

Concept-based Pragmatics Instruction: Teaching German Address Pronouns to New Zealand Tertiary Students

Marie-Christin Kuepper and Anne Feryok

Abstract

This article presents parts of a replication study on the development of sociopragmatic capacity in beginner and intermediate university students' understanding of German singular address pronouns (du/Sie) through concept-based pragmatics instruction (CBPI). The CBPI intervention consisted of six group sessions with a pre-test – instruction – post-test design. While minor inter-level differences exist, all participants in the intervention exhibited enhanced sociopragmatic capacity. Participants demonstrated a shift from rule-of-thumb-based thinking to a focus on the meaning potential of utterances. By appropriating sociopragmatic concepts through CBPI, learners also gained an understanding of their own agency in the meaning design of address pronouns as well as the consequences of creating particular meanings.

KEYWORDS: SOCIOCULTURAL THEORY, CBPI, SOCIOPRAGMATIC CAPACITY, SECOND LANGUAGE PRAGMATICS, GERMAN ADDRESS PRONOUNS

1. Introduction

Second language (L2) learners can be challenged by pragmatic variability in T/V pronouns (Brown and Gilman, 1960) in European languages (e.g., French: *tu/vous*, German: *du/Sie*, etc.), especially when a first language (L1), such as English, lacks a similar distinction (Belz and Kinginger, 2003). Kasper and Rose (2001) point out 'it is one thing to teach people what functions bits

Affiliation

University of Otago, Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand.
email: anne.feryok@otago.ac.nz (corresponding author)

of language serve, but it is entirely different to teach people how to behave “properly”. Recent concept-based pragmatics instruction (CBPI) studies have successfully fostered learners’ L2 development regarding T/V pronouns (van Compernelle and Henery, 2014; van Compernelle, Weber, and Gomez-Laich, 2016). The study reported here aimed at adding to existing evidence of the effectiveness of CBPI by replicating and extending van Compernelle and colleagues’ (2014, 2016) studies to the instruction of German T/V pronouns to New Zealand university beginner and intermediate students.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Pragmatics, L2 Pragmatics, and Second Language Acquisition

Pragmatics has been defined as ‘the study of how utterances have meanings in situations’ (Leech, 1983: x). Leech’s model included how communicative goals and principles are realized through pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. Pragmalinguistics comprises knowledge of grammatical resources and conventional linguistic means through which speakers achieve social actions. Sociopragmatics comprises knowledge of conventional social behaviour under local conditions and the consequences for speakers of following or disregarding such conventions (Leech, 1983).

This user-based perspective fits first language pragmatics as well as comparative studies of interlanguage pragmatics. However, studies of use differ from studies of learning (Kasper, 1992). Bardovi-Harlig (2013) notes the tension between pragmatics research focusing on the authentic, consequential use of language collected in natural conversations and the mainstream SLA research focus on acquisitional (and often instructional) processes collected through instruments and conditions that allow variables to be controlled. She uses *L2 pragmatics* to denote research ‘devoted exclusively to the development of the L2 pragmatic system’ (69), which has led to various tasks that are more or less faithful to natural conversations, and more or less offer evidence of explicit and implicit pragmatic knowledge and their relationship. Explicit or declarative knowledge is conscious; it contrasts with implicit or procedural knowledge, which is tacit or intuitive (Ellis, 2009). Explicit knowledge has been ‘largely overlooked’ (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013: 73) in comparison to implicit knowledge in L2 pragmatics, although this has been changing.

Explicit knowledge has not been overlooked in other areas of SLA, particularly instructed SLA. One ‘mainstream’ position is that engaging in communicative activity stimulates implicit cognitive processes, which do not involve awareness, and leads to acquisition, and that explicit knowledge, which does involve awareness and can be deliberately taught and learnt, facilitates those implicit processes (N. C. Ellis, 2005; R. Ellis, 2009; DeKeyser, 2015). N. Ellis described how explicit memories seed exemplars on which implicit learning

processes can operate. Suzuki and DeKeyser (2017) argued that learners with automatized explicit knowledge process language more quickly and more accurately, which influence implicit learning processes. In SCT, Lantolf and Poehner (2014) argue that implicit knowledge develops simultaneously as procedural memories of language use develop. It is also assumed that adults learn more efficiently and effectively through explicit learning because it is the preferred learning process of adults, which is reinforced by schooling. Lantolf and Poehner, N. C. Ellis, R. Ellis, and Suzuki and DeKeyser all draw on Paradis (2009) for their accounts of how proceduralized explicit knowledge influences implicit knowledge. This topic is considered in more detail below using Gal'perin (1992a,b), which helps deal with Bardovi-Harlig's (2013) concern and has implications for teaching German address pronouns, the feature addressed in this study.

2.2. English and German Address Pronouns

Modern Standard English uses a single pronoun (*you*) to express the same functions that are encoded in T/V pronouns in other languages (Dewaele, 2004; Norrby and Warren, 2012), which 'obscures [the] potential distinctions both of number and of social status' (Wales, 1996: 73) for English NSs, who do not need to attend to such factors so obviously or frequently (Besch, 1998). In contrast, in Standard High German (which is typically taught in L2 classrooms, and is hereafter referred to as German), the T (*du*) and V (*Sie*) forms allow 'speakers to both refer to an interlocutor and to define social relationships' (Liebscher, Dailey-O'Cain, Müller, and Reichert, 2010: 377). This complexity presents a challenge to English NS learners of German (Belz and Kinginger, 2003), which is exacerbated by regional and national variation in German (Clyne, 1984; Kretzenbacher, Clyne, and Schüpbach, 2006).

The contemporary *du/Sie* dyad arguably is characterized by two competing address systems: the traditional formality/intimacy system, and the solidarity/distance system that arose in the 1960s/1970s (Besch, 1998). The formality/intimacy system originates in the assumption of deference, where V is the unmarked address form indicating formality, and T is the marked address form indicating intimacy. The solidarity/distance system originates in the assumption of solidarity, where T is the unmarked address form expressing solidarity and group membership, and V is the marked address form expressing social or ideological distance and status differences.

The existence of two separate systems frequently leads to misunderstandings and uncertainties about T/V choices (Barron, 2006; Bayer, 1997; Besch, 1998; Norrby and Warren, 2012). In situations where both systems are employed or where interlocutors favour different systems, semantic and sociopragmatic ambiguity may result in pronoun choices that may interrupt the flow of interaction or even cause offense (Belz and Kinginger, 2003). For

example, a speaker favouring the formality/intimacy system may offer the V form to indicate deference and formality; however, if the interlocutor favours the solidarity/distance system, this form may seem insulting and be perceived as an exclusion from a particular group (Belz and Kinginger, 2003).

More generally, German T/V forms depend on the degree of formality, solidarity/distance, and social/hierarchical difference between interlocutors in any given situation (Bayer, 1997). Sociocultural factors that help determine pronoun choices include gender, age, occupation, appearance, social background, and political or ideological views of the interlocutors; situational factors include the intent, duration, and place of the current interaction (Belz and Kinginger, 2003; Braun, 1988; Clyne, 1984). It is common to employ address reciprocity among adults (Barron, 2006) and to display sensitivity to conditions for pronoun switching (V to T) (Hickey, 2003).

2.3. Second Language Pragmatics Instruction

Studies have shown that different types of pragmatics instruction can be useful and that pragmalinguistics has been more researched than sociopragmatics (Alcón Soler and Martínez-Flor, 2008) – although this has been changing. One instructional distinction is between implicit instruction aimed at acquiring rules without awareness (i.e., implicit knowledge) through exposure to exemplars, and explicit instruction aimed at intentionally developing metalinguistic awareness of a rule (i.e., explicit knowledge), whether done deductively, based on a rule, or inductively, based on exemplars (Ellis, 2009). A number of studies have shown that explicit instruction is more effective than implicit instruction (e.g., Ishihara, 2010; Rose, 2005; Taguchi, 2015; Takahashi, 2010), especially for sociopragmatic awareness. An interesting study using a Vygotskian microgenetic approach by Belz and Kinginger (2003) showed how L2 German learners improved their use of *du* in a telecollaboration project with L1 German speakers. The project involved multiple opportunities to participate in different types of natural electronic discourse, including conversational exposure and direct peer instruction in *du*. Despite L1 German speakers sometimes providing ‘fragmentary and contradictory rules’ (630), Belz and Kinginger noted that it was not rules, but peer assistance in situations with social consequences that made the difference to learning.

2.4. German Address Pronouns in Second Language Teaching and Learning Contexts

L2 learners of German are typically presented with limited rules for using address pronouns, such as using the informal *du* with people addressed by their first name, including friends, family, and children and using the formal *Sie* with people addressed by their title and surname or strangers (Scriven,

2011). These rules can be conflicting, for example when meeting a friend's friend who is unknown. Learners may be caught between using the 'stranger *Sie*' rule since the person is unknown or using the 'friend *du*' rule to show their willingness to know the person better.

German grammars and textbooks frequently provide students with a 'safe choice' rule of using *Sie* when in doubt to avoid offending interlocutors (Scriven, 2011). Although the V form is typically identified as the polite form (Brown and Gilman, 1960), Engel (1988) notes that in German the T form can be polite and the V form can be impolite. Neither sociopragmatic rules of thumb (van Compernelle, 2011b), much less pragmalinguistic rules of thumb, support the nuanced interpretations required for appropriately using German address forms (Belz and Kinginger, 2002, 2003).

2.5. Concept-based Instruction

An alternative to rules of thumb, whether pragmatic or grammatical, is concept-based pragmatics instruction (CBPI), an approach to explicit instruction based on the developmental principles of sociocultural theory. It is grounded in Vygotsky's (1986) distinction between spontaneous and scientific concepts, which Lantolf and Poehner (2014) argue respectively map onto implicit knowledge/procedural memory and explicit knowledge/declarative memory, and its expansion in concept-based pedagogy (e.g., Gal'perin, 1992a, 1992b). Vygotsky (1986) described spontaneous concepts as supplying unsystematic representations developed through everyday exposure and use, and scientific abstract concepts typical of formal and planned education as providing systematically related structures. Ideally, spontaneous concepts develop enough to support learning scientific concepts, and scientific concepts are used with sufficient regularity to be fluently accessed.

The idea that learning could be enhanced by systematically understanding and using concepts is based on Gal'perin's (1992b) orienting activity, a stepwise procedure for forming a mental action, which is aimed at avoiding both trial-and-error problem-solving and rote memorization of concepts and rules. This procedure is conceptualized as three processes: orientation, execution, and control (Gal'perin, 1992b). Orientation is representing the problem and possible actions, summarized in an orienting chart (such as a decision-making tree or a graphic schema or even through use of physical objects such as Cuisenaire rods), and involves understanding concepts and evaluating their possible application under specific conditions. Execution is planning for, and practising, the use of the concepts to perform actions or solve problems. Control is developed by initially using concepts to guide actions with reference to the orienting chart, and describing these actions vocally to others through 'communicated thinking' (Haenen, 2001: 163) and then to the self,

first vocally and then subvocally, in ‘dialogic thinking’ (Haenen, 2001: 163), so that they ‘fuse into a continuous flux’ (Gal’perin, 1992b, 62) – they become internalized (Gal’perin, 1992a). In foreign language learning, this procedure helps learners overcome entrenched L1 concepts by enabling them to deliberately think through L2 concepts (see Swain, 2006) and how they apply to a meaning-making situation (Gal’perin, 1992a).

An orienting basis for teaching address forms in French was developed by van Compernelle (2014). It is based on Silverstein’s orders of indexicality, which dialectically relates macrolevel categories of normative values with microlevel contextualized language choices. Briefly, Silverstein argued that pragmatic choices are balanced between their assumed appropriateness to a context (based on existing ideologies about identity) and all individual – and potentially idiosyncratic – expressions of identity that are actually made. A first order linguistic feature indexes someone as a member of a group. This index can be construed as having a second order social evaluation, which speakers can purposefully use to position themselves. This evaluation in turn can be re-construed with a different third order evaluation – and so on. The different possibilities form an indexical field in which different meanings, based on general social values and specific contextual cues, can be implied and inferred by interlocutors to present their identities in relationship to each other. Because social norms and actual choices are dialectically related, each person’s actual choices can make a difference to the field itself, creating change while expressing agency (Eckert, 2008). Because indexical orders provides a framework for understanding the relationship between a pragmalinguistic form and its sociopragmatic meaning that transfers across features, languages, and cultures, it suits CBPI.

Concepts such as self-representation, social distance, and relative status/power offer a systematic means for learners to select among the indexical meaning potentials of pragmalinguistic forms. They form an orienting basis for developing a sociopragmatic capacity: understanding the conventions and possibilities of a language and being able to make meaning (van Compernelle, 2014). Learners practice through meaningful interaction with knowledgeable speakers of the target language, including ‘corrective feedback and explicit explanation’ (Taguchi, 2010: 350; see also Barron, 2006; Belz and Kinginger, 2003; Taguchi, 2015a, 2015b).

3. Methods

3.1. Rationale

The current study is based on a larger mixed methods study (Kuepper, 2017) that aimed to analyse the development of participants’ sociopragmatic capacity. The study replicated van Compernelle and colleagues’ (2014, 2016)

research, but differed in the target language, German, and was expanded to include two instructional levels. The research question is:

- (1) How does CBPI lead to enhanced sociopragmatic capacity at two instructional levels?

3.2.Participants

Learner participants were recruited through the German teaching staff in the language department at the University of Otago. All participants ranked their current level of German using criteria from the common European framework of reference for languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001).¹ Eight beginners (aged 17 to 20) and four intermediates (aged 19 to 20) participated. All participants were raised in New Zealand, with English as their L1 and the primary language spoken at home. All but one, Amy, who reported learning Māori during her childhood, identified as monolingual. Among the beginners, only Tui, Elena, and Nina reported having had some exposure to the language outside of a formal classroom setting² in the year preceding this study. All four intermediates reported having had considerable exposure to the language outside of a formal classroom setting in the 3 years preceding the study. Tables 1 and 2 display further information about the participants.

Table 1. Additional information about the beginners.

Pseudonym	Gender	Previous study at secondary level	Previous study at tertiary level	Time spent travelling in a German native-speaking country
Jared	Male	N/A	N/A	N/A
Brian	Male	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mitch	Male	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tui	Female	N/A	N/A	3 weeks, Germany
Olivia	Female	N/A	N/A	N/A
Elena	Female	N/A	N/A	2 months, Germany/ Austria
Amy	Female	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nina	Female	N/A	N/A	3 weeks, Switzerland

3.3. Intervention: Enrichment Programme

Tasks and materials were adapted from van Compernelle and colleagues (2014, 2016). This study differs from previous CBPI studies given that it was designed as a dedicated enrichment programme in addition to usual classes. The beginners and intermediates participated in separate enrichment programmes.

Table 2. Additional information about the intermediates.

Pseudonym	Gender	Previous study at secondary level	Previous study at tertiary level	Time spent travelling/ working* in a German native-speaking country
Soraya	Female	5 years	2 years	2 months, Germany
Lisa	Female	4½ years	N/A	3 weeks, Switzerland 3 months, Germany
Charlie	Gender fluid	N/A	½ year	5 months, Germany
Luisa	Female	N/A	1 year	8 months, Germany*

Session one of the intervention ascertained students' knowledge of German T/V pronouns prior to CBPI; students completed appropriateness judgement tasks (AJT), a language awareness questionnaire (LAQ), two strategic interaction scenarios (SIS) for the intermediates, and a written discourse completion task (W-DCT) for the beginners. The beginners completed W-DCTs because SISs were likely beyond beginners' capabilities; W-DCTs can illustrate students' beliefs about, orientation to, judgements, and performances of language use (van Compernelle *et al.*, 2016).

Sessions two to five comprised the instructional phase of the enrichment programme. During this period students were introduced to the concepts through pedagogical explanations and diagrams and engaged in different learning tasks. Session six (post-enrichment) mirrored session one to enable a direct comparison of students' pre- and post-intervention knowledge and performances. Students completed the same AJT and LAQ, a post-enrichment W-DCT (beginners) and two further SISs (intermediates). Upon completing the intervention, students were invited to complete a brief feedback survey. An optional delayed post-test was conducted four weeks after the intervention, comprising the question, What do you know about the German address pronouns *du* and *Sie* in terms of how you decide which pronoun to use and what it means to use them? This test was optional as it coincided with students' end-of-semester exams and holidays.

3.4. Tasks and coding

The LAQ was intended to reveal students' explicit, metapragmatic, knowledge of the German T/V system through four open-ended questions (van Compernelle, 2014): (1) Can you describe the differences between the pronouns *du* and *Sie*? (2) How do you decide which pronoun to use? Are there certain fac-

tors, rules, or concepts that guide your choice? (3) What does it mean when someone says *Sie* to you? And when you say *Sie* to someone? (4) What does it mean when someone says *du* to you? And when you say *du* to someone?

Following van Compernelle, Weber and Gomez-Laich (2016), participants' responses in each LAQ were combined into a single unit of analysis and scored on a four-point Likert scale (0 to 3) according to features within three categories. The category *awareness of concepts* comprises self-representation, social distance, and relative status/power. The category *type of awareness* comprises semantic, functional, and recontextualizable awareness. Intention and consequence comprise the *agency* category. The presence of categories was scored 0–3, with 0 indicating the feature was absent and 3 indicating it was central. For recontextualization, 0 indicated a response was context-specific and 3 that it was applicable to other contexts.

The AJT focused on evaluating the relevance of explicit knowledge to situations, using eight scenarios to explore the possible ways that sociopragmatic concepts (self-representation/(in)formality, social distance, and relative status/power) manifest in communicative activity (van Compernelle, 2014). Participants indicated which pronoun they would use and expect to receive, and were asked to explain their choices. Pronoun choices ranged from straightforward to ambiguous, as specified below:

1. Informal/close/equal: straightforward (T/T)
2. Formal/distant/unequal: straightforward (V/V)
3. Informal/distant/unequal: relatively straightforward (V/V)
4. Formal/close/equal: relatively straightforward (T/T)
5. Informal/distant/equal: ambiguous (T/T, or V/V)
6. Formal/distant/equal: ambiguous (T/T, or V/V)
7. Informal/close/unequal: ambiguous (T/T, V/V, or asymmetrical pronouns)
8. Formal/close/unequal: ambiguous (T/T, V/V, or asymmetrical pronouns)

Each response was coded for the pronouns the participants would use and expect to receive: T/T (reciprocal *du*), V/V (reciprocal *Sie*), T/V (use *du*, receive *Sie*), and V/T (use *Sie*, receive *du*). NO was assigned where participants failed to select a pronoun; DNC indicated that participants failed to complete the corresponding scenario. Explanations were analysed for the factors German NSs are known to attend to when making pronoun choices, for the motives underlying the New Zealand participants' choices, and for any changes in the participants' choices over the study. Where participants' explanations expanded beyond their pronoun selection, a superscript + was added

(e.g., V/V⁺: The participant selected V/V, but explained why V/V or T/T could be appropriate).

The SISs were designed to support students' growing awareness of, and control over, pragmalinguistic features. SISs were presented in sets of two: an informal scenario, lacking social distance or power differences (T), and a formal scenario, involving social distance and power differences (V). Participants individually prepared their performances based on three planning questions and subsequently 'performed' each scenario in pairs using Google Hangouts: (1) In your opinion what is an appropriate or desired way to present yourself in each scenario? (2) What do you think about the relationship between the two people in each scenario? (3) How can the language you use (particularly specific address pronouns) help to show how you want to present yourself and help to illustrate the relationship between the two people in each scenario? Students' plans were coded according to which pronoun they planned to use (T: *du*, V: *Sie*) (cf. van Compernelle and Henery, 2014). If a student also mentioned a pronoun they expected to receive, this was coded accordingly (e.g., T/T: reciprocal *du*). Pronouns used throughout the conversation were counted.

The beginners' W-DCTs facilitated participants' pragmalinguistic control in written performances. Both W-DCTs included eight identical scenarios with slight expansions on the post-enrichment W-DCT, designed according to the categories outlined above. Beginners had the same planning questions that intermediates had for the SISs, but were asked to compose simple phrases in German. Each requested speech act was aligned with the students' textbook to ensure that they were familiar with the vocabulary and situations. Subsequently, participants were asked to explain their responses and pronoun choices in English. These were coded for the presence of T and/or V in students' responses. Explanations were analysed for German NS factors, participant motives, and any changes, and superscript abbreviations were used for expanded explanations (e.g., T^{V-T}: *du* is used, but the explanation outlines why either pronoun would work).

3.5. Analysis

To ensure authenticity, source and method triangulation was employed (Dörnyei, 2007), with data collected from different participant groups through different tasks. Data were analysed comparatively within and across individual participants and participant groups. To reduce researcher bias (Dörnyei, 2007), interrater reliability was employed for data coding (particularly the LAQs), and for the interpretation of findings. The authors collaboratively coded and then rated a quarter of all pre-enrichment responses to reach consensus. All other responses were then independently coded and compared.

There was 76.56% agreement between ratings. Most discrepancies (84.44%) were one level apart, with 15.56% of all discrepancies being two levels apart due to different understandings of the categories and features, which were resolved through discussion.

4. Findings

This section presents findings on the participants’ development of sociopragmatic capacity through CBPI (see Kuepper, 2017, for further details).

4.1. Sociopragmatic Knowledge

Students’ LAQ scores increased from pre- to post-enrichment. Regardless of instructional level and previous knowledge, participants developed a common, in-depth, understanding of how to make T/V choices in German. The results of the post-testing, although limited, suggest that awareness at both instructional levels remained stable following the intervention (see Figures 1 and 2).

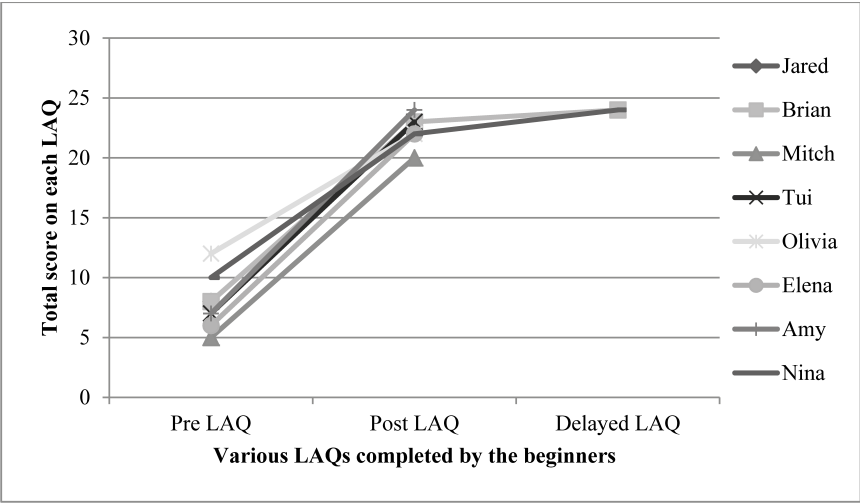


Figure 1. Overall individual LAQ scores, beginners.

The responses also demonstrate a shift in orientation to, and awareness of, T/V usage: Pre-enrichment, students portrayed a limited understanding, often relying on concrete examples and rules-of-thumb; post-enrichment, students’ orientation shifted to focusing on the meaning potential of T/V pronouns.

Brian, a beginner (see Table 3), was chosen to exemplify students’ development because he completed all three LAQs. He gained eight points on the

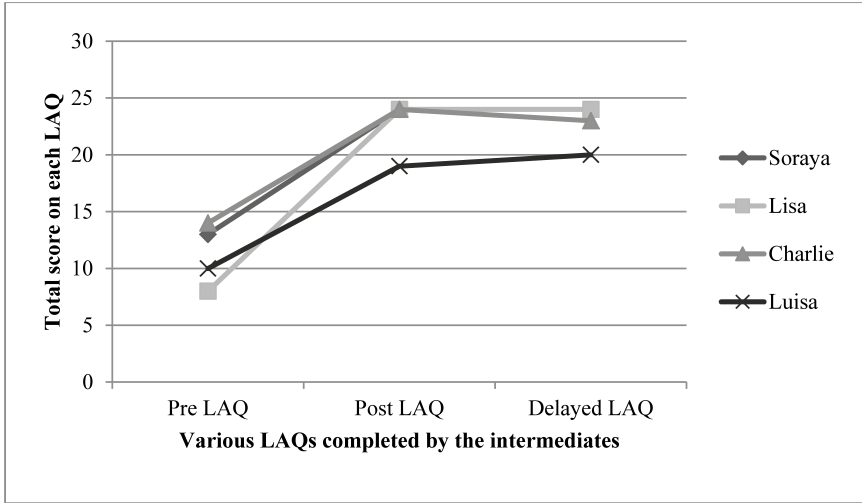


Figure 2. Overall individual LAQ scores, intermediates.

pre-enrichment LAQ, 23 on the post-enrichment LAQ, and 24 on the delayed post-test LAQ. Pre-enrichment, Brian relied on rules-of-thumb about formality and social distance. He lacked agency, describing *du* and *Sie* to be determined by the context of an interaction.

Brian's post-enrichment response was quantitatively longer and qualitatively richer. His understanding of T/V pronouns demonstrated controlled awareness of the full meaning potential of *du* and *Sie*. Nonetheless, Brian displayed a tendency to 'stick to whatever pronoun I've used in the past', and failed to provide a complete answer to question (4), so that his understanding was judged to be not entirely recontextualizable. Between the intervention and delayed post-testing, Brian was able to consolidate his understanding.

Comparing the pre- and post-enrichment AJTs provides further evidence that CBPI leads to enhanced sociopragmatic knowledge. Table 4 shows group totals organized according to students' selections of expected 'use' and 'receive' pronoun combinations. The principal quantitative finding is greater reciprocity or symmetry of address, particularly in scenarios 4, 2, and 8, involving power differences. Pre-enrichment, students opted to use *Sie* but receive *du* in these situations, emphasizing power differences. Post-enrichment, students chose to downplay power hierarchies, selecting T/T to create social closeness or V/V to maintain a polite, professional distance. Another quantitative finding is higher agreement with NS norms, illustrating greater understanding of the cultural norms surrounding T/V choices.

Table 3. Example of individual LAQ pre- and post-test scores, Brian, a beginner

LAQ Questions	Pre-Enrichment LAQ	Post-Enrichment LAQ	Delayed Post-Test LAQ
	<p>- <i>du</i>: translates to 'you'. To be used informally with someone you know or are comfortable talking to.</p> <p>- <i>Sie</i>: also translates to 'you'. Is either a collective use (i.e. when talking to two or more people), or in a formal, one-on-one context, e.g. talking to someone respected like a teacher, the Prime Minister, maybe even a priest etc.</p> <p>Context – dependent on the context of conversation. I would use <i>Sie</i> in a more formal setting such as a meeting or interview, or <i>du</i> when talking to a friend.</p>	<p>- <i>du</i>: Obviously means 'you', singular; to be used with someone you are comfortable talking with, in a relatively relaxed, informal context; or can be used with someone you don't yet know but would like to know better</p> <p>- <i>Sie</i>: Again: 'you', singular; can be used in more of a formal, respectful manner. For example with a boss, maybe a judge, or someone you don't know outside of a formal/working context</p>	<p>Using <i>du</i> or <i>Sie</i> is all about the relationship you have with the person you're talking to (or the relationship you want to have), rather than the context of the situation you are in. As a general rule there are three things we can think about if we were to find ourselves stressing about which pronoun to use with a person you're about to meet.</p> <p>1) Self-representation (sweatpants and shirt vs. suit and tie): If I want to present myself casually, informally and in a friendly, easy-going manner then I'm more likely to use <i>du</i>. However, if I want to present myself to the person I'm speaking to as a serious, formal dude then I'd use <i>Sie</i>.</p> <p>2) Social distance: Here I think about how well I already know the person. If I know them well, then I'd use the pronoun I've used with them in the past (most likely <i>du</i>). If I don't know them well and probably won't get to know them better then I'd use <i>Sie</i>, but if there's a possibility of us having lots to do with each other in future then I might consider using <i>du</i> to show my intention of getting along with them in future.</p> <p>3) Power hierarchy: is the relationship between you and the other person equal or unequal? If it's equal, use reciprocal <i>du/Sie</i>. Otherwise it depends on what end of the hierarchy you're at. If you're below, use <i>Sie</i>, if you're looking down on someone (in a position of more power), you could use <i>du</i>. Probably wouldn't though cause that's not cool.</p> <p>When there's no time to run through these little rules, just go with the gut instinct and she'll be right.</p>
1			
2			
3	<p>Either that they don't know me or are addressing me formally. Same the other way.</p>	<p>That the person using <i>Sie</i> is being quite respectful and leaning more towards formal rather than casual speech. They also are indicating that there probably is some form of social distance between us and that they are happy with that relationship as it is. Reciprocal <i>Sie</i> indicates mutual respect and equality. If I use <i>du</i> and they use <i>Sie</i> (or vice versa), then the person using <i>du</i> is being either quite rude and disrespectful or they believe they are above you in some way, whereas the person using <i>Sie</i> is just being respectful.</p>	
4	<p>Indicates a level of comfortableness. Saying <i>du</i> indicates that someone regards you as a friend or someone they know well enough to be informal.</p>	<p>That the person using <i>du</i> is comfortable talking to you and are quite casual, open, and friendly. That they are comfortable in your friendship. If someone says <i>du</i> to me then I would use if for them as well.</p>	
<p>Note: In Figure 1, Jared's line is obscured by Brian's for the pre- and post-enrichment LAQs, since both participants gained identical scores (i.e., 8 and 23 respectively).</p>			

Table 4. Pronouns selected by NNSs in the AJTs.

Scenarios Level Number		Pre-enrichment (Beg. $n=8$; Int. $n=4$)									
		T/T		V/T		V/V		V/NO		DNC	
		Beg.	Int.	Beg.	Int.	Beg.	Int.	Beg.	Int.	Beg.	Int.
Straightforward	5	8	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1	-	-	-	-	7	4	1	-	-	-
Relatively Straightforward	4	-	-	3	-	4	4	1	-	-	-
	3	7	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Ambiguous	7	4 (1)	2	1	-	1	1 (1)	-	-	1	-
	6	3 (1)	3	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	-
	2	6	-	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
	8	(1)	-	2 (1)	2	3	2	-	-	1	-
Scenarios Level Number		Post-enrichment (Beg. $n=8$; Int. $n=4$)									
		T/T			V/V			DNC			
		Beg.		Int.	Beg.		Int.	Beg.		Int.	
Straightforward	5	8		4		-		-		-	
	1	-		-		8		4		-	
Relatively Straightforward	4	1		-		7		4		-	
	3	8		4		-		-		-	
Ambiguous	7	7 (1)		3 (1)		-		-		-	
	6	5		4		3		-		-	
	2	5		2		2		2		(1)	
	8	5		-		3		4		-	

Note: Numbers in parentheses represent explanations outlining the possibility of two pronouns combinations, coded as (selection).

Regardless of whether their pronoun selections changed, post-enrichment the participants were better able to use conceptual knowledge to justify their choices. Three examples illustrate students' development for each level of difficulty (i.e., straightforward, relatively straightforward, ambiguous).

Scenario 5 involves an informal interaction with a friend. Initially, Tui reacted to the situation by relying on a rule-of-thumb (i.e., friend = T). Post-

enrichment, despite choosing the same pronouns, her understanding of the potential meanings and social implications of using *T* had changed. Interestingly, Tui's pre-enrichment explanation was in the third person, but post-enrichment explanation was in the first person, suggesting a deeper understanding of herself as an active agent who creates meaning.

Pre-enrichment: They are both good friends so it would be expected to use *du* for either of them. (T/T)

Post-enrichment: I want to present myself as informal, casual, excited to hang out with Tina. There is no social distance as we are good friends and have known each other for a while. There is no power hierarchy, we are equal. (T/T)

Scenario 4 describes a relationship characterised by social distance and a hierarchy difference in an informal setting. Elena's pre-enrichment response illustrates a common misunderstanding among the beginners: judging interlocutors according to different standards by using two rules-of-thumb ('stranger *V*', and 'informal *T*') even though the same factors apply to both interlocutors since pronouns define the relationship *between* them (Liebscher *et al.*, 2010). Post-enrichment, Elena's response emphasized social distance over informality to accomplish her intentions for the relationship, illustrating a resolution of her misunderstanding.

Pre-enrichment: I would use *Sie* as I do not know them personally and they would use *du* as it is not a formal situation. (V/T)

Post-enrichment: I would use *Sie* as it is a casual setting, however, social distance is very large. I have no intention of becoming closer with the store manager. I would expect *Sie* back as we are both adults and all the reasons above. Power hierarchy is still very similar, so using *Sie* would be appropriate. (V/V)

Scenario 6 describes an interaction with an unknown person of a similar age in a formal context. Although citing the 'stranger' and 'formality' rules-of-thumb, Soraya actually displayed some agency in her pre-enrichment choice, which represents the intermediates' greater awareness of agency compared to the beginners. Post-enrichment, her choices and reasoning remained largely unchanged, but more clearly guided by sociopragmatic sub-concepts.

Pre-enrichment: I would use *du* as although they are a stranger and it's a formal event, I would want the conversation to be relaxed and informal. (T/T)

Post-enrichment: Although the context is formal, I would expect reciprocal *du* as I would want to present myself as a friend. I would want to break down the social distance, especially as there's no power difference. (T/T)

4.2. Performance ability

First the beginners' data (W-DCTs) are presented, then the intermediates (SISs). Among the beginners (see Table 5), one important change is their increased use of the target language: Pre-enrichment, students composed short tag questions, and a few students added a greeting, such as *Guten Tag* [Good day]. Post-enrichment, students greeted their interlocutors and asked further questions, with many students adding more than just the required speech acts.

Participants also demonstrated increased awareness of the kind of pronoun they were using, with fewer responses coded as NO or DNC. Pre-enrichment, each scenario required students to greet someone. However, in their university classes students had only learned a very informal greeting without any pronouns. Despite explaining and providing two possible greetings with T and V respectively, many failed to use either pronoun by defaulting to *Wie geht's?* ('How's things?'), demonstrating their lack of control of T/V pronouns. Post-enrichment, the majority of responses included either T or V, illustrating that students had become aware of T/V pronouns and their use.

Participants' responses also illustrated a decrease in disagreements between intentions in explanations and actual performances (cf. superscript coding). These discrepancies generally arose from participants' uncertainties about how to make pronoun choices, especially for pronoun switching. Contrary to the pre-enrichment data, no post-enrichment explanation outlined a pronoun switch.

Three examples illustrate students' development for each level of difficulty.

Scenario 3 describes a relationship characterized by social distance and a hierarchy difference in a formal setting. Olivia's pre-enrichment response illustrates how participants assumed that pronouns index actions and vary among interactions or even within an interaction. Olivia's post-enrichment response indicates an awareness of the meaning potential of V in terms of social distance and hierarchy differences.

Pre-enrichment: He is a work superior, and I don't know him. If I was accepting, perhaps I would switch to *du* as the conversation developed. (V^s)

Post-enrichment: At this point I would still use *Sie*, because he is one of my superiors and I don't know him, but I would make sure I sounded friendly so that my use of pronoun didn't sound like I was trying to avoid decreasing social distance. (V)

It appears that Olivia chose *Sie* because of the social hierarchy and unfamiliarity, but wanted to show her friendliness in her tone of voice to signal her willingness to get her work superior better.

Table 5. Pronouns employed by the beginners in the W-DCTs.

Coding	Straightforward				Relatively straightforward			
	Scenario 6		Scenario 3		Scenario 4		Scenario 7	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
T	6	6	-	3	-	-	6	8
V	-	-	5	4	6	7	-	-
V ^s	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
NO ^T	2	2	1	-	-	-	2	-
NO ^V	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-
Coding	Ambiguous							
	Scenario 1		Scenario 5		Scenario 8		Scenario 2	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
T	-	1	3	4	2	6	1	5
T ^{V-T}	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
V	6	7	2	4	1	1	3	2
V ^s	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
V-T ^T	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
NO ^T	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
NO ^V	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
NO ^s	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	-
DNC ^{V-T}	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

Scenario 7 involves a formal interaction with a friend. Pre-enrichment, Elena relied on the ‘friendship’ rule-of-thumb, mentioned that T would have been ‘established’, and displayed little agency. Although Elena’s pronoun choice remained unchanged, her post-enrichment explanation demonstrated her awareness of sociopragmatic sub-concepts.

Pre-enrichment: As Nicole is a friend, *du* can be used instead of *Sie* as it would have been established that the *du* form is alright to speak in. (T)

Post-enrichment: The *du* form is used because Nicole is a good friend of mine, we are close and of equal status at a casual, relaxed event. (T)

Scenario 1 describes an informal interaction with someone unknown of equal status. Mitch’s responses shift from uncertainty about the T/V system to conceptually informed pronoun choices. Although choosing the less conventional pronoun, T, he based his post-enrichment choice on his intentions to index aspects of his social identity in the given context despite the social distance, thus displaying agency in his usage of T/V pronouns.

Pre-enrichment: This (Wie geht’s?) is the way we have been taught to ask after each other so far. We learnt this to ask our classmates which indicates it is probably informal. I would use *Sie*. (NO^v)

Post-enrichment: I want to present myself in a relaxed manner. This is an informal situation, we are both adults and there is a lot of social distance. Using *du* enables the desired perception. (T)

Regarding the intermediates’ SISs, the qualitative findings were more striking than the quantitative ones (see Table 6). The performance data for the informal SISs indicate little change between pre- and post-enrichment. Despite the ambiguity and increased difficulty of the formal SISs, students showed no deviation from their plans. Overall, students’ performance abilities were consistently controlled by their orientation to the scenarios. Although their choices and usage remained largely unchanged, the performance plans are evidence that the students’ understanding of pronoun meanings and their social implications had become conceptually mediated.

Table 6. Intermediates’ T/V usage in the SISs.

Informal SISs								
Group	Students	Pre-enrichment (Scenario 1)			Post-enrichment (Scenario 7)			
		Plan	T	V	Plan	T	V	
A	Soraya	T	5	-	T/T	3	-	
	Lisa	T	3	-	T/T	4	-	
B	Charlie	T	6	1	T/T	4	-	
	Luisa	T	2	-	T	1	-	
	Totals		16	1		12	-	
Formal SISs								
Group	Students (pre-role/post-role)	Pre-enrichment (Scenario 2)			Post-enrichment (Scenario 8)			
		Plan	T	V	Plan	T	V	

A	Soraya (student/director)	V	-	2	V/V	-	9
	Lisa (professor/student)	T	4	-	V/V	-	-
B	Charlie (student/student)	V	-	2	V/V	-	1
	Luisa (professor/director)	V/V	-	6	V	-	8
	Totals		4	10		-	18

Note: Students’ respective roles are indicated in parentheses following their names.

Concerning the informal SISs, students agreed on the appropriateness of *du*, which aligns with NS norms of T/V usage. Regarding the formal SISs, pre-enrichment, there was some variety in the pronouns students deemed appropriate, which did not completely align with German NS conventions. Post-enrichment, student plans aligned with NS norms. Another finding concerns students’ increased awareness of address reciprocity during post-enrichment, illustrating greater sensitivity to how pronoun choices are co-constructed between interlocutors in the context of their relationship and situation. Two examples exemplify these qualitative changes.

Both informal SISs describe an interaction between a New Zealand student and a German exchange student. Lisa’s pre-enrichment plan was brief, outlining her intentions to use T. However, her reasoning was based on the ‘friendship T’ rule-of-thumb. In contrast, Lisa’s post-enrichment plan was more in-depth, illustrating her understanding that T can be used to index aspects of relationships.

Pre-enrichment: *du* if they are my age; if I’m trying to make friends with people my own age. Probably will want to talk about how the other exchange student finds it making friends, e.g. where and how they meet people. (T)

Post-enrichment: I am ringing to invite him to a casual social event, so I would want to seem friendly (*du*). I think as it is a social call for him too, he would also use *du*. We haven’t known each other long, but we are friends and have spent time together socially before. So social distance has been reduced (reciprocal *du*). There is no power hierarchy. We’re friends and want to seem friendly to one another, so reciprocal *du* therefore best illustrates the relationship we have. (T/T)

Scenario 2 describes an interaction between a student and a German professor at university, whereas scenario 8 describes an interaction between a student and the German director of a work-study programme in Berlin. In her pre-enrichment plan, Charlie showed some understanding of reciprocity, but relied on the ‘hierarchy’ rule-of-thumb, using V to show respect to superiors. In her post-enrichment plan, Charlie again expected reciprocity, but also her own agency, focusing on which pronoun would express her intentions.

Pre-enrichment: It is a polite and formal interaction, so I would use *Sie* and not discuss the question in a relatively impersonal and respectful way. It is a respectful, impersonal relationship, and both people are polite to each other. Using *Sie* shows I respect the professor and that I am a polite person. It also shows I am respectful of their position and seniority. (V)

Post-enrichment: I would want to present myself professionally, as I am speaking to someone who would potentially offer me a position on the programme. The two people are strangers, and do not intend to interact in pursuit of a personal relationship with this call. There is some power difference as I am applying to this person for a place on the programme, but we are both adults so I'd expect this downplayed. I can use reciprocal *Sie* to reflect my intention to be professional and maintain some social distance. *Sie* would also reflect reciprocal respect as equals, despite some power difference as programme director and applicant. (V/V)

5. Discussion

5.1. Sociopragmatic Capacity

All participants exhibited enhanced sociopragmatic capacity through CBPI, irrespective of their instructional level and/or previous knowledge. Previous studies have not used CBPI with beginners. The present study nevertheless shows that they can profit from a concept-based approach to pragmatics instruction. By appropriating sociopragmatic concepts covered in CBPI, participants re-oriented to German T/V pronouns, which resolved uncertainties and misconceptions about German T/V usage, and increased participants' control over their performances by sensitizing them to norms for pronoun switching (Hickey, 2003) and address reciprocity (Barron, 2006). The participants increasingly recognized German T/V pronouns as a 'significant communicative resource conveying a range of meanings about the relationships between interlocutors, the context of the interaction, and the standing of interactants in the wider social order' (Belz and Kinginger, 2003: 599). Consequently, increasingly made choices appropriate to the meanings they wanted to convey. CBPI also provided students with sufficient information and support to mediate and consolidate their understanding, even some weeks after completing the intervention.

The findings largely align with previous research by van Compernelle and colleagues (2014, 2016). Although the aim of the study is not to directly compare the two groups, some possible differences are worth noting. Some beginners struggled to express their conceptual understanding, leading to unconventional pronoun choices and variation in overall pronoun selections, whereas all of the intermediates appeared to gain a more holistic understanding of the sociopragmatic concepts and a more systematic approach to making pragmalinguistic choices, as on average they scored higher in

the LAQs. The intermediates were more elaborate in their pre-enrichment responses, presumably due to their previous knowledge of the target language. It is unclear whether the difference between the two levels was due to greater systematic knowledge of pragmalinguistic choices or greater sensitivity to sociopragmatics among the intermediates than beginners; both are necessary to developing sociopragmatic capacity and understanding of German address pronouns.

Many beginners appeared to lack any representations that could be more systematically structured by sociopragmatic concepts, as evidenced when many of them used a greeting without T/V on pre-test WDCTs. During the intervention, many beginners developed a new field of possible actions (Gal'perin, 1992a) as they oriented to, executed, and checked their T/V performances. The intermediates, however, remediated an existing field of T/V pronouns that were already mapped onto rules of thumb that led to mostly appropriate T/V choices, even when the intermediates lacked a clear understanding of sociopragmatic concepts and NS expectations. Few of the intermediates changed their pre-test T/V choices on the SIS task; in effect they learned new concepts that explained or justified their choices and that could be used to check their plans and executions. Thus the reason why beginners may have needed more time than intermediates to learn in CBPI may turn on the intermediates having already internalized T/V forms and their use, whether through taught rules of thumb or previous exposure. Nonetheless, it may be that in the long run, the beginners saved time by learning the German address system through concepts more or less from the beginning. Further research is needed regarding this matter.

6. Conclusion

This article provides additional evidence that CBPI is an approach to explicit instruction that promotes successful learner development. All participants demonstrated enhanced sociopragmatic capacity and a common understanding of how to make T/V choices in German. Consequently, students' ability to agentively make and perform pragmatic choices improved. Since beginners and intermediates were examined, this article also shows the effectiveness of CBPI at different instructional levels.

The principal limitation in terms of individual development is that focusing on microgenetic processes could have shown how specific mediators influence actions at specific points in learning trajectories. The study did not examine the interactions between the instructor and participants or between participants during the intervention sessions. Such interactions have been shown to mediate development (van Compernelle, 2014), but unfortunately were outside the scope of this study.

Another limitation is that some of the beginner participants and all of the intermediate participants had spent different lengths of time in Germany. It seems likely that they had some familiarity with the address system, even if they reported they did not.

This study has raised a question for CBPI and SCT research. Vygotsky's (1986) discussion of foreign language learning is largely about the difference between 'artificial' formal instruction of foreign language and 'natural' experiential learning of the L1. One question is whether CBPI works better for introducing new concepts or for remediating existing (but weak or partial) concepts. However, there are different learner conditions. Learners may have only L1 concepts to draw on, which may be only spontaneous or also systematic; they may have 'natural' L2 exposure and use, which may develop implicit spontaneous concepts or explicit systematic concepts, which may be weak or partial; they may have 'artificial' L2 rules of thumb, which may be weak or partial explicit systematic concepts. The relative merits of these conditions may have different effects on systematic concept development. A recent artificial language study showed that in terms of making pragmatic decisions on tests, rule-based and concept-based study did not result in statistically significant differences in performance, but did have sociopragmatic differences in the conceptual understanding of those performances (van Compernelle, 2018). But what of concepts derived from 'natural' use by L2 learners?

One insight in this regard comes from Belz and Kinginger's e-collaboration study (2003), which points to the motivational impact of social consequences for L2 pragmatics. Gal'perin's (1992a, 1992b) recognized orienting activity begins with the motivation to use an image of a field of possible actions as a heuristic for problem-solving, which could then be harnessed for pedagogical purposes. The idea that developing L2 sociopragmatic capacity in terms of T/V usage 'is not exclusively a matter of rule acquisition' (Belz and Kinginger, 2002: 211; see also Taguchi, 2015) is a reminder not only that rules and concepts differ, but also that ordinary social interaction (not intentionally aimed at language learning) is important. When learners experience the effects of their language choices on their interlocutors, they are motivated to pay attention to the field of possible actions. Belz and Kinginger's data (2003) showed that when those effects are unexpected, but learners know alternatives, they are motivated to try them; if do not know alternatives, they are motivated to learn them. In both cases, they may also be motivated to learn the scientific concepts that explain why some alternatives are more effective than others. Interpersonal motivations of this sort may be less important in classrooms. On the other hand, Belz and Kinginger's study also shows that when interlocutors helpfully provide explanations, they are likely to be every-

day ones, and may be misleading or confusing. How can exposure to ordinary social interaction and scientific concepts be optimally integrated in a pedagogical research study? Answering this question could contribute to better instruction enabling learners to participate more effectively in target language communities.

Notes

1. For example: Beginner level = 0-2 years of instruction OR I can only communicate within the specific simple and routine contexts I have learned so far, using familiar, everyday, frequently-used expressions and basic sentences.
2. Students were asked whether they had spent time travelling and/or working in a German native-speaking country. This is described as 'exposure to the language outside of a formal classroom setting'.

About the Authors

Marie-Christin Kuepper did her MA at the University of Otago in pragmatics and sociocultural theory. She is a Policy Analyst at the Ministry of Education, New Zealand.

Anne Feryok is a senior lecturer in the Department of English and Linguistics at the University of Otago. Her research in sociocultural theory has been published in international journals.

Acknowledgements

The first author gratefully acknowledges the financial assistance of the University of Otago's publishing bursary and the University of Otago's Research Master's scholarship.

Funding

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

References

- Alcón Soler, E. and Martínez-Flor, A. (2008). Pragmatics in foreign language contexts. In E. Alcón Soler and A. Martínez-Flor (Eds), *Investigating Pragmatics in Foreign Language Learning, Teaching, and Testing*, 3–21. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847690869-003>
- Bardovi-Harlig, K. (2013). Developing L2 pragmatics. *Language Learning* 63 (suppl. 1): 68–86. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9922.2012.00738.x>
- Barron, A. (2006). Learning to say 'you' in German: The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence in a study abroad context. In M. A. Dufon and E. Churchill (Eds), *Language Learners in Study Abroad*

- Contexts*, 59–88. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853598531-007>
- Bayer, K. (1997). Die Anredepronomina *Du* und *Sie*: Thesen zu einem semantischen Konflikt im Hochschulbereich. *Deutsche Sprache* 7: 212–219.
- Belz, J. A. and Kinginger, C. (2002). The cross-linguistic development of address form use in telecollaborative language learning: Two case studies. *The Canadian Modern Language Review/La Revue Canadienne des Langues Vivantes* 59: 189–214. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.59.2.189>
- Belz, J. A. and Kinginger, C. (2003). Discourse options and the development of pragmatic competence by classroom learners of German: The case of address forms. *Language Learning* 53: 591–647. <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1467-9922.2003.00238.x>
- Besch, W. (1998). *Duzen, siezen, titulieren: Zur Anrede im Deutschen heute und gestern* (2. ergänzte Auflage). Mit Zeichnungen von Markus Eidt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Braun, F. (1988). *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110848113>
- Brown, R. and Gilman, A. (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In T. A. Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in Language*, 253–276. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Clyne, M. (1984). *Language and Society in the German-speaking Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Council of Europe (2001). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CERF)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DeKeyser, R. M. (2015). Skill acquisition theory. In B. VanPatten and J. Williams (Eds), *Theories in Second Language Acquisition: An Introduction* (2nd ed), 94–112. New York: Routledge.
- Dewaele, J-M. (2004). *Vous or tu?* Native and non-native speakers of French on a sociolinguistic tightrope. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching (IRAL)* 42: 383–402. <https://doi.org/10.1515/iral.2004.42.4.383>
- Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eckert, P. (2008). Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12: 453–476. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2008.00374.x>
- Ellis, N. C. (2005). At the interface: Dynamic interactions of explicit and implicit language knowledge. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 27: 305–352. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S027226310505014X>
- Ellis, R. (2009). Implicit and explicit learning, knowledge, and instruction. In R. Ellis, S. Loewen, C. Elder, H. Reinders, R. Erlam, and J. Philp (Eds), *Explicit and Implicit Knowledge in Second Language Learning, Testing and Teaching*, 3–25. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691767-003>
- Engel, U. (1988). *Deutsche Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag.
- Gal'perin, P. Ia. (1992a). The problem of activity in Soviet psychology. *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology* 30 (4): 37–59. (Original work published 1977). <https://doi.org/10.2753/RPO1061-0405300437>

- Gal'perin, P. Ia. (1992b). Stage-by-stage formation as a method of psychological investigation. *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology* 30 (4): 60–80. (Original work published 1978). <https://doi.org/10.2753/RPO1061-0405300460>
- Haenen, J. (2001). Outlining the teaching–learning process: Piotr Gal'perin's contribution. *Learning and Instruction* 11: 157–170. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0959-4752\(00\)00020-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0959-4752(00)00020-7)
- Hickey, R. (2003). The German address system: Binary and scalar at once. In I. Taavitsainen and A. H. Jucker (Eds), *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Terms Systems*, 401–425. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.107.16hic>
- Ishihara, N. (2010). Instructional pragmatics: Bridging teaching, research, and teacher education. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 4: 938–953. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-818X.2010.00242.x>
- Kasper, G. (1992). Pragmatic transfer. *Second Language Research* 8: 203–231. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026765839200800303>
- Kasper, G. and Rose, K. R. (2001). Pragmatics in language teaching. In K. R. Rose and G. Kasper (Eds), *Pragmatics in Language Teaching*, 1–9. New York: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139524797.003>
- Kretzenbacher, H. L., Clyne, M., and Schüpbach, D. (2006). Pronominal address in German: Rules, anarchy and embarrassment potential. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 29: 17.1–17.18. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ara1.29.2.02kre>
- Kuepper, M. (2017). *Sie or du? Developing Sociopragmatic Capacity in German through Concept-based Pragmatics Instruction*. (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Otago, New Zealand).
- Lantolf, J. P. and Poehner, M. E. (2014). *Sociocultural Theory and the Pedagogical Imperative in L2 Education: Vygotskian Praxis and the Research/Practice Divide*. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203813850>
- Leech, G. N. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Liebscher, G., Dailey-O'Cain, J., Müller, M., and Reichert, T. (2010). Negotiating identities through pronouns of address in an immigrant country. *Pragmatics* 20: 375–400. <https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.20.3.04lie>
- Norrby, C. and Warren, J. (2012). Address practices and social relationships in European languages. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 6: 225–235. <https://doi.org/10.1002/lnc3.331>
- Paradis, M. (2009). *Declarative and Procedural Determinants of Second Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/sibil.40>
- Rose, K. (2005). On the effects of instruction in second language pragmatics. *System* 33: 385–399. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2005.06.003>
- Scriven, R. (Ed.). (2011). *Easy Learning German Grammar* (3rd ed.). London: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication* 23: 193–229. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309\(03\)00013-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00013-2)
- Suzuki, Y. and DeKeyser, R. (2017). The interface of explicit and implicit knowledge in a second language: Insights from individual differences in cognitive aptitudes. *Language Learning* 67: 747–790. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lang.12241>

- Swain, M. (2006). Languaging, agency and collaboration in advanced language proficiency. In H. Byrnes (Ed.), *Advanced Language Learning: The Contribution of Halliday and Vygotsky*, 95–108. London: Continuum.
- Taguchi, N. (2010). A research synthesis of longitudinal studies in interlanguage pragmatics. In A. Trosborg (Ed.), *Handbook of Pragmatics*, 333–361. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Taguchi, N. (2015). ‘Contextually’ speaking: A survey of pragmatic learning abroad, in class, and online. *System* 48: 3–20. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2014.09.001>
- Takahashi, S. (2010). The effect of pragmatic instruction on speech act performance. In A. Martínez-Flor and E. Usó-Juan (Eds), *Speech Act Performance: Theoretical, Empirical and Methodological Issues*, 127–142. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lllt.26.08tak>
- van Compernelle, R. A. (2011b). Developing second language sociopragmatic knowledge through concept-based instruction: A microgenetic case study. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 3267–3283. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2011.06.009>
- van Compernelle, R. A. (2014). *Sociocultural Theory and L2 Instructional Pragmatics*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783091409>
- van Compernelle, R. A. (2018). Learning the sociopragmatics of an artificial language: Comparing rule-based and concept-based instruction. *Language and Sociocultural Theory* 5 (1): 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1558/1st.33770>
- van Compernelle, R. A. and Henery, A. (2014). Instructed concept appropriation and L2 pragmatic development in the classroom. *Language Learning* 64: 549–578. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lang.12054>
- van Compernelle, R. A., Weber, A., and Gomez-Laich, M. P. (2016). Teaching L2 Spanish sociopragmatics through concepts: A classroom-based study. *The Modern Language Journal* 100: 341–361. <https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12318>
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1986). *Thought and Language* (trans. A. Kozulin). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Wales, K. (1996). *Personal Pronouns in Present-day English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.