmatic and World English pragmatic research on responses to thanks is presented later in this chapter in the context of an empirical study on this speech act.

Defining Pragmatic Competence

There has been much debate and theorising about what it means to be pragmatically competent, with many definitions abounding and with a continual evolution of understandings of the concept (see Jackson, 2019, p. 487; Schneider, 2017, p. 315; Taguchi, 2019). A recent definition, encompassing recent thinking, is put forward by Taguchi (2019), who defines pragmatic competence as:

> a multi-dimensional and multi-layered construct that involves several knowledge and skill areas: (1) linguistic and sociocultural knowledge of what forms to use in what context; (2) interactional abilities to use the knowledge in a flexible, adaptive manner corresponding to changing context; and (3) agency to make an informed decision on whether or not to implement the knowledge in the community. (p. 4)

We review each of the three major components mentioned here in turn. Component (1) reflects early definitions which see pragmatic competence as consisting of a linguistic and social component. The linguistic component, termed pragmalinguistic competence, involves knowledge of the linguistic resources necessary to act with language. The social component, termed sociopragmatic competence, involves knowledge of the sociocultural conventions which pertain in acting with language (Leech, 1983, pp. 10-11; Thomas 1983, p. 99). Thus, in apologising in a language, a competent language user has at their disposal a range of linguistic resources, such as apology routines and speech act strategies (pragmalinguistic competence). They are also aware of to whom they are apologising, i.e. whether they know them or not/

status differences, and how serious the offence in question was. Based on such factors, they are able to alter their language use to reflect these constraints (sociopragmatic competence). This binary differentiation of pragmalinguistic competence/sociopragmatic competence has been an integral part of several models of communicative competence, such as Bachman (1990), Bachman and Palmer (1996), Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrell (1995), Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor (2006) and Timpe Laughlin, Wain, and Schmidgall (2015), albeit frequently using different terms and with debate also over the exact make-up of each knowledge type.

Component (2) highlights the need for competence in co-constructing and negotiating meaning to be pragmatically competent. This focus recognises the insights gained by recent developments, such as discursive pragmatics (Kasper, 2006) and interactional competence (Young, 2013). Rather than seeing pragmatic competence as a learner-internal second language (L2) competence as in models of communicative competence, such as those by Canale and Swain (1980), interactional perspectives recognise that meaning is jointly constructed in discourse and that pragmatic abilities are, thus, contextually situated and dependent on the actions of others (e.g. Timpe Laughlin et al., 2015). Pragmatic competence is conceptualised as consisting of interactional resources, such as sequentially organised speech acts, turn-taking, and repair, which are shared by participants in discourse, and used by participants in constructing meaning jointly in discourse (Taguchi, 2019, p. 3).

Component (3) highlights the learner's active role in accepting or rejecting the pragmatic norms of a particular community. This perspective reflects the fact that in intercultural communication, different conceptualisations of how to do things with words meet. Kecskes (2014, pp. 67-68), in his socio-cognitive work in intercultural pragmatics, postulates that in interacting with speakers of different first languages (L1), speakers in the intercultural context become aware of pragmatic differences, of ways of doing things in the L2, and of how meaning can be co-constructed in the L2. This causes a speaker's L1 pragmatic competence to undergo adjustment and restructuring to accommodate L2 practices. Adjustment and restructuring of L1 pragmatic competence only happens, however, if speakers accept these changes and are willing and motivated to adopt them (Barron, 2003; Kecskes, 2014, p. 63; LoCastro, 2003; Taguchi, 2019). In other words, aspects of L2 pragmatic competence may be rejected. This was also an aspect which traditional models of pragmatic competence did not recognise. Rather, they assumed that the aim of language learning was to emulate NS pragmatics on a pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic level. More empirical research is required on all three components of pragmatic competence. As Schneider (2017) notes, "… there is a lot of theorizing about the nature of pragmatic competence in general and not enough systematic empirical work on the regularities, i.e. norms and conventions, underlying pragmatic performance" (p. 315). What is, thus, needed is empirical research "on essentially all communicative acts, discourse genres and situation types" (p. 318).

Pragmatic Competence and Pragmatic Variation

Considerations of the nature of pragmatic competence generally assume the existence of a community norm. Jackson (2019), for instance, states that "a L2 learner may be considered pragmatically competent if he or she can effectively accommodate pragmatic norms of the target or host language" (p. 488). In practice, however, what is actually meant by a community norm frequently remains vague and undiscussed but generally the assumption is of a standardised L1 norm. In the case of English, the default case is, thus, BrE or AmE (see above).

Discussions of variation in pragmatic and interlanguage pragmatic research have focused to a large extent on variation on a micro-social level, i.e. on the influence of situational factors, such as distance, hierarchy, and degree of imposition, on pragmatic-functional knowledge (Schneider & Barron, 2008; also models of communicative competence, such as Canale's 1983 sociolinguistic competence and Celce-Murcia et al.'s 1995 sociocultural competence). A small number of the models of communicative competence proposed to date (see Timpe Laughlin et al., 2015 for an overview) include knowledge of the influence of gender or age on language use conventions as part of pragmatic competence (sub-component: sociocultural knowledge) (e.g. Celce-Murcia et al., 1995, p. 23, Timpe Laughlin et al., 2015, p. 16). Discussion of such factors is, however, very limited and there is no mention of other potential macro-social variables.

The discussion of regional variation in models of communicative competence is vague. From a pragmatic perspective, recent empirical research findings on intralingual synchronic pragmatic variation in both World Englishes and variational pragmatic research show clearly that pragmatic conventions vary by region, whether on a national, sub-national, local, or sub-local level, and also according to such macro-social factors as gender, age, socio-economic class, and ethnic identity (Schneider & Barron, 2008). Models of communicative competence, however, do not deal explicitly with such regional pragmatic variation. Knowledge of dialects/varieties is included as part of pragmatic competence in a handful of models, such as those by Bachman and Palmer (1996, p. 70) and Celce-Murcia et al. (1995) or external to pragmatic competence in a parallel unit of intercultural competence in Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor (2006). Bachman and Palmer's (1996) sociolinguistic knowledge (a sub-component of pragmatic competence), for instance, "includes knowledge of the conventions that determine the appropriate use of dialects or varieties, registers, natural or idiomatic, expressions, cultural references, and figures of speech" (p. 70) (see also Bachman, 1990, p. 95). In Celce-Murcia et al. (1995), knowledge of dialect differences is included as part of sociocultural knowledge (cultural competence) (see also Usó-Juan & Martínez-Flor, 2006, p. 17-18 under intercultural competence). Their limited discussion touches on the status of EIL. They comment that "The awareness of major dialect and regional differences is particularly important with languages like English, where several considerably different standard regional varieties exist" (p. 25). Despite a reference to the multitude of regional standards, however, there is no further discussion or mention of the types of dialect and regional differences meant, be these phonological, syntactic, lexical or indeed pragmatic. Overall then, the integration of regional variation in models of communicative competence is limited. Pragmatic variation is not discussed to any large extent.

In conclusion then, models of communicative competence implicitly assume a standardised norm, in practice a BrE or AmE norm. In addition, despite some recognition in these models of the importance of knowledge of regional and social varieties for communicative competence, there is much vagueness around such competencies and what they mean for learners, with little mention that the conventions of use may differ across varieties and that an awareness of such variation is necessary to be communicatively competent. Given that, with the recent upsurge of research in variational pragmatics and World Englishes, there is increasingly an empirical basis on such pragmatic variation, an explicit integration of regional and social variation into models of pragmatic competence is called for (see also Schneider, 2017).

THE STUDY

In the following, we report on a variational pragmatic study conducted on responses to thanks across EngE and CanE. This example of variational pragmatic research on the actional level serves to illustrate the nature of regional variation and its interaction with social factors. In addition, the example provides empirical data which may be presented as input in the classroom context and used as a starting point for further empirical work, such as with corpora. We first sketch the state of the art in responses to thanks across regional varieties of English and then give details of the empirical study conducted and its findings.

Responses to Thanks across Regional Varieties of English

Responses to thanks represent the second part of an adjacency pair occurring after an expression of gratitude. Such expressions of gratitude are issued in response to a previous favour carried out by the thankee for the thanker (Wunderlich, 1980). Responses to thanks function "to minimize the thanker's indebtedness" (Schneider, 2005, p. 103). They may be realised verbally or non-verbally (via nods, smiles) (Bieswanger, 2015). Verbal responses are realized in a head move using standard routine formulae, such as "you're welcome," "no problem," "okay," "no worries." A head move may be accompanied by a range of supportive moves which are less formulaic, such as "We should do it again sometime" in the context of a thanks exchange relating to a coffee received by the thanker from the thankee (Schneider, 2005, p. 113). The following analysis focuses on the head moves realising a response to thanks. We concentrate on the type and tokens employed in response to thanks heads. So, for example, the tokens "no problem" and "no matter" and "no bother" all realise the type NO PROBLEM.

Studies on variation in responses to thanks are numerous. Edmondson and House (1981) conducted an early study using roleplay data from AmE NS and BrE NS. They report a higher use of responses to thanks in AmE relative to BrE (see also Leech & Svartvik, 1994). Schneider (2005) is, however, the first systematic cross-varietal study to investigate responses to thanks across national varieties of English. He investigates responses to thanks in AmE (Knoxville), EngE (Tadcaster) and IrE (Carlow) using production questionnaire data based on two responding to thanks situations. The same questionnaire was also employed in later investigations of CanE (Schneider, 2017) and of Namibian English (NamE) (Schröder & Schneider, 2018). The studies together reveal clear differences in head type preferences across regional varieties. In contrast to the preference for OKAY found in the EngE data (51.2%) and for WELCOME in the AmE data (53.5%), the PLEASURE type was preferred in the NamE data (61.1% (207)). In the CanE data reported on, NO PROBLEM was the preferred type (44.2%) followed by WELCOME (27.9%).

Responses to thanks have also been investigated in Cameroon English (CamE). Talla Sando Ouafeu (2009), for instance, analysed responses to thanks issued at the end of conversational interviews. Although the scheme of analysis does not follow an analysis by type, she reports on the use of two forms not recorded in research on other varieties of English. These include the forms "yes" and "for nothing." While "for nothing" (9% (15)) was used in a minority of response, "yes" was a commonly used form (41% (69)). Farenkia (2013) is a further study on CamE. Using production questionnaire data (although with different situations to Schneider, 2005), Farenkia (2013) investigates responses to thanks in CamE (Yaoundé) and CanE (Sydney, Nova Scotia). Broadly in line with the data reported in Schneider (2017), Farenkia (2013) finds the types NO PROBLEM (47.97%) and WELCOME (22.76%) to be most preferred in the CanE data and WELCOME (42.77%) and PLEASURE (25.43%) in the

CamE data (see also Farenkia, 2012). Similar to Tallo Sando Ouafeu (2009), Farenkia (2013, p. 714) also reports of the type "for nothing" realising a NO PROBLEM type. Finally, Bieswanger (2015) is a cross-varietal study of responses to thanks in AmE (New York City) and CanE (Vancouver) using field-notes focusing on responses to a "thank you" issued in the context of direction-giving. Similar to Schneider (2005) and broadly similar to the CanE data report in Schneider (2017), Bieswanger (2015) finds WELCOME and YEAH to be used very frequently in his AmE and also in his CanE data. He notes a higher Canadian preference for the realisation type NO PROBLEM relative to the US data.

An Empirical Study: Responses to Thanks in Canada and England

The present empirical study, using responses to thanks from the Lueneburg Direction-Giving (LuDiG) corpus, examines responses to thanks in the inner circle varieties, EngE and CanE, using cross-varietal interactional data (see Barron, 2017a, forthcoming, in progress on the challenges of interactional data). The LuDiG corpus is a collection of audio-recorded direction-giving exchanges which was constructed using a Labovian-style methodology which involved a researcher first asking strangers, both male and female, for directions and then thanking them for these directions using the form "thanks." "Thanks" in this context thus functioned to (a) express gratitude for the directions given and to (b) signal understanding of directions from the point of view of the direction-seeker and thus a willingness to close the exchange (see Psathas & Kozloff, 1976). The CanE data were gathered in Calgary; the EngE data in Bristol, both large urban centres. In the present analysis, a sub-set of the corpus is employed and the direction-givers, and thus also the persons responding to thanks, are all male and subjectively judged to be between the ages of 30-50 years old. The direction-seeker, and thus also the thanker, was the same female in both cases, a NS of CanE who had also studied in England. Table 1 shows the total number of informants.

Table 1. Total number of informants in EngE and CanE male sub-corpus

	CanE	EngE
No. of informants	36	39

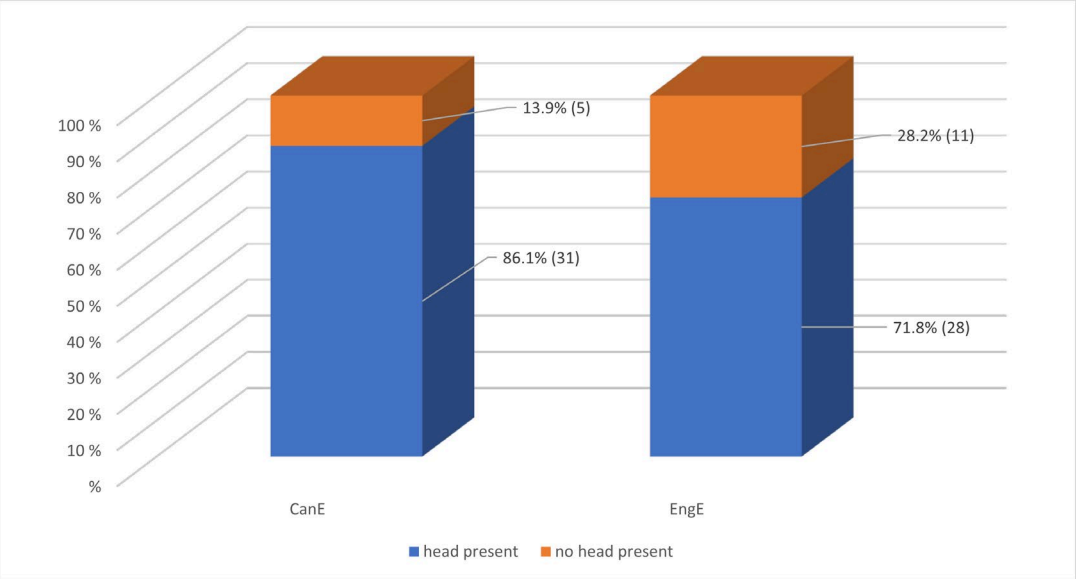

Figure 1. Presence of at least one conventionalised response to thanks token (head) across the varieties given in percentage

Verbal conventionalised responses to thanks are frequent in both varieties. Any differences in their overall use are not significant, with the EngE informants employing a head in 71.8% of interactions and CanE informants employing a head in 86.1% of interactions (($\chi^2(1) = 2.286$, $p = .164$, $\varphi = 0.175$)) (see Figure 1). Such high uses of verbal response to thanks in a direction-giving context support previous research by Bieswanger (2015), who found 90% (54) of his CanE informants to use a head. Similarly, Dinkin (2018) also reports a high use of responses to thanks at 81.7% (1256) in her CanE data. On the other hand, the findings contrast with Leech's (2014) description of responses to thanks. On the basis of data from the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Longman Corpus of Spoken American English (LCSAE) (but with more attention given to BrE (p. x)), Leech claims that "thanks … are rarely given verbal acknowledgement" (p. 200). This observation cannot be confirmed for either variety in the present data. Genre differences are suggested to possibly account for the divergent findings.

The majority of responses to thanks in both varieties consisted of a single head (cf. Figure 2). No significant differences were recorded across varieties ($\chi^2(2) = 1.518$, $p = .673$, $\varphi = 0.160$) (see Figure 2). These findings were broadly in line with those of Bieswanger (2015), who reports 70.4% (38) use of a single head in his direction-giving data. In the present EngE data, multiple realisations included "Yeah sure" and "Alright no worries." In the CanE data, they included "Yeah no problem," "Yeah you're welcome," "Yup no problem," "Ok sure," and the triple head "Thank you – yeah have a great day not a problem."

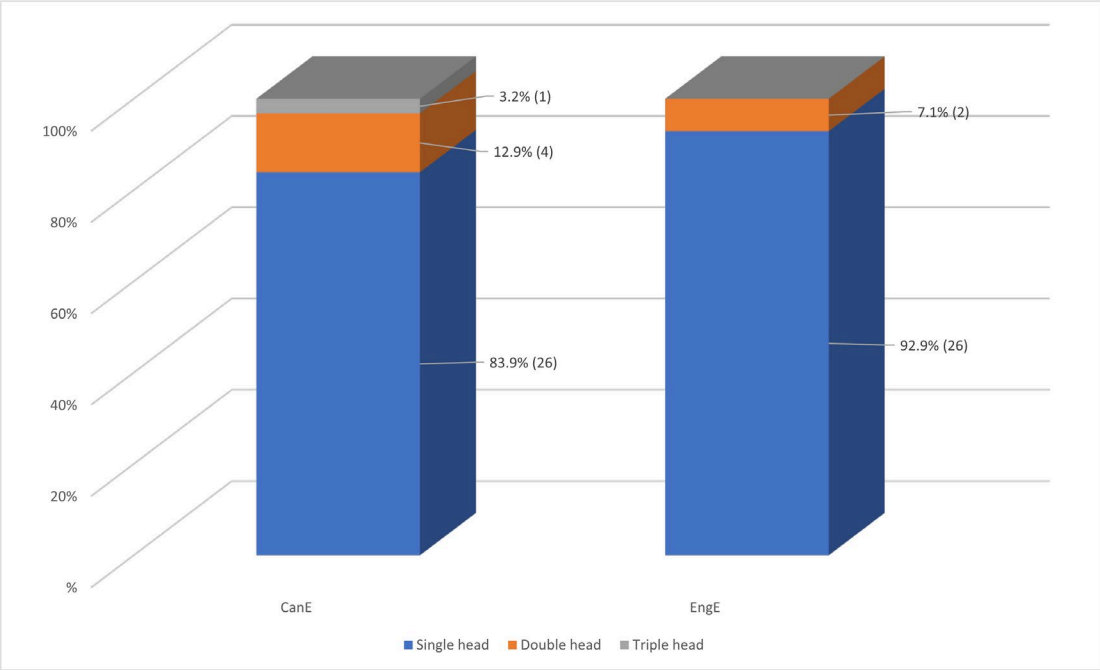

Figure 2. Distribution of single and multiple heads as a percentage of the number of informants using heads across varieties

Turning now to the response to thanks types and tokens used in the data, Table 2 provides an overview of the heads employed over all single and multiple responses to thanks in the corpus. All types – with the exception of COOL and YOU BET which represented newly recorded types – are adopted from previous research (see above). Significant differences between the EngE and CanE varieties were found in the types of response to thanks favoured in each variety. Thus, while CanE preferred WELCOME ($\chi^2(1) = 6.654$, $p = .014$, $\varphi = 0.315$ (Fisher's exact test), EngE strongly favoured OKAY ($\chi^2(1) = 17.4$, $p = .000$, $\varphi = 0.510$ (Fisher's exact test). Similarly, the NO PROBLEM type was employed to a higher extent in the CanE data than the EngE data ($\chi^2(1) = 4.798$, $p = .039$, $\varphi = 0.268$ (Fisher's exact test)). This high use of WELCOME and NO PROBLEM in the CanE data supports Bieswanger's (2015) findings for CanE. As we will see below, age differences explain the differences in the CanE data reported on in Schneider (2017).

The analysis of tokens (Table 2) shows "you're welcome" to be the only realisation of WELCOME in both varieties. Of the OKAY type, realisations involving "alright" are most frequent in the English data (66.67%), with realisations involving "okay" used in 33.3% (5) of cases. "No problem" is the main realisation of NO PROBLEM.

Table 2. Distribution of head types and tokens over single/ multiple responses to thanks across the varieties

Types	Tokens	CanE (n=37)	EngE (n=30)
WELCOME	You're welcome	32.4% (12)	6.7% (2)
OKAY		5.4% (2)	50% (15)
	Alright	-	(6)
	Alright?	(1)	-
	That's alright	-	(2)
	It's alright	-	(1)
	You're alright		(1)
	Okay	(1)	(3)
	Okay?	-	(2)
NO PROBLEM		32.4% (12)	10% (3)
	No problem	(10)	(2)
	Not a problem	(1)	
	No trouble	(1)	
	No matter	-	(1)
THANKS	Thank you	2.7% (1)	-
CHEERS	Cheers	-	10% (3)
YEAH		18.9% (7)	10% (3)
	Yeah	(4)	(1)
	Yup	(2)	(1)
	Yep	(1)	-
	Ya	-	(1)
NO WORRIES	No worries	-	6.7% (2)
COOL	Cool	2.7% (1)	-
SURE	Sure	2.7% (1)	3.3% (1)
YOU BET		2.7% (1)	3.3% (1)
	You betcha	(1)	-
	betcha	-	(1)

Underlying the responses to thanks types are six main strategy types, the four strategies, minimising the favour, expressing pleasure, expressing appreciation, and returning thanks, all postulated by Aijmer (1996, p. 40) and the verbally acknowledging the thanks strategy put forward by Schneider (2005, p. 121). Table 3 lists these strategies along with the types underlying them in the present corpus. The newly recorded type, YOU BET, similar to "you got it" identified by Staley (2018), realises an expressing appreciation strategy; the newly recorded COOL an expressing pleasure strategy.

Table 3. Distribution of response to thanks strategies across the varieties

	CanE	EngE

	(n=37)	(n=30)
Minimising the favour (OKAY, NO PROBLEM, NO WORRIES)	37.8% (14)	66.7% (20)
Expressing pleasure (PLEASURE, COOL)	2.7% (1)	-
Expressing appreciation (WELCOME, SURE, YOU BET)	37.8% (14)	13.3% (4)
Returning thanks (THANKS, CHEERS)	2.7% (1)	10% (3)
Verbally acknowledging the thanks (YEAH)	18.9% (7)	10% (3)

Minimising the favour is a strategy used extensively in both varieties. There is, however, a higher use of this strategy in the EngE data, with 66.7% of informants employing this strategy compared to 37.8% in the Canadian data ($\chi^2(1) = 5.509$, $p = .027$, $\varphi = 0.287$ (Fisher's exact test)). A further statistically significant difference is the higher use of the expressing appreciation strategy in the CanE data (37.8%) relative to the EngE data (13.3%) ($\chi^2(1) = 5.063$, $p = .029$, $\varphi = 0.275$ (Fisher's exact test)). It should be noted, however, that CHEERS has been categorised in the present analysis as a returning thanks strategy based on its status as a leave taker (cf. Cambridge Dictionary). An alternative categorisation is "cheers" as an expression of appreciation (cf. Staley 2018, p. 131). Such a categorisation would have decreased the cross-varietal gap between the use of an expressing appreciation strategy.

Despite the conventional nature of realisations of responses to thanks, the study of this speech act across the varieties of English provides several insights into pragmatic variation in EIL. These are detailed in the following.

(a) There are a limited number of (potentially) variety-specific response to thanks types/ tokens across regional varieties of English.

In the present data, CHEERS would appear to be variety-specific for the EngE data. Also, COOL as a response to thanks was only used in the CanE data. However, further research is needed to support such variety-specific claims. In addition, previous research by Talla Sando Ouafeu (2009) on CamE point to the potentially variety-specific nature of the response to thanks "for nothing" (see also Farenkia, 2013) and "yes."

(b) Responses to thanks are variety-preferential on the level of the strategy and types for regional varieties of English.

On the level of the strategy, the EngE informants are seen to clearly prefer a minimising the favour strategy. The CanE informants, on the other hand, employ both an expressing appreciation and a minimising the favour strategy. Such extensive use of the expressing appreciation strategy by the CanE informants suggests that on this level the conventions of use employed reveal similarities with AmE (see Bieswanger, 2015; Schneider, 2005 on AmE). On the level of the response to thanks type, the study shows that the CanE informants prefer the WELCOME and NO PROBLEM types, while the EngE informants prefer the OKAY type. Such variety-preferential differences on the level of strategy and type are in line with previous research, such as Schröder and Schneider (2018) who find the PLEASURE type to be preferred in NamE (see also Bieswanger, 2015; Farenika, 2013; Schneider, 2005; Schröder & Schneider, 2018 for similar findings).

(c) Reflection of cultural value schemes

The analysis of responses to thanks across CanE and EngE also offers insights into cultural value and politeness schemes (Farenkia, 2012). We have seen, for instance, a higher degree of indirectness in the EngE data relative to the CanE data via the higher use of responses to thanks tokens of the minimising the favour type in the EngE data. Notable is also the high use of heads, such as OKAY, in the EngE data which, unlike such types as WELCOME employed extensively in the CanE data, are not specialised for thanking exchanges (Dinkin, 2018). Such findings highlight a higher use of negative politeness in EngE and a relatively higher use of positive politeness in the CanE data. Thus, the minimising the favour strategy employed in 66.7% of the EngE data is directed to the negative face of the addressee and thus to his/her need for independence and freedom of action. On the other hand, the expressing appreciation strategy used to a comparatively higher extent in the Anglophone Canadian data (CanE: 37.8% vs. EngE: 13.3%) is a positive politeness strategy addressed to the addressee's positive face and thus his/her need to belong and to feel accepted by others (see Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987).

(d) Use/ lack of use of verbal responses to thanks heads

The use of verbal responses to thanks heads was similar across the CanE and EngE data in the present context. However, previous research has revealed differences on this level, with Edmondson and House (1981), for instance, highlighting a higher use of responses to thanks in AmE. Further research is required on this level (see, e.g., Barron, in progress on lower levels of responding to thanks in IrE).

The present study clearly shows that there is global variation on the level of language use in an EIL context. Such variation is seen in the range of variety-specific and variety-preferential uses of responses to thanks which exist across varieties. These may be seen as "independent and local … solutions in the complex linguistic ecology of the speech community" (Schröder & Schneider, 2018, p. 361). Importantly, however, global variation in language use conventions does not only concern regional pragmatic variation. Rather, region interacts with such macro-social factors as gender, age, socio-economic class and ethnic identity in influencing pragmatic choices. In the case of responses to thanks, Staley (2018), for instance, found socioeconomic variation in responses to thanks in AmE (Los Angeles) (see also Rüegg, 2014). On a pragmalinguistic level, she found a strategy of expressing appreciation to be the most common strategy in all low, mid, high social groups. However, this strategy was used least by the lower class group. On the level of type, Staley (2018) found a preference for the type WELCOME and PLEASURE in higher social class circles and a preference for the token "you got it" in middle-class interactions. Sociopragmatically, the study reports the lowest use of verbal response to be in the lower class data (Staley, 2018, p. 132). The effect of age on responses to thanks has also been investigated. Dinkin (2018) addresses such variation in a study of CanE (Toronto) using field notes gathered in a direction-giving situation. The analysis showed variation in responses to thanks by age, with the tokens "no problem" and "no worries" used increasingly by younger generations. This finding is in line with Farenkia's (2013) data, 90% of his informants being under the age of 25 years. Such findings explain the higher use of NO PROBLEM over WELCOME in CanE reported on in Schneider (2017) relative to the higher use of WELCOME over NO PROBLEM in Bieswanger's (2015) CanE data given that the CanE informants reported on in Schneider (2017) were school-goers and given that those in Bieswanger (2005) were between 30-50 years. Finally, insights into the influence of gender are provided by Myers Scotton and Bernsten (1988, p. 378) in a study of audio-taped direction-

giving on Michigan State University Campus. They found that more men than women avoided a verbal response to the "thank you" given (50% (58) men vs. 36% (36) women).

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE IN EIL

The recent emergence of research on regional pragmatic variation in the field of World Englishes and on regional and social pragmatic variation in the fields of variational pragmatics shows clearly that pragmatic variation exists on the regional and social levels. What does this mean for pragmatic competence in an EIL context?

EIL proposes that English language teaching should be culturally neutral (McKay, 2018). In other words, in contrast to the case in today's language classrooms, in which a single BrE or AmE norm is traditionally adopted and teaching closely linked to these cultures and traditions, EIL rather promotes the idea that English is a global language and belongs to all speakers regardless. This also means that a NS variety, such as the traditional BrE or AmE norm, is not an appropriate norm for EIL. Pragmatic research in variational pragmatics and World Englishes shows that there is no one pragmatic standard for English and thus also supports the move away from an automatic focus on BrE or AmE. At the same time, however, and as EIL researchers recognise, a culturally neutral classroom is not a classroom that does not deal with culture (McKay, 2018). Rather, being pragmatically competent in the EIL context means being aware of and sensitive to regional and social pragmatic variation across the varieties of English and also being aware of how L1 pragmatics influences pragmatic choices in English. In other words, users of English in all cultural contexts need to be taught to expect pragmatic variation and to accept that it is normal and natural and that no one variety or culture is superior or inferior to others. Indeed, not fostering an awareness of pragmatic variation can not only lead to prejudices against particular varieties or cultures but also potentially hamper cross-cultural understanding. Thus, in the case of responses to thanks, for instance, the NamE use of "my pleasure" may appear overly formal and inappropriate to those familiar with a negative politeness BrE norm, and the use of "you're welcome," common in CanE and AmE, may be seen from a BrE comparative perspective also as over-the-top (see above). That diverging pragmatic conventions may lead to negative feelings is evident in the following comment made by an Irish study abroad student in Barron (2003) after a 10-month stay in Germany. Despite dealing with the perception of German pragmatic norms to IrE speakers, this comment is also relevant to EIL because in today's global context not only do speakers meet different varieties with different pragmatic conventions but also ELF speakers transfer the pragmatic conventions of their L1 to the English they speak (Zufferey 2015).

(1) A19F: At the beginning, it is difficult to understand where they are coming from and it may really upset/annoy you but once you get used to it, you may understand them better and choose which way you wish to treat the situation, be it +, - … (p. 261)

This student had received no preparation in any pragmatic variation between IrE and German prior to her sojourn abroad and so she experienced German NS pragmatic norms for the first time on her year abroad. Comment (1) shows that speakers may not understand that different ways of using words are culturally determined and not individual actions. They may take

offence at norms of interaction which differ from their own and may see such diverging conventions as upsetting, annoying or hurting others.

The concept of learner agency is particularly important in the discussion of pragmatic competence given that L1 sociopragmatic norms are deeply entrenched. They are acquired via language socialisation and thus relate closely to speakers' personal development socially (Kecskes, 2014; Thomas, 1983). Thus, while users in the EIL context may adopt some pragmatic concepts and conventions of an internationally recognised standard, there may be others which they simply do not wish to adopt. The following are two comments, also taken from Barron (2003), which are interesting in this regard.

(2) C7F: At 21 years, I've developed my personality and nature and I don't believe I should have to become direct/more abrupt when speaking a foreign language. I don't want to be German – I want people to still notice that I'm Irish. (p. 248)

(3) A4F: Learning a language does entail learning the culture that goes with it but personally I prefer Irish attitudes and I don't want to change that. (p. 248)

Despite revealing an awareness of more direct German NS pragmatic norms, these learners in (2) and (3) rejected the norms, preferring to retain their L1 Irish identity. Thus, while, with exposure to other cultures, L1 pragmatic competence undergoes some adjustment and restructuring to accommodate L2 practices (Kecskes, 2014,), there are other concepts and practices which are rejected. Consequently, in an EIL context we should, for instance, not force NamE speakers to abandon NamE types, such as PLEASURE (Schröder & Schneider, 2018), or CamE speakers to abandon tokens such as "for nothing" or "yes" (Tallo Sando Ouafeu, 2009) in favour of the EngE type OKAY and the prototypical token "alright." Rather, in an EIL context, users must be allowed to choose their own pragmatic norms and create their own regional and/ or social identity and/or ELF identity (McKay, 2018; Kecskes 2014). What is important in this context is that learners are empowered with knowledge. Pragmatic uses must be informed uses.

Ultimately, it is educators in the EIL context who must decide how to reflect pragmatic variation in their classroom and thus how to introduce cross-cultural and macro-social pragmatic variation to the classroom. Important is that the lack of universal validity of speakers' own L1 pragmatic choices is highlighted and also that there is an awareness of the breath of pragmatic choices world-wide and across regional and social varieties of English. The following are but two options. One option is to present the range of pragmalinguistic forms existing across the varieties as well as information on sociopragmatic variation in a select number of varieties, whether inner, outer, or expanding (Kachru, 1985), based on learner needs. Learners themselves decide which conventions to follow. In the case of responses to thanks, for instance, learners might be introduced to the primary conventionalised types and tokens which realise a response to thanks. Information would then be given on variety-preferential uses of these forms and the small number of variety-specific forms. Such information would allow learners to position themselves and so communicate a particular identity in a particular context – whether that be a localised identity or an international identity. A learner, therefore, interacting in a Canadian context, can choose to employ "you're welcome" in the Canadian context if she/he wishes to align with a CanE norm, but "alright" in the context of a standardised exam taking a BrE norm (see also Barron, 2019 on the development/lack of development of localised forms). Alternatively, learners may choose to communicate an L1 or

a lingua franca identity in particular contexts and so in the former case, they may transfer an L1 form or strategy into the L2. Such transfer may or may not be in line with a pragmalinguistic form available in English. So, for instance, "*kein Problem*" in German would translate into "no problem" and be unproblematic as being recognised as a response to thanks. In contrast, however, a German learner might decide to reply "please" in response to an expression of gratitude, transferring the pragmalinguistic response to thanks routine "*bitte*" ('please') from the L1 into the L2. What is important in this context is that learners are empowered with knowledge, – i.e. it is necessary to teach users that "please" is not a form recognised in any of the varieties of English recorded to date to respond to thanks. Use of the transferred form should be conscious use, not use without knowledge. In addition to such attention to the formal level, attention should be paid to the underlying strategy and learners should be made aware that some cultures place a higher value on positive politeness, communicated via forms, such as "you're welcome," or negative politeness (e.g. "no problem"). They can decide for themselves whether they wish to align or not.

Alternatively, each classroom could be let decide for itself based on its specific context, needs, and goals on what variety the predominant focus in class should be placed, whether that be, for instance, an endonormative standard (e.g., Meer, Westphal, Hansel, & Deuber, 2019; Westphal, 2015) or an exonormative standard used in international exams (e.g., AmE, BrE) (see also Matsuda, 2012). Once this decision is made, the pragmatics of the chosen variety can then be focused on with the aim of achieving productive competence while at the same time keeping L1 pragmatic preferences and the concept of learner agency in mind. Accompanying such a focus, it is then also necessary to expose learners to variety-specific pragmalinguistic forms and variety-preferred uses to develop an awareness of the fact that pragmatic norms differ across regional and social varieties of English and to foster in them an openness to accepting different conventions of use users may adopt. Thus, the focus is on empowerment, i.e. on knowledge of macro-social pragmatic variation.

There are many practical ways variation in pragmatic choices around the globe might be implemented in the classroom irrespective of the norm or approach taken in the classroom. As an entry point into the topic of pragmatic variation, dealing with a speech act of low complexity might, for instance, serve as a starting point. In a very first step to introduce the topic, learners could be given a multiple choice task such as the following:

Let us consider the following situation. You are approached by someone on the street and asked for directions. You know where the place is and give directions. What do you say in response to the direction-seeker's "thanks" at the end of the interaction?

(a) "my pleasure"
(b) "alright"
(c) "you're welcome"
(d) "for nothing"
(e) I would not say anything
(f) I would say something else: Give details _____

Following this opening ice-breaker to the topic, learners could then be encouraged to think about responses to thanks and to collect data in English for this same direction-giving situation themselves using the field-note method irrespective of whether they live in a context in which English is a first language, a second language, or a foreign language. Alternatively, as a class project, learners might be asked to distribute a simple production questionnaire to

English speaking informants, ideally from around the world. Such steps increase speakers' awareness of pragmatic conventions and also encourage particularly speakers of local varieties of English, such as CamE, to view their own variety as a variety in its own right rather than a deviant form relative to the standard taught in the classroom (see also Tallo Sando Ouafeu, 2009). Following this step, learners may be then asked to compare these findings to those of the empirical study presented in this chapter. Differing underlying cultural values, such as the use of more or less negative/positive politeness, might also be discussed at this stage. Further steps in increasing pragmalinguistic knowledge and in highlighting pragmatic variation might include supplementing the analysis with corpus data either in the form of concordance lines prepared by the teacher in advance or by having learners search corpora themselves. There is an array of online corpora available for contrasting the varieties of English around the world in a range of genres. The International Corpus of English, for instance, offers comparable data for investigating not only responses to thanks across varieties but also an array of speech acts and functions. Of these, speech acts, such as apologies, expressions of gratitude, leave-takes, and responses to thanks, are particularly suitable for such corpora searches given their conventional nature (see Barron, 2017a; Jucker, 2009 on the challenges of using corpora for pragmatic research). In addition, an array of newer online comparable corpora in the English-Corpora.org collection allows cross-varietal analyses. These include, for instance, the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE), The TV corpus, The Movie corpus and the NOW Corpus (News on the Web).

CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The present chapter addressed how EIL might shape and reshape our understanding of pragmatic competence. It has shown – also via a cross-varietal empirical study of responses to thanks in EngE and CanE situated in the area of variational pragmatics – that pragmatic norms vary across the varieties of English and that these regional conventions interact with social factors. Some variation is variety-specific, as in the case of some pragmalinguistic forms for responding to thanks. Most variation is variety-preferential, meaning that most variation is not in the linguistic forms employed but in the preferred pragmatic choices made by individual varieties from the range of pragmalinguistic resources in English. In the context of EIL and given this variety of pragmatic norms, the present chapter argued that teaching pragmatic competence in EIL means taking learner needs and context into account and consciously choosing the varieties of English to focus on. It means giving due consideration to the varieties of English which learners are exposed to and rejecting a single automatic BrE or AmE NS norm. The EIL context makes it necessary to make clear that there is no one superior English pragmatic standard but rather that there exist an array of English pragmatics, each of which reflect their own cultural values. EIL means recognising these varieties all across the globe and empowering learners to expect and accept pragmatic variation. Learner agency is important in an EIL context. In other words, equipped with knowledge of pragmatic transfer and pragmatic variation, users should not be forced to use culturally governed modes of language behaviour with which they feel uncomfortable. Rather, they should be given the freedom to create an identity for themselves using pragmatic means to the point of accepting L1 influence. The exact details of how the realities of the EIL context, and thus also macro-social pragmatic variation, are introduced to the classroom is ultimately a decision for educators. In the present context, we have sketched two possible scenarios and also given suggestions for concrete tasks for the classroom.

Despite a long tradition of research on pragmatic variation across languages (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989), research on pragmatic variation across the varieties of English is a relatively young endeavour (Barron & Schneider, 2009; Schneider & Barron, 2008). In recent years, the fields of variational pragmatics and World Englishes have delivered research findings which demonstrate that pragmatic variation across the varieties of English does exist and variational pragmatics has also shown that region interacts with further macro-social factors, such as age, gender, and socio-economic class. However, research in this area is still in its infancy as also shown in the limited attention it has received in some recent international textbooks on global Englishes (Galloway & Rose, 2015; Schneider, 2011) and in linguistic encyclopaedias, such as Crystal (2019). Indeed, Schneider (2011, p. 25), in his linguistic textbook *English around the World*, notes in the regard that "A … wide open field, though understudied, are differences in pragmatics, conventions on how to behave, also verbally, in specific contexts – e.g. the use of honorifics or expressions of politeness." What is needed is more empirical pragmatic research on macrosocial pragmatic variation. Such research should ideally – as in variational pragmatic research and as in the present exemplary case study – be contrastive because it is only in contrasting varieties that we know what aspects of pragmatic competence are shared by varieties or indeed variety-specific or variety-preferential.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Emily Black and Daniel Popp for their work on the empirical part of the present project. All limitations remain my own.

References

Aijmer, K. (1996). *Conversational routines in English: Convention and creativity*. London: Addison Wesley Longman.

Bachman, L. F. (1990). *Fundamental considerations in language testing.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bachman, L. F., & Palmer, A. S. (1996). *Language testing in practice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in interlanguage pragmatics: Learning how to do things with words in a study abroad context.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barron, A. (2005). Variational pragmatics in the foreign language classroom. *System*, *33*(3), 519-536.

Barron, A. (2008). The structure of requests in Irish English and English English. In K. P. Schneider & A. Barron (Eds), *Variational pragmatics. A focus on regional varieties in pluricentric languages* (pp. 35-67). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barron, A., & Schneider, K. P. (2009). Variational pragmatics: Studying the impact of social factors on language use in interaction. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 6*(4), 425-442.

Barron, A. (2011). Variation revisited: A corpus analysis of offers in Irish English and British English. In J. Frenk & L. Steveker (Eds), *Anglistentag 2010 Saarbrücken: Proceedings* (pp. 407-419). Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.

Barron, A. (2014). Variational pragmatics. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of applied linguistics (EAL): Electronic version* (pp. 1-7). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Barron, A. (2017a). The speech act of 'offers' in Irish English. *World Englishes*, *36*(2), 224-238.

Barron, A. (2017b). Variational pragmatics. In A. Barron, Y. Gu, & G. Steen (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of pragmatics* (pp. 91-104). New York, NY: Routledge.

Barron, A. (2019). Contrastivity and the pragmatic variable: Responses to thanks across English as a pluricentric language. Plenary address delivered at the languages, nations, cultures: Pluricentric languages in context(s) (LNC 2019). Conference, 22-24.5.2019, Stockholm University.

Barron, A. (forthcoming). Pragmatic variability across time and space. In M. Haugh, D. Kádár, & M. Terkourafi (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of sociopragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barron, A. (in progress). Comparability and contrastivity in variational pragmatics. *Sociolinguistica*

Bieswanger, M. (2008). Varieties of English in current English language teaching. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics, 38*, 27-47.

Bieswanger, M (2015). Variational pragmatics and responding to thanks – Revisited. *Multilingua, 34*(4), 527-546.

Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., & Kasper, G. (1989). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1978). Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In E.N. Goody (Ed.)*, Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction* (pp. 56-289). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/

Canale, M. (1980). From communicative competence to communicative language pedagogy. In J.C. Richards & R. Schmidt (Eds.)*, Language and communication* (pp. 2-27), London: Longman.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics, 1*(1), 1-47.

Celce-Murcia, M., Dörnyei, Z., & Thurrell, S. (1995). Communicative competence: A pedagogically motivated model with content specifications. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 6(2), 5-35.

Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE). (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.english-corpora.org/glowbe/

Crystal, D. (2019). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language* (3rd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dinkin, A. J. (2018). It's no problem to be polite: Apparent-time change in responses to thanks. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 22*(2), 190-215.

Edmondson, W., & House, J. (1981). *Let's talk and talk about it: A pedagogic interactional grammar of English*. München: Urban & Schwarzenberg.

English-Corpora.org. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.english-corpora.org/

Farenkia, B. M. (2012). Face-saving strategies in responding to gratitude expressions: Evidence from Canadian English. *International Journal of English Linguistics, 2*(4), 1-11.

Farenkia, B. M. (2013). “All thanks goes to the almighty” – A variational and postcolonial pragmatic perspective on responses to thanks. *Sino-US English Teaching, 10*(9), 707-724.

Félix-Brasdefer, J. C. (2012). Pragmatic variation by gender in market service encounters in Mexico. In J. C. Félix-Brasdefer & D. A. Koike (Eds.), *Pragmatic variation in first and second language contexts: Methodological issues* (pp. 17-49). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Forsberg, J., Mohr, S., & Jansen, S. (2019). The goal is to enable students to communicate: Communicative competence and target varieties in TEFL practices in Sweden and Germany. *European Journal of Applied Linguistics, 7*(1), 31-60.

Galloway, N., & Rose, H. (2015). *Introducing global Englishes*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Henderson, A., Frost, D., Tergujeff, E., Kautzsch, A., Murphy, D., Kirkova-Naskova, A., Waniek-Klimczak, E., Levey, D., Cunningham U., & Curnick, L. (2012). The English pronunciation teaching in Europe survey: Selected results. *Research in Language, 10*(2), 5-28.

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 269-293). Middlesex: Penguin.

International Corpus of English. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://ice-corpora.net/ice/

Jackson, J. (2019). Intercultural competence and L2 pragmatics. In N. Taguchi (Ed), *The Routledge handbook of second language acquisition and pragmatic* (pp. 479-494). New York: Routledge.

Jucker, A. H. (2009). Speech act research between armchair, field and laboratory: The case of compliments. *Journal of Pragmatics, 41*, 1611-1635.

Kachru, B. B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11-30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kachru, Y. (2017). World Englishes, pragmatics, and discourse. In M. Filppula, J. Klemola, & D. Sharma (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of World Englishes* (pp. 272-290). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kasper, G. (2006). Speech acts in interaction: Towards discursive pragmatics. In K. Bardovi-Harlig, C. Felix-Brasdefer, & A.S. Omar (Eds.), *Pragmatics and language learning* (Vol. 11, pp. 281-314). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i at Manoa National Foreign Language Resource Center.

Kecskes, I. (2014). *Intercultural competence.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Leech, G. (2014). *The pragmatics of politeness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1994). *A communicative grammar of English* (2nd edition). London: Longman.

LoCastro, V. (2003*). An introduction to pragmatics: Social action for language teachers*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

Marlina, R. (2014).The pedagogy of English as an International Language (EIL): More reflections and dialogues. In R. Marlina & R. A. Giri (Eds.), *The pedagogy of English as an international language: Perspectives from scholars, teachers, and students* (pp. 1-19). New York, NY: Springer.

Marlina, R. (2018). Revisiting the pedagogy of English as an international language. *RELC Journal*, *49*(1), 3-8.

Matsuda, A. (2012). Teaching materials in EIL. In L. Alsafoff, S. L McKay, G. Hu, & W. A. Renandya (Eds.), *Principles and practices for teaching English as an international language* (pp. 168-185). New York, NY: Routledge.

Matsuda, A. (2017). Introduction. In A. Matsuda (Ed.), *Preparing teachers to teach English as an international language* (pp. xiii-xxi). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

McKay, S. L. (2018), English as an international language: What it is and what it means for pedagogy. *RELC Journal, 49*(1), 9-23.

Meer, P., Westphal, M., Hansel, E. C., & Deuber, D. (2019). Trinidadian secondary school students' attitudes toward accents of Standard English. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages, 34*(1), 83-125.

Milroy, J. (1981). *Regional accents of English: Belfast.* Belfast: Blackstaff Press.

Myers Scotton, C., & Bernsten, J. (1988). Natural conversations as a model for textbook dialogue. *Applied Linguistics*, *9*(4), 372-384.

Nestor, N., Ní Chasaide, C., & Regan, V. (2012). Discourse 'like' and social identity - A case study of poles in Ireland. In B. Migge & M. Ní Chiosáin (Eds.), *New perspectives on Irish English* (pp. 327–353). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nilsson, J., Norrthon, S., Lindström, J., & Wide, C. (2018). Greetings as social action in Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish service encounters – A pluricentric perspective. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 15*(1), 57-88.

NOW Corpus (News on the Web). (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.english-corpora.org/now/

Psathas, G., & Kozloff, M. (1976). The structure of directions. *Semiotica, 17*(2), 111-130.

Rüegg, L. (2014). Thanks responses in three socio-economic settings: A variational pragmatics approach. *Journal of Pragmatics, 71*, 17-30.

Schneider, E. W. (2011). *English around the world.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, K. P. (2005). No problem, you're welcome, anytime: Responding to thanks in Ireland, England, and the U.S.A. In A. Barron & K. P. Schneider (Eds.), *The pragmatics of Irish English* (pp. 101-140). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Schneider, K. P. (2010). Variational pragmatics. In M. Fried, J.-O. Östman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Variation and change: Pragmatic perspectives* (pp. 239-267). Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA: Benjamins.

Schneider, K. P. (2017). Pragmatic competence and pragmatic variation. In R. Giora & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Doing pragmatics interculturally: Cognitive, philosophical and sociopragmatic perspectives* (pp. 315-333). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Schneider, K. P. (forthcoming). Variational pragmatics. In D. K. Haugh & M. Terkourafi (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of sociopragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, K. P., & Barron, A. (2008), Where pragmatics and dialectology meet: Introducing variational pragmatics. In K. P. Schneider & A. Barron (Eds), *Variational pragmatics: A focus on regional varieties in pluricentric languages* (pp. 1-32). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Schröder, A., & Schneider, K. P. (2018). Variational pragmatics, responses to thanks, and the specificity of English in Namibia. *English World-Wide, 39*(3), 338-363.

Simon, E. (2005). How native-like do you want to sound? A study on the pronunciation target of advanced learners of English in Flanders. *Moderna Språk*, *99*(1), 12-21.

Staley, L. (2018). *Socioeconomic pragmatic variation.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Statista. (2019). *The most spoken languages worldwide (native speakers in millions).* Retrieved from https://www.statista.com/statistics/266808/the-most-spoken-languages-worldwide/

Taguchi, N. (2019). Second language acquisition and pragmatics. In N. Taguchi, (Ed), *The Routledge handbook of second language acquisition and pragmatics* (pp. 1-14). New York, Ny: Routledge

Taguchi, N., & Ishihara, N. (2018). The pragmatics of English as a Lingua Franca: Research and pedagogy in the era of globalization. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 38*, 80-101.

Tajeddin, Z., Alemi, M. & Pashmforoosh, R. (2018). Idealized native-speaker linguistic and pragmatic norms in English as an international language: exploring the perceptions of non-native English teachers. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *18*(3), 300-314.

Talla Sando Ouafeu, Y. (2009). Thanking responders in Cameroon English. *World Englishes, 28*(4), 544-551.

The Movie Corpus. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.english-corpora.org/movies/

The TV Corpus. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.english-corpora.org/tv/

Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics, 4*(2), 91-112.

Timpe Laughlin, V., Wain, J., & Schmidgall, J. (2015). Defining and operationalizing the construct of pragmatic competence: Review and recommendations. *Research Report ETS RR-15-06*. Retrieved from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1109686.pdf

Usó-Juan, E., & Martínez-Flor, A. (2006). Approaches to language learning and teaching: Towards acquiring communicative competence through the four skills. In E. Usó-Juan & A. Martínez-Flor (Eds.), *Current trends in the development and teaching of the four language skills* (pp. 3-25). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Westphal, M. (2015). Linguistic decolonization in Jamaican radio. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 63*(2), 179-197.

Wunderlich, D. (1980), Methodological remarks on speech act theory. In J. R. Searle, F. Kiefer, & M. Bierwisch (Eds.), *Speech act theory and pragmatics* (pp. 291-312). Dordrecht: Reidel.

Young, R. F. (2013). Learning to talk the talk and walk the walk: Interactional competence in academic spoken English. *Ibérica, 25*, 15-38.

Zufferey, S. (2015). *Acquiring pragmatics. Social and cognitive perspectives*. London: Routledge.