



Electronic Complaints

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An Empirical Study on British English and German Complaints on eBay



Cover: The subject matter of the present book is COMPLAINTS, the logical structure of which is represented by the model <"Something has happened" and "There has been a controversial reaction to the event">. It addresses two ways of acting which constitute a whole, but which nevertheless oppose each other.

The chosen labyrinth effectively portrays this dialectic model of action with its dualistic forms and structures: the two shifted offset squares with their unique labyrinthine structures form a holistic single unit. Autonomy (accomplishment, complaint), controversy (complaint, criticism, refusal) as well as the holistic communicative act (sequence of action and complaint, linking of texts, intertextuality, interconnected text types) are represented with this artistic labyrinth, which therefore serves as an adequate visual metaphor for the pragmatic subject of this book.

Source of the labyrinth: Ulrich Koch: Labyrinthe. Irrwege, Wirrgärten und Suchbilder und ein Ariadnefaden zum Herausfinden. Mit einem Vorwort von Hans-Peter Niebuhr. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1987, Nr. 31: "Vier Ecken".

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		To my Father

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List of abbreviations

? The reason for complaining could not be identified.

Absolute frequencies

% Relative frequencies

BrE British English

Capitalisation

(words)

Capitalisation of words

Capitalisation

(message)

Capitalisation of the whole message

CMC Computer-mediated communication

CMD Computer-mediated discourse

CofP Community of Practice

CP Cooperative Principle

D "Double complaint", i.e. a user complains for two reasons

at the same time.

D Statis The German Federal Statistics Office and the Statistical Offices of

the Länder

Demonstrative

pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns followed by nouns denoting the

complainee

Ex.m. (single) Single exclamation marks

Ex.m. (repeated) Repetition of exclamation marks

(Item) DIFF Data set: 'Item different than expected', i.e. a user complains

about the fact that the item s/he received was somehow

different than s/he expected it to be.

(Item) DIFF-D Data set: 'Item different, double-complaint', i.e. a user complains about

the fact that the item s/he received was somehow different than s/he

expected it to be, in addition to another reason for

complaining.

FVF Final value fee

G German

(downgrading) downgrading modifiers

Intensifying Intensifying features of CMC used to aggravate the softening

features CMC effect of downgrading modifiers. (downgrading)

(Item) NR Data set: 'Item has never been received', i.e. a user

complains about the fact that s/he has never received the item.

(Item) NR-D Data set: 'Item never received, double complaint', i.e. a user

complains about the fact that s/he has never received the item

in addition to another reason for complaining.

NPBA Non-paying bidder alert

p Probability level

PP Politeness Principle

Pronouns Pronouns referring to the complainee (complainee)

Pronouns Pronouns addressing the eBay community

(eBay community)

Repet. other Repetition of punctuation marks other than exclamation punct. m. Repetition of punctuation marks

T "Triple complaint" i.e. a user complains for the

"Triple complaint", i.e. a user complains for three reasons at the same time

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"The Internet? We are not interested in it" - Bill Gates, 1993 (http://www.quotesandsayings.com/gbillgates.htm)

Despite Bill Gates' lack of interest in the Internet, illustrating his pessimistic prognosis of its acceptance, the World Wide Web nowadays enjoys great popularity as a new means of communication. It has opened up a wide range of possibilities for its users. At the same time though, its usage demands new communicative skills, not only due to the different mode of communication, but also since the Internet connects speakers from a wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

As studies on cross-cultural, intercultural, and interlanguage communication have shown, different cultural norms can result in misunderstandings, communication breakdown, and/or the formation of stereotypes (cf. Clyne et al. 1991; House 1993, 1996a, 1996b, 2000; House and Kasper 1981; Miller 2000; Murphy and Neu 1996; Trosborg 1995; Tyler 1995). However, almost all of these studies have focused on spoken communication only, thus leaving a large research gap as to whether these findings also apply to other language modalities such as writing or "computer-mediated communication (CMC)" (Herring 1996: 1), also known as electronic discourse (cf. Davis and Brewer 1997). The latter is especially worth investigating due to the immense increase in computer usage as well as the large number of culturally different speakers "meeting" every day on the Internet.

Research on CMC started in the 1980s. Since then many studies have focused on describing the diversity of electronic text-types, the particularities of the communicative situations involved, and the specific linguistic features of this rather new language modality (cf. Abbott 2002; Bader 2002; Bays 1998; Bergs 1999; Claridge 2007; Herring 1996; Maynor 1994; Raettig 1999; Siever et al. 2005; Wenz 1998; Werry 1996; Yates 1996). Another branch of CMC research has investigated gender differences and gender asymmetries in online communication (cf. Brail 1996; O'Brian 1999; Brown 2000; Cherny 1994; Cohen 2001; Ess 1996; Gilboa 1996; Hall 1996; Harcourt 2000; Herring 2003, 2004b; Kiesler et al. 1984; Sutton 1994). Additionally, "broader metapragmatic

issues" (Herring et al. 2013: 23), such as code alternation and genre in CMC, have attracted scholarly attention (cf. Androutsopoulos 2013; Androutsopoulos and Hinnekamp 2001; Giltrow 2013; Giltrow and Stein 2009; Goldbarg 2009; Heyd 2008; Paolillo 2011; Siebenhaar 2006). However, the areas of crosscultural pragmatics or speech act analysis have still mainly been neglected. With regard to the latter, it is especially worth looking at complaints in CMC, since the vast spread of the Internet has been accompanied by an ever-growing interest in e-commerce (cf. Albrecht et al. 2007: 708) where this type of speech act is very common, so that the complaining behaviour between sellers and buyers from all over the world has definitely increased. Due to the fact that not only the interlocutor's face, but also financial losses are at stake in business transactions, misunderstanding your trading partner's complaints can be particularly detrimental. It is hence of crucial importance to avoid these misunderstandings, but this can only be achieved if more cross-cultural research provides insight into speakers' cultural norms when complaining.

Faced with the lack of attention to cross-cultural differences in CMC, which is especially important regarding complaining behaviour, the present study wants to contribute to this still undiscovered research area by comparing British English and German complaints in CMC, precisely on eBay.

This study is thus anchored in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics, and the main approach taken is speech-act based. However, as complaints are always embedded in discourse and thereby occur as post-event, the present investigation certainly also takes the contextual factors of the data into account, thus additionally drawing on research from discourse analysis.

The overall aim of this project is a comparison of the British English and German production of computer-mediated complaints and, consequently, a description of similarities and differences, of which the latter may lead to misunderstandings in cross-cultural electronic communicative situations. Specifically, the collected complaints were analysed according to five categories: the use of complaint strategies, the chosen level of directness, the employment of modification, the use of pronouns, and the handling of features

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¹ For differences between British English and German speakers that led to misunderstandings in spoken interactions see, for instance, House and Kasper (1981), Möhl (1996), and Trosborg (1995).

of CMC. In light of these categories, the following research questions guided the investigation.

- 1. Do British and German traders' computer-mediated complaints differ with regard to the five categories of analysis?
- 2. Does the reason for complaining influence their linguistic choices?
- 3. Does it make a difference whether they have one or two reasons for their online complaint?

To find answers to these research questions, British and German complaints were taken from the British and German feedback forum of the online auction house eBay and analysed according to the five categories. The results were then statistically compared. Apart from contributing to research on cross-cultural pragmatics and thereby being relevant for the improvement of cross-cultural communication, this study is significant for research on complaining behaviour as well as for research on CMC. What is more, its findings are also fundamental for the areas of interlanguage research and second language teaching, since knowledge of British and German speakers' communicative norms when complaining in CMC is essential for further in-depth analyses of learners' interlanguage, which will aid the production of effective teaching materials.

The present report is divided into eight chapters, structured as follows. The theoretical background information of the present study is given in Chapter 2 and 3. More precisely, in Chapter 2 important theories regarding complaints within cross-cultural pragmatics are explained. Hence, a brief overview of pragmatics and the key concepts of speech act analyses with focus on complaints is given. This is followed by descriptions of relevant (im)politeness theories and a clarification of important terms related to pragmatics across cultures, i.e. contrastive, cross-cultural, and intercultural pragmatics. Chapter 3, on the other hand, gives a theoretical summary of the chosen modality of communication, namely CMC. Here, CMC is defined, its history briefly presented, and approaches to classifying computer-mediated discourse (CMD) are outlined.

Chapter 4 turns to the methodology of the present study, focusing on its data. Consequently, the chosen database and its contextual features are described. Additionally, the data collection procedures are outlined, the advantages and disadvantages of the present data are discussed, and its statistical analyses are

briefly explained. In Chapter 5 the different categories of analysis are presented. Each category is described and the procedures of data analysis are explained. In Chapter 6 the results of this study are illustrated following the order of the research questions and in Chapter 7 discussed in light of previous research on complaints as well as (im)politeness theories. Last but not least, Chapter 8 concludes this report by pointing at implications of the present results for the improvement of cross-cultural communication and language pedagogy, as well as making suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Complaining within cross-cultural pragmatics

As mentioned in the introduction, the present study is anchored in the field of pragmatics, a rather "young' science" (Mey 1998: 716) which, since its beginnings in the late sixties and early seventies, has not only expanded its scope very rapidly but also become an extremely popular research area.

This chapter begins with a brief description of pragmatics and presents the definition used in this study (2.1.), followed by a characterisation of important pragmatic theories, which are relevant for the present study. These include theories in the field of speech act analysis, which are crucial when dealing with complaints (2.2.). Furthermore, important theories of (im)politeness are explained (2.3.) and relevant terms within the field of pragmatics across cultures are defined (2.4.), which helps to clarify the chosen methodological approach.

2.1. Pragmatics

Since the pragmatic turn in linguistics, many different definitions of pragmatics have been put forward (cf. Crystal 1985: 240; Gass 1997: 20ff.; Reynolds 1995: 5). Although many researchers have referred to Charles Morris's (1938) famous concept of pragmatics as "the study of the relation of signs to interpreters" (Morris 1938: 6), no agreement has been reached so far as to what pragamtics actually is or what it is not.

Regarding the present study, Mey's (1993) definition has been chosen as a working definition. He says, "Pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society" (Mey 1993: 6). His definition illustrates the shift of researchers away from analysing purely linguistic means to also dealing with extralinguistic factors, hence the user's context in society.

These two sides are also represented in Leech's (1983) distinction between the areas of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. Pragmalinguistics is, on the one hand, "the study of the more linguistic end of pragmatics", which means that researchers "consider the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions" (Leech 1983: 11). Examples of such resources are the use of realisation strategies or means of modification.

Sociopragmatics, on the other hand, "is the sociological interface of pragmatics" (Leech 1983: 10). Hence it focuses on the influence of extralinguistic factors on a particular illocution, such as social distance, power relations or the cultural background of the interlocutors. As the present study is concerned with participants of different cultural backgrounds, yet at the same time compares the linguistic means the subjects use in complaining in CMC, this study incorporates both areas of Leech's (1983) concept of pragmatics.

Apart from this, pragmaticians divide their field of research into micro- and macropragmatics (cf. Mey 1993, 1998). As the prefixes indicate, the former is "the study of language in smaller contexts", which has traditionally been understood "as comprising the sentence (and its immediate surroundings)" (Mey 1998: 728). Researchers in this field consequently deal with topics such as speech acts, reference or anaphora. When focusing on macropragmatics, the interest is on "user interaction, in various ways, and in a number of settings" (Mey 1998: 728). Thus conversational analysis, pragmatics across cultures, social aspects of pragmatics, or metapragmatics are research issues here. Although the present study addresses a cultural aspect in a computational environment, the centre of attention is on the speech act of complaining and hence on micropragmatics.

2.2. Speech act analysis

Because this study focuses on complaints, this subchapter turns to relevant theories of speech act analysis. Thus, the basic assumptions of speech act theory are presented (2.2.1.) and a brief description of discourse analysis (2.2.2.), specifically of the integrated model developed by Edmondson (1981) (2.2.2.1.), is given. These concepts are relevant when the focus shifts to the speech act under investigation, complaints (2.2.3.). Reasons for choosing complaints are given (2.2.3.1.) and the nature of complaints are explained (2.2.3.2.).

2.2.1. Speech act theory

Since the beginnings of pragmatics, speech act theory has been one of the most influential theories in this field. Due to its suitability for studies focussing on

language in use, speech act theory has been used as a theoretical approach in many studies (cf. Barron 2003; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; House and Kasper 1981; Möhl 1996; Trosborg 1995) including the present one. Therefore, this subchapter provides a brief overview of its fundamental claims.

The foundations of speech act theory were laid by J. L. Austin, a British professor of philosophy, whose William James Lectures, which he delivered at Harvard University in 1955 and were published posthumously as "How to Do Things with Words" (1962), led to an enormous interest in speech acts. In the following years, speech act theory was highly influenced by his student follower, John Searle, and resulted in linguists turning away from "truth-conditional semantics" (Barron 2003: 11), which was prevalent at that time. The fundamental claim of speech act theory is that speech is action, and hence each sentence a speech act² which is created when "speaker/writer S makes an utterance U to hearer/reader H in context C" (Allan 1998: 927).

Austin (1962) was the first to isolate a hierarchy of acts that are performed simultaneously when speaking (adapted here):

- (1) locutionary act: the uttering of a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference.
- (2) illocutionary act: the performing of utterances which have a certain (conventional) force, such as informing, ordering, warning, undertaking, etc.
- (3) perlocutionary act: the bringing about of effect upon the feelings, thoughts or action of the hearer, audience or other people.

(Austin 1962: 108)

In other words, when producing an utterance, a speaker does not only express something about the world (locution), but at the same time has an intention uttering his words (illocution), which he hopes to have the desired effect on the hearer (perlocution).

Perlocutionary effects have often been neglected by speech act theorists, as it has been argued that they fall outside of linguistics, because they are not part of language per se but instead responses to the illocutions in utterances (cf. Allan 1998: 928). What linguists, however, have looked at closely are the intentions of speakers, namely the illocutionary act. These reveal the way a speaker wants his utterance to be interpreted by a hearer, regardless of the way it is phrased. This is of great importance, since one proposition may occur in different illocutionary

 $^{^2}$ The notions of 'spoken' and 'speaking' also properly include writing for simplicity of exposition.