

Graduate School of Education
Spring 2024

English & American Culture

Table of Contents

Section 1: Syllabus <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Overview of course and weekly plan• Grading Criteria• In-class activities and projects• Homework on class readings	
Section 2: Annotated Bibliography Sample <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Examples of APA citations• Sample articles• Sample summary	
Section 3: Readings <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <u>Reading 1:</u><ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ “Introduction to Culture” from <i>Crossing Cultures in the Language Classroom</i>• <u>Reading 2:</u><ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ “The Cultural Experience” from <i>Teaching Culture: Perspectives in Practice</i>• <u>Reading 3:</u><ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ “Language-and-Culture” from <i>Teaching Culture: Perspectives in Practice</i>• <u>Reading 4:</u><ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ “The Culture Learning Process” from <i>Teaching Culture: Perspectives in Practice</i>• <u>Reading 5:</u><ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ “Pragmatics and Communication” from <i>Crossing Cultures in the Language Classroom</i>	
Section 4: Resources <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Cultural Learning Lesson Plan• Pragmatics Review for Final Project	
Section 5: Appendix <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Pragmatics: A Study Guide• Script to “The One Where Everyone Finds Out”	

Section 1

Syllabus & Schedule

Section 1: Syllabus

Graduate School of Education – English & American Culture

Instructor: James Brawn

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The purpose of this course is for educators to become more culturally aware. We will begin by examining ourselves and our context. Participants will become more culturally aware of themselves as cultural beings and learn necessary skills to better prepare others for living in today's multicultural world. Various cultural theories will be examined. Participants will also take part in a number of experiential activities that will provide a greater understanding of the theoretical concepts.

We will be using a course packet available at [참글](#)

Grading and assessments:

20% Attendance and active participation
10% Annotated Bibliography Project
20% Homework on readings
25% Project/Presentation 1
25% Project/Presentation 2

Attendance [10%] & Participation [10%] (20%)

Attendance is **mandatory**. Participants who arrive to class **10 minutes or more** after the start of class will be **considered late**. Participants who are **late 3 times** will receive **1 absence**. Any participant who **misses ¼ or more** of all class meetings **WILL receive an F** in the course. **More important than attendance is participation**. I expect participants to be active in class discussions and to complete all oral and written assignments **BY THE DUE DATE**. If assignments are handed in late without prior permission from the instructor, **10% for each late day will be deducted from the grade**. Finally, participants in this course will have several opportunities to apply the skills learned in lectures, discussions and workshops by engaging in various “in-class” activities and projects.

Annotated Bibliography Project (10%)

Due in week 3 - The purpose of this project is to answer: Why do Korean educators need to be aware of issues in multiculturalism and multicultural education? Students will be asked to watch a short news program about changing face of Korea. Then they will be asked to find three articles on the subject of multiculturalism and or multicultural education in Korea. The articles can be written in English or Korean. Students will:

- 1) photocopy or print out each article (*You cannot use the sample article!!*)
- 2) provide an APA citation for the article (If you don't know APA style please see <http://www.apastyle.org/> and the example below)
- 3) summarize each article, and
- 4) use the information found in all the articles to answer and explain: ***Why do Korean educators need to be aware of issues in multiculturalism and multicultural educations?***

Homework on readings (20%)

It is essential to be prepared for each class by completing the required readings. This will provide you with the background knowledge on the topic and allow you to participate actively in the class discussion. In order to ensure that you have read the required readings for class, you will be expected to do a short homework assignment for the reading. This homework assignment involves answering the guiding reading questions (see below). These homework assignments are to be submitted at the beginning of class. **Late submissions will NOT be accepted.**

Project and Presentation 1 (25%)

Each participant will be asked to research and present their finding on one of the following aspects of culture:

1. Collectivist vs. Individualist
2. Universalist vs. Particularist
3. Monochronic vs. Polychronic
4. Internal vs. External
5. Face
6. Societal Roles
7. Ethnocentrism
8. Direct vs. Indirect communication (High and Low Context)
9. Power distance
10. Uncertainty Avoidance

Each presentation should be 15-20 minutes in length. The presenter will define and describe the term and/or terms, provide appropriate examples, describe and analyze how this aspect of culture can cause cultural conflict or misunderstanding, and finally make recommendations on how to teach or raise student awareness about this or these issues.

Project and Presentation 2 (25%)

Each participant will be asked to analyze a situational comedy in terms of pragmatics. One way that situation comedies create humor is through the breaking of pragmatic conventions. Participants will show clips from a situational comedy and identify the pragmatic conventions that were broken and provide examples of more appropriate language use.

HUFS grading scale:

- A+ = 96-100%
- AO = 90-94%
- B+ = 85-89%
- BO = 80-84%
- C+ = 75-79%
- CO = 70-74%
- F = 69% or less

Weekly Plan

This weekly plan is a *tentative* plan. It will act as a flexible guideline for the classes throughout the semester and may not be followed exactly due to holidays or participant needs. The lecturer will decide what to cover according to the participants' needs, their understanding of the contents, time remaining and overall progress.

Week/Date	Readings/Project	In class activities/Assignments
Week 1	<i>Changing Korea:</i> Annotated Bibliography	Introduction of students, lecturer and course - Project - Intro
Week 2	Introduction to Culture from <i>Crossing Cultures in the Language Classroom</i>	Foundational Experience: Chronic Processing & Discussion about reading
Week 3	<i>Changing Korea:</i> Annotated Bibliography Project - Due	Discussion/Lecture about Introduction to Culture. Defining Key Vocabulary
Week 4	The Cultural Experience from <i>Teaching Culture: Perspectives in Practice</i>	Discussion/Lecture Cultural Experience Introduce Mid-term project
Week 5	Language and Culture from <i>Teaching Culture: Perspectives in Practice</i>	Discussion/Lecture about Language and Culture - Time for groups to discuss projects
Week 6		Discussion/Lecture tie up loose ends Sample of Culture Presentation
Week 7		Preparation for presentation and project #1
Week 8		Presentations Day 1
Week 9		Presentations Day 2
Week 10	The Culture Learning Process from <i>Teaching Culture: Perspectives in Practice</i>	Discussion/Lecture about reading Poster: Language needed to reflect on cultural learning
Week 11	Pragmatics and Communication from <i>Crossing Cultures in the Language Classroom</i>	Discussion/Lecture about reading
Week 12	Review of terms for the final project	Discussion/Lecture about reading Examples of pragmatic analysis
Week 13		Final Project Sample Preparation for presentation and project #2
Week 14		Presentation Day 1
Week 15		Presentations Day 2
Week 16		Presentations Day 3 (if necessary) Course Evaluation and Survey

Section 2

Annotated Bibliography Sample

APA citation:

Lankov, A. (2011, July 7). International marriages. *Korea Times Online*. Retrieved from http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2011/07/137_90454.html

Summary:

In this article the author describes how Korea has changed demographically in the last twenty years. In particular the author describes how international marriages have dramatically increased since 2000; from 3.5% to a high of 13.5% of all marriages in 2005 with a yearly average of now around 10%. Most of these marriages are occurring between Korean men and foreign women. The author notes that most of these marriages are taking place in rural areas because Korean women have been leaving the countryside in droves since 1990 and this has left a dearth of marriageable women. Consequently, Korean men; especially farmers, have been seeking “mail order” brides from such countries as China, Vietnam, Cambodia and the Philippines and this quickly changing the demographic make up of the Southern part of the Korean peninsula. Although, the author notes that the average age difference between the “mail order” brides and their Korean husbands is high (17 to 17.5 years for Vietnamese and Cambodian brides), he nevertheless believes that if the couples treat each other with kindness and respect, they may not find romantic love, but they may find happiness and satisfaction.

Article/Photocopy:

International marriages

By Andrei Lankov

When in the early 1990s I published a book on daily life in Korea, I stated with a measure of confidence: “As a rule, Koreans do not approve of mixed marriages.” This might sound like a generalization, but it seemed that back then, some 20 years ago, that public opinion polls supported such a statement: studies confirmed that South Koreans were remarkably less willing to marry their children to foreigners than, say, Hong Kong Chinese or Japanese parents.

Had anybody told me 20 years ago that very soon Korea would become one of the world’s leaders in the number of “international” marriages, I would probably have laughed. But “never say never” — this is exactly what began to happen after the year 2000.

To be more exact, a type of international marriage was quite common in Korea from the late 1940s: marriages between Korean girls and American soldiers. No exact statistics seems to be available, but the number of such marriages over the last half a century might be as many as 100,000. In most cases, though, Korean spouses came from underprivileged social groups and were more or less despised (or, perhaps, pitied) by mainstream society.

Things began to change in the late 1990s. In 2000, 3.5 percent newly registered marriages in Korea were with foreigners and in 2005 the share of such marriages reached 13.5 percent. In the subsequent years the ratio has fluctuated between 10 and 13 percent, and in 2009 some 10.9 percent of all new marriages were

concluded with foreigners. And, remarkably, it is Korean males who usually take a foreign spouse nowadays — in 2009, 75.5 percent of all newly registered mixed marriages had a Korean groom and a foreign bride.

From the first glance at the available marriage statistics the nature of these unions become clear: this is essentially one of the largest mail-order-bride operations the world has ever seen. Korean farmers, largely from the less developed parts of the country, marry young women from Asian countries.

In 2009, about a third of all brides in newly registered mixed marriages (34.1 percent, to be exact) came from China. Vietnam was the second large bride exporter, with 21.8 percent of all brides being females from this wonderful yet underdeveloped country. China and Vietnam were followed by Cambodia and the Philippines, but also by Japan (even though the nature of the marriages between Japanese women and Korean men must be different).

This explosive growth in the number of such marriages was brought about by demographic changes in the Korean countryside, principally the flight of marriageable young women to the cities. From the 1990s women began to leave their native villages in droves, while men were expected to take care of the family farms and had no choice but to stay. So, foreign brides were “discovered,” and nowadays the share of mixed marriages in the countryside is astonishing. For example, in South Jeolla Province, 43.5 percent of all farmers who married in 2009 took a foreign bride.

Not surprisingly, foreign wives tend to be much younger than their Korean husbands — the norm for mail-order brides worldwide. A 2009 large-scale survey of mixed families indicated that on average the wife was 8.3 years younger. However, this research dealt with all existing mixed marriages, including those with a Korean wife, so for foreign wives from some countries the difference could be much greater: for Cambodia, the average age difference reached 17.5 years, and in the case of Korean-Vietnamese marriages the average age difference is 17 years.

Most of the marriage partners come from East Asian countries which are culturally similar to Korea. Actually, many Koreans say that the foreign brides, especially those from Vietnam, remind them of the Korean women of the good (read “patriarchal”) old days when Confucian norms were still adhered to unconditionally and women knew their “proper place.” As a poster advertising brides from Vietnam says: “Vietnamese girls, they who never run away.”

International marriage brokers arrange for the wife-seeking farmers to come to Vietnam or China, where they are introduced to a number of potential marriage candidates. Then the choice is made and the paperwork begins, and in a few months, a new bride lands in Korea.

Taking into consideration such a backdrop, one shouldn't be surprised to hear that these marriages are often criticized in the Korean media. There are good reasons to worry about such marriages, but perhaps a more balanced view on these unions would be more sanguine.

Indeed, most of those marriages are driven by pragmatic considerations, but we should not forget that the same is applicable to a majority of marriages throughout the world. The idea of love as the sole legitimate reason for getting married is very recent (maybe, a century or so old), and so far it has prevailed only in the more affluent parts of the globe.

Of course, it would be naive to think that the life of our ancestors was devoid of domestic bliss — there is much evidence that tells us that the opposite was true. If people were good to one another, and caring, they might become a perfect couple, whatever the initial reasons for their marriages.

But one thing is clear: Korea is not a mono-ethnic country any more — or rather it is losing this peculiarity at an amazing speed.

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You will need to do this for a total of three articles. After you have found and summarized your three articles, you will need to answer the question:

*Why do Korean educators need to be aware of issues in multiculturalism and multicultural educations? Use what you learned from **ALL** three articles to answer the question.*

There is no correct answer to this question.

Your answers will depend on your beliefs and the articles you have summarized. When you answer the question **you must** use and refer to the information in the articles you have read and summarized to support your opinion and reasoning. You only need to the answer the question once; that is after you have read and summarized the three articles. It is important that the articles you choose help you answer the question. Choosing an article about multiculturalism in the US may not be helpful unless you can use it to answer the question above.

Section 3

*Readings & Homework
Questions*

**Reading 1: “Introduction to Culture” from
*Crossing Cultures in the Language Classroom***

Directions: Answers these three questions on a separate sheet of paper. I will collect in next week’s class.

1. Define the following terms and provide examples where appropriate: culture, enculturation, emics/etics, beliefs, values, norms, and attitudes.

2. In this chapter, the authors make a distinction between **Culture** written with a capital **C** and **culture** written with a lowercase **c**. What is the distinction that the authors are making? Can you provide your own examples?

3. In this chapter, the authors describe **linguistic relativity**. What is **linguistic relativity**? Can you provide an example?

“A teacher for a day, a father for life.”

Chinese proverb

Chapter 1

Introduction to Culture

I. Anecdote: “*Two sets of eyes*”

The concept of culture can be rather ambiguous. People often ask, “What *are* you?” which translates into “What is your cultural background?”

Sook, a Korean-American woman who was frequently teased about her background while growing up, recounts her father’s words to her after she came home one day in tears. As her father met her at the door, Sook tearfully said, “Dad, everyone is making fun of the way I look.”

Her father took her by the hand and replied, “Let me tell you something, Sook. You are a very special person and a very lucky one.”

“I am?” Sook responded in disbelief.

“Yes you are—because you have *two* sets of eyes with which to see the world.”

“What do you mean?” Sook asked baffled.

“You are both special and lucky because you see the world through both Korean *and* American eyes.”

Although Sook continued to be made fun of, and even at times discriminated against, she realized over and over again how her father’s words had empowered her. She felt both proud and lucky to be able to see the world from two different points of view.

Discussion of Key Issues

We all have different eyes with which we see the world. We often react to situations instinctively and interpret situations based on our own cultural “eyes,” that is, our cultural influences and conditioning. Most of us do not realize that our values, beliefs, and ways of interpreting the world are not absolutes in the way that the laws of physics are, that they are a part of our upbringing and cultural heritage and vary accordingly. Consequently, our preconceptions and attitudes may often lead us to misunderstand, misinterpret, or even be completely unaware of a sensitive or offensive behavior in cross-cultural encounters.

We need to learn to observe behavior, including our own, more carefully. As we assume, albeit often unconsciously, that our way is the “normal,” “natural,” “right” way to do things, we tend to react at a gut level to what we perceive as offensive or negative. We are unaware that what has offended us is not the action itself but the fact that the action violated some deeply held belief or value. However, we cannot all expect to become experts in every culture that differs from our own. At the same time, it is an exercise in futility to try to list all the differences in patterns of behavior among cultures. As we become better observers of our behavior and that of others, we will better recognize where potential misunderstandings are likely to occur.

The implications of different cultural expectations in the classroom have been widely discussed (e.g., Heath, 1992; Hofstede, 1986; Park, 1997; Parry, 1996; Richard-Amato & Snow, 1992). For example, when ways of showing respect differ, speakers may unintentionally convey the opposite of what they intended. American teachers expect students to look them in the eye when responding. Yet some cultures indicate respect by avoiding eye contact and lowering one’s eyes. American teachers unfamiliar with such a cultural difference in behavior are likely to misinterpret the students’ behavior to mean that the students don’t know the answer, are avoiding the question, or are even lying. In addition, students accustomed to authoritarian teacher roles may have difficulty adjusting to the informal, interactive teacher roles more common in the United States and Canada. These same students may encounter difficulties in cooperative learning situations where group discovery learning is emphasized and teacher-centered learning is minimal. Even the purpose of working in groups can differ. In some cultures, group work is conceived of as a way

of helping each student achieve individually. In other cultures, successful group work results in the efforts of individuals to succeed as a whole.

Chapter 1 is concerned with the issue of culture in shaping our behavior, attitudes, and perceptions of the world. The chapter explores the definition of culture, different aspects of culture, and the relationship between culture and language.

Questions for Thought

- What is culture?
- How does culture influence behavior?
- What are some of the central beliefs and values of your culture?

II. Theory: What Research Tells Us

The Concept of Culture

Culture is pervasive, all-encompassing, and inescapable. The images and messages we receive and transmit are profoundly shaped by our culture. It is the framework through which we understand and interpret the world around us, in that it provides the context for a group of people to understand and interpret the world around them. Defining culture is not an easy task. Culture is a very broad concept for which there is no single, simple definition or central theory. Different fields of study differ in their concept of culture, in their definitions of culture, in their methods of investigating culture, and in the focus of their cultural studies. The many definitions given to the concept of culture have been strongly influenced by research in the fields of linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and communication.

Within the broader field of linguistics, the subfield of applied linguistics emphasizes areas of study such as language use, communicative competence, and linguistic and social variations of language. While *theoretical linguistics* attempts to understand the underlying deep structure of language or the more abstract and universal features of language, *applied linguistics* attempts to understand language in its social context as used by speakers. The language users in a culture are a crucial variable. They are the source of knowledge of the rules of interaction for their community, as well as the judges of the appropriateness of the communicative event (e.g., Goody, 1978; Grice, 1975; Yule, 1996). Cross-cultural investigations have brought attention to the influence of cultural differences in language use and function (e.g., Beebe & Takahashi, 1989; Boxer, 1993; Meier, 1999; Thomas, 1983).

Anthropology, the science that studies human culture, consists of two major disciplines—physical anthropology and cultural anthropology. *Physical anthropology* is the study of the biological aspects of humankind, while *cultural anthropology* emphasizes the study of human societies around the world. Cultural anthropology focuses on the relationship between language and culture, culture and personality, and the processes of social change and acculturation (e.g., Brislin, 1981; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Hall, 1959, 1966, 1983). *Anthropological linguistics* seeks to understand the meanings in communicative interactions within wider cultural practices (e.g., Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Geertz, 1973; Hymes, 1971). Applied linguistics and anthropological linguistics are closely allied fields that have heavily influenced each other.

The study of human behavior in social groups is the central theme of sociology. *Sociology* deals with such sociocultural variables as age, sex, attitude, and motivation and with such areas as social organizations, descriptions of social groups, and social psychology. In the early 1970s, sociology influenced a shift in the theoretical positions of anthropologists and linguists in relation to such basic concepts as language, culture, and communication. This shift resulted in revised analyses of sociological variables relating to community, social class, and social norms (e.g., Bernstein, 1971; Goffman, 1981; Labov, 1970) and resulted in these variables becoming important elements in studies on language.

Psychology, which studies human perception, evaluation, personality, and cognition, includes the subfield *social psychology*, the study of in-

dividual behavior within a social and cultural framework. Social psychologists emphasize how society and, by extension, culture affect personality, motivation, and attitudes. Their focus is on the influence of the individual speaker's personality in conjunction with psychocultural variations in perception, attitudes, and motivation (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Giles & St. Claire, 1979; Tajfel, 1984). Cross-cultural social psychologists are particularly interested in studying how sociocultural variables affect human behavior and how these differ and/or remain the same across cultures, with the goal of understanding the relationship between culture and individual behavior.

The field of *communication* stresses perception, physical and social context, interaction, feedback, and cross-cultural variations. Communication studies attempt to gain knowledge and understanding of the myriad factors influencing interaction, why it occurs, and the consequences thereof. Communication is viewed as a process whereby the actual message between speakers is merely one part of the whole communication process. The nature of the communicative exchanges themselves is essential in forming and maintaining meaningful interactions between speakers. Understanding communication entails knowing something about what takes place when people interact, why the interaction is taking place, the effects of the interactional exchange itself, and, finally, what individuals can do to influence and maximize a particular communicative interaction. Cross-cultural investigations have been instrumental in underscoring the impact of culture on communication (e.g., Condon, 1974; Porter & Samovar, 1997; Stewart & Bennett, 1991).

Defining Culture

The term *culture* is a very general concept, composed of a complex system of interacting elements. Culture is universal, multifaceted, and intricate. It permeates all aspects of human society; it penetrates into every area of life and influences the way people think, talk, and behave. Culture is not a characteristic of a single individual but, rather, a "collective mental programming of the people in an environment" (Hofstede, 1980:42). Culture can be viewed as the set of fundamental ideas, practices, and experiences shared by a group of people. Culture can also refer to a set of shared beliefs, norms, and attitudes that are used to guide the behaviors of a group of people, to explain the world around them, and to solve their

problems. It can further be defined as “membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings” (Kramsch, 1998a:10). It is the sum of the way of life of any group of people (Kohls, 2001:26). **(See Activity A—Defining Culture)**

How do we identify a culture? The most general answer to this question is that the members of a culture share clearly identifiable traits, patterns of behavior, worldviews, systems of social organizations, and similar value systems. For example, learning to drive is a rite of passage for Americans and reflects the American culture. A garage sale, on the other hand, is something that some Americans like to do but is not illustrative of the type of American culture referred to here. Certainly not all members will exhibit these behaviors or share these values or perspectives to the same extent, but the large majority of them will. These shared matters are what identify the members of a particular culture, such as German, Canadian, Chinese, Malaysian, or Vietnamese. When referring to a culture, it is important to note that any generalizations do not apply to all members. Cultures are not completely homogeneous but heterogeneous, in that within every culture are subcultures or subgroups. Members of these groups share many of the same characteristics of the majority or larger culture but differ in some significant way or ways by virtue of their regional or ethnic background, their sexual orientation (e.g., a gay or lesbian subculture), their work affiliation, their religious convictions and practices, or other significant factors. All members of a larger culture also belong to any number of subcultures. **(See Activity B—Class Begins)**

Moreover, a culture is not static, unchanging, or even homogeneous. A culture is a changing combination of different ambient factors, diverse constituents, and complex elements. Cultures are dynamic, marked by changes in response to new technology, to encounters with different cultures, and to new societal and environmental needs and demands. Cultural change is an ongoing and continuous process. The United States and Canada of the early 21st century are markedly different cultures than the ones of the early 20th century. We need only to point to their radical transformation from early industrial, largely agricultural societies to highly industrialized societies to understand a few of the factors changing what we know as the American or Canadian culture today. We can also point to the influence, in an even shorter time span, of television or film media in changing (as well as reflecting changes in) North American culture. The

same holds true of any culture: as society and environment change, so does culture as people adapt to changes in their world.

Enculturation

By its very nature, culture is a teacher. It is a subconscious teacher of the beliefs, values, worldviews, and patterns of behavior of its members. The process of becoming socialized into one's culture begins early in life, through what is known as *enculturation*. Because culture is shared with people who live in and experience the same social environments, enculturation becomes a collective experience (Hofstede, 1980). It is the process of learning about the customs, conventions, and practices of one's society. This process entails learning relevant cultural patterns through family members and interactions in social environments such as peer groups, school, and work. In today's modern world, mass media, particularly television, is an important influence in the enculturation process. Enculturation predisposes members of a given culture to view the world from a particular perspective. Since enculturation encompasses the process of becoming a member of one's society and is in large part a subconscious learning effort, we are generally unaware of the central role that enculturation plays in shaping our worldview.

The culture in which individuals are raised is the most important determinant of how they view and interpret the world. Members of different cultural groups see and interpret events differently; through the enculturation process, they develop attitudes, beliefs, and values that affect the meanings they assign to the world around them. Culture bestows a set of lenses for seeing the world, lenses that influence the way members of groups choose, decipher, process, and utilize information. Consider the anecdote of the elephant and the mouse.

One day the elephant and the mouse decided to take a stroll when they came to a rickety old wooden bridge over a river. As they crossed the bridge, it began to rattle and clatter. Above the racket, the mouse shouted, "Listen to us stomping together and making this old bridge bang."

From his point of view, the mouse was contributing as much to the noise as was the much larger elephant. Like the mouse, people's cultural lenses will affect the way they construct their realities (de Waal, 2000/2001:66).

Culture also serves as a filter that prompts both the meanings that members of the group assign to social roles, contexts, and communicative behaviors and how they perceive, interpret, react, or are affected by these. According to Hall and Hall (1989:xiv), each culture has “hidden codes” of behavior that, when the culture is viewed from the outside, can rarely be understood without a “code breaker.” Even within cultures, members of different subcultures view the world through different lenses. Noted cognitive scientist S. Pinker (1997:173) recounts his experience when visiting an exhibition on spiders at the Smithsonian National Museum in Washington, D.C.

As I marveled at the Swiss-watch precision of the [spider] joints, the sewing-machine motions by which it drew silk from its spinnerets, the beauty and cunning of the web, I thought to myself, “How could anyone see this and not believe in natural selection!” At that moment a woman standing next to me exclaimed, “How could anyone see this and not believe in God!” We agreed *a priori* on the facts that need to be explained, though we disagreed about how to explain them.

(See Activity C—Old Woman, Young Lady)

A person’s culture provides the guidelines for appropriate social behavior and interaction and shapes the expectations its members have in judging the appropriateness of the social behavior and communicative interactions. Since culture provides the framework for its members to both enact and construe meanings, people from different cultures will perceive and interpret others’ behaviors in different ways. Because a large part of culture proceeds at a subconscious level, people are usually unable to identify their own cultural expectations, assumptions, and presuppositions until they encounter ones different from their own. An interesting example of this is how Western and Eastern scientists once held contrasting views of great apes. Formerly, Western scientists believed that apes were self-sufficient and lived independent of social groups and ties—in what Jean Rousseau labeled as the world of the “noble savage.” Not until about the 1970s did Western scientists change their point of view. Asian scientists, however, began observing great apes from the point of view that, as humankind’s closest ancestor, they must have some sort of complex social life. Already in the 1960s, Japanese scientists were able to establish through lengthy and thorough field observations that apes, specif-

ically chimpanzees, live in large social groups with complex ties and memberships. At this same time, Jane Goodall, the premier Western researcher on chimpanzees, was hypothesizing that females and their dependent offspring might be the only ones to exist as social groups.

Culture pervades all areas—arts and artifacts, beliefs, behaviors, ceremonies, concept of self, customs, ideas and thought patterns, ideals, knowledge, laws, language, manners, morals, myths and legends, religion, rituals, social institutions, tools, and values (Kohls, 1984). A distinction, however, has been made between *Culture* written with a capital *C* and *culture* written with a lowercase *c* (Bennett, 1998). *Culture* written with a capital *C* refers to art, literature, drama, classical music, dance, or cuisine. This *Culture* is often referred to as *objective culture* or *highbrow culture*. It most often encompasses those aspects associated with money, education, and museums, although it is also associated with the more institutional aspects of culture, such as political or economic systems.

Culture written with a small *c* refers to *subjective culture*, to the day-to-day features that define a group of people. This type of culture is psychological in nature, involving people's attitudes, beliefs, and values. Subjective culture also refers to such distinguishing elements as choice of discourse, style of dress, in-group/out-group networks, and norms of interactions. Cultural groups may range from the larger society as a whole; to cultural groups of people within a specific age range, such as Generation X; to employees of a particular corporation; to white, middle-class teenagers; to gang members; to the individuals of a family.

The most important variables that distinguish one culture from another are not easily observable phenomena such as dress, housing, food, or table manners but, rather, the underlying values, attitudes, beliefs, and worldviews that shape how a culture perceives itself and others. Because these elements, which are below the level of conscious awareness, form such a large part of culture, it is difficult for people to describe their own cultural ways without training. Just as native speakers of a language who have not studied language are often hard-pressed to explain the how and why of grammatical structures and language use, so, too, members of a particular culture who have not learned to study culture find it difficult to explain the components of culture and to comprehend how these shape people's perspectives and interpretations of the world.

To better understand the dynamics of subjective culture, Pike (1954) identified two ways of examining culture— *emics* and *etics*. The two terms derive from linguistics, *emic* from *phonemic* and *etic* from *phonetic*. *Emics* refers to the ideas, behaviors, items, and concepts that are culture specific. The emic approach focuses its studies from within the system and examines only one culture at a time. The idea is to discover the structure of a culture and its elements from observation within the system itself. This is the approach generally followed by anthropologists, who prefer to focus on the unique aspects, behaviors, and concepts of a culture.

The approach preferred by cross-cultural researchers, regardless of field of study, is the etic approach. *Etics* refers to those ideas, behaviors, items, and concepts that are culture universal. Rather than focusing on one culture and making the discoveries within one system, the etic approach focuses on studies of more than one culture and from a position outside the system. The idea is to understand what elements hold true across all cultures and times. From an etic point of view, for instance, motherhood is a universal construct. However, how the role of mothers and motherhood is enacted and viewed will differ among cultures—this, then, is the concern of emics. Questions that researchers might ask include the following: What are the responsibilities of a mother? Is she solely responsible for discipline? If not, with whom does she share the responsibility? Does being a mother necessarily entail being the primary caregiver? If not, under what circumstances does this change? What is the role of women who bear no children? Are mothers revered, honored, respected? How is this manifested within the culture? Such questions help researchers understand both the emics (differences) and the etics (universals) of mothers and motherhood. Marriage is another universal construct, but who may marry whom, at what age, under what type of ceremony or ritual, what roles each partner fulfills within the marriage, and how each partner is expected to act differs cross-culturally. This will be discussed at greater length in chapter 5. **(See Activity D—Emics and Etics of Culture)**

Elements of Culture

Culture is the sum of many diverse elements, including beliefs, values, norms, mores, taboos, and attitudes. These manifold elements are an in-

tegral part of who we are and why we do what we do. When any or every aspect of these elements is ignored or violated by members of other cultures operating under different sets of expectations, we experience strong emotional reactions.

Beliefs

Beliefs are an individual's convictions about the world, convictions that are shaped by the culture a person is raised in. How strongly individuals adhere to a particular belief depends on the degree to which individuals ascribe certain characteristics to that belief. In other words, the deeper an individual's conviction, the greater the intensity of that belief. Members of a given culture hold strong similarities in their belief system. For instance, whether an individual believes or disbelieves in spirits, visions, second sight, or fortune-telling as sources of knowledge is influenced by that individual's cultural background and experience.

A belief that is held by most members of a culture is called a *cultural belief*. Cultural beliefs include fundamental teachings about what reality is and expectations of how the world operates. Although individuals within a culture group may hold different beliefs, these individuals have relatively more similar beliefs with members of their culture than they do with individuals of different cultures. For example, for most Japanese, gift giving is an important symbolic ritual that is considered a social duty and obligation and a part of everyday life; it is not merely something one does on special occasions such as birthdays or Christmas, as in Western cultures. Japanese employees returning from vacation, for instance, bring everyone in the office a small token gift. In addition, since maintaining harmony or balance in all areas of life is essential in Japanese culture, the recipient of a gift must always be sure to give a gift in return. By offering a gift in return, the original recipient is no longer indebted to the original giver, and harmony is restored. The actual presentation and acceptance of the gift are also important parts of the gift-giving ritual. Gifts are generally carefully packaged and wrapped and are opened before the giver in only certain situations. When the recipient does open the gift in front of the giver, the recipient must be careful not to tear the wrapping paper, cut the ribbon, or appear in any way anxious to see the gift. Once the gift has been accepted, it is important for the recipient to praise the value, while the giver must exhibit humility by downplaying the value of the gift.

The German and Swiss are noted for their punctuality. They pride themselves on their timepieces and on the punctuality of their trains, buses, and airplanes, and they are generally careful about starting meetings, classes, or other activities exactly at appointed times. Latino cultures are noted for a more lackadaisical approach to time. Some Spaniards may be more time conscious than some Swiss, but overall, as a culture, the Swiss value punctuality more highly than do the Spaniards. In fact, when North Americans and Latinos plan joint activities, they will often specify *hora latina* or *hora americana*, which translates as “Latin time” or “American time.”

Beliefs regarding the causation of diseases and their appropriate treatment differ across cultures. In some cultures, evil spirits or ghosts are believed to cause diseases, and cures are achieved by appealing to these forces or engaging in specific behaviors designed to counteract the evil influences (Andrews & Boyle, 1995). From a Western standpoint, members from such a culture may engage in “eccentric or abnormal” behavior when they combine modern medical practices with traditional remedies, particularly remedies involving amulets, charms, prayers, or rituals. Also, from the Western point of view, perceived unconventional approaches to medical care are often suspect. Acupuncture, for instance, which has been used successfully in Chinese culture for thousands of years, has only been practiced relatively recently in the West and is still not accepted by all medical practitioners.

Values

Values are ideals or abstract standards, whether good or bad, that members of a cultural group hold in strong affective regard. They are shared assumptions or judgments about what is good, right, and important. They fundamentally influence the behavior of individuals within their cultural context. Values have an evaluative dimension in that they dictate what individuals should or should not do. They provide members of a culture with a feeling of how they aspire or strive to behave. They tend to be the foundation on which individuals base their own decisions and actions and according to which they evaluate the decisions and behavior of others. Cultures that value self-reliance, hard work, and individual effort are more likely to allow for social and economic mobility than are cultures that value birth, family connections, and family wealth. Cultures that place a high value on communal family goals are also noted for their close-knit

families and collectivistic tendencies (see chap. 2). Asian cultures influenced by Confucianism highly value harmony. Members of these cultures strive to reconcile and integrate conflicts of all sorts—for example, of ideas, beliefs, or opinions—which also carries over into communication strategies. Chinese, Korean, or Japanese speakers, for instance, evade directly saying no (see chap. 6).

Closely related to values are *morals*. Morals are cultural, societal, and religious guidelines that individuals try to follow in order to promote certain cultural values. People's values determine which personal morals they have and, in turn, which morals affect their behavior. Not all members of the same culture necessarily share all the same values and/or morals, and disagreements or conflicts frequently occur. For instance, while American and Canadian society as a whole values marriage, cohabitation without legal bonds has become increasingly common over the past three decades. Although such behavior is in keeping with the morals of some members of the culture, it is acting against the morals of other members of the same culture. In this case, both groups share the value of marriage, but the moral regarding the practice of cohabitation differs. **(See Activity E—Values)**

Norms

Norms are the fixed behavior patterns for members of a cultural group. They are culturally shared notions about what is appropriate behavior. They may also be described as culturally established patterns of doing things. Norms govern such behavior as how greetings and partings are enacted, appropriate classroom comportment, and patterns of respect. Norms governing the role of children and parents, for example, differ from culture to culture. Chinese culture emphasizes what children should do for their parents, whereas American and Canadian culture emphasizes what parents should do for their children (Hsu, 1981).

Although members of a culture may share the larger norms of their society, the importance and intensity with which these norms are held may vary within the culture itself. These variations are often based on socioeconomic and/or ethnic differences within the majority culture. Cultural norms so pervade thought and action that few individuals recognize the assumptions governing their behavior. So much of cultural knowledge is subconscious that, until they are confronted with a culture different from their own, people rarely notice that they interpret and talk about

events differently than do people in other cultures. Imagine two friends working for the same employer. The two of them together receive \$100 from this employer. In the United States, the two friends would share the money equally. However, in a culture operating under different cultural norms, the friend coming from a family of higher status might receive more money. It would be the duty of the friend of lower status to ensure that the friend of higher status received proportionately more in acknowledgment of the status difference. By the same token, the friend of higher status would recognize receiving the larger share as his or her right by virtue of status. In a different culture, the more skilled friend might receive a greater share of the money in recognition of his or her greater abilities. In still another culture, with strong notions of reciprocity and indebtedness, if one friend had done the other friend a favor in the past, the friend who had received the earlier favor would feel obligated to give the other a larger share of the money to compensate him or her for the earlier favor and to return balance to the relationship (Triandis, 1994).

Norms are generally categorized into two types. *Formal norms*, called *mores*, govern culturally and socially sanctioned behavior and incur social penalties or censure when they are violated. Some examples of North American mores include avoiding plagiarism and respecting private property. The most formal norms or mores are laws that citizens must obey or incur punishment for breaking. These cover such diverse areas as stealing, littering, murder, child abuse, parking in a handicapped space without a permit, or driving while intoxicated. While some of these actions are universally punishable by law, other “crimes” are culturally determined. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, it is illegal for women to drive, and in many Moslem countries, the sexes must be educated separately. *Informal norms*, often termed *folkways*, are culturally and socially preferred ways of doing things, but since they may only be weakly enforced, they incur relatively mild penalties or disapproval when they are disregarded. Examples of informal norms include table manners, playing loud music after a certain hour, offering gifts to bureaucrats to complete requisite paperwork, or requiring young unmarried women to be chaperoned at social functions and/or on dates.

Taboos

Taboos are an important subset of mores. Taboos specify what is or is not permissible. In their strongest form, taboos cover universal prohibitions

such as murder and incest. In their weaker form, taboos include such folkways as restrictions against eating with the left hand, which foods one may or may not eat, and whether or not one makes eye contact with one's superior. In some cultures, the left hand, used for body functions, is considered unclean. Consequently, eating with the left hand is unacceptable, and passing something to another person with the left hand is insulting. Food taboos, often religiously based, are widespread: Moslems and Jews may not eat pork, and Hindus may not eat any living creature, whether animal, fowl, or fish. To show respect to one's superior in some cultures, subordinates keep their eyes lowered to avoid eye contact. This very action signalizes the reverse in cultures where making eye contact indicates attention and/or respect to one's listener, regardless of social status. Chapter 4 examines more extensively the relationship between nonverbal behavior and societal norms.

Attitudes

Attitudes are emotional reactions to objects, ideas, and people. People learn attitudes within a cultural context. The opinions individuals express and the communicative interactions and other behaviors in which they engage are based in large part on their attitudes and beliefs. The cultural environment to which an individual is exposed helps mold the individual's attitudes and, ultimately, his or her behavior.

Germans, who generally value their leisure time highly, place great emphasis on *Gemütlichkeit*, for which no equivalent term exists in English. It encompasses a feeling of comfort, well-being, and contentment. *Gemütlichkeit* is very much in evidence in the ubiquitous German cafés and terrace gardens, with their comfortable seating, lavish summer floral displays, and general air of coziness. The Germans (generally men) who traditionally meet regularly at the same time and place usually even have what is known as a *Stammtisch*, or "regular table." From the Japanese perspective, a person's business and social lives are not seen as separate or apart. Employees are regarded as part of the company "family" and engage regularly in social activities arranged by their company.

Because the United States has historically been a country peopled by immigrants seeking religious freedom, many newcomers are surprised by the variety of religious houses of worship and the number of Americans attending religious services regularly. Furthermore, again since many immigrants have come to the United States for religious freedom, the atti-

tude toward religion is often more serious in that country than in other countries. In many European and Latin American countries, there is no official separation of state and church, and there is often one principal or official religion; religion is often taken for granted in such cultures.

Since World War II, the Japanese have avoided most public displays of flying or waving the national flag, because of its past associations with militarism and imperialism. A sign that the Japanese attitude toward the national flag is changing was illustrated in July 2002, when thousands of Japanese enthusiastically waved their flag during the home World Cup games, painted it on their faces, and hung it over their clothing.

As the preceding examples illustrate, cultural attitudes affect the behaviors of the members of a particular culture. The potential for beliefs, values, norms, and attitudes to affect intercultural communication is significant. Cross-cultural misunderstandings often occur when participants interact in situations where any of these elements differ. In an earlier example, we discussed how Japanese notions of gift giving differ significantly from Western ones. We mentioned how gift giving is an indispensable practice of everyday life. Even in business situations, Japanese (and members of other cultures) regard gift giving as part of doing business and consider it an essential protocol. Americans and Canadians, however, tend to equate gift giving in business situations with bribery and hence consider it inappropriate or wrong. Such a cross-cultural difference in perspectives has often caused problems for Americans doing business overseas.

Consider also the practice of giving individual gifts on birthdays, a commonly accepted ritual in many cultures. Even where the ritual exists, what the recipient does on receiving a gift varies. In the United States and Canada, the recipient generally opens the gift immediately and offers appropriate thanks and appreciation. In other cultures, such as the Thai or Filipino culture, the recipient puts the gift away with murmured thanks. In such a case, if the gift givers happen to be North American, they are likely to feel hurt by what they, operating under North American cultural norms, perceive as ungratefulness or even disapproval. The Thai or Filipino, on the other hand, operating under a different cultural norm, is accepting the gift graciously. For Thais and Filipinos, opening the gift in front of the giver indicates that that person is more interested in the gift itself rather than in the act of gift giving. To them, it signals a

materialistic and avaricious person, not an appreciative one. (See **Activity F—Shared Backgrounds**)

Language and Linguistic Relativity

Language and culture are intimately linked. Culture influences the way speakers perceive the world and how they use language to communicate. Likewise, language influences how speakers view the world and the way in which they communicate. How intricately linked are culture and language? The degree to which language influences human thought and meaning is termed *linguistic relativity*. At one time, most researchers ascribed to the belief that culture determines language, a belief expressed by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Whorf, 1956), which posits that language and thought are so closely tied that language determines the categories of thought open to the speakers of that language—in other words, that a language determines how its speakers perceive the world. Over time, this view, called the “strong” version of the Whorfian hypothesis, has been challenged. Today, most people accept a more moderate, or “weak,” version of the Whorfian hypothesis. This moderate approach holds that a language shapes how its speakers perceive the world.

Although native language influences speakers, they are not inextricably bound by the confines of that language and the culture it represents. For example, although English does not distinguish between a formal and informal second-person singular *you*, it still can convey different levels of formality through other linguistic means such as choices in discourse or rhetorical styles. In communicative situations, English speakers may indicate respect through the use of titles with surnames (e.g., “Doctor Smith,” “President Jones”) and may heighten the formality of a communicative interaction by avoiding colloquial speech patterns. Or speakers may choose to indicate rapport and fellowship by the use of first names and of discourse styles that are less formal. Some languages, such as Chinese or Korean, have elaborate terminology that always indicates a person’s position in the social hierarchy. Speakers of these languages are always aware of their own and others’ positions in this hierarchy, as they must always employ the titles and speech patterns appropriate to those relationships. Nevertheless, the influence of such language patterns does not prevent members of these cultures from recognizing, accepting, and/or favoring egalitarianism and equality.

Categorization

All languages use categories to organize the world around them. However, what is included or excluded and how the categories are organized is to some extent arbitrary and varies greatly among languages. Every language has categories to describe the members of the nuclear family: mother, father, daughter, son, brother, and sister. Different languages will make finer distinctions between components in categories that have important significance to the members of that culture. In cultures where hierarchy is important, we generally find additional terms to further refine the categories within the nuclear family. Rather than just “brother,” languages used in these cultures will distinguish between “older brother” and “younger brother” or “older sister” and “younger sister.”

How speakers take advantage of the finer distinctions depends a great deal on need and circumstances. Take color categories for instance. Objectively, while there is only one color spectrum, there are many different ways to categorize colors (Brown & Lenneberg, 1954; Hilbert, 1987; Kay & McDaniel, 1978). The human eye is capable of distinguishing about 7.5 million colors; nevertheless, people do not make anywhere near that many distinctions. Even in a language such as English, which is very rich in color terms (about 4,000), few people aside from artists and interior decorators use more than 40 color terms.

In comparing English with other languages, very different ways of dividing the color spectrum become evident. In some languages, there are only two color terms, meaning “light” and “dark,” the simplest color divisions that are found in any language. Rather than having distinct color terms for different colors and hues, these languages require speakers to differentiate shades with phrases like “as dark as the sky at noon.” Although speakers of these languages are certainly capable of distinguishing colors, their cultural history has not encouraged the development of extensive color categories. Thus, while a language will reflect the importance of color in a particular culture, the lack of a wide color terminology does not detract from the speaker’s ability to distinguish colors. The difference lies in the importance that the culture has traditionally placed on a particular category.

The precision of the vocabulary of a language for a given category reveals the importance of the subject for that culture or subculture. English speakers working in the fashion industry are required to make use

of many more words for types of cloth, fabric cut, and colors than the general public is even aware exist. After all, how many outside the fashion industry know immediately what color puce is? Any subculture, which may include, for example, a particular industry, age-group, regional group, or ethnic group, will develop its own specialized vocabulary to identify necessary materials, conditions, and situations. Since language is a mirror, we can learn a fair amount about a culture or subculture by examining the kinds of categorization, words, word sizes, and number of words used in each domain.

Language and Culture

Language is an organized, learned symbol system used to represent human experiences within a geographic or cultural group (Porter & Samovar, 1997:18). In its most basic sense, a language consists of symbols. These symbols—vocabulary—convey essentially uniform meanings among the speakers of the language. The language must also consist of rules—grammar and syntax—so that its speakers are able to manipulate the symbols meaningfully in order to communicate. In the most general sense, language is a symbolic representation of a people. A language encompasses the historical and cultural backgrounds of a people. Language is more than speech; it is a means of identification. Language, like culture, is a lens through which reality is filtered.

Language reflects the worldviews, the thought processes, and the lifestyles of its people; each culture places its own individual imprint on a language. Language is the primary medium for transmitting among its speakers a culture's beliefs, values, norms, and worldview. It functions as a tool for communication and an indicator of a culture's social realities and their manifestations. The norms governing the communicative behavior of each culture, for instance, reflect what is valued by each culture. Silence, or the absence of speech, is highly esteemed in various native American Indian cultures. Different terminology clearly labeling each person's place in the social hierarchy is essential in cultures where status is highly valued and where socially appropriate language must be employed at all times to avoid giving offense and to maintain social balance and harmony. Koreans tend to remain silent when they are upset by someone's actions, while Hispanics or Arabs are more likely to express their ag-

itation verbally. While Korean culture values repressing one's emotions to save face, Hispanic and Arabic cultures value emotional displays.

Language also has influence on the way its speakers perceive the world and in the formation of cultural patterns of thought. Languages contain categories that reflect the conventions of their cultures. Korean and Filipino cultures, for instance, place great emphasis on respect and on an individual's position within the familial and social hierarchy. In Filipino culture, the elders are considered the leaders of the family and are shown great respect. Younger family members are expected to bow to an elder, take the elder's right hand, and gently press the back of it against their own forehead while saying, "Mano Po" (if they are speakers of Tagalog). In addressing an elder, younger family members must always use the courteous title *Po*. Older siblings are also addressed with titles by younger family members: *Kuya* for the eldest son and *Ate* for the oldest girl. Korean is a language noted for its use of honorifics—particles or inflections attached to words used to indicate varying degrees of politeness and the social relationships between speakers and hearers (see chap. 6). Failure to observe these social language rules results in being categorized as an "unperson," or someone for whom a Korean has no concern. Korean-Americans, often bilingual but lacking the nuances of appropriate sociocultural communicative knowledge inherently gained as part of the enculturation process within Korean society, are often chided by their Korean-based relatives for being impolite, rude, and uncaring.

English is spoken in cultures that have relatively little use for rigid hierarchical societies. Thus, it has limited honorific categories. Germans, while not placing as great an emphasis on respect and social position as do Koreans or other Asians, emphasize these conventions more than English speakers do. German (like most European languages) employs the use of two forms of "you" the informal *du* and the formal *Sie*. Use of the two forms is highly conventionalized and marks users' social roles and position with respect to each other. Russia, despite over 70 years of Communist rule, is still very much a hierarchical society, and Russians remain keenly aware of titles and social status.

In short, language is a medium that allows us to gain insights into another culture. In many ways, we can think of language as both a mirror and a window. As a mirror, language reflects that which a culture deems important: it represents, expresses, incorporates, maintains, and

constrains the values, beliefs, and attitudes of a culture. At the same time, language is a window that reveals precisely what values, beliefs, and attitudes a culture considers important and how a culture has chosen to realize these truths through the language. Thus, cross-cultural awareness entails becoming aware of both one's own culture and other cultures. It entails becoming cognizant of cultural patterns and practices. It entails learning to recognize the impact that subconscious cultural factors have on our interpretation of the world and of the actions of people around us, as well as discerning the relationship between language and culture. **(See Activity G—Reactions)**

Since cross-cultural communication is the process whereby speakers of different languages operating under different cultural assumptions and coming from different language backgrounds attempt to convey messages to each other, misunderstandings often occur. There is much more to communication than the mere analysis of a verbal message, because this message is the product of the speaker's unique experiences as a member of a particular culture. Each language has its own frames of reference, shared by the members of a given culture through the enculturation that all normal individuals are exposed to as part of the process of growing up. Cross-cultural misunderstandings are often the result of speakers' assumptions that members of other cultures share their frames of reference and norms of social and communicative interaction. To be effective cross-cultural communicators, speakers must be aware of the relationship between culture and language. Such an awareness allows speakers to make predictions of possible areas of misunderstanding and to provide explanations for such misunderstandings when they occur. **(See Activity H—Draw Me!)**

Teaching and Learning Connections

Culture is an integral part of language teaching and learning. As long as there are speakers, there is culture, as culture resides in the users of a language (Meier, 2003; Seelye, 1997). The goal in education is “to translate culture teaching into a culture learning experience for our students” according to Ryffel (1997:34). Teachers can work toward this goal through careful planning of classroom activities, which may reflect their own personal life experiences, and by actually walking students through the varied stages of developing intercultural awareness or cultural sensitivity. A process approach framework for selecting teaching activities, materials,

and techniques so that all aspects of intercultural competence are addressed has been suggested by Fantini (1997b:42). His seven-stage outline holistically suggests a process for developing not only course syllabi but also individual lesson plans. The stages include the presenting of new material, practicing it in a controlled context, explaining the grammar rules behind it, using learned material in a less controlled context, exploring sociolinguistic interrelationships, determining their cultural appropriateness, and making intercultural comparisons.

There are noticeable differences among cultures with respect to tolerance of difference, desire for harmony, the importance of social hierarchies, and so on. Cultural awareness plays an essential role in overcoming communication problems or difficulties between members of cultures with divergent or even opposing beliefs, values, norms, and attitudes. In her article Kramsch (1998b) suggests that the teaching of culture needs to emphasize the development of general sociolinguistic competence and social awareness across cultures. She highlights different ways in which awareness across cultures might be developed in the classroom, and she argues that the context of the native language and the new culture must be built on their own terms. Kramsch's first suggestion is to explore the context of student responses to the cultural phenomena with which they are confronted. The teacher, however, should not impose his or her own interpretations. Kramsch further suggests that students need to reconstruct the "context of production and reception of a given text" from within the foreign culture itself (p. 25). An example of this would be what it means to close a door in different cultures.

In short, Kramsch argues that "our purpose in teaching culture through language is not to make our students into little French or little Germans, but in making them understand why the speakers of two different languages act and react the way they do, whether in fictional texts or in social encounters, and what the consequences of these insights may mean for the learner" (p. 27). What appears evident is that native language impacts on second language learners' understanding of a second culture, for their conceptualizations of the new culture are greatly affected by the worldviews, beliefs, assumptions, and presuppositions of their own culture. Therefore, the role of teachers is to help learners become aware of the role of culture in forming people's interpretation of self in relation to others and the world around them and, we hope, to make learners become more tolerant of different "ways of seeing."

2

THE CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

I often begin courses on teaching culture by asking teachers to jot down a brief list of the “culture” they have taught in their language classes. I do this before presenting any definitions of culture in order to allow teachers to respond openly, using whatever notions they have about culture. As they read from their lists, I write their words on the blackboard. Before long, the blackboard fills with a dizzying array of topics, all with some connection to culture in the minds of these teachers. The range of topics looks like this:

Figure 2.1: The Collage of Culture

accepting differences	films	making comparisons
acting differently	fitting in	making friends
adapting	fluency	male/female language
art	food	music
becoming bilingual/bicultural	good pronunciation	nonverbal language
changing your attitudes	greetings	overcoming stereotypes
communicating	history	politeness
conversational skills	holidays	politics
curiosity about the culture	humor	television
current events	idioms	thinking in the language
customs	keeping your own identity	understanding the values
daily life	knowing your own culture	using gestures
doing everyday tasks	literature	using slang
education		

Seen separately, each topic is recognizable, with an understandable connection to culture. There are also obvious connections between and among certain items, such as *communicating*, *using slang*, *idioms*, *conversational skills*, *using gestures*. Finding the links between and among other topics, however, is less obvious, more tenuous, even baffling. What, for instance, is the connection between *using gestures* and *literature*? Or *food* and *good pronunciation*? Imaginative teachers may see connections, but the rest of us are left scratching our heads. In a dramatic way, the words on the blackboard portray the complexity and breadth of culture—not unlike a collage where snippets of magazine pictures, photographs, and newspaper headlines fall alongside and across one

another in no apparent logic or organization. Looking at the blackboard as a whole, culture looks like...well, a collage.

Even though the nature of this exercise tends to produce such juxtapositions, I believe nonetheless that the “collage” notion of culture is a dominant conception among language teachers. As teachers, we have little difficulty listing cultural topics, but organizing them is another matter entirely. For good reasons. Culture is multifaceted and complex, and there is no consensus on what culture is.

As language teachers, our challenge is to bring some order to the apparent randomness of culture, both for ourselves and for the students in our classes, as a first step in making culture accessible. One approach to this challenge is to sort through the perspectives that the various definitions of culture describe. Such an approach makes a lot of sense, for if you can find a good definition, it will provide order and organization to the cultural collage. In the next chapter, I do present such a definition. At this point, however, let us postpone defining culture and instead examine another approach to ordering the randomness of culture, based on students’ engagement in learning culture.

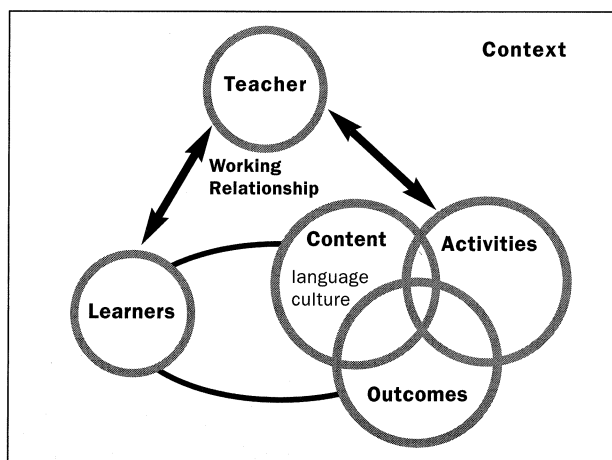
In this chapter, I present and discuss the three frameworks that define and organize culture in terms of this learning engagement: the cultural experience, cultural knowings, and the experiential learning cycle.

THE CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

Culture has many definitions, because it is multifaceted, and also because theorists and practitioners bring their own perspectives to their definitions. For the most part, these definitions present culture as an abstract entity that can be separated from the experience of participating in it. While they do help us understand the nature of culture, these definitions remain abstract, disconnected from the people who live in that culture and, more importantly, from the experience of participating in that culture. This disconnection is not unlike the distinction between a book and reading a book, between a restaurant and eating in a restaurant, between a song and singing a song, or between language and using the language. Simply put, it is the distinction between culture as a way of life and participating in that way of life. Therefore, instead of using “culture” as the focal point of definitions, I will use “cultural experience”—the encounter with another way of life.

As language teachers, we all provide our students with cultural experiences of one kind or another, all with the intention of helping them learn culture: food, clothing, literature, music, films, realia, personal anecdotes, native speakers, and more. We do need to define the culture that they are to learn, without question. But it is the nature of these cultural experiences that we need to define, not just culture alone. The cultural experience, therefore, consists of the cultural content, the activities in which students engage this content, the outcomes that are intended or achieved, the learning context, and the nature of the relationship the teacher develops with students.

Figure 2.2: The Cultural Experience



Another way of putting this is that the cultural experience consists of content and process (Crawford-Lange and Lange, 1987). Learners encounter another way of life. The way of life is the content, and the learners' encounters are the process, the kinds of activities they undertake and the outcomes they achieve. The teacher, through a working relationship with the learners, is an integral part of this experience. This experience, in turn, is very much a function of the particular context or learning circumstances where the culture learning takes place.

Consider the student encounters with the way of life in the United States that Julie McConville, an ESL teacher in Massachusetts, describes below.



Julie McConville

I am a full-time teacher in a refugee resettlement program for recent arrival adults from Vietnam, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Haiti. The curriculum emphasizes U.S. life skills and employment skills. Students can take a maximum of three cycles (33 weeks). I work very closely with my department's five job developers. Most students are under severe pressure to find jobs before their welfare is terminated.

I am challenged with the question of how to teach students to be aware of certain American-valued character qualities that they need to exhibit in order to find success in their new lives, surroundings, and at work. Attitudes such as assertiveness, self-reliance, healthy skepticism, forthrightness—to name a few. Each one of these qualities calls to mind an incident where a student, because he or she did not exhibit one or more of these qualities, either got into trouble or missed out on an opportunity.

The real difficulty in teaching these American-valued qualities lies in the fact that my students are new and seem to be holding tight to identities from cultures that do not value the same character qualities.

- How can I teach students about these American-valued character qualities and not threaten their cultural identity?

- How can I tackle such a challenge, making it relevant to all of my students, and complete it, when I have students from vastly different cultures and limited time?

Julie describes the features of the U.S. way of life that students encounter and, as language teachers do, she poses this as a learning/teaching challenge. She gives names to the culture students need to learn (content), seeks ways they might be able to learn it (activities), and specifies what they need to achieve (outcomes).

2.1 TEACHING CULTURE: DEFINING CULTURAL CONTENT

Review Julie's description of her students' encounters. Describe the culture that you think her students need to learn. Explain your answers.



As teachers of culture, we are engaged in working with learners' cultural experiences. There are two frameworks that illuminate this teaching task: the cultural knowings framework and Kolb's model of experiential learning. In later chapters, these frameworks are explained in greater detail, but I will provide a brief introduction to them below.

CULTURAL KNOWINGS FRAMEWORK

The cultural knowings framework offers a means for describing culture in terms of what students need to do in order to learn it—their encounters with another way of life.

Once these interactions are specified, the learning objectives follow, as do the choice of teaching and learning activities and the appropriate means of evaluation. Also, each interaction calls for a distinct teacher role. For the moment, however, we will concentrate on the learning interactions, and apply these to Julie's students.

The cultural experience consists of four interconnected learning interactions:

- Knowing About
- Knowing How
- Knowing Why
- Knowing Oneself

Knowing About

This interaction includes all activities that consist of gathering and demonstrating acquisition of **cultural information**—facts, data, or knowledge about products, practices, and perspectives of the culture. This is information about the specific culture and language, as well as about the nature of culture and the processes of learning and entering other cultures in general, or information about students' own culture(s). Learners need to master information about the culture.

What kinds of information do Julie's students need? What do they need to know? Generally speaking, Julie's students appear to need information about the American workplace. In particular, they need to know about how the work is accomplished at specific worksites, the kinds of jobs that are done there, the



rules and regulations, the roles and responsibilities of the people who work there, and other relevant information. Also, as Julie emphasizes, they need information about the values that underlie the practices at the workplace, such as assertiveness and self-reliance.

Knowing How

- ✓ This interaction involves acquiring **cultural practices**—behaviors, actions, skills, saying, touching, looking, standing, or other forms of “doing.” This calls for direct or simulated participation in the everyday life of the people of the target culture, according to their customs and traditions, using their tools or technology—and their language—to establish bona fide relationships with them. Learners need to be able to adapt and/or integrate into the culture—to say and do things in the manner of the people of the culture. This means changing behaviors to develop others that are appropriate for the culture.

~ What kinds of behaviors do Julie’s students need to carry out? What do they need to know how to do? In broad terms, they need to be able to get and keep a job. There are multiple practices involved in jobs. Students need to perform them in an appropriate manner, ranging from being forthright and assertive (presumably in interactions with coworkers and superiors) to carrying out all that is involved in being self-reliant. These practices involve using language, to be sure, but they also involve other actions such as body posture, eye contact, facial expressions, and other nonverbal elements. Other practices might include actions related to time, such as punctuality; still others might involve displaying behaviors that job interviewers or supervisors perceive as dependable.

Knowing Why

- ✓ This interaction deals with developing an understanding of fundamental **cultural perspectives**—the perceptions, beliefs, values, and attitudes that underlie or permeate all aspects of the culture. This is a process of learners’ structured inquiry into observations, information, and experiences with the culture. Knowing why requires skills in probing, analyzing, and explaining the cultural phenomena learners encounter, which necessarily involves a comparison with their own culture and themselves. Learners need to understand insider and outsider perspectives: the emic and the etic. Learners need to understand the culture on its own terms by using their own powers of cultural analysis and comparison. The basic values of a culture are an important point of comparison with the values of the culture of the learners.

~ What do Julie’s students need to find out about the culture? What cultural understandings do they need to discover? Clearly, Julie has identified values as a primary content area, believing that this is what students need to learn. In this case, students need to observe, describe, and offer explanations of the cultural phenomena they encounter outside the classroom, including the workplace. They also need to surface and give voice to the perspectives that underlie their own cultures, in particular the values, attitudes, and beliefs surrounding work and workplaces. They need, in other words, to develop the ability to interpret their experiences in cultural terms.

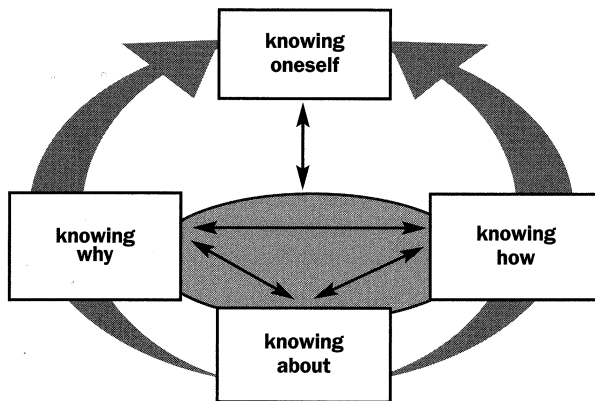
Knowing Oneself

This interaction concerns the individual learners—their values, opinions, feelings, questions, reactions, thoughts, ideas, and their own cultural values as a central part of the cultural experience. It deals with **self-awareness**. The cultural experience is highly personal, and therefore idiosyncratic. Individual learners need to understand themselves and their own culture as a means to comprehending, adapting to, or integrating into the culture. They need to recognize and manage the emotional highs and lows involved in the culture learning process. Ultimately, it is the learners who decide the extent to which they engage in, accept, explore, or become part of the culture and develop expertise as culture learners.

What do Julie's students need to articulate about themselves and their experiences? Julie sees her students as undergoing an internal conflict, an identity crisis of sorts. They are faced with a choice between “keeping” or “giving up” their cultural identities. Perhaps this is indeed how they see it, but students themselves need to articulate their own experiences and their responses to them. They are faced with the task of adapting to life in the United States and are apparently finding it a challenging undertaking. They need to give voice to their responses to determine if the challenge is indeed a matter of identity loss, or if it is something else.

Again, in the end, individual learners set the limits of knowing about, how, and why. They decide. For this reason, knowing oneself is the organizing dimension of the cultural knowings.

Figure 2.3: Knowing Oneself: The Organizing Dimension



Learners' abilities to make such decisions depend on their awareness of themselves, their situation, and their intentions. The more aware they are, the more focused their work becomes in the acquisition of cultural information, skills, and understanding. Lacking this awareness, learners tend not to see the point of culture learning or even to see themselves in such a process, as appears to be the case for the students in Julie's class.

These four knowings, as the examination of Julie's students shows, overlap and interconnect. Nonetheless, they do represent distinct learning transactions with distinct learning strategies and ends. As the following chart portrays, each of the cultural knowings addresses a distinct composite of content, activities, and outcomes.

x

Table 2.1: Cultural Knowings: Content, Activities, Outcomes

	Content	Activities	Outcomes
Knowing About	cultural information	gathering information	cultural knowledge
Knowing How	cultural practices	developing skills	cultural behaviors
Knowing Why	cultural perspectives	discovering explanations	cultural understanding
Knowing Oneself	self	reflection	self-awareness



2.2 TEACHING CULTURE: CATEGORIZING CULTURAL CONTENT

Deciding on the cultural content for language classes is a critical skill. Look again at Figure 2.1, the collage of culture. Categorize each of the cultural topics on this list as content in terms of the four cultural knowings. Choose one of the topics and go into greater detail, listing specific cultural information, cultural practices, cultural perspectives, and self-awarenesses. What challenges do you encounter?

The cultural knowings can be addressed separately and effectively as a means of joining content and process in teaching culture. Students can be invited to engage in any one of the dimensions. However, I have found it useful to situate the cultural knowings within the experiential learning cycle. This not only suggests an order and a relationship among them, it also organizes them all in terms of learning from experience.



THE EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING CYCLE

Kolb (1984) published a model for learning from experience (derived from the work of Kurt Lewin, John Dewey, and Piaget) that proposes a cycle of four distinct stages, each with a different learning purpose. Learning occurs through experiences. Through a cycle of observation, theorizing, and strategizing, learners go from one experience to another and move toward mastery of the subject matter at hand.

In this model, the stages occur in sequence: (1) **concrete experience**, where learners participate in the experience and are engaged on a number of levels—intellectually, physically, emotionally, spiritually—depending on the nature of the content and the form of the experience itself; (2) **reflective observation**, where, subsequent to the experience, the learner pauses to reflect on what happened in order to describe what happened, staying with the facts of the experience; (3) **abstract conceptualization**, where the learner assigns meaning to the experience by developing explanations or theories—either the learner’s own or drawn from other sources; (4) **active experimentation**, the point at which the learner prepares to reenter experience by devising strategies consistent with personal learning goals, the nature of the content, and the form of the experience.

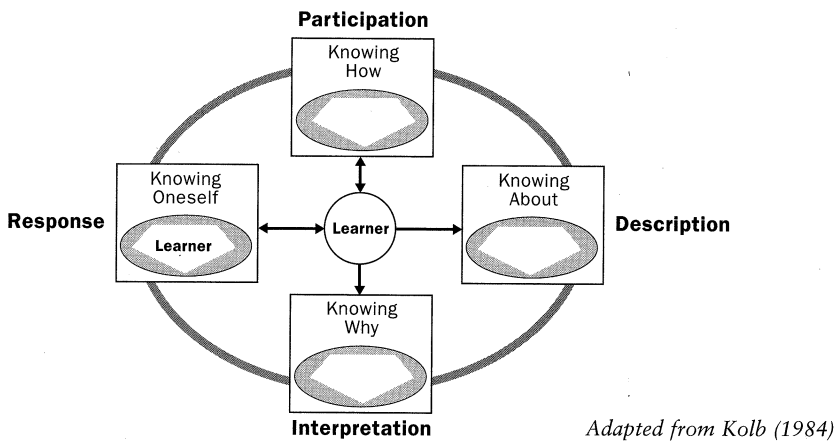
I have adapted the stages of this model to more directly incorporate the cultural knowings and the cultural experience. The cultural experience, students’

encounters with another way of life, parallels Kolb's notion that all learning is experience. Content and process are joined, whether in a direct engagement in the culture itself or in a vicarious, indirect one, such as reading cultural notes in a language textbook, watching a film, or listening to a teacher's stories about a trip to Italy. The nature of this encounter is played out in each of the four stages.

In terms of the stages of the cycle, *concrete experience* becomes *participation*, where the task is direct or indirect engagement in the culture, with an emphasis on knowing how. *Reflective observation* becomes *description*, with a focus on knowing about. *Abstract conceptualization* becomes *interpretation*, where learners concentrate on knowing why. *Active experimentation* becomes *response*, with an emphasis on self-awareness, knowing oneself.

The following diagram illustrates the experiential cycle. Note that the learner appears at the center. In the participation, description, and interpretation stages, the learner's attention is on the culture, whereas in the response stage, the learner's focus shifts to self.

Figure 2.4: The Experiential Learning Cycle



Each of the stages provides a clear pedagogical focus. Content, activities, and outcomes merge in a distinct way for each stage. Together, they present an overall procedure that teachers and learners can use to work on the cultural experience.

How are students in Julie's classroom responding to their experiences in the U.S. workplace? Julie suggests that they are acting or interacting inappropriately and that they are suffering the consequences by "missing opportunities" or "getting into trouble." While Julie is understandably anxious to move to solutions (strategies for reentering the workplace), it is not clear that students have fully described what happened in these workplace experiences, nor that they have fully interpreted those experiences so as to understand the cultural implications.



2.3 TEACHING CULTURE: APPLYING THE EXPERIENTIAL MODEL

Imagine that Julie McConville comes to you to discuss how to apply the experiential model to her language class. What would you suggest that she do for each stage of the cycle?

Organizing culture learning through the stages of the experiential learning cycle requires that learners and teachers consciously apply themselves at each stage. Julie Versluys, a Spanish teacher, describes how she was asked to employ a variation of the experiential learning cycle in learning the culture of the Dominican Republic.



Julie Versluys

As the *guagua* (a public van, typically dilapidated and crammed full of passengers) barreled by, the words hit me like bricks: “*Grande, grande.*” I had been in the Dominican Republic for six months and I was already fed up with the comments that men would utter in passing; *rubia* (blondie), *americana*, *mamasota* (big mama). I was especially tired of the comments about my size and height. So I started to vent to my expatriate friend. “I’m so tired of hearing how tall or big I am. Do they have to point out the obvious? Do they think I don’t know? Why can’t they just drive by without saying anything—like normal people?” My friend, being the kind and patient person that she is, merely waited for me to stop ranting and said, “Julie, I think the driver was calling out ‘*Playa Grande, Playa Grande.*’ You know, saying where they’re headed.”

Chagrined best describes how I felt at that moment of realization. Once again, I’d gone jumping to conclusions. It was in thinking about this experience that I started to unravel the mystery of why Dominican women had fixed expressions on their faces in the streets. I had noticed that Dominican women would walk around town wearing a mask of non-emotion. After a few weeks of seeing this behavior, I started forming the assumption that Dominican women were unfriendly, perhaps even stuck up (and I was starting to think it was especially with Americans). But upon further observation, I realized that their tendency to look down at the sidewalk or straight ahead and to rarely respond was not just in response to me, but also to the same men who were making comments to me as I passed by.

I decided to ask my Dominican coworkers their opinion. I wanted to see if they knew why Dominican women tended to be so unresponsive and reserved in the street. At first, they didn’t understand what I was trying to ask them since they had never consciously realized it was occurring. But once I explained what I was observing and how I was used to women in the United States behaving in the street, they were able to explain. They said that they, and many other women, looked so detached in the streets so that such men wouldn’t think they were interested in them or see them as a certain type of woman.

When I first moved to the Dominican Republic, I was required to attend a cultural orientation seminar that made an impact on me. Some of the best advice I received had to do with analysis. We were all assigned the task of choosing a feature of Dominican society that we wanted to investigate further. Our orientation leader suggested that if we did our research on something that was especially troubling or bothersome to us, it might be more meaningful. We were first to identify the event or area, do observations and describe what was happening, and then analyze why it was happening. The hitch was that we were not allowed to consult any guidebooks or expatriates. We were to consult the experts of Dominican culture, Dominicans themselves. In doing our analysis, we were to go right to the source.

I chose the behavior of the Dominican women that I had observed in the street. However, this was no easy task. I had only been in the country for a couple of months and I hadn't built up the kind of *confianza* with someone to be able to ask them the questions I wanted. I didn't take the step of consulting a Dominican friend about the puzzling cultural behavior that I observed until I knew her quite well. And even then, when I brought the subject up, I first asked her if it was something that she noticed and that bothered her. Once she said that she had noticed it and that it bothered her as well, I felt much freer to ask her if she knew why this behavior existed. The time that I waited to ask my friend these questions also gave me time to improve my spoken Dominican Spanish. Now that I've been reflecting on my experiences with making assumptions, observing different cultures, and analyzing events and customs that I didn't understand, I'm coming to see how large a role language and friendship play.

2.4 LEARNING CULTURE: ANALYZING CONTENT AND PROCESS



What do you notice about Julie Versluys' culture learning? How does she join content and process? How does she carry out stages of the experiential learning cycle? How do the cultural knowings appear in her account?

As illustrated at the beginning of this chapter, many topics fall under the umbrella of culture. Definitions of culture can help teachers organize topics, but defining culture from the perspective of learning is also critical to teaching culture. Seen this way, culture and learning culture are joined through the cultural experience, cultural knowings, and the experiential learning cycle.

The cultural experience varies, due to differences in context, curricula, students, teachers, and many other factors. The nature of the cultural information, the specific cultural behaviors, the particular cultural perspectives will vary, as will the individual responses of students. However, the nature of the cultural learning transactions and the experiential process of learning culture, I contend, remain constant. Regardless of variables, language learners are engaged in an experiential cycle of gathering cultural information, developing cultural behav-

iors, discovering cultural explanations, and developing self-awareness. These are the keys to the cultural experience.

At the heart of cultural experience, at the same time, is a concept of culture. I have defined culture as “a way of life.” In the next chapter, we will explore in greater detail what makes up a way of life.

Suggested Readings

Experiential approaches to education have a long history in language teaching and intercultural training. In *Beyond Experience* (Gochenour, 1993) there are many informative articles on the theory and practice of experiential learning. In her book *Culture Learning: The Fifth Dimension in the Language Classroom*, Louise Damen (1987) was among the first to bring to language teaching the many disciplines and fields of study that address culture. Her description of “pragmatic ethnography” is a wonderful application of the experiential learning cycle to teaching and learning culture. From the field of intercultural communication, the D.I.E. framework (describe, interpret, evaluate) is a tried-and-true teaching strategy for understanding cultural conflict situations as they occur, first published as “D.I.E.: A Way to Improve Communication,” by J. Wendt in 1984. Michael Byram has written many useful books on culture in language, and in *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence* (1997), he outlines an approach to teaching culture and language based on knowledge, skills, attitudes, and education which he interprets as: *savoirs*, *savoir comprendre*, *savoir apprendre/faire*, *savoir être*, and *savoir s’engager*. Intercultural educators also simplify the nature of culture learning, using knowledge, behavior, and attitudes as the core. Michael Paige, Helen Jorstad, Laura Siaya, Francine Klein, and Jeanette Colby have compiled an excellent overview of content and process in culture teaching and learning using this tripartite frame in “Culture Learning in Language Education: A Review of the Literature” (2000), available at CARLA, The Center for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, at the University of Minnesota (<http://carla.acad.umn.edu/>).

Reading 3: “Language and Culture” from *Teaching Culture: Perspectives in Practice*

Directions: Answers these three questions on a separate sheet of paper. I will collect in next week’s class.

1. At the beginning of the chapter, the author describes a difficulty that he had when learning French. What was that difficulty (summarize his experiences) and how does it relate to the teaching and learning of ***language-and-culture***?
2. What are the five cultural dimensions that the author describes and how do they relate to ***language-and-culture***? Please give specific and personal examples (if possible) for each dimension.
3. What language is needed to learn culture? How do these language functions relate to the cultural knowing framework? Give examples of language needed for each stage.

LANGUAGE-AND-CULTURE

I had crossed the line, and René let me know immediately. “Attention!” he cautioned, wagging his finger playfully at me, but seriously, I could tell. We were in the courtyard behind the house, in the middle of a game of boules. I had just congratulated him on a fine play he had made, knocking my boule away from le cochonnet. My mistake? In my words of praise to him, Tu as bien joué, I had used the tu form instead of vous (the informal “you” instead of the formal “you”). Even though I had known René for well over 15 years at that time, he insisted that I use the vous form with him, while he used the tu form with me. After all, he explained, I was the son-in-law, he was the father-in-law. It was the right thing to say.

This lesson on the use of *tu* and *vous* in French is one among many that I’ve learned over the years. Like all French students, I learned the linguistic forms early on, with all the appropriate verb endings for *tu* and for *vous*, but the lessons on appropriate use, or culture, started with my first encounters with French speakers and have continued to this day. Some may say that this is a relatively obvious example of the intersection of language and culture, but in my experience with French and French speakers, learning the appropriate use of *tu/vous* has been an ongoing challenge of figuring out social relationships in the culture and my place within them. The formulas of formality/informality, politeness/intimacy that I first learned, although useful, have proved too simplistic.

Once, at a dinner party in France with a gathering that included a few French high school teachers, I told them of the difficulty I had in teaching the “rules” of *tu/vous* to students in the United States, since there is no equivalent in English. I asked them all the question, “How do you use *tu/vous* with the students in your classes?” Naively, I expected them to answer with one voice, providing a simple formula that I could pass on to my students. In fact, there was great variation. One said, “I use *vous* with the students, and they use *vous* with me.” Another said, “I use *tu* with them, and they use *vous* with me.” A third said, “I use *tu* with the students, and they use *tu* with me.” All three teachers worked in the same school. When I asked them to explain their answers, all talked about how they wanted to present themselves to students and how they wanted the students to perceive them and their role in the classroom. Each had a different view of these roles and relationships. “So much for the teacher-student formality theory,” I thought to myself.

Ironically, during the course of this very dinner party, we had been using *vous* with one another, those of us who had met for the first time. As time passed and as we talked, the ambiance became warmer and more relaxed among us. At some

point, I don't remember exactly when, I noticed that everyone had begun using *tu* with one another and with me. I joined in, assuming that we had all now reached the kind of friendlier relationship that called for *tu*. We continued this way right through to the late hour when we all said our goodbyes. By chance, the next morning on my way to buy a newspaper in town, I met one of these people in the street. I greeted her, using the *tu* form. Coolly, she responded with *vous*. The color rushed to my face; I had made another mistake. Obviously, the "now-we-know-each-other-so-we-can-use-*tu* theory" did not apply here.

In this chapter, I examine two dimensions of language and culture: language in the culture, and language in the classroom. I present language from two viewpoints: (1) language as an integral part of the five dimensions of culture; and (2) language to learn culture. In the first, I will show how language cannot be separated from the products, practices, perspectives, communities, and persons of the culture. In the second, I propose that language must be separated from culture in order to learn culture, using the stages of the experiential learning cycle and the cultural knowings as a pedagogical guide.

LANGUAGE-AND-CULTURE

In the culture, the language is literally everywhere. Anyone immersed in the culture sees and hears the language all around. In this context, language and culture are clearly fused; one reflects the other. Recently, language educators have attempted to coin new words to reflect this fusion: linguaculture (Kramsch, 1989; Fantini, 1995), languaculture (Agar 1994), or language-and-culture (Byram and Morgan, 1993). The latter is the term I will use. Language-and-culture conveys both unification and separation. It acknowledges that we can deal with each separately and with both together.

To state the obvious, language embodies the products, practices, perspectives, communities, and persons of a culture. To fully reveal the culture, we must examine the language. Language is a product of the culture, as any other, but it also plays a distinct role. Members of the culture have created the language to carry out all their cultural practices, to identify and organize all their cultural products, and to name the underlying cultural perspectives in all the various communities that comprise their culture. The words of the language, its expressions, structures, sounds, and scripts reflect the culture, just as the cultural products and practices reflect the language. Language, therefore, is a window to the culture. The fact that *tu* and *vous* exist in French, for example, tells us that French speakers need this distinction in their culture. They need it in order to establish roles and maintain relationships with other French speakers, which is crucial to enacting their cultural practices.

To practice the culture, we also need language. We need to be able to express ourselves and to communicate with members of the culture as we engage with them in the myriad practices and products that make up their way of life. Moreover, we need to do this appropriately, using the right language in the right way, according to the expectations of the members of the culture. This is the language of self-expression, communication, and social interaction. It is based on direct experience in the culture and interactions with members of the culture, in all the complexity this entails. For instance, the use of *tu* and *vous*, in terms of



practicing a French-speaking culture, quickly becomes more than an interesting fact about French language and culture. Meeting and interacting with French speakers immediately calls for using either *tu* or *vous*, namely, establishing an interpersonal relationship with them. Nothing could be more daunting, especially if there is ambiguity about this relationship.

The following table summarizes how language-and-culture appears in the five dimensions of culture.

Table 4.1: Language-and-Culture

Cultural Dimension	The Nature of Language-and-Culture
Products	The language used to describe and manipulate cultural products
Practices	The language used to participate in cultural practices
Perspectives	The language used to identify, explain, and justify cultural perspectives
Communities	The language used to participate appropriately in specific cultural communities
Persons	The language individuals use to express their unique identity within the culture

Language and Cultural Products

The products of a culture range from isolated objects, artifacts, or tools to places, complex social institutions, and other constructions, like art, literature, architecture, and music. To manipulate or use these varied products, members of the culture use language. As a matter of fact, many cultural products—literature, tax codes, telephone directories, operating instructions, passports—consist entirely of language (and the paper they are printed on).

Consider again the products of a drive-through restaurant, where operating a car or handling money do not necessarily require spoken language to enact. Language, nonetheless, plays a critical role. Even though people may drive a car or manipulate currency in silence, we can assume that they learned the use of these products through language. More important, if asked about these products, people are able to describe them and their use through language. They can also describe the history of these products, how they originated and changed over the years. They can make comparisons with other products, as well as relate any particularities of note, even explain their significance in the culture. Moreover, should something unexpected occur with the operation of the car or with the exchange of currency, people rely on language to resolve the matter. And if asked about the role of drive-through restaurants in their lives, people use language to express their experiences, opinions, feelings, concerns, or questions about this cultural phenomenon.

Remember, too, that language is a cultural product in and of itself. Words, expressions, and structures are continually added or discarded. When spoken and written, language takes on tangible and perceptible forms. We can see written language, and we hear language when spoken. These tangible forms, as with any cultural product, can be described through language. Linguists and grammarians

have articulated a whole range of terminology to describe language and how it works. Linguistic terms such as noun, verb, complement, alphabet, phoneme, syllable, determiner, relative clause stand alongside linguistic processes such as question formation, subject-verb agreement, pluralization, inflections, and the like. As language teachers, describing language using such terms is our stock-in-trade. We constantly employ metalanguage—the language used to discuss language itself.

Language and Cultural Practices

Perhaps the most obvious use of language in culture occurs in cultural practices. When people come together and engage in cultural practices, they talk. Cultural practices almost always require language, the language of participation. The actions and interactions between and among members of the culture demand speaking and listening and, in literate cultures, reading or writing. The social circumstances, the people involved, the topic, and a number of other factors influence the nature of the language used. The language can be simple or quite complicated, depending on the nature of the practice in question. Say, for example, the social situation is a marriage ceremony, where numerous practices are required, from writing and sending invitations, through welcoming guests, giving and receiving gifts, participating in the ceremony, eating, making conversation, giving public speeches, to leave-takings—to name only a few. To participate appropriately, one needs to say the right words in the right way at the right time.

Language and Cultural Perspectives

Language also reflects and embodies perspectives. We use language to name and understand the perceptions, values, attitudes, and beliefs that govern our way of life. Through language, we make tacit perspectives explicit. We talk and write about perspectives. We read about them. We hear them in exchanges with members of the culture. Words, phrases, idioms, expressions—when we examine what they mean—reveal values, attitudes, and beliefs intrinsic to the culture. American English words (*liberty, competition, teamwork, blues*), if examined, lead to cultural perspectives, as do expressions (*the buck stops here, time is money, one-stop shopping*), and constructions (*She, Ms.*) or statements (“Call me by my first name,” “I stole home and won the game”).

In fact, through disciplines in the field of social science, there is an extensive vocabulary of cultural inquiry and explanation that explores the nature of cultural perspectives, resulting in terminology such as cultural patterns, kinship, proxemics, collectivism, and the like.

Wendy Wen, a Taiwanese ESOL teacher, did an in-depth study of a common U.S. cultural artifact that embodies perspectives: the bumper sticker.

As an English teacher, when I first came across this cultural phenomenon, I was quite amazed at the efficiency with which bumper stickers convey their various messages in such minimal space and economy of language....Some bumper stickers are straightforward, thus they are easy to interpret. Others can be quite difficult to understand for those who are not familiar with the American cultural context. A few straightforward, easily understood ones read as follows: “Honor Teachers.” One can assume that, unlike in



Wendy Wen

some Asian countries, where teachers are highly regarded, in America the teacher's status is relatively low, so this encourages people to honor and respect them. The following is less obvious to the foreign observer: "I is a college student." There is a comically conspicuous grammatical error in the sentence: the verb form should be "am," not "is." But what has poor grammar to do with a college student? Does this suggest the poor quality of a college education or the falling standards of education generally?

The perspectives are indeed embodied in words, phrases, and sentences, but the perspectives are not always immediately obvious, especially to outsiders.

Language and Cultural Communities

- × When we situate language in specific communities or groups, we see variations in forms, meanings, and use according to these social settings and circumstances. Communities develop distinct language to describe and carry out the particular practices and products associated with their group and its activities. For example, consider all the specialized vocabulary and interactional language used in occupations or professions. Plumbers, veterinarians, carpenters, politicians, farmers, lawyers, and computer technicians all have specialized language that describes the work they do and fits the interactions they have with others in this work.
- × When combined with cultural practices, communities also define norms for language use. Within groups, roles, relationships, and other social factors influence who speaks, what they say, and how they say it. Appropriate use of language becomes essential. The language forms we use in one set of social circumstances with certain communities are not necessarily the ones we use in others, even though we may be conveying a similar message.

Language and Persons

- × Finally, language, like culture, is not only collective but also personal. We share it with others in our culture, yet each of us uses language in an idiosyncratic manner, based upon our background, experiences, social groups, our personal outlook, and our identity. Each of us has a unique manner of self-expression in the language—a tone of voice, a certain pitch, a way of pronouncing, an accent, a writing voice, a communicative style, a preference for certain words, expressions, and idioms. We use our own version of language to describe, understand, and respond to our experiences and ourselves.

To summarize at this point, in the culture itself, language-and-culture is embedded in cultural products, practices, perspectives, communities, and persons. One reflects the other, and they are best seen as joined. In the language classroom, however, the circumstances are different.

LANGUAGE TO LEARN CULTURE

Language is the central means of learning culture in the language classroom. In the language classroom, as in the culture at large, the language is also everywhere. You find it in textbooks, audiotapes, videos, books, newspapers, magazines, and in the words exchanged between and among students and teachers. The culture is also present in many of these same materials, especially if they are authentic language material, used by members of the culture.

In the classroom context, however, language and culture tend to be distinct and treated separately. While this perhaps has the disadvantage of providing an incomplete portrait of language-and-culture, the separation also has an undeniable advantage. Language and culture can be separated for pedagogical reasons. First of all, learners do benefit by concentrating only on mastery of linguistic forms; including the cultural dimension could add unnecessary complexity. Second, and most relevant to culture, we use language to learn culture, a separation that helps language learners. The language we use to learn culture is specialized. It is the language of the classroom, where culture is the topic and language the means to comprehend, analyze, and respond to it.

To achieve this, four language functions are needed: language to **participate in the culture**, language to **describe the culture**, language to **interpret the culture**, and language to **respond to the culture**. These four functions mirror the stages of the cultural experience cycle: participation, description, interpretation, response—knowing how, knowing about, knowing why, and knowing oneself. In order to learn culture through experience, therefore, we need to use certain kinds of language at each step along the way.

Table 4.2: Language to Learn Culture

Stage	The Nature of Language
Participation: Knowing how	The language used to participate in the cultural experience
Description: Knowing about	The language used to describe the cultural experience
Interpretation: Knowing why	The language used to identify, explain, and justify cultural perspectives and to compare and contrast these with perspectives from the individual's own culture and other cultures
Response: Knowing oneself	The language individuals use to express their thoughts, feelings, questions, decisions, strategies, and plans regarding the cultural experience

A FUNCTIONAL VIEW OF LANGUAGE

The language to learn culture is based on a functional view of language, that is, its communicative and expressive purposes. H.H. Stern (1983, p. 224) provides a clear and cogent summary of different categories of language functions proposed by five linguists. Carol Orwig (1999) offers useful lists of communicative functions in five topic areas: survival functions, social functions, self-expressive functions, cognitive functions, functions for managing conversations. Her lists are intended for self-directed learners of any language but they are also useful for language teachers looking for lists of functions. The foreign language profession in the United States (NSFLEP, 1999) proposes three central language functions, or communicative modes: interpersonal, presentational, and interpretive. Other useful sources for lists of basic English language-specific functions are Wilkins (1976) and Van Ek and Alexander (1975).



LANGUAGE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

This language derives from the five dimensions of the culture and is represented in the classroom through the cultural experience. The cultural experience, you will recall, can consist of any representation of the culture in which learners engage through listening, speaking, reading, writing, observing, or doing. The culture presented can be products, practices, perspectives, communities, or persons. I will use the term *cultural text* to define any representation of the culture that is presented in the language classroom, be it a reading passage, watching a film, preparing or eating food, participating in a role-play, writing in a language journal, performing a folk dance, singing songs, or listening to a guest speaker or a teacher's anecdotes about the culture.

Consider practices as a cultural text. This features the language-and-culture needed to participate in cultural practices, where people need to express themselves, communicate, and carry out the affairs of their shared way of life. In the language classroom, the language of participation is removed from the cultural context in which it occurs. There are exceptions, of course, but for the most part the language to participate is modified to fit the classroom. It is tailored according to the curriculum, students' background and knowledge, their level of proficiency, and other factors. This language-and-culture is condensed, simplified, excerpted, or otherwise modified so that learners can manage it.

This modification is accomplished through activities that replicate social interactions in the culture—dialogues, role-plays, simulations, interviews, games, or other activities that feature communication in the manner of members of the culture. In addition, other kinds of classroom-based activities incorporate the language of participation. These include activities in which the language is used for self-expression or communication, such as asking questions, giving answers, or discussing what happened on the weekend. Regardless of the activity, in order to master the language of participation, learners need practice in manipulating linguistic forms. This is often best achieved by separating language from culture, especially at lower levels of proficiency.

Again, this aspect of language is commonly referred to as *functions*—language functions or communicative functions. Functions emphasize the purposes that language serves for people of the culture, such as greeting, complimenting, storytelling, or thanking. The specific language that we use to carry out functions depends, of course, on the social situation, the people involved, the topics at hand, and other factors. Knowing and choosing the appropriate language is essential to functions. Keep in mind that verbal language is just one of many means of communication that people use in these situations. Gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, touching, physical distance, silence, and other factors all play an important role in functions, but for the moment, let us concentrate on written and spoken language.

Practices, the social interactions and transactions of the culture, are simply too numerous to list. People are involved in all sorts of activities that require language functions to complete. And as culture changes, new practices are established and others discarded. Linguists have categorized functions using various classification systems, and those related to social interactions of one kind or another apply most to participating in the culture.

Carol Orwig (1999) has developed a list of “social functions” that is particularly useful in mapping the language to participate in the culture. The following chart illustrates her categories, along with some of the functions she lists for each one.

Table 4.3: The Language of Participation

Stage	Sample Language Functions
Participation: Knowing how	<p>Socializing—greeting/addressing people; taking leave; introducing/meeting people; etc.</p> <p>Establishing/Maintaining Relationships—getting to know each other by sharing; etc.</p> <p>Influencing People—requesting that others perform actions; requesting/giving permission; etc.</p> <p>Giving and Responding to Feedback—expressing and acknowledging compliments; etc.</p> <p>Arguing—agreeing/disagreeing/disputing; persuading/convincing; threatening; negotiating; etc.</p> <p>Avoiding Trouble—denying guilt or responsibility; explaining; making excuses; etc.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Orwig (1999)</i></p>

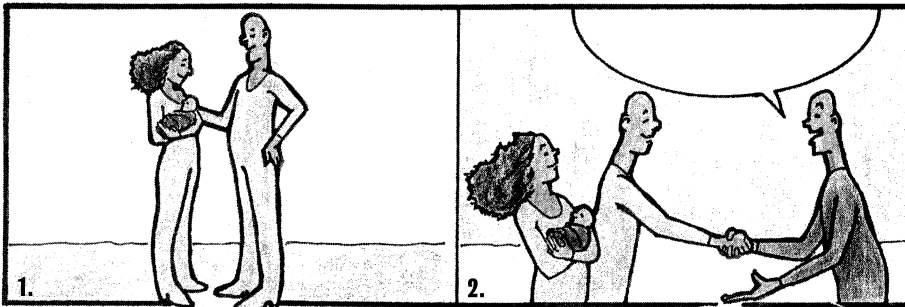
The above list is far from comprehensive, but it does suggest the range of communicative functions or acts involved in the language of participation in the culture.

4.1 TEACHING CULTURE: IDENTIFYING LANGUAGE-AND-CULTURE



The purpose here is to explore and identify language-and-culture. Use the picture below as the focus for a language lesson. Using your native language, imagine yourself as one of the characters in this social situation. Identify one or more functions needed to carry out the communication called for in this situation. Write a brief dialogue with appropriate statements, questions, answers, or expressions.

Figure 4.1: Congratulating



Moran (1990)

Change the social circumstances of this interaction, the new baby scenario, and write new dialogues that are appropriate to these circumstances. For example:

- a husband and wife celebrating the adoption of their child, being congratulated by the grandfather
- a doctor and a nurse holding the baby they just delivered, being congratulated by a colleague
- three childhood friends holding the newborn sibling of one of them
- three family members, each outwardly expressing happiness, but also conveying messages of self-importance, envy, bitterness

Then set these same scenarios within different organized religions. Identify the exchanges that would occur.

What do you notice about the language of participation?

As mentioned earlier, I draw a distinction between language used to participate in the culture and language used to learn the culture. Strictly speaking, participating in the culture does involve using language to learn the culture. Simply by interacting with members of the culture, we learn language and culture. However, the distinction applies when we consider the use of language in the cultural experience and the experiential learning cycle. Participation in this case involves the experience of culture in the classroom, not in the culture itself. From participation in this classroom cultural experience, the subsequent steps of description, interpretation, and response involve an examination of that experience. Because of their differences, each of these steps emphasizes a particular use of language.



BLOOM'S TAXONOMY

Since this examination involves distinct cognitive activities, Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives is a useful guide. Bloom et al. (1956) list six areas of cognitive learning: knowledge (recall of information), comprehension (interpretation of knowledge), application, analysis (breaking knowledge down into parts), synthesis (bringing together parts of knowledge into a whole), and evaluation (judgments based on a set of criteria). They proposed that these areas be sequenced in increasing levels of abstraction or complexity of thinking. To demonstrate learning in each of these areas, students carry out distinct learning behaviors, which are stated in the form of actions, or, in language teachers' terms, verbs. These verbs can be construed as language functions. Even though the stages of the experiential cycle do not explicitly match Bloom's sequence, the overall direction is similar.

LANGUAGE TO DESCRIBE CULTURAL PHENOMENA

Following the participation phase of the cultural experience cycle, the next stage is to reflect upon that experience and describe the cultural phenomenon. This calls for the language of description. The language of description involves functions that elicit or provide information about cultural phenomena. This can be

information about products, practices, perspectives, communities, or people. The essential feature is describing what is observed, either witnessed directly or through texts. The functions range from formal reporting in speech or writing to answering factual questions about a cultural text.

It is important to distinguish the language of description from the language of interpretation. This discipline of separating description from interpretation is a fundamental competence in culture learning, and the language needs to reflect this separation. A useful schema for categorizing the language of description can be found in Bloom's categories of "knowledge" and "comprehension." Also, Orwig (1999) has a category called "cognitive functions" that features the language of description.

Table 4.4: The Language of Description

Stage	Sample Language Functions
Description: Knowing about	<p>Knowledge—listing; defining; telling; identifying; shopping; labeling; quoting; etc.</p> <p>Comprehension—summarizing; distinguishing fact from opinion; paraphrasing; etc.</p> <p>Description—describing who, what, where, when, how, how much, and why (if the reasons are explicit in the event/text); correcting factual errors; etc.</p> <p>Cognitive Functions—identifying/seeking identification; defining/asking for definitions; etc.</p>

4.2 LEARNING CULTURE: DESCRIBING

Study the picture of the new baby scenario on page 41. Describe this situation, both as portrayed in the drawing and from your own experiences and general cultural knowledge. As you go through this exercise, consciously avoid any tendency to interpret or explain the underlying cultural perspectives. Also resist any temptation to offer your personal opinions or feelings about this cultural practice. Stay with description.

- What's happening in this scenario?
- What happened beforehand?
- What will happen afterwards?
- Where might this scenario take place?

A: Describe this practice in general terms as it is carried out in your native culture. Expand your description to include reference to specific communities in your culture, along with specific products, perspectives, and also how individual persons whom you know respond to this practice.

B: Tell a story about a personal experience you have had with this scenario. Tell it as if it were a journalistic account—just the facts.

What do you notice about the language of description?



LANGUAGE TO INTERPRET CULTURAL PHENOMENA

Functions for this stage of the cultural experience cycle consist of the language used to develop and substantiate cultural interpretations. These interpretations are based on cultural information elicited or presented during the description stage. At this juncture, the topics shift from the concrete of description to the abstract of interpretation, from visible culture to invisible culture, from products and practices to perspectives. These functions thus involve inference, hypotheses, substantiation, justification, comparison and contrast, and other forms of language that link concrete to abstract.

Table 4.5: The Language of Interpretation

Stage	Sample Language Functions
Interpretation: Knowing Why	Rational Inquiry and Exposition (Wilkins, 1976) implying; deducing; supposing; conjecturing; assuming; proposing; hypothesizing; generalizing; etc. Analysis (Bloom, 1956) analyzing; categorizing; inferring; distinguishing; etc. Cognitive Functions (Orwig, 1999) comparing and contrasting; drawing conclusions; making predictions; discussing possibilities and probabilities; etc.



4.3 LEARNING CULTURE: INTERPRETING

Return to the picture of the new baby scenario (Fig. 4.1, p.41). Interpret this cultural practice, both as portrayed in the drawing and from your own experiences and general cultural knowledge. Begin with these questions, and add your own.

- What cultural attitudes, values, beliefs, or perceptions are explicitly portrayed in this scene?
- What cultural attitudes, values, beliefs, or perceptions are implicit or suggested in this scene?
- How might participants in this scene differ in their perceptions of this event?
- How do distinct communities within the culture differ in their perspectives on death, burial, mourning, bereavement, or loss?
- How do these attitudes, values, beliefs, or perceptions contrast with those of other cultures that you know? Provide information about these other cultures to substantiate your comparisons.

What do you notice about the language of interpretation?

Jaimie Scanlon, an ESOL teacher in Japan, describes how she approaches the language needed for this stage and the next.



Jaimie Scanlon

Knowing why and knowing oneself are the most challenging stages to reach for several reasons. First, students' ability to communicate what they feel and to hypothesize in the language greatly depends on their proficiency level. My students were around ACTFL Intermediate-Low. They needed more language in the beginning to produce the kinds of statements necessary for a good discussion of the topics. My first couple of attempts at in-class discussions failed because of the students' inability to communicate their thoughts in English. Following that, I presented language for guessing, hypothesizing, and expressing opinions, such as, "It might be...", "Maybe it's because..." "I guess...", "I think/feel/believe/agree/disagree...". This helped a little. After one class, I decided to ask students to finish their thoughts in writing and gave them some guiding questions. The results prompted me to stick to that method of reaching these knowings. Students were much better able to express their thoughts in writing.

LANGUAGE TO RESPOND TO CULTURAL PHENOMENA

The language functions involved at this stage all serve to help learners express their responses to the cultural phenomenon at hand. In keeping with the emphasis of this stage, the topic of discussion shifts from the culture to the learner. The learner's world becomes the subject matter. Learners' responses include feelings, opinions, values, beliefs, questions, concerns, or awarenesses, as well as intentions, strategies, decisions, or other plans the learners may formulate as they anticipate further involvement in the cultural phenomenon. Essentially, these functions entail learners' self-expression. The focus is knowing oneself, self-awareness.

Table 4.6: The Language of Response

Stage	Sample Language Functions
Response: Knowing oneself	<p>Evaluation (Bloom, 1956) appraising; judging; criticizing; defending; valuing; evaluating; supporting; validating; attacking; etc.</p> <p>Expressing Emotions (Orwig, 1999) expressing likes or dislikes; pleasure or displeasure; satisfaction or dissatisfaction; disappointment; fear or worry; surprise; hope; gratitude; sympathy; want or desire; etc.</p> <p>Expressing/Inquiring about: intentions; plans; strategies; beliefs; opinions; questions; concerns; values; decisions; etc.</p>

4.4 LEARNING CULTURE: RESPONDING

Study the picture of the baby scenario on p. 41 once again. Offer your personal views on this scenario, both as portrayed in the drawing and from your own experiences and general knowledge.



- What thoughts, feelings, or opinions do you have about this cultural phenomenon?
- Describe any personal experiences you have had with this cultural phenomenon.
- Do you share the cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, or perceptions of this cultural phenomenon?
- What more would you like to know or do in regard to this phenomenon?

What do you notice about the language of response?

The language of response also involves the language used to illuminate the process of crossing cultures, whether this be naming and managing cultural stereotypes, contrasting cultural values, or examining the applicability of models of cultural adaptation to learners' experiences. This can be an academic intellectual exercise or, if learners' beliefs and values are engaged, an exploration of emotions.

In an ESOL course that she taught in the United States, Friederike Weiss (1997) included the acculturation process (Brown, 1994) as a specific component of her curriculum, which meant teaching the necessary language.



Friederike Weiss

- x Language skills are part of the culture learning process, so we need to aim for the integration of language and culture learning. Teaching and learning about acculturation involves teaching and learning the language and terms that come with it. Students can expand their vocabulary to learn terms that could help them express their feelings. In order for students to do this, we need to give them the necessary linguistic tools. Therefore, one of the first lessons should be how to express feeling in English. I consider learning to express one's feelings a crucial first step in any classroom, for it signals to students that such expressions are encouraged and welcomed. One way to do this is to brainstorm and elicit adjectives and to create cards with "I feel + adjective" statements, which students can then match with a situation (on cards), e.g., "I feel happy when I talk to my parents on the phone." The cards can be posted in the classroom; whenever the students encounter more adjectives or need to find more ways of expressing feelings, more cards can be added. I found that students responded very positively when I gave them these tools, which again showed me their need and willingness to describe their emotions.

These four functions of language—participation, description, interpretation, response—not only point to cultural content areas (products, practices, perspectives, communities, persons), they indicate language content areas, as well. Specifically, the language of participation requires communicative exchanges and expressions involved in social interactions of participants in the practices in question. The language of description calls for specific vocabulary and expressions related to literal and figurative description. The language of interpretation encompasses the vocabulary and expressions associated with critical thinking or rigorous inquiry into perceptions, values, beliefs, and attitudes. The language of response involves the words and expressions needed to voice one's opinions,

feelings, intentions, and other responses to the cultural phenomena under study.

To summarize, language, as a product of culture, is infused with culture. Language-and-culture are two sides of the same coin, especially—and always—when we immerse ourselves in the culture. Each mirrors the other, and one is inseparable from the other—when we are in the culture. Members of the culture use their language to portray their culture, to put their cultural perspectives into practice, to carry out their way of life. Language thus unites products, practices, perspectives, communities, and persons. On the other hand, when we, as language teachers, bring language-and-culture into the second language classroom, it changes. To help learners, we tailor the language-and-culture to be more accessible. This necessarily involves separating language from culture and working separately on the language to learn culture. While there are many ways to do this, the experiential cycle is particularly effective. ✕

Suggested Readings

The National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project (NSFLEP, 1999) proposes a framework of three communicative modes—interpersonal, interpretive, presentational—the language functions that learners need to learn language and culture and to communicate. The book contains lesson plans in Chinese, classical languages, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish that show applications of these three modes. One of the most comprehensive and practical resources for teaching and learning language-and-culture that I have found is the Summer Institute of Linguistics (<http://www.sla.org>). Most of their material is designed for self-study of language and culture but is easily adapted to the classroom.

THE CULTURE LEARNING PROCESS

It was the first afternoon of my weekend homestay with an Ivorian family in West Africa, and I had just been introduced to everyone. I was sitting on a low wooden stool with the family and their guests on benches in the shade of a large mango tree in the courtyard of their compound, trying hard to recognize any of the few words in Dioula that I had learned. As the adults talked, I noticed a child of about five years sitting cross-legged next to me, his brows knit, his gaze hard upon me. He was studying me intensely, looking me up and down. After a time, he reached out, touched my arm, and lightly rubbed his fingers against my white skin. Slowly, he withdrew his hand and resumed his contemplation. A few minutes later, his face cleared. He looked at me and said in a low voice, touching his skin, “Ça, c’est bon.” He then pointed to my skin and said, “Ça, ce n’est pas bon.” He then turned away and joined the other children.

“This is good. That is not good.”

My jaw dropped. I guessed that I was the first white person this black child had seen up close. Confronted with an undeniable difference between the two of us, I figured that he needed to reconcile this for himself. I couldn’t tell if he was expressing reassurance for himself or pity for me, a white man obviously out of place in his world. Whatever he was thinking, his observations reminded me that he was black and I was white. Up until this point in Africa, I had not fully recognized that I was indeed white nor had I realized that this would make a difference in my experiences in Côte d’Ivoire.

This experience has stayed with me, because this child’s reactions captured so dramatically and honestly the initial encounter with difference that lies at the heart of culture learning. Since that time, I have witnessed similar reactions in students in my language classes, and in language teachers in my culture classes—novice and experienced alike. And I have seen them in myself. Unlike the Ivorian boy’s terms, the words used may not be “good” and “not good,” but are euphemisms for the same. The new—the unknown, the extra-ordinary, the different—is perceived as right or wrong, comfortable or uncomfortable, interesting or boring, fascinating or weird. The challenge is to move beyond such reactions to acceptance of difference and ultimately, if possible, to integration of another language and way of life into our own. What is the process of culture learning that leads to such outcomes?

In this chapter, I propose that the process of culture learning be made explicit and that it be included in the language-and-culture curriculum. The process,

in other words, becomes part of the content. Learners' experiences with learning language-and-culture need to be verbalized and compared with existing models of culture learning. The model that I propose for this process is based on the experiential learning cycle.

MODELS OF CULTURE LEARNING

As I said in Chapter 1, there are many views about the nature of culture learning. In Appendix B, I summarize seven models of culture learning: Hanvey, Brown, Hoopes, Gochenour and Janeway, Bennett, Kim, and Paige. In one way or another, these models feature encounters with cultural differences and how learners tend to respond to these encounters. These models of culture learning are based on learners' direct experiences in the host culture and interaction with people of that culture. They highlight the adjustment process as learners learn about and change to meet the requirements of the culture, while they are immersed in it. If they progress, learners pass through stages, phases, or passages, gradually accumulating knowledge about the culture, appropriate cultural behaviors, fluency in the language, and ultimately changing their attitudes—toward the target culture, their own culture, themselves, and cultures in general.

These models are instructive in that they provide frameworks for situating learners along the continuum from initial contact to full adaptation. They are particularly relevant for second language classrooms, where learners are surrounded by the target culture and language and are in the process of cultural adjustment. In foreign language classrooms, on the other hand, learners do not generally have access to direct experiences or interactions in the culture. Nonetheless, their indirect encounters with cultural differences can also be compared with these models (Mantle-Bromley, 1992).

Taken together, these models of culture learning describe a similar process, but from different perspectives, with different emphases and different outcomes. All stress that the culture learning process involves changes within learners—changes in the ways they think, feel, and act. Almost all models emphasize that this process involves psychological intensity, stress, or shock of some kind, which learners need to manage in some way. The process also involves learners' finding ways of establishing and maintaining relationships with members of the new culture. These relationships depend not only on the learners but also on the members of the host culture and their perceptions of the learners, and the degree of receptivity they display. Also, the process, as a few models suggest, is idiosyncratic; all learners go through the process in unique ways, leading to different outcomes.

With a few exceptions, all models attempt to describe a process that is essentially an unconscious one, especially in the early phases. In other words, culture learners tend not to know what is happening to them, or why they feel the way they do—that they are experiencing cultural conflict or stress. They tend not to recognize that they are in such a process. Because so much of culture is tacit, this lack of awareness is understandable. Indeed, most models seem to suggest that the culture learning process is one in which learners move from an unaware state to one of awareness as they discover their culture, their cultural conditioning, and recognize the same circumstances in the other culture.



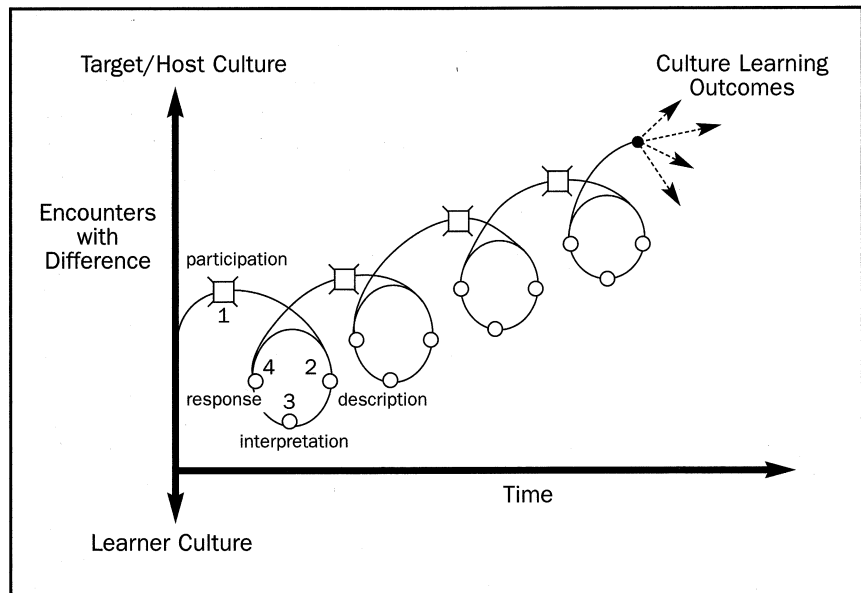
See
Appendix B,
p. 161.

For the
relationship
between culture
learning models
and outcomes,
see Chapter 10,
beginning on
p. 107.

x The key to “teaching” this unique experience is self-awareness, knowing oneself. At some point in this process, learners need conscious awareness of themselves. They need to recognize what they are going through and to purposefully take action. As teachers, we can help learners bring their experiences to the surface, to expression and articulation, so that they can decide how to respond to the culture. When learners do name their experiences—what they perceive, think, or feel—we need to be ready to help them situate this within a larger framework. This is the point at which established models of culture learning prove most useful. When learners can place their experiences against these models, they gain additional perspective and clarity.

I propose that the process of culture learning be conscious and explicit, following the stages of the experiential learning cycle. I have liberally adapted Young Yun Kim’s model of stress-adaptation-growth (1998) to include these stages. With this model, I do not propose that this is how culture learning occurs, but that this is a way to process it in the classroom.

Table 11.1: Culture Learning in the Classroom



x In this model, the process of culture learning consists of an ongoing series of encounters with cultural differences presented through structured participation in the language-and-culture curriculum (products, practices, perspectives, communities, persons). These differences can trigger emotional reactions. Guided by the teacher, the learners engage in description, interpretation, and response, consistent with the stages of the experiential learning cycle and cultural knowings. Over time, through repeated encounters and explicit reference to models of culture learning, learners acquire more knowledge of the target culture, develop more appropriate

linguistic and cultural behaviors, attain greater understanding, and enhance their awareness of their own culture, their intentions, and their competence as culture learners. Depending on learners' intentions and their learning circumstances, the ultimate outcomes will vary. This process features a constant back-and-forth between the learners' culture and the culture they are learning. This relationship, in fact, is critical. The extent to which learners feel welcomed, accepted, or included by members of the other culture exerts great influence on their process. ~

This model is based on the following assumptions:

1. Culture learning can be a conscious, purposeful process.

In the language classroom, we have a forum for examining the culture learning process (Archer, 1986). We can present models and theories of culture learning as a part of the language-and-culture curriculum. We can invite learners to share their experiences, and help make sense of them, using these models and theories. By triggering awareness and understanding of this nature, learners can articulate their intentions and identify appropriate strategies to advance their culture learning (Oxford, 1990). ~

In this regard, Gochenour and Janeway (1993) propose a model for culture learning that is distinct from others. They present this process as an intentional one, very much as a series of tasks that learners need to go through in order to establish themselves in the culture, ranging from observation and communication all the way to consciously choosing to change. Originally developed as a crosscultural training tool for professionals going abroad, it provides a valuable set of guidelines applicable for language-and-culture learners.

2. Culture learning requires managing emotions.

Encounters with cultural differences frequently evoke emotional reactions. These emotions run the gamut from euphoria to anxiety, from feelings of excitement when faced with the new culture to disorientation, shock, and anomie (a loss of identity). Our emotions are the gatekeepers to our cultural perspectives, guardians of our worldview. Our perceptions, values, and beliefs are an awesome force—as they should be. After all, they hold our world together. It takes a conscious effort to step outside of them, and to do so calls for recognizing and managing these emotions. ~

While easily recognized, emotions are not always easily managed. This is where the stages of the experiential cycle aid. Once ignited, emotions need to be separated from the encounters that engendered them. The stage of description allows learners to dispassionately recount the source of their feelings; the stage of interpretation allows them to come to an understanding of the cultural differences in play; and the stage of response permits them to reassess their original feelings, this time with greater insight. ~

All models acknowledge the role of emotions, but Paige (1993b) addresses them most squarely through what he calls “intensity factors” or predictors of emotional stress. These factors are useful in that they provide concrete points of reference that learners can apply to their experiences.

Bennett (1993) also addresses emotions; his model is helpful in naming and explaining the specific attitudes that learners may hold toward themselves and the culture they are learning, particularly the stubborn entrenchment that can occur in his ethnocentric stages of denial, defense, and minimization.

3. Culture learning depends on cultural comparisons.

The culture learning process runs back and forth between the learner's culture and the culture under study. There is an ongoing series of encounters with differences in cultural products, practices, perspectives, communities, and persons. There are similarities as well, but it is the differences that evoke the learner's culture or worldview. To learn the new culture, learners need to purposefully construct an understanding of the other worldview, a separate reality, so to speak. They need to consciously navigate back and forth between the emic and the etic perspectives and ultimately come to a point where they can see the world from the other's perspective. Eventually, as learners attain an insider's understanding, there may be less need for explicit comparison.

In terms of learning, this process of constructing another worldview involves going from the known, one's own world, to the unknown. Schema theory (Carrell and Eisterhold, 1983) offers practical approaches here. Activating learners' schema—their own knowledge of their world—as a basis for comparison and contrast is an effective teaching strategy. Asking learners to describe what they know about their own culture before moving to the same topic in the target culture can help them make comparisons from a place of greater awareness.

Kim (1998) calls this a process of “deculturation and acculturation” that consists of discarding cultural behaviors or attitudes that do not fit the new culture while at the same time acquiring new ones. In contrast, Fantini (1999) sees it as a transformative process where the intersection of two worldviews can produce a recognition of both differences and similarities, which could be cultural universals (p. 178). In other words, constructing the new worldview may uncover shared perspectives and practices.

4. Culture learning requires making the tacit explicit.

The tacit lies within learners, and the task here is to help them express their opinions, thoughts, feelings, questions, concerns, and intentions. Their culture and their experience are evoked and voiced as they work through the cycle of participation, description, interpretation, and response.

Weaver (1993) has a captivating image of cultural conflict. He depicts it as two icebergs, the learner's culture and the target culture, coming into contact with one another. Because of their bottom-heavy structure, the icebergs crunch against each other beneath the water's surface, out of sight, with shock waves rippling upward to the peak. Like iceberg collisions, most culture conflicts occur outside conscious awareness, at the tacit level of culture. The learning task is to peer underwater with the

learner so as to pinpoint the source of the conflict, the place where the learner's cultural perspectives collide with those of the other culture, and to bring this to the surface through words.

5. Learner characteristics affect culture learning.

Learners bring their own orientations to the culture learning process. In addition to their goals and intentions, and their previous experiences, there are also other factors that relate to learners' attitudes toward themselves and others.

Kim (1998) speaks of the learners' "predisposition" or "mental, emotional, and motivational readiness to deal with the new cultural environment," (p. 300) which she labels as "personality traits: openness, strength." (ibid.) She also talks about their "ethnicity" (ibid.)—a term that she uses broadly to describe learners' "distinctiveness" as persons, since this will affect how they are perceived by members of the host culture. Hanvey (1979) speaks of "a readiness to respect and accept, and a capacity to participate" and a "plasticity, the ability to learn and change" (p. 51). Not all learners come with such predispositions. The teaching challenge, consequently, is to help such learners develop these outlooks and orientations.

6. The relationship between the learner's culture and the target culture affects culture learning.

Kim's model, more than others, underscores that culture learning is a shared undertaking. It depends on both the learner and the members of the culture. She names the "receptivity," the "conformity pressure," and the "ethnic group strength" of the host culture as key factors in the learner's ultimate experience—in effect, the degree to which the culture welcomes or otherwise involves the learner in the culture. Along the same lines, Brown (1994) cites "social distance"—the perceptions of similarity or difference that the learner has of the target culture—as an influential factor. In simple terms, this means bringing the perceptions of the target culture into the process: how people of this culture perceive learners and their actions in a particular situation.

7. The instructional context affects culture learning.

The educational circumstances—the school, the curriculum, the intended culture learning outcomes, the materials, the pedagogy, the teachers—all exert great influence on the nature of the culture learning. A second language context, learning culture in the culture, is significantly different from a foreign language context, learning culture from a distance. The degree of direct engagement in the culture—its products, practices, communities, or persons—also makes a difference.

8. The teacher–student relationship affects culture learning.

Because this process takes place in the language-and-culture classroom, the teacher plays a critical role. The nature of the working relationship that the teacher establishes with learners by structuring the cultural experience and

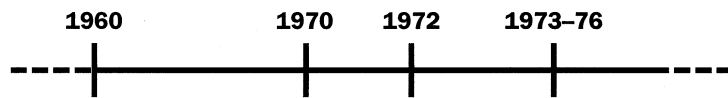
guiding learners through the stages of the experiential learning cycle is crucial. To a great extent, this relates to the way that teachers decide to present both culture and culture learning in their classrooms. Damen (1987) proposes, for example, that language teachers can present themselves as “mediators,” whose role is to help students make transitions from one culture to the other.

To reiterate, the classroom culture learning model is essentially a procedure for processing the encounters with difference that inevitably arise in language classes.



11.1 LEARNING CULTURE: TIME LINE

1. Make a time line that lists your personal history of language-and-culture learning, beginning with your culture of orientation and including other cultures/languages you have encountered since then, up to the present. List dates, names, places, and durations of experiences. Be as comprehensive as you can. Try to put it on one page if you can. For example:



2. Draw circles around those experiences that you consider significant in your learning. For each of these circled experiences, write a brief paragraph that describes what made the experience significant. Describe no more than five experiences.
3. Analyze these experiences using the models described in Appendix B. Which help explain your culture learning experiences?



11.2 TEACHING CULTURE: LEARNERS' TIME LINES

Have your students map their own culture learning experiences following the above procedures.

- × To summarize, the process of culture learning is a developmental one that can lead to different outcomes, depending on the abilities and intentions of the learner, the context in which the learning occurs, and the attitudes of the host culture toward the learner. At the core are learners' encounters with differences. Guided by the teacher and the experiential learning cycle, the learner reacts and responds to these differences through a process of comparison, contrast, and ultimately a transition away from culture one toward and into culture two.

~ In the following pages, Yasuko Ohmi, a Japanese EFL teacher, describes in detail her language-and-culture learning experiences. She tells her story of learning English and her encounters with culture in the United States and elsewhere.

11.3 LEARNING CULTURE: MAPPING A CULTURE LEARNING STORY

As you read through Yasuko Ohmi's account, map her experiences on a time line. Note the points of stress that she experiences and how she develops responses. Notice her use of culture learning theories.



Yasuko Ohmi

There is no doubt that English learning and crosscultural experiences have been the closest to what I felt were my life needs and goals. What interests me is to find out what has kept me motivated to pursue these needs and goals. In other words, what are my penetrating, hidden, and true reasons for them? What is the meaning of English learning in terms of my goals at the innermost level?

What I intend to do in this section is to objectively reflect on my English learning and crosscultural experiences and critically analyze my motivations. This, I believe, will give me the clues to a better comprehension of my final objectives for learning English.

Until I entered the university, I felt that school was like a prison for me. In the Japanese educational system, entrance examinations for either public or private high schools and colleges/universities are the most stressful obstacles for both teachers and students. What is tested in the examinations generally requires a tremendous amount of memorization. Test scores are the ultimate criteria for evaluating students. For the first three years before passing the exam for high school, and for the next three years prior to the exam for university, I was always threatened by the test scores, and I felt incredible pressure. However, I could not avoid this "examination hell," and I entered a university because I believed that this was the only choice left to me in my little social world, including home and school.

In this unpleasant early period of my schooling, English gave me a different perspective on life, more than any other subject matter, by opening up a world of exciting musicality and otherworldliness. Although I had had very little contact with native English speakers in person until I entered the university and moved to a bigger city, I felt very much attracted to discover the differences in another language. In particular, the musicality of English, its different rhythm, intonation, and fluency, took me into a completely different world, which only people who know those codes can appreciate. This was an extremely exciting and liberating experience for me. In retrospect, it is significant to see that I began finding a way to discover another world through English, and to thereby escape my unpleasant, uncomfortable, and small world.

In Japan, English is introduced as the only foreign language at school, when students move up to the seventh grade, and it is a required subject. Two years before I entered the university, I began questioning what learning was and what I should be doing with English, although I did not find any appropriate places or circumstances to bring up these questions at that time. However, I strongly

believed that the language should be communicative, and that the number of words one remembered was not the top priority.

Another thing that I thought important was to be able to pronounce like native speakers, even though the importance of native-like pronunciation was not emphasized very much at school. In Japan's school structure since World War II, "native English speaker" has always meant "white American English speaker." As I practiced pronunciation and fluency out loud all for myself on English programs from TV or radio, I always wondered how the image of myself speaking English was different from what I imagined for myself, and what other Japanese people and native speakers of English actually saw. This special interest and my phonetic skills were going to make me ask important questions about language learning later in my life.

Once I passed the entrance examination for the university, which was the last and most stressful examination in my life, I was greatly relieved. After I recovered from the exhaustion of "examination hell," I realized that I had lost the goal for learning in general, and that I was confused. When my friends began finding professional jobs a few years later, I thought that I should be getting myself to use my English skills. However, I was still unclear about what to do with English. A translator, an interpreter, or using English in one of many kinds of business companies—all of these jobs did not seem to fit my true interests.

Numbers of questions emerged for me: What has English learning been for me? What aspects of English did I want to learn? Why English? What do I want to do with English? These questions, which I grappled with at that point in my life, became the important reason on my own pathway to find a direction for a better and deeper learning, a path I have followed until this day. During that time, I always wished that schools and classrooms could have been the place for everyone to discuss and think about these questions. A teaching job was appealing to me. I was very concerned, however, about the strong pressure of the entrance examination at the public school. Also I was not confident enough because my crosscultural experiences were limited, and not sufficient for teaching English.

After graduating from the university, I worked as an administrative secretary at a private English school for about a year. I observed many native speakers of English who taught there. During this period, I realized that every native speaker of English was not necessarily able to teach the language effectively. Sometimes a nonnative speaker of English like me can see more about what specific points in the language need to be explained and how, because I had had the same kinds of problems the students were struggling with. This realization was the reason why I decided to teach English for the first time in my life. Thus I got a teaching position at another English school, which had much less pressure about the examinations and where I was freer to do what I wanted in the classroom.

When I began teaching, not only was my linguistic English knowledge very limited, so was my sociocultural knowledge. I studied many available textbooks published in America or in Britain. The teaching job made me study about the language and cultural differences more carefully. I learned many lessons from the students' errors. I also asked American friends to help answer grammatical questions and explain differences of nuances in similar vocabulary words. Discussing cultural differences also made me think about my life values. All of this was the most satisfying and effective learning experience that I had had up until then. In fact, I tried to take in Western ways of thinking and to integrate them into my whole being.

At the same time, I was feeling more and more suppressed by Japanese society. The social pressure on me at that age was to get married and adjust my career plans to my future husband's, all of which did not interest me. Because I was feeling uncomfortable with my life problems, I also heard all kinds of difficult life problems from my students, young and old. I found that many people, whether young or old, men or women, were having difficulties with their own lives and yet they could not find any place other than my English class to talk about these critical problems. Since many of my classes were private and carried out in English, which was foreign both to the student and to me as the teacher, we had an opportunity to express ourselves more freely and on a more equal footing regardless of the age differences.

This experience made me feel bewildered with life in general. My students talked about their important life questions with me in class. However, I had no place to talk about my own true feelings and questions about life in Japan. Outside the classes I felt unwelcome, disoriented, and uncomfortable in my own country. This made me decide to leave Japan to give myself time and space to discover more about myself. Also, these negative feelings toward my native country made me more motivated to assimilate myself to Western ways because they seemed more accepting and understanding of me.

Thus I finally got the first chance to leave my country. It was a Japanese teaching intern position on a voluntary basis for a school year at a public high school in Wisconsin. Even though everything I did in the United States was a new experience, actually, it seemed to go well, very smoothly and naturally. At least the people around me observed it that way. One major reason for this was that my pronunciation was much closer to that of many Americans than that of many Japanese speakers of English. The other reason was that I knew basic social reactions and responses from information and skills through textbook readings, simulation practices, and role-plays with my students from my teaching situations. Also, I had already taken in some Western values as part of my own value system even before I came to the United States, although I was not clearly aware of it at the time.

This situation felt unbalanced to me and sometimes caused me to have contradicting emotional feelings, such as satisfaction and

frustration, confidence and worry, excitement and exhaustion. I analyzed later that this was due to a big gap between my image of myself and others' image of me, and also between my expectations of myself and their expectations of me. This experience gave me an awareness that knowing from direct, concrete experience was quite different from knowing through intellectual information. I believe that experience helps people gain more real, powerful, and deeper understanding of themselves.

Another awareness that helped me in deciding the direction of my English learning was my realization of sociocultural differences between the United States and Japan. The stereotyped images that Americans in general have about Japan, and those of Japanese about the United States, largely reflected socioeconomic, socio-political, and historical backgrounds in the two countries. I was quite shocked about how little Americans in general knew about Japan, aside from its economic prosperity. This also made me realize how much I had been influenced by various sociocultural factors, many of them outside my personal control. It was very disappointing for me to realize that I also knew very little about my own culture and had not even attempted to know in the past. Once again, I questioned my motivation and the meaning of English learning. My English skills were helpful in keeping me from feeling disoriented in my native culture, and this was significant for me. I had not realized, however, that I had been somewhat indifferent to my own culture and language. I had simply been looking for a way out of the frustrations I had experienced in Japan and a way into the wonders I saw in English. I had not realized that my own culture was such an integral part of my identity.

This awareness was very significant for me because it made me think about myself as a social being, about who I am, in a broader and deeper sense. However, this question was too big and difficult for me at that time. Instead, I felt even more confused than when I left Japan a year earlier.

A year of living experience in the United States left a great impact on me but also left unresolved questions, both cognitively and affectively. Even before I left Japan for the United States, I had already discarded some part of my own social identity. The question "Who am I?" in regard to Japan's social structure had no importance to me at all. I had no specific desire to play an expected social role in Japan, although I missed Japan, particularly the elements of "Japaneseness" in terms of language and familiar cultural dynamics. Despite some reservations, I had to return to Japan. My conflicting feelings on my identity, however, put me in a very difficult situation when it came to adjusting to my own country again. Besides that, what made me feel even more insecure was that I began questioning and doubting myself and my own set of values.

I realized that my value system was developed from my individual historical experience over time. However, it was also a symbolic entity that conveyed meaning to my existence resulting from

human social interactions that I had had in my life so far. When I attempted to analyze the meaning of my value system I had to admit that I had not only ignored but also even devalued my self identity by learning from and imitating the West. This realization made me lose confidence in my understanding of who I was. I reasoned that the 13 years of time and energy I had spent in English learning had led me in the wrong direction. At that time, I did not think that I belonged either to Japan or to the United States—or, for that matter, to anywhere else in the world. I felt lost and helpless. I lost the motivation to continue learning English. As a result, after my return to Japan from Wisconsin, I refused to have any interaction with an English language world for a few years.

After this prolonged period of time, I received an invitation to participate in an Asian conference for social concerns, held in the Philippines. This became a pivotal occasion to reevaluate myself as an English teacher. There were about 50 participants from over 15 Asian countries, none of whose native language was English. I clearly realized the importance of English as an international language during this conference. This experience helped me become aware of myself as a person born in Japan, in the modern postwar era, whose behaviors and values had become greatly westernized, with a fluent, white American English accent. Even so, I felt I was not able to grasp a native speaker's innate sense of the depth and impact of certain words and phrases in English because I had not been exposed to the cultural background of English as much as the people who grew up with that language. On the other hand, I had experienced firsthand the difficulties of learning a foreign language and culture. As a stranger to that language, I did have a uniquely objective perspective on English. Becoming an English teacher made great sense to me after this conference. I also felt a deeper sense of responsibility to help nonnative speakers of English become more articulate in expressing their own values in cross-cultural situations.

Following this experience, I decided to enroll in a Master's program in TESOL (MAT) in the United States. In my studies there, I encountered a theory of second language acquisition that helped me to a deeper understanding of my questions on identity.

The acculturation hypothesis for second language learning that I learned in the MAT program was very helpful for understanding my identity more comprehensively. "Acculturation" is defined as follows:

A process in which changes in the language, culture, and system of values of a group happen through interaction with another group with a different language, culture, and system of values (*Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*)

The significance of this finding for me was that I gained an ability to accept my "betweenness of identity," as I named it. "Betweenness of identity," as I define it, is a psychological state of mind that

is distinct from that of a typical, traditional standard in native language and culture and second language and culture characteristics or customs. This state of mind, which is recognized in one's language, cultural behaviors, and/or system of values, is a result of the whole recreation process of a person's own identity after taking different characteristics from the second language or culture into the person's original identity, arranging and integrating them so that the whole self identity can stand coherently. Therefore, it exists somewhere in between native language/culture and second language/culture. However, this is considered not as an incomplete or inferior identity, either to native language/culture, or second language/culture, but as another, originally created, independent one.

Before I defined this concept, I thought I had to choose one or the other in order to feel a sense of belonging to a specific social group. This put a lot of pressure on me and resulted in my being pushed aside from both cultures. In other words, I marginalized myself culturally. I felt uncomfortable and painfully lonely, since my state of mind was not strictly Japanese any more, in a traditional pattern, and yet I did not desire to be an American either. The acculturation hypothesis helped me realize the importance of understanding and accepting who I am, as I am.

As I began to regard the "betweenness" as one of the key concepts of my identity, I also began to recognize the application of this concept to other people's different situations. Some are in between other cultures; some are in between genders. The commonality of betweenness created a sense of connectedness among people. For me, this has also provided heartfelt support and encouragement to me, which I truly appreciated. Before I knew it, I found that I had become a little less confused, a little less lonely, and a little more secure.

I found that the betweenness includes a good deal of vagueness, confusion, inner and outer conflict, and frustration, and that it is a highly individualized and intangible process. What was helpful to me from the MAT experience was to have been able to label this phenomenon as betweenness, and to have received understanding support from friends and faculty members.

I see that my English language learning process has played a most essential role in my search for the innermost self. Learning English has created a great deal of opportunity for crosscultural experiences, which have helped me reflect, test, and transform my values, beliefs, and helped my state of mind.



11.4 LEARNING CULTURE: APPLYING MODELS OF CULTURE LEARNING

Review the time line you constructed for Yasuko Ohmi in Investigation 11.3. Identify critical experiences or incidents and circle them. Share your results with those of a colleague. Discuss the following questions:

- What strikes you as most significant in her account?
 - Which of the models in Appendix B best characterize her learning experiences?
 - How does her experience compare with your own?
-

Culture learning can follow different paths and accompanying processes. As language-and-culture teachers, our most useful strategy is to concentrate on knowing oneself. When we encourage learners to give voice to their experiences, we can help them make sense of them. Existing models of culture learning can provide learners with useful points of comparison. As Yasuko Ohmi recounts, the framework of acculturation spurred her to invent an interpretation of her experience, “betweenness.” This allowed her to break through a dilemma and come to terms with her learning.

All learners have a story of their own, equally compelling, waiting to be heard.

Suggested Readings

I find that biographies and autobiographies of language-and-culture learners are excellent resources for insights into the process of culture learning. There are many such books. One of my favorites by Eva Hoffman is *Lost in Translation: A Life in a New Language*, a compelling story of a young woman who emigrates to Canada from Poland, and how she gradually adjusts to language, culture, and identity, eventually making her living as a writer in her second language, English. I also like *French Lessons: A Memoir*, where Alice Kaplan tells her story of learning French, French culture and literature, leading her to a position as a college professor of French. Her path was quite different from mine. *Distant Mirrors: America as a Foreign Culture* (DeVita and Armstrong, 1998) is a compilation of accounts of cultural anthropologists from other countries who describe cultural differences they encountered in the United States and analyze the reasons. These accounts show the impact of approaching culture learning as a conscious process.

**Reading 5: “Pragmatics and Communication” from
*Crossing Cultures in the Language Classroom***

Directions: Answers these three questions on a separate sheet of paper. I will collect in next week’s class.

1. Discuss the statement: "Language exists within the context of culture." How does this relate to your personal situation?

2. What are speech acts? What is meant by illocutionary intent? What original examples can you provide?

3. Discuss how high-context and low-context styles influence communication. Is Korean a high-context or low-context culture? Why? Give examples.

4. What is organizational competence and what is pragmatic competence. Give examples of each. What role does pragmatics play in conversational exchanges? What are some ways speakers can develop their pragmatic awareness? Which techniques have worked for you? Why?

“Language exerts hidden power,
like the moon on the tides.”

Rita Mae Brown

Chapter 6

Pragmatics and Communication

I. Anecdote: “It’s academic”

One of our colleagues taught an intermediate-level ESL writing class that could have been called a miniature United Nations, because it contained international students from China, Colombia, India, Iran, Japan, Taiwan, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam. At the time she was teaching this class, she narrated the following story.

My students are very excited about their writing class. They are eager to improve and want to do everything to make progress. For each chapter covered, we always watch a short video of 2–3 minutes to better understand the writing task to follow. Unfortunately, not everyone finds the video useful.

My Colombian student said angrily, “It’s a waste of time. We should do more grammar and more writing.”

Two other students concurred with a loud “Yeah, yeah!” So I proposed eliminating the video for the remainder of the semester. Suddenly, some of the students voiced loud disapproval.

An Iranian student yelled out, “Just because he doesn’t like it doesn’t mean that the rest of us agree!”

In a second loud voice, the Uzbek student shouted, “I like it and it is good! We should have it!”

Another Iranian student screamed out, “Don’t stop it!” I looked around at the other students.

Then, the student from Vietnam remarked in a low, but audible, voice: “The video is very useful. It helps us to learn by giving us examples of the kind of essay we are going to write later.”

The students from China, India, and Taiwan did not say a word. They just sat there. So what did I do?

In an authoritative voice, I said: “This is a democracy, isn’t it? We’ll go with the majority and continue with the video presentation.” There was a sigh of relief from the students, and the lesson went on.

We share the preceding narration not simply to remind you that classroom learning differs among language groups and cultures but to alert you to the differences in acceptable communication patterns from members of different cultures.

Discussion of Key Issues

The communicative intent or meaning that speakers intend to convey is culturally based, context specific, and influenced by a variety of variables that carry different weight in different cultures. Cross-cultural misunderstandings often arise because speakers do not share the same cultural presuppositions. Difficulties are often linked to speakers’ beliefs or assumptions about such factors as the importance of group harmony and face; the emphasis on directness or indirectness in discourse; the weight attached to social status; and the use of nonverbal aspects of communication, such as body language and physical space.

To foster effective cross-cultural communication, speakers should become aware of cross-cultural differences in the appropriateness of different discourse styles, in rules of speaking, and in the relative importance assigned to different context variables. Such awareness enables speakers to become more cognizant of possible sources for cultural misunderstandings and helps them to understand better their own communicative behaviors and often subconscious reasons for discourse choices. Moreover, this awareness provides speakers the possibility of consciously adjusting their discourse to the cultural and situational context of the exchange.

Chapter 6 explores how speakers use language in social contexts and the relationship between language and culture. It examines the many communicative interactions speakers engage in, ranging from speech acts (e.g., greetings, apologizing, and complaining) to conversations and other types of discourse. We will discuss how culture influences both speakers' communicative choices and their understanding and interpretation of conversational styles and discourse modes, as well as the miscommunications that occur as a result of cross-cultural differences in these areas.

Questions for Thought

- What are some verbal discourse differences that can lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings?
- What is the connection between language and culture?
- Why can developing pragmatic awareness lessen cross-cultural misunderstandings?

II. Theory: What Research Tells Us

Language and Communication

Language is a defining characteristic of human beings. All humans use language in some form or another to communicate with others. Regardless of what culture and language children are born into, normal children will master most aspects of their language at a relatively early age. All languages share underlying universal features; however, they differ in how speakers' messages are realized. In other words, while all languages share

aspects of universal grammar (UG; see, e.g., Chomsky, 1986; Cook, 1988; Crain & Thornton, 1998), languages differ syntactically, lexically, phonetically, and pragmatically. Language exists within the context of culture; expectations and understandings of language use are conditioned and influenced by the values, belief systems, and worldviews of the speakers' culture.

Since the primary goal of language is to communicate messages from one speaker to another, listeners need to understand the messages speakers are attempting to convey. Being able to understand one another entails more than understanding the core or literal meanings of utterances. Communicative interactions are dynamic processes in which speakers assess myriad variables (including setting, age, gender, and status of the speaker), respond to verbal and nonverbal cues, and adjust speech style and patterns accordingly. Successful communication entails sharing the same or similar interpretations of the intent and meaning of the messages and being able to negotiate successfully one's way through the communicative interaction.

Language is ambiguous by nature. Speakers do not communicate in isolation. Meaning is jointly constructed by speakers within the communicative setting wherein speakers negotiate the messages they wish to convey by manipulating the structures and discourse patterns of the language (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). Together, speakers shape the communicative interaction, the nature of which must take into account myriad factors. As speakers negotiate meaning, they need to be able to adapt their speech to the situation and to react appropriately to the messages conveyed by others; speakers need to display competent communicative behaviors. Speakers' participation in communicative interaction is a reflection of their social roles and social identities, the discourse patterns of their language, and the particular context in which the speakers find themselves at any given moment.

Communicative interactions take place within contexts that include setting, status, gender, and age of the participants. These variables are critical in determining how speakers will use language to convey intended messages. However, not all variables carry equal weight in all languages and cultures. The degree of impact these variables have on speakers' choice of discourse style and type of communicative exchange differs cross-culturally. In addition, the range of choices available to speakers re-

flects the importance that different variables hold in each language and culture. A culture's beliefs, values, and norms are reflected and reinforced by the discourse patterns of a language. Cultures strongly concerned with the maintenance of face are also the most likely to value indirect discourse styles. Likewise, speakers in cultures that are very concerned with social status and power distance will place strong emphasis on the appropriate use of honorifics, formal terms of address, and other linguistic means to reflect these factors. In cross-cultural encounters, speakers need to be able to recognize and understand how these variables are sensitive to different cultural interpretations and thus produce different realizations of discourse patterns between languages.

Speakers communicate effectively when they share the same expectations, beliefs, and interpretations of the social context and of the speakers' roles and identities. Cross-cultural variations in communicative behaviors stem from differences in how speakers of different cultures perceive and use language, both verbal and nonverbal. Misunderstandings are based on two major premises. First, people expect members of other cultures to behave according to shared norms and rules of behavior. Second, people do not realize that the same behaviors can have different interpretations in different cultures (Albert, 1983; Albert & Triandis, 1985). Pragmatics examines assumptions, communicative goals, and speech acts used to attain specific goals, namely, how linguistic structures are used by speakers in different interactional contexts. **(See Activity A—In the Limelight)**

Communicative intent

Communicative misunderstandings often result when speakers from different cultures engage in interactions in which the speakers follow the rules or norms of their own speech communities. When these rules and norms differ, misperceptions often result with regard to *communicative intent*, or the purpose of a message. These misunderstandings occur not only between speakers of different languages or from different cultures but also between intimates, between colleagues and coworkers, between strangers and intimates, and between males and females within the same culture (e.g., Giles & Coupland, 1991; Tannen, 1994; Tzanne, 1999; Wodak, 1996).

Interpretation of speakers' communicative intent is not predictable based on the core definition or referential meaning of a word or structure

alone. The *context* in which the speakers produce the utterance is key to interpreting and understanding communicative intent, that is, the actual meaning that speakers wish to convey with their words, rather than the literal meaning of the words themselves. According to Gumperz (1971:285), “Effective communication requires that speakers and audiences agree both on the meaning of words and on the social import or values attached to choice of expression.” To understand this requirement at the word level, consider the statement “That’s an interesting picture.” What does the word *interesting* mean here? Is this word referring to its core definition of “fascinating” or “engaging,” or is it being used as a polite euphemism for the speaker’s true feelings, for example, the picture is ugly, awful, disgusting, or ridiculous.

At the sentence level, consider the statement “It’s cold in here.” This statement can be construed as a statement of fact; the utterance would then be taken at its literal meaning. At another level, however, it can be viewed as an indirect request or directive, meaning, for example, “Please turn up the heat” or “Please close the window.” The only way the listener can accurately understand the actual intended meaning of the statement (*illocutionary intent*) is by understanding the context in which the statement is uttered. Speakers draw inferences about meaning that are derived from speakers’ knowledge about language and the world. These inferences are generally fixed and drawn quickly. In many instances, intended meanings are conveyed using phrases that have acquired a conventionalized, nonliteral (“indirect”) meaning. The question “Can you open the window?” does not necessarily question the speaker’s ability to perform such a physical action but, rather, carries the illocutionary or pragmatic effect of a request. Understanding the statement “It’s cold in here” poses no problem for speakers who share the same knowledge about that language, the same rules of speaking, and the same understanding of the particular context in which the phrases are uttered. They understand intuitively the complex relationship between the function or intended function of an utterance, the form or structure by which it is expressed, and the situational variables affecting the intended meaning.

When speakers speak different languages and come from different backgrounds, they often do not share the same schemata for the negotiation of meaning in communication interactions. The meanings and the inferences they draw from an utterance may be wrong. Such misidentification or misunderstanding of a speaker’s intent because of differences in

conversational routines or formulaic expressions is common between speakers from different cultural and language backgrounds (Meeuwis & Sarangi, 1994; Tannen, 1984; Thomas, 1983; Ulichny, 1997; Wodak, 1996). Languages differ in the illocutionary intent of their messages and in the types and use of specific communicative behaviors, routines, and rituals utilized by their speakers. Consider the following situation.

A Greek student in the United States told an American classmate and friend of his that she was welcome to visit him any time. She replied that she would love to come to Athens and see him during spring break. Later, when she booked a reservation at a hotel, George was hurt, and Erica was surprised by his curt behavior.

Both participants are clearly not happy by what has happened, and neither participant is sure as to why this is so. What we can probably conclude is that there was an apparent misperception about the intent of the invitation and the acceptance of that invitation. Erica, the American, thought she was going to enjoy a pleasant vacation sight-seeing with a Greek friend in Greece, whereas George assumed that Erica's acceptance of his invitation implied that she would stay with him.

Speech Acts

Speech acts have been defined as all the things speakers do with words when they speak, whether this be greeting, thanking, complaining, apologizing, or other (Austin, 1962). In other words, speech acts refer to the purpose of a speaker's utterances. Speakers who do not use pragmatically appropriate language run the risk of appearing uncooperative, ill mannered, rude, or a combination of all three. Such misinterpretation of communicative intent is heightened in cross-cultural situations. The speech acts themselves are etic; that is, all speakers in all languages engage in greetings and leave-takings, offer advice, utter directives, express apologies, and so on. However, the etic manifestations of speech acts are language specific and culture specific. In other words, when these speech acts are used and how they are expressed differ. There are important differences in how these speech acts are expressed (linguistic or language differences) and when they are expressed (pragmatic differences). Much of the difference between speech-act use is embedded in different cultural norms and assumptions governing communicative interactions. All lan-

languages have some linguistic means and sociocultural norms for greeting another person. It is rather obvious that languages use different phrases to greet; less obvious are the rules governing who greets whom first, what social variables (e.g., status) must be observed in the greeting, and even whom one greets. For instance, North Americans recognizing a neighbor they may only know by sight will still generally offer a greeting when encountering them outdoors, in the apartment hallway, or around town. By comparison, in many Asian cultures, greeting someone whom one really does not know well is not done. These cultures apply different social norms to members of an out-group than to the members of one's in-group. **(See Activity B—Meet and Greet)**

Required competences

To understand the meaning of a sentence and the speaker's intended meaning requires two kinds of knowledge. Understanding the literal meaning is contingent on knowledge of grammar, while understanding the intended message depends on knowledge of context. According to Bachman (1990), we may label these two types of language knowledge as organizational competence and pragmatic competence. *Organizational competence* refers to speakers' grammar knowledge, or their knowledge of linguistic units and how they systematically function together, at both the sentence level and the broader discourse level, according to the rules or patterns of a language. We can subdivide *pragmatic competence* into illocutionary competence and sociolinguistic competence. *Illocutionary competence* can be described as speakers' knowledge of communicative interaction and the ability to carry out or engage in successful communicative interaction; *sociolinguistic competence* characterizes speakers' ability to know what to say and how to say it in a given sociocultural context, or the "rules of speaking" (Fraser, 1990; Hymes, 1969, 1972).

We may also describe sociolinguistic competence as both appropriate and effective ability. *Appropriate ability* refers to speakers' capacity to engage in those communicative behaviors deemed as proper and suitable within the parameters and expectations of their particular culture. *Effective ability* describes speakers' capacity to employ those behaviors that allow them to achieve desired outcomes (Lustig & Koester, 2003). Shared interpretations of what constitutes competent communicative behaviors are an essential component of speakers' cultural knowledge.

Miscommunications or breakdowns occur when members of different cultures do not share the same organizational and pragmatic competencies. Of these two types of competencies, pragmatic competency is the more difficult to learn and observe, because it is so closely tied to the often subconscious cultural values, beliefs, and norms governing individuals' behavior and interaction patterns. For example, North Americans are often upset at the perceived rudeness of Koreans who fail to offer an "Excuse me" or "I'm sorry" in situations such as bumping into someone accidentally or touching a stranger unintentionally in public. Americans and Canadians, members of low-context cultures, expect a direct, overt apology embodied in the ritualistic "I'm sorry" or "Excuse me." At the same time the North Americans are attributing rudeness to the Koreans, the Koreans are taken aback at the perceived North American confrontational style in taking such overt notice of their physical contact. In such situations, Koreans, members of a high-context culture, rely on more subtle means to apologize, such as facial expressions, gestures, or even murmuring an "U-meo-na!" [Oops!] to themselves.

Pragmatic competence

Part of the enculturation process for children and adolescents is becoming pragmatically competent, that is, learning how to communicate effectively and appropriately. Pragmatic competence entails knowing how to encode, decode, and sequence discourse within a communicative interaction. Since communicative strategies vary according to the situational context and such factors as social power, social and psychological distance, and the degree of imposition involved in communicative interactions, children must learn to evaluate and to weigh these variables. In learning the language of their culture, children are also acquiring the ability to assess the interplay of contextual variables (e.g., formality and informality) and individual variables (e.g., gender, age, rank, and prestige), and they are learning how these variables affect their discourse choices.

Speakers must adapt or adjust their language according to the social context in which a communicative interaction is taking place. Speakers will choose different ways of communicating when they speak to young children, to peers, or to strangers. When a six-year-old child hits a playmate, the playmate may say, "Stop it! Don't do that!" Or the mother may say, "Matthias, you shouldn't do that." When a teenager hits a friend, the friend may reply, "Cut it out, Joe." When a stranger does the same thing,

one could respond, “Kindly refrain from doing that.” Both children and language learners must develop pragmatic competence to become effective and proficient communicators.

Topic appropriateness

Topic appropriateness is also an area where there are cultural differences and where misunderstandings often occur. In general, North Americans are uncomfortable discussing how much money they earn, nor do they react well to questions from strangers regarding their personal and/or family lives. Questions such as “Why don’t you have any children?” for instance, are viewed as intrusive by Americans and Canadians yet are both appropriate and necessary in other cultures. As part of their greeting routine, Koreans immediately ask in which year a person was born, a rather offensive question according to North American ideas. Because Korea is a very hierarchical society, it is essential that speakers know each other’s ages in order that they may choose the appropriate verbal and nonverbal discourse strategies. Even the difference of one calendar year requires the use of such a respectful honorific as *older sister* or *older brother* and the corresponding discourse strategies. Because Korea is a very collectivistic society, the honorific system reflects the idea that even though speakers may not be related through kinship ties, they are all “members of one family.” Arabs tend to impart a great deal more personal information about themselves than do members of other cultures. Arab cultures are highly collectivistic cultures where personal status and self-identity are intimately linked to a person’s overall social status and family background; thus, it is important for speakers to learn about each other’s in-group network as soon as possible so that each person can be classified appropriately.

“What is your blood type?” is an unusual question from the Western point of view. From the Japanese and Korean perspective, such a question is quite normal, as people of these cultures believe that specific personality traits are related to blood type—a belief very similar to Western notions of astrology and signs of the zodiac. Most Westerners are surprised by such a question, both because they are unaware of the concept of a relationship between blood type and personality and because many of them do not even know their own blood type.

In addition to topic appropriateness, the importance of pragmatic competence is further realized in how topics are introduced into com-

municative exchanges. Scollon and Scollon (1981) found significant cultural differences in expectations about how conversations should be opened and in the consequences throughout the conversation as a result of the opening pattern. For example, Asian speakers have a tendency to provide a great deal of background information before stating their main point. This approach differs from that of Westerners, who expect the main point to be made initially so that the other speaker can react to it. (See **Activity C—Critical Incidents**)

Discourse styles

Speakers must also understand and follow the generally unwritten and subconscious rules for different modes of discourse, whether telling stories, discussing in a classroom, presenting a proposal, or conversing with friends. Often, speakers' preferred mode of discourse conflicts with the majority notion of appropriateness, both consciously and unconsciously. Esikovits's (1998) work on sex differences in Australian speech revealed that discourse styles used by adolescent girls and boys followed different rules of speaking. While the girls used speech similar to that of the larger society, the boys preferred to deviate from the accepted rules of speaking, to "affirm their own masculinity and toughness and their working class anti-establishment values" (p. 51).

Heath (1983, 1992) found that the white middle-class literacy expectations of American schoolteachers negatively affected the school performance of children from blue-collar and African American households. The type of language interaction and discourse styles found in the classroom differed radically from the use of language, both oral and written, found in the children's homes. Unaware of these (sub)cultural differences, the students were unable to participate successfully in the classroom, often leading to their eventual failure in the school system. Such pragmatic differences and resultant miscommunications are often exacerbated in cross-cultural situations (Delpit, 1995; Taylor & Whittaker, 2003). Wintergerst's (1994) research on ESL student-teacher interaction found that the types of questions teachers ask students affect student language output in the classroom. An awareness of different expectations regarding question types and functions, as well as modification of discourse patterns, can help teachers engage students more actively in discussion and can improve students' overall school performance (Mehan, Lintz, Okamoto, & Willis, 1995).

The norms governing pragmatics are strongly rooted in the larger cultural context in which they occur. Collectivistic cultures place great importance on saving face and avoiding confrontation. Speakers from such cultures employ politeness rituals and indirect communication strategies that foster a balance between the competing goals of desired outcome and maintenance of relationship harmony. For example, a Japanese businessman avoids issuing an order or a directive but only hints at one. The justifications or reasons for the implied directive are listed in varied subordinate clauses presented before the main clause. The illocutionary or communicative intent of the main clause is clear to the Japanese staff members. The English command “Complete the task by tomorrow morning” is represented roughly by the Japanese statement “Your boss hasn’t been around today, but he could show up unexpectedly at any time.” Although no directive is issued in the latter case, the Japanese staff members understand exactly the communicative intent of the message and act accordingly.

Conversational exchanges

The nature of the structure of conversational exchanges often leads to cases of miscommunication between native and nonnative speakers of a language. Speakers expect that certain utterances will lead into other specific communicative exchanges or turn-taking sequences. When an exchange sequence is broken because of cross-cultural or crosslinguistic differences in turn-taking sequences, miscommunication occurs (Schefflof, 1984, 1987, 1992). In other words, breakdowns in the expected organization or sequencing of communicative interactions cause misunderstandings and miscommunication. When invited to a person’s home, Americans and Canadians will often offer compliments on the host’s home and furnishings. In addition to being a sincere show of admiration and appreciation, such compliments evince rapport and friendliness between guest and host. In India or parts of the Middle East, however, a person’s compliment on an object is often interpreted as an indirect request for that particular object. In some cultures, such as in Korea or Egypt, an offer of something to eat or drink should be refused the first time. The first invitation is offered out of politeness norms; it is courteous to always offer a visitor to one’s house refreshments. Likewise, out of politeness, the visitor should refuse this initial offer and wait for a second or even third offer of refreshment before accepting. Then and only then has the host signaled that the invitation to partake is truly a sincere one and not a cour-

tesy offer. Along similar lines, a “no” response to a request by a Russian will not necessarily be interpreted as a refusal. “No” must often be repeated several times in order for the Russian to accept the refusal as definite and not as something still open to negotiation.

In addition to differences in expectations regarding turn-taking sequences, different expectations with respect to pause length in turn-taking behavior between members of different cultures also result in misunderstandings regarding speaker’s intent (Clyne, 1994). Examining informal dinner conversations between Americans and Spaniards, Berry (1994) found that differences in the amount of overlap between turns between Spanish and American speakers led each group to attribute negative characteristics to the other. The Spanish participants in the study indicated that they thought the Americans “didn’t really listen and didn’t like to talk,” and the Americans perceived their Spanish counterparts as “aggressive” and unwilling to let “anyone else have the floor” (p. 189).

Another potential area of cross-cultural misunderstandings is the use of backchannel cues, utterances listeners make in the course of a conversational exchange to signal to the speaker that they are indeed paying attention. Boxer (1993) found important differences in the use of such backchannel cues as “uh huh” or “hmmm” between American English speakers and Japanese speakers of English. Additionally, backchannel cues can encompass utterances—such as “wow” or “that’s nice”—that indicate the listener’s reaction to or make general comments about the speaker’s words and utterances. Japanese norms of interaction both allow for and expect much more frequent use of such backchannel cues than does English (White, 1989). Many times, Japanese will use backchannel cues at points in conversational exchanges where English speakers expect an actual conversational rejoinder. When Japanese speakers transfer their norms of use for these backchannel cues into English, American and Canadian speakers feel frustrated and uncomfortable because they expect more substantive turn-taking responses to their comments. **(See Activity D—Evaluate Your Voice)**

The larger social aspects that are negotiated and conveyed through language use can be quite difficult for nonnative speakers to learn. For instance, outsiders often characterize Americans as insincere, because the former perceive in the latter a tendency to offer “insincere” invitations. International students often complain that an American student will say

something like “Let’s get together sometime” and never follow up with a phone call or visit. Similarly, we have had experiences where our former students from other cultures have dropped by unexpectedly after we have casually said, “You’ll have to come over some time.”

The issue is not whether or not Americans are insincere but the pragmatic function of an invitation in different cultures. In American English, invitations are not necessarily invitations at all but conversational routines to express camaraderie or rapport with another speaker. Research has shown that there are actually two types of invitations: those that are truly invitations and those that are *pseudo-invitations* (e.g., Wolfson, 1981; Wolfson et al., 1983). Real or sincere invitations are something that must actually be negotiated among speakers; they are part of an elaborate negotiation process that allows speakers to withdraw from the interaction at any time without losing face or injuring the feelings of other participants. Pseudo-invitations, however, function as indicators of positive social interest without making a firm social commitment, which speakers may not wish to keep. Pseudo-invitations are characterized by vague or ambiguous lexical choices, such as *anytime*, *sometime*, *soon*, *one of these days*, and so on. These types of invitations often begin with *when* clauses, as in the following examples.

Let’s get together *when* things settle down.

Let’s plan on meeting *when* the project is finished.

Consider the following conversations.

Conversation 1

A: We should really try to get together *sometime*.

B: I know, I know. I’d really like to, but things are so crazy now.

A: Maybe we’ll have more time *when* the holidays are over.

B: Yeah, once Christmas and New Year’s are over, I’ll have time to breathe again.

A: Me too. Let’s talk again *sometime* after the holidays and see what our calendars look like.

Conversation 2

A: We should really try to get together *sometime*.

B: Yeah, that would be good. The next couple weeks are really crazy for me, but the last week in January would probably be OK.

A: Let me check my calendar (pulls out PDA, checks the week). I'm open on that Wednesday. How about you?

B: (Checking appointment book) Mmm, Wednesday would be OK if it's after 10:30.

A: OK. Let's do lunch. How about 1?

B: You got it. I'm putting you down right now for 1 on the 27th.

Note the speakers' use of indefinite lexical phrases and *when* clauses in conversation 1. Contrast this with conversation 2. Although Speaker A begins the communicative sequence with the word *sometime*, Speaker B begins the negotiation toward a true invitation by focusing on a specific time (the "last week in January"). Speaker B picks up on this by pulling out a PDA and focusing on a definite date and time. In conversation 1, a pseudo-invitation has been issued and acknowledged. Both speakers have established the desire to get together, without actually fixing a firm date and time; however, the issuance and acceptance of this pseudo-invitation has functioned to establish positive feelings between speakers. In conversation 2, a pseudo-invitation has been negotiated into an actual invitation.

Real invitations involve a negotiating process that allows speakers to either commit to an actual time, date, and/or place or withdraw gracefully if either party is in truth not interested in going beyond the pragmatic function of a pseudo-invitation. This type of conversational negotiation is below the level of awareness of most speakers; they are not consciously aware of the function (or even existence) of pseudo-invitations or of the negotiation process involved in securing an actual invitation. Because this communicative behavior is below the conscious awareness of most native speakers, it is difficult for them to identify it and hence for them to explain it to nonnative speakers. For nonnative speakers, this type of conversational routine leads to misinterpretation because it is outside their ken of experience or their schemata of discourse processes.

Communicative Styles or Registers

The rules governing social interactions are in large part an integral part of a speaker's cultural knowledge, although these rules generally lie be-

low the level of conscious awareness. Since these rules are generally subtle, unwritten, and unconscious, even native speakers may have difficulties understanding them, as evidenced by the popularity of such mavens of social etiquette as Judith Martin, who publishes regularly as “Miss Manners” in a syndicated advice column. Until speakers find themselves in situations where the rules or norms of conversational interaction are broken, they are often unaware that such rules or norms even exist.

Speakers also do not express themselves identically in all social situations. The relationship between speakers and the context in which the communicative interaction is taking place determine which *communicative style* and *register* speakers will choose to use. In a communicative setting, speakers evaluate the degree of formality of context and the relationship between participants based on such variables as age, status, gender, and distance. Based on their evaluation of the context, speakers use different communicative styles, that is, different types of language and/or grammatical structures, including such elements as formality or informality, colloquialisms, dialectal differences (e.g., accent), and semantic choices.

Consider, for instance, the following greetings.

[1.] Yo, Joe!

[2.] Hi, Joe!

[3.] Hello, Joe.

[4.] Good afternoon, Joe.

Based on nothing more than these printed words, we can infer the following. Greeting 1 is most likely to be used between younger males of the same peer group, in informal settings such as walking across campus or running into one another at a coffee shop. Greeting 2 will be used in almost any informal situation between two people who know each other, regardless of gender. Greeting 3 can be regarded as somewhat more formal, but it would not necessarily be so, depending on the speaker’s intonation and the social context. If, for instance, the speaker drew out the *hello*, as in “Helloooo, Joe,” the greeting immediately becomes less formal and more sociable. Greeting 4 is the most likely to be employed as a more formal greeting among speakers who know each other on a first-name basis. Knowing which greeting is appropriate in which social context is part of

the cultural knowledge of speakers. When nonnative speakers are unaware of the pragmatic ramifications of an utterance, they will fail to communicate successfully their intended meaning. An overly casual greeting can set the tone for a brusque, rather than pleasant, exchange.

Inappropriate communicative style is not limited to communicative interactions between native and nonnative speakers. In cultures experiencing rapid change and where language does not reflect explicit social hierarchies through the use of formal/informal pronouns and the use of extensive honorifics or other devices, confusion is widespread with respect to choosing the appropriate style or register. In such cultures, it is not unusual to read and hear comments like those in the following excerpt from a syndicated U.S. newspaper advice column.

Dear Miss Manners:

I sometimes need to telephone a “support staff” for assistance on the operation of my computer and other technologically advanced pieces of equipment in my home. The person taking my call invariably requires, before serving me, that I give my first name, which is then used in an apparent attempt to create a sense of intimacy between us. Although put off by such a request from an individual utterly unknown to me, as well as often two generations younger than I, I feel pressured to acquiesce for fear that I will be denied the information which only that company can provide me. I would appreciate advice on handling this situation.

Let us imagine that the young person who helps you has been doing so for years, carefully addressing you as Mister and Sir. Implausible, Miss Manners knows, but bear with her for the sake of argument.

One day, overcome by the bond that has grown, you might say impulsively, “I’d be very pleased if you would call me Horace.” Your tone of voice would show that you meant it as a compliment.

Okay, now use that tone to say, “I would be very pleased if you would call me Mr. Sleeks.” (Martin, 2002)

Language is part of social situations; it is a socially situated behavior subject to an interplay of sociopsychological factors (e.g., Eckert &

Rickford, 2002; Giles & St. Clair, 1980). A speaker's language is never "fixed" or "constant." Rather, it is perpetually in a state of flux, changing according to the setting; the relationships of the speakers; the speaker's purpose, mood, and attitude; and any number of other variables. In response to these and other variables, speakers change their style of speech. How speakers express themselves with peers in an informal setting such as a restaurant or classroom will differ from how they express themselves in a job interview for an important career opportunity. Moving between any of these styles is not necessarily a conscious effort.

Miscommunications can arise when speakers differ in their interpretation of which style is appropriate. In communicative interactions involving native and nonnative speakers, a lack of information about or a lack of understanding of the parameters of successful interactions is common. Nonnative speakers may, for instance, be unaware of nuances or subtleties conveyed by certain language forms; in addition, pragmatic transfer, the transfer of sociolinguistically appropriate forms from the native language to the new language, may also occur. DeCapua (1989, 1998), in her research on complaints, found that Germans speaking in English often used the modal verb *must* in situations where Americans would expect the use of the softer *should*. Both *must* and *should* translate directly into the German *müssen* and *sollen*; however, the pragmatic uses of the terms differ in the two languages. The miscommunication of intent was a result of a negative pragmatic transfer of the appropriate use of *müssen*. Consequently, native speakers of American English often evaluated the German speakers negatively. The American speakers based their judgments of German rudeness not on speakers' actual character but on their (mis)use of English.

Part of the enculturation and socialization process of children and adolescents within any language community is helping them understand the differences in use and appropriateness of different communicative styles. Subconscious pragmatic rules need to be brought to the level of conscious perception (Scollon, 1999). This kind of knowledge needs to be brought into teacher training classrooms to enable students to develop a greater awareness of where communication difficulties are likely to arise when working with particular cultural groups. Even speakers sharing the same language but coming from different cultures encounter similar difficulties. In the southern United States, speakers use *ma'am* or *sir*, as a sign of respect. In England, such use is unusual; *sir*, for instance, is used only with royals or senior aristocracy, in the military, and at public formal

occasions. Thus, an American from the south answering a British policeman with “Yes, sir” would find himself regarded not as polite but, rather, as ironic or sarcastic. Among the police, the use of *guv* or *guv’ner*, rather than *sir*, would be the rule in all but the most formal circumstances.

Several Japanese students have recounted that upon coming to the United States, they were initially reluctant to order at McDonald’s, because they thought the workers were always angry. The Japanese students thought that maybe because they themselves were Asian or maybe because their English wasn’t that strong, the workers were angry about having to wait on them. Later, as they spent more time here, they realized that the discourse patterns of the McDonald’s employees, which are characterized by rapid rotelike questions and minimal personal interaction, are the norm for fast-food restaurants, where the emphasis is on service that is fast and, from the North American standpoint, friendly. For these Japanese students, the terseness and brevity of the communicative exchange, as well as the type of questions asked by the workers, indicated a lack of politeness, respect, and/or willingness to help the customer.

Stylistic variations are often very subtle and are often the most difficult for nonnative speakers of the target language to learn. For example, nonnative speakers may use colloquial expressions in more formal situations, male speakers may use syntactic forms or make semantic choices viewed as “feminine,” or speakers may employ syntactic structures that are unsuitable for a particular situation. It is often jarring for American college professors to be greeted by international students with “What’s up?” Although an atmosphere of (relative) informality is the norm in American university classrooms, the degree varies and may not be readily apparent to the nonnative speaker unaware of the nuances. A greeting that is appropriate among friends, peers, and even certain people of higher status is not necessarily appropriate in other situations. A colleague has pointed out, for instance, that when she teaches writing courses in the ESL institute, her students address her by her first name, but when she teaches freshman composition, she is addressed with her title—a somewhat confusing situation for students who have made the transition from one program to the other.

Conversational or interactional routines

Miscommunication and misunderstandings also arise in the area of conversational or interactional routines. *Conversational routines* are phrases

and rejoinders that carry specific pragmatic meaning for a discourse function that has either subsumed or replaced the literal referential meaning and that allows for one of a limited set of responses (Aijmer, 1996; Hymes, 1962; Leech, 1983). All languages make use of numerous routines or formulaic speech patterns, especially for such speech acts as greetings, thanks, leave-takings, apologies, and so on. In American English, a common greeting is “Hi, how’re you?” A speaker’s use of “How are you?” is usually not to inquire about a person’s state of health or being but as a phrase that is part of the greeting routine. The expected response is something along the lines of “Fine, and you?” A response detailing the state of one’s health is generally not appropriate. In other languages, part of the greeting may include conversational routines such as “Have you eaten?” or “Where are you going?” Nonnative speakers often feel frustrated when they are unfamiliar with the pragmatic functions of conversational routines, because their focus on literal referential meaning can cause them to misunderstand the meaning or intent of the message. **(See Activity E—Telephone Endings)**

Communication styles in high- and low-context cultures

Chapter 2 discussed Hall’s (1976) distinction between high-context and low-context communication. High-context cultures are those cultures that rely on implicit and shared meanings to communicate. Speakers from such cultures tend to use indirect speech strategies, subtle nonverbal cues, and setting to impart the intended message. Low-context cultures, in contrast, rely on explicit codes—such as direct verbal strategies and overt nonverbal cues—to convey the intended message. Various cross-cultural studies have found that people’s communication styles are influenced by their cultural background (e.g., Blum-Kulka & House, 1989; Clyne, 1994; DeCapua, 1998; Meier, 1996). Speakers use discourse strategies that assume shared knowledge of the norms and rules of communicative interaction, shared sets of attitudes and values, and shared interpretations of context, setting, and speaker variables.

In individualistic cultures, speakers tend to choose more direct discourse styles to convey their intent to their hearers. There is less emphasis on or concern for the “we,” or how the speaker is a representative of a group or larger network. The stress in an individualistic culture is on the “I,” or how the speaker comes across as an individual in his or her own

right; thus, speakers tend to elect speech strategies that clearly convey the intended message (Ting-Toomey & Kirogi, 1998).

Overall, members of collectivistic cultures generally prefer indirect means of discourse as a way of maintaining face and avoiding face-threatening acts. Rather than directly make requests of, engage in conflict with, or offer a refusal to one's hearer, members of collectivistic cultures tend to use speech strategies that indirectly signal their intent (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 1985, 1999). According to Hofstede (1991), most collectivistic cultures avoid saying no because doing so is too direct and confrontational and thus threatens the face of both speaker and hearer. Speakers from collectivistic cultures prefer indirect responses, such as "Maybe," "We'll get back to you," or "I'll see," which they will use whether or not they agree or acquiesce. When the teacher asks, "Do you understand?" Asian students in the classroom often say yes, even when they do not understand. This yes response does not entail understanding on the hearer's part but only suggests that the hearer has heard the speaker. To say no would show disrespect for the teacher by implying that the teacher did not or could not present the material clearly. In a collectivistic culture, it is important to maintain harmony by acknowledging and preserving status and rank, while simultaneously shifting the possibility for blame, shame, or any sort of dishonor away from a speaker.

An American teacher in Japan recounts that when she first went to teach in Japan, she would smoke in the English teachers' staff room. Since there was an ashtray in the room, she thought smoking was acceptable, when in fact the ashtray was only there for special or important guests. Smoking by teachers in the staff room was actually frowned on. She finally learned of the other teachers' disapproval of her smoking when a Japanese teacher from another department who had lived several years in the United States came and explained to her that smoking was not permitted in staff rooms. She was very embarrassed and asked why no one had told her so previously. The teacher said that the teachers had indicated their disapproval but that she had not noticed—they had opened the windows, regardless of the outside temperature; left the room when she lit up; or made various indirect comments. This Japanese teacher realized there was a communication problem between the Japanese English teachers and the American, because he had lived in the United States and knew that more explicit communication was required in order to get the message across to her.

In Arab cultures, hearers will offer an affirmative response to a request as a discourse strategy to signal rapport and simultaneously maintain face. When an Arabic speaker says yes in response to a request, it does not necessarily mean that the speaker's request will be honored. Rather, such a yes implies that the speaker's request has been heard and that the hearer has all intentions to act on it accordingly. However, the result is actually viewed separately from the request. If something is not acted on, no blame rests on the individual; rather, it is *inshallah*, or "as God wills." Consequently, Arab speakers are not necessarily upset if there is no follow-through to a request because by saying yes the hearer acknowledged it and stated his or her intentions to act on it, though circumstances came between the hearer's intentions and ability to act. Through this discourse strategy, the speakers have maintained their face even though they cannot feasibly comply with or fulfill the request.

People from different cultural and language backgrounds may see conversational roles or the context of a conversation differently (see Huang, 1996; Keenan, 1976; Spencer-Oatey, 1993; Tannen, 1986) and may therefore get different messages from the same utterance in the exact same context. For example, Asians tend to have a preference for an inductive pattern for topic introduction, while Westerners show a preference for the deductive pattern. Facework (see chap. 2), which entails a period of speakers' getting warmed up to each other, is apparent in the Chinese inductive pattern in Taiwan. The speaker introduces the topic, but the actual topic discussion will be delayed until speakers have engaged in facework. Delayed topic introduction by Asians has frequently resulted in cross-cultural miscommunication, since Westerners and Asians are often unaware of the cultural and traditional practices regarding the initiation and continuation of their respective discourse patterns. **(See Activity F—Learning to Look)**

Teaching and Learning Connections

Second language learners' understanding of a second culture is affected by their culturally shaped worldviews. In our daily lives, we use language unconsciously; we predict and explain other people's behavior based on our shared language and cultural knowledge. When we step out of our cultural world, we find that there are other ways of communicating—ways that go beyond just learning the lexicon and syntax of a language. We must

learn to look beyond our own cultural lenses to become more open to seeing unfamiliar or unexpected behavior from a different perspective. When confronted and confounded by what is different, we need to consider what the contributing factors might be. Does failing to thank someone in a service encounter signal rudeness or the lack of a corresponding norm in the other culture? While saying thank-you is the accepted conversational routine in most Western cultures in service situations such as checkout lines at stores, the same is not true in some East Asian cultures. There, a thank-you in such contexts signals a reprimand, as people who are doing their jobs appropriately do not need or expect thanks.

Even when different languages share the rules and norms for speech-act production, the actual realization of the speech act may differ. Cohen, Olshtain, and Rosenstein (1986) found that Hebrew learners of English were unaware of certain distinctions that native speakers of American English made between forms for expressing apology. In several situations in their study, the learners spoke only the word *sorry*, a translation from the commonly used Hebrew *slixa*, where native speakers of American English expected more involved apologies. Thus, participants in cross-cultural encounters must learn how to become discriminating observers of behaviors in order to better predict probable pragmatically appropriate language use, while learning what types of pitfalls and negative situations result from inappropriate language use and interactional norms and how to avoid them. The importance of becoming aware of differences in the norms of communicative interaction cannot be stressed enough. As Thomas (1983) has pointed out, when speakers are confronted with violations of expected norms (pragmatic failure), they attribute negative personality or behavioral characteristics to the person violating these norms, rather than considering the violations a matter of the learner's second language proficiency.

Pragmatics is concerned with how speakers use language and construct meaning within social contexts. Pragmatic competence entails knowledge of speech acts and speech function, as well as knowledge of dialect, register, and other cultural factors in language use. Second language learners should become aware of the various options available to them as a result of the pragmatic system of the target language. Learning how to do things appropriately with words involves learning how to use a combination of linguistic resources in a contextually appropriate way. The potential problem in teaching the pragmatic system of any language is

both the sheer number of speech acts and language functions and the paucity of research in this area to date. A more productive approach is for language teachers to help their students become aware that pragmatic functions exist in a language and to help them learn to become better observers and interpreters of language in social context.

Because culture is part of most contexts, communication is rarely culture free. Language learners need to be aware of differing cultural frameworks, that is, their own and those of others. If they are not, they will use their own cultural assumptions to interpret the messages of the target language, where the intended meaning may be based on quite different assumptions about culture. In some cultures, students simply call out the answer to a question in the classroom without waiting for the teacher to recognize them first. In others, students only respond when being called on, and in still others, students raise their hands and wait for teachers to acknowledge them. Different classroom behaviors can cause confusion in multicultural classrooms when students' and teachers' expectations of classroom etiquette differ or even conflict. Some students may find it difficult to ever respond, others may dominate the classroom, and teachers may feel frustrated or threatened. **(See Activity G—On the Spot)**

In work on international teaching assistants (ITAs), gender issues, and cultural interpretations of appropriateness, Boxer and Tyler found that there were cultural differences with respect to teacher-student relationships (Boxer & Tyler, 1996; Tyler & Boxer, 1996). While the majority of the American undergraduates in their studies did not think it appropriate for an ITA to stop by a student's apartment unannounced, many ITAs found the scenario acceptable. Some of the ITAs noted that this type of behavior would be neutral and normal in their home cultures (Boxer, 2002:191). Thus, developing students' skills in intercultural communication is an appropriate part of language teaching.

A variety of studies conducted by Gumperz and various colleagues (e.g., Gumperz, 1977, 1978, Gumperz & Tannen, 1979; Gumperz, Gurinder, & Kaltman, 1982) found that Indian and Pakistani immigrants often experienced communication difficulties with native speakers of British English. These communication difficulties often resulted in negative character judgments on the part of the British. British speakers' perceptions of Indian and Pakistani speakers as rude were based primarily on differ-

ences in which lexical, syntactical, and intonational choices were considered appropriate to convey communicative intent. What the Pakistani and Indian speakers intended to convey was not what their British hearers interpreted as having been said. One reason for this was a tendency by the Pakistanis to say no throughout their conversations. For the Pakistanis, saying no functioned as a pause filler in their native language; however, in English, saying no has no such pragmatic function but conveys instead a negative and antagonistic attitude.

Developing pragmatic awareness

As Kramsch (1993:8) points out, culture awareness training should be seen both as enabling language proficiency and as being the result of reflection on language proficiency. Such a perspective on culture and the language classroom allows teachers to view the classroom as a promoter—and at times even a source—of cross-cultural investigative fieldwork. Judd (1999:154) categorizes the techniques for developing pragmatic awareness in second language learners into three broad categories: cognitive awareness, receptive skill development, and productive use. An awareness of the differences that occur between speech acts in the native language and those same acts in the target language constitutes *cognitive awareness* activities. Such awareness may be achieved through presenting and discussing research findings on speech acts and having learners procure information through observations, questionnaires, and interviews. Merely presenting linguistic formulas without sufficient background or discussion of context is inadequate. Language learners need to be given detailed information on such participant and contextual variables as status, gender, intimacy, location, and degree of formality.

Receptive skill development moves beyond simple cognitive awareness and enables learners to recognize and understand speech acts through actual practice, using teacher-designed materials, published textbooks, media (e.g., video or cassette recordings), or naturally occurring data. To successfully complete a receptive skill activity, learners should be able to identify the speech act occurring and the sociological environment in which it takes place. Beyond receptive skill development is the development of *productive use*, which encourages learners to use appropriate communication strategies. Cloze-type activities, role plays, and simulations may be used to help learners produce specific pragmatic features.

Since it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify the range of all potential meanings and interactional moves, participants in cross-cultural communicative interactions need to develop skills that allow them to become discriminating observers of behaviors. Moreover, it is difficult to actually teach pragmatic competence. Not only is there a paucity of research to support such teaching, but the research that exists tends to be insufficient, tends to be drawn from elicited or laboratory-style data, and covers few speech acts in a limited number of languages (for further discussion of these issues, see, e.g., Kasper, 1999; Kasper & Dahl, 1991; Meier, 2003; Rose, 1994; Wolfson, Marmor, & Jones, 1989). Better cross-cultural observation skills allow speakers to better predict probable pragmatically appropriate language use and interactional moves used in another culture. At the same time, language learners need to develop the skills that will help them be aware of the potential pitfalls and negative situations that can result from inappropriate language use.

Numerous researchers and teachers (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Kramsch, 1993; Meier, 2003; Rose, 1994) recommend that learners become amateur ethnographers, collecting their own data through actual examples of speech acts occurring in their daily environment. For learners in foreign language situations, media such as television or movies can serve as a rich source. Hymes (1969) posits that education should be comprised of both ethnography and research on the influences of culture on language, since these endeavors can complement each other. Radio, television, and films are media that display naturally occurring speech acts. For example, television broadcasts that include news shows, political debates, talk shows, or situation comedies get students involved in discussing direct and indirect ways of disagreeing, asking questions, making requests, and so on.

A set of commercial television sitcoms can be used to clarify differences in cultural patterns for common everyday social interactions. Commercial television is a rich source for bringing unconscious cultural codes to the level of conscious perception. Washburn (2001:22) has pointed out the particular usefulness of television sitcoms for developing pragmatic awareness.

Sitcoms present many models of appropriate pragmatic language use among various characters of differing status, familiarity, gender,

and in varied settings, such as at work, at home, in public places, and at formal gatherings.

Washburn discusses how to choose appropriate sitcoms as a teaching tool, offering concrete suggestions for developing and incorporating pragmatic activities into the second language classroom. Rose (1994) suggests that videos are a powerful tool for developing pragmatic awareness, particularly in foreign language teaching situations where learners have little or no exposure to the target language outside the classroom. He offers suggestions and outlines several activities for incorporating video into foreign language classrooms. Kramsch (1993:211–223) describes using television commercials as a tool for sharing information about the culture of the target country. Commercials can also be used to raise pragmatic awareness. For instance, Kramsch discusses an American Coca-Cola commercial that highlights (among other information) differences in social role expectations, topic appropriateness, and conversational style.

A caveat to be added is that not all types of activities are suitable for all learners. Students from cultures that value indirect discourse strategies, harmony, and group consensus will find it difficult and uncomfortable to participate in certain language activities, such as debates. Change is not only “not easy” but should be weighed against the importance of maintaining one’s own cultural interaction patterns. What we are advocating is creating awareness, not forcing radical transformations of one’s self.

Questions for Study and Discussion

1. Discuss the statement “Language exists within the context of culture.” How does this statement relate to your personal situation?
2. How do speakers negotiate meaning?

Section 4

Resources

Name: _____

Date: _____

Teaching time: 90 min _____

Age & Level of students: High School or older intermediate to advanced

1. What are you teaching?

- **Key Vocabulary** – tension, responsibility, figure out, collaboration, aggressive, colleague, resolve
- **Language skills** – Reading and speaking (Integrated Skills Lesson)
- **Cultural Aspects** – How culture affects expectations and behavior
- **Cultural Learning Component:** Using the ELC on Sakiko and Edmundo to come up with an action plan

2. What are your Student Learning Objectives for the lesson? (These should be specific and describe *observable student behaviors*, which you will be able to see in class.)

By the end of the lesson, SWBAT:

Demonstrate an understanding of the letters written by Sakiko and Edmundo by inferring the cultural expectations that each person might make.

<PDP>

By the end of the lesson, SWBAT:

Describe a plan of action for Sakiko and Edmundo so that they can resolve their conflict by working in groups and analyzing the problem

<TBL>

3. When/How in the lesson will I check students' progress toward the above Learning Objectives? What behaviors/activities will show me whether they have mastered the material? This will be a jigsaw reading activity, so Ss will read and fill in a chart about their individual and then they will share information with a partner. Then in pairs Ss will work on the inference activity.

Preliminary considerations:

a. What do your students already know in relation to today's lesson?

All students will have experienced cultural conflict through the chronic game. Some students may have experienced cultural conflict in real life.

b. What aspects of the lesson do you anticipate your students might find challenging/difficult?

They struggle to make the appropriate inferences about cultural expectations.

c. How will you avoid and/or address these problem areas in your lesson?

I will use collaborative learning so that Ss can talk about and discuss the answers in pairs or small groups.

Steps	Stages	Time (min): Guess here	Procedure/Steps --these need to be written in the perspective of what the students do	Interaction T-Ss S-S	Activity Purpose
1	Pre/ PT	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Put the following Q/Qs on the WB: <i>What is cultural conflict? Have you every experienced cultural conflict? If so, what happened? Why was there a problem?</i> Ss discuss in small groups Elicit Ss definition of cultural conflict and their experiences and make a list on the WB 	Ss-Ss T-S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To activate Schema and make the topic relevant To intro the topic To build interest To get Ss involved and talking from the start of the lesson
2	Pre/ PT	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Put the following vocab on the WB: <i>tension, responsibility, figure out, collaboration, aggressive, colleague, resolve</i> Ss discuss words in small groups or pairs (with lower level Ss T can have Ss discuss words in the L1) Pass out cloze sheet ask Ss to do in pairs Have Ss check answers in larger groups Ss listen to cloze and check answers (Ss should circle the words they got wrong) Go over words that Ss had trouble with and ask CCQS to clarify the meaning such as: <i>If you figure it out, do you understand it? Are problems or solutions resolved?</i> 	Ss-Ss S-T/T-S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To introduce and check Ss knowledge of the key vocab To promote peer learning and teaching To assess Ss understanding of the new vocab To prepare Ss for a successful reading
3	During /PT	25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tell Ss that they will be doing a jigsaw reading; i.e., half will have A and the other half will have B (Two possible grouping strategies for this activity 1. make two groups and pass the A reading to one and the B reading to the other or 2. Put Ss in pair with one being A the other B → Use the first strategy if you think Ss will have difficulty filling in the chart) Pass out the reading passages and preview the first reading task: A readers will fill out information about Edmundo and B readers will fill out information about Sakiko Ss read and fill in chart If first group strategy was used let Ss check their answers with their 	T-S S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Task before reading, so Ss have reason to read Jigsaw to integrate speaking into a reading lesson Grouping 1: for safety and comfort and promote peer learning and teaching Grouping 2: To raise the challenge level of the task and to assess Ss reading and communication ability more extensively

			<p>entire group, if second strategy was used see below.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Remake groups: Pair up the A's with the B's •Write the following support language on the WB: A: <i>What does _____ say about _____?</i> B: _____ says _____. •Model task yourself or with an Ss •Remind Ss not to show their papers to their partner and to use the dialog to ask and answer the Qs •CCQ: <i>Do you show your paper to your partner? What language do you use to ask and answer? Point to your partner?</i> •Let Ss exchange info •Go over answers with whole class 	<p>T-S</p> <p>S-S T-S/S-T</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Support language to help Ss stay in the TL •Model task and TL support because showing is better than telling •CCQs to confirm Ss understanding of task
4	During /PT	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Pass out the worksheet with the expectation statements •Tell Ss that the answers are not in the text, but they should use what they know about Sakiko and Edmundo to infer who would say/believe each statement •Ask Ss to read each statement and decide if E or S would say/believe it. •Model by doing first one with Ss •Ss can do alone or with their partner, if Ss do alone have Ss compare answers with partner before going over answers with the class 	<p>T-S</p> <p>S</p> <p>S-S</p> <p>T-S/S-T</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Comprehensive check of Ss understanding of texts •SLO is achieved •Peer checking for safety and comfort and to promote peer learning and teaching
5	Post/ Task	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Make groups of 3 or 4 (This activity can be done with or without the Ss making Posters, but Poster sessions work best with groups of 4) •Tell Ss that they work for the same company that S and E work for and that a meeting has been called to deal with the situation. •Write the roles for each Ss on the WB and tell the Ss that each Ss has to take a role, and that each role has a task such as run the meeting and make sure each person expresses his/her opinion, take notes, make the poster, and present the groups poster/ideas to the class •CCQ the roles for each group member: <i>What does the editor-in-</i> 	<p>T-S</p> <p>Ss-Ss</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Integrate speaking into a reading lesson •Ss use higher order critical thinking skills to solve a real world problem •Building schema through a self-to-world activity •Ss have clear roles in their groups to assure collaboration and participation •Extra Qs are provided for groups

		<p><i>chief do? What role does the VP have? What is the HR person's role? What will the regional manager do?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Ss need to discuss Qs 1-3, but if they have time they can also discuss Qs 4-5. Ss will have about 7 min to discuss, 5 min to summarize or make poster, and 8 minutes to present their ideas to the group •Have Ss pick roles and check that each Ss knows their roles •Monitor group discussions and tell Ss when to begin preparing for the presentation/finish poster •Have Ss present. 	S-T/S-Ss	<p>who work faster than other groups, so that all groups have adequate time to finish the key components Qs 1-3.</p>
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Example of the poster that Ss could use to organize/summarize their discussion

Action Plan
Short Term Solutions:
Long Term Solutions:

Do We Understand Each Other Cloze Exercise

Directions: Use the words on the board or PPT and fill in the blanks.

_____ is all about working together, but we don't work well together, because there is too much _____. I have no problem with most of the people I work with, but this one _____ is a little scary. I find him kind of _____. I sometimes wonder if he might get violent. I think the only way for me to _____ this problem is to quit. I know that quitting is bad, because I'm not taking _____ for the problem. But this guy is impossible to _____. I mean he's crazy.

✂-----

Do We Understand Each Other Cloze Exercise

Directions: Use the words on the board or PPT and fill in the blanks.

_____ is all about working together, but we don't work well together, because there is too much _____. I have no problem with most of the people I work with, but this one _____ is a little scary. I find him kind of _____. I sometimes wonder if he might get violent. I think the only way for me to _____ this problem is to quit. I know that quitting is bad, because I'm not taking _____ for the problem. But this guy is impossible to _____. I mean he's crazy.

Do We Understand Each Other?

Jigsaw A

The following is a letter written by an employee of a British based international public relations firm. He is having trouble working with a colleague. Here is what he had to say:

To the editor-and-chief:

I am writing to tell you of some problems I have been having with the other editor in the office, Sakiko Fujita. We don't work well together. She seems to depend on me for all the ideas and decisions. I seem to carry the responsibility all the time.

To give you an example of our tension, I will describe what happened between us today. This morning we were working on an article. I found that I was doing all the work. She didn't contribute to the discussion. When I finally asked her what she thought of my decisions, she hesitated. Then she only said that she thought my work was interesting and that she would think about it more. I am very frustrated. She doesn't give me her opinions or her ideas. How can I work with someone who doesn't communicate or give feedback? I want to move forward with our work, but I can't with her. How can I get her to take on more responsibility?

I know that part of the problem is communication. She doesn't seem to listen to what I am saying. She rarely looks at me when we speak. And she sits so far away. She is a very reserved person. I can't figure out what is going on inside her head.

I hope you can talk to her and get her to be more involved in our work. As things are now, our collaboration is not at all productive.

Sincerely,

Edmundo Montoya Reyes

Reviewing the Case

Directions: In your letter, underline all the complaints that Edmundo has about Sakiko. Then use that information to fill in the chart on the next page.

	Sakiko says...	Edmundo says...
Eye Contact		<i>She doesn't look at me when we speak.</i>
Physical Distance		
Cooperation		
Giving Opinions		
Listening		

Do We Understand Each Other?

Jigsaw B

The following is a letter written by an employee of a British based international public relations firm. She is having trouble working with a colleague. Here is what she had to say:

Dear Norika,

How are you? I hope everything is well.

I am not doing so well. Work has been very difficult lately. One of my colleagues is very difficult to work with. He seems to only consider himself. He doesn't know how to share work space or work responsibilities.

Part of the problem is that he has difficulty listening carefully to people. When we work together, he rarely asks for my opinion. He just talks all the time! When I try to offer my opinion, he interrupts me. For example, today we had to make some important changes to an article. He told me what he wanted, and when I tried to say it wasn't the best idea, he just didn't want to listen to me.

I feel a bit uncomfortable with him. He sits very close and looks at me all the time. I try to put some distance between us, but he just keeps coming closer. He doesn't give me room to talk or think. I think his behavior is a little aggressive.

I don't know what to do. Maybe I should ask to be transferred to different department or international office. It's just too hard for us to work together. I don't think we can resolve our differences. Tomorrow I will mention my problem to the editor-in-chief. I think she will understand.

Thanks for listening to my troubles.

Sakiko

Reviewing the Case

Directions: In your letter, underline all the complaints that Sakiko had about Edmundo. Then use that information to fill in the chart on the next page.

	Sakiko says...	Edmundo says...
Eye Contact	<i>He looks at me all the time.</i>	
Physical Distance		
Cooperation		
Giving Opinions		
Listening		

Making Inferences

In the situation described in our letters, there are two people from different countries working together. They each have their individual style, personality, and experiences, but they also have **cultural expectations**. They expect other people to behave according to their own cultural ways. For example, Edmundo expects Sakiko to look at him while they speak to each other. In his culture eye contact is an important part of communication because it signals that the listener is paying attention. When Sakiko doesn't look at him frequently, he thinks that she isn't listening to him. He understands her behavior according to his own culture's rules. But Sakiko is acting in accordance with her own cultural rules. In her culture it is common to look away frequently while speaking and listening, because one is expected to show respect by looking away. Since they are co-workers, Sakiko expects Edmundo to look away from time to time. When he doesn't, she feels uncomfortable with him.

Directions: Read the following list of expectations. Decide which are Edmundo's (E) and which are Sakiko's (S). Use the chart you have completed and work together.

- E** 1. When people are working together they usually sit close to each other. Closeness indicates interest and cooperation.
- 2. A man should give a woman some physical distance. Physical distance shows respect for a person's space.
- 3. People should invite each other to say something in a conversation. One should ask questions or remain silent so that the other person has a chance to say something.
- 4. One should begin speaking even if the other person is speaking. If one doesn't interrupt, one will never speak.
- 5. Silence expresses disinterest and boredom.
- 6. People often disagree with each other. It is normal to have different opinions. Some conflict is inevitable even between friends and family.
- 7. People should give their opinions and not wait to be asked. It is the individual's responsibility to say what he or she thinks and feels.
- 8. One should express disagreement carefully. An open disagreement could offend or embarrass someone.
- 9. It is not polite to speak when someone else is speaking.
- 10. People may be silent for a few seconds if they are thinking about something. One should respect the silence and not interrupt it.
- 11. If there is conflict, one should try to resolve it indirectly so that no one is embarrassed.
- 12. It is impossible to resolve a conflict without facing it directly.

Problem Solving: Simulation

Directions: You are part of the management team that is overseeing the project that Edmundo and Sakiko are working on. The management team is made up of the project manager, the editor-in-chief, assistant director of human resources, and the vice president of marketing. (Others may be present as well, for example: the regional director or her assistant). The meeting should be chaired by the vice president of marketing, because it is his/her client's account. The editor-in-chief should be the note taker. The assistant director of human resources will draw the action plan on the poster paper. The action plan will be presented by the project manager to the class.

The meeting has been called to resolve the conflict between Edmundo and Sakiko. The project manager and editor-in-chief both want to keep Sakiko and Edmundo on the project because they are both excellent editors whose styles and experiences balance each other out. The assistant director of human resources wants to resolve this conflict because there aren't any other qualified personnel to meet Sakiko's request for a transfer. The vice president of marketing wants this conflict resolved so that the project remains on schedule and the firm's second biggest client is kept happy.

In your group, discuss a possible solution. Draft an Action Plan that will help the two employees resolve their differences. As you draft your Action Plan on the poster paper, think about the following questions:

1. Why are Sakiko and Edmundo having problems with each other? What specific behaviors are causing conflict and misunderstanding? Are there cultural values and expectations that each need to be aware of? If so, what are they?
2. What small things can they do to work together better on a daily basis? Are there changes they could make in their daily routine or in their modes of communication? What is the short term solution? Why are these solutions the easiest and most effective in the short term?
3. What are the long term solutions? What can the firm do to help Sakiko and Edmundo deal with their communication problems? Why are these solutions the most appropriate for this situation?
4. What might be the best way for the management team to communicate with them? Should the management team send them each memo? Should a meeting be called to address this problem directly? Or is there some other way that might be more effective and empathetic?
5. To what extent should the editor-in-chief and the project manager be involved in this cultural misunderstanding? What roles, if any, should they take? Why?

Pragmatics Review Handout for Final Project

Grice's Four Conversational Maxims

1. Maxim of Relevance

Be relevant, that is, say things related to the topic of the conversation.

2. Maxim of Quality or Truthfulness

Do not say what you believe to be false.

Do not say something you cannot back up with evidence.

3. Maxim of Quantity

Say as much as is needed to communicate your message.

Don't say more than you need.

4. Maxim of Clarity

Make your statements clear and easy to understand. Avoid ambiguity, inexactness, and uncertainty.

Ellipses

Omitting from speech or writing a word or words that are not required for understanding.

Example: We ran for the bus but missed it. ("we," the subject of "missed," is omitted but understood)

Hedges

A word or words used to lessen the impact or strength of what you are saying.

Example: Your answer was **a little bit** weak. ("a little bit" softens the criticism)

Signals in conversation (From Goffman's Communication Theory)

Backchannel signals

Eye contact, head nods, facial expressions (smiles, frowns, eye/eyebrow lifts), body alignment, non-verbal sounds (hmmm, ahuh)

Turnover signals

Taking turns in conversation, signals that show a speaker is finishing a turn (drop in pitch, quizzical look directed at a conversational partner)

Bracket signals

Signals that show the conversation going into or out of the main topic ("Oh, by the way..." "As I was saying...")

Preempt signals

Signals that show a speaker is interrupting the conversation ("Excuse me.")

Conversational Implicature

The meaning is not explicit in the sentence, it is implied. Conversational implicature is about making inferences from what is heard.

Utterance: *Are you cold?*

Inferred meaning: *I'm cold; would you please close the window.*

Section 5

Appendix

What is Pragmatics?

“We human beings are odd compared with our nearest animal relatives. Unlike them, we can say what we want, when we want. All normal humans can produce and understand any number of new words and sentences. Humans use the multiple options of language often without thinking. But blindly, they sometimes fall into its traps. They are like spiders who exploit their webs, but themselves get caught in the sticky strands.”

Jean Aitchison

“Pragmatics studies the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects of our choice on others.”

David Crystal

“Pragmatics is all about the meanings between the lexis and the grammar and the phonology... Meanings are implied and the rules being followed are unspoken, unwritten ones.”

George Keith

“Pragmatics is a way of investigating how sense can be made of certain texts even when, from a semantic viewpoint, the text seems to be either incomplete or to have a different meaning to what is really intended. Consider a sign seen in a children’s wear shop window: “Baby Sale – lots of bargains”. We know without asking that there are no babies for sale – that what is for sale are items used for babies. Pragmatics allows us to investigate how this “meaning beyond the words” can be understood without ambiguity. The extra meaning is there, not because of the semantic aspects of the words themselves, but because we share certain contextual knowledge with the writer or speaker of the text.

“Pragmatics is an important area of stuffy for you course. A simplified way of thinking about pragmatics is to recognize, for example, that language needs to be kept interesting – a speaker or writer does not want to bore a listener or reader, for example, by being over-long or tedious. So, humans strive to find linguistic means to make a text, perhaps, shorter, more interesting, more relevant, more purposeful or more personal. Pragmatics allows this.”

Steve Campsall

Pragmatics is a systematic way of explaining language use in context. It seeks to explain aspects of meaning which cannot be found in the plain sense of words or structures, as explained by semantics. As a field of language study, pragmatics is fairly new. Its origins lie in philosophy of science, its roots lie in the work of (Herbert) Paul Grice on conversational implicature and the cooperative principle. The cooperative principle is explained as #8 of Goffman’s universal constraints.

Conversational Implicature

In a series of lectures at Harvard University in 1967, the English language philosopher H.P. (Paul) Grice outlined an approach to what he termed conversational implicature – how hearers manage to work out the complete message when speaker means more than they say. An example of what Grice meant by conversational implicature is the utterance:

“Have you got any cash on you?”

Where the speaker really wants the hearer to understand the meaning:

“Can you lend me some money?” I don’t have much on me.”

The conversational implicature is a message that is not found in the plain sense of the sentence. The speaker implies it. The hearer is able to infer (work out, read between the lines) this message in the utterance, by appealing to the rules governing successful conversational interaction. Grice proposed that implicatures like the second sentence can be calculated from the first by understanding three things:

- The usual linguistic meaning of what is said.
- Contextual information (shared or general knowledge)/
- The assumption that the speaker is obeying what Grice calls the cooperative principle.

Goffman's Communication theory: system constraints and conversational analysis.

Goffman (1976) argues there is a set of universal constraints on all communication.

1. Channel open/close signals
2. Backchannel signals
3. Turnover signals
4. Acoustically adequate and interpretable messages
5. Bracket signals
6. Nonparticipant constraints
7. Preempt signals
8. A set of Gricean norms

1. Channel open/close signals

Signals differ according to the channel (ex: phone calls, letters, meetings, classrooms, phone conversation)

1. question-answer sequence
2. identification sequence
3. greeting sequence
4. how-are-you sequence

2. Backchannel signals

eye contact, head nods, smiles, body alignment
uhhuh, yeh, yerright

Signals differ according to settings, the roles of speakers and cultures.

Ritualized feedback – religious services, spectator events

3. Turnover signals

Signals that show that the previous speaker is ending. In conversation, each turn is usually fairly short. In more formalized communication, the turns are controlled and distributed on a differential basis and tend to be longer.

“tickets” – the phrases that get us an extended turn to talk (ex: “and” / “go on”)

4. Acoustically adequate and interpretable messages

Messages have to be interpretable and “hearable”. The questions: What constitutes a clear message? How acoustically accurate must a message be to be “adequate”, and what makes a message “interpretable”? How clear must messages be in order to serve communication?

5. Bracket signals

The signals which show that conversation will go into and out of “side sequence”. In returning to the main conversation some verbal signals are “As I was saying”, “Anyway”, “Right”.

6. Nonparticipant constraints

The competing message in the channel other than a main message.

All languages must have some of blocking nonparticipant noise from the communication channel.

How do we move from nonparticipant to participant? One way is to repeat what someone else in the conversation has said as a way of joining in the conversation.

7. Preempt signals

Signals by which a participant interrupts an ongoing channel message (ex: "Excuse me", "I'm sorry, but")

8. Grice's norms for communication: Conversational maxims and the cooperative principle

The success of a conversation depends upon the various speakers' approach to the interaction. The way in which people try to make conversations work is sometimes called the cooperative principle. We can understand it partly by noting those people who are exceptions to the rule, and are not capable of making the conversation work. We may also, sometimes, find it useful deliberately to infringe or disregard it – as when we receive an unwelcome call from a telephone salesperson, or where we are being interviewed by a police officer on suspicion of some terrible crime.

Paul Grice proposes that in ordinary conversation, speakers and hearers share a cooperative principle. Speakers shape their utterances to be understood by hearers. The principle can be explained by four underlying rules or maxims. (David Crystal calls them conversational maxims. They are also sometimes names Grice's or Gricean maxims.)

1. Relevance – "be relevant"

Communication messages cannot be random, but must relate to what has gone before

(example 1)

A: Do you do buttonholes?

B: She'll be back in an hour.

(example 2)

A: Do you have orange juice?

B: Large or small?

To make the message "cohere", contributions must be relevant to what goes before and what one expects might follow.

2. Truthfulness – "be truthful"

Cooperative conversationalist does not usually say other than what he or she believes to be true. When we violate truthfulness, we often do so using special intonation for sarcasm, for teasing, or for playfulness.

Learning how to move in and out of "truthfulness" with appropriate marking may be acquired early in life, but the markings are not always easy for L2 learners to recognize.

3. Quantity – "be brief"

It is very difficult to judge how much is sufficient and what is considered an excessive quantity of talk. Talking too long is usually not good. On the other hand we want to be brief, but not so brief that our message isn't clear.

4. Clarity – "be clear"

We should avoid obscurity and ambiguity. People should understand what we say.

Ellipses

Ellipsis is pervasive in spoken discourse. It occurs in writing but functions textually to prevent repetition, where structures would otherwise be redundant. For example, in the sentence 'We ran for the bus but missed it' where it remains clear that 'we' remains the subject of both clauses; or in the sentence 'the chair was broken and the table too' where it is clearly unnecessary to repeat the verb phrase 'was broken'. Ellipsis in spoken English is mainly situation. (i.e. affecting people and things in the immediate situation), and frequently involves the omission of personal subjects, where it is obvious that the speaker will remain unambiguous. This feature is especially common with verbs of mental process: for example, *think so*, *wonder if they'll be coming to the party*, *guess they won't be ringing after all* (with 'I' omitted in each case) and so on. Such ellipses also occurs with main or auxiliary verbs where meaning can be relatively easily reconstructed from the context. For example:

- A: What's the matter/
B: Got an awful cold. (ellipsis: *I've*)
A: Just seen Paco. (ellipses: *I've*)
B: Did he say anything?
A: Nothing.
B: Interesting isn't it? (ellipses: *It's*)

Ellipses only rarely occurs in this form, however, with modal auxiliary verbs so that, while pronoun subjects are omitted, the force of the modal is normally retained (ex: *must be difficult*, *might be the right thing to do*). Several elliptical structures are almost FIXED EXPRESSIONS, occurring as frozen lexical routines (*sounds strange*, *seems worth it*, *absolutely right*, *good job you did that* and so on). Collectively, ellipses of this kind is situationally rooted but is not random. It occurs across many speech genres and in almost all cases marks a degree of informality between speakers. Ellipsis of this kind is especially prominent in service encounters so that a perfectly normal utterance can be to ask for 'two first class [stamps] please' in a post office or '[a] cheeseburger, please' or 'two ham and one cheese [sandwiches]' in a restaurant, and without the speaker feeling it necessary to include a phrase such as 'I'd Like' or 'Could I have', though such a choice always remains possible and could impart a greater formality or possibly politeness, if the speaker wished to communicate this.

Hedges (avoiding committing yourself)

Hedging is a general term used to describe the strategy when a speaker or writer wishes to avoid coming straight to the point or to avoid speaking directly. Hedging can include the use of a wide range of language, including VAGUE LANGUAGE. Hedges occur commonly when a speaker expresses an opinion about somebody or something:

- He was *kind of begging* us to write but I *probably* won't do it.
Well, I mean, I have, *you know*, never *actually really* liked her as a teacher.
She was *sort of somewhat* mixed up in her feelings about him.

The hedges (in *italics*) allow speakers to personalize or otherwise soften the force of what they say, all in different ways, either because they have no wish to sound definite and authoritative, or because they believe the speaker not to be fully acquainted with their propositions or, very simply, because they do not know or are searching for the right word or expression. In most cases there is a sensitivity to 'face', either for purposes of self-protection or because the speaker does not want to put the listener(s) or reader(s) in a face-threatening situation.

Hedges and modality in language are closely linked. Many modal verbs contribute to hedging (ex: *may, might, could*) and there is an extensive range of adverbs which mitigate the force of what is written or said: for example, *perhaps, probably, generally, normally, slightly, basically, at least*.

Discourse markers

Discourse markers are words or phrases which are normally used to mark boundaries in conversation between one topic or bit of business and the next boundaries in conversation between one topic or bit of business and the next. For example, words and phrases such as *right, OK, I see, I mean*, help speakers to negotiate their way through talk indicating whether they want to open or do a topic or to continue it, whether they share a common view of the state of affairs, what their reaction is to something, etc. In telephone and other conversations the discourse marker anyway usually serves to indicate that the speaker wishes either the current stretch of talk or the whole exchange itself to be brought to a conclusion. In much informal talk the word *like* can be used to signal that some kind of exemplification is to follow. In conversation in general phrases such as *you know* or *I mean* or *you know what I mean* serve to check understanding and to soften and personalize the interactive style, keeping the listener(s) involved and on the same wavelength. *Right* often serves to indicate that participants are ready to move on to the next phase of business.

Discourse markers do not primarily carry information or propositional content and have, as a result perhaps, been regarded as examples of careless or lazy speech. For example, the word *then* can frequently signal the closing of a stretch of talk and have no obvious connection with the temporal meaning of *then*. However, all speakers use them to perform the essential task of structuring what they say and of signaling to their listener(s) how they wish it to be taken. Such is the importance of signaling and signposting discourse that speaking turns can sometimes consist entirely of a discourse marker or markers. For example:

- A: OK then?
B: Right.
A: That's it then.
B: Fine.
A: Bye.
B: Bye.

Back-channel

This refers to noises (which are not full words) and short verbal responses made by listeners which acknowledge the incoming talk and react to it, without wishing to take over the speaking turn. Typical back-channels in English are *Mm, Uhum, Yeah, No Right, Oh*, etc. In our transcripts they are shown as occurring during the speaker's turn, though sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between back-channels and full speaking turns, and the decision to transcribe one way or the other is ultimately subjective. Here is an example with back-channels from speaker <S 01>, shown within square brackets []:

- <S01> Oh yes, yes yes mind you my parents were really quite well-off when we lived in Ireland by the education in England was very expensive [*<S02> Mm*] and I can remember my mother had jewellery and silver and she used to keep selling it [*<S02> Really*] to pay for our extra music lessons and tuition in this and that [*<S02> Mm*] and er, it was, must have been difficult.

The One Where Everyone Finds Out

Written by: Alexa Junge
Transcribed by: Eric Aasen

[Scene: Monica and Rachel's, everyone is eating some Chinese food.]

Phoebe: (looking out the window) Oh hey, you guys, look! Ugly Naked Guy is putting stuff in boxes!

(They all run and join her at the window.)

Rachel: I'd say from the looks of it; our naked buddy is moving.

Ross: Ironically, most of the boxes seem to be labeled clothes.

Rachel: Ohh, I'm gonna miss that big old squishy butt.

Chandler: And we're done with the chicken fried rice.

Ross: Hey! Hey! If he's moving, maybe I should try to get his place!

All: Good idea! Yes!

Ross: It would be so cool to live across from you guys!

Joey: Hey, yeah! Then we could do that telephone thing! Y'know, you have a can, we have a can and it's connected by a string!

Chandler: Or we can do the **actual** telephone thing.

Opening Credits

[Scene: Ugly Naked Guy's apartment, Ross, Rachel, and Phoebe are checking out the place. Luckily, Ugly Naked Guy is nowhere to be seen.]

Ross: Oh my God! I love this apartment! Isn't it perfect?! I can't believe I never realized how great it is!

Rachel: Well that is because your eye immediately goes to the big naked man.

Phoebe: It's amazing! You better hurry up and fill out an application or I'm gonna beat you to it.

Ross: (laughing) Ohh. (Phoebe takes a couple of steps to the door and Ross quickly hurries out.)

Rachel: Well, I never thought I'd say this, but I'm gonna go use Ugly Naked Guy's bathroom. (Does so.)

Phoebe: (looking out the window) Oh, look! There's Monica and Chandler! (Starts yelling.) Hey! Hey, you guys! Hey! (Chandler and Monica start taking each other's clothes off.) Ohh!! Ohh! Ahh-ahhh!!

Rachel: What?!

Phoebe: (screaming) Ahhh!! Chandler and Monica!! Chandler and Monica!!

Rachel: Oh my God!

Phoebe: **CHANDLER AND MONICA!!!!**

Rachel: OH MY GOD!!!

Phoebe: OH!! MY EYES!!! MY EYES!!!!

Rachel: Phoebe!! Phoebe!! It's okay!! It's okay!!

Phoebe: NO! THEY'RE DOING IT!!!

Rachel: I KNOW!! I KNOW!! I KNOW!

Phoebe: YOU KNOW?!!!

Rachel: Yes, I know! And Joey knows! But Ross doesn't know so you have to stop screaming!!

Ross: (entering) What's going on?

Phoebe and Rachel: Ohhh!!!

Rachel: (trying to divert his attention from the window by jumping up and down) HI!! HI!

Ross: What?! What?!

Rachel: Nothing! Oh God, we're just so excited that you want to get this apartment!

Ross: Actually, it looks really good. (Turns towards the window and now Phoebe starts jumping to divert his attention.)

Phoebe: (Screaming incoherently.) Get in here!!! (Motions to join her and Rachel.)

(Ross starts jumping and screaming incoherently and hops over and joins in on the group hug.)

[Scene: Central Perk, Phoebe and Rachel are there talking about Chandler and Monica.]

Phoebe: You mean whenever Monica and Chandler were like y'know doing laundry or going grocery shopping or—Oh! All that time Monica spent on the phone with sad Linda from camp!

Rachel: Uh-huh, doing it. Doing it. Phone doing it.

Phoebe: Oh! Oh, I can't believe it! I mean I think it's great! For him. She might be able to do better.

Joey: (entering) Hey guys!

Rachel: Joey! Come here! Come here!

Joey: What? What?

Rachel: Phoebe just found out about Monica and Chandler.

Joey: You mean how they're friends and nothing more? (Glares at Rachel.)

Rachel: No. Joey, she **knows!** We were at Ugly Naked Guy's apartment and we saw them doing it through the window. (Joey gasps) Actually, we saw them doing it up **against** the window.

Phoebe: Okay, so now they know that you know and they don't know that Rachel knows?

Joey: Yes, but y'know what? It doesn't matter who knows what. Now, enough of us know that we can just tell them that we know! Then all the lying and the secrets would finally be over!

Phoebe: Or, we could **not** tell them we know and have a little fun of our own.

Rachel: Wh-what do you mean?

Phoebe: Well y'know every time that they say that like they're doing laundry we'll just give them a bunch of laundry to do.

Rachel: Ohhh, I-I would enjoy that!

Joey: No-no-no! No-no wait Rach, you know what would even be more fun? Telling them.

Rachel: Ehhh, no, I wanna do Phoebe's thing.

Joey: I can't take any...

Phoebe: No! You don't have to do anything! Just don't tell them that we know!

Joey: Noo! I can't take any more secrets! (To Rachel) I've got your secrets. I've got their secrets. I got secrets of my own y'know!

Rachel: You don't have any secrets!

Joey: Oh yeah? Well, you don't know about Hugsy, my bedtime penguin pal. (Joey shies away.)

Rachel: (To Phoebe) So umm, how-how are we gonna mess with them?

Joey: Ugh.

Phoebe: Well, you could use your position y'know as the roommate.

Rachel: Okay.

Phoebe: And then. I would use y'know the strongest tool at my disposal. My sexuality.

Chandler: (entering) Hello children!

All: Hey!

Phoebe: Okay, watch, learn, and don't eat my cookie.

(She gets up and goes over to Chandler who's ordering some coffee from Gunther.)

Chandler: Hey.

Phoebe: Hey! Ooh, wow that jacket looks great on you!

Chandler: Really?

Phoebe: (feels his arm) Yeah the material feels so soft—hello Mr. Bicep! Have you been working out?

Chandler: Well, I try to y'know, squeeze things. (Phoebe giggles uncontrollably.) Are you okay?

Phoebe: Well, if you really wanna know, I'm—Oh! I can't tell you this.

Chandler: Phoebe, it's me. You can tell me anything.

Phoebe: Well actually you're the one person I can't tell this too. And the one person I want to the most.

Chandler: What's going on?

Phoebe: I think it's just y'know that I haven't been with a guy in so long and how sometimes you're looking for something and you just don't even see that it's right there in front of you sipping coffee—Oh no, have I said to much? Well it's just something to think about. I know I will.

(She makes a show of bending over to get her coat and showing off her bum. She then walks out, leaving no one to eat her cookie.)

[Scene: Chandler's bedroom, Chandler and Monica are there, of course. Like who else would it be, duh!]

Monica: You are so cute! How did you get to be so cute?

Chandler: Well, my Grandfather was Swedish and my Grandmother was actually a tiny little bunny.

Monica: Okay, now you're even cuter!!

Chandler: Y'know that is a popular opinion today I must say.

Monica: What?

Chandler: The weirdest thing happened at the coffee house, I think, I think Phoebe was hitting on me.

Monica: What are you talking about?

Chandler: I'm telling you I think Phoebe thinks I'm foxy.

Monica: That's not possible!

Chandler: Ow!

Monica: I'm sorry it's just, Phoebe just always thought you were, you were charming in a, in a sexless kind of way.

Chandler: Oh, y'know I-I can't hear that enough.

Monica: I'm sorry, I think that you just misunderstood her.

Chandler: No, I didn't misunderstand, okay? She was all over me! She touched my bicep for crying out loud!

Monica: This bicep?

Chandler: Well it's not flexed right now!

[Scene: Monica and Rachel's, Monica, Rachel, Phoebe, and Chandler are there. Monica is entering from her room.]

Rachel: Hey Mon, what are you doing now? Wanna come see a movie with us?

Monica: Uhh, y'know actually I was gonna do some laundry.

Rachel: Oh.

Monica: Hey Chandler, wanna do it with me?

Chandler: Sure, I'll do it with ya.

Monica: Okay.

Rachel: Okay great, hold on a sec! (She runs to her room and returns carrying a huge bag of laundry.) Oh, here you go! You don't mind do ya? That would really help me out a lot! Thanks!

Monica: I mean I-I don't I think I have enough quarters.

Phoebe: I have quarters! (She holds up a bag of quarters.)

Ross: (entering) Hey!

Rachel: Hey Ross! Any word on the apartment yet?

Ross: Well, I called over there and it turns out Ugly Naked Guy is subletting it himself and he's already had like a hundred applicants.

Rachel: Oh.

Ross: No-no, I got the edge. I know it's not exactly ethical but I sent him a little bribe to tip the scales in my direction. Check it out, you can probably see it from the window. (They all head to the window.)

Monica: Oh, is it that pinball machine with the big bow on it?

Ross: No.

Chandler: That new mountain bike?

Ross: No.

Monica: Well what did you send?

Ross: A basket of mini-muffins.

Phoebe: But there's a whole table of mini-muffin baskets. Which one did you send?

Ross: The small one.

Rachel: What?! You-you actually thought that basket was gonna get you the apartment?

Ross: Well yeah! Someone sent us a basket at work once and people went crazy over those little muffins. It was the best day.

Chandler: Your work makes me sad.

Ross: Oh man! I want that place so much!! I was so sure that was gonna work! There's twelve bucks I'll never see again! (Exits.)

Rachel: All right honey, we'd better go if we wanna catch that movie.

Monica: Bye!

All: Bye!

Phoebe: Bye Chandler! (She walks up to him.) (Quietly.) I miss you already. (She pinches his butt.)

Chandler: (after they've left) Okay, did you see that?! With the inappropriate and the pinching!!

Monica: Actually, I did!

Chandler: Okay, so now do you believe that she's attracted to me?

Monica: Ohhh, oh my God! Oh my God! She knows about us!

Chandler: Are you serious?

Monica: Phoebe knows and she's just trying to freak us out! That's the only explanation for it!

Chandler: (a little hurt) Okay but what about y'know my pinchable butt and my bulging biceps—She knows!

Commercial Break

[Scene: Chandler, Joey, and Ross's, Joey is snoozing with Hugsy, his bedtime penguin pal and Chandler and Monica come storming in.]

Chandler: (entering) Joey!

(Joey quickly tries to hide Hugsy by throwing it over his head.)

Joey: Yeah?

Chandler: Phoebe knows about us!

Joey: Well I didn't tell them!

Monica: Them?! Who's them?

Joey: Uhhh, Phoebe and Joey.

Monica: Joey!

Joey: And Rachel. I would've told you but they made me promise not to tell!

Chandler: Oh man!

Joey: I'm sorry! But hey, it's over now, right? Because you can tell them that you know they know and I can go back to knowing absolutely nothing!

Monica: Unless...

Joey: No! Not unless! Look this must end now!

Monica: Oh man, they think they are so **slick** messing with us! But see they don't know that we know that they know! So...

Chandler: Ahh yes, the messers become the messies!

[Scene: Monica and Rachel's, Ross is looking at Ugly Naked Guy's apartment through binoculars.]

Ross: Noooo.

Rachel: Oh Ross, honey you gotta stop torturing yourself!

Phoebe: Yeah, why don't you just find another apartment?

Ross: Look I've already looked at like a thousand apartments this month and none of them even compares to that one!

Rachel: Y'know what you should do?

Ross: Huh?

Rachel: You should find out what his hobbies are and then use that to bond with him. Yeah! Like if I would strike up a conversation about say umm, sandwiches. Or uh, or my underwear.

Joey: I'm listening.

Rachel: (To Ross) See?

Ross: That is a great idea! And! I know Ugly Naked Guy because we've been watching him for like five years so **that** gives me back my edge! Oh, let's see now he had the trampoline.

Phoebe: He broke that.

Ross: Well, he had gravity boots.

Rachel: Yeah, he broke those too.

Joey: So he likes to break stuff.

Ross: Okay, I've got to go pick up Ben but I-I will figure something out. (He opens the door and stops.) Hey, didn't he used to have a cat?

Phoebe: I wouldn't bring that up, it would probably just bum him out.

Joey: Yeah, poor cat, never saw that big butt coming.

Ross: Right. (Exits.)

(The phone rings and Rachel answers it.)

Rachel: Hello! (Listens) Oh yeah! Hey! Hold on a second she's right here! (To Phoebe) It's Chandler.

Phoebe: (in a sexy voice) Oh? (Takes the phone from Rachel.) Hello you.

Chandler: Hello Phoebe, I've been thinking about you all day. (He's holding the phone so that Monica can hear it as well.)

Phoebe: Eh?

Chandler: Well you know that thing you said before, I'd be lying if I said I wasn't intrigued.

Phoebe: Really?

Chandler: Yeah, listen, Joey isn't gonna be here tonight so why don't you come over and I'll let you uh, feel my bicep. Or maybe more.

Phoebe: I'll have to get back to you on that. Okay, bye! (Hangs up.) Oh my God! He wants me to come over and feel his bicep and more!

Rachel: Are you kidding?!

Phoebe: No!

Rachel: I can not believe he would do that to Mon—Whoa! (She stops suddenly and slowly turns to point at Joey. Joey is avoiding her eyes.) Joey, do they know that we know?

Joey: No.

Rachel: Joey!

Joey: They know you know.

Rachel: Ugh, I knew it! Oh I cannot believe those two!

Phoebe: God, they thought they can mess with us! They're trying to mess with us?! They don't know that we know they know we know! (Joey just shakes his head.) Joey, you can't say anything!

Joey: I couldn't even if I wanted too.

[Scene: Outside Ugly Naked Guy's apartment, Ross is knocks on the door and Ugly Naked Guy answers it. He's ugly. He's naked. And he's holding a huge jumbo soda.]

Ross: Good evening, sir. My name is Ross Geller. I'm one of the people who applied for the apartment. And I-I realize that the competition is fierce but—I'm sorry. I, I can't help but notice you're naked and (He claps his hands.) I applaud you. Man, I wish I was naked. I mean, this-this looks so great. That is how God intended it.

[Scene: Monica and Rachel's, Chandler and Monica and Rachel and Phoebe are planning their respective strategies to break the other pairing. Joey is not amused.]

Monica: (in the kitchen with Chandler) Look at them, they're-they're panicked!

Chandler: Oh yeah, they're totally gonna back down!

Monica: Oh yeah!

[Cut to Phoebe and Rachel sitting on the couch.]

Phoebe: All right. All right! If he wants a date? He's gonna get a date. All right, I'm gonna go in.

Rachel: All right. Be sexy.

Phoebe: (laughs) Please.

(She saunters over to Chandler with a mean pair of 'Come hither' eyes and she glares at Monica.)

Phoebe: So Chandler, I-I'd love to come by tonight.

Chandler: (initially worried, but gets over it) Really?

Phoebe: Oh absolutely. Shall we say, around seven?

Chandler: Yes.

Phoebe: Good. I'm really looking forward to you and me having sexual intercourse.

(As she walks away, Chandler mouths a scream to Monica. How motions and mouths, "It's okay, it's okay.")

Joey: (looking out the window) Hey-hey, check it out! Check it out! Ugly Naked Guy has a naked friend!

(They all run over to the window.)

Rachel: Oh yeah! (She gasps.) Oh my God! That is **our** friend! (Monica covers her face.) It's Naked Ross! (Monica turns and buries her face in Chandler's shoulder.)

All: Yeah, it is! Naked Ross!!

[Scene: Monica and Rachel's, Rachel is getting Phoebe ready for her date.]

Rachel: Show time!

Phoebe: Okay, Rachel, get me perfume!

Rachel: Okay! (She runs to get some.)

Phoebe: And Joey, get me a bottle of wine and glasses? (He begrudgingly does so.)

(In the meantime, Rachel has returned with the perfume and sprays a mist out in front of Phoebe who walks through the mist and does a little spin.)

[Cut to Chandler, Joey, and Ross's, Monica is getting Chandler ready for his half of the plan.]

Monica: All right, it'll be great! You just make her think you wanna have sex with her! It'll totally freak her out!

Chandler: Okay, listen, how far am I gonna have to go with her?

Monica: Relax, she-she's gonna give in way before you do!

Chandler: How do you know?!

Monica: Because you're on my team! And my team always wins!

Chandler: At this?!

Monica: Just go get some! (Kisses him.) Go! (She runs to hide in the bathroom.)

[Cut to the hallway, Phoebe is outside getting some last minute instructions from Rachel.]

Rachel: (handing her the wine) Okay honey, now I'm gonna try to listen from right here!

Phoebe: Okay.

Rachel: Okay? Whoa, wait! (She undoes one button on Phoebe's dress.)

Phoebe: Good idea!

Rachel: Yeah, oh wait! (She goes for another one.)

Phoebe: Oh now, don't give away the farm!

(Phoebe knocks on the door with the wine and Chandler answers it. Rachel hides next to the door.)

Chandler: Phoebe.

Phoebe: Chandler.

Chandler: Come on in.

Phoebe: I was going too. (They go inside and he closes the door.) Umm, I brought some wine. Would you like some?

Chandler: Sure.

(She makes a big show out of pulling out the cork and pours the wine.)

Phoebe: So, here we are. Nervous?

Chandler: Me? No. You?

Phoebe: No, I want this to happen.

Chandler: So do I.

(They click their glasses and take a sip. That sip turns into a gulp, which quickly progresses into their mutual draining of their glasses at once.)

Chandler: I'm gonna put on some music.

Phoebe: Maybe, maybe I'll dance for you. (She starts doing a rather suggestive and seductive dance that's silly at the same time.)

Chandler: You look good.

Phoebe: Thanks! Y'know, that when you say things like that it makes me wanna rip that sweater vest right off!

Chandler: Well, why don't we move this into the bedroom?

Phoebe: Really?

Chandler: Oh, do you not want to?

Phoebe: No. No! It's just y'know first, I wanna take off all my clothes and have you rub lotion on me.

Chandler: (swallowing hard) Well that would be nice. I'll go get the lotion.

[Cut to the bathroom, Chandler is entering.]

Chandler: Listen, this is totally getting out of hand! Okay? She wants me to put lotion on her!

Monica: She's bluffing!

Chandler: Look, she's not backing down! She went like this! (He does a little mimic of her dance.)

[Cut to the hallway where Phoebe is conferring with Rachel.]

Phoebe: He's not backing down. He went to get lotion.

Joey: (entering the hall) Oh man! Aren't you guys done yet?! I wanna sit in my chair!

Rachel: Joey look, just look at it this way, the sooner Phoebe breaks Chandler the sooner this is all over and out in the open.

Joey: Ooh!

Rachel: Okay!

Joey: I like that! (To Phoebe) Oh, okay! Show him your bra! He's afraid of bras! Can't work 'em! (He swiftly rips open the front of Phoebe's dress revealing her bra.)

Phoebe: Joey! (Examining the dress.) Wow, you didn't rip off any buttons.

Joey: It's not my first time.

[Cut to the bathroom.]

Monica: You go back out there and you seduce her till she cracks!

Chandler: Okay, give me a second! (Pause) Did you clean up in here?

Monica: Of course.

[Cut back to the living room. Chandler slowly exits the bathroom and gets pushed from behind by Monica and sees Phoebe closing the apartment door.]

Chandler: Oh, you're-you're going?

Phoebe: Umm, not without you, lover. (She slowly walks over to him and is showcasing her bra.) So, this is my bra.

Chandler: (swallowing hard) It's very, very nice. Well, come here. I'm very were gonna be having all the sex.

Phoebe: You should be. I'm very bendy. (Pause) I'm gonna kiss you now.

Chandler: Not if I kiss you first.

(They move closer to together and Phoebe hesitantly puts her hand on Chandler's hip. He puts his hand on her left hip but then decides to put his hand on her left hip. Phoebe then grabs his butt. Chandler goes for her breast, but stops and puts his hand on her shoulder.)

Phoebe: Ooh.

Chandler: Well, I guess there's nothing left for us to do but-but kiss.

Phoebe: Here it comes. Our first kiss.

(They slowly and hesitantly move their lips together and kiss gently. Phoebe has her eyes wide open in shock and Chandler is squinting. He finally breaks the kiss after only a short while and pushes Phoebe away.)

Chandler: Okay! Okay! Okay! You win! You win!! I can't have sex with ya!

Phoebe: And why not?!

Chandler: Because I'm in love with Monica!!

Phoebe: You're-you're what?!

(Monica comes out of the bathroom like a bolt, and Rachel and Joey both enter.)

Chandler: Love her! That's right, I...LOVE...HER!!! I love her!! (They walk together and hug.) I love you, Monica.

Monica: I love you too Chandler. (They kiss.)

Phoebe: I just—I thought you guys were doing it, I didn't know you were in love!

Joey: Dude!

Chandler: And hats off to Phoebe. Quite a competitor. (Pause) And might I say your breasts are still showing.

Phoebe: God! (She turns and buttons up.)

Joey: All right! So that's it! It's over! Everybody knows!

Monica: Well actually, Ross doesn't.

Chandler: Yes, and we'd appreciate it if no one told him yet.

(Joey suddenly gets very angry.)

Ending Credits

[Scene: Ross's new apartment, he is showing his boss, Dr. Ledbetter his new place and new outlook on life.]

Ross: A new place for a new Ross. I'm gonna have you and all the guys from work over once it's y'know, furnished.

Dr. Ledbetter: I must say it's nice to see you back on your feet.

Ross: Well I am that. And that whole rage thing is definitely behind me.

Dr. Ledbetter: I wonder if its time for you to rejoin our team at the museum?

Ross: Oh Donald that-that would be great. I am totally ready to come back to work. I—What? (He notices something through the window.) No! Wh... What are you doing?!! (Dr. Ledbetter is slowly backing away.) **GET OFF MY SISTER!!!!!!!!!!!!!!**

End

