

The meta-illocutionary lexicon: contexts, functions, variation

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The meta-illocutionary lexicon

Contexts, functions, variation

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KE REQUEST	-ext.-
GB COMMAND	-ext.-

HK COMMAND	-ext.-
KE COMMAND	-ext.-
GB BEG	-ext.-
HK BEG	-ext.-
KE BEG	-ext.-
GB THANK	-ext.-
HK THANK	-ext.-
KE THANK	-ext.-
GB APOLOGY	-ext.-
HK APOLOGY	-ext.-
KE APOLOGY	-ext.-
GB CONGRATULATION	-ext.-
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List of abbreviations

BBC	Birmingham Blog Corpus
BNC	British National Corpus
BrE	British English
CMC	Computer-Mediated Communication
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
DCT	Discourse Completion Task
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
FAQs	Frequently Asked Questions
FTA	Face-Threatening Act
GloWbE	Corpus of Global Web-based English
GloWbE GB	GloWbE <i>Great Britain</i> (sub-corpus)
GloWbE HK	GloWbE <i>Hong Kong</i> (sub-corpus)
GloWbE KE	GloWbE <i>Kenya</i> (sub-corpus)
HKE	Hong Kong English
HTML	Hypertext Markup Language
ICE	International Corpus of English
IFID	Illocutionary Force Indicating Device
KenE	Kenyan English
NSM	Natural Semantic Metalanguage
pmw	per million words
QUD	Question under Discussion
SMS	Short Message Service
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
%pt	percentage point

1. Introduction

The present chapter provides a brief introduction to the present thesis and study. First, the present study is situated within previous related research on theoretical and applied aspects of illocutions and the meta-illocutionary lexicon (sub-chapter 1.1). Next, the aim and the research questions of the present study are stated, showing how the latter contributes to advancing research on the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use (sub-chapter 1.2). Finally, the structure of the present thesis is outlined with a particular focus on this study's independent variables and foci of analysis (sub-chapter 1.3).

1.1 Previous research on illocutions and the meta-illocutionary lexicon

Since the introduction of speech act theory, illocutions and illocutionary acts have been widely discussed both with respect to their theoretical status and with respect to their realizations in discourse. Regarding their theoretical status, illocutions constitute the focal aspect of the speech act as a whole (Austin 1962[1975], Searle 1969) in that they reflect the illocutionary force of an utterance as defined, among other things, by the speaker's intention, the conventionality of interactional procedures, and the obtaining of felicity conditions, which themselves include subjective and objective as well as social, cognitive, and linguistic aspects of context. Regarding their realizations in discourse, illocutions have been observed to be realized both explicitly and implicitly (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), directly and indirectly (Searle 1979, Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), and by means of routinized formulae (Coulmas 1981a, Aijmer 2014). In contrast to theoretical to realizational aspects, *talk about* – or the study of explicit references to – illocutions in discourse has attracted attention only relatively recently, with earlier developments within the theoretical framework of metapragmatics (Caffi 1984, 1998, Bublitz & Hübler 2007, Hübler 2011) paving the way for the first empirical studies on meta-illocutionary expressions and the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use (Schneider 2017, 2021, 2022, Schoppa 2022).

The meta-illocutionary lexicon is the collection of all lexical items which explicitly and reflexively refer to the illocutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole (e.g., *invitation*, *condole*, *apologetic(ally)*, etc.). Being “a subdivision of everyday vocabulary” (Schneider 2017: 225), the meta-illocutionary lexicon anchors the technical pragmatic concept of illocution – and, by extension, its status within the speech act as a whole as well as its felicity in context – in ordinary language. Therefore, it is argued that exploring usage patterns of the meta-

illocutionary lexicon in ordinary language can be used to examine first-order conceptualizations of the second-order concept of illocution (see Eelen 2001 for the distinction between technical, ‘second-order’ concepts and ordinary, ‘first-order’ concepts). Usage patterns encompass different aspects of use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in context, broadly conceived. Previous studies have mainly focused on frequencies of occurrence of meta-illocutionary items – both in isolation (Schneider 2021, 2022, Schoppa 2022) and as part of specific constructions (Schneider 2017) – and on communicative functions (or use types of meta-illocutionary items in context) – both in terms of distinguishing functional categories (Schneider 2017, Schoppa 2022) and in terms of qualitative (Schneider 2017) and quantitative (Schoppa 2022) aspects of their realizations in discourse. Qualitative and quantitative findings pertaining to different aspects of use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon – based predominantly on empirical corpus data – have further been systematically juxtaposed along the lines of different independent variables. These mainly include *illocution* (i.e., the specific referent(s) of the meta-illocutionary item(s) under consideration), *region/variety*, and *genre*. Regarding *illocution*, Schneider (2017) compares (nominal) references to 12 different illocutions in a broad overview (including *offer*, *complaint*, and *suggestion*), and Schoppa (2022) compares references to requesting and references to apologizing. Regarding *region/variety*, Schneider (2021) compares meta-illocutionary references across Irish English and Canadian English, and Schoppa (2022) compares meta-illocutionary references across British English and American English. Finally, regarding *genre*, both Schneider (2021) and Schneider (2022) compare meta-illocutionary references across a wide variety of spoken genres (including *telephone conversations* and *parliamentary debates*) and written genres (including *social letters* and *press editorials*).

1.2 Outline of the present study: Aims and research questions

Against the background of this pioneering work, the present study constitutes the first large-scale exploratory investigation into the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use. Compared to previous research, this study extends the scope of foci of analysis, the scope of independent variables, and the scope of the empirical dataset. In terms of foci of analysis, the present study does not only consider frequencies of occurrence (sub-chapter 4.1.1) and use type distributions (sub-chapter 4.3), but also word class distributions (sub-chapter 4.1.2), entextualization patterns (sub-chapter 4.4), and realizations of the *performative* use type (sub-chapter 4.5). In terms of independent variables, the present study does not only consider the variables *illocution* and ‘*region*’, but also the variable *illocutionary type*. Specifically, the present study will juxtapose

empirical findings inter-categorially along the lines of *directive* illocutions versus *expressive* illocutions (*illocutionary type*), intra-categorially along the lines of requesting versus commanding versus begging on the one hand, and thanking versus apologizing versus congratulating on the other (*illocution*), and ‘cross-regionally’ along the lines of the UK (as represented in GloWbE GB) versus Hong Kong (as represented in GloWbE HK) and Kenya (as represented in GloWbE KE) (‘*region*’). Although the present study considers two ‘regions’ in which English is not spoken natively (i.e., Hong Kong and Kenya), it is, importantly, not this study’s aim to assess the respective stages of development of these (ESL/EFL) varieties. Instead, usage patterns of the English meta-illocutionary lexicon across these ‘regions’ are mainly discussed against the background of socio-cultural aspects associated with the respective illocutions and illocutionary types in the respective locations. Finally, in terms of the dataset, the present study is based on a total of 1724 examples extracted from the *Great Britain* (GB), the *Hong Kong* (HK), and the *Kenya* (KE) sub-corpora of Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE). This dataset results from the initial aim to consider 100 empirical examples per illocution and sub-corpus (i.e., 1800 examples across six illocutions and three sub-corpora) on the one hand and subsequent exclusions of individual examples for a variety of reasons (see sub-chapter 3.2) on the other, and is by far the largest empirical dataset used in research on usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon to date. For reasons of practicability, the present study is based (almost) exclusively on data taken from the *Blog* sub-section of the GloWbE. Importantly, while contrastive results in the empirical dataset are often ascribed to this study’s independent variables, and while the study of potential genre effects only plays a secondary role in the discussion of the present study’s findings, no claim is made that the choice of genre, viz. blogging, is a negligible factor in the present study’s results.

Taken together, the present study is guided by the overarching aim to explore, on a large scale, the use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in ordinary language. More precisely, it aims to examine how bloggers on British, Hong Kong, and Kenyan webpages employ lexical items to talk about or (explicitly) perform the illocutions of requesting, commanding, and begging as well as the illocutions of thanking, apologizing, and congratulating. Put differently, the present study aims to answer the research questions below. Research questions 1-5 correspond to this study’s foci of analysis, whereas research questions 6-8 correspond to this study’s independent variables:

- 1) How often do ordinary language users use the meta-illocutionary lexicon? (frequencies of occurrence)
 - 2) How often do ordinary language users use meta-illocutionary nouns and meta-illocutionary verbs? (word class distribution)
 - 3) Which communicative functions (i.e., use types) do meta-illocutionary items display and how are they distributed (and realized)? (use type distribution)
 - 4) Which contextual features (represented as parameters) of the illocution(s) in question and which concomitant aspects of the corresponding speech acts (as wholes) do ordinary language users entextualize accompanying their use of a meta-illocutionary item? (entextualization patterns)
 - 5) How do ordinary language users realize the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon? (realizations of the *performative* use type)
-
- 6) How do the results vary across (references to) *directives* and *expressives*? (inter-categorical variation)
 - 7) How do the results vary across (references to) the illocutions of requesting, commanding, and begging, and the illocutions of thanking, apologizing, and congratulating? (intra-categorical variation)
 - 8) How do the results vary across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE? ('cross-regional' variation)

1.3 Thesis structure

The present thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 2 will successively enlarge on the theoretical frameworks of context (sub-chapter 2.1), speech act theory (sub-chapter 2.2), metalanguage, metacommunication, and metapragmatics (sub-chapter 2.3), and (linguistic) variation (sub-chapter 2.4). Chapter 3 will outline this study's methodological procedure, encompassing a description of the compilation and the design of the GloWbE corpus as well as its inherent methodological advantages and disadvantages (sub-chapter 3.1), a description of the procedure of data collection within the GloWbE, including the choice of sub-corpora, balancing, downsizing, and the exclusion of individual examples (sub-chapter 3.2), and an outline of the analytical operations performed on the empirical dataset with regard to the present study's foci of analysis (sub-chapter 3.3). Chapter 4 comprises a detailed presentation of this study's findings, ranging from absolute and normalized frequencies (sub-chapter 4.1.1) to word class distributions (sub-chapter 4.1.2), use type distributions and realizations (sub-chapter 4.2), entextualization patterns (sub-chapter 4.3), and realizations of the *performative* use type (sub-chapter 4.4), as well as a brief summary at the end of the chapter (sub-chapter 4.5). For each

focus of analysis treated in the respective sub-chapters, detailed accounts of inter-categorical, intra-categorical, and ‘cross-regional’ differences are given where applicable. In chapter 5, these empirical findings are discussed against the background of related research on various aspects associated with the illocutions, illocutionary types, and ‘regions’ under consideration. Specifically, frequencies of occurrence are discussed against the background of discursive salience and/or prominence of the illocutions in question (sub-chapter 5.1), word class distributions are discussed against the background of degrees of institutionalization associated with the relevant illocutions (sub-chapter 5.2), use type distributions are discussed against the background of ordinary conceptualizations of illocutions and illocutionary types (sub-chapter 5.3), entextualization patterns are discussed against the background of the situatedness of the respective illocutions in discourse (sub-chapter 5.4), and realizations of the *performative* use type are discussed against the background of (cross-cultural) preferences in ordinary realizations of the illocutions in question (sub-chapter 5.5). Finally, chapter 6 represents the conclusion of the present thesis, comprising a summary of the present study’s findings and main points of discussion (sub-chapter 6.1), an overview of this study’s methodological shortcomings and limitations (sub-chapter 6.2), and an outline of this study’s implications for future research on the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use (sub-chapter 6.3).

2. Theoretical background

The present study is situated within multiple interrelated theoretical frameworks, which will be successively outlined in the following. This chapter will cover a brief outline of context and its sub-types as applied to the constitutive elements and combinations considered in the present study (sub-chapter 2.1), speech act theory and speech act taxonomies with a particular focus on similarities and differences of felicity conditions within and across speech act classes (sub-chapter 2.2), metalanguage and metacommunication with a particular focus on the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use (sub-chapter 2.3), and (linguistic) variation as impacted by factors of culture and genre (sub-chapter 2.4).

2.1 Context and its sub-types

Aiming to examine bloggers’ usage patterns of explicit and reflexive references to illocutions, the present study is fundamentally and necessarily concerned with (different types of) context

in general and the interaction of (different types of) contextual specifications in particular. The notion of context itself, however, often defies clear-cut and satisfactory definition, which is mainly due to its multifaceted nature and not least also due to its vagueness as an ordinary concept. Context broadly encompasses all constitutive elements of a communicative situation which (co-)contribute to the meaning and/or comprehension of a focal, (non-)verbal unit or phenomenon (e.g., Auer 1996: 11, Auer & di Luzio 2011). Within “the gestalt-psychological distinction between a figure or a focal event, viz. the phenomenon being investigated or contextualized, and its ground or background, viz. the phenomenon’s [more immediate or more remote] surroundings” (Fetzer 2004: 3), the focal, (non-)verbal unit or phenomenon in question thus corresponds to the *figure*, whereas context corresponds to the *(back)ground*. In a default setting, the extent to which individual, more immediate or more remote contextual specifications (co-)contribute to the meaning of a focal item is, however, (largely) indeterminate. In its common-sense notion, context could therefore – at least in theory – encompass the entire universe, thus requiring delimitations, sub-categorizations, and structuring for practical purposes (see, e.g., Bateson 1972: 245). Regarding the present study, the following sub-chapters will briefly outline selected aspects of linguistic context (sub-chapter 2.1.1), social context (sub-chapter 2.1.2), sociocultural context (sub-chapter 2.1.3), and cognitive context (sub-chapter 2.1.4) including the import of each sub-type to the specific configuration(s) examined in the present study. While these sub-types are dealt with individually in the following, they are – within an integrated, socio-cognitive approach to communication – not conceived of as discrete categories but as interrelated prototypes. In Fetzer’s (2004: 11) words:

Metaphorically speaking, context is represented by an onion with an infinite number of layers [...] or it is represented by interdependent frames [...]. In natural-language communication, the contextual information stored in a particular layer or in a particular frame interacts with information stored in adjacent layers or frames. Here, the order of inclusion corresponds to the order of accessibility.

2.1.1 Linguistic context

Linguistic context – alternatively verbal context or co-text – comprises (primarily) linguistic material surrounding a focal item which (co-)contributes to the meaning and/or comprehension of the latter. From a structural perspective, this linguistic material may consist of surrounding sounds or phonemes, words or morphemes, phrases, clause constituents, clauses, sentences, and

texts. However, the indexical capacity of language (even of core linguistic or language-structural items), and thus the inherent interconnectedness between language as a structured system of signs and language use as social action, already requires a partial accommodation of social aspects of context – such as speaker and hearer (or co-participants), time, and place – into traditional linguistic accounts of context. Acknowledging this intrinsic link between language structure and language use as situated in social (inter)action, pertinent functionalist approaches conceive of linguistic context as “a contribution’s adjacent contributions, a speech act’s adjacent speech acts or a turn’s adjacent turns” (Fetzer 2004: 4), depending on the specific theoretical framework. Importantly, the notion of adjacency includes not only contributions preceding but also contributions following the focal one. This is because, in a dynamic view on communication, the focal contribution is both shaped or constrained by prior contributions on the one hand, and constitutes an event which shapes or constrains following contributions on the other. Moreover, the focal contribution and its adjacent contributions (as well as their interrelation) are further constrained by requirements of communicative genre (e.g., Luckmann 1986, 2009; Linell 1998a; Tardy & Swales 2014), which itself draws on the notions of text type (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981) and activity type (Levinson 1979).. Relative to individual contributions (or turns or speech acts), the notions of genre, text type, and activity type can be conceptualized as meso-categories, which are “hierarchically structured and sequentially organized, and [...] subcategorize into pre-sequences, core- or main-sequences, side-sequences and closing sequences” (Fetzer 2004: 6), and which are themselves situated in the macro-categories of institutions and (socio-)cultural practices (see Fetzer 2015: 23-25). Thus, while the contextual meaning of a focal item is co-dependent on linguistic material preceding and following it, the genre requirements constraining this adjacent material are conventional and therefore socially situated by definition.

In the present study, linguistic context is accounted for in terms of linguistic material preceding and following the focal meta-illocutionary items in question. This material is used to determine (a) use types of meta-illocutionary items, (b) entextualizations (i.e., indexical specifications) of contextual factors associated with the relevant illocutions (see also sub-chapter 2.1.5), and (c) realization types of the *performative* use type (see, e.g., sub-chapters 3.3, 4.4). For example, the utterance *I thank you for the present*, in which the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *thank* – inflected for singular number, present tense, and indicative mood – occurs in the linguistic context of the preceding pronoun *I*, the following pronoun *you*, and the following prepositional phrase *for the present*, would be (a) assigned the status of realizing the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, (b) recorded as comprising

entextualizations of the speaker (i.e., *I*), the hearer (i.e., *you*) and the content (i.e., *the present*) of the illocution of thanking, and (c) assigned the status of an *explicit performative* realization type. But needless to say, the linguistic context again (necessarily) interacts with selected aspects of extra-linguistic context. This is reflected in the indexical references to the co-participants of the interaction (i.e., *I, you*), thus accommodating social context, and the definite description *the present*, triggering the presupposition that the present exists and thus accommodating cognitive context. Moreover, this is crucially also reflected in the focal item, *(to) thank*, which refers to an illocution and therefore to a pragmatic phenomenon par excellence, (co-)dependent on (virtually) all sub-types of context by definition.

2.1.2 Social context

Frequently equated with extra-linguistic context, social context foremost (and on a micro-level) comprises the co-participants as well as the spatio-temporal surroundings of a focal interaction. In addition (and on a macro-level), social context further comprises (non-)institutional domains in which the co-participants' interactional roles may embody symmetrical or asymmetrical power relationships manifesting in the co-participants' rights and obligations in interaction. On both the micro-level and the macro-level, the co-participants' interactional roles may further particularize into social roles as represented, for instance, by national, regional, ethnic, or gender-based identities. Consequently, co-participants of an interaction may exhibit, enact, and negotiate complex (and multiple) discursive identities based on their interactional roles as instantiated in social settings (Fetzer 2004: 7-9). On a different but related note, social context also encompasses the notions of conventionality and collaboration (or cooperation) as applied to language use. Conventionality – viz. the more or less tacit, collective agreement among members of a speech community regarding the meaning of linguistic items as used and embedded in the performance of social actions which themselves constitute cultural forms – is accommodated not only in linguistic symbolism and indexicality, but crucially also in the felicity of speech acts as theoretical constructs (Austin 1962[1975], Searle 1969) and in the meso-domain of communicative genre (e.g., Giltrow 2010). Collaboration or cooperation – viz. the process of joint problem-solving, task-completion or achievement of a (communicative) goal according to an accepted purpose – is accommodated in Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle (including implicature and inference) on the one hand and in communicative genres as conventionalized models for the "solution of specific types of communicative problems" (Goody 1995: 26) on the other. The multifaceted nature of social context as well as its complex

interrelation with language use is aptly summarized by Luckmann (1995: 177, original emphases):

Human communicative acts are *predefined* and thereby to a certain extent *predetermined* by an existing social code of communication. This holds for both the ‘inner core’ of that code, the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic structure of the language, as well as for its external stratification in styles, registers, sociolects and dialects. In addition, communicative acts are predefined and predetermined by explicit and implicit rules and regulations of the *use* of language, e.g. by forms of communicative etiquette.

Considering its foci of analysis, the present study draws on multiple facets of social context. First, this study examines (usage patterns of) explicit and reflexive references to illocutions, whose felicity depends, among other things, on the obtaining of (social) context conditions such as the co-participants including their previous encounters, actions, and/or interactions, the time of utterance, and, to a lesser extent, the physical or virtual location of the co-participants during the performance of the relevant utterance and/or illocution. Importantly, the felicity conditions of some illocutions (e.g., commanding) further require an institutional context including an asymmetric distribution of power between the co-participants (Searle 1969: 66), whereas the felicity conditions of other illocutions do not. Second, the meta-illocutionary items under consideration themselves occur in a social context which is often distinct from the one required by the felicity conditions of the illocution to which they refer unless they are being used performatively. For instance, the utterance *General Smith commanded Lieutenant Jones to abort the mission* contains an explicit and reflexive reference to the illocution of commanding (as well as entextualizations suggesting that the commander, viz. *General Smith*, was in a position of institutional power over the commandee, viz. *Lieutenant Jones*, as required by the pertinent felicity conditions), but itself constitutes (the realization of) an assertion whose felicity requires an entirely different set of (social) context conditions to obtain. In the example above, the obtaining of the latter is, however, not explicated and thus accepted by default unless doubts arise (Sbisà 2002: 425). Third, the present study focuses on the communicative genre of (online) blogging which, despite comprising relatively clear-cut interactional roles of the co-participants, is not associated with a uniform communicative task (in contrast to, e.g., the genre of interview being associated with the task of seeking and providing information, or the genre of a speech/debate being associated with the task of persuading or influencing people). Regarding interactional roles, blogs are often administered by one or a few private persons who are in charge of both selecting the topic(s) of

their blog (including constitutive posts and discussions) and managing the rights and obligations of its followers (i.e., readers, commenters), who are often ordinary persons themselves. In terms of blog topics and/or communicative tasks, Blood (2002) vaguely distinguishes between *filters*, *journals*, and *notebooks* (see sub-chapter 2.4.2) but stresses that, due to the internal heterogeneity of the ‘bridging genre’ of online blogging (Herring et al. 2005), this distinction is far from exhaustive. Fourth, the present study juxtaposes blogging datasets from the GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE sub-corpora, which were collected based on top-level country domains associated with the United Kingdom (.uk), Hong Kong (.hk), and Kenya (.ke) (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 4). Consequently, this study will also draw on nation-based, region-based, and ethnicity-based social roles and/or identities as well as their import in conceptualizations of the illocutions at hand. Needless to say, nation-based, region-based, and ethnicity-based social roles and/or identities may sometimes partially overlap (or inform each other), although the degree of overlap in each configuration may vary substantially due to location-specific socio-historical developments, political circumstances, and/or demographic compositions.

2.1.3 Sociocultural context

Sociocultural context may be conceptualized as a sub-type of social context characterized by culture-specific interpretations of social context features as well as their interrelations. In this view, social context is assigned the status of a default configuration permitting, and interacting with, particularized interpretations according to culture-specific perspectives. In Fetzer’s (2004: 9) words:

[S]ocial context subcategorizes into different types of sociocultural context which are defined by a particular perspective on social context in general. Thus, social context and all of its constituents can be conceived of as an unmarked type of context or as a default context, and sociocultural context can be conceived of as a marked type of context in which particular variables, such as time or location, are interpreted in a particular mode.

The modes in which particular social context variables are interpreted may be informed by various cultural orientations. For example, members of individualistic cultures and members of collectivist cultures may differ in their interpretations of the social context variables *speaker(s)* and *hearer(s)*, members of monochronic cultures and members of polychronic cultures may differ in their interpretations of the social context variable *time*, members of cultures with a

higher sense of place and members of cultures with a lower sense of place may differ in their interpretations of the social context variable *location*, and members of vertical power cultures and members of horizontal power cultures may differ in their interpretations of the micro-social variable *power* (and possibly also *distance*). Consequently, the cultural background of co-participants affects the social meaning emerging in communication. Even more critically, in cases where co-participants do not share the same cultural background, their own culture-specific conceptualizations of social context variables may result in differing and sometimes conflicting interpretations.

As mentioned above, the present study juxtaposes data retrieved from the GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE sub-corpora. Therefore, it considers usage patterns of meta-illocutionary items among bloggers' who interact on blogs accessible through top-level domains associated with the United Kingdom, Hong Kong, and Kenya. Importantly, this data collection procedure (see also sub-chapter 3.2) can, however, not account for a straightforward comparison of 'British', 'Hong Kong', and 'Kenyan' culture, as it were. The reasons for this inequivalence are diverse: First, blogging is a mediated online genre which requires internet access as well as, in many cases, a sufficient command of the English language for participation. Second, as long as bloggers have internet access, their physical location does not have to correspond to the country specified by a blog's top-level domain in order for them to follow this blog and/or engage in discussions with fellow bloggers. Third, the notions of 'British', 'Hong Kong', and 'Kenyan' culture are quite vague themselves as national, regional, and ethnic aspects are highly heterogeneous in each case, thus posing a challenge to their overall comparability. Therefore, blogging data from GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE will only be partially reflective of British, Hong Kong, and Kenyan culture and/or society at best. Regarding GloWbE GB, most blog posts and comments may indeed have been produced by British bloggers. However, the (almost) worldwide accessibility of these blogs combined with the (almost) worldwide interest in British popular culture (e.g., the royal family, football, rock and pop music, etc.) may have resulted in a more international community on blogs whose top-level domain corresponds to the United Kingdom. Regarding GloWbE HK, it must be kept in mind that blog posts and comments in English are likely to be either primarily or secondarily directed at non-Cantonese-speaking or non-Mandarin-speaking immigrants, expatriates, or tourists. This is at least partially due to the fact that the ethnic composition of Hong Kong residents is highly homogeneous (with over 90% being Han Chinese), which is why most (semi-)private online communication among Hongkongers is in Cantonese or Mandarin (Bauer 2016). Combined with the finding that – according to self-reports – only about 60% of Hongkongers

display both competence and regular performance in English, and that English is most often used at work and with domestic helpers (Bacon-Shone et al. 2015: 18), it becomes evident that English blogs are probably directed at international and/or business-related audiences, which themselves may be characterized by an overrepresentation of non-Cantonese-speaking or non-Mandarin-speaking users. Regarding GloWbE KE, (transient) mobility of bloggers and audiences is probably not as critical an issue as in the Hong Kong data despite the heterogeneous ethnic composition (i.e., Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, etc.) of Kenyan society. However, using English data from Kenyan blogs will likely skew the population in favor of younger Kenyans as opposed to older Kenyans, and in favor of well-educated Kenyans as opposed to poorly educated Kenyans. This is because young Kenyans more readily use the internet – increasingly also via mobile devices – and because high proficiency in English is still associated with higher educational levels and with social prestige (Michieka 2005, Buregeya 2019).

All in all, it must be noted that although a somewhat generalizable juxtaposition of British, Hong Kong, and Kenyan conceptualizations of the illocutions and illocutionary types in question is being attempted, the comparability and the generalizability of this study's results is (necessarily) confounded by the dataset(s) used in the following analyses. Against this background, it does not appear instructive to make rather sweeping contrastive statements regarding British, Hong Kong, and Kenyan culture (e.g., that the latter two are more collectivist than the former). Instead, the following analyses are expected to reveal how bloggers conceptualize the illocutions and illocutionary types selected for the present purposes in (partial) consideration of the (projected) circumstances and realities of everyday life in the respective countries and regions, viz. Great Britain, Hong Kong, and Kenya.

2.1.4 Cognitive context

In contrast to social and sociocultural context, cognitive context is primarily (albeit not exclusively) anchored to an individual. Here, cognitive context comprises an individual's set of premises which consists of mental representations, propositions, factual assumptions and contextual assumptions which may vary in strength (Sperber & Wilson 1995). In addition to cognitive context, the notion of cognitive environment denotes facts or, in other words, (possibly) true mental representations. But although cognitive context is primarily anchored to the individual (and their respective set of premises), the fundamentally social nature of communication requires cognitive contexts to encompass mutual cognitive environments and

assumptions about the latter. This is most clearly reflected in the micro-domain of speech act and in the meso-domain of genre, both of which draw on (more individual or more collective readings of) the notion of intentionality as the capacity of mental states to represent or be about something. In fact, “it is at the locus of intentionality where linguistic, social, sociocultural and cognitive contexts meet” (Fetzer 2004: 11).

In the micro-domain of speech act, intentionality is accommodated, among other things, in the *counts as*-relation holding – or intended to hold – between the language-specific features of an utterance on the one hand and its illocutionary force and point on the other (e.g., Searle 1969: 60-61). In other words (Fetzer 2004: 106):

[A speech act] must be conceived of as a speaker constructing an utterance in a social context, viz. s/he selects lexical items, grammatical constructions, and phonological realizations and intonational contours stored in her/his cognitive context, and intends her/his utterance to count as one particular speech act. Analogously, a hearer interprets the utterance with regard to the words, grammatical constructions and phonological realizations and intonational contours employed and with regard to what particular speech act the utterance counts as. This is due to the fact that the concept of a speech act is a theoretical construct or, by analogy to the generative approach to language, a deep-structure phenomenon, which is anchored to the cognitive system.

In the meso-domain of genre, intentionality is detached (even more strongly) from the individual. This is because genre conventions – which make manifest an accepted (communicative) purpose (e.g., Swales 1990: 10) based on tacitly-agreed-upon cooperative and coordinating efforts – place constraints on the calculation of intersubjective meaning. Consequently, the performance of a communicative genre requires “a higher-order communicative intention than the performance of a micro communicative action, namely a collective we-intention” (Fetzer 2004: 217) in addition to the default, individual I-intention. In dialogic settings, communicative intention is therefore anchored both to the subjective world and to the social world.

The present study considers micro-domains (i.e., illocutions), which require (more) individual communicative intentions, and a meso-domain (i.e., genre), which requires (more) collective communicative intentions. Regarding (more) individual communicative intentions, the present study considers six illocutions across two illocutionary types, *directives* and *expressives*. Importantly, *directive* illocutions are characterized, among other things, by speaker intentions which are quite strongly constrained by their world-to-word direction of fit (i.e., want/wish/desire), whereas *expressive* illocutions are characterized, among other things, by

speaker intentions which are much less strongly constrained by their empty direction of fit (e.g., gratitude, regret, pleasure) (Searle 1975).. Regarding (more) collective communicative intentions, the present study considers the online genre of blogging which – despite relatively clear-cut interactional roles among bloggers – is relatively indeterminate in terms of specific communicative tasks or projects (Linell 1998a; Blood 2002), thus potentially diversifying collective communicative intentions according to blogs, their topics and their overall community.

2.1.5 Context, entextualization, and the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use

Comprising the (lexical) collection of explicit and reflexive references to the illocutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole, the meta-illocutionary lexicon can be conceived of as a subdivision of the mental lexicon. Consequently, the meta-illocutionary lexicon can be said to relate linguistic features, viz. relevant lexical items, to cognitive context, viz. mental representations of the meaning of these lexical items, broadly conceived. Due to the fact that the referents of these items are illocutions (i.e., the focal aspects of speech acts), the meaning of these items is further dependent on various sub-types of context by definition. Specifically, it is dependent on aspects of linguistic context (i.e., the phonological, morphological, lexical, and grammatical features potentially chosen for realization – see, e.g., the locutionary act or the utterance act), social context (i.e., the co-participants and their social/institutional relationship, spatio-temporal aspects of the setting, previous encounters or (inter-)actions, etc. – see felicity conditions), possibly sociocultural context (e.g., different culture-specific conceptualizations of social/institutional power and/or distance as well as resulting norms for the (non-) performance and realizations of communicative acts), and cognitive context (i.e., the co-participants' intentionality and rationality, their assigning felicity conditions the status of pragmatic presuppositions, different forms of reasoning, etc.).

In the approach taken in the present study, speakers who use a meta-illocutionary item in context are considered to entextualize the corresponding illocution and are further considered to have the additional option to entextualize both contextual parameters associated with the illocution in question and concomitant constitutive acts of the respective speech act as a whole. In this view, the present study subscribes to a very specific sense of the concept of entextualization. In its general sense, the notion of entextualization is anchored in interactional sociolinguistics, where it is closely connected to the notion of contextualization (Gumperz

1992) and where it constitutes a counterpart to the more refined meaning-making processes of recontextualization and decontextualization (Linell 1998b). Contextualization, which is assigned the status of a universal in natural-language communication, “refers to a process of enriching inexplicit forms and contents thereby assigning discursive values to indexical tokens” (Fetzer 2022: 145). This is achieved by means of contextualization conventions and conversational inference as triggered by contextualization cues, which are (implicit) metalinguistic (or metapragmatic, see Hübler 2011) devices that can be realized phonologically (e.g., by pauses, intonation, and stress), lexically (e.g., by metacommunicative comments or particles), syntactically (e.g., by non-default syntax) or non-verbally. While the interactional-sociolinguistic concept of contextualization is characterized by the assignation of particularized discursive values to indexical tokens, recontextualization is characterized by an adaptation of discursive values assigned to the indexical tokens in a prior context to the requirements and constraints of a different context, whereas decontextualization is characterized by an extraction of an indexical token from a particular context and an assignation of a generalized discursive value to this extracted token (Fetzer 2022: 149). Embodying recontextualization and decontextualization, entextualization is crucially different from the former two in that it is a process of meaning-making which centers on the interlocutors’ linguistic realizations – and thus discursive production and discursive products – rather than interlocutors’ inferences. The meaning-making process of entextualization has been applied to a variety of contexts such as public transcripts in institutional discourse (e.g., Bucholtz 2009) as well as quotations in news discourse (e.g., Fetzer 2024), largely focusing on the aspect of mediation (Jaffe 2009: 573) but also ideology in the “transposition of discourse from one context into another” (Park & Bucholtz 2009: 489). In addition to (more) global contexts, entextualization in a discourse-pragmatic framework is further applied to (more) local contexts, where it refers to the process of assigning an unbounded referential domain (e.g., *here*, *we/us*) the status of a bounded object (e.g., *here in Germany*, *us linguists*) as exemplified in media discourse and political discourse (Fetzer 2011a, 2014), among other things.

The present study largely subscribes to the discourse-pragmatic conception of entextualization in local contexts but modifies the latter in a few important ways. In analyzing the use of meta-illocutionary items in context, the scope of entextualization is not restricted to unbounded referential domains, as foremost represented by indexicals, and interlocutors’ assignation of bounded objects to these unbounded domains. Instead, it covers all aspects of the speech act as a whole corresponding to the illocution which interlocutors explicitly and reflexively refer to when using a particular meta-illocutionary item. In particular, these aspects

include contextual factors as accommodated in the felicity conditions of illocutionary acts (i.e., input and output, content, preparatory, sincerity, and essential conditions) (Searle 1969, but see sub-chapter 4.3.3.2 for a disambiguation of content versus propositional content) as well as the setting of their performance, and they include concomitant constitutive acts of the corresponding speech act as a whole, that is, the locutionary act and the perlocutionary act (as well as, additionally, perlocutionary effects) (Austin 1962[1975]). All these aspects of the speech act as a whole are assigned the status of contextual parameters and parameter types, and collectively, these parameters are conceptualized as the invariant structure of a frame (Fillmore 1976, also Bateson 1955[1972]) representing the interlocutors' encyclopedic knowledge – and, in this case, first-order conceptions – of illocutions, speech acts as wholes, their contextual embeddedness, and their felicity. Against this background, entextualization refers to the interlocutors' indexical specifications of (or: assignments of context-specific values to) these contextual parameters in discourse. Moreover, entextualization pattern refers to the entirety of quantitative and qualitative aspects regarding interlocutors' entextualizations of contextual parameters and parameter types associated with a specific illocution in a specific dataset – in this case, requesting, commanding, and begging as well as thanking, apologizing, and congratulating across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. In sum, the present study utilizes a very specific conception of entextualization for its purposes: while a number of previously established aspects of entextualization – such as language production and discourse production as its defining feature, its strong association with cognitive context, and its function of assigning context-specific values to less context-specific attributes – are adopted for the following analyses, other aspects – such as its mediating function, especially in more global contexts (Jaffe 2009, Park & Bucholtz 2009) – are only marginally relevant. Entextualization patterns associated with references to the relevant illocutions and illocutionary types across the pertinent GloWbE sub-corpora will be presented in sub-chapter 4.3 and discussed in sub-chapter 5.4.

2.2 Speech act theory

Situated in ordinary language philosophy, speech act theory represents a new and radically different approach to analyzing language use and language functions in relation to the predominant paradigms at the time. Most prominently, it departs from the formalist paradigms of analytic philosophy and sentence semantics, which focus on the truth-conditional aspect of natural languages as formalized by logic. Whereas the formalist paradigm takes the proposition

of a sentence as its primary object of investigation and assesses the validity of arguments against the background of the proposition's truth value and logical consistency, speech act theory is principally concerned with the "total speech act in the total speech situation" (Austin 1962[1975]: 147) encompassing, among other things, the performative quality of utterances and the felicity of communicative action realized by utterances in context.

2.2.1 Constatives and performatives

Within speech act theory, the performative quality of utterances is first mentioned in Austin's distinction between performative and constative utterances and his introduction of the explicit performative. While constative utterances can be assessed in terms of their truth or falsity in describing a state of affairs, performative utterances can be assessed in terms of their felicity or infelicity in performing a conventional social or institutional action. This crucial difference is most noticeable in explicit performative utterances, which – aside from some exceptions (see Austin 1962[1975]: 64-66) – are defined grammatically as first person present indicative active constructions containing a verb which makes maximally explicit the action performed at the moment of uttering by the person uttering: In performative utterances such as *I apologize for being late* or *I promise to be on time tomorrow*, the speaker performs the actions of apologizing and promising at the time of uttering under the presupposition of felicity, whereas in constative utterances such as *I play chess* or *I go to work*, the speaker rather describes states of affairs whose being the case, namely the speaker actually playing chess and going to work respectively, determines the truth of these utterances.

While the constative-performative distinction was helpful for Austin in isolating the performative and using it as a metaphorical "weapon [...] against those in previous philosophical schools who thought that the purpose of language was to state or deny truths about the world" (Sbisà & Turner 2013: 11), Austin himself admits that this distinction is not entirely clear-cut in that it does not give consideration to the observation that – as part of an inherently pragmatic perspective on language – constative utterances can also realize communicative actions (such as, e.g., stating or asserting). Consequently, constative utterances also have a performative use and are thus assessable in terms of felicity. However, the felicity of these utterances itself encompasses, in turn, the truth of the content or at least the speaker's belief or knowledge that the content is true (Austin 1962[1975]: 54-55, see also Searle 1969: 66).

2.2.2 The speech act and its constitutive acts

While Austin's distinction between constative and performative utterances serves as probably the most prominent counterargument to formalist paradigms, it does not yet reveal what exactly is performative about an utterance in context (apart from the grammatical definition of the explicit performative) and which action(s) the speaker actually performs when producing a performative utterance, even an explicit performative one. Austin observes that since the vague expression 'doing something' (i.e., performing an action) has multiple senses, there must also exist multiple senses "in which to say something *is* to do something, or *in* saying we do something, and even *by* saying something we do something" (1962[1975]: 94, original emphases). Collectively, these senses refer to individual but interrelated aspects or sub-acts of the speech act as a whole, all of which are performed in parallel by the speaker and processed in parallel by the hearer. The aspects or sub-acts are called locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act in the Austinian classification, and utterance act, propositional act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act in the Searlean classification.

2.2.2.1 The act of saying: Locutionary act, utterance act, propositional act

The locutionary act is defined by Austin as "[t]he act of 'saying something' in [its] full normal sense" (1962[1975]: 94). It is distinct from the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act in that it is mostly restricted to linguistic-structural aspects of the speaker's utterance, thereby implying that producing full units of speech is already an act in itself, irrespective of the context in which this unit of speech is produced. The linguistic-structural aspects of the locutionary act are accommodated in its three sub-acts: phonetic aspects in the phonetic act, defined as "the act of uttering certain noises", lexical and grammatical aspects in the phatic act, defined as "the uttering of certain vocables or words, i.e. noises of certain types, belonging to and as belonging to, a certain vocabulary, conforming to and as conforming to a certain grammar", and grammatical and semantic aspects in the phatic act, defined as "the performance of an act of using those vocables with a certain more-or-less definite sense and reference" (Austin 1962[1975]: 95).

As an example, the locutionary act *It is sunny outside*. consists of the speaker performing the phonetic act by producing the sound sequence *[ɪt ɪz 'sʌni ,əvɪt 'saɪd]*, the phatic act by saying 'It is sunny outside', and the rhetic act by saying that it is sunny outside. This is distinct from

the locutionary act *What is the girl's name?*, where the speaker performs the phonetic act by producing the sound sequence [wɒt ɪz ðə ɡɜ:lz neɪm], the phatic act by saying ‘What is the girl’s name?’, and the rhetic act by asking what the girl’s name is. The crucial difference between these two examples relates to the phatic act reports and the rhetic act reports. While the phatic act reports retain the original locution in their *oratio recta*, the rhetic act reports take into consideration the declarative sentence type in the first utterance and the interrogative sentence type in the second utterance in their *oratio obliqua* (Austin 1962[1975]: 95). In other words, although Austin’s definition of the rhetic act mainly centers around the semantic concepts of sense and reference, it is obvious that the grammatical category of mood and/or sentence type is also a further constitutive, albeit unexplicated, feature (Sbisà 2013: 28-30). This classification further commits Austin to the position that although mood and/or sentence type can have various degrees of illocutionary implications (e.g., the imperative sentence type being typically used to realize orders or other directive illocutions), they do not belong to the illocutionary act themselves.

Searle (1968) criticizes Austin for being unsuccessful in separating the locution from the illocution due to Austin exemplifying the rhetic act in terms of syntactically complete utterances. According to Searle, the fact that these complete sentences include, by definition, some kind of mood and/or sentence type makes it impossible for the utterances of these sentences to be force-neutral and reducible to their literal meaning:

Every sentence has some illocutionary force potential, if only of a very broad kind, built into its meaning. For example, even the most primitive of the old-fashioned grammatical categories of indicative, interrogative, and imperative sentences already contain determinants of illocutionary force. For this reason there is no specification of a locutionary act performed in the utterance of a complete sentence which will not determine the specification of an illocutionary act. Or, to put it more bluntly, on the characterization that Austin has so far given us of locutionary as opposed to illocutionary acts, there are (in the utterance of complete sentences) no rhetic acts as opposed to illocutionary acts at all. (1968: 412)

Searle amends Austin’s flawed categorization by replacing the rhetic act with the propositional act, “that is, the act of *expressing the proposition* (a phrase which is neutral as to illocutionary force)” (1968: 420, original emphasis). In contrast to the rhetic act, whose illocutionary force is broadly pre-specified by the mood and/or sentence type of the sentence uttered, “the same propositional act can occur in all sorts of different illocutionary acts” (Searle 1968: 420) since it only indicates whether and in how far the literal meaning of the utterance is true, i.e.,

corresponds with facts in the extra-linguistic world. Different types of this correspondence between literal utterance meaning ('words') and facts in the extra-linguistic world ('world'), called 'direction of fit', are taken up as one of three principles of classification in Searle's (1975) *Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts*.

While replacing Austin's rhetic act with the propositional act, Searle at first retains Austin's notions of phonetic act and phatic act, saying that "[t]here are indeed phonetic acts of uttering certain noises [and] phatic acts of uttering certain vocables or words (and sentences)" (1968: 412). In *Speech Acts* (1969), however, Searle introduces the utterance act, conjoining the phonetic act and the phatic act while giving precedence to the latter. In short, Searle's (1969: 24, original emphases) classification of sub-acts looks as follows:

- (a) Uttering words (morphemes, sentences) = performing *utterance acts*.
- (b) Referring and predicating = performing *propositional acts*.
- (c) Stating, questioning, commanding, promising, etc. = performing *illocutionary acts*.

Overall, Austin's locutionary act on the one hand and Searle's utterance act and propositional act on the other can broadly be conceived as the act of uttering something irrespective of the utterance's force in social interaction. While these acts of uttering were not the main foci of both Austin's and Searle's contributions to speech act theory, they serve to delimit the illocutionary act along the lines of literal versus non-literal (or rather more-than-literal) utterance meaning and content versus force, albeit along the lines of different philosophical commitments.

2.2.2.2 The act of doing in saying: The illocutionary act and its effects

Defining the illocutionary act as the act performed in saying something (as opposed to the act of saying something), Austin states that the illocutionary act is performed *eo ipso* whenever a locutionary act is performed (1962[1975]: 98). The illocutionary act is generally centered around how the Austinian locution or the Searlean proposition of an utterance are to be taken in social interaction, or for short, their force. Examples for illocutionary acts are ordering, promising, greeting, or baptizing, all of which require an appropriate utterance to be performed in appropriate circumstances – or contexts – as part of a conventional procedure (Austin

1962[1975]: 14). In essence, the distinction between the locutionary act and the illocutionary act is equatable with the distinction between utterance meaning and speaker meaning (in performing the utterance in a specific context). ‘Meaning’, from an ordinary language perspective, thus appears to be a “hopelessly ambiguous or wide word” (Austin 1962[1975]: 100) which does not prove to be constructive in separating the locutionary from the illocutionary sense of this concept. While this is true for English, other languages do distinguish lexically between these two senses. For instance, the German verb *bedeuten*, which typically takes inanimate subjects, refers to literal meaning in the semiotic sense, whereas *meinen*, which typically takes animate subjects, refers to speaker meaning in the illocutionary sense (or, in a different reading, to ‘entertaining an opinion’).

The illocutionary act is characterized by aspects of both conventionality and intentionality, with scholars generally adopting different degrees of conventionalist and intentionalist positions in describing it (Sbisà 2013: 45). On the one hand, conventionalist approaches emphasize the recurrent conventional patterns involved in the performance of illocutionary acts (Austin 1962[1975]: 14-15) and the status of language use as a rule-governed form of behavior (Searle 1969: 22), thus conceiving of felicity as acting in accordance with these conventions and/or rules. On the other hand, intentionalist approaches stress the importance of the speaker’s expression of their (reflexive) intention, potentially to induce a belief or an action in the hearer as a result of the hearer’s recognition of the speaker’s intention in the sense of Grice’s (1957) *non-natural meaning*. Since the present study attempts to analyze ordinary language users’ entextualization patterns regarding primarily external (i.e., more or less ‘objective’) contextual features of illocutions (such as preparatory conditions, perlocutionary effects, etc.), and since intentionalist approaches to describing the illocutionary act are necessarily also internalist (Harnish 2009), the following characterization of the illocutionary act and its felicity in context will mainly subscribe to conventionalist positions, cross-referencing intentionalist elements where applicable.

Austin (1962[1975]: 14-15) argues that for a performative utterance (and, by analogy, an illocutionary act) to be felicitous, certain “obvious” conditions of the most general kind must be satisfied. Collectively, these conditions are known as generalized felicity conditions:

(A. 1) There must exist an accepted conventional procedure having a certain conventional effect, that procedure to include the uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances, and further,

(A. 2) the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked.

(B. 1) The procedure must be executed by all participants both correctly and

(B. 2) completely.

(Γ. 1) Where, as often, the procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings, or for the inauguration of certain consequential conduct on the part of any participant, then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those thoughts or feelings, and the participants must intend so to conduct themselves, and further

(Γ. 2) must actually so conduct themselves subsequently.

A violation of any of these rules results in the performative utterance being infelicitous. However, infelicities can be different in kind depending on which rule is violated. Austin broadly distinguishes violations of A and B rules, which he calls *misfires*, from violations of Γ rules, which he calls *abuses*. *Misfires* cause the act in question to be purported but void, i.e., not being successfully performed or achieved at all. Examples for *misfires* include requesting someone to open a window which is already open, a shop assistant instead of a priest or registrar marrying two people, or a captain christening their ship by only smashing a bottle against a stem without saying the new name of the ship. By contrast, *abuses* cause the act in question to be professed but hollow, i.e., achieved (and accepted by the hearer to be achieved), but insincerely so. Examples for *abuses* include apologizing to someone without entertaining the mental state of regret or promising to help someone in the future and not doing it. Although Austin primarily emphasizes the existence of conventions in the performance of illocutionary acts, his Γ rules – Γ. 1 in particular – include an intentionalist element in that they are almost exclusively concerned with the speaker's mental states and attitudes, albeit not necessarily with the hearer's recognition of the latter. Searle (1969) accommodates Austin's Γ rules in his sincerity condition.

In contrast to Austin, who formulates generalized conditions for any performative utterance to be felicitous by invoking conventional procedures having conventional effects, Searle focuses on formulating particularized felicity conditions common to different types of illocutionary act. His aim is that "each condition will be a necessary condition for the successful and non-defective performance of [an illocutionary act], and taken collectively the set of conditions will be a sufficient condition for such a performance" (Searle 1969: 54). Searle develops his categorization using the example of promising, but extends it to further types of illocutionary act, including requesting, commanding, thanking, and congratulating (1969: 66-67). In his analysis, he introduces nine felicity conditions, of which the first and the last two

apply to all “normal” illocutionary acts. The first felicity condition requires “normal input and output conditions” (Searle 1969: 57) to obtain, which includes the speaker’s and the hearer’s physical and mental ability to communicate verbally, their competence of the same language, the intelligibility of the speaker’s utterance, but also the absence of “parasitic forms of communication such as telling jokes or acting in a play” (1969: 57), which corresponds to Austin’s *etiolations* (1962[1975]: 22). The eighth condition captures an amended version of Grice’s (1957) *non-natural meaning* and thus represents a strong intentionalist position in the otherwise rule-oriented framework. The modification that Searle makes to Grice’s analysis is to put the hearer’s knowledge of the rules governing the sentence uttered by the speaker at the center of the hearer’s recognition of the speaker’s primary intention (all of which is, in turn, reflexively intended by the speaker) (1969: 49-50). As applied to the act of promising, this condition reads as follows:

S intends (i-i) to produce in H the knowledge (K) that the utterance of [the sentence] T is to count as placing S under an obligation to do A. S intends to produce K by means of the recognition of i-i, and [they] intend[] i-i to be recognized in virtue of (by means of) H’s knowledge of the meaning of T. (Searle 1969: 60)

The last condition requires that the “semantical rules of the dialect spoken by S and H are such that T is correctly and sincerely uttered” (Searle 1969: 61) if and only if the other conditions obtain. In other words, the sentence in question, whose meaning is determined by the meaning of its lexical and syntactic elements, must actually be used to realize the action of promising according to its constitutive elements.

The remaining conditions display variation across individual types of illocutionary act, and are grouped together as *propositional content*, *preparatory*, *sincerity*, and *essential* conditions. The propositional content conditions refer to whether the speaker expresses a proposition and, if so, what is predicated in this proposition. The preparatory conditions refer to a variety of both subjective and more or less ‘objective’, both social and cognitive, but always pre-existing and given (as opposed to constructed and emergent) features of context. Examples include the speaker just having encountered the hearer before performing the illocution of greeting (i.e., social, ‘objective’), or the speaker having reason to believe that a future detrimental event will occur before performing the illocution of warning (i.e., cognitive, both subjective and ‘objective’). The sincerity condition corresponds to Austin’s Γ rules and refers to the mental state expressed in the performance of the respective illocutionary act, namely

belief for asserting, commiseration for condoling, and want for ordering, to name just a few examples. Finally, the essential condition refers to the bringing about of what Searle calls the “essential feature” (1969: 60) of an illocutionary act, which to some extent corresponds to the notion of illocutionary point in Searle’s (1975) taxonomy of illocutionary acts. For promising (and other *commissives*), it is the speaker’s undertaking of an obligation to perform an act in the future, for requesting (and other *directives*), it is the speaker’s attempt to get the hearer to perform an act, and for thanking (and other *expressives*), it is the speaker’s expression of gratitude.

The crucial difference between the propositional content, preparatory, and sincerity condition on the one hand and the essential condition on the other is that the former are necessary conditions for the illocutionary act to be felicitous, whereas the latter is formulated as a ‘counts as’-rule. In other words, if the propositional content, the preparatory, and the sincerity conditions obtain, the utterance of the respective sentence (including an illocutionary force indicating device) counts as performing the illocutionary act by bringing about its essential feature. ‘Counts as’-rules, taking the form *X counts as Y in context C*, represent Searle’s notion of *constitutive rules*, which he distinguishes from *regulative rules*. While regulative rules such as rules of etiquette “regulate antecedently or independently existing forms of behavior”, constitutive rules such as rules of basketball “do not merely regulate, they create or define new forms of behavior” (Searle 1969: 33) as a result of this ‘counts as’-relation. For instance, a basketball player throwing the ball in a way that it goes through the hoop and the net of the basket in its downward trajectory *counts as* scoring, resulting in the team of the scorer being awarded a certain number of points. Similarly, uttering a sentence including illocutionary force indicating devices according to its linguistic-structural rules in the appropriate context *counts as* performing the respective illocutionary act. In Searle’s terms, “the semantic structure of a language may be regarded as a conventional realization of a series of sets of underlying constitutive rules, and [...] speech acts are acts characteristically performed by uttering expressions in accordance with these sets of constitutive rules” (1969: 37), or, in other words, felicity conditions. We will return to the discussion of felicity conditions in the context of comparing the six illocutions under analysis in the present study.

Since the illocutionary act is undoubtedly the main focus and novelty in both Austin’s and Searle’s contributions to speech act theory (to the point where the speech act as a whole has sometimes been equated with, and thereby reduced to, the illocutionary act), much work has been dedicated to delimiting the illocutionary act from the locutionary act on the one hand,

and the perlocutionary act on the other. Just like the locution-illocution boundary, dominated by the debate whether it is Austin's locution or Searle's proposition which best captures literal utterance meaning, the illocution-perlocution boundary is also a highly contentious issue. The debate on what still belongs to the illocution and what is already part of the perlocution mainly revolves around the notion of the 'effect' or 'consequence' of the illocution. In this debate, Searle proposes a rather narrow scope of this notion which only encompasses the achieving of uptake, or the hearer's recognition of the speaker's intention in producing the utterance (1969: 49-50). By contrast, Austin puts forward a wider understanding of the term, which also encompasses the illocution's "'taking effect' in certain ways, as distinguished from producing consequences in the sense of bringing about [...] changes in the natural course of events" as well as their conventional inviting of "a response or sequel" (1962[1975]: 116), both of which are grounded in uptake. While the latter refers quite unambiguously to the inviting of the illocution's conventional perlocutionary effect being brought about (e.g., the hearer performing a specific act after being requested to do so), the former is further disambiguated and explained in Sbisà (1984, 2001, 2009).

In introducing the illocution's 'taking effect', Austin provides the example that the (felicitous) illocutionary act of christening a ship and naming it *Queen Elizabeth* would have the effect of subsequently referring to it as the *Generalissimo Stalin* being "out of order" (1962[1975]: 116). While Austin's example may suggest that the 'taking effect' only applies to conventional or institutional illocutionary acts (e.g., in the sense of Searle's *declarations*), Sbisà extends its scope to "common, everyday illocutionary act[s] such as commanding, warning, apologizing" (2009: 44). In particular, Sbisà argues that the 'taking effect' of an illocution corresponds to its conventional change (i.e., creation, cancellation, satisfaction, etc.) of deontic states of affairs related to the participants in conversation, encompassing "assignments to or cancellations from each one of the participants of modal predicates related to the necessity or possibility of actions with respect to norms" (2001: 1797). These deontic states include, for instance, (different degrees of) entitlements, obligations, rights, and commitments, and they are conventionally modified as an effect of an illocutionary act being felicitously performed. Common examples are the creation of the speaker's commitment to perform an act in promising, the satisfaction of the speaker's obligation to express regret for their past act in apologizing, or the creation of the hearer's obligation to perform an act in ordering. But even assertions include, for instance, speaker entitlement to possessing knowledge and competence of judgment, hearer entitlement to relying on the content of the assertion as an object of knowledge, and speaker commitment to the content of the assertion being true. Since these

‘effects’ are conventional and thus founded on the participants’ intersubjective agreement, they are also defeasible in case doubts about the felicity of the respective illocutionary acts arise. As an example:

The creation of an obligation (e.g. as the outcome of an order) is annulled if the order is discovered to be infelicitous and thus a misfire: you did not do what you were told to do, perhaps, but this was no disobedience, because, since the order was a misfire, you were under no obligation to do what the speaker’s utterance purported to impose on you. (Sbisà 2013: 34)

To sum up, the illocutionary act and its delimitations from the locutionary (utterance, propositional) act and the perlocutionary act has attracted a lot of scholarly attention, combining – to differing degrees – conventionalist and intentionalist aspects, generalized and particularized felicity conditions, and different scopes of the notion of (illocutionary) ‘effect’. In any case, the illocutionary act is the most central aspect to speech act theory, and most of its theoretical considerations will be implemented and operationalized in this study’s investigations into usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. The next sub-chapter will elaborate on the last of the three main aspects of the speech act, the perlocutionary act, and outline both its interrelation with the illocutionary act as well as its relevance to the present study.

2.2.2.3 The act of doing by saying: The perlocutionary act, its effects, objects, and sequels

Austin defines the perlocutionary act as the act performed *by* as opposed to *in* saying something, with some of the most prominent examples being persuading, convincing, and deterring. It is the sub-act of the speech act which is “done with the design, intention or purpose of producing [...] certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons” (Austin 1962[1975]: 101). Its successful performance is thus dependent on natural causation in bringing about these feelings, thoughts or actions as opposed to being conventional like the bringing about of illocutionary ‘effects’ (Sbisà 2009: 44-46). If, for instance, the speaker felicitously requests the hearer to leave the room, they have, in virtue of performing the illocutionary act, conventionally created an obligation for the hearer to leave the room, but not necessarily caused the hearer to leave the room. Consequently, the hearer’s refusing to leave the room would not render the speaker’s request infelicitous. This difference coincides with the scope of linguistic action verbs compatible with the explicit performative

formula. Specifically, illocutionary verbs are compatible with this formula, whereas perlocutionary verbs are not. A speaker uttering, in the appropriate circumstances, *I (hereby) promise to be on time tomorrow* or *I (hereby) thank you for your help* can be said to have felicitously performed the illocutionary acts of promising and thanking respectively. However, a speaker uttering *I (hereby) convince you that the Earth is flat* or *I (hereby) persuade you to go on holiday with me* will not have performed the perlocutionary acts of convincing and persuading.

The perlocutionary effect refers to the actual, consequential result(s) caused by the illocutionary act. As mentioned above, it includes attitudes such as belief or conviction (that *p*), and actions – including omissions – such as, say, closing the window or avoiding large crowds. In contrast to the conventional illocutionary effect, the consequential perlocutionary effect is not defeasible in case of the illocution's infelicity. If the speaker purportedly orders the hearer to lock themselves in their room for three days and the hearer actually locks themselves in their room for three days, the speaker will have successfully brought about the perlocutionary effect of an order even if this order is discovered to be infelicitous because, say, the speaker lacks power over the hearer.

Since the perlocutionary effect is primarily defined by natural causation, it encompasses both intended and unintended effects of the illocutionary act, and effects which are both conventionally and non-conventionally related to the illocutionary act, as long as these effects are consequential with regard to the illocution in question. Conventionally related effects are predominantly intended to be brought about by the speaker, whereas non-conventionally related effects can be both intended and unintended. The former are known as *perlocutionary objects* or *associated perlocutions*, described as being “closely linked” (Sbisà 2013: 35) or “belong[ing] with” (Cohen 1973: 497) the illocution. The most common perlocutionary objects or associated perlocutions are alerting for the illocution of warning, getting the hearer to do something for the illocution requesting, and convincing for the illocution of arguing (Austin 1962[1975]: 117). The latter are known as *perlocutionary sequels*. While perlocutionary sequels are most commonly exemplified by the hearer's startling or being surprised, the notion covers a very heterogeneous field, namely “all those cases in which some aspect of a speech act, locutionary or illocutionary, produces an effect of the non-conventional kind, intended or unintended, which lacks any regular association with the illocutionary force of the speech act that triggers it” (Sbisà 2013: 36). As an example, the speaker's warning the hearer of snakes in the nearby forest may not only (conventionally) cause the hearer to be

alarmed, but (non-conventionally) also to, say, panic, run away, trip, fall, injure themselves, and be taken to hospital by an ambulance. Since perlocution has no upper border (Sbisà 2013: 59), the definitional logic of cause and effect is also extendible to entire chains of causation triggered by a speech act, where its ‘most immediate’ perlocutionary effect (e.g., the hearer’s panicking) may cause ‘less immediate’ perlocutionary effects (e.g., the hearer’s running away, tripping, falling, etc.).

Overall, the perlocutionary aspect of the speech act centers around the hearer’s response to its locutionary and its (embodied) illocutionary aspect, broadly conceived. While the speaker may conventionally intend to bring about a certain response, the actual bringing about of this response – whether in the form of an attitude or an action – is by no means conventional (as distinct from the conventional illocutionary effects). This observation has been taken to question the status of perlocution as an act by the speaker altogether since it is crucially the hearer’s response that makes the difference (e.g., Gu 1993). Even if one considered the speaker causing the hearer’s response as an act in itself, this would still commit one to conclude that a speaker whose felicitous illocutionary act has not brought about any consequential effects has, in fact, not performed a perlocutionary act. In this view, “the perlocutionary act cannot exist as a genuine action of the speaker but only as a way in which the utterance act can be described in consideration of its consequences” (Sbisà 2013: 62). However, the agent-centered (post-)Austinian notion of action still permits the existence of the perlocutionary act by understanding it (‘solely’) as an additional dimension of the speaker bringing about a change in a state of affairs for which they can be made responsible (Sbisà 2013: 62). This view does not necessarily require the hearer to react in a speaker-intended or even speaker-unintended way for the speaker’s action to be identified as such but considers it sufficient that the performance of a speech act brings about a new situation in which then the hearer may or may not respond in the speaker-intended way (and thus bring about or not bring about the respective perlocutionary effect).

2.2.3 Speech act taxonomies

Within contributions to speech act theory, there have been a number of attempts to classify speech acts in general and illocutions in particular. These attempts often vary in terms of their methodological approaches as well as their theoretical and philosophical commitments, and while some results display notable similarities across approaches, others are characterized by

stark differences across paradigms and authors. The present overview will again mainly focus on conventionalist and rule-based approaches, and provide comparisons with intentionalist approaches where necessary. After sketching similarities and differences across classifications and identifying constitutive features of speech act classes according to each approach, the following sub-chapters will focus on Searle's (1975) *directives* and *expressives*, which constitute values of one of the present study's independent variables, viz. illocutionary types.

2.2.3.1 Austin's families of related speech acts

As part of his last lecture, Austin tentatively introduces an initial classification in the form of "general *families* of related and overlapping speech acts" (1962[1975]: 149, original emphasis). His approach to establishing this classification is to first sift through a dictionary and extract all verbs which, in their first person present indicative active form, can be used to conventionally perform the action they simultaneously refer to. Austin's philosophical commitment in his otherwise conventionalist approach is thus a linguistic phenomenological one, resting on the assumption that differences in lexical encodings within a natural language provide useful distinctions relevant to ordinary social interactions, in this case distinctions as to what speakers can do *in* saying something. In the next step, Austin draws upon "resemblances among the action schemes or scripts that specify the meaning of the verbs on his list" (Sbisà 2013: 33). Based on these resemblances, Austin distinguishes five classes, each of which is typified by a small number of illocutionary act types and overlaps with at least some other classes. In this distinction, *verdictives* are "typified by the giving of a verdict" such as in convicting, ruling, or diagnosing, *exercitives* are "the exercising of powers" such as in ordering, vetoing, or demoting, *commissives* are "typified by [...] undertaking [an obligation]" such as in promising, betting, or vowing, *behabitives* "have to do with attitudes and *social behaviour*" such as in apologizing, congratulating, and condoling, and *expositives* "make plain how our utterances fit into the course of an argument or conversation" such as in explaining, postulating, and conceding (Austin 1962[1975]: 150-151, original emphasis).

In line with the use of terms such as 'families', 'typified', and 'overlapping', which clearly reveals an accommodation of Wittgenstein's (1953) notion of family resemblance, Austin exemplifies the possibility of cross-classification of illocutions – or rather illocutionary verbs – within his categorization. For instance, sanctioning can be both an exercise of power and therefore an *exercitive*, and commit the speaker to a future course of action and therefore a

commissive. Similarly, classing or interpreting can clarify how another utterance or speech act is intended to be interpreted in discourse and thus be an *expositive* (see also Oishi & Fetzer 2016), and exercise judgment and thus be a *verdictive*. For Sbisà (2013: 34), this possibility of multiple category membership reflects the intricacies of Austin’s notion of illocution, which encompasses “complex procedures envisaging circumstances of execution, competence, position or capacity of the participants, conventional effects, and linguistic forms suitable to making it clear what procedure is invoked”. Austin himself, however, is rather hesitant and pessimistic about his own classification precisely because of this possibility of cross-classification and a lack of exhaustiveness, but also because of the large scope and diversity of the *behabitive* and the *expositive* classes. Consequently, he emphasizes that he is “not putting any of this forward as in the very least definitive”, and even suggests the necessity of a “fresh classification altogether” (1962[1975]: 151). In fact, this classification has been widely criticized in the literature, probably most prominently and influentially by Searle (1975), who introduces a more systematized and principled taxonomy as a response to Austin’s families of related speech acts.

2.2.3.2 Searle’s taxonomy of illocutionary acts

Searle takes Austin’s classification as the starting point for his own attempt to develop “a reasoned classification of illocutionary acts into certain basic categories or types” (1975: 344). After reviewing Austin’s work, Searle brings forward six partially interrelated points of criticism, some of which tie in with Austin’s own skepticism regarding cross-classification and overlap between classes:

In ascending order of importance, there is a persistent confusion between verbs and acts; not all the verbs are illocutionary verbs; there is too much heterogeneity within the categories; many of the verbs listed in the categories don’t satisfy the definition given for the category; and, most important, there is no consistent principle of classification. (Searle 1975: 354)

In contrast to Austin’s phenomenological approach to collecting and classifying illocutionary verbs, Searle – maintaining his philosophical commitments in distinguishing felicity conditions – adopts a rule-based (or principle-based) approach to defining and delimiting categories of illocutionary acts rather than verbs. In doing so, Searle puts forward “twelve significant dimensions of variation in which illocutionary acts differ from one another” (1975: 345) and

further introduces two levels of importance of these dimensions which affect the qualitative character of his categories, two cases in point being *directives* on the one hand and *expressives* on the other.

Specifically, Searle introduces three dimensions which are “the most important” for building his taxonomy, and nine “others that need remarking” (1975: 348). The three most important dimensions are *illocutionary point*, *direction of fit*, and *expressed psychological state*. The *illocutionary point* (or purpose) corresponds to the essential condition in Searle’s (1969) particularized felicity conditions and is exemplified by the point of promises being that the speaker undertakes an obligation to perform a future act, and the purpose of orders being that the speaker tries to get the hearer to perform an act. The *direction of fit* refers to the way in which extra-linguistic states of affairs relate to (the truth of) the proposition expressed in the utterance of the sentence in question. For example, descriptions display a word-to-world direction of fit because the speaker describing something attempts to make their ‘words’ (i.e., the proposition expressed in their utterance of the sentence) fit the relevant extra-linguistic state(s) of affairs for the proposition to be true. By contrast, orders or promises have a world-to-word direction of fit because for the respective propositions to be true, the relevant extra-linguistic state(s) of affairs must be brought about, changed, or adapted to fit the speaker’s ‘words’ (i.e., proposition). Finally, the *expressed psychological state* corresponds to Searle’s (1969) sincerity condition: requests express the speaker’s want (that the proposition be made true), condolences express the speaker’s commiseration (about the proposition being true), and statements express the speaker’s belief (that the proposition is true). Searle further states that the speaker need not actually entertain the mental state that they express; only the expression itself – even if insincere and thus an *abuse* in Austin’s terms – is of interest for the taxonomy (1975: 347).

The nine “other dimensions that need remarking” are, in brief: differences in (1) the force or strength of the illocutionary point (e.g., higher in insisting, lower in suggesting), (2) the status or position of the speaker and the hearer (e.g., speaker in a position of power in ordering, hearer in a position of power in suggesting), (3) the way the utterance relates to the interest of the speaker and the hearer (e.g., congratulations for something which is in the hearer’s interest, condolences for something which is not), (4) relations to the rest of the discourse (e.g., statements being presented as speech acts in isolation, conclusions being presented as having an additional discursive function, see also Austin’s *expositives*), (5) propositional content as determined by illocutionary force indicating devices (e.g., reports

being about the past, predictions being about the future), (6) acts which must be speech acts and those which can be speech acts (e.g., estimating verbally and performatively, estimating cognitively), (7) acts which do or do not require extra-linguistic institutions for their performance (e.g., blessing within a religious institution vs. blessing in an everyday context), (8) acts whose verb does or does not have a performative use (e.g., ‘state’ having a performative use, ‘boast’ not), and (9) the style of performance of the illocutionary act (e.g., announcing being marked for a “special *style*” of performance, confiding not) (Searle 1975: 348-350, original emphasis).

As mentioned above, Searle mainly centers his taxonomy around differences in *illocutionary point*, *direction of fit*, and *expressed mental state*. In doing so, he distinguishes five classes of illocutionary acts: *representatives*, *directives*, *commissives*, *expressives*, and *declarations* (Searle 1975: 354-361). *Representatives* (such as stating, hypothesizing, or concluding) commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition, have a word-to-world direction of fit, and express the speaker’s belief that their proposition is true. *Directives* (such as requesting, ordering, urging) are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to perform an action, have a world-to-word direction of fit, and express the speaker’s want, wish, or desire that the proposition be made true. *Commissives* (such as promising, vowing, pledging) commit the speaker to performing an act in the future, also have a world-to-word direction of fit, and express the speaker’s intention to make the proposition true. *Expressives* (such as welcoming, condoling, thanking) express the speaker’s mental state about a state of affairs, have an empty direction of fit, and express a variety of mental states as long as they do not entail a direction of fit (e.g., pleasure, commiseration, gratitude). Finally, *declarations* (such as appointing, firing, marrying) bring about an institutional state of affairs, have a double direction of fit, and do not express any mental state (and are therefore excluded from analysis in the intentionalist-and-inferentialist paradigm, see Bach & Harnish 1979). The following sub-chapters will focus exclusively on *directives* and *expressives* by exploring the qualitative character of these two classes using the example of three illocutions each (requesting, commanding, and begging for *directives*, and thanking, apologizing, and congratulating for *expressives*), and presenting similarities and differences as well as their implications for metacommunicative perspectives and the empirical part of the present study.

2.2.3.2.1 Directives

In detail, the *illocutionary point* of Searle's class of *directives* is that its members constitute attempts "of varying degrees" (1975: 355) to get the hearer to do something. In other words, while the force with which the speaker attempts to get the hearer to do something may vary across illocutionary act types (e.g., ordering, requesting, suggesting), the determinable of attempting itself remains stable. Apart from that, the *direction of fit* is invariably world-to-words and, more crucially, the *expressed mental state* is invariably want, wish, or desire. In what follows, the variation across determinates of the determinable of attempting will be explored using the example of requesting, commanding, and begging based on existing or modified particularized felicity conditions specified in Searle (1969: 66-67).

For the illocution of requesting, Searle (1969: 66) lists the following felicity conditions:

Propositional content	Future act A of H.
Preparatory	1. H is able to do A. S believes H is able to do A. 2. It is not obvious to both S and H that H will do A in the normal course of events of his own accord.
Sincerity	S wants H to do A.
Essential	Counts as an attempt to get H to do A.

Evidently, the *illocutionary point* of directives is accommodated in the essential condition of requesting, and the *expressed mental state* is accommodated in its sincerity condition. The sincerity condition and the essential condition, in turn, affect the propositional content, which can, by definition, not be true at the moment of performing but is to be made true in the future by the hearer. Lastly, the preparatory conditions refer to both subjective and more or less 'objective' aspects of relevant socio-cognitive features of context.

The felicity conditions of commanding are not listed explicitly in Searle (1969) but are dealt with in the form of a comment that Searle appends to the felicity conditions of requesting. In this comment, Searle says that commanding has "the additional preparatory rule that S must be in a position of authority over H", and further that "the authority relationship infects the essential condition because the utterance counts as an attempt to get H to do A *in virtue of the authority of S over H*" (1969: 66, original emphasis). Thus, while the propositional content condition and the sincerity condition (and thereby the world-to-word direction of fit) remain stable across requesting and commanding, the additional authority of the speaker over the hearer

in commanding increases the illocutionary force of the latter and thereby the strength with which the speaker attempts the hearer to perform a future action (see also *mode of achievement*, Searle & Vanderveken 1985). In other words, requesting and commanding do not – or only as a matter of degree – differ in terms of Searle’s “most important” dimensions (i.e., *illocutionary point, direction of fit, expressed mental state*) but rather in terms of two “others that need remarking”, namely differences in the force or strength of the illocutionary point, and differences the status or position of the speaker and the hearer (1975: 348).

The illocutionary act of begging is only mentioned in passing in Searle’s *Speech Act Taxonomy* (1975: 356), and not at all in his list of particularized felicity conditions in *Speech Acts* (1969: 66-67). Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the prepositional content condition (i.e., a future act of the hearer) and the sincerity condition (i.e., want, wish, or desire that the proposition be made true) are in line with those of requesting and commanding. However, the preparatory condition and, by extension, the essential condition require additional specifications:

Unlike requests, in the begging scenario, the addressee has some authority over the speaker, and because of this authority, [they have] the choice to decide whether or not to satisfy the speaker’s wish. At the same time, the speaker believes that the authoritative addressee is not desirous to give [them] what [they want], and urges [them] to do so. (del Campo Martínez 2011: 50)

Thus, apart from (the speaker’s belief regarding) the hearer’s ability to perform the relevant act and the non-obviousness that the hearer will perform this act on their own, the illocution of begging further requires the hearer to be in a position of authority over the hearer, (the speaker’s believing that) the hearer neither has the desire nor the obligation to perform the act, and possibly also an element of actual or construed urgency on the speaker’s part of the act being performed. These additional preparatory conditions also ‘infect’ the essential condition in that they modify the illocutionary point of *directives*, which in the case of begging is an attempt to get the hearer to perform an act *despite H’s authority over S and the lack of H’s desire and/or obligation to perform A*.

The question that remains to be answered is how the illocutionary force of begging compares to that of requesting or commanding. Arguing along the lines of relative power of the speaker and the hearer, one would have to conclude that begging is less forceful than requesting, let alone commanding. Arguing along the lines of directness in speech act realization, however,

the answer becomes more complex, especially since “the act of begging shows preference for the imperative mood” (del Campo Martínez 2011: 50), i.e., a conventionally direct strategy for performing *directive* illocutions. However, the relative distribution of power across the speaker and the hearer does not conventionally warrant this degree of directness in realization. To account for this, the imperative mood is often coupled with interjections, repetitions, and exclamations (e.g., *Oh please, please, please, help me! You have to help me!*), through which the speaker adopts a submissive role in relation to the hearer despite employing a direct head act strategy (del Campo Martínez 2011: 50). Illocutionary force thus appears to be composed of a pragmalinguistic aspect (i.e., levels of directness in realization) and a sociopragmatic aspect (i.e., relative power of the speaker and the hearer) (Leech 1983: 11). In general, these two aspects seem to converge for most (*directive*) illocutionary acts in that a superior position of the speaker warrants more direct realizations, whereas an inferior position of the speaker calls for more indirect realizations. In begging, however, these two aspects appear to diverge in that the speakers prefer direct realization strategies despite their inferior position of power (which they, however, signal through interjections, repetitions, and exclamations), possibly due to the actual or construed urgency of the act being performed.

In any case, begging, just like commanding, differs from requesting only in terms of some of Searle’s “other dimensions that need remarking”, namely differences in the status or position of the speaker and the hearer, and – in a more complex fashion – differences in the force or strength of the illocutionary point. Searle’s “most important” dimensions (i.e., *illocutionary point, direction of fit, expressed mental state*), on the other hand, remain stable across all three illocutions. This general pattern permits two concluding insights about the conceptual structure of the *directive* class in respect of the three members under consideration: First, requesting is the illocution which is the least specified (or the ‘most general’) in terms of felicity conditions and which most unrestrictedly reflects Searle’s definition of *directives*, thus arguably being situated at the core of this class. Second, the *directive* class has a ‘more cohesive’ qualitative character containing more contiguous and/or overlapping category members (i.e., illocutions) which only vary across Searle’s ancillary dimensions, whereas Searle’s primary dimensions remain fully stable.

2.2.3.2.2 Expressives

The *illocutionary point* of *expressives* is to express the speaker's mental state about a state of affairs. Since the illocutionary point corresponds to Searle's (1969) essential condition and the expressed mental state corresponds to Searle's (1969) sincerity condition, "[s]incerity and essential rules overlap" (1969: 67) in *expressive* illocutionary acts. In *directives*, by contrast, the sincerity condition of want, wish, or desire only informs the essential condition of the speaker attempting to get the hearer to perform an action. Moreover, *expressives* are characterized by variability in the mental states expressed, delimited only by the *direction of fit* entailed by these mental states, which must be empty. The propositional content specifying the state of affairs about which the speaker expresses their mental state is presupposed to be true rather than being put forward as true (Searle 1975: 357), and the preparatory conditions vary considerably across illocutions. In the following, the *expressive* class will be explored using the illocutions of thanking, apologizing, and congratulating with a particular focus on similarities and differences both between illocutions within the *expressive* class and between the *expressive* class and the *directive* class in terms of their qualitative character.

The particularized felicity conditions of thanking are listed by Searle (1969: 67) as follows:

Propositional content	Past act A done by H.
Preparatory	A benefits S and S believes A benefits S.
Sincerity	S feels grateful or appreciative for A.
Essential	Counts as an expression of gratitude or appreciation.

The *illocutionary point* (see essential condition) of thanking is to *express* the *mental state* of gratitude or appreciation (see sincerity condition), the speaker expresses gratitude or appreciation for a past act done by the hearer (see propositional content, which is presupposed to be true), and the past act is (believed by the speaker to be) of benefit to the speaker. Furthermore, the mental state of gratitude or appreciation does not entail a direction of fit between the words and the world. Thus, the illocution of thanking fulfils all the requirements of the *expressive* class and is thus an *expressive* illocution par excellence.

The illocution of apologizing is not described explicitly by Searle in terms of its particularized felicity conditions. However, an analogous analysis is found in Ogiermann (2009: 46):

Propositional content	Past act A done by S.
Preparatory	S believes A is an offence against H.
Sincerity	S regrets act A.
Essential	Counts as an apology for act A.

Ogiermann's specification of felicity conditions differs in some respects from Searle's taxonomic requirements for the *expressive* class. First, Ogiermann only requires the speaker to believe that their past act is an offence against the hearer and thus reduces the preparatory condition to the subjective aspects of the socio-cognitive context. Second, the essential condition does not quite correspond to Searle's (1975) illocutionary point in that, in Ogiermann's (2009) analysis, it is not only an expression of regret, but rather the performance of an apology as a whole. This raises the question as to whether "a [person] who apologizes for doing A [only] expresses regret at having done A" (Searle 1975: 347) or whether an apology is to be seen holistically including an (implicit) admission of guilt and a commitment to future forbearance (see Austin's Γ. 2 rule of subsequent behavior). In any case, the illocution of apologizing differs most crucially from thanking in terms of the *mental states expressed*, namely regret and/or contrition as opposed to gratitude and/or appreciation. While neither gratitude/appreciation nor regret/contrition entail a direction of fit between the words and the world (as required by Searle), these (pairs of) mental states are very different from one another. In other words, the two members of the *expressive* class display variation in a primary taxonomic dimension (i.e., *expressed mental state*) as opposed to ancillary dimensions (such as differences in illocutionary force or status of the speaker and the hearer as in *directives*).

The particularized felicity conditions of the illocution of congratulating are again found in Searle (1969: 67):

Propositional content	Some event, act, etc., E related to H.
Preparatory	E is in H's interest and S believes E is in H's interest.
Sincerity	S is pleased at E.
Essential	Counts as an expression of pleasure at E.

In congratulating, the *illocutionary point* (i.e., essential condition) is to *express* the speaker's *mental state* of pleasure (i.e., sincerity condition) about the state of affairs specified in the propositional content, this mental state does not entail a *direction of fit*, and the propositional content is presupposed to be true. Despite thus also being an *expressive* illocutionary act par excellence, congratulating differs most notably from thanking and apologizing in terms of the *expressed mental state*, i.e., pleasure as opposed to gratitude/appreciation and regret/contrition. Moreover, the preparatory condition requiring (the speaker to believe) that the event specified in the propositional content is in the hearer's interest also differs considerably from the preparatory conditions of thanking and apologizing.

Overall, the illocutions of thanking, apologizing, and congratulating all differ from one another in terms of one of Searle's "most important" classification principles, namely the *expressed mental states* specified in their sincerity condition. This is crucially different from the class of *directives*, whose members differ from one another in terms of Searle's ancillary classification principles such as differences in illocutionary force or differences in relative power of the speaker and the hearer. Due to the high degree of variability in the sincerity condition (delimited only by the empty direction of fit), the *expressive* class can be said to be 'more diversified' containing more distinct and discrete members, and to lack a uniform core which would correspond to the illocution of requesting in *directives*. Consequently, while differences in the ancillary dimensions of illocutionary force and/or the relative power of the speaker and the hearer can make a difference in whether a *directive* illocution is interpreted as, say, a request or a command, such differences do not make a difference in whether an *expressive* illocution is interpreted as, say, an apology or a congratulation. Importantly, that is not to say that differences in illocutionary force and relative power do not exist in (the performance of) *expressive* illocutions – rather, these differences do not affect the illocutionary status within the *expressive* class (e.g., apologizing versus congratulating) as opposed to the directive class (i.e., requesting versus commanding).

Having introduced speech act theory with a particular focus on the two illocutionary types classes and the six illocutions under analysis in the present study, the next sub-chapter will introduce the meta-illocutionary lexicon against the background of metalanguage, metacommunication, and metapragmatics, and argue for a frame-based approach to analyzing ordinary talk about illocutions including patterns in entextualization of felicity conditions and further contextual features.

2.3 Metalanguage, metacommunication, and the meta-illocutionary lexicon

The present sub-chapter will present and compare different approaches to defining the notions of metalanguage and metacommunication, and attempt to disambiguate the different senses of these notions according to the framework(s) adopted. Against this background, subsequent sub-chapters will introduce the meta-illocutionary lexicon and develop a classification of its use types in context by integrating speech-act-theoretical concepts such as the constative-performative distinction and felicity conditions into a larger framework of reflexive language including logico-linguistic and (predominantly) semiotic-functional approaches. This classification of use types will then be applied in the annotation of the present dataset reflecting ordinary language users' talk about speech acts in general and illocutions in particular.

2.3.1 Metalanguage and reflexivity

In contrast to the original translation of the Greek preposition or prefix μετά ('after', 'beyond'), the modern use of this prefix generally refers to the self-referentiality of the category or domain represented by the prefixed item. In research on the meta-level of specific categories or domains, the respective object of study is sometimes formally defined as *X about X*, with *X* being the category or domain in question. This formal definition presupposes *X*'s capacity of referring (and thus that *X* consists of a system of signs) as well as at least partial identity between the sign(s) and their referent(s). In the context of linguistics, metalanguage could thus be formally defined as (the study of) *language about language*, with language consisting of a system of signs (e.g., lexical items) which can refer not only to objects and states of affairs in the extra-linguistic world, but to language and linguistic signs themselves. The same formalization applies to metadata, metamathematics, or metacognition. While early research on metalanguage has its roots in analytic philosophy and logic, more recent approaches emphasize semiotic-functional aspects of reflexive language. In the following, both approaches to the study of metalanguage will be outlined. However, since the present study focuses particularly on metapragmatics and the meta-illocutionary lexicon, it will mainly (and necessarily) subscribe to the semiotic-functional paradigm.

2.3.1.1 Formal approaches in analytic philosophy and logic

Logico-linguistic approaches (Lucy 1993) to studying reflexive language are largely concerned with deriving true propositions from arguments involving a reflexive reference to (intra-)linguistic items or aspects of language. More generally, these approaches distinguish between object language and metalanguage, with object language being associated with making true (or false) statements about the extra-linguistic world, and metalanguage being associated with making true (or false) statements about a linguistic item or aspect of language itself. Compare the following sentences:

- (1) **Germany** is a country in central Europe.
- (2) **‘Germany’** is a trisyllabic word.
- (3) **Trisyllabic** words are a component of spoken English.
- (4) **‘Trisyllabic’** is a quadrisyllabic word.

In (1), ‘Germany’ is *used* in an object language sentence whose proposition truthfully represents an extra-linguistic state of affairs, thereby foregrounding the geopolitical aspect of the referent and presupposing encyclopaedic knowledge about the concepts of ‘country’ and ‘Europe’. In (2), ‘Germany’ is *mentioned* in a metalinguistic sentence which truthfully represents an intra-linguistic state of affairs, thereby foregrounding the linguistic, lexico-phonological aspect of the referent and presupposing knowledge about the concepts of ‘trisyllabic’ and ‘word’. These two examples reflect Quine’s (1940) traditional distinction between object-linguistic *use* and metalinguistic *mention* of linguistic items.

However, the congruency in Quine’s distinction (i.e., object-linguistic *use* versus metalinguistic *mention*) does not hold for the remaining two examples. Examples (3) and (4) are both metalinguistic by virtue of the referents of ‘trisyllabic’, ‘quadrisyllabic’, ‘word’, ‘spoken’, and ‘English’ being (exclusively or predominantly) language-internal, and they both truthfully represent an intra-linguistic state of affairs. The crucial difference between these sentences lies in the embedding of the metalinguistic item ‘trisyllabic’ into the conventional phrase and clause structure (see also Verschueren 2021: 120). In (3), the adjective (phrase) ‘trisyllabic’ is being *used* as it conventionally functions as premodifier in the noun phrase ‘trisyllabic words’, which itself functions as the subject of the copular clause. In (4), by contrast, this adjective (phrase) is being *mentioned* in isolation as it (unconventionally) functions as the subject of the copular

clause itself. In examples (1) and (2), this difference is ambiguous since ‘Germany’ is a proper noun functioning as the head of a noun phrase which itself can function as the subject of a clause, whether it is *used* or *mentioned*.

In general, the reflexive, metalinguistic status of linguistic items such as ‘Germany’ or ‘trisyllabic’ can be indicated (and thus disambiguated) visually by quotation marks or italics in writing. However, such a disambiguation is more difficult to achieve in spoken interaction. This requires the speakers to rely either on paralinguistic features such as prosody, intonation, or (quoting) gestures and thus to engage in implicit semiotic-functional metacommunication (e.g., Gumperz 1992), and/or on sentence parsing, which in case of syntactic ambiguity may be costly due to an increased cognitive load.

The logico-linguistic paradigm further encompasses the truth-conditional analysis of entire clauses. Here, the focus is not so much on true or false representations of language-scientific aspects of language-internal states of affairs (e.g., ‘*The cat is on the mat*’ is a complete English sentence.), but rather on direct and indirect quotation (though, of course, both lexical items and entire clauses can be both quoted and represented in terms of their language-scientific aspects). Compare the following sentences, presuming that a speaker named Jane said “I have almost read the entire book”:

- (5) Jane said “I have **almost** read the entire book”.
- (6) Jane said that she had **almost** read the entire book.
- (7) Jane said that she had **nearly** read the entire book.
- (8) Jane said “I have **nearly** read the entire book”.

The main issue in these examples is the effect of the use of synonyms on truth values of (propositions of) sentences incorporating direct or indirect quotations of other sentences, and (actual or purported) types of equivalence between the quoted sentence and the quotation itself. In (5), the type of equivalence is *de dicto* (i.e., preserving the speech forms used) and the sentence as a whole is true. In (6) and (7), the type of equivalence is *de re* (i.e., conveying the central message of the quoted sentence), which permits variation in the representation of the main message indirectly quoted in the sentence. Therefore, both sentences can be said to be true, although this conclusion raises questions about the possibility of making rigorously deterministic logical derivations in analyzing (indirect) metarepresentations of language (Lucy

1993: 14). In (8), the purported type of equivalence is also *de dicto*, but since the actual speech forms of the quoted sentence are not fully preserved, the sentence as a whole is false.

Overall, the logico-linguistic approach to studying reflexive language struggles with several shortcomings, some of which are an extension of the drawbacks of the analytic-philosophical approach to studying (object) language more generally. First, and as mentioned above, linguistic variation and its role in indirect quotation render it difficult to make deterministic logical derivations from language about language. Second, and more generally, the sharp distinction between object language and metalanguage is hardly tenable because (a) both metalanguage and object language – if they belong to the same natural language – use the same code, and because (b) metalinguistic and object-linguistic items coexist in natural language sentences. For instance, in *Trisyllabic words are a component of spoken English*, ‘trisyllabic’, ‘words’, ‘spoken’ and possibly ‘English’ are metalinguistic items, whereas ‘component’ is not. Consequently, “a metalanguage is always to some degree a function of or dependent on the nature of the object language out of which it is implemented” (Lucy 1993: 13). Despite this observation, the logico-linguistic approach to studying reflexive language makes “virtually no serious attempt to understand the broader functions of metalinguistic speech as human activity” (Lucy 1993: 14), thus calling for a functional approach to studying the socio-cognitive significance of reflexive language in context.

2.3.1.2 Functional approaches in semiotics, semantics, and pragmatics

In contrast to logico-linguistic approaches to studying reflexive language, semiotic-functional approaches foreground the semiotic practice entailed in the use of reflexive language and its situatedness in context. In this view, the scope of analysis encompasses metacommunication as a whole rather than metalanguage in isolation. This is reflected, among other things, in Jakobson’s (1957[1971]) distinction between *codes* and *messages* in his model of communicative functions of language, and Bateson’s (1955[1972]) distinction between *metalinguistic messages* and *metacommunicative messages*. Taking into account both the reflexivity of verbal communication and its situatedness in context, semiotic-functional approaches generally conceive of verbal metacommunication as being doubly contextual, and aim to explore contextual features (and their interrelations) of reflexive, metacommunicative utterances on the one hand, and the communicative utterances reflexively referred to on the other.

Jakobson (1957[1971]), who characterizes communicative utterances as consisting of *codes* (C) and *messages* (M), distinguishes four crosswise types of reflexivity, namely *codes about codes* (C/C), *codes about messages* (C/M), *messages about codes* (M/C), and *messages about messages* (M/M). C/C encompasses the use of proper names whose definition “requires circular reference to the code itself because a name means that to which the name is assigned” (Verschueren 2021: 125), and C/M encompasses the use of *shifters* (i.e., indexical forms, deictic markers) which are characterized by having referential but no denotative meaning and whose use thus requires implicit reflexive awareness of the communicative context on the part of the speakers. By contrast, M/C includes *mentions* as opposed to *uses* of linguistic items, mainly in the form of so-called *autonomous speech* about linguistic regularities such as intralingual circumlocutions or interlingual translations of the items in question (Lucy 1993: 16), and M/M includes reported speech in the form of direct and indirect quotation as well as various intermediate forms. The main difference between C/C and C/M on the one hand and M/C and M/M on the other is that while both indicate the speaker’s metacommunicative awareness, the former “only serve as *indicators*”, whereas the latter “openly *display* such awareness” (Verschueren 2021: 125, original emphases). On this account, Verschueren (2021) distinguishes between indicators of reflexive awareness (corresponding to reflexive uses of Jakobson’s *codes*) and metalinguistic activity types (corresponding to reflexive uses of Jakobson’s *messages*). Since the following study is primarily concerned with explicit uses of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, it will be restricted to analyzing the reflexive use of Jakobson’s *messages* and therefore primarily deal with Verschueren’s (2021) metalinguistic activity types. These metalinguistic activity types comprise talk about linguistic forms and utterances, talk about languages, quoted and reported speech, and self-reflexive speech (Verschueren 2021: 120-125), some of which will serve as a starting point in the development of a classification scheme of use types of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in context.

The semiotic objects of meta-illocutionary items are speech acts in general and illocutions in particular, both of which are pragmatic concepts par excellence. Consequently, (the study of) the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use entails a metapragmatic perspective on language in the Silversteinian (1976, 1993) sense, with metapragmatics being defined as meta-semiosis involving pragmatic aspects of language use. Strictly speaking, Silverstein’s definition of metapragmatics departs slightly from the formal pattern of *X about X* (i.e., pragmatics about pragmatics). This, however, is due to the fact that pragmatics itself is not a module of language consisting of a self-contained system of signs, but rather a perspective emphasizing the connectedness of (core) linguistic items to their users and the extra-linguistic world (Fetzer

2011b: 25-26). Thus, while (core) linguistic and paralinguistic signs may and do, of course, reflexively refer to pragmatic aspects of language and/or communication, (meta-)pragmatics itself does not lend itself to being implemented into the formal pattern of *X about X*. (see also Caffi 1998 and Hübler 2011 for a detailed disambiguation of the different senses of *metapragmatics* in research). In addition to entailing meta-semiosis involving pragmatic aspects of language use, meta-illocutionary items are further explicit meta-semiotic signs because they explicitly refer to pragmatic aspects of language use (Verschueren 2000: 441; Hübler 2011: 108-116). Explicit meta-semiosis can be contrasted with implicit meta-semiosis where features related to prosody, intonation, and register (e.g., Gumperz' 1992 *contextualization cues*) imply a reflexive framing of the ongoing interaction (as, for example, formal or informal).

The notion of reflexive framing in metacommunication has already been introduced by Bateson, who distinguishes between *metalinguistic messages*, in which “the subject of discourse is language”, and *metacommunicative messages*, where “the subject of discourse is the relationship between the speakers” (1955[1972]: 178). While Bateson's *metalinguistic messages* largely correspond to Quine's (1940) *mentions* of words and clauses (as opposed to their *uses*), Bateson's *metacommunicative messages* frame communication in that they give the receiver “instructions or aids in [their] attempt to understand the messages included within the frame” and define “the set of messages about which [they communicate]” (1955[1972]: 188). Examples include ‘This is play.’, ‘Is that a threat?’, and ‘My telling you to close the door was friendly.’. In these *metacommunicative messages*, the speaker defines or questions the definition of selected aspects of the context in which communication takes place. In ‘This is play.’, for instance, the speaker defines the present communicative context (indicated by the reflexive proximal indexical *this*) as the language game (Wittgenstein 1953) or activity type (Levinson 1979) of play, thereby guiding the hearer in (re-)interpreting past or forthcoming contributions, such as speech acts, as etiolations (Austin 1962[1975]: 22) or otherwise parasitic speech forms (Searle 1969: 57). In ‘Is that a threat?’, the speaker questions the communicative intention and/or the illocutionary force of the past utterance act referred to by the non-proximal indexical *that*, thereby inviting subsequent explications and negotiations of the felicity conditions of threatening (see also Caffi 1984: 451). In ‘My telling you to close the door was friendly.’, the speaker reports their own rhetic act (and thus most probably their exercitive and/or directive illocutionary act) of telling the hearer to close the door in their *oratio obliqua*, and evaluates the latter as (either ‘objectively’ or subjectively intended to be) friendly, thereby inviting subsequent negotiations of politeness, possibly in the light of negative face threats

(Brown & Levinson 1987). In all these cases, selected aspects of communicative context are imported into the ongoing metacommunicative discourse and take on the status of a frame against which the communicative contributions in question can then be interpreted.

An instance where the framing of the communicative context and the guiding of communicative interpretations is particularly salient is in the use of Austin's (1962[1975]) *explicit performatives*, where a clear distinction between the reporting act and the reported act collapses. Lucy even goes as far as to say that *explicit performatives* "accomplish social acts by reference to/description of their own occurrence" (1993: 15, emphasis added). However, Caffi (1984: 450) criticizes this view for its 'constativism' and its implicit return to metacommunication as a true (or false) self-description of communication:

[If] we re-read illocution essentially as the self-description and utterance gives itself [...], then a path is opened up that leads to a restoration of a 'constativism' which never really has disappeared; so that the self-reference of performatives and explicit illocutionary markers may once again be interpreted as meta-assertiveness.

In Caffi's view, *explicit performatives* do not constitute metacommunication but rather object-level communication in which the speaker makes maximally explicit their communicative intention and the illocutionary force of the ongoing utterance, thereby maximally guiding the hearer's interpretation of these aspects. By contrast, the meta-level of communication about illocutions encompasses primarily (but not exclusively) the defining capacity of ascriptive utterances containing illocutionary verbs or nouns which assign an utterance the status of a particular illocution taking the form of $X = Y$. Examples include clarifications taking the declarative sentence type such as 'This was a simple suggestion' (Caffi 1984: 451) or problematizations taking the interrogative sentence type such as the example discussed above, 'Is that a threat?' (see also Verschueren 2021: 121).

Overall, the semiotic-functional approach to studying metalanguage (and metacommunication more generally) focuses on exploring, among other things, functional aspects of meta-semiosis involving selected aspects of language or communication, thus crucially adopting a (meta-)pragmatic perspective and departing from the logico-linguistic, truth-conditional paradigm. In the study of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use, the semiotic-functional approach conceives of the latter as 'doubly contextual', both hierarchically and sequentially: On the one hand, referents of the meta-illocutionary lexicon are illocutions and

therefore pragmatic, context-dependent, and context-invoking by definition. On the other hand, utterances containing meta-illocutionary items are also both context-dependent and context-invoking and have a particular (pragmatic) function, both with respect to the illocution they reflexively refer to and as realizations of illocutionary acts more generally. The next sub-chapter will introduce the meta-illocutionary lexicon and its predecessors in more detail and develop a classification of communicative functions of utterances which contain meta-illocutionary items with respect to the illocutions they reflexively refer to. In doing so, it will integrate speech-act-theoretic concepts such as the constative-performative distinction as well as generalized and particularized felicity conditions into a semiotic-functional framework of metalanguage, metacommunication, and metapragmatics.

2.3.2 The meta-illocutionary lexicon

The meta-illocutionary lexicon is the inventory of lexical items which explicitly and reflexively refer to the illocutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole. It is “a subdivision of everyday vocabulary and [primarily] includes verbs such as *apologize*, *threaten*, and *invite*, and nouns such as *apology*, *threat*, and *invitation*” (Schneider 2017: 225, original emphases). It thus anchors second-order concepts (i.e., illocutions, speech acts) in ordinary language and thus allows for the study of first-order conceptualizations of these second-order concepts in ordinary discourse. While the notion of the meta-illocutionary lexicon has only been introduced recently (e.g., Schneider 2017, 2022; Schoppa 2022), its predecessors date back to the 1980s (Ballmer & Brennenstuhl 1981; Verschueren 1985; Wierzbicka 1987). However, these predecessors differ from the notion of the meta-illocutionary lexicon both in scope and in the research paradigm in which they are situated. First, there is a strong emphasis on verbs, as reflected, for instance, in Ballmer & Brennenstuhl’s (1981) notion of *speech activity verbs* and Wierzbicka’s (1987) notion of *speech act verbs*. Verschueren (1985: 34) even concedes that “both nouns and verbs are relevant to the study of what people say they do with words” but proceeds to consider verbs and verblike expressions only. Second, these predecessors have mainly been developed within the research paradigm of lexical semantics: Ballmer & Brennenstuhl (1981) provide a lexical analysis of around 4,800 *speech activity verbs*, Wierzbicka (1987) compiles a dictionary of around 250 *speech act verbs* defined using her self-developed Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), and Verschueren (1985: 24, original emphasis) advocates “a *comparative lexical approach* to linguistic action: the comparative study of the sets of words [...], idioms, and other fixed formulae and expressions used to describe linguistic action”. The

meta-illocutionary lexicon differs from these predecessors in that it (a) encompasses other lexical categories such as nouns, thereby also allowing for the construal of illocutions as THINGS rather than ACTIONS only (Langacker 1987), and (b) is crucially situated within a pragmatics-based paradigm. This pragmatics-based paradigm takes a semiotic-functional approach to (meta-)language and (meta-)communication by focusing on analyzing communicative functions of utterances containing meta-illocutionary items with respect to the illocution to which they (explicitly and reflexively) refer.

Previous studies examining different aspects of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use are Schneider (2017), Schneider (2022), and Schoppa (2022). While Schneider (2022) focuses, among other things, on distributions of frequencies of meta-illocutionary references across spoken and written genres and word classes, Schneider (2017) and Schoppa (2022) explore qualitative and quantitative aspects of communicative functions of meta-illocutionary items in context. Schneider (2017) tentatively suggests four seemingly “salient and frequent” (2017: 230) communicative functions of meta-illocutionary expressions: *performative*, *reporting*, *commenting*, and *problematizing*. In the *performative* function, “an expression naming a speech act is employed to actually perform this speech act” (2017: 230). In the *reporting* function, meta-illocutionary expressions “are used in assertive acts to inform hearers or readers that a particular speech act was performed in the more or less distant past” (2017: 232). The *commenting* function is typified by “a retrospective comment by a speaker or a previous act by this same speaker [...] serving the purpose of explicating the illocutionary force of the earlier utterance to explain the speaker’s intention behind it” (2017: 233-234). Finally, the *problematizing* function is typified by “a request for confirmation that the interlocutor’s illocution has been correctly understood” (2017: 235).

Using a slightly modified classification, Schoppa (2022) explores quantitative patterns in the distribution of communicative functions of meta-illocutionary references to requests and apologies across British English and American English. Findings include that while references to requests are dominated by the *naming* and the *reporting* functions and further characterized by minimal variation across British English and American English, references to apologies favor the *performative* and the *commenting* functions, with the *performative* function being preferred by speakers of British English, and the *commenting* function being preferred by speakers of American English (Schoppa 2022: 78-84).

Although these findings point towards notable differences in usage patterns of meta-illocutionary items and potentially also in ordinary language users’ conceptualizations of the

illocutions in question, a major drawback of these studies is their lack of incorporation of rigid, speech-act-theoretic principles of classification in distinguishing between communicative functions. Instead, the classification in Schneider (2017) and its modified version in Schoppa (2022) – while informed by empirical data – are, above all, the result of intuitive typification and subjective assessments of degrees of similarity between empirical examples. In what follows, speech-act-theoretic concepts such as the constative-performative distinction (Austin 1962[1975]) and felicity conditions (Searle 1969), context-theoretic views such as context as both process and product, and the semiotic-functional approach to metalanguage and metacommunication (Silverstein 1976, 1993; Verschueren 2021) will be combined to develop a revised classification of communicative functions of utterances containing a meta-illocutionary reference. In a further step, the concept of framing (Goffman 1974; Fillmore 1976) will be applied to patterns in explicit entextualization of contextual features by ordinary language users employing the meta-illocutionary lexicon in context.

2.3.2.1 Use types of (utterances containing) meta-illocutionary items

In *How to do things with words*, Austin attempts to isolate the performative from the constative on the grounds that the latter is a truth-conditional *saying*, whereas the former is a felicity-conditional *doing*. To exemplify this difference, Austin juxtaposes the utterances ‘John is running’ and ‘I apologize’. While the truth of the former “depends on [John’s] being running”, the latter – if felicitous – “makes it the fact that I am apologizing” (Austin 1962[1975]: 47). From an inherently pragmatics-based perspective, however, this distinction proves unstable because *sayings* are also (and perhaps foremost) *doings* whose felicity includes (the speaker’s commitment to) their truth, among other things. In this view, the utterance ‘John is running’ would be analyzed as having the illocutionary force of an assertion, which is only felicitous if true or at least believed to be true based on sufficient evidence (Searle 1969).

A crucial difference between Austin’s exemplifications of his performative and his constative is that in ‘I apologize’, the verb specifying the action can be (and indeed is) used performatively, whereas in ‘John is running’, the verb cannot be used performatively in the first place. Based on the choice of examples, this line of argument may suggest, at first sight, that while the performative function of language can only be (explicitly) realized by verbs which can be used performatively, the constative function of language can only be realized by verbs which cannot be used performatively (but see 1962[1975]: 13). Crucially, the former is true but

the latter is false: The verb ‘(to) run’ cannot be used performatively (e.g., **I (hereby) run.*), whereas the verb ‘(to) apologize’ can be used both performatively (e.g., *I (hereby) apologize.*) and descriptively (e.g., *John is apologizing.*). Consequently, a first broad distinction can be made between the *performative* and the *descriptive* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in context. In the following, these two use types will be explored in more detail. Subsequently, a further line will be drawn between *descriptive* uses which present the illocution as felicitously performed in discourse, and *meta-commenting* uses which present (the performance of) the illocution as contextually indeterminate and thus as a distinct object of meta-communication. A schematic overview of these use types is provided in Table 1.

Table 1. Use types of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in context.

function of the utterance	performance of the illocution referred to by m-i item	talk about the illocution referred to by m-i item	
use type	<i>performative</i>	<i>descriptive</i>	<i>meta-commenting</i>
illocution in discourse	presented as a discursive process in the here-and-now	presented as a discursive product outside the here-and-now	presented as indeterminate in the discursive context
felicity of illocution	presented by S as given assumed by H to be given	presented by S as given assumed by H to be given	presented by S as (potentially) subjectively/objectively not given
realizations	explicit and hedged performatives (full and elliptical forms)	assertive acts or presuppositions anchoring the (felicitous) performance of the relevant illocution in the past (explicitly or implicitly)	CONDITIONALITY MODALITY (+FUTURITY) IDENTIFICATION ----- QUESTION NEGATION
examples	<i>So please, I <u>beg</u> you, keep on doing what you’re good at!</i> <i><u>Thanks</u> Daniela for everything you made it all possible!</i>	<i>Many have <u>requested</u> the paper map, which is in production.</i> <i>The BBC has now made a full and handsome <u>apology</u> for what happened to [...].</i>	<i>Each bike [...] may be launched on manual or verbal <u>command</u>.</i> <i>Anyway if what Gavin says is anything to go by then am I suppose[d] to <u>congratulate</u> you?</i>

2.3.2.1.1 The *performative* use type

The performative use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon is typified by Austin’s (1962[1975]) explicit performative formula, viz. a first-person present indicative active clause with the meta-illocutionary verb specifying the action in question. Common examples are *I apologize for being late*, *I command you to work more efficiently*, and *I thank you for your service*. From a speech-act-theoretic perspective, the speaker’s performative use of the meta-illocutionary verb makes maximally explicit the illocutionary aspect (i.e., illocutionary force and communicative intention) of the illocution performed in the ongoing utterance. From a

metacommunicative perspective, the explicit performative formula including the meta-illocutionary item exhibits “complete reflexivity, which makes the describing act and the described act fully coincide conceptually” (Verschueren 2021: 124). In other words, object-level communication and meta-level communication conflate in the use of the explicit performative formula – that is, if one accepts that the latter involves these two levels in the first place (but see Caffi 1984 for a dissenting opinion). Finally, from an ethnomethodological or sociopragmatic approach to the study of context, the explicit performative formula presents the illocution in question as a discursive process rather than a discursive product as its performance takes place at the time of utterance.

Since utterances containing meta-illocutionary items in this use type serve to perform the illocutions (and, by extension, the speech acts) which the respective items refer to, their felicity depends on the obtaining of the relevant felicity conditions for the illocution (or speech act) in question. For example, *I command you to work more efficiently* is only felicitous if, among other things, the hearer is not working efficiently (enough) according to some external standards, (the speaker believes that) the hearer is able to work more efficiently, the speaker is in a position of power over the hearer, and the speaker wants the hearer to work more efficiently (Searle 1969: 66). However, the obtaining of these felicity conditions is not actively scrutinized by the hearer, but rather assumed by default, thus assigning felicity conditions the status of pragmatic presuppositions:

We do not check out the felicity or appropriateness of a speech act before recognizing it as accomplished. Rather, we tend to take our interlocutors’ words as constituting felicitous or appropriate speech acts whenever no alarm signal [...] suggests to us they do not. Thus we tend to assume that felicity or appropriateness conditions are satisfied and to behave as if this were the case. (Sbisà 2002: 425)

In addition, default assumptions of this kind are defeasible: They are “suspended as soon as doubts arise and if [they are] discovered not to hold, the speech act is either evaluated as infelicitous or is redescribed” (Sbisà 2002: 425). Relying on this default assumption of felicity, a speaker who uses a meta-illocutionary item in its *performative* use type (and thereby performs the respective illocution or speech act) presents their illocution (or speech act) as felicitous according to the conditions that must obtain.

While the performative use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon is typified by the use of a meta-illocutionary verb in Austin’s (1962[1975]) explicit performative formula, it also

encompasses other realizations. Specifically, it encompasses indirect realizations in which the primary illocutionary act is the one referred to by the meta-illocutionary item and the secondary illocutionary act, based on the literal meaning of the utterance, differs from the primary one (Searle 1975: 62). Examples include *I would like to request a day off* or *Apologies for the delay*. The first example, *I would like to request a day off*, corresponds to Blum-Kulka et al.'s (1989) hedged performatives, where “[the] illocutionary verb denoting the requestive intent is modified, e.g., by modal verbs or verbs expressing intention” (1989: 279). The meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *request* occurs in its non-finite form in the subordinate clause *to request a day off*. This subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause *I would like X*, where the speaker contextualizes the aspect of intentionality in speech acts in general and in their request in particular. In terms of literal utterance meaning, the speaker performs the secondary illocutionary act of stating or asserting their intention to request a day off. However, combined with the assumption that the speaker “is cooperating in the conversation and that therefore [their] remark is intended to be relevant (principles of conversational cooperation)” (Searle 1975: 63), the hearer interprets both the use of *would like* (as opposed to *want*) and the hedged performative as a whole as indicators of indirectness, and infers the hearer’s primary illocutionary act to be a request, whose indirect realization is probably motivated by politeness in the form of face-threat mitigation (Brown & Levinson 1987).

In the second example, *Apologies for the delay*, the meta-illocutionary item *apologies* is a plural noun functioning as the head of the noun phrase *apologies*. Although the syntactic clause as a whole is incomplete from a structural point of view (as it lacks a verb), the pragmatic utterance is acceptable and the speech act felicitous if the relevant conditions obtain. Hence, the incomplete clause is assigned the status of an elliptical construction. To better account for the meaning of this elliptical construction, a syntax-based approach would be to suggest appropriate constituents to complete the clause. This, of course, raises the question as to which constituents count as appropriate or inappropriate. Naturally, completions such as *I (hereby) express my apologies for the delay* or even *I (hereby) offer you my apologies for the delay* are appropriate, whereas a completion such as *John made apologies for the delay* is not. Making this distinction requires pragmatic knowledge about the conventional use of such utterances or utterance types in recurrent context types. This relation between an utterance (type) on the one hand and a stereotypical context (type) on the other is accommodated in Liedtke’s (2013) notion of *pragmatic templates*:

The rational usage of linguistic means in utterances is subject to certain conditions, and these conditions restrict the usage of expression types. They are not an unsorted collection of constraining propositions, but they form structured clusters of conditions of usage. They contain the obligatory context elements in which a certain expression can be used appropriately. These clusters are part of what I call *pragmatic templates*. (Liedtke 2013: 195, original emphasis)

In other words, pragmatic templates are holistic clusters of relations between (types of) contexts and (types of) utterances which are embedded into these contexts. These templates form a spectrum ranging from singular templates which are created ad-hoc (if the relevant combination of utterance and context lacks a pre-existing conventional model) on the one hand, and conventionally established templates of ritualized speech on the other (Liedtke 2013: 196). Conventionally established templates of ritualized speech are governed by Austin's (1962[1975]) generalized felicity conditions and include, above all, members of Searle's (1975) *declarations*, but crucially also members of Searle's (1975) *expressives* as they are "also determined to specific situations which are characterised by a structured cluster of context features" (Liedtke 2013: 196). Against this background, it can be said that the ritualization, routinization and formulaicness of *expressive* illocutions in discourse (Coulmas 1981a, Aijmer 2014) has contributed to the development of pragmatic templates within which utterances containing (plural) nominal references to *expressive* illocutions in elliptical constructions are more readily interpreted as performative realizations of these illocutions rather than descriptions. This holds for *Thanks (for the cake)*, *Apologies (for the delay)*, and *Congratulations (on your victory)*, but also for *Condolences (for your loss)* and – to a lesser extent – for *Greetings (to you)*. By contrast, it does not hold for *directive* illocutions, where utterances such as *Requests (for feedback)* or *Commands (to stay quiet)* would rather be interpreted as descriptions, conceivably functioning as titles of lists, articles, or similar in discourse. Overall, Liedtke's (2013) *pragmatic templates* serve as a guide for interpreting syntactically incomplete utterances with unarticulated constituents based on pragmatic knowledge regarding clusters of utterance types as embedded into context types.

While the performative use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon includes a range of different examples in addition to Austin's (1962[1975]) *explicit performative formula*, it does not include indirect realizations which do not contain an explicit reference to their primary illocutionary aspect. Although there are diverse strategies to perform speech acts indirectly, such as stating that (or asking whether) the propositional content condition, the preparatory condition(s), or the sincerity condition obtains (Searle 1975: 72), the present study is primarily concerned with the use of the respective lexical items in explicit (meta-)communication.

Therefore, the present study will only consider utterances in which relevant meta-illocutionary items are being used. In their *performative* use type, these items make maximally explicit the illocutionary aspect of the speech act (directly or indirectly) performed in the ongoing utterance, exhibit full reflexivity between the object-level and the meta-level of communication, and present the illocution in question as a discursive process and as felicitous by default.

2.3.2.1.2 The *descriptive* use type

In analogy to the performative use type corresponding to Austin's *performative*, the descriptive use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon roughly corresponds to Austin's *constative*. However, the descriptive use type does not adopt the aspect of truth-conditionality from *constatives* (Austin 1962[1975]: 46-47), but rather conceives of description in the sense of the pragmatics-based concepts of assertion and/or presupposition. Utterances containing meta-illocutionary items in the descriptive use type make explicit the illocutionary aspect of a speech act performed outside the discursive here-and-now. Typical exemplifications are *orationes obliquae* where meta-illocutionary items are used to (indirectly) report performances of the illocution(s) in question, such as *John apologized for the delay* or *The defendant requested an adjournment*. In these indirect reports, meta-illocutionary items encode the speaker's (i.e., reporter's) more or less subjective interpretation of the illocutionary aspect of the speech act reported (Fetzer & Weiss 2020: 86), or, in the case of self-reports, the speaker-intended force. Either way, these reports, which contain meta-illocutionary items in their *descriptive* use type, present illocutions as discursive products rather than discursive processes at the time of utterance. Since this use type involves a reflexive reference to interrelated aspects of language, communication, and pragmatics outside the discursive here-and-now, it is metalinguistic, metacommunicative, and metapragmatic by definition (Silverstein 1993; Verschueren 2021).

While in the *performative* use type, it is the illocutionary act performed in the ongoing utterance that is presented as felicitous (by the speaker), in the *descriptive* use type, it is both the descriptive utterance and the described illocution which are presented as felicitous, at least unless specific cues suggest otherwise (sub-chapter 2.3.2.1.3). In the example above, *The defendant requested an adjournment*, the speaker – relying on the hearer's default interpretation of felicity (Sbisà 2002: 425) – presents their descriptive utterance as a felicitous assertion in the discursive here-and-now, and the described illocution of requesting as having been felicitously performed outside the discursive here-and-now. Crucially, the speaker's presentations of both

the descriptive assertion and the described request as felicitous are interrelated: An assertion commits the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition (i.e., essential condition) by expressing the speaker's belief (i.e., sincerity condition) that a state of affairs is "actual" (Searle 1969: 66), viz. that the proposition specifying this state of affairs is true (i.e., propositional content condition). Therefore, the (presented) felicity of *The defendant requested an adjournment* implies that the proposition <the defendant> [request + an adjournment] is (believed to be) true, and that therefore the state of affairs of *requesting (an adjournment)* is (believed to be) "actual". Since the state of affairs of *requesting* can only be "actual" if the request in question is felicitous, the speaker's presentation of the descriptive assertion as felicitous implies their presentation of the described request as felicitous as well.

Although the *descriptive* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon is typified by meta-illocutionary verbs describing the illocutionary aspect of the reported speech act in indirect quotation (under the presupposition of felicity), this use type may also be realized by meta-illocutionary nouns. Examples include *John made an apology for the delay* or *The defendant's request for an adjournment was granted*. The first example, *John made an apology for the delay*, is pragmatically similar but syntactically, thematically, and semantically different from the example *John apologized for the delay* mentioned above. From a pragmatic perspective, both utterances realize the illocution of asserting including a descriptive reference to the illocution of apologizing performed (felicitously) in the past. Syntactically, however, the meta-illocutionary verb functions as the predicate of the clause, whereas the meta-illocutionary noun functions as the head of the noun phrase which realizes the direct object of the clause. Thematically, the verb *apologized* specifies the action of *apologizing* which is performed by the agent *John*, whereas the noun phrase *an apology* specifies the patient or theme which undergoes the action of *making* by the agent *John*; the thematic cause (reflected in the preparatory condition), *the delay*, remains the same across both examples. Semantically, the illocution of apologizing is presented as an ACTION in the form of a meta-illocutionary verb, thus foregrounding its status of a (completed) discursive process, and as a THING in the use of a meta-illocutionary noun, thus foregrounding its status as a discursive product.

The second example, *The defendant's request for an adjournment was granted*, differs from the examples discussed so far in a few important respects. First, the noun *request*, as the head of the noun phrase *the defendant's request for an adjournment*, functions as (part of) the subject of the sentence rather than its object. Second, the verb *(to) grant* in the predicate *was granted* (a) is inflected for passive voice and (b) refers to the perlocutionary effect of the

illocution of requesting rather than its performance. Third, the noun phrase *the defendant's request for an adjournment* is the thematic patient or theme which undergoes the action of *granting* by an unspecified agent. Fourth, the subject noun phrase constitutes a definite description which triggers the presupposition that the defendant's request for an adjournment exists, whose truth is taken for granted even if the predicate *was granted* were negated. For the presupposed utterance 'The defendant's request for an adjournment exists' to be true, the request in question must be (presented as) felicitous, which in turn entails that *the defendant* is the (eligible) speaker and *an adjournment* the (eligible) content of the described request. Finally, the presentation of the illocution of requesting as a THING and, consequently, the foregrounding of its status as a discursive product remain the same.

2.3.2.1.3 The *meta-commenting* use type

The *meta-commenting use* type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon is similar to the descriptive use type in that it comprises *talk about* rather than (explicit) *performances of* illocutions. However, the distinguishing factor between the two use types is that whereas *descriptive* uses present the felicity conditions of the described illocution as obtaining (by default), *meta-commenting* uses are characterized by explicating these felicity conditions under the assumption (a) that they (potentially) do not obtain objectively, and/or (b) that the interactants' subjective conceptualization of these felicity conditions is (potentially) incongruous. In the following, it is argued that the *meta-commenting* use type is characterized by features of conditionality, modality, and identification associated with (the performance of) the illocution in question. In addition to these features, the operations of question and negation will be conceptualized as amplifiers of the presented (potential) conceptual incongruity across the speaker's and the hearer's understanding of (the obtaining of) the relevant felicity conditions in the performance of an illocution.

The feature of conditionality is typified by conditional sentences taking the form of *If X, then Y*. Within these conditional sentences, speakers can use the meta-illocutionary lexicon both in the antecedent (i.e., *If X*) and in the consequent (i.e., *then Y*). An example of the former is *If Sarah apologizes for her mistake, Tom will forgive her*, and an example for the latter is *If Sarah makes a mistake, she will apologize*. In the former example, the speaker specifies Sarah apologizing for her mistake as a condition (i.e., antecedent), thereby presenting *Sarah* as the potential speaker, an *apology* as the potential illocution, and *her mistake* as the preparatory

condition which is presupposed to obtain. The result (i.e., consequent) contains a reference to the (likely) perlocutionary effect of the potential apology, namely *Tom* – the hearer of this apology – forgiving Sarah, the speaker, who is anaphorically referred to by the personal pronoun *her*. In the latter example, the speaker specifies Sarah making a mistake as a condition (i.e., antecedent). This again corresponds to the preparatory condition of apologizing, which in contrast to the former example, however, is not presupposed to obtain but is presented as conditional. The result (i.e., consequent) contains a reference to a (likely) future performance of the illocution of apologizing by the speaker *Sarah*, anaphorically referred to by the personal pronoun *she*, to an unspecified hearer. While these two sentences exemplify predictive conditionality, meta-illocutionary items may also be used in counterfactual conditional sentences, specifying under which conditions relevant illocutions would have been performed and which effects these illocutions would have had respectively. In any case, the speaker of these conditional utterances explicates the (felicity) conditions and effects of illocutions in a particularized hypothetical or potential context. The performance of these conditional utterances, in turn, presupposes (among other things) that the speaker's and the hearer's understanding of these conditions and effects may potentially be incongruous, thus calling for congruency operations to be applied precisely in the form of these conditional utterances including meta-illocutionary references.

In addition to conditionality, the meta-commenting use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon further encompasses the feature of modality. Linguistic modality expresses a variety of relations between language and reality, and comes in different flavors (i.e., deontic, epistemic, dynamic, etc.) and forces (i.e., strong and weak forms of necessity and possibility). Types of modal flavor and degrees of modal force are expressed by modal verbs (e.g., *can*, *should*, *will*), modal adjectives (e.g., *probable*, *necessary*), modal adverbs (e.g., *possibly*, *conceivably*), and related expressions. Obviously, these types and degrees of modality can be applied to references to illocutions in reflexive talk about the latter. Examples include *All competitors must congratulate the winner*, *Susie might have requested another meeting*, and *People-pleasers can apologize for days on end*. The first example expresses strong deontic necessity associated with the performance of the illocution of congratulating in the immediate future on the grounds that the felicity conditions of this illocution (i.e., there existing a winner, etc.) obtain. This strong deontic necessity can also be expressed using the imperative mood (i.e., *All competitors, congratulate the winner!*). Although modality and mood are related, the crucial difference between the two is that whereas modality is defined in terms of semantic content, mood is defined in terms of grammar. The second example expresses weak epistemic possibility

associated with the performance of requesting in the past, also (implicitly) presupposing that the felicity conditions of this illocution have obtained (i.e., *Susie* being an eligible speaker, *another meeting* being an eligible content). The third example expresses dynamic ability and habituality associated with the performance of apologizing, focusing on the temporal dimension of this (repeated) performance by *people-pleasers*, possibly against the background of degrees of severity of the offence as part of the preparatory condition of apologizing.

In short, most modal expressions associated with uses of the meta-illocutionary lexicon express different deontic, epistemic, and/or dynamic relations between linguistic (meta-)references to illocutions and their actual performance in context. While these expressions may present or presuppose the felicity conditions of the respective illocution as both obtaining or (potentially) not obtaining, the actual performances of the illocutions themselves remain metaphysically indeterminate as they lack entextualizations of co-participants as well as spatio-temporal aspects of context, among other things. This may be due to the illocution being expected to be performed in the future, the speaker's lack of certainty regarding an illocution being performed, or the speaker making general remarks about illocutions being performed habitually. Following this argument of metaphysical indeterminateness, the present study further conceptualizes futurity in general primarily as a modal category rather than a temporal category (Langacker 1987; Giannakidou & Mari 2018). This conceptualization is further supported by the apparent overlap of futurity and dynamic volition, which is evident both in the established futural senses *intention* and *plan*, and in the grammaticalization of the modal *will* commonly used to express futurity. Thus, an utterance like *Ben will apologize for his mistakes tomorrow*, despite expressing a high degree of certainty and/or confidence, cannot present the illocution of apologizing as felicitous because the latter has not yet been performed and is therefore metaphysically indeterminate by definition.

The last feature associated with the meta-commenting use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon is identification. The operation of identification is typified by a copular clause structure taking the form of $X = Y$, where the meta-illocutionary item represents one of the two elements. Examples for identification are "*Well done!*" *is a congratulation* but also *The command "Treat others as you would want to be treated by them" must be followed*. In the first example, the speaker identifies "*Well done!*" as *a congratulation* by presenting the utterance directly reported in the *oratio recta* as counting as (realizing) the illocution of congratulating, thus foregrounding the obtaining of the essential condition while presupposing that all other felicity conditions obtain as well (Searle 1969: 33-35; 67). In the second example, the definite

description *The command “Treat others as you would want to be treated by them”* presupposes that the command “Treat others as you would want to be treated by them” exists, which in turn presupposes that “Treat others as you would want to be treated by them” counts as realizing a command, again foregrounding its essential condition and presupposing that all other felicity conditions obtain. In addition, this example contextualizes the illocutionary effect of the command – creating an obligation, as encoded in the modal verb *must* – and the (metaphysically indeterminate) conventional perlocutionary object of the command – obedience and/or the performance the commanded action as encoded in the passive verb *(to) be followed*. In both examples, the speaker equates the utterance or locution with the concept of the relevant illocution by establishing a *counts as*-relation, either explicitly or by way of presupposition.

Needless to say, the features of conditionality, modality, and identification can cluster as, for example, in the utterance *If you are late to a meeting, you should at least say “sorry” or apologize more formally*. Here, the antecedent of the conditional sentence specifies the preparatory condition of the hearer being late to a meeting, and the consequent specifies the modality of deontic obligation associated with performing the locutionary act of saying “sorry” or the illocutionary act of apologizing (more formally), thereby implying that saying “sorry” counts as apologizing, albeit informally. This utterance thus combines different types of meta-comments about the illocution of apologizing, which encompasses explications of felicity conditions, metaphysical indeterminateness as represented in a lack of entextualizations of the specific co-participants as well as spatio-temporal aspects of context associated with the actual performance of this illocution (see also sub-chapter 2.1.5), and the (implicit) establishment of a *counts as*-relation between locution and illocution.

While conditionality, modality (including futurity), and identification are argued to be features of the meta-commenting use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, the operations of question and negation are argued to be amplifiers of presented (potential) incongruity across speakers’ conceptualizations of an illocution’s (in)felicity. The operation of question is defined syntactically by the use of the interrogative clause type, which from a pragmatics-based perspective may, however, lead to pragmatic ambiguity as observed by Searle (1969: 66-67): In listing felicity conditions for his speech act of question, Searle distinguishes two senses of this speech act, namely ‘asking a question’ and ‘doubting’. ‘Asking a question’ corresponds to requests for information, in which the speaker does not know whether a proposition is true or false and attempts to elicit this information (Searle 1969: 66). On the other hand, ‘doubting’, while not explicitly dealt with in terms of Searle’s felicity conditions, corresponds to the

pragmatic function of (indirect) challenge, which expresses the speaker's intention "not to comply with a proposition, force, or presupposition communicated in and through a prior conversational contribution" (Fetzer 2009: 73). As applied to speech acts, it can be the propositional content, the illocutionary force, the obtaining of the felicity conditions (conceptualized as pragmatic presuppositions) as well as resulting modal judgments that can be challenged by a speaker. Examples are *Will you apologize if you arrive late?*, challenging the hearer's commitment to performing the illocution of apologizing in the future and/or the hearer's conceptualization of *arriving late* as constituting a preparatory condition of apologizing, *Should I thank you for helping me?*, challenging the speaker's deontic obligation associated with performing the illocution of thanking and/or the hearer's conceptualization of *helping [the speaker]* as a preparatory condition for thanking, and *Is that a command?*, challenging the *counts as*-relation (i.e., the obtaining of the essential condition) between the referent of the indexical *that* and the illocution of commanding, and possibly the presupposition that all the remaining felicity conditions obtain as well. Since questions about meta-commenting aspects of use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon (i.e., conditionality, modality, identification) commonly realize the pragmatic function of challenge, they carry a high face-threatening potential (Fetzer 2009: 73) due to indexing (potentially) amplified incongruity across the speaker's and the hearer's conceptualization of felicity conditions of the relevant illocutions.

The operation of negation is defined by the use of the corresponding logical operators and affixes (i.e., *no*, *not*, *un-*, *dis-*, *anti-*, etc., see Tottie 1991). While negation is anchored to lexical form, its counterparts in pragmatics and speech act theory are denial, rejection, disagreement (Atlas 1980) as well as challenge (Fetzer 2009). With regard to speech acts, both their content (i.e., propositional act) and their force (i.e., illocutionary act) can be rejected, which, however, results in different outcomes: "Propositional negations leave the character of the illocutionary force unchanged because they result in another proposition presented with the same illocutionary force. Illocutionary negations in general change the character of the illocutionary act" (Searle 1969: 32). Crucially, negations of the propositional act belong to the descriptive use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon precisely because the description of the illocutionary force of the speech act remains unchanged, and because these negations do not constitute pragmatic challenges in that the (presented) felicity is not subjected to congruency operations under the assumption of potential conceptual incongruity. Negations of the illocutionary act, on the other hand, and especially negations of aspects of conditionality, modality, and identification associated with the illocutionary act, do subject the

conceptualization of felicity of illocutions to congruency operations in that, from a form-to-function based perspective, they constitute challenges par excellence (Fetzer 2009: 77). Examples are *If you do not give me a second chance, I will not beg you* for negations of the antecedent and/or the consequent in conditional sentences (i.e., *If (NOT) X, then (NOT) Y*), *You should not apologize for being yourself* for negations of modal judgments associated with performing an illocution (i.e., *NOT modal expression + meta-illocutionary reference*), and *This was not a request* for negations of the *counts as-relation* in identifications (i.e., *(NOT) X = (NOT) Y*).

Overall, the meta-commenting use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon comprises talk about illocutions in which these illocutions are presented by the speaker as potentially (in)felicitous and/or the participants' conceptualizations of the relevant felicity conditions as potentially (in)congruous. In this use type, conditional sentences explicate felicity conditions and/or illocutionary and perlocutionary effects of the speech act, modal assessments explicate epistemic, deontic, or dynamic relations between linguistic references to illocutions and their actual performance based on the assumption that the felicity conditions do or do not obtain, and identifications explicate the identity between an utterance act and an illocutionary act by establishing a *counts as-relation*. Moreover, these features of conditionality, modality, and identification may be questioned and negated. The operations of question and negation amplify the presented potential (in)congruity in conceptualization of felicity in that they commonly have the force of a challenge and thus carry an increased face-threatening potential (Brown & Levinson 1987). Having distinguished the performative, the descriptive, and the meta-commenting use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, the next sub-chapter will discuss patterns of explicit entextualization and of inference of felicity conditions against the background of *frames*.

2.3.2.2 Indexicality, entextualization, and frames

As outlined above, meta-illocutionary items may be used in the *performative*, *descriptive*, or *meta-commenting* use type. However, regardless of their use type, the utterances in which these items are used may contain further information indexically referring to contextual features of the speech act in question, among other things. These contextual features encompass spatial, temporal, and social context, the locutionary and the perlocutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole, and felicity conditions. In the following, it will be argued that these contextual features

together constitute the invariant structure of a *frame*, and that entextualization patterns reflect degrees of discursive at-issueness (Potts 2005) and, inversely, degrees of conventionality regarding individual attributes of that frame. For the present purposes, entextualization is thus defined as the indexical assignation of particularized values to the frame attributes representing contextual features of the illocution(s) in question. While the present study focuses primarily on the ‘local’ frame pertaining to the specific illocutions (and speech acts), this ‘local’ frame can be said to be itself enclosed by the less immediate frame of discourse genre (i.e., blogging) and the even less immediate frame of culture (i.e., British, Hong Kong, Kenyan), thus forming a multilayered contextual onion, metaphorically speaking (Goffman 1974; Sperber & Wilson 1995; Fetzer 2007).

The concept of *frame* itself is rather vague, which makes it applicable to, and compatible with, many research areas within sociology, cognitive science, and linguistics (van Dijk 2023). Specifically, the notion of *frames* (or *brackets/bracketing*) has been introduced in psychology and communication studies (Bateson 1955[1972]), sociology and discourse studies (Goffman 1974), cognitive and lexical semantics (Fillmore 1976), and grammar (Bybee et al. 1994). Across these disciplines, *frames* are roughly related to people’s schematic representations of encyclopedic background knowledge which enable structured understandings of their surroundings, broadly conceived. This is reflected, for example, in Goffman’s (1974: 10-11) socio-discursive definition of *frames* as “definitions of a situation [...] built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them” and Fillmore’s (1976: 25) cognitive semantic definition emphasizing “the idea [...] that people have in memory an inventory of schemata for structuring, classifying, and interpreting experiences, and that they have various ways of accessing these schemata and various procedures for performing operations on them”. Due to its focus on lexical items, it is Fillmore’s (1976) notion of *frames* which will be followed and applied to the study of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use.

Fillmore’s notion of *frame* rests on the premise that individual words are learned as part of memorable experiences within meaningful contexts and that “the process of understanding a word requires us to call on our memories of experiences – selected, filtered, and generalized – through which we have learned the words in their labeling and describing functions” (1976: 27). Therefore, the use of these words in interaction co-activates the memories, experiences, and contexts in and through which these words have been learned, and foregrounds salient parts of these contexts (Fillmore 1976: 26). In the case of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, individual

items are learned in situations where the corresponding illocutions are being talked about or explicitly performed. Generally, these situations require references to at least some contextual aspects of the illocution in question due to its situatedness in context by definition. These contextual aspects are argued to individually constitute attributes which collectively constitute the invariant structure of a frame. For the present purposes, this frame consists of spatial, temporal, and social aspects of context, the locutionary and the perlocutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole, and the felicity conditions of the respective illocution(s). When using a meta-illocutionary item in interaction, speakers may entextualize (some of) these aspects by indexically referring to their specifications in a particularized context, viz. specifying values of the respective attributes of the frame. In the example above, *The defendant's request for an adjournment was granted*, for instance, the speaker of the descriptive utterance entextualizes *the defendant* as the speaker (i.e., requester), *an adjournment* as the content, and *granting* as the perlocutionary effect of the request, presenting both the descriptive assertion and the described request as felicitous. Moreover, the (performance of) illocution of requesting is temporally anchored in the past because the perlocutionary effect (i.e., *granting*) – which is consequential with respect to the illocution by definition – is also anchored in the past as indicated by the past tense inflection of the verb (*to be* (i.e., *was*) within the passive construction *was granted*.

While the speaker, the time, the content, and the perlocutionary effect of the request are entextualized in the utterance above, many other contextual aspects (or attributes of the request frame), such as, for instance, the hearer, the locution, or the preparatory condition are not. However, since the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary item descriptively (i.e., under the presupposition of felicity and metaphysical determinateness of the request), there must at least have existed the possibility to entextualize these attributes. By choosing not to do it, the speaker relies on the hearer inferring the missing values of the remaining attributes by supplementing relevant information from their request frame, viz. their structured encyclopedic knowledge associated with the performance and the description of requests. The hearer's request frame thus represents pertinent background knowledge aiding the hearer in (tentatively) inferring unexplicated aspects of context associated with (the performance of) the request in question. In Fillmore's own words (albeit based on a different example):

A frame is a kind of outline figure with not necessarily all of the details filled in. If I tell you that I bought a new pair of shoes, you do not know where I bought them or how much they cost, but you know, by virtue of the frame that I have introduced into our discourse, that there have got to be

answers to those questions. Comprehension can be thought of as an active process during which the comprehender – to the degree that it interests [them] – seeks to fill in the details of the frames that have been introduced, either by looking for the needed information in the rest of the text, by filling it from [their] awareness of the current situation, or from [their] own system of beliefs, or by asking [their] interlocutor to say more. (1976: 29)

In the example above, then, the hearer may infer from their request frame that there must have been a hearer of this request who probably acted as a judge, that the locution was probably (a functionally equivalent variant of) ‘I hereby request an adjournment’, that the hearer would probably not have granted the adjournment if they had not been requested to do so, and so on. All of this information is not articulated by the speaker but inferred by the hearer from their request frame.

In short, when a meta-illocutionary item is used in context, the frame of the illocution (and, by extension, the speech act as a whole) is imported into the ongoing discourse. The invariant structure is represented by contextual features of this illocution (i.e., felicity conditions, spatial, temporal, personal aspects, locutionary and perlocutionary aspects), which individually constitute attributes of this frame. These attributes may be assigned particularized values by means of entextualization, viz. an indexical specification of these attributes in a particularized context. However, speakers may – at least to an extent – decide how many attributes they entextualize, how they entextualize them, and how many they leave unspecified. It is broadly argued that the decision whether or not to entextualize an individual attribute is motivated by the degree to which this attribute is conventionalized (i.e., conventionally present) within the respective frame, and the degree to which this attribute is at issue in discourse (Potts 2005), possibly in the form of helping answer the relevant Questions Under Discussion (QUDs) and thereby helping achieve the collective aim of the ongoing interaction (Benz & Jasinskaja 2017). Importantly, entextualization is argued to be correlated negatively with conventionalization but positively with discursive at-issueness. This distinction enables an analysis of patterns in entextualizations of frame attributes associated with different illocutions, which may reveal similarities and differences in the conventionalization and discursive at-issueness of different contextual features across illocutions. The present study will examine qualitative and quantitative aspects of how ordinary language users indexically specify contextual features of the illocutions which they perform, talk about, or comment on using the meta-illocutionary lexicon, and will compare results across illocutions, illocutionary types, and region (i.e., British, Hong Kong, and Kenyan blogs).

2.4 Culture, genre, and variation

One of the main aims of the present study is to explore, on a large scale, usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon across different regions. In order to enable both a large-scale account of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use and an approximate comparison of pertinent usage patterns across three physically far-apart regions (i.e., Great Britain, Hong Kong, and Kenya), the present study draws on empirical data from the Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE) in general, and on blogging data within this corpus (for reasons of genre homogeneity) in particular (see sub-chapters 3.1 and 3.2). Needless to say, using data from the blogging sections of GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE has various crucial methodological implications, which can be expected to affect the patterns found in and across the relevant datasets. The following sub-chapters will successively enlarge upon culture-specific implications, focusing on demographic aspects, the role of English, and the status of pertinent illocutions in the countries and regions at hand (sub-chapter 2.4.1), and upon genre-specific implications, focusing on the conventions of blogging and the role of *directive* and *expressive* illocutions in this genre (sub-chapter 2.4.2). Finally, sub-chapter 2.4.3 will briefly situate the present, large-scale study within recent, smaller-scale studies within the same or similar theoretical frameworks of variational (meta-)pragmatics, cross-cultural (meta-)pragmatics, and corpus-based (meta-)pragmatics.

2.4.1 Culture and language use: English in the UK, Hong Kong, and Kenya

Being both the most widely spoken language in the world and the language with the most second-language learners in the world, English is a global language par excellence (e.g., Salomone 2022). Nonetheless, the status of English varies greatly across countries and regions, both institutionally and socially/societally. Institutionally, English may hold the status as a national language, a *de jure* (co-)official/(co-)administrative language, a *de facto* (co-)official/(co-)administrative language, or a *de facto* working language, among other things. Societally, English may be the majority native language (possibly in addition to being an official or administrative language) or the minority native language (possibly despite being an official or administrative language). In contexts where English is a minority native language (despite being an official or administrative language), high levels of English language competence may further be socially stratified, associated with high levels of education and prestige, and enable or facilitate upward social and socio-economic mobility (e.g., Banks 1998). By and large, this

conventionally prestigious social status of English in second-language and/or foreign-language settings can be conceptualized as one of many results of the socio-historical developments associated both with the evolution of the British Empire and, more recently, with the spread of mostly American mass media including digital media and social media. While the evolution of the British Empire is of primary importance to the status of English in the regions selected for the present purposes (i.e., UK, Hong Kong, Kenya), the spread of American mass media – and especially digital media – is of primary importance to the status of English in the genre selected for the present purposes (i.e., blogging).

In the UK, English is both the national language and the *de facto* official language. It is commonly used by almost 100% of the population, with an overwhelming majority estimated to be (largely) monolingual native speakers of English (e.g., Coleman 2009). Nonetheless, and as a consequence of increasing immigration over the past decades, a number of different migrant languages (e.g., Polish, Hindi, Tamil, Gujarati, Urdu, etc.) are also spoken in the UK, although these languages are not – or only very marginally – used in administration. In fact, aside from communication within individual migrant communities, virtually all communication takes place in English. Ethnically, the UK population is dominated by the white ethnic group (81.7%), with 74.4% of the total population belonging to the white British ethnic group and the remainder belonging to the white ‘other’ ethnic group. Additionally, the Asian ethnic group accounts for 9.3% of the total population (Indian: 3.1%; Pakistani: 2.7%; Bangladeshi: 1.1%), the Black ethnic group accounts for 4.0% (Black African: 2.5%; Black Caribbean: 1.0%), and the mixed ethnic group accounts for 2.9% (UK Office for National Statistics). This distribution of ethnic groups – and especially the shares of the Asian and Black ethnic groups – can be said to largely reflect intra-Commonwealth migration into the UK, resulting in a relatively large Commonwealth diaspora. Since most countries and regions of the Commonwealth of Nations are former colonies and protectorates of the British empire, a crucial factor facilitating intra-Commonwealth migration into the UK is the migrants’ familiarity with both the English language as well as British culture as introduced into the relevant territories as part of colonial expansion.

In the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, English – according to Article 9 of the Basic Law – is the *de jure* co-official language alongside Chinese (which is not further specified). In practice, it is a major working language (still) commonly used in business, administration, and legal matters, even after the 1997 Handover of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to the People’s Republic of China. At the same time, however, English is the native

language of only 4.6% of the Hong Kong population, with the corresponding value for Cantonese being 88.2% (2021 Hong Kong Census). In fact, only a slight majority of Hongkongers report that they speak English ‘a little’, ‘quite well’, or ‘well’ as a result of their second language education, and most indicate that they mainly use English at work but hardly ever in private settings (Bacon-Shone et al. 2015). In terms of ethnicity, the overwhelming majority of Hongkongers are ethnically Chinese (91.6%), with the most prominent ethnic minorities being Filipinos (2.7%) and Indonesians (1.9%) (2021 Hong Kong Census). In terms of nationality, there is a considerable share (8%) of Hong Kong residents who do not have Chinese citizenship (2021 Hong Kong Census). This share comprises immigrants (mainly from the Philippines, Indonesia, and South Asia) commonly working in construction, tourism, or as domestic helpers on the one hand, and expatriates (mainly from Western Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand) commonly working in business and administration on the other. Apart from these constellations, the population of Hong Kong further comprises returnees, that is, residents who either emigrated from Hong Kong (often to a Western country in the decade leading up to the 1997 Handover) or were born abroad to two Hong Kong parents, and have returned to Hong Kong for economic, socio-cultural, or other reasons. While returnees are, legally speaking, (mostly) still Chinese citizens at the time of their return, it stands to reason that they have most likely adopted, to varying degrees, cultural practices from their target country or region in the meantime. Overall, Hong Kong is a global city which, despite high shares of Cantonese ancestry among its population, is socio-culturally superdiverse. This is probably above all due to the status of Hong Kong as a global financial and commercial hub on the one hand, and due to profound political changes not only leading up to, but crucially also since the 1997 Handover on the other. With the government of the People’s Republic of China increasingly enforcing Chinese (specifically Putonghua) as the primary medium of instruction even in secondary education, the status of Hong Kong English as a second language variety (e.g., Newbrook 1993, Evans 2011) is increasingly problematized, with some studies suggesting a regress of Hong Kong English towards a foreign language variety (e.g., Peng 2005, Fuchs 2020), and others calling into question the ostensibly clear-cut distinction between English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) altogether (Biewer 2011, 2015).

In Kenya, English – according to Article 7 of the Constitution – is the *de jure* co-official language alongside Kiswahili, which itself is also the national language. In practice, both English and Kiswahili function as lingua francas in communication between different ethnic groups, with English being used predominantly in administration, education, and the media

(Michieka 2005). In fact, English is the sole medium of instruction in schools countrywide from fourth grade onwards – in urban areas, instruction in English may already begin in first grade. The emphasis on English as a medium of instruction is, among other things, due to the fact that high levels of proficiency in English are still strongly associated with literacy, progress, prestige, and upward social and socio-economic mobility (Buregeya 2019). In terms of ethnicity, Kenya is a multi-ethnic state with a number of ethnic groups (based on their tribal backgrounds) displaying relatively balanced shares of the total population. Specifically, Kikuyu people account for 17.1% of the total population, Luhya people account for 14.4%, Kalenjin people for 13.4%, Luo people for 10.5%, and Kamba people for 9.8%. Ethnic groups with smaller shares include the Somali people (5.9%), the Kisii people (5.7%), the Mijikenda people (5.2%), and the Meru people (4.2%) (2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census). While most ethnic groups use their own tribal languages for intra-ethnic communication, Swahili is predominantly used in private inter-ethnic settings as well as in trade, whereas English – as mentioned above – is used in administration, education, and the media (Michieka 2005). In contrast to Hong Kong English, Kenyan English is often described as a relatively stable second-language variety (e.g., Hoffmann 2010, 2011, Buregeya 2019). This is commonly ascribed to the relatively ‘ordinary’ development of this variety against the background of pertinent political and socio-historical developments, including Kenya’s status as a British protectorate and later as a Crown colony, its independence in 1963, and further the gradual establishment of a sovereign, multi-party democratic state (Schneider 2007).

Given the varying status of English in the countries and regions described above, findings regarding usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE may potentially be reflective of a multitude of interrelated socio-cultural factors. Needless to say, this raises questions as to which of these factors, if any, can be expected to affect the results most strongly. Considering the demographic complexity in these countries and regions, it appears very simplistic to (only) resort to the well-established argument that most Western cultures tend to be more individualist, whereas most African and Asian cultures tend to be more collectivist (e.g., Hofstede 2001). After all, it can be safely assumed that migrants, who presumably combine (to differing degrees) cultural aspects from their home region and from their target region, will also have contributed to the datasets of the respective GloWbE sub-corpora (see, e.g., sub-chapter 3.1). On a different note, it can be expected that, relative to the overall demographics of the countries or regions at hand, bloggers (as a group) may potentially skew the respective populations in favor of younger as opposed to older members, digitally more literate as opposed to digitally less literate members, and –

especially in the cases of Hong Kong and Kenya – members who feel proficient and/or comfortable enough to use English (rather than their native language) on openly accessible websites as opposed to those who do not (see sub-chapter 2.4.2). It is further conceivable that the potentially elevated degrees of digital literacy and comfort of using English publicly may be reflective, at least partially, of higher levels of education among the bloggers.

On yet another, more theoretical note, while previous research in cross-cultural pragmatics has prominently suggested that cultural differences may explain (differences in) speech act realization patterns (e.g., Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, House & Kádár 2021), discussions of usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon have been almost completely neglected in that regard (but see Diegoli 2022, sub-chapter 2.4.3), thus calling into question how cultural differences may manifest themselves in pragmatic variation on a meta-discursive level or account for ‘(meta-)pragmatic transfer’, as it were. Overall, given the great cultural complexity within the regions at hand, the skewing of the respective populations among bloggers, and the dearth of research on cultural perspectives on the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use, formulating distinctive hypotheses regarding the forthcoming findings is deemed too speculative at the present stage. Instead, the following overview of previous studies on the status of selected illocutions (or speech acts) across the relevant regions and cultures is argued to aid the largely exploratory nature of the present study which will consider explicit and reflexive (English) references to illocutions in (meta-)discourse as embedded in the cultural realities of bloggers in the UK, Hong Kong, and Kenya.

It can be safely assumed that all of the illocutions considered for the present purposes are both (explicitly) performed and (explicitly) talked about on blogs across the countries and regions selected for the present purposes (see also chapter 4). However, previous research – although not always contrastive – points towards some culture-specific trends regarding the salience, importance, and/or pervasiveness of some of these illocutions across the respective cultures in the respective regions. These culture-specific trends are particularly distinct in the case of *expressive* illocutions. For example, Eastman (1984, 1992) notes that Swahili expressive culture – which is characterized, among other things, by pervasive, multimodal co-uses of language (specifically interjections) and gestures – encompasses frequent uses of both *ahsante* (‘Thanks!’) and *shabashi* (‘Bravo!’, ‘Well done!’) as markers of emotional involvement. This observation may potentially hint at a high degree of pervasiveness associated with the illocutions of thanking and congratulating among bloggers in Kenya, provided that they are still in large part affected by (the more tradition-oriented) Swahili expressive culture despite recent

cultural and political shifts toward progressivism and individualism (Oburu 2024). The illocution of apologizing has been found to be relatively prominent in British culture (Deutschmann 2003, Ancarno 2015) as it has been argued that apologies – and thus recognitions of one’s offense and admissions of responsibility – are associated with “presenting oneself as ‘respectable’” (Deutschmann 2003: 210). This presentation of self-respectability is particularly relevant in public settings, as the British ‘national culture of accountability’ (Ancarno 2015) requires speakers to always have a larger audience of their wrongdoing and their rectification (displaying self-awareness regarding the relevant wrongdoing) in mind. As much as blogs can be seen as a public setting, it can be expected that references to the illocution of apologizing could be overrepresented among UK bloggers, provided that no exonormative orientation among bloggers in Hong Kong and Kenya will be reflected in frequencies matching those in GloWbE GB. In contrast to British and Kenyan cultural characteristics regarding the (relative) salience, importance, and/or pervasiveness of selected *expressive* illocutions, Hong Kong culture appears to be characterized by a marked lack of salience and/or pervasiveness of the illocution of thanking, specifically in English (Wong 2010). This marked lack appears to broadly reflect the Chinese cultural view on the illocution of thanking, which – at least in terms of realization patterns – is largely characterized by non-verbalization or avoidance strategies (Cheng 2006) in line with Eisenstein & Bodman’s (1986; 1993) maxims of humility and modesty. Against this background, infrequent uses of explicit references to thanking may be indicative of a transfer of Chinese cultural conceptions of communication (and possibly politeness) onto blogging in English, whereas frequent uses of explicit references to thanking may indicate an influence of either British or American cultural values, or the genre of blogging.

Regarding *directive* illocutions, usage patterns of explicit references to requesting will mainly be discussed against the background of degrees of (in)formality and/or granularity in denomination of illocutions (see sub-chapters 2.4.2, 5.1), whereas the illocutions of commanding and begging require further, culture-specific elaboration. The illocution of commanding requires, by definition, an extra-linguistic institution as well as an asymmetrical distribution of institutional power in favor of the speaker (Searle 1969: 66), with religion and the military being common institutions warranting the performance of this illocution. In terms of religion, about 98% of the Kenyan population are followers of a religion (with 85% Christians and 11% Muslims), followed by about 60% of the UK population (with 46% Christians, 6% Muslims, and 2% Hinduists) and about 50% of the Hong Kong population (with 19% Christians, 13% Buddhists, 13% Taoists, and 4% Muslims). In terms of military and armed power, on the other hand, Hong Kong is directly confronted with Chinese military presence

(i.e., the Hong Kong Garrison as part of the Chinese People's Liberation Army) on its territory, by means of which the Chinese government exerts political power in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region since the 1997 Handover and especially since the 2014 and 2019/20 protests. By comparison, the UK and Kenya arguably display lower degrees of salience associated with military operations. This is not only because these two countries do have their own armed forces (in contrast to Hong Kong), and because these armed forces largely operate outside the UK (i.e., Belize, Cyprus, Gibraltar, Falklands) and Kenya (i.e., Somalia) respectively. Consequently, findings pertaining to frequencies of explicit references to the illocution of commanding will have to further take into account the topic of the respective blogs and/or the respective extra-linguistic institutions warranting the performance of this illocution. In short, it can be expected that GloWbE KE will display larger shares of religious contexts, whereas GloWbE HK will display larger shares of military contexts. In contrast to references to commanding, where different senses of 'command' are rather clearly distinguishable (e.g., commanding someone to do something versus to have command of something, with the latter being excluded from consideration in the present study), those different senses are less distinguishable in references to begging. This is because begging as a *directive* illocution (i.e., the speaker's attempt to get the hearer to do something by submitting to the hearer) and begging as an activity (e.g., standing or sitting on the side of a road soliciting money or food from passers-by) are intertwined in the sense that performing the *directive* illocution of begging can be seen as a constitutive element of the broader activity of begging. On a different note, performative uses of *(to) beg* (i.e., *I beg you to do X*) may, depending on the context, further be conceptualized as politeness markers in 'formal', 'humble', or 'polite' requests (in their ordinary reading) as opposed to instances of begging in the speech-act-theoretic sense (de Silva 1976, Ohso 1983). In terms of begging as an illocution and/or activity, Kenya has been attested to struggle profoundly with begging as a systematic practice, with beggars exploiting (the currently shifting) traditional, collectivist cultural orientations in Kenyan society – characterized, among other things, by looking out for less economically fortunate members of a community – for their personal gain (Oduor 2002). In terms of begging as a 'formal'/'humble'/'polite' request (in its ordinary sense), it remains to be seen in how far the data taken from the largely informal genre of blogging (see sub-chapter 2.4.2) includes performative uses of *(to) beg*, potentially as politeness markers in these requests. Consequently, frequency values of explicit reference to begging could be discussed against the background of degrees of salience/importance/pervasiveness of begging – both as an illocution and/or as an activity – and against degrees of (in)formality in blogging. Needless to say, cultural differences

between the UK, Hong Kong, and Kenya will only be able to partially account for the patterns found in the present dataset, which is mainly due to the fact the genre of blogging enables worldwide participation and involves distinct communicative conventions in line with online asynchronous computer-mediated communication (CMC).

2.4.2 Genre and language use: Blogging in the UK, Hong Kong, and Kenya

As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, blogging communities – which in contrast to communities in the traditional sense are not necessarily characterized by spatial proximity – may skew a national or regional population in favor of younger members, digitally literate members, and – in this case – members who feel proficient and/or comfortable enough to use the English language on a public platform. This is because blogging is a relatively new, (highly American-influenced) computer-mediated online genre, which evolved from online diaries and (postings in) newsgroups and/or e-mail lists (Crowston & Williams 2000). Enabled by and still fully reliant on the internet, the genre of blogging has developed distinct formal and functional characteristics, many of which draw upon features of computer-mediated communication more generally (e.g., Georgakopoulou 2011)

In terms of formal features, blogging is characterized by “frequently modified web pages in which dated entries are listed in reverse chronological sequence” (Herring et al. 2005: 142). Before the advent of microblogging and social media platforms operated by large information technology companies, blogs have mainly been operated by one or more private bloggers acting as administrators of the respective web pages. This situatedness in the (semi-) private domain has allowed for considerable functional variation across blogs, ranging from *filters* (including the blogger’s reports of, and links to, news and world events) to *journals* (including the blogger’s spontaneous self-presentation and promotion) and further to *notebooks* (including the blogger’s focused essays on and reflections about events, ideas, and mental states) (Blood 2002). Since all these types of blogging may vary in terms of the degree of interaction between administrators and subscribers as well as their orientedness towards objective states of affairs or subjective states of mind, Herring et al. (2005) conceive of blogs as a ‘bridging genre’ occupying a middle position between standard HTML documents (e.g., personal homepages) on the one hand, and synchronous CMC (e.g., chatrooms) on the other. On the overlapping continua of (a) updating frequency, which is low in HTML documents and high in synchronous CMC, (b) power symmetry, which is high in HTML documents and low

in synchronous CMC, and (c) the predominance of text, which is traditionally lower in HTML documents (due to multimedia) and higher in synchronous CMC, blogs – depending on the type – are situated in between these genres as they (a) are somewhat frequently updated, (b) display a somewhat asymmetrical exchange between administrators and subscribers, and (c) are somewhat text-predominant (Herring et al. 2005: 161).

Thus, while blogging is formally different from neighboring online genres due to the distinct web interface listing entries in reverse chronological order, there is considerable functional variation within this genre itself due to diverging preferences of use across individuals and groups acting as administrators. Among these functionally variant blog types, each type may display similarities to some other, neighboring (online) genres. Examples are an increased length of posts and frequent nominalizations in the *notebook* type resembling written journalistic or academic texts on the one hand, and the use of emoticons, multiple punctuation marks, and intonation marking through capitalization in the *journal* type resembling online chats (including indicators of spoken and paralinguistic features) on the other (Blood 2002). Against this background, it can be argued that large sets of empirical blogging data constitute a rough cross-section of a multitude of textually represented (online) genres including varying degrees of (in)formality, power (a)symmetry, and (non-)structuredness, all of which entail varying delimitations of permissible contributions by the respective co-participants (see subchapter 2.1.1).

Regardless of the heterogeneity across different types (including their formal and functional features), blogs in general have been argued to be social tools (Baker & Moore 2008) and social arenas (Walker Rettberg 2014). They have further been conceptualized as predecessors of social media (genres) – with blogposts being more text-predominant and larger in scope, and social media posts being increasingly image-predominant and smaller in scope (Newson et al. 2009) – as they are characterized, among other things, by (somewhat) symmetrical power structures among co-participants (Herring et al. 2005, Woodly 2008). Regarding the overall focus of analysis of the present study (i.e., usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon), this emphasis on the social aspect of communication among bloggers can be expected to be characterized by a frequent representation of (references to) *expressive* illocutions as opposed to *directive* illocutions. This is because *expressive* illocutions have distinct social functions, against the background of which their core functions – that is, the speaker's expression of their mental states about states of affairs (Searle 1975: 357) – have been argued to only “play a secondary role” (Norrick 1978: 280). In speech-act-theoretic terms, this

distinct social function of *expressive* illocutions is located in their (speaker-intended) perlocutionary sequel or their ‘less immediate’ perlocutionary effect/object. While the ‘most immediate’ perlocutionary effect/object of *expressive* illocutions is commonly (‘only’) the hearer’s acknowledgment of the speaker’s expressed mental state, the ‘less immediate’ perlocutionary effect/object is illocution-specific. Pertinent social functions in the ‘less immediate’ perlocutionary effect/object may include flattery (in the prospect of receiving future favors) in performing the illocution of thanking, appeasement and relief of guilt in performing the illocution of apologizing, and pride and encouragement to maintain a certain behavior in performing the illocution of congratulating (Norrick 1978: 284-286). Needless to say, these distinct social functions of *expressive* illocutions can be expected to be highly compatible with the emphasis on the social aspect of communication in blogging. In fact, previous research has attested that especially the illocution of thanking – alongside the illocution of complimenting – is highly prevalent in this genre. Specifically, Lutzky & Gee’s (2018) study on word types in preface position of blogposts has shown that, in the Birmingham Blog Corpus (BBC), *thank you for*, *thanks for the*, and *I love the* are among the five most frequent three-word clusters in preface position, and that *thank you so much for* is effectively the most frequent five-word cluster in preface position (surpassed only by the automated message *this post has been removed*). The authors attribute their findings to the rapport-building function of these illocutions. In particular, bloggers either positively assess each other’s use of blogging functions (i.e., posting, commenting, sharing, etc.) in complimenting, or present each other’s use of blogging functions as a benefit to themselves, and possibly the respective community as a whole, in thanking (Lutzky & Gee 2018: 182), thus building social rapport. Therefore, it can be expected that, in the present study, (references to) *expressive* illocutions in general (Norrick 1978) and the illocution of thanking in particular (Lutzky & Gee 2018) will be overrepresented in terms of frequency, hinting at high levels of salience and/or pervasiveness and thus reflecting the conceptualization of blogs as social tools (Baker & Moore 2008) or social arenas (Walker Rettberg 2014). Conversely, (references to) *directive* illocutions can be expected to occur infrequently by comparison, possibly due to the fact that the performance of these illocutions involves, to varying degrees, an exercise of social and/or institutional power (on the part of the speaker), which conflicts with the largely democratic practice of blogging (Woodly 2008).

Apart from illocutions, the present choice of genre also has crucial implications for the overall degree of (in)formality to be expected in the present dataset. Specifically, the low power asymmetries among bloggers as well as the overall emphasis on the social aspect of communication in blogging has been found to be reflected, among other things, in a largely

informal register, which is characterized by “markedly more oral elements” (Montero-Fleta et al. 2009: 776) as compared to other online genres and their offline counterparts, if applicable (e.g., news reports). This low degree of formality in this genre is further seen as a case in point of an overall informalization of discourse and a “general pattern of ‘drift’ towards more oral styles” (Biber & Finegan 1989: 487), which has been found to hold especially for English, notably across discourse topics and their ‘degree of seriousness’ (e.g., politics vs. sports) (Montero-Fleta et al. 2009: 777). While the use of English in online asynchronous CMC has been widely studied (presumably predominantly in ENL contexts), Murray (2000: 398) observes that “very little research has been conducted on non-English-dominant countries or among language minority communities”. Considering that the degree of dominance of the English language varies rather strongly across the countries and regions selected for the present purposes, this study might find differences in usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon according to whether English is the native and dominant language within a community (i.e., the UK), a stable second (or third) language used in a relatively pre-defined range of domains (i.e., Kenya), or a second/foreign language used in increasingly fewer domains (i.e., Hong Kong). Especially in the context of Hong Kong and Kenyan blogs, higher degrees of formality (compared to UK blogs) may point towards a stronger association of formality with English language use, which in turn may reflect the bloggers’ exonormative orientation towards a native standard variety (i.e., British English) formally taught in schools. Conversely, low(er) degrees of formality on Hong Kong and Kenyan blogs may be indicative of a process of communicative accommodation (i.e., convergence) regarding the overall process of informalization of discourse on blogs as part of (highly American-influenced) online asynchronous CMC. Overall, while degrees of (in)formality may, in general, certainly be discussed as a type of varietal evidence, it must be noted that these degrees may also – and possibly foremost – be affected by genre, albeit potentially to differing degrees.

Conceivable indicators of degrees of (in)formality in the context of the present study could be choice of lexeme (see sub-chapter 4.1.1), choice of word class (see sub-chapter 4.1.2), and choice of realization type of the *performative* use type (see sub-chapter 4.4). In terms of choice of lexeme (especially in the *directive* class), high frequency values for references to requesting may, for instance, be indicative of high degrees of formality, whereas low levels for references to requesting may hint either at low degrees of formality – in the sense that bloggers might prefer more informal verbs such as *(to) ask* or more informal nouns such as *question* (for which the present study can, however, not account) – or at higher degrees of granularity – in the sense that bloggers might more strongly consider contextual nuances when denominating

illocutions, such as *command* and *beg* (for which the present study can account) or *order*, *advise*, *implore*, and others (for which the present study cannot account). In terms of choice of word class, an overall preference for meta-illocutionary verb forms (i.e., *(to) request*, *(to) command*, etc.), which present the illocutions to which they refer as ACTIONS (Langacker 1987), may be indicative of lower degrees of formality, whereas an overall preference for meta-illocutionary noun forms (i.e., *request*, *command*, etc.), which present the illocutions to which they refer as THINGS (Langacker 1987), may be indicative of higher degrees of formality and/or institutionalization (Biber 1988), especially in *talk about* (as opposed to *performances of*) the illocutions in question. In terms of realization types of the *performative* use type, larger shares of the *explicit performative* realization type (e.g., *I thank you*, *I congratulate you*) may be indicative of high degrees of formality, whereas higher shares of the *elliptical verbal* realization type (e.g., *Thank you*) or the *elliptical nominal* realization type (e.g., *Congrats*), which display similarities to interjections and/or pragmatic markers (Aijmer 2004, Ameka 2006, Norrick 2011), may be indicative of low degrees of formality. Together, these indicators may help to discern degrees of (in)formality as associated with the (partially) interrelated factors of illocution, illocutionary type, region/‘variety’, culture, and genre, at least based on the bloggers’ use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in (meta-)discourse.

2.4.3 Previous studies

Passing over research on *speech act(ivity) verbs* within the framework of lexical semantics (Ballmer & Brennenstuhl 1981; Verschueren 1985; Wierzbicka 1987), the first mention of the meta-illocutionary lexicon can be found in Schneider (2017). In this study, Schneider (a) tentatively suggests communicative functions of utterances containing meta-illocutionary expressions based on manually extracted examples from fictional literature (2017: 229) and (b) quantifies variants of the construction *Is that a(n) X?*, typifying Schneider’s *problematizing* function, using hits retrieved from Google searches. Regarding the results, Schneider distinguishes the *performative*, *reporting*, *commenting*, and *problematizing* function, and further finds that *request*, *order*, and *warning* are the meta-illocutionary items which occur the most often in the *Is that a(n) X?* construction overall. Counting as an initial contribution to the study of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use, Schneider’s (2017) suggestions have since been expanded on within emerging frameworks emphasizing research methodology as well as linguistic and pragmatic variation, such as cross-cultural metapragmatics (Diegoli 2022) and

variational metapragmatics (Schneider 2021), and methodological commitments, such as corpus-based metapragmatics (Haugh 2018).

Within the framework of cross-cultural metapragmatics, Diegoli (2022) examines the use of *speech act labels* describing thanks and apologies across English and Japanese. As part of her main results, she finds that the Japanese expression *su(m)imasen* [sorry], which – as an expression of regret – usually constitutes an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID) for the speech act of apologizing, can also be used in thanking (Diegoli 2022: 641). Based on this finding, Diegoli argues that ordinary language users’ conceptualizations of speech act categories may vary across lingua-cultures, which she visualizes using Jucker & Taavitsainen’s (2000, 2008) prototype-anchored notion of *pragmatic spaces*. In terms of these *pragmatic spaces*, the speech acts of thanking and apologizing display more overlap in Japanese than in English (Diegoli 2022: 638), which is reflected in the mental state of regret appearing to be a constitutive element of both apologies and thanks in Japanese, but only (or primarily) of apologies in English. This overlap is further supported by etymological evidence in that *arigatai* – the base form of the more conventional Japanese expression of thanks, *arigatō* (*gozaimasu*) – translates literally to ‘hard to be/accept’. This literal translation may be extended to the speaker regretting to benefit from the hearer’s past action, as “[w]hat is a benefit for the speaker is [...] conceptualized as a burden for the other person” (Diegoli 2022: 627). Overall, the framework of cross-cultural metapragmatics aims to uncover, among other things, similarities and differences in ordinary language users’ conceptualization of speech acts across lingua-cultures.

In contrast to cross-cultural metapragmatics, which focuses on contrastive analyses across lingua-cultures, variational metapragmatics is defined as “the study of metacommunicative expressions (e.g. *apologise*, *impolite* and *banter*) within languages” (Schneider 2021: 12, original emphases). Studies within variational metapragmatics are dominated by analyses of quantitative distributions of these metacommunicative expressions, both across language varieties and across genres, and explorations of communicative functions of utterances containing these expressions with respect to the pragmatic aspect(s) of language use to which these expressions (reflexively) refer. For instance, Schneider (2021) compares references to apologies across Irish English and Canadian English, and finds that, despite comparable overall frequencies, Irish English speakers display a preference for using these expressions in spoken language, whereas Canadian English speakers prefer using them in written language (2021: 15). Zooming in on Irish English, Schneider (2022) finds that within

spoken genres, (more frequent) references to apologies are used mainly in legal presentations, face-to-face conversation, and broadcast discussions, whereas within written genres, (less frequent) references are used mostly in business letters, social letters, and press news (2022b: 163). Finally, Schoppa (2022), who examines frequencies and functions of references to requests and apologies across British and American English (see also sub-chapter 2.3.2), finds a quantitative preference for explicitly referring to requests in American English as opposed to British English but no such difference in the case of apologies (2022: 74-75), a preference for the *naming* and the *reporting* functions in references to requests with only minimal variation across British and American English (2022: 82-84), and a preference for the *performative* and the *commenting* functions in references to apologies, with the *performative* function being more prevalent in British English and the *commenting* function in American English (2022: 79-81). Overall, variational metapragmatics “can be conceptualized as a subfield of variational pragmatics” (Schneider 2021: 13) with a particular focus on studying ordinary language users’ reflexive use of expressions referring to pragmatic aspects of language use.

All studies in cross-cultural metapragmatics and variational metapragmatics reported in the present sub-chapter are based on corpus data. Specifically, Diegoli (2022) uses the *JaTenTen11* and the *Yahoo! Chiebukuro* corpora, Schneider (2021, 2022) uses data from the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) collection, namely ICE-Ireland and ICE-Canada, and Schoppa (2022) uses data from the *British National Corpus* (BNC) and the *Contemporary Corpus of American English* (COCA). In terms of methodology, these studies thus exemplify the methodological paradigm of corpus-based metapragmatics, which takes as its starting point the linguistic form of items reflexively referring to pragmatic aspects of language use, and aims to explore qualitative and quantitative patterns in the discursive use (and communicative functions) of these items in context. In Haugh’s (2018: 620) words:

In sum, corpus-based metapragmatics involves the study of metapragmatic labels and metapragmatic comments as they arise in corpora using a combination of interpretive (horizontal) and statistical (vertical) methods of analysis. The advantage therein is that we are able to not only examine how particular persons on certain occasions conceptualise and evaluate what they are doing with language, but also how such conceptualisations and evaluations are accomplished across groups of persons.

While the methodological paradigm of corpus pragmatics struggles with several shortcomings, which mostly relate to discrepancies in the form-function directionality between corpus-linguistic methods (mainly form-to-function) on the one hand and research questions in

pragmatics (mainly function-to-form) on the other (Rühlemann 2010: 289-291), corpus-based metapragmatics avoids these shortcomings “because the use of various metalinguistic ‘forms’ is the primary means by which participants and observants can display metapragmatic ‘awareness’ about their use of language” (Haugh 2018: 617). In other words, metapragmatics – defined for the present purposes as the study of the use of linguistic items reflexively referring to pragmatic aspects of language use – aligns with corpus-linguistic methods in terms of form-function directionality (i.e., form-to-function). This adds to the validity of choosing corpus data as the empirical basis for studies in this field, especially as a methodological counterpart to experimental metapragmatics encompassing labeling tasks and appropriateness judgment tasks, mainly in second-language contexts (Taguchi 2011; Bardovi-Harlig 2013).

The present study (partially) contributes to all the frameworks described above. In terms of sociolinguistic variation, it contributes to cross-cultural metapragmatics in that it considers (nation-based) cultures with different native languages, and to variational metapragmatics in that it considers different ‘regions’ in which English is used, both natively and non-natively. Additionally, the present study further contributes to (the development of) what can be called ‘post-colonial metapragmatics’ and possibly also ‘interlanguage metapragmatics’ or ‘second language metapragmatics’, although these frameworks are not (yet) established in the literature. In terms of methodology, this study subscribes to corpus-based metapragmatics by exploring usage patterns of meta-illocutionary items using data retrieved from the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE), which will be described in detail in the following chapter.

3. Methodology

The present chapter will outline the methodological steps undertaken for the purpose of this study. In doing so, it will focus on describing the GloWbE in terms of its composition and materials (sub-chapter 3.1), the data collection and sampling procedure performed for the present purposes (sub-chapter 3.2), and the analysis of the dataset in light of this study’s research aims and questions (sub-chapter 3.3). Taken together, these methodological steps constitute the basis for the empirical results reported in chapter 4 and discussed in chapter 5.

3.1 The GloWbE corpus

The GloWbE (Davies 2013) is a large-scale, web-based corpus compiled specifically for the purpose of comparative research in World Englishes. It contains almost 1.9 billion words of text from six of Kachru's (1985) *inner circle* countries and 14 of Kachru's (1985) *outer circle* countries (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 2). The creation of GloWbE was guided by three main goals as reported by its compilers: "size, genre balance (including informal language), and accuracy in terms of identifying the dialect that [the corpus] is representing" (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 3). To achieve these goals, the compilers used Google's search engine as their primary source of data. Specifically, the compilers initially performed Google searches for multiple high-frequency 3-grams of functional items such as *but if it* or *and from the*. Due to the lack of search engine optimization for (exclusively) functional items in Google, these searches yielded millions of essentially random URLs, which were then stored in a database including all relevant metadata such as website and country (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 4). As elaborated upon in the following, this method has had various implications and consequences for the self-declared aims of compiling this corpus as well as their achievement.

In terms of size, GloWbE (containing around 1.9 billion words) is more than 150 times larger than the ICE collection (Greenbaum 1996), which – as arguably the most popular database in World Englishes research – contains only about 12.2 million words in total. The 1.9 billion words of text constituting the GloWbE corpus are, however, unevenly distributed across countries. For instance, the *Great Britain* sub-corpus contains around 387.6 million words, whereas the *Hong Kong* and the *Kenya* sub-corpora contain only around 40.5 and 41.1 million words respectively. Nonetheless, the overall size advantage of GloWbE enables, among other things, explorations of (largely overlooked) usage patterns of lower frequency items and constructions across national dialects of English, including lower frequency occurrences of meta-illocutionary items, which may not occur at all in the ICE corpora (Schneider 2021, 2022).

In terms of genre balance, the compilers roughly followed the distribution established in the ICE collection, where about 60 percent of the dataset of each corpus consists of transcriptions of spoken language and the remaining 40 percent of written texts. Despite the fact that GloWbE is based exclusively on digitally produced and represented text, its compilers attempted to still account for this distinction: "About 60 percent of the words for each country come from informal blogs, whereas the other 40 percent come from a wide variety of (often) more formal genres and text types" (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 4). However, despite being

explicitly separated from blogs, the “(often) more formal genres and text types” – rather confusingly – also include blogs themselves. The compilers explain this as follows:

In order to achieve a roughly 60/40 mix of informal and somewhat more formal language, we first collected one million URLs from a “general” search in Google, and then another million URLs from Google searches of just blogs. In the general search, however, about 20 percent of these were also blogs (there is no way to exclude them from “general” searches), which results in (roughly) a 60/40 mix overall. (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 4)

The apparent overlap of genre-based categories is a direct result of using Google searches and Google’s search categories as the main method of corpus compilation. Consequently, Davies & Fuchs (2015) have been extensively criticized not only for the lack of rigidity of their genre-based categories and the resulting occurrence of duplicates (Kehoe 2021), but also for hypothesizing that blogs are generally informal due to their alleged personal and conversational style (Grieve et al. 2011; sub-chapter 2.4.2).

In terms of accuracy in identifying the respective variety of English, hits of the above-mentioned Google searches for functional items were sorted by ‘Region’ – a tool within Google’s ‘Advanced Search’ function based either on the top-level country domain of a website (i.e., *.hk* for Hong Kong, *.ke* for Kenya, etc.) or, in the case of *.com* or *.org* websites, the web server’s IP address as well as further information on who visits the website and who links to the website (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 4). For instance, if Google identifies that a server of a *.com* website is located in or near Hong Kong and that both a high percentage of visitors and a high percentage of links to this page originate from Hong Kong (websites), Google will classify the respective website as originating from Hong Kong as well. While Davies & Fuchs (2015: 4-5) assess this approach as being “very good” overall, they also concede that it “may not be perfect”. The reason for this is that – especially in the context of a global city like Hong Kong – contributions from migrants, expats, returnees, and visitors who temporarily use local websites and/or devices (see also sub-chapters 2.4.1, 2.4.2) may be classified by Google’s ‘Region’ tool as belonging to Hong Kong and thus be part of GloWbE HK. The following example is a case in point:

(9) Each time that I venture abroad from Hong Kong to the US or Australia, I arrive full of requests from **other expats** for toiletries, food items and the like to bring back because the items are just not available in Hong Kong. (HK_REQUEST_47)

In this example, the speaker – in entextualizing *other expats* as the requesters – identifies themselves, the requestee, as an *expat* as well by means of implication. Consequently, this example is ineligible as an exemplification of Hong Kong English despite being classified as belonging to Hong Kong by Google’s ‘Region’ tool. The example that would otherwise have been analyzed as a *meta-comment* on the illocution of requesting (including, among other things, the feature of conditionality with *each time* overtly marking the antecedent, *the items just not being available in Hong Kong* as well as the speaker/requestee *venturing abroad from Hong Kong to the US or Australia* as entextualizations of what can be called ‘less immediate’ and ‘more immediate’ preparatory conditions, and *toiletries, food items and the like* as an entextualization of the content) thus had to be excluded from this study’s dataset for reasons mentioned above.

Overall, it can be concluded that while the compilers of GloWbE have certainly achieved their self-declared aim of compiling a large-scale corpus for research in World Englishes (despite an uneven distribution of data across countries), their rather simplistic method of corpus compilation negatively affected both genre balance and the accuracy in distinguishing between countries/regions and varieties. Davies & Fuchs (2015: 26) themselves concede that unlike GloWbE, “[t]he ICE corpora have been constructed very carefully, and for phenomena where ‘every token counts’ and when there can be no ‘messiness’ at all in the data, the carefully-curated, manually annotated ICE corpora may be more useful than GloWbE”. Nonetheless, and precisely because of its emphasis on size, GloWbE can still be considered a valid data source for exploring large-scale ‘cross-regional’ usage patterns of linguistic items (such as those belonging to the meta-illocutionary lexicon), provided that the methodological disadvantages of its compilation are adequately compensated for by careful data collection, selection, and exclusion. The overall procedure of data preparation will be outlined in detail in sub-chapter 3.2.

3.2 Data collection and selection

As mentioned above (sub-chapter 2.3.2), the present study focuses on exploring usage patterns of both meta-illocutionary verbs and meta-illocutionary nouns, by means of which speakers construe the respective illocutions (or speech acts) as ACTIONS and THINGS respectively (Langacker 1987). Consequently, the *Great Britain*, *Hong Kong*, and *Kenya* sub-corpora of

GloWbE were searched for nominal and verbal forms of items (reflexively) referring to the six illocutions under analysis, namely requesting, commanding, and begging on the one hand (i.e., *directives*), and thanking, apologizing, and congratulating on the other (i.e., *expressives*). For this purpose, the initial characters of the relevant meta-illocutionary items were supplemented with two search functions – the wildcard function and the part of speech filtering function – to retrieve an initial list of hits and their frequencies. The wildcard function (marked by *) prompts the retrieval of any continuation of the initial characters within a token, and the part of speech filtering function (marked by *_n*, *_v*, etc.) prompts the retrieval of items tagged for the respective part of speech only. The three sub-corpora were thus searched for the following queries: *request*_n/v*, *command*_n/v*, *beg*_n/v*, *thank*_n/v*, *apolog*_n/v*, and *congrat*_n/v*. These queries resulted in the retrieval of items (a) consisting of the character strings *request*, *command*, *beg*, *thank*, *apolog*, *congrat* as well as optionally additional characters, and (b) tagged as nouns and verbs respectively. Notably, items referring to the illocution of congratulating were searched for using the clipped form *congrat*_n/v* rather than the full form *congratulat*_n/v*, which was chosen to account for the conventionally shortened form *congrats* alongside other, longer noun and verb forms such as *congratulation* or *congratulate*.

The hits retrieved from these searches were subjected to a downsizing procedure in order to render the dataset more manageable in terms of quantity. Using the example of (references to) thanking in the *Hong Kong* sub-corpus of GloWbE, the main operations of this downsizing procedure are illustrated in Table 2. First, all items which occurred less than ten times across noun and verb categories within a sub-corpus were excluded from consideration. These items mainly included forms of punctuation occasionally classified by the corpus software as belonging to the searched items (e.g., *command-*, *thanks.*), multi-word expressions including the item in question written orthographically as one word (e.g., *requestforauthentication*, *thankyouandgoodbye*), or spelling errors (e.g., *beging*, *congratultions*). Next, absolute frequencies of the remaining hits were recorded in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Based on these absolute frequencies, two types of normalized frequency were calculated: (a) occurrences of each item per one million words within the respective sub-corpora, and (b) shares (in percent) of each item referring to the same illocution as well as their word class. While occurrences per million words were not further processed, shares of each item were rounded to the nearest integer. Rounding errors changing the total to 99 or 101 were adjusted by re-rounding values whose first decimal number was closest to 5 to the farther rather than the nearer integer so that the total would remain 100. The operation of re-rounding and its result are highlighted in Table 2. As every combination of illocution and sub-corpus was decided to be represented by 100

examples in the present study’s dataset, the final distribution reflected not only rounded and adjusted shares of items referring to the same illocution within a sub-corpus, but also the number of examples to be extracted for each item. Altogether, this study’s dataset comprised (initially) a total of 1800 examples of meta-illocutionary items in use, encompassing (reflexive) references to the six illocutions across the three ‘regions’ selected for further analysis.

Table 2. Normalization and downsizing exemplified by references to thanking in GloWbE *Hong Kong*.

GloWbE HK THANKING	absolute frequencies			normalized frequencies								
	absolute frequencies			per million words			share of items (%)			rounded and adjusted		
	noun	verb	Σ	noun	verb	Σ	noun	verb	Σ	noun	verb	Σ
thank	0	3959	3959	0	97.8	97.8	0	44.8	44.8	0	45	45
thanks	4555	71	4626	112.6	1.8	114.4	<u>51.5</u>	0.8	52.3	<u>51</u>	1	52
thanked	0	179	179	0	4.4	4.4	0	2.0	2.0	0	2	2
thanking	0	74	74	0	1.8	1.8	0	0.8	0.8	0	1	1
TOTAL	4555	4283	8838	112.6	105.9	218.5	<u>51.5</u>	48.5	100	<u>51</u>	49	100

The 100 examples per speech act and sub-corpus were extracted using the ‘Expanded Context’ function in GloWbE, which enables a display of roughly 100 to 300 words of co-text surrounding the respective search item, depending on the specific hit. To obtain the widest possible variety of topics in which illocutions are being talked about, it was decided that only one hit (including its ‘Expanded Context’) per website would be extracted and considered for further analysis. Thus, for instance, each of the 45 extracted examples of *thank_v* in the *Hong Kong* sub-corpus (see Table 2) originated from a different website. In extracting these examples, precedence was always given to hits occurring in the blog section of the GloWbE in order to maximize comparability by making the datasets as homogenous as possible in terms of genre (despite genre-internal variation). In some cases where the blog section did not yield enough relevant hits of a certain item, individual missing examples were supplemented from the general section of the corpus. For instance, one out of 18 examples of *command_v* in the *Kenya* sub-corpus as well as one out of 14 examples of *commands_n* in the *Hong Kong* sub-corpus were taken from the general section rather than the blog section.

The reason for an occasional lack of relevant hits was related to the common issue of precision and false positives in form-based corpus-linguistic methods of data collection, namely that, in some cases, the retrieved items did not refer to illocutions. For example, searches for *command_n* yielded hits where the noun form *command* referred to a military unit or a person’s

mastery of a skill rather than the directive linguistic action. Similarly, searches for *beg*_v* yielded hits where the verb forms *beg*, *begs*, *begging*, and *begged* occurred as part of the idiomatic expression *(to) beg the question*, which is, of course, conceptually incompatible with the illocution of begging. These and similar instances were not considered during the extraction process, which, however, resulted in the blog section of GloWbE (and especially the *Hong Kong* and *Kenya* sub-corpora due to their smaller size) sometimes yielding an insufficient number of relevant examples as calculated in the downsizing procedure. The few missing examples were then supplemented from the general section of the same GloWbE sub-corpus as described above.

After the 1800 required examples had been extracted from the respective GloWbE sub-corpora, they were analyzed in terms of use types of meta-illocutionary items, entextualizations of frame attributes, and realizations of the *performative* use type (see sub-chapter 3.3). This phase of data analysis further encompassed a second stage of exclusion of individual examples which, on closer examination, were not eligible for the purpose of the present study. Reasons for exclusion ranged from a lack of intelligibility (probably due to inaccurate machine translations, especially from Mandarin or Cantonese into English in the *Hong Kong* sub-corpus) to references to non-human or non-personified speakers or hearers (in technology-related contexts) and further to *etiolated* occurrences of meta-illocutionary items in song titles or lyrics. These three reasons – lack of intelligibility, non-human or non-personified participants, and *etiologies* (Austin 1962[1975]: 22) – are illustrated in that order in examples (10)-(12):

(10) Right fater he soon started to build sneakers on education and learning sum of this mobile computer, and a lot of her ideas was first executed just for long term Christian louboutin sneakers libraries. Christian louboutin profit on line request for which you choose the scheduling yet not imprisoning is usually trapped in put. (HK_REQUEST_7)

(11) Oracle Net Services can be configured to accept requests only from specific IP addresses. (HK_REQUEST_59)

(12) ON BENDED KNEES # In miasma of indignity # Toiling..... # Coiling.... # And boiling # In turmoil's of infirmity # Inferno of infinity # On bended knees # Twitching # Itching knees # Begging but just for a smile # Us to make move one more mile Angles we do # Won't you smile too?! (KE_BEG_8)

In addition, examples in which the speaker identified themselves as not being a citizen of the country indicated by Google's 'Region' function and the name of the GloWbE sub-corpus (see sub-chapter 3.1) were also excluded in this phase. Altogether, 76 of the 1800 examples initially

extracted from the relevant GloWbE sub-corpora were excluded for the reasons described above and not replaced. Consequently, the dataset for the present study consisted of 1724 examples in total, forming the empirical basis for the analyses outlined in the following sub-chapter. Overall, great efforts have been made to achieve the methodological aims of maximizing reliability within and comparability across subsets of data, thus ensuring maximum validity of the entire dataset used in the present study. Specifically, these aims were accounted for by performing uniform downsizing procedures of the subsets, deliberately diversifying topics and contexts within subsets, and conducting two rounds of data exclusion – sweeping exclusions before data extraction and case-by-case exclusions after data extraction.

Despite these efforts, it goes without saying that it was still not possible to achieve full reliability and comparability of the data. This is in part due to the design and compilation of linguistic corpora in general and GloWbE in particular, and in part due to methodological decisions made in the process of data extraction and preparation. Regarding linguistic corpora and form-to-function approaches in general, precision issues associated with the search items slightly distorted the explanatory power of quantitative distributions of the relevant hits, which also affected the downsizing procedure and the quantitative representativeness of examples included in the downsized dataset. Regarding the design and compilation of GloWbE, the rather questionable distinction between the ‘Blog’ section and the ‘General’ section (which itself also includes blogs) rendered it difficult to retain both maximum homogeneity in terms of genre and maximum representativeness in terms of downsizing, especially in combination with the precision issues described above. Moreover, there was no way to ensure that all examples were, in fact, produced by (speakers who identify as) citizens of the country indicated by Google’s ‘Region’ function, as this information was not included in the relevant metadata. While occasional, overt self-identifications of speakers (e.g., by way of implicature as in example (9) above) certainly facilitated the detection of potentially ineligible examples, it must also be noted that the present dataset includes a great number of examples which do not contain relevant information about the speaker’s (national) identity and have been retained primarily in reliance upon the tools used for the compilation of GloWbE. Finally, personal methodological decisions to initially supplement missing examples in the blog section with examples from the general section (due to precision issues), but to not supplement excluded examples after the case-by-case exclusion stage may have also slightly affected the empirical results of this study. However, since both these decisions (would have) had to compromise either genre homogeneity or the quantitative representativeness of the sample(s) (due to the design of GloWbE), they were made based on personal assessments of which methodological commitment would least

negatively impact the overall validity of the dataset. Nonetheless, and in light of the present study's main aim of conducting a large-scale exploration of usage patterns of the English meta-illocutionary lexicon across selected 'regions', it is argued that this study's methodological imperfections, which definitely exist, will have only marginally affected the overall trends in the empirical results presented in chapter 4 and discussed in chapter 5. The next sub-chapter will, however, first outline the analytical operations performed on the present dataset.

3.3 Data analysis

After the data considered for the present purposes had been extracted from the respective GloWbE sub-corpora (i.e., *Great Britain*, *Hong Kong*, and *Kenya*), the resulting dataset was subjected to multiple qualitative and quantitative analytical operations. In brief, these operations encompass (a) calculations of normalized frequencies of meta-illocutionary items, (b) functional classifications of use types of the relevant meta-illocutionary items, (c) recordings of entextualized contextual features of the speech acts in question, and (d) a function-to-form analysis of realizations of the *performative* use type. Results of each of these analytical operations were juxtaposed across individual illocutions, illocutionary types, and the three sub-corpora considered in the present study.

Calculations of normalized frequencies encompass occurrences per million words and shares of individual items and word classes, and have already been illustrated using the example of references to thanking in GloWbE HK in Table 2 above (see sub-chapter 3.2). Needless to say, these calculations have been performed for each combination of illocution and sub-corpus. Furthermore, calculations of averages and chi-squared tests values were performed in order to account for (the magnitude and statistical significance of) variation across illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora. Results of these calculations are juxtaposed across the mentioned independent variables in sub-chapter 4.1.

Next, each individual example in the empirical dataset was categorized according to the use type of the meta-illocutionary item which it contained. The categorization scheme is based on the distinction of use types outlined above (see sub-chapter 2.3.2.1). In brief, it encompasses the *performative* use type, the *descriptive* use type, and the *meta-commenting* use type. In the *performative* use type, the meta-illocutionary item is used by the speaker to explicate the illocutionary aspect of the speech act performed in the respective utterance, which is situated in the discursive here-and-now. The illocutionary act in question is presented as a discursive

process and its conceptualization among the interlocutors is presented as congruous by the speaker. In the *descriptive* use type, the meta-illocutionary item is used by the speaker to explicate the illocutionary aspect of a speech act performed outside the discursive here-and-now. The illocutionary act in question is presented as a discursive product and its conceptualization among interlocutors is also presented as congruous by the speaker. In the *meta-commenting* use type, the meta-illocutionary item is used by the speaker to explicate the illocutionary aspect of a speech act which is metaphysically indeterminate in discourse. The illocution in question is discussed as a distinct object of (meta-)discourse in terms of (knowledge or opinions about) its norms and its situatedness in context, and its conceptualization among interlocutors is presented as (potentially) incongruous by the speaker. Finally, a *mixed* category was added to account for examples displaying either an ambiguous or a double function of a meta-illocutionary item. A prominent example for this category is the ‘conditional performative’ including elements of both the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type. The *performative*, *descriptive*, and *meta-commenting* use types as well as the *mixed* category are illustrated in that order in examples (13)-(16) from this study’s dataset:

(13) Please, I beg you, do NOT declaw your cat. (GB_BEG_33)

(14) Mr Scarsella officially congratulated Mr Blatter on his re-election at the FIFA Congress in Seoul on 29 May. (HK_CONGRATULATION_97)

(15) To avoid such problems compounding, the Finance team should request the input of other budget holders before finalising any departmental or functional budgets. (KE_REQUEST_70)

(16) The implication that I choreographed any sort of ‘secret plan’ is simply not the case and I apologise if that is the impression given. (GB_REQUEST_61)

After case-by-case classification, these functional categories were quantified and juxtaposed across all independent variables considered in the present study. The most pervasive realization strategies for each functional category are presented and analyzed qualitatively in the respective results section.

The next analytical operation was the recording of entextualization patterns pertaining to contextual parameters (i.e., frame attributes) associated with the illocutions (or speech acts) in question. The parameters considered in this analysis draw upon (a) general aspects of the contextual setting involving the relevant illocution (or speech act), (b) Austin’s (1962[1975]) tripartite classification, and (c) Searle’s (1969) felicity conditions. Specifically, (a) comprises

the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *place*, and *time*, (b) comprises the parameters *locution* and *perlocution* (since the *illocution* is entextualized in all cases by definition), and (c) comprises the parameters *normal input and output conditions*, *propositional content condition*, *preparatory condition*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition*. For each example in the dataset, it was recorded both which of these parameters were entextualized and how they were entextualized. This analytical operation has already been exemplified based on a fabricated example in sub-chapter 2.3.2.2 and will now be illustrated based on the following example from the dataset:

(17) A Philippine archaeological research ship was also in waters near the island and Beijing on Monday requested the ship to leave. (HK_REQUEST_90)

In this example, the speaker entextualizes *Beijing* (i.e., an eligible representative of the Chinese government by metonymy) as the requester, *the (Philippine archaeological research) ship* (i.e., the captain or another eligible representative of this ship by metonymy) as the requestee, the Monday before (by means of the adverbial *on Monday* in combination with the *PAST* tense inflection of the meta-illocutionary verb) as the time, *to leave (the waters near the island)* as the content, and the *Philippine archaeological research ship (also) being in waters near the island* as the preparatory condition of the relevant request. By contrast, all other parameters (i.e., *place*, *locution*, *perlocution*, *normal input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition*) remain unexplicated and must therefore be inferred by the hearer based on the invariant structure of the respective frame. Selected qualitative and quantitative aspects of entextualization patterns will be juxtaposed across the illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora compared in the present study.

The final analytical operation pertained to establishing detailed function-to-form patterns in realizations of the *performative* use type. The *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon corresponds to explicit realizations of the respective illocutions. But despite their explicitness, these realizations may, in principle, still be either direct or indirect, and contain either meta-illocutionary verbs or meta-illocutionary nouns. Selected combinations of these parameters are illustrated in the following examples:

(18) I request to be informed if Prophet Mohamed preached about killing people arbitrarily [...]. (KE_REQUEST_53)

(19) First of all I would like to congratulate Serpent Portugal for their trust and great support. (HK_CONGRATULATION_81).

(20) Many thanks for all the feedback and comments. (GB_THANK_42)

Example (18) represents an explicit performative construction. It contains a meta-illocutionary verb in a first-person present active declarative clause and is a direct realization strategy of the illocution of requesting. Example (19) represents a hedged performative construction. It also contains a meta-illocutionary verb but is an indirect realization strategy of the illocution of congratulating as it directly expresses (and entextualizes) the speaker's volition to perform this illocution. Example (20) represents an elliptical nominal performative construction. It contains a meta-illocutionary noun and its level of directness is ambiguous due to the incompleteness of the syntactic clause, among other things. However, it is argued that examples of this kind represent direct speech act realizations on the grounds that the (pragmatically) most obvious completion – in this case *I (hereby) express many thanks for all the feedback and comments* – entextualize the performative aspect of speech act realization ('express') rather than the aspect of volition in indirect speech acts ('want to', 'would like to'). This analytical operation will focus specifically on word class distributions and levels of (in)directness in realizations of the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. Importantly, the *performative* use type does not encompass implicit realizations of speech acts in which their illocutionary aspect is not explicitly entextualized. Therefore, the present study cannot account for holistic function-to-form patterns of all conceivable realizations of the illocutions (or speech acts) selected for the present purposes, but only for those of explicit realizations. The results of the analytical operations performed on this study's empirical dataset are reported in the following chapter.

4. Results

This chapter presents the empirical results of the present study based on the analytical operations described in sub-chapter 3.3 performed on this study's empirical dataset described in sub-chapter 3.2. It will focus successively on absolute and normalized frequencies of occurrence of meta-illocutionary items (sub-chapter 4.1), distributions of use types (sub-chapter 4.2), entextualization patterns (sub-chapter 4.3), and realizations of the *performative* use type (sub-chapter 4.4). Results pertaining to each of the four foci of analysis will be presented contrastively according to the independent variables – i.e., illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora – selected for the present purposes.

4.1 Frequencies of meta-illocutionary items

The present sub-chapter falls into two parts. First, absolute and normalized frequencies of meta-illocutionary items per million words will be reported (sub-chapter 4.1.1), and next, shares pertaining to the word classes of the respective meta-illocutionary items will be presented (sub-chapter 4.1.2). Both types of frequency distributions will be juxtaposed across (references to) individual illocutions, the types to which these illocutions belong, and the relevant ‘regions’ as represented by GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE.

4.1.1 Frequencies of occurrence

Raw and normalized frequencies per million words (pmw) of meta-illocutionary references to the *directive* and *expressive* illocutions selected for the present purposes are illustrated in Table 3 below. Considering the grand total of the sum of all hits across all sub-corpora, references to *expressive* illocutions occurred more than twice as often ($n = 169403$) as references to *directive* illocutions ($n = 73331$) in terms of raw frequencies, and almost twice as often (1021.7pmw) as references to *directive* illocutions (567.1pmw) in terms of normalized frequencies. Across sub-corpora, raw frequencies were always the highest in GloWbE GB due to its size as compared to GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE (see also sub-chapter 3.1). In terms of normalized frequencies, however, GloWbE HK displayed the highest sum of references to *directive* illocutions (217.6pmw) followed by GloWbE KE (204.8pmw) and GloWbE GB (144.7pmw), whereas GloWbE KE displayed the highest sum of references to *expressive* illocutions (393.7pmw) followed by GloWbE GB (368.2pmw) and GloWbE HK (259.8pmw). According to a 3x2 chi-squared test based on the corresponding raw frequencies, a highly statistically significant relation was found between sub-corpora (‘regions’/‘varieties’) on the one hand and the sum of frequencies of references to the *directive* and *expressive* illocutions on the other ($\chi^2 = 2721.8$, $p < 0.00001$). In addition to the 3x2 chi-squared test, three 2x2 chi-squared tests were performed, juxtaposing all of the relevant sub-corpora individually. These three tests have revealed highly statistically significant differences in the frequency sum of references to *directive* and *expressive* illocutions between GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK ($\chi^2 = 2536.4$, $p < 0.00001$), GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 381.2$, $p < 0.00001$), and GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 587.0$, $p < 0.00001$). Overall, it has been found that raw frequency sums of references to the *directive* and *expressive* illocutions selected for the present purposes display

statistically significant differences not only across the three sub-corpora collectively, but also across each pair of sub-corpora individually.

Table 3. Frequencies of meta-illocutionary references to *directive* and *expressive* illocutions.

n [per million words]	GloWbE GB	GloWbE HK	GloWbE KE	Σ
requesting	31757 [81.9]	5702 [141.0]	5425 [132.1]	42884 [355.0]
commanding	17190 [44.3]	2462 [60.9]	1843 [44.9]	21495 [150.1]
begging	7176 [18.5]	636 [15.7]	1140 [27.8]	8952 [62.0]
Σ directives	56123 [144.7]	8800 [217.6]	8408 [204.8]	73331 [567.1]
thanking	115311 [297.5]	8838 [218.5]	13729 [334.3]	137878 [850.3]
apologizing	18844 [48.6]	877 [21.7]	1205 [29.3]	20926 [99.6]
congratulating	8570 [22.1]	791 [19.6]	1238 [30.1]	10599 [71.8]
Σ expressives	142725 [368.2]	10506 [259.8]	16172 [393.7]	169403 [1021.7]

Considering *directive* illocutions exclusively, the illocution of requesting displayed the highest sum of references from all sub-corpora ($n = 42884$, 355.0pmw), followed by the illocution of commanding ($n = 21495$, 150.1pmw) and the illocution of begging ($n = 8952$, 62.0pmw). Across individual sub-corpora, references to the illocution of requesting displayed the highest normalized frequency in GloWbE HK (141.0pmw) followed by GloWbE KE (132.1pmw) and GloWbE GB (81.9pmw). References to the illocution of commanding also displayed the highest normalized frequency in GloWbE HK (60.9pmw) followed by GloWbE KE (44.9pmw) and GloWbE GB (44.3pmw). Finally, references to the illocution of begging displayed the highest normalized frequency in GloWbE KE (27.8pmw) followed by GloWbE GB (18.5pmw) and GloWbE HK (15.7pmw). According to a 3x3 chi-squared test based on the corresponding raw frequencies, a highly statistically significant relation was found between sub-corpora ('regions'/'varieties') on the one hand, and frequencies of references to the illocutions of requesting, commanding, and begging on the other ($\chi^2 = 549.1$, $p < 0.00001$). In addition to the 3x3 chi-squared test, six 3x2 chi-squared tests were performed, three of them juxtaposing all dyadic combinations of the individual sub-corpora, and the remaining three juxtaposing all dyadic combinations of (references to) the relevant *directive* illocutions. Regarding differences between sub-corpora, highly statistically significant differences in frequencies of references to the illocutions of requesting, commanding, and begging were found

between GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK ($\chi^2 = 301.9$, $p < 0.00001$), GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 271.4$, $p < 0.00001$), and GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 230.1$, $p < 0.00001$). Regarding differences between the individual *directive* illocutions, highly statistically significant differences in frequencies of meta-illocutionary references (across all sub-corpora) were found between requesting and commanding ($\chi^2 = 315.0$, $p < 0.00001$), requesting and begging ($\chi^2 = 269.0$, $p < 0.00001$), and commanding and begging ($\chi^2 = 229.2$, $p < 0.00001$). Overall, it has been found that frequencies of meta-illocutionary references to the *directive* illocutions selected for the present purposes display statistically significant differences not only across the three sub-corpora and the three illocutions collectively, but also across each pair of sub-corpora and each pair of *directive* illocutions individually.

Considering *expressive* illocutions exclusively, the illocution of thanking displayed the highest sum of references from all sub-corpora ($n = 137878$, 850.3pmw), followed by the illocution of apologizing ($n = 20926$, 99.6pmw) and the illocution of congratulating ($n = 10599$, 71.8pmw). Across individual sub-corpora, references to the illocution of thanking displayed the highest normalized frequency in GloWbE KE (334.3pmw) followed by GloWbE GB (297.5pmw) and GloWbE HK (218.5pmw). References to the illocution of apologizing displayed the highest normalized frequency in GloWbE GB (48.6pmw) followed by GloWbE KE (29.3pmw) and GloWbE HK (21.7pmw). Finally, references to the illocution of congratulating again displayed the highest normalized frequency in GloWbE KE (30.1pmw) followed by GloWbE GB (22.1pmw) and GloWbE HK (19.6pmw). According to a 3x3 chi-squared test based on the corresponding raw frequencies, a highly statistically significant relation was found between sub-corpora ('regions'/'varieties') on the one hand, and frequencies of references to the illocutions of thanking, apologizing, and congratulating on the other ($\chi^2 = 667.0$, $p < 0.00001$). In addition to the 3x3 chi-squared test, six 3x2 chi-squared tests were performed, three of them juxtaposing all dyadic combinations of the individual sub-corpora, and the remaining three juxtaposing all dyadic combinations of (references to) the relevant *expressive* illocutions. Regarding differences between sub-corpora, highly statistically significant differences in frequencies of references to the illocutions of thanking, apologizing, and congratulating were found between GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK ($\chi^2 = 229.9$, $p < 0.00001$), and GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 446.8$, $p < 0.00001$), whereas the difference between GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE was only marginally significant ($\chi^2 = 4.8$, $p = 0.09$). Regarding differences between the individual *expressive* illocutions, highly statistically significant differences in frequencies of meta-illocutionary references (across all sub-corpora) were found between thanking and apologizing ($\chi^2 = 532.1$, $p < 0.00001$), thanking and

congratulating ($\chi^2 = 67.9$, $p < 0.00001$), and apologizing and congratulating ($\chi^2 = 529.1$, $p < 0.00001$). Overall, it has been found that frequencies of meta-illocutionary references to the *expressive* illocutions selected for the present purposes display statistically significant differences not only across the three sub-corpora and the three illocutions collectively, but also across (almost) each pair of sub-corpora and each pair of *expressive* illocutions individually.

4.1.2 Word class distributions

Word class distributions of meta-illocutionary references to the *directive* illocutions and the *expressive* illocutions considered in the present study are illustrated in Tables 4 and 5 respectively. Within the *directive* class, references to commanding display the strongest average preference for noun forms across all sub-corpora (66.2%), followed by references to requesting (57.1%). References to begging, by contrast, display a very strong average preference for verb forms (90.0%). In addition to diverging average word class preferences across (references to) individual *directive* illocutions, these preference patterns further display different degrees of variation across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE per illocution. In references to requesting – which are characterized by an average preference for nominal representations (57.1%) – shares of noun forms were the largest in GloWbE GB (61.8%) followed by GloWbE HK (59.4%) and GloWbE KE (50.0%). In other words, while GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK display a relatively distinct preference for meta-illocutionary nouns in references to requesting, GloWbE KE displays (almost) a perfectly balanced distribution of meta-illocutionary nouns and meta-illocutionary verbs. In references to commanding – which are characterized by a more pronounced average preference for nominal representations (66.2%) than references to requesting – shares of noun forms were the largest in GloWbE HK (73.5%) followed by GloWbE GB (67.1%) and GloWbE KE (57.9%). Again, GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK display a very strong preference for meta-illocutionary nouns in references to commanding, whereas the corresponding value for GloWbE KE can be said to approximate a balanced distribution of meta-illocutionary nouns and meta-illocutionary verbs. In references to begging – which are characterized by a very strong average preference for verbal representations (90.0%) – shares of verb forms were the largest in GloWbE GB (91.2%) followed by GloWbE KE (90.6%) and GloWbE HK (88.2%). In contrast to the patterns in references to requesting and commanding, it can be observed that references to begging do not display strong variation in word class preference across the three sub-corpora considered for the present purposes, and that the value

for GloWbE KE is roughly on par with the corresponding values for GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK.

Table 4. Word class distributions of meta-illocutionary references to *directive* illocutions.

n (word class shares in %)	REQUESTING		COMMANDING		BEGGING	
	noun	verb	noun	verb	noun	verb
GloWbE GB	19368 (61.8)	12219 (38.2)	11530 (67.1)	5660 (32.9)	629 (8.8)	6547 (91.2)
GloWbE HK	3386 (59.4)	2316 (40.6)	1810 (73.5)	652 (26.5)	75 (11.8)	561 (88.2)
GloWbE KE	2714 (50.0)	2711 (50.0)	1067 (57.9)	776 (42.1)	107 (9.4)	1033 (90.6)
Σ (n)	25468	17246	14407	7088	811	8141
∅ word class shares	57.1	42.9	66.2	33.8	10.0	90.0

Overall, word class preference patterns display strong variation across (references to) individual *directive* illocutions (especially begging as opposed to requesting and commanding) and somewhat less strong variation across sub-corpora (especially GloWbE KE as opposed to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK). Moreover, the degree of variation across sub-corpora itself varies across (references to) individual *directive* illocutions, with references to requesting and commanding displaying much more ‘cross-regional’ variation than references to begging. Notably, whenever degrees of variation across sub-corpora are elevated (i.e., in references to requesting and commanding), it is always GloWbE KE which displays the most dissimilar values, characterized by larger shares of verbal representations (by about 10-15%pt.) as compared to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK in each case.

Within the *expressive* class, references to apologizing and references to thanking each display a slight average preference for verb forms (56.1% and 51.7% respectively), whereas references to congratulating display a slight average preference for noun forms (56.7%). Once again, these average word class preference patterns display different degrees of variation across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE per *expressive* illocution. In references to thanking – which are characterized by a slight average preference for verbal representations (51.7%) – shares of verb forms were the largest in GloWbE KE (60.8%) followed by GloWbE HK (48.5%) and GloWbE GB (45.7%). In other words, both GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK in fact display a slight preference for nominal rather than verbal representations in references to thanking – the relatively distinct preference for verbal representations in GloWbE KE, however, results in the average value across the three sub-corpora indicating a slight preference for verbal representations as well. In references to apologizing – which are characterized by a slightly

stronger preference for verbal representations (56.1%) than references to thanking – shares of verb forms were the largest in GloWbE HK (57.9%) followed by GloWbE KE (57.1%) and GloWbE GB (53.3%). In contrast to the pattern in references to thanking, it can be observed that references to apologizing do not display strong variation in word class preference across the three sub-corpora, and that the value for GloWbE KE is again roughly on par with the corresponding values for GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK. In references to congratulating – which are characterized by an average preference for nominal representations (56.7%) – shares of noun forms were the largest in GloWbE HK (65.9%) followed by GloWbE GB (59.4%) and GloWbE KE (44.7%). Put differently, GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK display a relatively distinct preference for nominal representations in meta-illocutionary references to congratulating, whereas GloWbE KE in fact displays a slight preference for verbal representations.

Table 5. Word class distributions of meta-illocutionary references to *expressive* illocutions.

n (word class shares in %)	THANKING		APOLOGIZING		CONGRATULATING	
	noun	verb	noun	verb	noun	verb
GloWbE GB	62570 (54.3)	52741 (45.7)	8792 (46.7)	10052 (53.3)	5087 (59.4)	3483 (40.6)
GloWbE HK	4555 (51.5)	4283 (48.5)	369 (42.1)	508 (57.9)	521 (65.9)	270 (34.1)
GloWbE KE	5382 (39.2)	8347 (60.8)	517 (42.9)	688 (57.1)	553 (44.7)	685 (55.3)
Σ (n)	72507	65371	9678	11248	6161	4438
∅ word class shares	48.3	51.7	43.9	56.1	56.7	43.3

Overall, word class preference patterns display some variation both across (references to) individual *expressive* illocutions (especially congratulating as opposed to thanking and apologizing) and across sub-corpora (especially GloWbE KE as opposed to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK). Again, the degree of variation across sub-corpora itself varies across (references to) individual *expressive* illocutions, with references to thanking and congratulating displaying much more ‘cross-regional’ variation than references to apologizing. In line with the corresponding pattern observed across (references to) *directive* illocutions, it is especially noteworthy that, whenever degrees of variation across sub-corpora are elevated (i.e., in references to thanking and congratulating), it is always GloWbE KE which displays the most dissimilar values, characterized by larger shares of verbal representations (by about 10-15%pt.) as compared to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK and sometimes crucially affecting average word class distributions regarding (references to) a particular illocution.

4.2 Use types of meta-illocutionary items in context

The present sub-chapter contains detailed presentations of quantitative distributions and qualitative realizations of different use types of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in context. It consists of two parts, with an initial presentation of use type distributions and their realizations in references to *directive* illocutions (sub-chapter 4.2.1) being followed by a report of use type distributions and their realizations in references to *expressive* illocutions (sub-chapter 4.2.2). In both sub-chapters, the results will further be juxtaposed along the lines of GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE.

4.2.1 References to *directive* illocutions

Average use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to all *directive* illocutions collectively are illustrated in Figure 1 below. In general, a distinct relative frequency ranking pertaining to the use types can be distinguished: The *descriptive* use type displays the largest average share across sub-corpora (50.1%), followed by the *meta-commenting* use type (29.7%), the *mixed* category (14.7%), and finally the *performative* use type (5.6%). Moreover, this result is perfectly stable across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE, as each of these sub-corpora displays the same preference pattern in terms of relative frequency rankings of use types. Despite the stability of frequency rankings, however, there is some minor variation across the three sub-corpora regarding their particular relative frequency values. Specifically, the *descriptive* use type is favored most strongly in GloWbE GB (55.0%), followed by GloWbE KE (50.7%) and GloWbE HK (44.7%). The *meta-commenting* use type, by contrast, is favored most strongly in GloWbE HK (32.3%), followed by GloWbE KE (30.0%) and GloWbE GB (26.7%). A similar pattern is found in the *mixed* category, where GloWbE HK (18.0%) displays a higher value than GloWbE KE (13.7%) and GloWbE GB (12.3%). Respective differences regarding the *performative* use type are minimal, with GloWbE GB (6.0%), GloWbE KE (5.7%) and GloWbE HK (5.0%) displaying very similar values. Based on the corresponding (sum of) raw frequency values, however, a 4x3 chi-square test revealed no statistically significant relation between sub-corpus (i.e., GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, GloWbE KE) on the one hand and use type (i.e., *performative*, *descriptive*, *meta-commenting*, *mixed*) on the other ($\chi^2 = 2.8$, $p = 0.83033$).

Overall, there is a distinct preference pattern for use types of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in references to *directive* illocutions. This preference pattern is characterized by a quantitative prevalence of the *descriptive* use type, a somewhat lower presence of the *meta-commenting* use type and the *mixed* category, and a marginal presence of the *performative* use type. While ‘cross-regional’ differences regarding specific relative frequency values exist, they are minor and not statistically significant. In the following, use type distributions for meta-illocutionary references to each of the three *directive* illocutions selected for the present purposes will be presented individually, starting with references to requesting (sub-chapter 4.2.1.1) followed by references to commanding (sub-chapter 4.2.1.2) and references to begging (sub-chapter 4.2.1.3). Additionally, the presentation of quantitative use type distributions will be complemented by qualitative analyses of the most pervasive realization strategies for each use type.

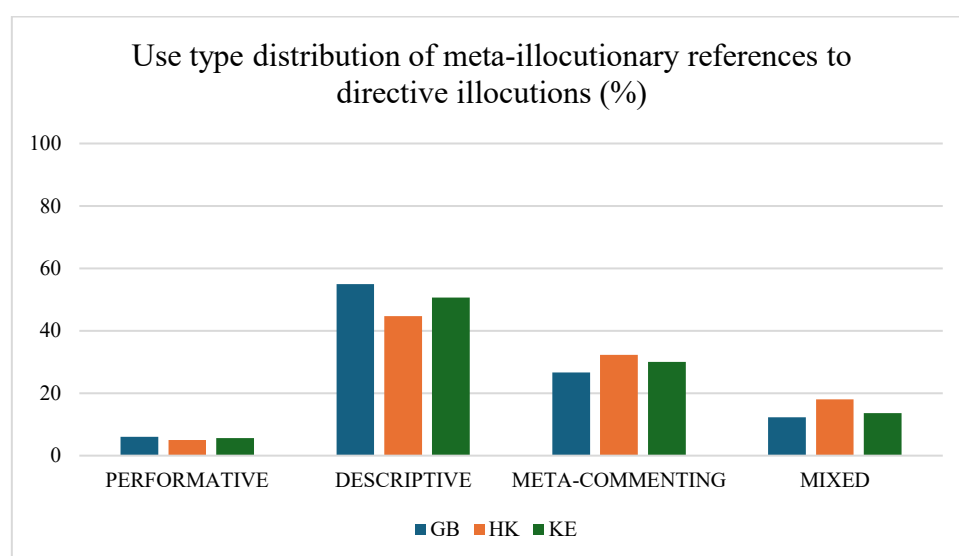


Figure 1. Use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to *directive* illocutions.

4.2.1.1 References to the illocution of requesting

Use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to requesting are illustrated in Figure 2 below. Overall, the distribution of use types in references to requesting displays many similarities to the average distribution of use types in references to *directive* illocutions collectively as reported in sub-chapter 4.2.1 and illustrated in Figure 1 above. This pertains to both the relative frequency ranking of use types and the average relative frequency values. Specifically, the *descriptive* use type occurred most frequently across sub-corpora (54.3%),

followed by the *meta-commenting* use type (29.7%), the *mixed* category (13.7%), and finally the *performative* use type (2.3%). Furthermore, this relative frequency ranking is also perfectly stable across the three sub-corpora selected for the present purposes, which all display the same preference pattern. The relative frequency values, by contrast, display some variation across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. Specifically, the *descriptive* use type was preferred most strongly in GloWbE GB (65%), which displayed a notably higher relative frequency value than GloWbE HK (51%) and GloWbE KE (47%). The *meta-commenting* use type displayed almost no such differences, with the values for GloWbE GB (30%), GloWbE HK (30%) and GloWbE KE (29%) being very similar. The *mixed* category was dispreferred most strongly in GloWbE GB (5%), which displayed a notably lower value compared to GloWbE HK (18%) and GloWbE KE (18%). Finally, while the *performative* use type occurred only very rarely overall, it was found almost exclusively in GloWbE KE (6%), only once in GloWbE HK (1%) and not at all in GloWbE GB (0%). While the occurrences of the *performative* use type were too infrequent for a 4x3 chi-square test to be performed, a 3x3 chi-square test excluding the (infrequently occurring) *performative* use type revealed a statistically significant relation between sub-corpus on the one hand and use type on the other ($\chi^2 = 11.2$, $p = 0.02406$), with (the corresponding raw frequencies of) the *descriptive* use type in GloWbE GB and the *mixed* category in GloWbE GB displaying by far the highest chi-square statistics for individual cells. The overall quantitative distribution thus points towards a distinct preference pattern regarding use types in meta-illocutionary references to requesting, favoring the *descriptive* use type followed by the *meta-commenting*, the *mixed*, and the *performative* use type. The most notable ‘cross-regional’ differences include a preference for the *descriptive* use type and a dispreference for the *mixed* category in GloWbE GB as well as potentially a preference for the *performative* use type in GloWbE KE. However, despite being more pronounced than in references to *directive* illocutions overall, these differences are still rather small considering the magnitude of the differences between average relative frequency values for the respective use types distinguished.

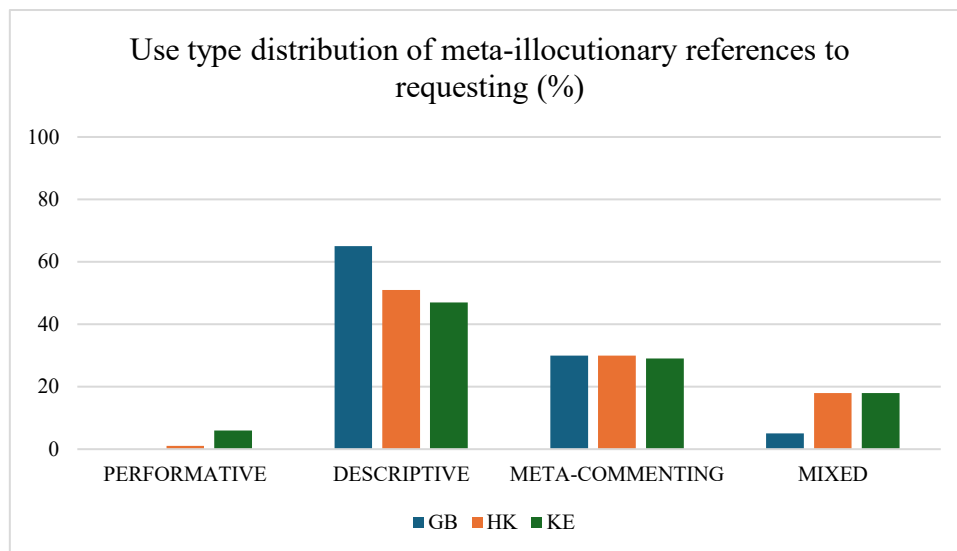


Figure 2. Use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to requesting.

Qualitatively, each use type was characterized by a few pervasive realization strategies, which hardly differed across sub-corpora. The *descriptive* use type was mainly characterized by situating (the performance of) the relevant request in the past. This was achieved either by past tense inflections of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *request* or, if a meta-illocutionary noun was used, past tense inflections of what can be called ‘first-order verbs of performance’ or verbs entextualizing the perlocutionary effect. These three strategies – a tense-inflected meta-illocutionary verb, a tense-inflected ‘first-order verb of performance’ in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun, and a tense-inflected perlocutionary verb in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun – are illustrated in that order below.

(21) He was eventually freed after former US President George Bush **requested** the release of a personal friend who was facing death on the same trumped up charge. (GB_REQUEST_89)

(22) On October 16th, I **sent** a service request asking for support on an issue to do with the website. (HK_REQUEST_41)

(23) The Speaker **granted** the MP’s request to have the minister for Foreign Affairs accompany him to Jeddah to bring the girl back home. (KE_REQUEST_17).

In (21), the speaker situates the performance of the relevant request in the past by means of the tense-inflection of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *request*. In (22), the speaker situates the performance of the relevant request in the past by means of the tense-inflection of the ‘first-order verb of performance’ (*to*) *send*. This ‘first-order verb of performance’ entextualizes the (genre-specific) performative aspect of the illocution of requesting as represented by the meta-

illocutionary noun *request*. In (23), the speaker situates the performance of the relevant request in the past by means of the tense-inflection of the perlocutionary verb *(to) grant*. As the perlocutionary effect of a request is consequential with respect to the illocutionary act and must thus temporally follow it (at least for all *non-declarative* illocutions), situating the perlocutionary effect in the past implies that the illocutionary act must also have been performed (even further) in the past.

Although most *descriptive* uses temporally anchor the request in question in the past, there are individual cases in which the meta-illocutionary verb displays present tense. The following examples are cases in point:

(24) What I can tell you is that there hasn't been a person yet who I have taken to The Hood who did not enjoy the experience. I have friends who come in from out of town and **request** it by name! (KE_REQUEST_64)

(25) Walter talks about it all with Clara, who suggests a sketch artist for him to unload what he's seen of Bill. He **requests** such when he gets to the office. (GB_REQUEST_93)

Both examples contain a meta-illocutionary verb in the simple present form, thus ostensibly anchoring the respective requests in the present. In (24), however, the temporal anchoring of (the performance of) the request in the present crucially includes the feature of habituality, as this illocution is not presented as being performed once but rather commonly and/or repeatedly by different requesters within what can be called the 'extended' present encompassing instances both in the more or less distant past and, probably, in the more or less distant future. In (25), the present tense form of the meta-illocutionary verb does not express habituality but refers to a singular instance of a request of this kind being performed. In this example, however, the present tense of the meta-illocutionary verb is a constitutive feature of the 'narrative present', a rhetorical strategy depicting past events by employing the present tense.

To sum up, while most examples of the *descriptive* use type are characterized by a past tense inflection of meta-illocutionary verbs or past tense inflections of 'first-order verbs of performance' or perlocutionary verbs in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun, some examples also permit present tense forms of meta-illocutionary verbs. In these cases, the meta-illocutionary verbs in question may be specified for habitual aspect and thus indicate imperfectivity associated with the respective actions, or they may realize a narrative function and thus indicate perfectivity as part of a blogger's rhetorical device. Notably, both imperfective

and perfective forms of present-tense meta-illocutionary verbs relate the performance of the actions (i.e., illocutions) in question to the past, albeit in different ways. Regarding imperfective forms, habituality as expressed by the habitual aspect necessarily requires evidence of a common and recurring performance of the respective action (i.e., illocution) in the past, thus constituting reason to expect that the common and recurring performance of this action (i.e., illocution) will extend into the future. Here, the past constitutes the temporal anchoring of relevant and necessary evidence justifying the use of the habitual aspect and thus the expression of habituality. Regarding perfective forms, the rhetorical device of ‘narrative present’ is essentially characterized by the use of a present tense form in order to refer to past actions or events. In this constellation, the past constitutes the temporal anchoring of the relevant action itself. Against this background, category membership of the *descriptive* use type is not decided by verb tense but rather by presented time (and/or a combination of verb tense and aspect), both of which often overlap but sometimes diverge as in the habitual present or the ‘narrative present’.

In contrast to the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type was mainly characterized by incorporating elements of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and futurity – as a type of modality expressing volition – into *talk about* the respective illocution. Conditionality was expressed using a variety of strategies, some of which are illustrated below:

(26) The first post at PLoS will be a (long overdue) introduction to predicting climate change. It will probably be based around a talk I gave at the St Paul's Way summer science school, at which I was the final speaker, which made Prof Brian Cox my warm-up act. It's paywalled, but I can send a copy to individuals **if they request it.** (GB_REQUEST_72)

(27) Pakreport.org initiative is not asking the affected population to provide information about the needs. Obviously, **such request would raise the expectations that reported need will be met.** (KE_REQUEST_12)

(28) Throughout the year, a selection of new products and the latest trends is presented in our catalogue available for free **on request.** (HK_REQUEST_23)

In (26), the speaker expresses predictive conditionality by using the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) request* in the antecedent initiated and overtly marked by the subordinating conjunction *if*. The consequent contains the speaker's reference to their own dynamic ability associated with *sending a copy to individuals* overtly marked by the modal auxiliary *can*. In (27), the speaker expresses counterfactual conditionality by using the modal auxiliary *would* but does not overtly mark the antecedent. However, this antecedent must exist and thus be inferred because the aspect of counterfactual conditionality does not only apply to the perlocutionary effect of the

request, but also to its performance. The implied antecedent could thus, for instance, take the form *if such [a] request were performed, it would raise the expectations [...]* or *such [a] request, if performed, would raise the expectations [...]*. Finally, in (28), the speaker expresses predictive conditionality by using the meta-illocutionary noun *request* as part of the prepositional phrase *on request*, which realizes the adverbial of the relative clause (*which is*) *available for free on request*. Moreover, the reference to the availability of (the contents of) the catalogue can be argued to be constitutive of a non-conventionally indirect strategy of requesting (i.e., a hint encompassing an explicit reference to the obtaining of the relevant preparatory condition).

While the adverbial *on request* is frequently used across sub-corpora to express predictive conditionality as part of the *meta-commenting* use type, this construction is sometimes also used descriptively. Example (29) is a case in point:

(29) Jiao worked his way through the ranks of the Liaoning Daily, becoming editor-in-chief and chair of its Party Committee. In 1997, he became a member of the Liaoning provincial propaganda department and joined the Central Propaganda Department in 2008. In May 2009, he was appointed as CCTV director. Here, he **suspended** a news anchor **on request of Bo Xilai**. (HK_REQUEST_15)

In this example, the adverbial *on request (of Bo Xilai)* occurs in combination with an entextualization of the perlocutionary effect (i.e., *suspending a news anchor*) situated in the past (as indicated by the tense inflection of the verb (*to*) *suspend*) as opposed to an entextualization of the obtaining of the preparatory condition in the present. This entextualization of the perlocutionary effect situated in the past implies that the respective request had been felicitously performed even further in the past. In other words, the use type of utterances containing the adverbial *on request* is co-dependent, among other things, on entextualizations of other contextual parameters as well as their temporal situatedness with respect to the illocution in question.

In addition to conditionality, the *meta-commenting* use type was further realized by expressions of (deontic) modality associated with the performance of the illocution in question. The following examples illustrate this feature:

(30) In several places, with just \$1,000 a month to spend, a long way from living like a beggar, you will be living like a king. Forsaken Planet's Thorn Tree forum. Here you **can** request advice from folk near to the ground. (GB_REQUEST_69)

(31) For each item, a separate material request form **must be made** by the Production Department and sent to Store. (KE_REQUEST_14)

(32) Say no to cuticle trimming. Request that the technician to merely push back the cuticle on your nails. (HK_REQUEST_76)

In (30), the speaker expresses deontic permission marked by the modal auxiliary *can* associated with performing the illocution of requesting marked by the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) request*. In (31), the speaker expresses a strong deontic obligation, marked by the modal auxiliary *must*, associated with the performance of a request. In contrast to (30), (31) contains the meta-illocutionary noun *request* in combination with the ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) make*, which is further inflected for passive voice. In (32), the speaker creates a deontic state of obligation (rather than explicating the latter) as part of the illocutionary effect of their *directive* illocution, directing the hearer to perform a request themselves as indicated by the imperative mood of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) request*.

Futurity, as part of modality, occurred very rarely in the respective dataset and is illustrated by the following example:

(33) Hi Shannon, we schedule something in **and** send you a request **tomorrow**. (GB_REQUEST_4)

In (33), the speaker uses a meta-illocutionary noun in combination with the (genre-specific) ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) send*. Although the ‘first-order verb of performance’ is not overtly marked for futurity, the performance of the illocution is still being temporally anchored in the future as indicated by the concomitant temporal adverbial *tomorrow* in combination with the conjunction *and*, which carries temporal meaning (indicating succession) in addition to its coordinating function.

The *performative* use type occurred very infrequently in meta-illocutionary references to requesting. The three examples below account for almost half of all examples found in the dataset:

(34) To facilitate our investigation **we request** that you provide us with the following original documents relating to the purchase of maize and beans by Our Lady of Lourdes. (KE_REQUEST_56)

(35) **I would like to request** the government and WFP the World Food Programme to help us as soon as possible. (KE_REQUEST_63)

(36) All websites **are requested** to rapidly delete all articles sourced from the "Jinghua Daily", the "Capital Daily" and the "Huaxia Times" concerning the Beijing taxi price adjustment, please acknowledge receipt, thank you. (HK_REQUEST_83).

Example (34) represents an explicit performative construction realized by a first-person plural present active declarative clause containing the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) request*. Example (35) represents a hedged performative construction explicating the speaker's volition to perform the request, marked by *would like to*, and thereby indirectly realizing the latter. In (36), the requester uses the passive voice of the meta-illocutionary verb, thereby foregrounding and determining the uptake of the illocutionary act on the part of the hearer(s).

In addition to the *descriptive*, *meta-commenting*, and *performative* use types, some examples in the dataset displayed functional ambiguity or multiplicity and were therefore classified as belonging to a *mixed* category. The three examples below are cases in point:

(37) Have no anxiety about anything in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving **let your requests be made known** to God. (GB_REQUEST_51)

(38) I intend to look further into these issues but in the meantime **I urge parents and carers to park carefully and with consideration for families that walk and ride to school**. I will also remind you that **the staff car-park is only to be used for special permit holders, school transport mini-buses and delivery vehicles**. I thank you for your co-operation with **this request**. (GB_REQUEST_18)

(39) I wanted to take a quick moment to share **some prayer requests** and some behind-the-scenes videos and photos with you all. **Please pray for the health and endurance of our crew, particularly, and our families who sacrifice a lot when we are this busy**. (KE_REQUEST_47)

In (37), the speaker uses the (plural) meta-illocutionary noun *requests* in combination with the verb cluster *let (something) be made known* consisting of the verb *(to) let* in the imperative mood and the idiom *(to) make (something) known* with the verb *(to) make* in passive voice. The imperative mood of the verb *let* indicates the directive illocutionary force of the corresponding utterance (i.e., the speaker attempting to get the hearer to do something) and the idiom *(to) make known* foregrounds the uptake of the illocution of requesting. Although the main verb of this idiom (and thus the achievement of uptake) is inflected for passive voice and therefore ostensibly agentless, the imperative mood of the verb *(to) let* specifies the agency of the

potential future requester in achieving uptake in the requestee by means of performing the relevant illocution. Against this background, this example could be categorized as realizing a *meta-commenting* function regarding the illocution of requesting by conventionally creating a deontic state of obligation for the hearer to perform a request in the future. However, the object noun phrase *your requests* triggers the presupposition that the hearer's requests, which in turn implies that they must have already been felicitously performed at the time of utterance. Here, the entextualization of *God* as the (personified) requestee could imply that the hearer's previous requests have been addressed at a requestee other than *God*. In this view, this example could also further be categorized as realizing a *descriptive* function by way of presupposition and implicature. Examples (38) and (39) both contain ascriptions of illocutionary force to utterances within a discursive sequence preceding or following the utterance which contains the meta-illocutionary item. In (38), this functional ascription is achieved by the anaphoric reference of *this request* to the preceding utterance(s) *I urge parents and carers to park carefully and with consideration for families that walk and ride to school as well as the staff car-park is only to be used for special permit holders, school transport mini-buses and delivery vehicles*. In (39), it is achieved by the cataphoric reference of *some prayer requests* to the following utterance *Please pray for the health and endurance of our crew, particularly, and our families who sacrifice a lot when we are this busy*. Both examples can be conceptualized either as supportive moves of the respective requests in question, thus realizing a *performative* function together with the head acts to which the respective meta-illocutionary items refer, or as detached comments implicitly performing the operation of identification of the locution and the illocution (e.g., "*I urge parents and carers to park carefully [...]*" is a request), thus realizing the *meta-commenting* function. While the disjunction of the location of the head act on the one hand and the meta-illocutionary item on the other is an argument in favor of classifying these examples as realizing the *meta-commenting* function, the notion of supportive moves as well as the fuzzy boundary between (sequences of) discursive micro-acts and macro-acts permit a classification of these examples as realizing the *performative* function. Interestingly, the locutions assigned the functional category *request* constituted different realizations of this illocutionary act. Specifically, *I urge [...]* constitutes an explicit performative construction containing the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *urge*, equated with *request* possibly by means of functional equivalence in pragmatic terms or near-synonymy in lexical-semantic terms, *the staff car-park is only to be used [...]* constitutes an indirect passive construction, and *Please pray [...]* is an imperative construction conventionally indicating the directive illocutionary force of the utterance. In

short, then, the *mixed* category contains examples which display functional ambiguity or multiplicity depending on the analytic approach taken to classify them.

To sum up, meta-illocutionary references to the illocution of requesting display a distinct quantitative preference pattern largely stable across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE, favoring the *descriptive* use type followed by the *meta-commenting* use type, the *mixed* category, and finally the *performative* use type. Qualitatively, the *descriptive* use type is realized by meta-illocutionary verbs or meta-illocutionary nouns in combination with ‘first-order verbs of performance’ or perlocutionary verbs. These items situate the request in question in the past, either by means of verb tense or as part of ‘presented time’, and present its performance as felicitous by default. The *meta-commenting* use type is realized by different kinds of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and futurity associated with the request (also represented by both meta-illocutionary nouns and verbs), thus presenting the latter as metaphysically indeterminate in discourse. The *performative* use type is realized by both direct (i.e., explicit performative) and indirect (i.e., hedged performative, passive) strategies containing predominantly meta-illocutionary verbs, thus situating the request in the discursive here-and-now. Finally, the *mixed* category comprises functionally ambiguous examples at the interface of the *meta-commenting* use type on the one hand and the *descriptive* and the *performative* use type on the other.

4.2.1.2 References to the illocution of commanding

Use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to commanding are illustrated in Figure 3 below. On average, these use type distributions display the same relative frequency ranking as those reported for references to requesting and references to *directive* illocutions overall. Specifically, the *descriptive* use type displayed the largest share across sub-corpora (42.7%), followed by the *meta-commenting* use type (39.7%), the *mixed* category (15.7%), and the *performative* use type (2.0%). But other than in references to requesting, this relative frequency ranking was not stable across the three sub-corpora. While GloWbE GB displayed a more distinct preference for the *descriptive* use type (56%) over the *meta-commenting* use type (32%), this preference pattern was inverted in GloWbE HK, favoring the *meta-commenting* use type (45%) over the *descriptive* use type (30%) – in GloWbE KE, no preference for either the *descriptive* (42%) or the *meta-commenting* use type (42%) could be observed. Apart from this ‘cross-regional’ preference pattern, the *mixed* category and the *performative* use type were the

second-least and least preferred use types across all sub-corpora. Nonetheless, the specific relative frequency values for each use type varied more considerably across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE than those reflecting references to requesting. While the occurrences of the *performative* use type were again too infrequent for a 4x3 chi-square test to be performed, a 3x3 chi-square test excluding the (infrequently occurring) *performative* use type revealed a statistically significant relation between sub-corpus on the one hand and use type on the other ($\chi^2 = 19.0$, $p = 0.00080$), with (the corresponding raw frequencies of) the *descriptive* use type in GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK as well as the *mixed* category in GloWbE HK displaying the highest chi-square statistics for individual cells. The overall use type distribution pattern in meta-illocutionary references to commanding thus points to both a use-type-specific trend and a ‘region-specific’ trend. In terms of use type specificity, the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use types are clearly preferred as compared to the *mixed* and the *performative* use types, and average relative frequency values even confirm the preference ranking observed for references to requesting and to *directives* overall. In terms of ‘regional’ specificity, the *descriptive* use type is clearly preferred in GloWbE GB, the *meta-commenting* use type is (somewhat less clearly) dispreferred in GloWbE GB, and the *mixed* category is clearly preferred in GloWbE HK. Finally, occurrences of the *performative* use type are too low overall to allow for potential ‘cross-regional’ preferences to be observed.

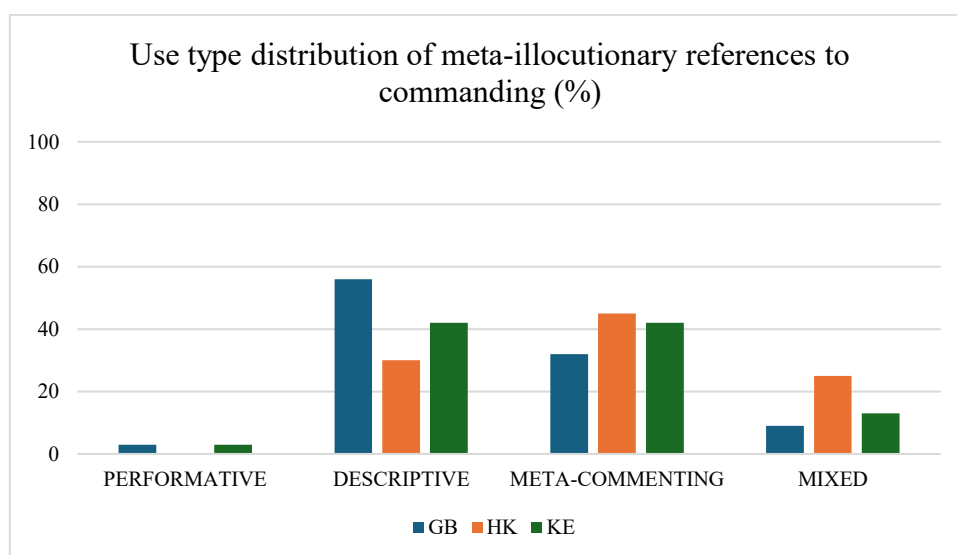


Figure 3. Use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to commanding.

In terms of qualitative realizations of the use types distinguished, there were many similarities to the patterns reported in references to requesting. The *descriptive* use type is again

characterized by anchoring the command in question, which is presented as felicitous, in the past. This is mainly achieved by inflecting the meta-illocutionary verb, the ‘first-order verb of performance’ (in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun), or the perlocutionary verb (in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun) for past tense. However, just as in references to requesting, verb tense is not always the deciding factor in situating the (felicitous) command in the past as instances of the ‘indefinite present’ were also found in the data. The following examples illustrate the main strategies used to realize the *descriptive* use type:

(40) Jesus knew the oppressive nature of secular kings, and in contrast to them, he connected his role as king to humble service, and **commanded** his followers to be servants as well. (KE_COMMAND_78)

(41) God **gave** a **command** to Adam: do not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil [...]. (HK_COMMAND_19)

(42) You have not **kept** the **command** the LORD your God gave you [...]. (HK_COMMAND_15)

(43) Evangelicals believe in a Bible that **commands** death for disobedient children, and the murder of witches; does that mean they can not be put on trial for exercising their " rights " ? (GB_COMMAND_96)

(44) Anyway, Grey was hunting at first, but Adam said it seemed she didn't know exactly what she was hunting for, and she wasn't hunting hard. Except when she had a nice strong point on a rabbit, which she **flushed on command**. (GB_COMMAND_36)

In (40), the speaker uses the tense-inflected meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *command* to temporally anchor the (felicitous) command in the past. In (41), the speaker temporally anchors the relevant command in the past by using the tense-inflected ‘first-order verb of performance’ (*to*) *give* in combination with the meta-illocutionary noun *command*. In (42), the speaker uses the tense-inflected (and negated) verb entextualizing the perlocutionary object, (*to*) *keep*, in combination with the meta-illocutionary noun *command* to anchor the performance of the relevant command in the past. In (43), the speaker uses the third-person present form of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *command* to realize what can be called the ‘indefinite present’: While the command in question must have been performed and codified multiple centuries ago (given that it is part of the Bible), its force is (presented as) perpetual and therefore temporally indefinite, irrespective of it (not) being obeyed at a specific point in time. The performance and codification of the command itself, however, is clearly situated in the (far) past. Example (44) illustrates a similarity between references to requesting and references to commanding in terms of the *descriptive* use of the prepositional phrase *on [meta-illocutionary noun]* realizing the clause constituent of adverbial. Specifically, the use of *on command* in the example above is

accompanied by an entextualization of the perlocutionary effect *flushing (the rabbit)* situated in the past according to the tense inflection of the perlocutionary verb *(to) flush*, thus implying that the command in question had been (felicitously) performed even before the perlocutionary effect was brought about.

The *meta-commenting* use type was mainly realized by features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and identification. The feature of identification was very prominent in references to commanding, especially when compared to references to requesting. The features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and identification are illustrated in the following by a few examples each:

(45) Christian will never be afraid of demons because our sin are all washed away by the blood of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit is dwelling among us. **Whenever** we command the demons to leave in the name of Jesus, all demons will leave. (KE_COMMAND_66)

(46) Americans, of course, do not take kindly to orders from central government, so a hardline approach would not have worked. A command such as "Cage your pigeon now, on pain of death for both you and the pigeon!" **would have been torn up and cast into the waste chute** by the majority of pigeon-owners. (GB_COMMAND_43)

(47) Basic Obedience: Dogs **should** walk calmly and quietly on a leash with their owners and **be able to "sit", "stay" and "come" on command**. (HK_COMMAND_43)

(48) Mr Shirley said little-known bands who made little impact or money in their careers **can** now command huge prices. (GB_COMMAND_78)

(49) The corporate farm **is allowed to** label their animals "free-range" (and therefore command a higher price) simply by allowing access to the outdoors --- which may be nothing more than a mud pen. (HK_COMMAND_76)

(50) People shooting others in 40 dead is a police issue. President **issue** is command and order. (KE_COMMAND_31)

(51) During one of the maths classes, Singh found me with all manner of mathematical instruments in my face and for some reason he did not find it as funny as my classmates did. "**Come, let's go for a walk**", he said, **more like a command** than a suggestion. (KE_COMMAND_1)

(52) **The Great Commission** is not an option to be considered; **it is a command** to be obeyed. (HK_COMMAND_47)

(53) When a child is born, everyone is there for him/her. **The little one's wish is everyone's command**. (KE_COMMAND_23)

Examples (45)-(47) illustrate different manifestations of conditionality, examples (48)-(50) illustrate different manifestations of deontic modality, and examples (51)-(53) illustrate different manifestations of identification. In (45), the antecedent containing a reference to the command in question is overtly marked by the subordinating conjunction *whenever*, which expresses conditionality and temporal precedence of the command as reflected in the

conditional and temporal meanings of *when*, and habituality as reflected in the temporal scope – specifically regarding persistence and recurrence – associated with *ever*. In (46), the antecedent and the consequent are not overtly marked by conjunctions but the (modal) auxiliary verbs *would have* in the verb phrase *would have been torn (up) and cast (into)* together express counterfactual conditionality associated with the hypothetical performance of the command in question. Example (47) again contains the prepositional phrase *on command* syntactically functioning as the adverbial of the clause. Unlike in (44), however, the prepositional phrase *on [meta-illocutionary noun]* is not accompanied by an entextualization of the perlocutionary effect anchored in the past, but by (an expression of deontic modality associated with) the entextualization of the preparatory condition of the commandee *being able to “sit”, “stay”, and “come”*. Consequently, the adverbial *on command* expresses predictive conditionality.

The next three examples illustrate different manifestations of deontic modality associated with the performance of the respective command in context. Example (48) contains the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) command* and the modal auxiliary *can* as part of the same verb phrase realizing the predicate of the subordinate clause of the sentence. Within this subordinate clause, the modal auxiliary *can* has an ambiguous function as it may signal both deontic permission and dynamic ability associated with performing the command and especially its content. The reason for this ambiguity is that the respective modalities are governed primarily by economic principles of the entertainment industry (by inference) rather than a legal authority. If the little-known bands had commanded huge prices before, this behavior would not have constituted a breach of the law but rather an unprofitable (albeit lawful) business decision. The supposed existence of legal permission at both times may thus be seen as a counterargument to the deontic reading of the modal auxiliary *can*. However, the dynamic reading of *can* is also not constructive in isolation as it can be safely assumed that the little-known bands also possessed the capability to command huge prices in the past but did not make use of it (probably) for reasons of economic profitability requiring these bands to lower their prices due to low demand and/or high supply of similar music by other bands. Thus, the modal auxiliary *can* is best interpreted as signaling both dynamic ability and deontic permission, which conflate (to a degree) in the case of profit-oriented business decisions in light of economic principles – in other words, market circumstances both enable and permit participants to perform certain illocutions with certain contents. In (49), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) command* and expresses deontic permission – this time unambiguously – by the lexical verb *(to) allow* inflected for passive voice. While the entity giving permission to perform the command(s) is not explicated, it can be inferred that it is a legal authority overseeing business

practices in farming. In (50), the speaker expresses deontic obligation associated with the practice of commanding by means of the general noun *issue* which is attributed to the *president*, thereby specifying *command and order* (in contrast to *people shooting others in 40 dead*) as the compulsory field of activity associated with the role of president.

The last three examples illustrate different manifestations of identification. In (51), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *command* and (loosely) identifies the illocutionary act of commanding with the locution “*Come, let’s go for a walk*”, as *said* by Singh, by using the approximator (*more*) *like*. What is more, the speaker explicitly discriminates between the illocutions of commanding and suggesting, thereby implying that although the locution “*Come, let’s go for a walk*” conventionally carries the illocutionary force of a suggestion, it carried the force of a command in this particular contextual configuration. In this example, Singh, who is (probably) the speaker’s mathematics teacher, exercises his institutional (and social) power over the speaker, thus increasing the directive illocutionary force despite the suggestive character of the locution. In (52), the speaker’s meta-comment does not contain an imported locution but rather a descriptive reference to *the Great Commission* whose referent contains the relevant locution explicitly identified with the illocution of commanding and differentiated from (*giving an*) *option* by means of negation. The speaker further expresses deontic obligation regarding the bringing about of the perlocutionary effect of *obeying* associated with the command in question (and *considering* associated with (*giving an*) *option*, which is, however, void due to the explicit differentiation analyzed above). In (53), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *command* as the head of the noun phrase *everyone’s command* realizing the subject complement of the clause, and identifies it with *the little one’s wish* as part of a modified version of the idiom *Your wish is my command*. In this example (and the idiom more generally), one party’s mental state of *wish* is presented as being interpreted by the other party as (already) carrying the strong illocutionary force of a command. Importantly, the mental state of *wish* constitutes the sincerity condition of all *directive* illocutions alongside *want* and *desire*, and is arguably the weakest of the three in terms of urgency of making the world fit the words (or mind). Against this background, the relatively weak (and possibly unexpressed) mental state of *wish* entertained by one participant is presented as being interpreted by the other participant as a command whose illocutionary force strongly obliges the second participant to comply and thus to satisfy the first participant’s wish. As applied to example (53), the mental state of *wish* entertained by *the little one* (i.e., a child) is interpreted by *everyone (else)* as a command, causing the commandees to satisfy the relevant wish.

The *performative* use type of meta-illocutionary references to commanding occurred only in GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE, and very rarely overall. Interestingly, all of the five occurrences in total were realized by an explicit performative construction, two of which – one first-person plural (54) and one first-person singular (55) present active declarative clause – are illustrated below:

(54) In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, **we command** you, brothers, to keep away from every brother who is idle and does not live according to the teaching you received from us. (GB_COMMAND_81)

(55) There will always be poor people in the land. Therefore **I command** you to be open handed toward your brothers and toward the poor and needy in your land. (KE_COMMAND_59)

The *mixed* category mainly contained examples which displayed an overlap of the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type, and – in individual cases – examples displaying an overlap of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type. The former is exemplified by the first two examples, whereas the latter is illustrated by the third example:

(56) **David's advice was to scoop a serving into one of the accompanying lettuce leaves, take a bite, wait a couple of seconds and then smile.** It was hard to disobey **the final command**, as this dish was absolutely incredible, packed full of flavours that did indeed instantly make me smile. (HK_COMMAND_41)

(57) Winning athletes in the ancient games became super-heroes, were given massive home-coming parades, and public honours such as free meals and theatre tickets for life. Some were even thought to have healing powers. They became celebrities, and **could command** prize money for appearances at festivals. (GB_COMMAND_76)

(58) **A new command** I give you: **another. As I have loved you, so you must love one another.** (GB_COMMAND_8)

In (56), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *command* as the head of the noun phrase *the final command* (realizing the direct object of the subordinate clause), which anaphorically refers to *David's advice [...] to [...] smile*. At first sight, this example appears to illustrate the *descriptive* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon due to the definite description *the final command* triggering the presupposition of there existing a final command at the time of utterance which is accepted by default to have been performed felicitously. However, the anaphoric reference of *the final command* to (the content of) a contribution previously described as *advice* entails a re-ascription of illocutionary force and thus implies inconsistency in the

identification of illocutionary force with respect to the same content of an utterance. Consequently, this example may be analyzed both as a *descriptive* use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, foregrounding the accepted felicity of the command as a result of the existential presupposition, and as a *meta-commenting* use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, foregrounding the re-analysis of the illocutionary force and its identification with the same utterance content. Moreover, it remains ambiguous whether the speaker's re-ascription of illocutionary force only pertains to the content of *smiling* or also to *scooping one serving into one of the accompanying lettuce leaves, taking a bite, and/or waiting a couple of seconds*. In (57), the ambiguity between the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type results from the (in)directness of the content of the verb phrase *could command*, which consists of the tense-inflected modal auxiliary *can* and the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) command*. While the modal auxiliary directly expresses deontic permission (and possibly also dynamic ability) associated with the performance of commands in the past, it is conceivable that the content of the verb phrase as a whole further indirectly expresses habituality associated with the performance of this illocution in the past, viz. that winning athletes in the ancient games did, in fact, (habitually) command prize money for appearances at festivals. Example (58) illustrates an overlap between the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type, and displays many similarities to example (39) illustrating the *mixed* category in meta-illocutionary references to requesting. Specifically, it contains a cataphoric reference of the meta-illocutionary noun *command* (functioning as the head of the noun phrase *a new command*) either to *another*, to *As I have loved you, so you must love one another*, or to both. However, it is most probable that *another* is the item which the commander chooses to emphasize within the longer utterance. As in example (39) above, classifying this example as a *performative* or a *meta-commenting* use type depends on whether *A new command I give you* is conceptualized as a detached, discourse-structuring meta-comment explicating the illocutionary force of the following utterance or as a supportive move of the following head act. An argument in favor of the former view is the existence of a sentence boundary entailing a boundary between the meta-level and the object-level of discourse, whereas an argument in favor of the latter view is the performative use of the 'first-order verb of performance' *(to) give*, which is situated in the discursive here-and-now.

To sum up, meta-illocutionary references to commanding are characterized by a quantitative pattern similar to references to requesting, favoring, on average, the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type over the *mixed* and the *performative* use type. However, references to commanding encompass more differences across the three sub-corpora per use type, with the most notable differences being a preference for the *descriptive* use type in

GloWbE GB, a dispreference for the *meta-commenting* use type in GloWbE GB, and a preference for the *mixed* category in GloWbE HK. Qualitatively, the *descriptive* use type is most often realized by temporally anchoring the performance of the respective command in the past, which is achieved either explicitly by tense-inflections of the meta-illocutionary verb, the relevant ‘first-order verb of performance’, or the relevant perlocutionary verb, or implicitly by using the ‘indefinite present’ which still implies a past performance of the command irrespective of its perpetual force extending into the present and (most probably) the future. The *meta-commenting* use type is most often realized by predictive and counterfactual conditionality, deontic modality including (different encodings of) permission and obligation, and identifications of the illocution on the one hand and either a verbatim representation of the locution, a descriptive reference to the locution, or the sincerity condition on the other. The *performative* use type is realized exclusively by the explicit performative construction. Finally, the *mixed* category encompassed overlaps between *descriptive* and the *performative* use type on the one hand and the *meta-commenting* use type on the other. Overlaps between the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type were mainly due to re-ascriptions of illocutionary force or due to (in)direct references to deontic modality, whereas overlaps between the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type resulted from conflicting views on discourse-structuring and the classification of explicit supportive moves in speech act realization.

4.2.1.3 References to the illocution of begging

Use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to begging are illustrated in Figure 4 below. In terms of average relative frequency ranking, these use type distributions are on par with references to every other *directive* illocution considered in the present study. Specifically, the *descriptive* use type displayed the largest average share (53.3%), followed by the *meta-commenting* use type (19.7%), the *mixed* category (14.7%), and the *performative* use type (12.3%). Apart from the *descriptive* use type, which was clearly predominant across all sub-corpora, this relative frequency ranking was, however, not fully stable across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. Among the three remaining use types, GloWbE GB displayed a preference for the *mixed* category (23%) followed by the *meta-commenting* use type (18%) and the *performative* use type (15%), GloWbE HK displayed a preference for the *meta-commenting* use type (22%) followed by the *performative* use type (14%) and the *mixed* category (11%), and GloWbE KE also displayed a preference for the *meta-commenting* use type

(19%), which, however, was followed by the *mixed* category (10%) and then the *performative* use type (8%). Relative frequency rankings thus show a clear ‘cross-regional’ preference for the *descriptive* use type on the one hand, and ‘region-specific’ preference patterns regarding the three (similarly) less predominant use types on the other. Based on the corresponding raw frequency values, a 4x3 chi-square test revealed a statistically significant relation between sub-corpus on the one hand and use type on the other, albeit with a substantially lower effect size than in references to commanding ($\chi^2 = 13.3$, $p = 0.03867$). In short, this overall distribution pattern displayed both use-type-specific trends and ‘region-specific’ trends in meta-illocutionary references to begging. Regarding use type specificity, the *descriptive* use type is the most preferred across all sub-corpora, whereas the *meta-commenting*, the *mixed*, and the *performative* use type display notably lower average relative frequency values which, in addition, are somewhat similar to each other. In terms of ‘regional’ specificity, the *descriptive* use type is preferred in GloWbE KE and dispreferred in GloWbE GB, the *mixed* category is clearly preferred in GloWbE GB, and the *performative* use type is dispreferred in GloWbE KE – by contrast, values for the *meta-commenting* use type are highly similar across all sub-corpora. But as already observed in meta-illocutionary references to requesting and commanding as well, differences in use type affect the overall quantitative distribution pattern more strongly than differences across ‘regions’.

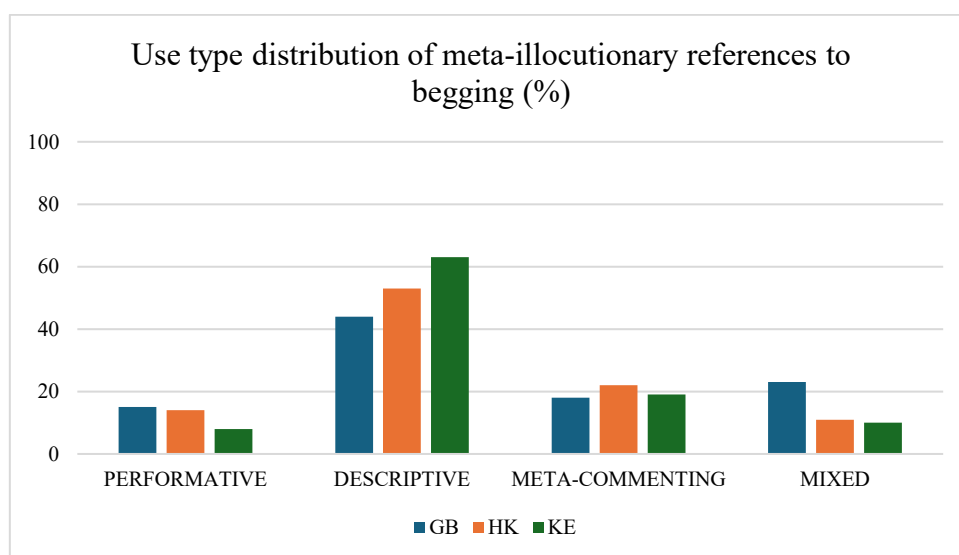


Figure 4. Use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to begging.

Qualitatively, realization patterns pertaining to the different use types display many similarities to meta-illocutionary references to requesting and commanding. Nonetheless,

probably the most important difference between references to requesting and commanding on the one hand and references to begging on the other is that, across all sub-corpora considered for the present purposes, the former display a relatively balanced word class distribution, whereas the latter is dominated by verbal forms. In fact, the only nominal form in meta-illocutionary references to begging found in the present dataset was the converted continuous form *begging*. By contrast, the converted simple form *beg* – corresponding to the converted simple forms *request* and *command* – did not occur at all in the dataset. Consequently, the overwhelming majority of realizations of all use types of references to begging involved the use of (different forms of) a meta-illocutionary verb, and the remainder involved the use of the nominal form *begging*. Selected aspects of this overall realization pattern are illustrated for each use type.

As in references to requesting and commanding, the *descriptive* use type of references to begging was also realized by temporally anchoring the (felicitous) performance of this illocution in the past. This was again achieved by means of various strategies including tense inflection, implicature, and narration as exemplified below:

(59) One of the guests found some scales in a barn which resulted in a little ceremony of everyone being weighed. Mother quietly walked away. # I was astonished and **begged** her to let herself be weighed. " I have no interest in knowing what I weigh. " (HK_BEG_50)

(60) Jem comes up with the idea to go and retrieve his pants at night, and Scout becomes sensible and **begs** him not to go. (HK_BEG_67)

(61) While we tend to use grand and lofty language to talk about solidarity, Ogorodnikov **goes to the Moscow train stations and the metro three times a week to beg for food**. (GB_BEG_39)

(62) **After weeks of chasing and begging**, NTV has finally **convinced** celebrated actor and part time investigative journalist Moha' Jicho Pevu' to join their stable. (KE_BEG_7)

In (59), the speaker uses the very common strategy of inflecting the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg* for past tense, thereby situating the particular (felicitous) performance of this illocution in the past. In (60), the speaker uses the third-person present form of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg* as part of the rhetorical strategy ‘narrative present’, presenting past events by using the present tense of the respective verb. In this context, both instances of *and* – one coordinating the two main clauses and the other coordinating the two verb phrases within the second main clause – carry not only additive but crucially also consequential meaning. In (61), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg* in its to-infinitive form functioning as the predicate of the non-finite subordinate clause *to beg for food*. Since the meta-illocutionary verb

is used in its non-finite form, it does not show tense which could explicitly anchor the performance of this illocution on the temporal axis. However, the sub-clause *to beg for food* realizes the thematic role of *purpose* with respect to the action specified in the main clause, viz. *going (to the Moscow train stations and metro)*. This action, in turn, is encoded by the (third-person) present-tense verb form *goes*. While this present tense verb form ostensibly anchors the performance of the relevant illocutions in the present rather than the past, it expresses habituality based on recurrent occurrences which must have begun in the past and extended into the present (or at least the ‘more immediate’ past), and are therefore expected to extend into the future. Finally, although the non-finite clause *to beg for food* only specifies the thematic role of *purpose* regarding the habitual action of *going (to the Moscow train stations and metro)* overtly, the sentence as a whole further implies that *Ogorodnikov* did/does, in fact, (felicitously) beg for food once he has arrived at his destination(s) as it is the (sole) purpose for him going there. In (62), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *begging* as part of the post-modifier of the prepositional phrase *after weeks of chasing and begging*, which realizes the adverbial of the clause. Here, the performance of the relevant illocution is (implicitly) anchored in the past by means of the tense inflection of the perlocutionary verb *(to) convince* – which must follow the felicitous performance of the illocutionary act by definition – in combination with the temporal adverbial *after*. Lastly, the speaker’s use of the form *begging* indicates that the (felicitous) performance of this illocution was continuous and/or recurrent throughout the *weeks* in question.

The *meta-commenting* use type of meta-illocutionary references to begging was mainly realized by features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and futurity associated with the performance of the illocution in question. Other than in references to requesting and commanding discussed above, realizations of the *meta-commenting* use type in references to begging often contained more than one of these features, as these appeared to cluster more strongly overall. The following set of examples illustrates (selected aspects of) the features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and futurity, both in isolation and in combination:

(63) 1st, make it absolutely clear you happen to be serious about doubt him. Let him know in no unsure terms **if** he's begging you for denial, that' s what he' s going to get and also you' re not going to give in... and just don' t cave in. (GB_BEG_100)

(64) Truly there is none who does not see or hear the way our Somali brothers are suffering as a result of terrorism and the murder of Somali citizens -- having seen Tanzania save so many other countries I **would** beg Tanzania to try to save Somalia from these people called Al-Shabaab. (KE_BEG_11)

- (65) The troops need helicopters today, not next week nor next month. **It is time** for Brown **to** get on his knees and beg from whomsoever to get helicopters to our troops. (GB_BEG_27)
- (66) Tell the journalist how to do his/her job -- let him/her decide where, when and how to run the story. # Try to tell the whole story over the phone -- put it in writing. # **Beg** for coverage or plead that you deserve/need it. (HK_BEG_38)
- (67) People make mistakes, and not everyone can travel back though history to fix those mistakes. I regret and seek forgiveness. however, **i will not beg** for sympathy. (HK_BEG_23)
- (68) Let those that we have put in office to speak for us demand action from government because **if** Kenya fails, we **will** all **be** in the same pit begging for the mercy of God. (KE_BEG_85)
- (69) **If** you want people to retweet you, ask them (politely -- **no begging** or forced persuasion). (GB_BEG_7)

In (63), the speaker uses the continuous meta-illocutionary verb form (*is*) *begging* within the antecedent overtly marked by the subordinating conjunction *if*, thus incorporating the feature of (predictive) conditionality associated with the performance of this illocution. Moreover, the consequent specifies the potential perlocutionary effect(s) of this hypothetical performance. In (64), the speaker incorporates (counterfactual) conditionality associated with begging by overtly marking the consequent using the modal auxiliary *would* together with the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg* within the same verb phrase. The antecedent, by contrast, is not explicated in this example. But considering the speaker's role as a (semi-)private blogger in combination with the element of counterfactual conditionality, probably the most plausible inference to be made about the content of the antecedent is that the speaker is not in the institutional position to perform this illocution or, in speech-act-theoretic terms, that the preparatory conditions of this illocution do not obtain.

In (65), the speaker expresses deontic obligation and/or necessity by using the expression *it is time to* in combination with the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg*, thereby implying that present circumstances necessitate the performance of this illocution or, in other words, that this illocution ought to be performed in the present (or at least the near future) given the circumstances accommodated in the relevant preparatory condition(s). In (66), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg* inflected for imperative mood, thus indicating a directive illocutionary force associated with the respective utterance. In this case, the state of deontic obligation is again created as part of the conventional 'taking effect' of this directive illocution.

In (67), the speaker expresses futurity by using the modal *will* in combination with the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg*. Moreover, the speaker negates the predicate by saying that

they will *not* beg for sympathy. As described above, futurity in the present study is conceptualized as a type of modality due to it being metaphysically indeterminate by definition as reflected, among other things, in the modal *will* originally expressing dynamic volition before the process of grammaticalization. In other words, the speaker expresses that they do not entertain the dynamic volition to perform the illocution of begging with the content of *sympathy* in the future because, at least in their view, the circumstances of *people making mistakes* and *not everyone being able to travel back through history to fix those mistakes* do not meet the requirements for the particularized preparatory conditions to obtain.

In (68), the speaker expresses both predictive conditionality and futurity associated with the performance of the illocution of begging. Here, the subordinating conjunction *if* overtly marks the antecedent specifying the scenario of *Kenya failing*, and the (modal) auxiliary *will* overtly marks futurity associated with the performance of the illocution of begging as part of the consequent. In (69), the speaker overtly expresses predictive conditionality and further covertly expresses both deontic prohibition and futurity. Predictive conditionality is expressed by the overt marking of the antecedent by the subordinating conjunction *if*, containing the scenario of *the hearer wanting people to retweet them*. Deontic prohibition is marked by the elliptical expression *no begging*, indicating that begging is either not allowed or that it does not usually bring about the desired consequential effect specified in the antecedent – in other words, the deontic prohibition associated with the performance of this illocution may either be imposed by the practice of *retweeting* (and the platform *Twitter* more generally) or by the hearer's presented interest to bring about the desired consequential effect. Lastly, the speaker covertly expresses futurity by conjoining their request directed at the hearer to *ask (people) politely* with their expression of deontic prohibition in *no begging*. This expression of deontic prohibition may further be interpreted as indirectly realizing a request directed at the hearer not to beg under the circumstances described in the antecedent, and since requests to perform an action necessarily anchor the action in question in the future, the speaker can be said to express – with varying degrees of overtness – conditionality, deontic modality, and futurity in the same utterance. In this example, the speaker thus expresses that, in their view, the hearer's want directed at the people retweeting them does not warrant the performance of the illocution of begging, which the speaker openly contrasts with *asking politely*. In short, while realizations of the *meta-commenting* use type displayed many similarities to meta-illocutionary references to requesting and commanding in terms of the prominence of the features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and futurity, meta-illocutionary references to begging were further characterized by a stronger clustering of these features within examples.

The *performative* use type was realized exclusively by meta-illocutionary verbs across all sub-corpora. However, these explicit realizations of the illocution of begging varied both in terms of the specific verb form used and in terms of directness levels. Selected combinations of verb forms and directness levels are illustrated in the examples below:

(70) **I beg** journalists and members of the media to leave me alone. (HK_BEG_16)

(71) I've been spending years configuring a comprehensive wedding planning checklist. But the truth is, every wedding is so different from one another that tasks will need to be tweaked to in order for your wedding to be successful. So please, **I beg you**, do not plan your wedding from a checklist downloaded on the internet or found in a bridal magazine. (GB_BEG_24)

(72) He's a fraud plain and simple. This law suit HAS to get in the media!! **I'm begging you** to do a story about it. (KE_BEG_77)

(73) You have a right to be narked, and I will put my hand up as one of those who could do more. # BUT - **can I beg you** not to use terms like " spoon thief "? (GB_BEG_16)

Example (70) represents the typical explicit performative construction, in which the meta-illocutionary verb (*to beg*) occurs in a first-person present active declarative clause. This strategy accounts for the majority of realizations across all sub-corpora included in the present study's dataset. Example (71) is similar to example (70) in that the inserted clause *I beg you* also represents an explicit performative construction specifying the beggar (i.e., the speaker) and the beggee (i.e., the hearer), but not other contextual factors such as the content. The difference between the two examples is that, in the second one, the clause *I beg you* is inserted into – and thus set apart from – the clause *Please do not plan your wedding [...]*. Against this background, the insertion of *I beg you* may be argued to further function as an explicit assignation or clarification of the speaker-intended illocutionary force of the locution *Please do not plan your wedding [...]*. In (72), the speaker uses the progressive meta-illocutionary verb form (*to be begging*) in combination with a reference to themselves (*I*). This example can also be argued to have a hybrid function. On the one hand, *I'm begging* may be conceptualized as a variation of the explicit performative *I beg*, in which case (72) would be fully functionally equivalent to (70). On the other hand, *I'm begging* may be conceptualized as an anaphoric reference to *This lawsuit HAS to get in the media!*, thus functioning as a self-ascription of speaker-intended illocutionary force to a previous utterance. In this conceptualization, however, the performance of begging persists in the utterance containing the meta-illocutionary verb due to the speaker using the continuous verb form *begging*, thus the respective illocutionary act as being performed across utterance boundaries in discourse. Example (73) represents a rare case

of an explicit but conventionally indirect realization of begging. Specifically, the speaker uses the modal auxiliary *can* indicating deontic permission in combination with the meta-illocutionary (*to*) *beg* within the same predicate in an interrogative clause. Functionally, the speaker directly asks the hearer for permission to beg them not to use terms like ‘spoon thief’, which, however, counts as a conventionally indirect performance of the illocutionary act of begging. To sum up, while realizations of the *performative* use type of meta-illocutionary references to begging are generally dominated by explicit performative constructions, occasional variation in terms of verb aspect, directness levels, and anaphoric self-ascription of illocutionary force is also present in this study’s dataset.

The *mixed* category in references to begging – just as in references to requesting and commanding – mainly encompassed overlaps between the *meta-commenting* use type on the one hand, and the *descriptive* or the *performative* use type on the other. Selected aspects of these overlaps are illustrated in the examples below:

(74) As the morning wore on the young pelicans became more and more noisy as their hunger increased, and they stood eagerly watching for their parents. The pouches below their beaks **pulsated** with ripples of light as the sun **shone** through the translucent skin, while **they thrust forward their heads in a begging action** accompanied by a sound suggestive of snarling and groaning. (HK_BEG_9)

(75) With little hope of employment beyond menial labor, like hauling water or gathering firewood, women **are forced to beg** for credit and rely on humanitarian food aid to survive. (KE_BEG_14)

(76) **This begging post** is to ask if you would be so kind as to head over to Wonderbra's facebook page on Monday 5th and vote for my video. Not only can you have a good giggle at me looking like a pratt online, you can also be in with the chance to win a wonderbra yourselves. So.... **If you fancy making me reaaaaaaalllly happy and have a few mins, please put a reminder in your diary.** (GB_BEG_9)

In (74), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *begging* as the modifier of the compound noun *begging action*. This compound noun, in turn, realizes the head of the noun phrase *a begging action*, which functions as the prepositional complement of the prepositional phrase *in a begging action* realizing the adverbial of the clause and specifying the manner in which the action of *thrusting forward (their) heads* is performed. By ascribing the act of *thrusting forward (their) heads* the manner of *a begging action* in terms of adverbial type, the speaker also ascribes this act the status of begging in terms of illocutionary force. Consequently, the speaker can be said to (implicitly) incorporate the feature of identification associated with the illocution of begging, which itself is indicative of the *meta-commenting* use type. However, the speaker also

presents the performance of this illocution both as having occurred in the past and as having been performed felicitously, which is indicative of the *descriptive* use type. The temporal anchoring in the past is achieved by the (unmarked) past tense form of the verb *(to) thrust* alongside the (marked) past tense forms of the verbs *(to) pulsate* and *(to) shine*. The felicitous performance is accepted by default since the (implicit) identification realized by the speaker's use of the adverbial of manner does not necessarily constitute an alarm signal indicating (the presentation of) a serious incongruence in conceptualization of the felicity of the respective illocution among the speaker and the hearer. As a result, the first example is argued to represent an overlap of the *descriptive* use type – considering the temporal anchoring in the past as well as the lack of alarm signals regarding (in)congruence of conceptualization – and the *meta-commenting* use type – considering the speaker's identification of *thrusting forward (their) heads* and *a begging action* by using the latter within the adverbial of manner.

In (75), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) beg* in its to-infinitive form, realizing the predicate of the non-finite subordinate clause *to beg for credit*. Moreover, the speaker expresses deontic obligation associated with performing the relevant illocution by means of the lexical verb *(to) force* inflected for passive voice. According to this analysis, the speaker realizes the *meta-commenting* function of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. However (and due to a lack of indicators that would suggest otherwise), the speaker's expression of deontic obligation associated with performing the illocution of begging further implies that the women do, in fact, (felicitously) beg for credit precisely because they are obligated to do so given the relevant circumstances. In this view, the speaker realizes the *descriptive* function of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. Furthermore, the speaker temporally anchors (the state of deontic obligation associated with) the performance of begging in the present rather than the past by using the present tense (passive) form of *(to) force* in combination with the non-finite (and therefore tenseless) meta-illocutionary verb *(to) beg*. However, the present tense form of *(to) force* expresses the 'indefinite present' (in the case of no agency) or the 'habitual present' (in the case of agency) associated with the state of deontic obligation rather than temporally anchoring this state at a specific point in the present. Consequently, the (actual) performance of the illocution of begging (which encompasses an agent by definition) must also be anchored in the 'habitual present', which in turn is based on repeated occurrences in the more or less distant past. In short, the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type (in the form of deontic modality) meet at the interface of implicature, and the temporal anchoring of the deontic state of modality in the 'indefinite present' or 'habitual present' affects the temporal anchoring of

the (felicitous) performance of the illocution of begging the ‘habitual present’, which must necessarily be based on observations situated in the more or less immediate past.

In (76), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *begging* as the pre-modifier of the compound noun *begging post*, which is the head of the noun phrase *this begging post* functioning as the subject of the clause. In using the meta-illocutionary noun as the pre-modifier to the head *post*, the speaker explicates the function of their own post (by means of the self-referential *this*) as realizing the illocutionary act of begging. From this perspective, the example may be categorized as realizing the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. However, the speaker ascribes this performative character only to their blogpost as a whole rather than to (one or more of) the individual utterances constituting this blogpost. In other words, the speaker only assigns their own discursive macro-act explicitly the status of begging, but not its constitutive micro-acts. The micro-act which is probably the most responsible for the begging force of the entire post is *Please put a reminder in your diary* due to the imperative mood of the verb (*to*) *put* in combination with the intensifier and/or politeness marker *please*. If it is accepted that this micro-act is the most responsible for the begging force of the post as a whole (i.e., the ‘discursive head act’, as it were), the micro-act can further be said to be complemented by multiple supportive moves. One of these moves contains the speaker’s entextualization of the locutionary act constituting the purpose of their post, viz. *to ask if (the beggees) would be so kind as to head over to Wonderbra’s facebook page on Monday 5th and vote for (the beggar’s) video*. Interestingly, this supportive move contains an indication of a yes/no-question through the speaker’s use of *to ask if* (as opposed to *to ask to*), which can be conceptualized as an additional indirect request supporting the overall directive force of *Please put a reminder in your diary* and the post as a whole. In short, there are multiple indicators of directive illocutionary force in general and the illocutionary force of begging in particular, which – depending on the perspective taken – can be ascribed to one or more individual utterances within the post, to the post as a whole, or to both. The evidence presented above may further support the argument that the speaker realizes the *meta-commenting* function in the form of identification applied to both their own post and possibly one or more of the utterances constituting the post. Thus, the *performative* and the *meta-commening* use type can be said to overlap once again at the interface of functional self-ascriptions within discursive macro-acts and across discursive micro-acts.

To sum up, meta-illocutionary references to begging are quantitatively dominated by the *descriptive* use type, followed by substantially lower average shares of the *meta-*

commenting, the *mixed*, and the *performative* use type, thus confirming the overall pattern found in explicit references to *directive* illocutions. ‘Region-specific’ trends included a GloWbE KE preference for the *descriptive* use type, a GloWbE GB preference for the *mixed* category, and a GloWbE KE dispreference for the *performative* use type. However, these differences were rather small compared to differences across use types and differences found in references to requesting and commanding. Qualitatively, realizations of the *descriptive* use type display the common pattern of temporally anchoring the performance of the relevant illocution in the past. This is achieved either by means of inflecting a pertinent verb for past tense, by means of expressing, in some way, habituality or indefiniteness associated with the performance of this illocution, or by means of using the rhetorical strategy of narrative present. Realizations of the *meta-commenting* use type, which presented the illocution as metaphysically indeterminate in discourse, primarily encompassed features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and futurity associated with the performance of the illocution. In contrast to references to requesting and commanding, these features further clustered more strongly in references to begging. Realizations of the *performative* use type were dominated by the explicit performative construction, but some variation in terms of verb aspect and directness levels were also found. Finally, the *mixed* category encompassed examples which displayed an overlap of either the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type or the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type. Specifically, the former was mainly due to implicitness in ascriptions of illocutionary force as well as expressions of deontic obligation associated with the illocution in question, whereas the latter was again mainly due to competing conceptualizations of function ascription in discursive macro-acts and their constitutive micro-acts.

4.2.2 References to *expressive* illocutions

Average use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to all *expressive* illocutions collectively are illustrated in Figure 5 below. These distributions show a very distinct relative frequency ranking favoring the *performative* use type (59.6%) followed by the *descriptive* use type (18.9%), the *meta-commenting* use type (13.5%), and the *mixed* category (8.0%). This relative frequency ranking is perfectly stable across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE, as all these sub-corpora display the same average relative frequency ranking in meta-illocutionary references to *expressive* illocutions. Moreover, variation in relative frequency values across the three sub-corpora is minimal: The *performative* use type is slightly favored in GloWbE GB (61.3%) followed by GloWbE HK (59.0%) and

GloWbE KE (58.3%), the *descriptive* use type is slightly favored by GloWbE KE (20.0%) followed by GloWbE HK (19.7%) and GloWbE GB (17.0%), the *meta-commenting* use type is slightly favored by GloWbE KE (15.7%) followed by GloWbE GB (13.3%) and GloWbE HK (11.7%), and the *mixed* category is slightly favored by GloWbE HK (9.7%) followed by GloWbE GB (8.3%) and GloWbE KE (6.0%). Based on the corresponding (sum of) raw frequency values, a 4x3 chi-square test unsurprisingly revealed no statistically significant relation between sub-corpus on the one hand and use type on the other ($\chi^2 = 2.0$, $p = 0.91933$).

Overall, references to *expressive* illocutions are characterized by a clear average prevalence of the *performative* use type on the one hand, and much lower (and somewhat similar) shares of the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type, and the *mixed* category on the other. Interestingly, ‘cross-regional’ differences in use type distribution are (almost) non-existent (and certainly not significant) as relative frequency values per use type are highly similar across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. In the following, use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to each of the three *expressive* illocutions selected for the present purposes will be presented individually, starting with references to thanking (sub-chapter 4.2.2.1) followed by references to apologizing (sub-chapter 4.2.2.2) and references to congratulating (sub-chapter 4.2.2.3). Just as in the respective results sections pertaining to the three *directive* illocutions above, quantitative preference patterns will be complemented by qualitative analyses of the most prevalent realization strategies in each use type.

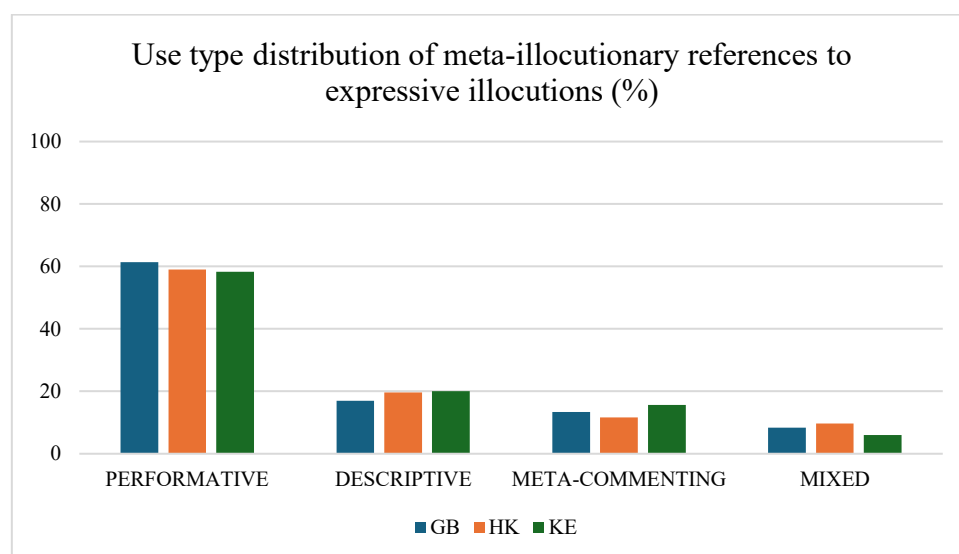


Figure 5. Use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to *expressive* illocutions.

4.2.2.1 References to the illocution of thanking

Use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to thanking are illustrated in Figure 6 below. In terms of average relative frequency ranking, references to thanking reflect the average preference pattern reported for references to *expressive* illocutions collectively, as the *performative* use type is most prevalent followed by the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type, and the *mixed* category. However, the magnitude of the difference between the share of the *performative* use type (89.3%) on the one hand and the *descriptive* (4.7%), the *meta-commenting* (3.7%), and the *mixed* (2.3%) use type on the other is much greater than in the average preference pattern in references to *expressive* illocutions. In fact, it can be safely said the use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to thanking is (almost) completely one-sided in favor of the *performative* use type, which displays an average share of nearly 90% of the respective dataset. By contrast, the average shares of the remaining use types are not only substantially lower than that of the *performative* use type but – almost as a direct consequence – also more similar to each other. As a result, small ‘cross-regional’ differences in use type shares were already sufficient to confound the average preference pattern regarding the *descriptive*, the *meta-commenting*, and the *mixed* category. Specifically, while GloWbE GB displayed a preference for the *descriptive* use type (4%) over both the *meta-commenting* use type (1%) and the *mixed* category (1%), GloWbE HK displayed a preference for the *descriptive* use type (5%) and the *mixed* category (5%) over the *meta-commenting* use type (4%), and GloWbE KE displayed a preference for the *meta-commenting* use type (6%) followed by the *descriptive* use type (5%) and the *mixed* category (1%). But despite confounding the general preference pattern regarding the three less prevalent use types from a ‘cross-regional’ perspective, the differences in relative frequency values across the three sub-corpora were generally minimal. In particular, shares of the *performative* use type ranged from 94% in GloWbE GB to 88% in GloWbE KE and 86% in GloWbE HK, shares of the *descriptive* use type ranged from 5% in both GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE to 4% in GloWbE GB, shares of the *meta-commenting* use type ranged from 6% in GloWbE KE to 4% in GloWbE HK and 1% in GloWbE GB, and shares of the *mixed* category ranged from 5% in GloWbE HK to 1% in both GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE. Although raw occurrences of the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type, and the *mixed* use type were (often) too low for a chi-square test to be performed, the overall distribution of use types across sub-corpora – albeit inconclusive, strictly speaking – does not suggest any significant differences across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. Clearly, the disruption of the overall preference pattern was mainly due to the three less prevalent use types (i.e., *descriptive*, *meta-commenting*, and

mixed) being much more strongly affected by small ‘cross-regional’ differences in the respective relative frequency values, which in turn is mainly due to the distinct quantitative predominance of the *performative* use type in meta-illocutionary references to thanking.

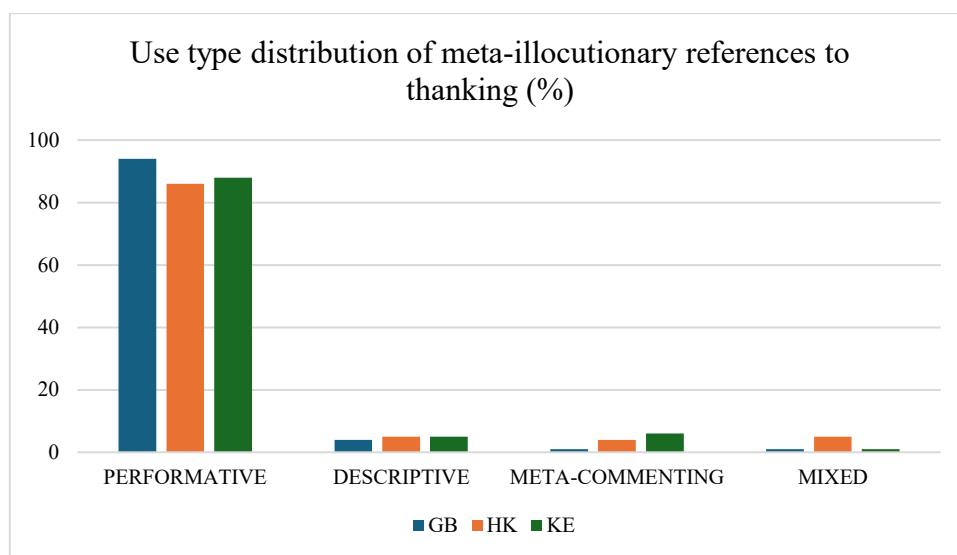


Figure 6. Use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to thanking.

Qualitatively, each of the use types distinguished was characterized by a specific realization pattern which was largely stable across sub-corpora. The realization pattern of the *performative* use type was dominated by elliptical explicit performative constructions containing a meta-illocutionary verb and elliptical nominal constructions containing a meta-illocutionary noun. Apart from these two realizations, non-elliptical explicit performative constructions (containing a meta-illocutionary verb) and conventionally indirect realizations entextualizing the speaker’s volition associated with performing the illocution were also found. These four realization strategies are illustrated in the examples below:

(77) **Thank you** for a wonderfully thought-provoking blog. (GB_THANK_73)

(78) Hi! Welcome to cotton shirt fabric! **Thanks** for dropping by!! (HK_THANK_10)

(79) So Sag, **I thank you** for the comment because it brings to light some of the issues setting our wedding industry and general photography industry backward. (KE_THANK_82)

(80) The oral evidence sessions have been extremely interesting and thorough, giving this inquiry a fascinating insight into the issues surrounding unplanned pregnancy in the UK. **I would like to thank** everyone who has contributed, both through oral and written evidence. (GB_THANK_76)

In (77), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* in the elliptical explicit performative construction *thank you* which is characterized by a conventional omission of the entextualization of the thanker, viz. the speaker themselves. In (78), the speaker uses the (plural) meta-illocutionary noun *thanks* in the elliptical plural nominal construction *thanks*, thereby conventionally omitting the entextualization of the thanker (i.e., the speaker), the thankee (i.e., the hearer), the time (i.e., the present), and the performative aspect of the illocutionary act (i.e., ‘expressing’ or similar). Thus, a conceivable completion of this particular elliptical realization would be *I (hereby) express (my) thanks to you for dropping by* specifying the speaker (*I*) as the thanker, the hearer (*you*) as the thankee, the present as the time, and *expressing* as the performative aspect of the illocution. Needless to say, these attributes remain implicit in the elliptical construction. Example (79) is similar to example (77) in that the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* in an explicit performative construction. The crucial difference between these two examples is that, unlike example (77), example (79) represents a non-elliptical explicit performative construction explicating the thanker, who is the speaker (*I*) themselves. In (80), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* – which realizes the predicate of the non-finite clause *to thank everyone who has contributed, both through oral and written evidence* – in a hedged performative construction. This hedged performative construction contains an (indirect) entextualization of the aspect of volition (*would like*) associated with the performance of the illocution and constitutes a conventionally indirect realization strategy of the latter. Overall, the *performative* use type of meta-illocutionary references to thanking is dominated by elliptical verbal and elliptical nominal realizations, but occasional non-elliptical verbal realizations as well as conventionally indirect realizations (in the form of hedged performative constructions) also exist, albeit marginally.

Realizations of the *descriptive* use type displayed many similarities to the respective realizations in references to *directive* illocutions. Specifically, these realizations were characterized by temporally anchoring the performance of the illocution in question in the past and presenting the illocution as felicitously performed by default. Selected realizations taken from the very small set of examples illustrate the *descriptive* use type of meta-illocutionary references to thanking:

(81) The Amazon.co.uk lady listened carefully and gently whilst I ran -- a little breathlessly -- through my arguments and position. [...] I **thanked** her for taking my call and prepared myself for a wait. (GB_THANK_99)

(82) kris wishes he got all the roles jeff bridges stole from him. neither of them knew why the kids who like bmx riders spoke french. win butler **thanks** his parents for naming him win. (HK_THANK_97)

(83) Mudavadi, who rarely smiles in public, **has sought** to cut an image of a strong politician, even **after thanking** Odinga in 2007 for helping him get out of political oblivion which Project Uhuru vote in 2002 drove him into. (KE_THANK_100)

In (81), the speaker temporally anchors the performance of the relevant illocution in the past by inflecting the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* for past tense. The felicity of this illocution is accepted by default. In (82), the speaker uses the present tense form of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank*. This example is again indicative of the rhetorical strategy of ‘narrative present’, which is characterized by using verbs in present tense to temporally anchor the respective (completed) actions in the past. In (83), the speaker uses the gerund of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank*, which functions as the predicate of the non-finite clause *thanking Odinga in 2007 [...]*. While the non-finite form of the meta-illocutionary verb does not show tense itself, the speaker temporally anchors the performance of the illocution of thanking in the past by means of the temporal adverb *after* in combination with the perfect tense of the verb *(to) seek*. First, the perfect tense of the verb *(to) seek* indicates that the corresponding action has been carried out (or at least initiated) in the past. Second, the temporal adverb *after* indicates that the carrying out (or initiation) of this action in the past had been preceded by the action of thanking, which is therefore obviously also situated (even further) in the past. Overall, and just as in references to *directive* illocutions, the *descriptive* use type of the meta-illocutionary references to thanking is realized by temporally anchoring the (felicitous) performance of this illocution in the past. This is achieved mainly by means of using past tense inflections of the meta-illocutionary verb, the rhetorical strategy of ‘narrative present’, or by combining temporal adverbials and tense inflections of other verbs in cases where the meta-illocutionary verb does not show tense. Notably, all realization strategies of the *descriptive* use type of references to thanking contained a meta-illocutionary verb as meta-illocutionary nouns occurred almost exclusively in realizations of the *performative* use type.

The *meta-commenting* use type, which also occurred rather rarely in the present dataset, was realized by means of features of (deontic) modality, futurity, conditionality, and identification associated with the performance of the illocution in question. In some cases, these features clustered within the few examples realizing this use type. The examples below illustrate

both individual features and clusters of features indicative of the *meta-commenting* use type in references to thanking:

(84) Arsenal's defensive team seems to be improving game in game out and Wenger **is to thank** for that. (KE_THANK_67)

(85) We **will** always **say thank you** to those who spread our words, follow us, or engage with us in any way (HK_THANK_92)

(86) Catch the attention of the mentor you want from social media, commenting on their blogs but do not stalk them -- no one likes stalkers. **Do something to thank them** for them offering invaluable advice and time to you and not on something else. (KE_THANK_65)

In (84), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* within the construction *be to do something*, which in this case expresses the deontic obligation associated with the performance of thanking as a consequence of the relevant particularized preparatory condition, viz. *Arsenal's defensive team seeming to be improving game in game out*, already obtaining. In (85), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* in the elliptical explicit performative construction *thank you*, which – as an unmarked quotation – functions as the direct object of the clause. The ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) say*, which foregrounds the locutionary aspect of *thank you*, is specified for futurity by means of the modal *will* functioning as an auxiliary within the same verb phrase. In other words, the speaker expresses futurity associated with performing the locutionary act of saying *thank you*, which further implies the (future) performance of the illocutionary act of thanking due to the speaker's use of the illocutionary force indicating device *thank* in the elliptical explicit performative construction constituting the content of the unmarked quotation. Moreover, the speaker also expresses predictive conditionality associated with performing the locutionary act of saying *thank you* and (thereby) the illocutionary act of thanking, which is implied in the tentative entextualization of the thankees, viz. *those who spread our words, follow us, or engage with us in any way*. Specifically, this tentative entextualization of the thankees entails the particularized preparatory condition of this illocution, viz. *the thankees having spread (the thankers') words, followed (the thankers), or engaged with (the thankers) in any way*, which is presented as having to obtain for the speakers to say *thank you* and to (thereby) perform the illocutionary act of thanking in the future. In (86), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* as the predicate of the non-finite subordinate clause *to thank them for offering invaluable advice and time to you*. This sub-clause fulfills the thematic role of *purpose* with regard to the action specified by the verb *(to) do (something)*, which is further inflected for imperative mood indicating *directive*

illocutionary force. In other words, the speaker directs the hearer to perform an action (i.e., *do something*) which carries the illocutionary force (i.e., fulfills the thematic purpose) of thanking. In that regard, the speaker both puts the hearer under the deontic obligation to perform the respective action (as part of the *directive* illocutionary effect) and identifies the performance of this action with the illocution of thanking. Overall, the *meta-commenting* use type in references to thanking is realized by features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, futurity, and identification, with some features clustering and others occurring in isolation within the few examples found in the respective dataset.

The *mixed* category contained examples which – as in references to *directive* illocutions – exhibited an overlap of either the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type or the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type. Selected aspects of these different types of overlaps are illustrated in the examples below:

(87) The Reds also **had to thank** Rio Ferdinand for a goal-line clearance after Vidic had given the ball away cheaply in the second half, the England defender somehow managed to get his toe to the ball before Berbatov could poke it over the United goal line. (GB_THANK_78)

(88) The United Service Rugby Club, mini, midi and youth sections **took four coach loads of players, coaches, referees and parents to Twickenham for the England Fiji match as a thank you** for the hard work and commitment they all put into the club every year. (GB_THANK_94)

(89) I have a feeling you are not going to post my counter argument, **if you do, thank you** but that is ok if you don't. (HK_THANK_81)

In (87), the speaker expresses deontic modality associated with the performance of the illocution of thanking by using the infinitive form of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *thank* in combination with the semi-modal verb *have (to)*, which is inflected for past tense. Consequently, the speaker can be said to directly refer to a past state of deontic modality associated with performing the illocution of thanking, which would constitute a realization of the *meta-commenting* use type. However, since direct references to (especially past) states of deontic modality associated with the performance of an illocution often imply that this illocution has, in fact, been felicitously performed, the example could also constitute an indirect realization of the *descriptive* use type. In (88), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *thank* as part of the elliptical explicit performative construction *thank you*, which functions as the head of the noun phrase *a thank you* and can again be said to constitute the content of an unmarked quotation. While this unmarked quotation foregrounds the locutionary act of saying *thank you*, the use of the illocutionary force indicating device *thank* within the elliptical explicit

performative construction also implies the performance of the illocutionary act of thanking. Thus, by using the equative conjunction *as* to equate the United Service Rugby Club's *taking four coach loads of players, coaches, referees and parents to Twickenham for the England Fiji match* with a *thank you*, the speaker also implicitly identifies the United Service Rugby Club's act as a realization of the illocutionary act of thanking. The use of the congruency operation of identification indicates that the speaker realizes the *meta-commenting* use type. However, since the act of *taking four coach loads of players, coaches, referees and parents to Twickenham for the England Fiji match* is temporally anchored in the past by means of the past tense inflection of the verb (*to*) *take*, the identification of this act with the locution of *thank you* and, by implication, the illocution of thanking may further be conceptualized as a report of the (felicitous) performance of this illocution in the past, foregrounding its (largely non-verbal) realization. From this perspective, the speaker can also be said to realize the *descriptive* use type of their meta-illocutionary reference to thanking. In (89), the speaker again uses the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *thank* as part of the elliptical explicit performative construction *thank you*. This time, however, the elliptical explicit performative construction does not constitute the content of an unmarked quotation, but actually serves to perform the illocutionary act in question. In this view, this example may be seen as realizing the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. However, the speaker ties their explicit performance to the condition that the hearer (*you*) posts the speaker's counterargument, thus expressing (predictive) conditionality associated with their own performance of the illocution of thanking. Specifically, the speaker overtly marks the antecedent by the subordinating conjunction *if* and further specifies *the hearer posting (the speaker's) counter argument* (by means of the anaphoric substitution of *do*) as the particularized condition to be met for the illocution to be performed, and explicitly performs this illocution (in case this condition is or will be met) in the consequent which is, however, not overtly marked. Consequently, the *performative* use type and the *meta-commenting* use type meet, among other things, at the interface of what can be called the 'conditional performative', viz. a performative construction which the speaker ties to specific conditions being met (i.e., preparatory conditions obtaining).

Overall, meta-illocutionary references to thanking are characterized by an almost one-sided quantitative prevalence of the *performative* use type in relation to the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type, and the *mixed* category. Although 'cross-regional' differences in use type shares were minimal overall, they were sufficient to occasionally confound the relative frequency ranking regarding the three less pervasive use types given their very small shares in the dataset. Qualitatively, the *performative* use type is dominated by elliptical nominal

and verbal realizations, but non-elliptical explicit performative constructions as well as indirect realizations also exist. The *descriptive* use type is characterized by temporally anchoring the performance of the relevant illocution in the past, which is achieved by inflecting the meta-illocutionary verb for past tense, using the rhetorical strategy of ‘narrative present’, or using combinations of temporal adverbials and tense inflections of verbs surrounding the meta-illocutionary item, among other things. The *meta-commenting* use type is characterized by features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, futurity, and identification, which occurred both in isolation and in clusters in the present dataset. Finally, the *mixed* category contained examples displaying an overlap of the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type at the interfaces of (in)directness and im/explicitness levels regarding both deontic modality and identification on the one hand, and an overlap of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type at the interface of the ‘conditional performative’ on the other.

4.2.2.2 References to the illocution of apologizing

Use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to apologizing are illustrated in Figure 7 below. In terms of average relative frequency ranking, references to apologizing display a fundamental difference to references to thanking and references to *expressive* illocutions collectively. Rather than favoring the *performative* use type over all other use types, references to apologizing display an average preference for the *descriptive* use type (34.7%) followed by the *meta-commenting* use type (28.0%), the *performative* use type (23.3%), and the *mixed* category (14.0%). However, this preference pattern in favor of the *descriptive* use type is not as distinct as the pattern reported for references to thanking as the distribution of use types is far more balanced in references to apologizing. But despite this more balanced distribution, the relative frequency ranking is almost fully stable across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE, with the only exception being the equal shares of the *meta-commenting* use type (24%) and the *performative* use type (24%) in GloWbE HK. Apart from that, relative frequency rankings of all sub-corpora considered for the present purposes were on par with the average ranking reported above. This was mainly due to the fact that ‘cross-regional’ differences in use type distributions were minor (albeit slightly greater than those in references to thanking). Specifically, shares of the *descriptive* use type ranged from 39% in GloWbE HK to 36% in GloWbE KE and 29% in GloWbE GB, shares of the *meta-commenting* use type ranged from 32% in GloWbE KE to 28% in GloWbE GB and 24% in GloWbE HK, shares of the *performative* use type ranged from 24% in GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK to 22% in GloWbE

KE, and shares of the *mixed* category ranged from 19% in GloWbE GB to 13% in GloWbE HK and 10% in GloWbE KE. Based on the corresponding raw frequency values, a 4x3 chi-square test revealed no statistically significant relation between sub-corpora on the one hand and use types on the other ($\chi^2 = 5.8$, $p = 0.44870$). Overall, meta-illocutionary references to apologizing are fundamentally different from meta-illocutionary references to thanking in that they display a preference pattern slightly favoring the *descriptive* use type rather than clearly favoring the *performative* use type. In fact, the preference pattern of references to apologizing displays notable similarities to references to *directive* illocutions (both individually and collectively) with the only exception that, in references to apologies, the *performative* use type displays a higher average share than the *mixed* category. Otherwise, references to apologizing and references to *directive* illocutions share a quantitative preference for the *descriptive* use type and the *meta-commenting* use type (in that order), at least in terms of relative frequency rankings and, in some cases, also in terms of specific (average) relative frequency values.

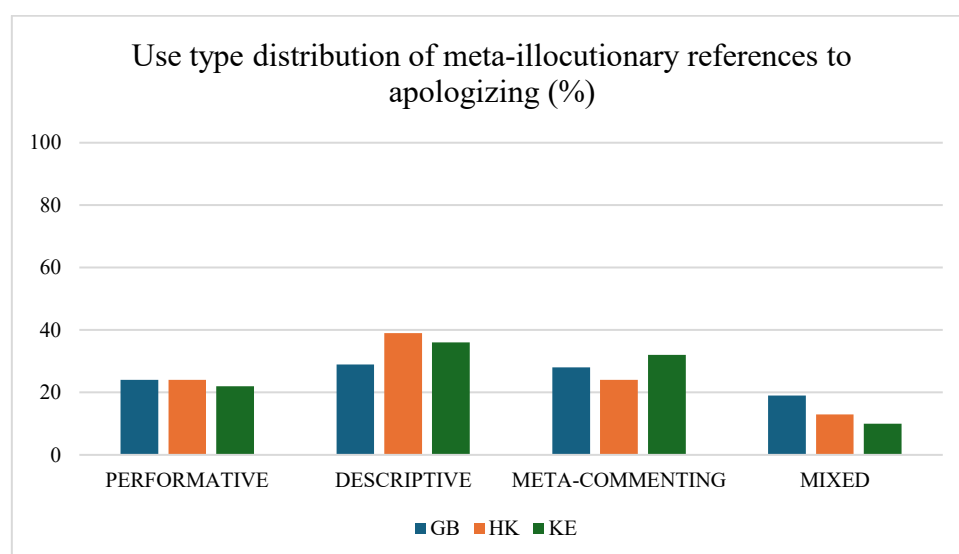


Figure 7. Use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to apologizing.

In terms of use type realization, references to apologizing display many similarities to references to other illocutions, both *directive* and *expressive*. However, there are also realization patterns which are either more prevalent in references to apologizing or occur exclusively in references to this illocution. The *descriptive* use type was again characterized by the performance of illocution in question being temporally anchored in the past and presented as felicitous by default. This was once more achieved by tense inflections of either the meta-

illocutionary verb or – in case of a meta-illocutionary noun being used – the ‘first-order verb of performance’ or the perlocutionary verb. A further realization strategy, which was found exclusively in references to apologizing, was the use of a tense-inflected verb of causation in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun. These four strategies are illustrated in the examples below:

(90) In front of Congress **last year**, Yahoo's Chief Executive Jerry Yang **apologized** to the mother of journalist Shi Tao, who was jailed after a unit of the company handed information about him to Chinese authorities in 2004. (HK_APOLOGY_93)

(91) Chairman and Creative Director of EME, Banky W **posted** on his official twitter handle **on Tuesday, August 14, 2012** an apology note to fans on the cancellation of the Canada and California shows and promised that EME will make the remaining EME concerts memorable for their fans. (KE_APOLOGY_16)

(92) Ramsey suffered an atrocious tackle from the Stoke City defender **in 2010**, which could have resulted in a career threatening injury; the midfielder broke his legs in six places and the Welshman **refused to accept** his apology. (GB_APOLOGY_8)

(93) A man stated -- genuinely -- that he wanted to " kill Clattenburg ", an announcement which **drew an apology** from Green **at the end of the show**. (GB_APOLOGY_1)

In (90), the speaker temporally anchors the (felicitous) performance of the particularized apology in the past both by inflecting the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologize* for past tense and by using the temporal deictic expression *last year*. In (91), the speaker anchors the performance of the relevant illocution in the past by using the meta-illocutionary noun *apology*, which functions as the modifier within the nominal compound *apology note*, in combination with the (genre-specific) ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) post* inflected for past tense. The status of the meta-illocutionary noun as the premodifier within the nominal compound indicates that the relevant *note*, which underwent the action of being *posted*, realized the discursive macro-function of *apology* most probably due to one or more of the utterances constituting this note realizing the micro-function of *apology*. In (92), the speaker temporally anchors the relevant illocution in the past by using the meta-illocutionary noun *apology* in combination with the perlocutionary verb *(to) refuse (to accept)* inflected for past tense. Since the perlocutionary effect must, by definition, be consequential with respect to the performance of the illocutionary act, the temporal anchoring of the perlocutionary effect in the past entails that the illocution had been (felicitously) performed (even further) in the past as well. In (93), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *apology* in combination with the causative verb *(to) draw* inflected for past tense. This causative verb connects the cause, represented by *an announcement* (which

further anaphorically refers to *a man stating – genuinely – that he wanted to “kill Clattenburg”* to the effect, represented by *an apology from Green at the end of the show*. Since the process of causation is temporally anchored in the past by means of the past tense inflection of (*to draw*), both the cause and the effect must have also taken place (or at least have begun to take place) in the past. This temporal anchoring of the cause and the effect in the past is further reinforced by the temporal boundaries of the *show*, at the end of which the apology was performed and which is (most probably) finished at the time of utterance. In this case, the fact that *Green* apologizes for *a(nother) man’s announcement* most likely indicates that the offense associated with this announcement falls within the apologizer’s area of responsibility. This, in turn, most likely implies that *Green* acts as the host (or another eligible representative) of the show who is responsible for offenses committed during and as part of the latter, among other things. Overall, the *descriptive* use type of meta-illocutionary references to apologizing is characterized by temporally anchoring the (felicitous) performance of the relevant illocution in the past, which is mainly achieved by tense inflections of either the meta-illocutionary verb or the ‘first-order verb of performance’, the perlocutionary verb, or the causative verb in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun.

The *meta-commenting* use type of references to apologizing is characterized by expressions of conditionality, (deontic) modality, futurity, and identification associated with the performance of the relevant illocution. These features sometimes occur in isolation and sometimes in clusters. The examples below illustrate selected (combinations of) expressions of these features in the present dataset:

(94) Luos **owe nobody any apology** for their existence or for holding any particular opinion. Not Kibaki. Not Lucy. Not Kombo. (KE_APOLOGY_19)

(95) **Apologize when** you fail to manage commitments you have made (KE_APOLOGY_70)

(96) Americans value personal space. You can bump into someone and they’ll **apologize even if** it’s not their fault. (HK_APOLOGY_72)

(97) It doesn’t matter whether you fall over, hop, or run out of steam -- sell it! Half of the audience won’t notice, but they will **if you look as though you’re apologising when you dance**. Don’t dance small. (GB_APOLOGY_84)

In (94), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *apology* in combination with the verb (*to owe*), which – despite being a lexical verb – expresses deontic obligation by presenting the performance of an apology as a debt to be cleared. However, this deontic obligation is further

affected by negation in the entextualization of both the apologizee (i.e., *nobody*) and the illocution itself (i.e., *any apology*), which amplifies the potential incongruity in the speaker's and the hearer's conceptualization of norms surrounding the performance of an illocution – in this case, the (non-)obtaining of preparatory conditions creating a debt to be cleared by performing an apology. In (95), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologize* inflected for imperative mood, realizing (as the main verb of the verb phrase *apologize*) the predicate of the imperative clause. Since the imperative mood conventionally indicates *directive* illocutionary force, the speaker can be said to express deontic obligation associated with the illocution of apologizing as part of the 'taking effect' of their own *directive* illocution. Moreover, the speaker expresses (predictive) conditionality by overtly marking the antecedent using the subordinating conjunction *when*. The antecedent specifies the condition, viz. *the hearer failing to manage commitments they have made*, to be met for the speaker's *directive* illocution and the state of deontic obligation (performed and created respectively within the not overtly marked consequent) to be valid. In (96), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologize* preceded by the future marker *will* within the verb phrase *will apologize*, thereby expressing futurity associated with the performance of the illocution in question. Moreover, the speaker expresses conditionality by overtly marking the antecedent using the subordinating conjunction *if*. The antecedent specifies the condition – viz. *it not being (the American's) fault (that the hearer has bumped into someone)* – for the future performance of the apology which is specified in the (not overtly marked) consequent. In addition, the speaker's use of the adverb *even* implies that this condition runs contrary to common expectations among the participants involved in the interaction. In (97), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologise* inflected for progressive aspect as the main verb of the verb phrase *are apologising*. Here, the speaker expresses both conditionality and identification associated with (the performance of) the illocution in question. Conditionality is expressed by the overt markings of two antecedents, viz. *if* and *when*. In this case, the antecedent initiated by the subordinating conjunction *when* specifies a more general condition (i.e., *the hearer dancing*), whereas the antecedent initiated by the subordinating conjunction *if* specifies a more specific condition including the (supposed) performance of the illocution in question (i.e., *the hearer looking as though they are apologising (while dancing)*). Identification is expressed by the conjunction *as though*, which establishes a comparison between the way the hearer looks and the hearer performing an apology. Crucially, the speaker's expression of conditionality also affects their expression of identification, as the perlocutionary effect specified in the consequent (i.e., *the audience noticing*) is conditional upon the feasibility of the comparison (i.e., rough identification) of the

way the hearer looks on the one hand, and the hearer performing an apology on the other. Overall, the *meta-commenting* use type of references to apologizing is characterized by features of conditionality, (deontic) modality, futurity, and identification associated with (the performance of) the illocution in question, some of which occur on their own, whereas others appear in clusters.

The *performative* use type of meta-illocutionary references to apologizing is mainly realized by full and elliptical forms of explicit and hedged performatives. Although the realization pattern of *performative* references to apologizing displays many similarities to the corresponding pattern in references to thanking, the main difference between these two is that, unlike *performative* references to thanking, *performative* references to apologizing do not include elliptical verbal realizations (i.e., *thank you* vs. **apologize to you*). Otherwise, there are many similarities in the two datasets as shown in the examples below:

(98) What can I say? **Apologies** that it's taken me this length of time to post an update about the festive season. (GB_APOLOGY_33)

(99) First of all, **I apologize** for the shambled look of the site. (HK_APOLOGY_65)

(100) **I would like to apologise** for the lack of photos in respect to this Angel Of The North Near Newcastle, England particular part of our trip, because somehow, somewhere, we have managed to lose a whole folder of photos. (HK_APOLOGY_52)

(101) I have never met most of you; except the 6 members of your big network namely Leonard, Abu, Connie, Pam and one Lady. Sorry and **I tender my profuse apologies** to you that I can not remember your name. (KE_APOLOGY_42)

In (98), the speaker uses the plural meta-illocutionary noun *apologies* in the elliptical nominal performative construction. Relative to the completed full form *I (hereby) express my apologies (to you) that it's taken me this length of time [...]*, the speaker conventionally omits the entextualization of the apologizer (i.e., the speaker themselves), the apologizee (i.e., the hearer), the time (i.e., present), and the performative aspect (i.e., 'expressing'). In (99), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologize* as the main verb of a first-person present active declarative clause, thus constituting an explicit performative construction in its full form. In (100), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologise* in its non-finite form realizing the predicate of the subordinate clause *to apologize for the lack of photos [...]*. This example constitutes the conventionally indirect realization strategy of hedged performative due to the predicate of the superordinate clause, *would like*, specifying the speaker's dynamic volition associated with performing the illocution in question. In contrast to examples (98)-(100),

example (101) represents a very unusual realization strategy of the *performative* use type in the present dataset. Specifically, the speaker uses the plural meta-illocutionary noun *apologies* (as the head of the noun phrase *my profuse apologies*) in combination with the verb *(to) tender*. In this example, the verb *(to) tender* realizes the function of a ‘first-order verb of performance’, which itself is used performatively by the speaker. This realization strategy is unusual in two respects: First, it contains the use of a ‘first-order verb of performance’ in a conventionally direct realization of the illocution in question. While the use of a ‘first-order verb of performance’ is not uncommon in conventionally indirect realizations (e.g., *I would like to make a request for X.*), conventionally direct realizations generally display a very strong preference for the explicit performative construction or nominal (and verbal) elliptical constructions rather than the performative use of a ‘first-order verb of performance’ in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun. Second, the speaker’s specific choice of the relevant verb *(to) tender* is unique in the present dataset as ‘first-order verbs of performance’ are generally dominated by *(to) make* alongside *(to) say*, *(to) offer*, and the more genre-specific variants *(to) post* and *(to) submit*. Overall, the *performative* use type of meta-illocutionary references to apologizing is dominated by elliptical nominal references to the illocution in question, the explicit performative construction, and the hedged performative construction, with some unusual realization strategies such as the use of a ‘first-order verb of performance’ in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun completing the picture.

The *mixed* category is characterized by overlaps of the *descriptive* use type and the *meta-commenting* use type on the one hand, and of the *performative* use type and the *meta-commenting* use type on the other. In that regard, examples of the *mixed* category in meta-illocutionary references to apologizing are very similar to the ones of the corresponding category in references to other illocutions, both *directive* and *expressive*. The following examples illustrate selected aspects of the overlap between the functional categories outlined above:

(102) Our second speaker was John Burnett himself. To begin with, **he felt it necessary to issue an apology** of sorts. (GB_APOLOGY_14)

(103) I realised that I was responsible for and to the people in my life, to the people who listen to my music. Because of that I knew that I **had to make** a public apology, **which I did**. (KE_APOLOGY_3)

(104) So enough and let's let the pictures speak for themselves. Though on this note **I must apologise**. I had to use my phone to take these photos and so they are not as good as they should be, but you get the idea. (HK_APOLOGY_48)

(105) **I apologise** if it is my actions that land you in jail. (GB_APOLOGY_56)

(106) For the people that asked me: " How was Germany? " and I replied " It was fine. " **Consider this my apology** for this limp answer that you got! (KE_APOLOGY_23)

In (102), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *apology* in combination with the ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) issue*. The issuing of the apology is further cataphorically referred to by the pronoun *it* within the respective it-cleft, and described by the speaker as *necessary* in the opinion (i.e., ‘feeling’) of *the second speaker John Burnett*. Therefore, the speaker expresses deontic necessity associated with the performance of the illocution in question (from someone else’s point of view), which at first sight is indicative of the *meta-commenting* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. However, the speaker of this example further implies that *the second speaker John Burnett* did, in fact, (felicitously) issue the relevant apology. This is because it appears odd on the surface that entertaining an opinion about the deontic necessity regarding the performance of an apology is discursively and temporally restricted to the beginning of one speech only, (i.e., *to begin with*). Therefore, it can be safely assumed that this opinion about the deontic necessity of performing an apology has rather been followed up in the form of a (felicitous) performance of this apology at the beginning of the relevant speech in the past, which, in turn, is indicative of the *descriptive* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. In (103), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *apology* as the head of the noun phrase *a public apology* in combination with the ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) make*. Moreover, the speaker expresses (their own knowledge about the) deontic obligation associated with the performance of the apology by means of the semi-modal *have to* inflected for past tense, which is indicative of the *meta-commenting* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. However, the speaker also reports their own (felicitous) performance of this apology in the subordinate clause *which I did*. Specifically, the past tense primary verb *did* anaphorically substitutes *(to) make an apology* and thereby temporally anchors the latter in the past, which is indicative of the *descriptive* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon presenting the illocution as a felicitous discursive product. While both (102) and (103) display an overlap of the *descriptive* use type and the *meta-commenting* use type, the main difference between the two is that in (102), the category membership is ambiguous due to implicature, whereas (103) is characterized by double category membership due to encodings of both the deontic obligation associated with the performance of the illocution and the (felicitous) performance of this illocution itself.

In contrast to examples (102) and (103), which display an overlap of the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type, examples (104)-(106) display an overlap of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type. In (104), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologise* in combination with the modal auxiliary *must*, thus expressing deontic obligation associated with the performance of the illocution, which is indicative of the *meta-commenting* use type. However, this example may further be conceptualized as a conventionally indirect realization of the *performative* use type, that is, a hedged performative encoding the deontic obligation associated with the speaker's performance of the illocution in question. In this case, the ambiguity in category membership is mainly due to a lack of data disambiguating category membership. For instance, a direct realization of an apology further in the text could retroactively assign the example above the unambiguous status of a *meta-comment* on (the performance of) the illocution of apologizing. Similarly, an indicator of hearer uptake such as acknowledgement and/or forgiveness could retroactively assign the example above the unambiguous status of a (conventionally indirect) *performative* realization of the illocution of apologizing. In (105), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologize* in an explicit performative construction, thus indicating a *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. However, the speaker also expresses conditionality – which is indicative of the *meta-commenting* use type – by overtly marking the antecedent using the subordinating conjunction *if*. The content of the antecedent, viz. *it being the speaker's actions that land the hearer in jail*, specifies the condition to be fulfilled for the speaker's (explicit) performance of the apology to come into effect. In (106), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary noun *apology* as the head of the noun phrase *my apology for the limp answer*, which functions as the object complement of the imperative clause. By using an imperative clause containing an object complement and therefore necessarily also a direct object, the speaker identifies – and instructs the hearer(s) to identify – the content of the object complement, viz. *the speaker's apology for the limp answer*, with the content of the direct object, viz. (the referent of) *this*. In this case, the referent of the pronoun *this* is the ongoing utterance situated in the discursive here-and-now, thus making the reference of *this* reflexive. While the operation of identification between (the contents specified in) the direct object and the object complement of the clause indicates the *meta-commenting* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, the speaker's anchoring of their performance of the illocution in the discursive here-and-now by means of the reflexive *this* is indicative of the *performative* use type.

Overall, meta-illocutionary references to apologizing are characterized by a relatively balanced quantitative use type distribution slightly favoring the *descriptive* use type followed

by the *meta-commenting* use type, the *performative* use type, and the *mixed* category (as well as little variation across sub-corpora). In that respect, references to apologizing are quite similar to references to *directive* illocutions, but fundamentally different from references to thanking, which are dominated by the *performative* use type. In terms of qualitative realization patterns, references to apologizing are roughly similar to references to the remaining illocutions considered in the present study: The *descriptive* use type is characterized by temporally anchoring the (felicitous) performance of illocutions in the past, which is mainly achieved by past tense inflections of ‘first-order verbs of performance’, perlocutionary verbs, or causative verbs in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun, or meta-illocutionary verbs themselves. The *meta-commenting* use type is characterized by various expressions of conditionality, (deontic) modality, futurity, and identification associated with (the performance of) the illocution in question, some of which occur in isolation and others in clusters. The *performative* use type is characterized by explicit performative constructions, hedged performative constructions, (only) nominal elliptical references to apologizing, and occasionally performative uses of a ‘first-order verb of performance’ in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun. Finally, the *mixed* category contained examples which displayed overlaps of the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type as well as overlaps of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type. The former were mainly due to either functional ambiguity or a double function within the same example, whereas the latter were due to expressions of deontic modality potentially functioning as indirect realizations, expressions of conditionality tying the coming into effect of the illocution to the obtaining of a preparatory condition, and reflexive references explicitly identifying the ongoing utterance with the performance and/or realization of the illocution in question.

4.2.2.3 References to the illocution of congratulating

Use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to congratulating are illustrated in Figure 8 below. In terms of average relative frequency ranking, references to congratulating are on par with references to thanking and therefore fundamentally different from references to apologizing. Specifically, the *performative* use type was, on average, the most prevalent followed by the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type, and the *mixed* category. However, specific relative frequency values of these use types show a clear difference between references to congratulating and references to thanking in terms of the quantitative prevalence of the *performative* use type vis-à-vis the remaining use types. In particular, while the

performative use type accounted for almost 90% of all references to thanking, it only accounts for 66% of all references to congratulating. Consequently, the three remaining use types displayed higher relative frequency values by comparison, with the *descriptive* use type (17.3%) being followed by the *meta-commenting* use type (9.0%) and the *mixed* category (7.7%). Interestingly, this use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to congratulating is very similar to the average use type distribution of references to the three *expressive* illocutions considered in the present study (see Figure 5), which displayed shares of 59.6% for the *performative* use type, 18.9% for the *descriptive* use type, 13.6% for the *meta-commenting* use type, and 8% for the *mixed* category. References to congratulating can thus be said to occupy a middle position between references to thanking – which display an almost one-sided dominance of the *performative* use type – on the one hand, and references to apologizing – which display a rather balanced distribution slightly favoring the *descriptive* use type – on the other. Furthermore, variation in relative frequency values across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE was again minimal. Specifically, shares of the *performative* use type ranged from 67% in GloWbE HK to 66% in GloWbE GB and 65% in GloWbE KE, shares of the *descriptive* use type ranged from 19% in GloWbE KE to 18% in GloWbE GB and 15% in GloWbE HK, shares of the *meta-commenting* use type ranged from 11% in GloWbE GB to 9% in GloWbE KE and 7% in GloWbE HK, and shares of the *mixed* category ranged from 11% in GloWbE HK to 7% in GloWbE KE and 5% in GloWbE BG. Based on the corresponding raw frequency values, a 4x3 chi-square test revealed no statistically significant relation between sub-corpora on the one hand and use type on the other ($\chi^2 = 3.9$, $p = 0.69643$). Overall, meta-illocutionary references to congratulating display an overall quantitative preference for the *performative* use type vis-à-vis other use types. They further display many similarities to the average use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to *expressive* illocutions more generally, and thus occupy a middle position between the highly dissimilar use type distributions of references to thanking on the one hand, and references to apologizing on the other.

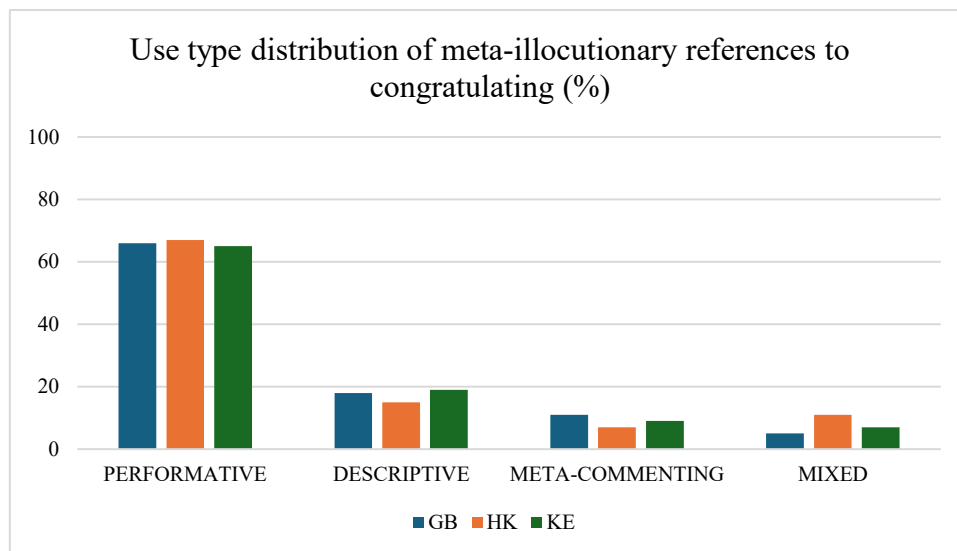


Figure 8. Use type distribution of meta-illocutionary references to congratulating.

In terms of qualitative use type realizations, references to congratulating display many similarities to references to other (*expressive*) illocutions considered in the present study. As a case in point, the *performative* use type is mainly realized by variants of the nominal elliptical construction, the explicit performative construction, and the hedged performative construction. The examples below illustrated selected variants of these realization strategies:

(107) **Congratulations** on both your 1000 posts and your 3 year anniversary. (GB_CONGRATULATION_43)

(108) yayyy **congrats** to DBS too for winning the overall champion:) (HK_CONGRATULATION_65)

(109) Adam, it is commendable that you were able to overcome your problems with alcoholism, drug abuse and depression. **I congratulate you** for it. (KE_CONGRATULATION_70)

(110) **I** have been following your blog and first and foremost **would like to congratulate your family** for being blessed with a dragon baby boy. (HK_CONGRATULATION_77)

(111) Otherwise **we are saying congratulations** to Teacher Dan, Teacher Francis and the Board of HMGC for good work they have done onto us. (KE_CONGRATULATION_21)

In (107), the speaker uses the plural meta-illocutionary noun *congratulations* within an elliptical nominal construction. Relative to the completed form *I (hereby) express (my) congratulations (to you)*, this elliptical nominal construction is characterized by an omission of the congratorator (i.e., the speaker), the congratulatee (i.e., the hearer), the time (i.e., present), and the performative aspect of the illocution (i.e., ‘expressing’). Example (108) is very similar to

example (107) in terms of realization strategy, as both represent elliptical nominal constructions. The only difference between these two examples is that in (108), the speaker uses the clipped form *congrats* rather than the full form *congratulations*, which is very common in *performative* uses of references to congratulating. In (109), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) congratulate* within an explicit performative construction, viz. a first-person present active declarative clause. In (110), the speaker uses the non-finite meta-illocutionary verb *(to) congratulate* as the predicate of the subordinate clause *to congratulate your family [...]*. This example constitutes a conventionally indirect realization of a congratulation in the form of a hedged performative construction as the speaker expresses their dynamic volition (*would like*) associated with the performance of the illocution in question. In (111), the speaker uses the plural meta-illocutionary noun *congratulations* as the head of the noun phrase *congratulations* which functions as the direct object of the clause. *Congratulations* may further be conceptualized as the content of an unmarked quotation, which is supported by the progressive ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) say* foregrounding the locutionary aspect of *congratulations*. Within this unmarked quotation, *congratulations* constitutes a nominal elliptical construction conventionally and explicitly realizing the illocutionary act of congratulating. Therefore, *saying congratulations* can be argued to be functionally equivalent to performing the illocutionary act of congratulation in the discursive here-and-now despite a different sub-act of the speech act as a whole being foregrounded. Overall, the *performative* use type of meta-illocutionary references to congratulating is dominated by (full and clipped forms of) nominal elliptical constructions, explicit performatives, and hedged performatives, with occasional realization strategies foregrounding the locutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole completing the picture.

The *descriptive* use type is characterized by temporally anchoring the congratulation in question in the past, thereby presenting this illocution as a (felicitous) discursive product outside the discursive here-and-now. In the present dataset, this was mainly achieved by inflecting the meta-illocutionary verb, the verb specifying the event as part of which the illocution was performed, or the ‘first-order verb of performance’ in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun for past tense. These realization strategies are exemplified in the examples below.

(112) After handing Muhoroni Youth a 4-0 thrashing in their second last match of the season on Sunday, Gor Mahia's head coach Zdravko Logarusic **congratulated** his players for their performance. (KE_CONGRATULATION_100)

(113) Bishop Welby **was congratulated** on his appointment by the Methodist Church. (GB_CONGRATULATION_95)

(114) Today marks the one hundredth anniversary of the University of Hong Kong. On behalf of the central government, Vice Premier Li Keqiang **has extended** warm congratulations and addressed the celebration ceremony. (HK_CONGRATULATION_19)

(115) **Earlier Tuesday**, Mr. Mahiga and his deputy **paid a courtesy visit** on President Sheikh Mohamud in Mogadishu, congratulating him and pledging to support the new Somali Government. (KE_CONGRATULATION_84)

In (112), the speaker temporally anchors the (felicitous) performance of the illocution in the past by inflecting the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) congratulate* for past tense. In (113), the speaker also uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) congratulate*. This time, however, the meta-illocutionary verb is inflected for passive voice, and it is the primary verb *(to) be* (functioning as the auxiliary within the verb phrase) which is inflected for past tense, thereby anchoring the (felicitous) performance of the respective illocution in the past. Due to the meta-illocutionary verb being inflected for passive voice, the subject of the clause specifies the patient of the illocution (i.e., the congratulate, *Bishop Welby*), while the (second) adverbial of the clause specifies the by-agent (i.e., the congratulator, *the Methodist Church*, or rather an eligible representative of *the Methodist Church* by metonymy). In (114), the speaker uses the plural meta-illocutionary noun *congratulations* – as the head of the noun phrase *warm congratulations* – in combination with the ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) extend* in its present perfect form and thus temporally anchors (the beginning of) the (felicitous) performance of this illocution in the past. The specific ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) extend*, which otherwise occurs very infrequently in the present dataset, may be argued to foreground the spatial displacement of *Vice Premier Li Keqiang* (who has most probably traveled to Hong Kong to also *address the celebration ceremony*) relative to *the central government* (on whose behalf the Vice Premier performs the illocution and which is located in Beijing). In (115), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) congratulate* in its gerund form *congratulating*, which realizes the predicate of the non-finite subordinate clause *congratulating him*. Since the non-finite verb form does not anchor the performance of the relevant illocution on the temporal axis, the main verb of the superordinate clause, *(to) pay (a courtesy visit)*, must be considered. This verb specifies the action/event during/as part of which the illocution in question was (felicitously) performed and is inflected for past tense. The ‘completedness’ of the action of *paying (a courtesy visit)* and the ‘finishedness’ of the event of the *courtesy visit* itself – as suggested by the verb’s simple past form *paid* – is further reinforced by the temporal adverbial *earlier Tuesday*, which points (further) away from the deictic origo on the temporal axis. Thus,

since the performance of the illocution of congratulating is presented by the speaker as having occurred during/as part of the action/event of (*paying*) a *courtesy visit*, and since this action/event is completed or finished (as indicated by the past tense of the verb (*to*) *pay* and the temporal adverbial *earlier Tuesday*), the illocution in question must have necessarily also been (felicitously) performed and completed in the past. Overall, the *descriptive* use type of meta-illocutionary references to congratulating is characterized by temporally anchoring the (felicitous) performance of the illocution in the past. This is achieved, among other things, by tense inflections of meta-illocutionary verbs (both in active and in passive voice), ‘first-order verbs of performance’ (in combination with meta-illocutionary nouns), and verbs specifying actions/events as part of which the illocutions (represented by a non-finite meta-illocutionary verb) were performed.

The *meta-commenting* use type of references to congratulating was again characterized by expressions of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and identification associated with the performance of the illocution in question. As in references to some of the illocutions discussed above, some of these features occurred in clusters and others in isolation as illustrated by the examples below:

(116) As marketers we discuss commercials or campaigns that several companies run. **If it's a hit.** Send an email to the marketing department, congratulate them for the good job. (KE_CONGRATULATION_74)

(117) Zopa members **should be congratulated** for not only taking advantage of the great rates available, but also the very clever and sensible ways they are using what Zopa offers [...]. (GB_CONGRATULATION_98)

(118) Well talk about change; **is it in order** to congratulate the Kenya Defense Forces for their gallant victory in Kismayu? (KE_CONGRATULATION_53)

(119) **Patting on the back can be done** by a superior to indicate a job well done to a subordinate, or **to** greet in passing or congratulate a peer. (HK_CONGRATULATION_82)

In (116), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *congratulate* which can be argued to display ambiguity in terms of mood. Without the discursive context, it may appear as though the verb is inflected for imperative mood as the clause *congratulate them for the good job* does not seem to contain a subject. In this case, the speaker would create a state of deontic obligation associated with the performance of this illocution as part of the ‘taking effect’ of their directive illocution as indicated by the imperative mood of the meta-illocutionary verb. Taking into account the discursive context, however, it is also possible that the subject of this clause is *we*

which is omitted as part of anaphoric ellipsis. In this case, the meta-illocutionary verb shows indicative mood alongside first person, plural number, and present tense, meaning that the speaker does not express deontic obligation but rather habituality associated with the performance of the illocution in question. But regardless of whether or not the speaker expresses deontic obligation, this example still represents the *meta-commenting* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon due to the speaker's expression of conditionality associated with the performance of this illocution. Specifically, the speaker overtly marks the antecedent containing the preparatory condition of the illocution, viz. (*commercials or campaigns that several companies run*) *being a hit*, using the subordinating conjunction *if*. The meta-illocutionary verb, by contrast, appears in the unmarked consequent. Thus, the (conditional) obtaining of the preparatory condition results either in the habitual performance of the illocution by the group to which the speaker belongs (*we*) or in the speaker directing the hearer to perform this illocution and thereby creating a state of deontic obligation. In (117), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *congratulate* inflected for passive voice in combination with the modal auxiliary *should* which unambiguously expresses deontic obligation associated with the performance of the illocution in question. Due to the passive construction and the lack of a by-agent, the speaker further entextualizes the congratulatee (i.e., thematic patient, *Zopa members*) but not the congratulator (i.e., thematic agent). In (118), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *congratulate* in its non-finite form realizing the predicate of the subordinate clause *to congratulate the Kenya Defense Forces for their gallant victory in Kismayu*. This subordinate clause is further cataphorically referred to by the pronoun *it* realizing (as the head of the noun phrase *it*) the subject function of the interrogative clause. In combination with *in order* expressing deontic obligation, the speaker can be said to ask for or question this obligation associated with performing the specific illocution. As explicated above, the use of a question – in the form of an interrogative clause – functions as an amplifier of the presented conceptual incongruity between the speaker's and the hearer's understanding of (the felicity of) the illocution in question. In (119), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *congratulate* in its non-finite form realizing the predicate of the subordinate clause (*to*) *congratulate a peer*. Thematically, this subordinate clause realizes the role of purpose with regard to the action specified by the main verb, viz. (*to*) *do* or (*to*) *be done*, which further refers to the action specified in the subordinate clause realizing the subject, viz. *patting on the back*. Moreover, the modal auxiliary *can* expresses deontic permission associated with performing the action of *patting on the back* with the purpose of *congratulating a peer*, and the presented parallel performance of (formally) *patting on the back* and (functionally) *congratulating a peer* implies

an identification of these two actions, at least as intended by the congratulator. Overall, the *meta-commenting* use type of references to congratulating are characterized by expression of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and identification associated with the performance of the illocution in question, with expressions of (deontic) modality being clearly prevalent in the present dataset.

The *mixed* category of meta-illocutionary references to congratulating included examples displaying an overlap of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type. Interestingly, overlaps of the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type were, by contrast, (almost) non-existent. The examples below illustrate selected aspects of the overlap of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type:

(120) There are 3 steps: # Take the current period subtract the previous period (the cash difference) # Then divide the outcome by the previous period and # Then multiply the answer by 100 (to convert to a percentage) # **If your answer is positive, congratulations**, you've got sales growth. (GB_CONGRATULATION_37)

(121) Today is the day when the contest was shut down, the numbers were randomized, and we picked a winner. **Join me in congratulating** i love storms for the awesome One X+ he has heading his way. (HK_CONGRATULATION_91)

(122) Finally, **allow me to use this blog to congratulate the Hon, P. O. Alengot**, the 19 year old Ugandan who was recently elected to parliament after the death of his father. (KE_CONGRATULATION_64)

In (120), the speaker uses the plural meta-illocutionary noun *congratulations* as part of an elliptical performative construction and thereby ostensibly performs the illocution of congratulating. However, the speaker further ties their performance of this illocution to the (preparatory) condition that *(the hearer's) answer is positive* as explicated in the antecedent which is overtly marked by the subordinating conjunction *if*. The elliptical performative construction, by contrast, is part of the consequent which is not overtly marked. In other words, the speaker expresses conditionality associated with their own performance of the illocution of congratulating, which represents an overlap of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. In (121), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) congratulate* in its present participle form functioning as the predicate of the non-finite subordinate clause *congratulating i love storms for the awesome One X+ he has heading his way*. In addition, the speaker directs the hearer(s) to *join* the speaker (*me*) in performing the illocution of congratulating by inflecting the verb *(to) join* for imperative mood. The speaker's

use of the present participle form of the meta-illocutionary item (also in combination with the choice and the mood inflection of the verb *(to) join*) implies that the speaker is performing the (ongoing) act of congratulating at the time of utterance, which in terms of discursive anchoring is representative of the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. By using the verb *(to) join* and inflecting it for imperative mood, however, the speaker further directs the hearer(s) to also perform the illocution of congratulating as the speaker is doing themselves at the time of utterance. Consequently, the speaker creates a deontic state of obligation for the hearer(s) to also perform this illocution as part of the ‘taking effect’ of the *directive* illocution indicated by the imperative mood of the verb *(to) join*. This creation of a deontic state is, of course, reflective of the *meta-commenting* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. In (122), the speaker uses the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) congratulate* in its infinitive form realizing the predicate of the non-finite subordinate clause *to congratulate the Hon. P. O. Alengot [...]*. Moreover, the speaker directs the hearer(s) to allow them (*me*) to use the blog to perform the respective illocution by inflecting the verb *(to) allow* for imperative mood. The use of the verb *(to) allow* further indicates deontic permission, meaning that the speaker specifically directs the hearer(s) to grant the speaker deontic permission to use the blog to perform the illocution. Expressing (or asking for) deontic permission associated with the performance of an illocution is indicative of the *meta-commenting* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. However, in asking for deontic permission, the speaker may further be argued to actually perform the illocution at the time of utterance. This is because requesting deontic permission constitutes a conventionally indirect strategy of performing an illocution, and because the speaker already uses the blog to which they reflexively refer by using the pronoun *this (blog)*. Although the formal realization of the direct request for deontic permission is somewhat unusual (i.e., an imperative clause containing the lexical verb *(to) allow* rather than an interrogative clause containing the modal auxiliaries *can* or *may*), it still fulfils the requirement of a conventionally indirect realization strategy of congratulating. In this view, the hearer’s granting deontic permission to use the blog to perform the illocution of congratulating is presented by the speaker as given without having to be explicated. Due to the lack of information on hearer uptake, which could retroactively disambiguate this example in favor of either the *meta-commenting* use type (e.g., by the hearer explicitly granting permission) or the *performative* use type (e.g., by the hearer or other participants commenting on the speaker’s felicitous illocution), the use type of the meta-illocutionary item remains ambiguous in this case. In general, the *mixed* category in meta-illocutionary references to congratulating contains examples displaying an overlap of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type mainly due to expressions of conditionality or

modality associated with the potential performance of this illocution in the discursive here-and-now.

Overall, meta-illocutionary references to congratulating are characterized by a quantitative preference for the *performative* use type, which is, however, by far not as distinct as in meta-illocutionary references to thanking. In that regard, references to congratulating occupy a middle position between references to thanking, which are dominated by the *performative* use type on the one hand, and references to apologizing, which are balanced in terms of use type distribution and even slightly favor the *descriptive* use type, on the other. Moreover, ‘cross-regional’ differences in use type distribution are virtually non-existent, not only in references to congratulating but in references to all *expressive* illocutions more generally. In terms of qualitative use type realization, the *performative* use type was mainly realized by full and clipped forms of (plural) nominal elliptical references followed by explicit performative constructions, hedged performative constructions, and other, conventionally and non-conventionally indirect realizations. The *descriptive* use type was characterized by temporally anchoring the (felicitous) performance of the illocution in the past, which was mainly achieved by tense inflections of the meta-illocutionary verb (both in active and in passive voice), ‘first-order verbs of performance’ in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun, or verbs indicating the event during which the performance of the illocution occurred. The *meta-commenting* use type was characterized by expressions of conditionality, (deontic) modality, and identification associated with (the performance of) the illocution in question, in which expressions of (deontic) modality were the most prevalent. Finally, the *mixed* category mainly contained examples which displayed an overlap of the *performative* and the *meta-commenting* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, which was due to the performance of the respective illocution in the discursive here-and-now being either tied to conditions or combined with expressions of (deontic) modality.

4.3 Entextualization patterns in meta-illocutionary references

The present sub-chapter presents qualitative and quantitative aspects of entextualization patterns pertaining to the setting associated with the performance of the illocutionary acts in question (sub-chapter 4.3.1), concomitant constitutive acts of the respective speech acts as wholes (sub-chapter 4.3.2), and corresponding felicity conditions (sub-chapter 4.3.3). In doing so, selected similarities and differences between illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-

corpora are highlighted. Importantly, the present sub-chapter explores only the most salient (similarities and differences in) entextualization patterns – needless to say, occasional exceptions to these patterns also exist in the data.

4.3.1 Setting

The parameter type *setting* consists of the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, and *place*. In this analysis, the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* refer to the speakers and hearers of the respective illocutions (i.e., requester and requestee, thanker and thankee, etc.) rather than those of the utterances containing the relevant meta-illocutionary items (i.e., bloggers). Of course, these speaker and hearer roles may, but do not have to, overlap. Since the relationship between the speaker and the hearer of an illocution may directly affect the obtaining of its preparatory condition (especially in *directives*), entextualization patterns of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* will be dealt with jointly (sub-chapter 4.3.1.1), followed by entextualization patterns regarding the parameters *time* (sub-chapter 4.3.1.2) and *place* (sub-chapter 4.3.1.3).

4.3.1.1 *Speaker and hearer*

The parameters *speaker* and *hearer* and their entextualizations represent the co-participants of the interaction as part of which the illocution(s) in question was/were performed. Consequently, these parameters and their entextualizations are constitutive elements not only of the pertinent social context in general (see also sub-chapter 2.1.2) but also of felicity conditions of the relevant illocutions in particular. While co-participant roles (i.e., *speaker* and *hearer*) are constitutive elements of the felicity conditions of (virtually) every illocution, particular illocutions may require additional specifications as to the co-participants' relationship as well as their previous encounters and/or (inter-)actions. Regarding previous encounters and/or (inter-) actions, for instance, the illocution of thanking requires a previous action by the hearer (i.e., benefactor, thankee) which is (believed to be) beneficial to the speaker (i.e., beneficiary, thanker) (Searle 1969: 67), whereas the illocution of apologizing requires a previous action by the speaker (i.e., offender, apologizer) which is (believed to be) offensive to the hearer (i.e., offeree, apologizee) (Ogiermann 2009: 46). Regarding the co-participants' relationship, the felicity conditions of most illocutions are underspecified for particular social constellations among the co-participants (regarding, e.g., age, gender, or region), although these social roles and identities may, of course, be reflected in speech act realizations. However, the felicity

conditions of some illocutions – most relevantly the illocution of commanding (alongside others such as ordering and summoning) – require an institutional relationship between the co-participants (within institutions such as religion or the military), in this case including an asymmetrical distribution of power in favor of the speaker (i.e., commander). All in all, the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*, their respective entextualizations, and the explicated or implied (social or institutional) relationship between co-participants can be said to reflect different facets of social context as accommodated in various forms by the felicity conditions of the illocutions considered for the present purposes.

From a quantitative point of view, the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* were entextualized relatively often across all illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora. However, the parameter *speaker* was entextualized notably more often than the parameter *hearer*. Variation across illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora, by contrast, was low overall. Selected combinations of (non-)entextualizations of these two parameters are illustrated in the following examples:

(123) Now the tables are turned, **Rossi** munches large on the humble pie &; begs **his old girlfriend** to take him back... " please baby... please ". (GB_BEG_69)

(124) **A Libyan government spokesman** apologised for the premature announcement of Khamis Gaddafi's death. (KE_APOLOGY_88)

(125) **ICANN** has received requests for changes to submitted applications. (KE_REQUEST_50)

(126) In stark contrast to the strong urban feel, the air was filled with the smell of fresh flowers from all the congratulations and good luck bouquets that are a big Hong Kong tradition. (HK_CONGRATULATION_41)

Example (123) contains entextualizations of both the parameter *speaker* (i.e., beggar, *Rossi*) and the parameter *hearer* (i.e., beggee, *his old girlfriend*). Example (124) contains an entextualization of the parameter *speaker* (i.e., apologizer, *a Libyan government spokesman*) but no entextualization of the parameter *hearer* (i.e., apologizee). Example (125) contains no entextualization of the parameter *speaker* (i.e., requester), but an entextualization of the parameter *hearer* (i.e., requestee, *ICANN*). Finally, example (126) contains neither an entextualization of the parameter *speaker* (i.e., congratulator) nor an entextualization of the parameter *hearer* (i.e., congratulatee). Across all illocutions, illocutionary types, and varieties considered in the present study, examples containing entextualizations of both *speaker* and *hearer* or of *speaker* only accounted for the overwhelming majority of the dataset. By contrast,

entextualizations of *hearer* only occurred rather infrequently, and entextualizations of none of these parameters were exceedingly rare.

While quantitative aspects are largely similar across illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora, there are notable qualitative differences in entextualization patterns of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*. A first broad distinction can be made between references to *directive* illocutions and references to *expressive* illocutions: In references to *directive* illocutions, entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* mainly refer to third parties which are not part of the ongoing exchange, whereas in references to *expressive* illocutions, entextualizations of these parameters mainly refer to the speaker and the hearer (i.e., the bloggers) of the ongoing exchange respectively. References to apologizing constitute an exception to this general pattern as they display a relatively balanced distribution of both third parties and participants of the ongoing exchange as entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*. Otherwise, the general difference between references to *directives* and *expressives* in entextualizations of these parameters is very stable, barring a few exceptions. But despite the general stability of the difference between illocutionary types, there are also distinct illocution-specific entextualization patterns regarding these parameters, especially across *directive* illocutions. Specifically, references to requesting mainly favor (representatives of) businesses and/or political entities, references to commanding mainly favor representatives of military, religious, or governmental authorities as well as their subordinates, and references to begging mainly favor private persons as entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* respectively. There are no such distinct differences across references to individual *expressive* illocutions, where entextualizations of these parameters mainly refer to the participants of the ongoing interaction. References to apologizing, which constitute an exception to the pattern observed in references to *expressive* illocutions, contain both (representatives of) businesses and/or political entities and private persons as entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*. The examples below illustrate selected aspects of both the illocution-type-specific and illocution-specific similarities and differences in entextualization patterns regarding the relevant parameters:

(127) At the request of **the Chinese Delegation**, **the White House** arranged a " quintessentially American " evening. (HK_REQUEST_36)

(128) Two years into the job, according to the lawsuit, **Boudlal** asked permission to wear a hijab while at work. [...] But **Disney managers** denied **her request**, saying it would violate the company's policy for how employees " look " while on the job. (KE_REQUEST_24)

(129) **Jesus** knew the oppressive nature of secular kings, and in contrast to them, he connected his role as king to humble service, and commanded **his followers** to be servants as well. (KE_COMMAND_78)

(130) As one speaker said this week -- it is naive and simplistic to say that civilian control over the military means that **the military** should undertake whatever command is given to them, no matter how stupid. (GB_COMMAND_16)

(131) **Jem** comes up with the idea to go and retrieve his pants at night, and **Scout** becomes sensible and begs **him** not to go. (HK_BEG_67)

(132) Thank you Ben for being a great ghost hunter! (GB_THANK_74)

(133) I do agree with you, there is no point arguing over the internet.. and **I** do apologize for hijacking **your** blog here. (HK_APOLOGY_66)

(134) In 1992, **former president Daniel Arap Moi** apologized to **some Degodia elders** and attempted to set up a trust fund for the survivors and their families. (KE_APLOGY_96)

(135) Congratulations on hitting the hundred - what an amazing accomplishment. (GB_CONGRATULATION_35)

Examples (127)-(131) each contain a meta-illocutionary reference to a *directive* illocution, which often co-occurs with a reference to third parties in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*. Examples (127) and (128) illustrate references to politics and business representatives as entextualizations of these parameters in meta-illocutionary references to requesting. In (127), the *speaker* (i.e., requester) is *the Chinese delegation* and the *hearer* (i.e., requestee) is *the White House*. The entextualizations of both the requester and the requestee are metonymical as the actual participants of the interaction involving the relevant request must have been representatives or other eligible members acting on behalf of *the Chinese delegation* and *the White House* respectively. Clearly, the parameters of *speaker* and *hearer* are entextualized by means of (metonymical) references to political entities, thus further permitting an inference regarding the event motivating the interaction and the performance of the illocution, viz. a (forthcoming) state visit. In (128), the *speaker* (i.e., requester) is *Boudlal* and the *hearers* (i.e., requestees) are *Disney managers*. In this case, the requestees are business representatives (*managers*) of a corporation, *Disney*, which is the employer (see *job*) of the requester. The requester themselves is referred to by their last name only (*Boudlal*). While the illocution in question has been performed as part of an institutional interaction between (representatives of) an employer and an employee, this interaction further constitutes an object of investigation of a lawsuit, which itself is institutional in nature. Thus, both examples containing meta-illocutionary references to requesting include references to institutional entities (both in business and politics) entextualizing the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*. Examples (129) and (130) illustrate references to religious and military hierarchy positions in

entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* in meta-illocutionary references to commanding. In (129), the *speaker* (i.e., commander) is *Jesus*, and the *hearers* (i.e., commandees) are *his followers*. In this example, the commander occupies a position of religious authority as *Jesus* is believed in Christianity to be the incarnation of God the Son, thus making him the central figure of this religion. The commandees, by contrast, are inferiors within this hierarchy, which is emphasized by the foregrounding of the action of *following* in the entextualization of the parameter *hearer*. Therefore, the commander is clearly in a position of (religious) authority and power over the commandees, which is also required by the preparatory condition of this illocution. In (130), *the military* constitutes the tentative entextualization of the parameter *hearer* (i.e., commandee), but there is no entextualization of the parameter *speaker* (i.e., commander). This is consistent with the permissible lack of a thematic agent in passive constructions as reflected in the passive voice inflection of the ‘first-order verb of performance’ (*to*) *give* (in combination with the meta-illocutionary noun *command*). Despite the lack of an entextualization of the commander, it can still be inferred that the (unentextualized) commander – which must exist by definition – is in a position of institutional power and/or authority over the commandee by virtue of the preparatory condition of the illocution of commanding. Moreover, since the example includes a reference to the doctrine warranting the relevant hierarchy (i.e., *civilian control over the military*), it can further be inferred that the (unentextualized) commander is (a representative of) the respective state’s civil authority or government. Overall, examples (129) and (130) both contain entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and/or *hearer* by referring to people or entities occupying different positions within a religious, military, or governmental hierarchy. In cases where one of the two parameters is not entextualized, the existence of the relevant hierarchy and the asymmetrical power relationship between the participants may still be inferred by virtue of the relevant preparatory condition of commanding, which is presupposed to obtain by default. Example (131) illustrates references to private persons in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* in meta-illocutionary references to begging. In this example, the *speaker* (i.e., beggar) is *Scout* and the hearer (i.e., beggee) is *Jem*. Other than in meta-illocutionary references to requesting and commanding, the beggar and the beggee are entextualized by their given names only (rather than their last names, their occupation, or their institutional position), thereby increasing the presented degree of proximity and familiarity. In contrast to references to requesting and commanding, it is the personal relationship rather than the institutional relationship which is foregrounded between the *speaker* (i.e., beggar) and the *hearer* (i.e., beggee) involved in the performance of the illocution of begging. Overall, entextualizations of

the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* in meta-illocutionary references to *directive* illocutions mainly include references to third parties which do not participate in the ongoing interaction. In references to requesting, these parameters are entextualized by references to (representatives of) entities in business and politics, in references to commanding, they are entextualized by references to (representatives of) entities within a religious, military, or governmental hierarchy, and in references to begging, they are commonly entextualized by references to private persons who are primarily socially rather than institutionally related.

Examples (132)-(135) each contain a meta-illocutionary reference to an *expressive* illocution, which often co-occurs with references to the speaker and the hearer of the ongoing interaction in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*. In (132), the *hearer* (i.e., thankee) is *Ben*, who is at the same time the hearer of the ongoing utterance (*you*), but there is no overt entextualization of the *speaker* (i.e., thanker). In this case, the thankee is doubly entextualized, first by the second-person pronoun *you* referring to the hearer of the utterance and second by the given name *Ben* functioning as an address term expressing proximity and equality between the speaker and the hearer. Although the parameter *speaker* (i.e., thanker) is not entextualized, its value can still be inferred based on both the conventional syntactic completion of the elliptical clause *thank you* (i.e., *I thank you*) and the conventional pragmatic function of the utterance *thank you* (i.e., an explicit performative realization of the illocution of thanking). Specifically, the thanker must be the speaker of the ongoing utterance as expressed both by the added first-person pronoun *I* referring to the speaker themselves and by way of the explicit performative function of the utterance. Examples (133) and (134) illustrate the balance between references to third parties and references to the speaker and hearer of the ongoing utterances in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* in meta-illocutionary references to apologizing. In (133), the *speaker* (i.e., apologizer) is the speaker of the ongoing utterance (*I*), but there is no entextualization of the *hearer* (i.e., apologizee). The speaker of the ongoing utterance identifies themselves as the apologizer by using the first-person pronoun *I* within the explicit performative construction *I apologize [...]*. Although the parameter *hearer* (i.e., apologizee) is not entextualized, its value can be inferred based on the entextualization of the content of the apology, viz. *hijacking your blog here*, where the pronoun *your* refers to the hearer of the utterance. Since the speaker's hijacking of the hearer's blog is entextualized as the content of the apology (thereby implying that hijacking the hearer's blog constitutes an obtaining of the particularized preparatory condition of the apology), and since the hearer's blog can be said to be within the sphere of influence of the hearer themselves (thus warranting the use of the genitive case in the personal pronoun *your* expressing possession), the hearer of

the utterance can most certainly be concluded to be the unentextualized apologizee in this example. In (134), the *speaker* (i.e., apologizer) is *former president Daniel Arap Moi* and the *hearers* (i.e., apologizees) are *some Degodia elders*. The apologizer is entextualized both by their full name (*Daniel Arap Moi*) and by a reference to their institutional occupation (*former president*). The apologizees are entextualized by a reference to the name of their clan (*Degodia*), a reference to their age and (by implication) also their hierarchical position within this clan (*elders*), and a quantifier (*some*). Other than in (133), the participants involved in the performance of the apology in question are clearly not involved in the ongoing interaction and can therefore be conceptualized as third parties which, in addition, engage in institutional discourse of political relevance. In that regard, entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* are similar to meta-illocutionary references to requesting and different from meta-illocutionary references to other *expressive* illocutions. Overall, meta-illocutionary references to apologizing display a balance in entextualizations of these parameters between the participants involved in the ongoing interaction and third parties not involved in the ongoing interaction. Example (134) contains a reference to the illocution of congratulating. However, neither the parameter *speaker* (i.e., congratulator) nor the parameter *hearer* (i.e., congratulatee) are entextualized in this example. Nonetheless, the values of both parameters can still be inferred based on both the conventional syntactic completion of the elliptical clause *congratulations* (i.e., *I express my congratulations (to you)*, which is a functional equivalent of *I (hereby) congratulate you*) and the conventional pragmatic function of the utterance *congratulations* (i.e., an explicit performative realization of the illocution of congratulating). Consequently, the congratulator must be the speaker of the ongoing utterance as expressed by the added first-person pronoun *I* referring to the speaker themselves, and the congratulatee must be the hearer of the ongoing utterance as expressed by the added second-person pronoun *you*. This interpretation is further reinforced by the performative function of the utterance conventionally anchoring (the performance of) the respective illocution in the immediate communicative situation (i.e., the discursive here-and-now). Overall, entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* in meta-illocutionary references to *expressive* illocutions mainly include references to the speaker and the hearer of the ongoing utterance, often by means of first-person and second-person pronouns. In cases where these parameters are not entextualized, their values may be inferred based on the performative function of and/or other material within the respective utterance. While the presented entextualization patterns regarding the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* hold particularly true for references to thanking and congratulating, references to apologizing constitute an exception as they display a balance between participants

of the ongoing interaction on the one hand, and (institutional) third parties not participating in the ongoing interaction on the other.

While there is notable variation in entextualization patterns of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* across (references to) illocutions and illocution types, variation across sub-corpora is minor by comparison. However, there is one notable ‘cross-regional’ difference which pertains to entextualizations of the parameter *speaker* in meta-illocutionary references to commanding. Specifically, while the position of religious authority is expressed by *Lord*, *God*, *Jesus*, *Christ*, etc. across all sub-corpora selected for the present purposes, GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE (unlike the GloWbE HK dataset) further include references to *Allah*. The following examples are cases in point:

(136) **Allah** commands **you** to render back your trust to those to whom they are due and not to break your oath. (GB_COMMAND_97)

(137) A ram was sacrificed instead of Ishmael on **Allah's** command. (KE_COMMAND_24)

In both examples, *Allah* is entextualized as the *speaker* (i.e., commander) of the command in question. There is, however, variation in the entextualization of the parameter *hearer* (i.e., commandee): In (136), it is the hearer(s) of the ongoing interaction who are presented as the commandees (by means of the second-person pronoun *you*), whereas in (137), this parameter is not entextualized. Based on the presupposed obtaining of the relevant preparatory condition, however, it is possible to infer that both the hearer(s) of the ongoing interaction in (136) and the unentextualized hearer in (137) are both in an inferior position to the *speaker* (i.e., commander, *Allah*) within the respective religious hierarchy. Apart from this notable ‘cross-regional’ difference, entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* are otherwise highly similar across the three sub-corpora.

4.3.1.2 Time

The parameter *time* is entextualized very often in the present dataset. Entextualizations of this parameter are highly diverse, ranging from obligatory grammatical specifications of tense and aspect in pertinent verb phrases – that is, verb phrases containing a meta-illocutionary verb, a ‘first-order verb of performance’, or a verb specifying the respective perlocutionary effect as their main verbs – to non-obligatory lexical and phrasal specifications of time, often in the form

of temporal adverbials. While temporal adverbials establish relatively specific temporal anchorings of the relevant actions (i.e., illocutions) relative to the time of the ongoing interaction, either in absolute terms (e.g., *in 1991*) or in relative terms (e.g., *yesterday*), grammatical specifications of tense and aspect establish more general anchorings of the relevant actions in external, relative time (Comrie 1985) as well as internal, unfolding time (Comrie 1976) respectively. Specifically, tense constitutes a deictic category which anchors actions, events, or situations in the metaphysical category of time by relating it to another point in time, often the present interaction, whereas aspect constitutes a non-deictic category focusing on the “internal temporal constituency” (Comrie 1976: 3) of an action, event, or situation, mainly including (sub-types of) their duration or completion. In English, tense and aspect are often distinctly marked by means of inflectional suffixes attached to main verbs within a verb phrase, such as the common past tense inflection *-ed* in regular verbs or the imperfective, continuous aspect inflection *-ing*. In some cases, however, the categories of tense and aspect partially conflate in the sense that specific tense markings commonly imply various specifications of aspect, especially if the latter is not marked (for perfect, progressive, or both). For instance, the use of a simple past verb form implies non-continuity and completion of the respective action in that it indicates that it began and ended at a specific, though sometimes unmentioned, point in the past, whereas the use of a simple present form may imply habituality or repetition associated with the respective action, or permanence and general truth associated with the respective state or event. Apart from these general implications of aspect, simple present forms may further be used for rhetorical purposes as exemplified by the ‘narrative present’ or the historical present. Expressions of futurity also imply non-continuity and completion of an action in the future (just like simple past forms do regarding the past), although futurity itself – despite being clearly related to time – is conceived as a modal category rather than a tense category in English (Giannakidou & Mari 2018) and has been treated as such in the present study, most prominently in the disambiguation of use types of the meta-illocutionary lexicon (see sub-chapter 2.3.2.1). Accounting for the overall complexity and variety in expressions of time, the following examples illustrate selected (combinations of) entextualizations of the parameter *time* related to the performance of the relevant illocutions found in the present dataset:

(138) Laban **begged** Jacob not to go away from his land because he realized that since Jacob came into his life things changed. (KE_BEG_50)

(139) The newspaper [...] **expressed** their deepest apologies for the negative impact and uncivil treatment of colleagues in the Hainan media. (HK_APOLOGY_28)

(140) **Thank** you for sharing your experiences and thoughts. (GB_THANK_70)

(141) We now find ourselves in the thrall of the hysterical, catering to their every delicate sensitivity. What next? **Will** players drop to their knees and **apologise** to fans of former clubs for a good tackle? (GB_APOLOGY_65)

(142) I **offer** you my congratulations **on this day of your graduation** and I send you all of my very best wishes. (HK_CONGRATULATION_50)

(143) **On the last day of the fiscal year (September 30)** a request for proposals **was released** by USAID to CEPPS, a consortium of IRI, NDI and IFES, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. (KE_REQUEST_6)

In (138), the parameter *time* is entextualized by the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) beg*, with its past tense inflection anchoring the performance of this illocution in the *past* relative to the ongoing interaction and its simple aspect presenting this performance as unitary and completed. Moreover, due to the ancillary temporal meaning of the subordinating conjunction *because* (in addition to its core causative meaning), it may further be inferred that the respective illocution was performed after the respective *speaker* (i.e., beggar, *Laban*) *realized that since Jacob came into his life things changed*. In (139), the parameter *time* is entextualized by the ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) express* in combination with the meta-illocutionary noun apologies, where the past tense inflection of the ‘first-order verb of performance’ also anchors the performance of this illocution in the *past* relative to the ongoing interaction and the simple aspect also presents this performance as unitary and completed. But due to *the negative impact and uncivil treatment of colleagues in the Hainan media* entextualizing the content of the apology, thereby implying that the corresponding preparatory condition(s) (i.e., a negative impact, an uncivil treatment of colleagues in the Hainan media) obtain, it may further be inferred that the apology was further performed (or *expressed*) after *the negative impact and uncivil treatment of colleagues in the Hainan media*. In (140), the parameter *time* is entextualized primarily by the tense of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank*, which anchors the performance of this illocution in the *present*. However, due to *sharing your experiences and thoughts* entextualizing the content of the illocution, thereby implying that the corresponding preparatory condition (i.e., the hearer/thankee sharing their experiences and thoughts) obtains, it may further be inferred that this illocution of thanking is further performed after the hearer/thankee has *shared their experiences and thoughts*. In (141), the parameter *time* is entextualized by the verb phrase *will apologise*, where the modal auxiliary *will* expresses futurity and thus tentatively anchors the performance of the illocution of apologizing in the *future* relative to the ongoing interaction, and where the simple aspect tentatively presents this performance as unitary and (to be) completed. But due to *a good tackle* tentatively entextualizing the content of the illocution,

thereby implying that the corresponding preparatory condition (i.e., the apologizer having made a good tackle) obtains, it may further be inferred that this illocution of apologizing will further be performed after the *good tackle*. But needless to say, the feature of futurity expressed in this example renders the contextual anchoring of the relevant illocution metaphysically indeterminate by definition. In (142), the parameter *time* is entextualized both by the tense of the ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) offer* (in combination with the plural meta-illocutionary noun *congratulations*) and by the temporal adverbial *on this day of your graduation*. The ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) offer*, which itself is a meta-illocutionary verb, anchors the performance of the illocution of congratulating in the *present*. The temporal adverbial *on this day of your graduation* further specifies the time of performance, which is achieved by the noun *day* specifying the relevant temporal unit and the pronoun *this* reflexively referring to the day of the interaction itself (i.e., the discursive here-and-now). Moreover, the day of utterance is further *the day of the congratulatee’s graduation*, which (implicitly) constitutes the preparatory condition and the corresponding content of this illocution. In (143), the parameter *time* is entextualized by the passive ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) be released* (in combination with the meta-illocutionary noun *request*) and by the temporal adverbial *on the last day of the fiscal year (September 30)*. The tense of the passive ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) be released* anchors the performance of the illocution of requesting in the *past*, and its aspect presents this performance as unitary and completed. The temporal adverbial *on the last day of the fiscal year (September 30)* further specifies the time of performance, both relative to the ongoing interaction (i.e., the respective *fiscal year*) and in absolute terms (i.e., *the last day, September 30*). Overall, the parameter *time* is entextualized in almost all cases by tense inflections and aspect inflections of pertinent verbs and may further be complemented by temporal adverbials and other implicatures specifying the respective time (frame) either in absolute terms or in relation to the ongoing utterance.

While past and future forms of meta-illocutionary verbs or verbs associated with meta-illocutionary nouns quite unambiguously anchor the performance of the relevant illocution in the *past* and the *future* respectively, present forms are much more ambiguous in that regard. As mentioned above, this is mainly due to the partial conflation of the English means of expressing tense and aspect (and modality, especially in expressions of futurity) in general, and due to the fuzzy scope of the ‘simple’ aspect (encompassing, e.g., perfectivity, habituality, and the permanence of states) in combination with the present tense in particular. Additionally, present tense forms may also be used for rhetorical purposes as reflected, among other things, in the ‘narrative present’ or the historical present. Therefore, the usage of present tense forms of meta-

illocutionary verbs or verbs associated with meta-illocutionary nouns were subjected to additional scrutiny regarding the situatedness of the relevant action in time, encompassing both tense and aspect (and modality). Three pertinent examples are illustrated below:

(144) This one guy who **begs** near Yaya Center, old cat, real eloquent, all round cool dude is victim of leprosy, he normally gets my coins and has never once asked for them. (KE_BEG_71)

(145) While the Bible **commands** mankind to 'work and keep' the garden of earth as its stewards, the sin that brought about the judgment of the Flood was NOT violence against the environment as depicted in the script, it was violence against God and his image in man. (GB_COMMAND_94)

(146) The doctor is satisfied and Rocio gets her mirror. We see her and there are just very faint scars on her cheeks. She's thrilled and says she's like she was before. JM **congratulates** the doctor. (KE_CONGRATULATION_76)

In (144), the present tense form of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg* ostensibly anchors the performance of the illocution of begging in the *present* but further expresses habituality associated with the performance of this illocution. Habituality can, however, only be (felicitously) claimed based on past evidence suggesting repetition and/or recurrence of the action (i.e., illocution) in question, which is expected to extend into the present (broadly conceived) and possibly also the future. In other words, the habitual present expresses, in a sense, the speaker's justified expectation regarding the performance of the relevant action in the *present* based on repeated evidence from the *past*, thus implying the existence of repeated felicitous performances of this action in the past despite the present tense of the meta-illocutionary verb. In (145), the present tense form of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *command* also anchors the performance of the illocution of commanding in the *present*, and its simple aspect can be argued to indicate a general truth as well as a permanent state of affairs associated with this command. While the command in question was supposedly and probably performed by a representative of God and codified by the author of the respective book or chapter belonging to the *Bible* in the *past*, its force is not temporally bound and thus permanent, at least to *mankind* or, by implication, faithful Christians who acknowledge the existence of God, religious hierarchy in Christianity, and their own inferior position within this hierarchy, among other things. Since the illocutionary force of the command is ubiquitous and not temporally bound, it can be said to always be situated in the *present* despite its supposed 'impetus' in the far *past*, thus entailing that the conceptualization of the *present* itself becomes indefinite and potentially all-encompassing. In (146), the present tense form of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *congratulate* also ostensibly anchors the performance of the illocution of congratulating in

the *present*. However, this present tense form is reflective of the rhetorical strategy ‘narrative present’, in which actions performed in the *past* are conventionally represented by present tense forms of the respective verbs. Therefore, the illocution of congratulating referred to by the respective meta-illocutionary verb is most likely to have been felicitously performed in the *past* despite the verb itself being inflected for present tense. Overall, many non-performative uses of meta-illocutionary verbs or other verbs (in combination with meta-illocutionary nouns) inflected for present tense, in fact, temporally anchor the performance of the respective illocutions partially in the *past* rather than the *present*. This is mainly due to expressions of habituality based on recurrent evidence in the *past*, expressions of indefiniteness or permanence of a state of affairs implying an ‘impetus’ in the *past*, or the rhetorical strategy ‘narrative present’ characterized by the conventional use of the present tense to narrate stories including actions situated in the *past*, each of which is compatible with uses of present tense and simple aspect forms of pertinent verbs or verb phrases.

While differences across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE were again minimal in entextualizations of the parameter *time*, a very distinct pattern emerged across illocutionary types and, to a degree, also across individual illocutions. Specifically, performances of *directive* illocutions were mainly anchored in the *past*, whereas performances of *expressive* illocutions were mainly anchored in the *present*. Temporal anchorings in the *future*, by contrast, were found only very rarely in the present study’s overall dataset. The only notable exception to the above-mentioned pattern across illocutionary types is found in references to apologizing, which display a balance between temporal anchorings in the *past* and the *present*. The following examples illustrate the overall pattern:

(147) He said he **made** the request **last week at the same time he issued a statement on his property**. (HK_REQUEST_34)

(148) The 3rd Commandment **commands** us to sanctify Sunday as the Lord's Day. (KE_COMMAND_94)

(149) I would continually say to Mum please let's leave. She wouldn't. She would say this is my home. I **begged** her **continuously** to leave. Eventually I stopped asking. (GB_BEG_46)

(150) **Thank** you so much for providing this blog for people to read! (HK_THANK_65)

(151) I **apologise** to everyone who follows my blog closely, for the lack of blogging action, but I can assure you, you haven't missed much. (KE_APOLOGY_46)

(152) The prime minister **apologised** to the aboriginals **in 2008** for the 'stolen generation' of children. (GB_APOLOGY_87)

(153) But anyway, congrats to China for having finally moved one step closer to USA. (HK_CONGRATULATION_69)

In (147), the parameter *time* is assigned the general value *past* by means of the past tense inflection of the ‘first-order verb of performance’ *(to) make* in combination with the meta-illocutionary noun *request*, and the specific values *last week* in relation to the ongoing utterance and *at the same time he issued a statement on his property* in absolute terms, both by means of the respective temporal adverbials. Moreover, simple aspect of the ‘first-order verb of performance’ presents the performance of the relevant request as unitary and completed in the past. In (148), the parameter *time* is ostensibly assigned the general value *present* due to the present tense inflection of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) command*. Due to this form further expressing aspectual indefiniteness or permanence of a state of affairs, however, the example effectively anchors the performance of the relevant command in the far *past* (i.e., when the ten commandments were supposedly revealed and/or codified), although the respective illocutionary force’s ubiquity and temporal unboundedness allows for an indefinite conceptualization of the *present*. In (149), the parameter *time* is assigned only the general value *past* by means of the past tense inflection of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) beg*. Additionally, the temporal adverb *continuously* expresses continuity in terms of the temporal extendedness of the action of begging over time (albeit restricted to the *past*).

In (150), the parameter *time* is assigned the general value *present* by means of the present tense inflection of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank*. Moreover, due to *providing this blog for people to read* entextualizing the content of the particularized illocution of thanking, thereby implying that the corresponding preparatory condition (i.e., the thankee having provided this blog for people to read) obtains, however, it may further be inferred that this illocution is performed after the thankee’s *providing this blog for people to read*. In (151), the parameter *time* is also assigned the general value *present* by means of the present tense inflection of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologize*. Here, too, the entextualization of the content (i.e., *the lack of blogging action*), which implies the obtaining of the corresponding preparatory condition (i.e., the apologizer’s lack of blogging action), further permits the inference that the apology is performed after *the lack of blogging action*. In (152), by contrast, the parameter *time* is assigned the general value *past* by means of the past tense inflection of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologize* and the specific absolute value *in 2008* by means of the respective temporal adverbial, with the additional specification that the simple aspect indicates a unitary and completed performance of the relevant apology in the past. Moreover, it may further be inferred that the apology was performed after *the ‘stolen generation’ of*

children (i.e., after a generation of children was ‘stolen’), as the latter entextualizes the content of the apology, thus implying that the corresponding preparatory condition (i.e., a generation of children having been ‘stolen’), obtained. In (153), the parameter *time* is ostensibly not assigned any value as there is no verb in the nominal elliptical performative construction *congrats*. However, due to both the conventional syntactic completion of this elliptical construction – *I (hereby) express my congrat(ulation)s*, where *(to) express* functions as a present-tense ‘first-order verb of performance’ – and the conventional performative function of this utterance, it can be inferred that the performance of the illocution of congratulating is temporally anchored in the *present*.

Altogether, while performances of *directive* illocutions are most often anchored in the *past*, performances of expressive illocutions are mainly anchored in the *present*. References to apologizing constitute an exception to this overall pattern, as they display a balance between temporal anchorings in the *past* and the *present*. In contrast to the stark difference in assignments of the parameter *time* between references to *directive* illocutions and references to *expressive* illocutions, and the somewhat less pronounced difference between references to apologizing on the one hand and references to thanking and congratulating on the other, there are no notable differences across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE in that regard, apart from the expected occasional exceptions.

4.3.1.3 Place

While the parameter *time* is entextualized very often in the present study’s dataset, the parameter *place* is entextualized very rarely overall. In most cases, this parameter is entextualized by spatial adverbials, realized mainly by adverbs or prepositional phrases, both in relation to the ongoing interaction (e.g., *here*) and in absolute terms (e.g., *at the farm*). The following examples illustrate selected aspects of entextualizations of the parameter *place*:

(154) On one trip there my wife Cory and I went to **McDonald's** for a hamburger. (Yes, we were a little home-sick!) As we went in **there** was a woman begging at the door. (HK_BEG_99)

(155) **Valladolid airport** is only small with limited facilities but **there** was a sign apologising for this and promising imminent improvements. (GB_APOLOGY_82)

(156) While some were congratulating each other **on Facebook** on concerns that a victory of Mr Romney could have led to a clash between Iran and Israel, others were worried that the Islamic regime would survive longer if it did not face military confrontation. (GB_CONGRATULATION_90)

(157) What did God command Adam and the woman to do **in Genesis 1:28** that relates to what we are studying here? -- To have many children. (HK_COMMAND_83)

(158) Finally, allow me to use **this blog** to congratulate the Hon. P. O. Alengot, the 19 year old Ugandan who was recently elected to parliament after the death of his father. (KE_CONGRATULATION_68)

(159) So around 9:30am on Saturday we took a matatu **into karatina** and boarded another matatu **into Karengo. Once the matatu departed** we sent Priscilla **a text message** to inform her we were on our way and to request that she meet us at the matatu stand in town. (KE_REQUEST_69)

(160) Hey, thanks for your review! (GB_THANK_35)

In (154), the parameter *place* is entextualized by the spatial adverbial *at the door*. Additionally, it may be argued that the noun phrase *the door* contains an elliptical anaphoric reference to *McDonald's* (i.e., a restaurant run by the company McDonald's by metonymy) in its supposed post-modifier. The (door of the) relevant McDonald's restaurant, in turn, is located in the place anaphorically (or exophorically) referred to by the spatial adverbial *there*. The specific referent of this spatial adverbial was, however, not found in the material extracted for the present purposes. In (155), the parameter *place* is entextualized by the adverb *there*, which may be argued to realize a double function. Specifically, it functions both as a dummy subject in the existential construction *there was a sign [...]* and as a spatial adverbial anaphorically referring to *Valladolid airport*. Following the second interpretation, *place* is entextualized both in relative terms (by means of the distal spatial adverbial) and in absolute terms (by means of the definite description), in which the relative entextualization endophorically refers to the absolute entextualization. In (156), the parameter *place* is entextualized by the spatial adverbial *on Facebook*. In contrast to the corresponding (absolute) entextualizations reported above (i.e., *at the door (of the McDonald's restaurant)*, *(at) Valladolid airport*), the spatial adverbial *on Facebook* refers to a virtual space rather than a physical space. Specifically, *Facebook* (as a social media entity) is conceptualized as a virtual platform containing interactive technologies which enable different modes of computer-mediated communication among its users (e.g., posting, sharing, commenting, chatting, etc.). Besides that, it may further be argued that *Facebook* refers to this virtual platform only by metonymy as the platform was owned by the company *Facebook* (now *Meta*) at the time of utterance. In (157), the parameter *place* is entextualized by the spatial adverbial *in Genesis 1:28*. *Genesis 1:28*, just like *Facebook*, is a medium-bound place, albeit (traditionally) a physical rather than a virtual one. Moreover, *Genesis 1:28* crucially refers to the place of codification of the respective command. The place of codification of the command is to be separated from the place of its performance, which is not specified in the example above. Based on the conventional abbreviation, the command in

question can thus be found in written form in the twenty-eighth verse of the first chapter of the book of Genesis, which itself is part of the Bible. In (158) (which has already been discussed in sub-chapter 4.2.2.3), the parameter *place* is (tentatively) entextualized by the noun phrase *this blog*. Within this noun phrase, the head *blog* refers to a virtual, medium-bound space (similar to *Facebook*), whereas the determiner *this* reflexively refers to the *blog* on which the ongoing interaction takes place. This example, in fact, represents one of the very few occasions where the *place* of the ongoing interaction is reflexively entextualized in the present dataset. In (159), the parameter *place* in its physical sense is not entextualized. However, its value may still be inferred based on the temporal anchoring *once the matatu departed* in combination with the information that the speakers and requesters (*took a matatu into Karatina and*) *boarded another matatu into Karengo*. Since the speakers performed the illocution of requesting only after the matatu, which they boarded, departed, the inferred value of the parameter *place* is (*inside*) *the (moving) matatu (on its way to Karengo)*. By contrast, the medium-bound sense of the parameter *place* is specified by the noun phrase *a text message*. The content of this noun phrase conventionally refers to a digitally produced, textually represented, computer-mediated message, potentially in the form of Short Message Service (SMS) across mobile phones as opposed to, say, a handwritten or printed document. In other words, while the medium-bound aspect of *place* is specified for the virtual space probably associated with SMS across mobile phones, the physical aspect of *place* must be inferred based on different kinds of information about the speakers' movement. In (160), the parameter *place* is not entextualized in any of its senses. However, its value, especially regarding its medium-bound sense, may still be inferred based on the conventional performative function of this nominal elliptical construction. Specifically, the performative function anchors the performance of the respective illocution in the discursive *here-and-now* by definition, which is why the medium-bound sense of *place* may be inferred to be the blog on which the ongoing interaction takes place. By extension, the specification of the physical sense of *place* can be said to correspond to the physical locations of the devices through which the participants have accessed the relevant blog. However, the specific physical locations of the participants and their devices remain indeterminate.

The fact that the parameter *place* is entextualized only very rarely in this study's overall dataset hardly permits any contrastive trends to be observed along the lines of illocutions, illocutionary types, or sub-corpora. The only notable exception to this can be found in references to commanding, where entextualizations of *place* often pertained to the medium-bound sense of this parameter. Specifically, most entextualizations contained a reference to the medium-bound place of codification of this illocution, especially in works and writings relevant

to religious organizations or communities of faith. Examples are *Philippians 2:3*, *the New Testament*, and *the Quran*. In accordance with corresponding patterns reported for entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*, entextualizations of the parameter *place* entailing an association with Christianity occurred in all three sub-corpora, whereas those entailing an association with Islam occurred in GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE only. Apart from that, no further patterns could be detected due to the low number of entextualizations of this parameter overall.

4.3.2 Concomitant constitutive acts of the speech act as a whole

Although Austin's (1962[1975]) notion of the speech act as a whole comprises the locutionary act, the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary act as its constitutive elements, the present study will only consider entextualization patterns regarding the locutionary act and the perlocutionary act, which are assigned the status of parameters labeled *locution* and *perlocution*. This is because entextualizations of the illocutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole were controlled as part of the present study and are therefore present in all examples by design. Entextualization patterns regarding the parameter *locution* will be presented first (sub-chapter 4.3.2.1), followed by entextualization patterns regarding the parameter *perlocution* (sub-chapter 4.3.2.2).

4.3.2.1 *Locution*

In the present classification, entextualizations of the parameter *locution* are characterized by a precise, *de dicto* preservation of the what-is-said (or the 'what-could-be-said'). In *talk about* illocutions, this can be achieved by direct quotations of both actual and hypothetical content, which display various types and combinations of linguistic and typographic signaling including the use of quotatives, single and double quotation marks, colons, hyphens, and hash signs (see also Fetzer 2024: 12-14). In (non-explicit) *performances of* illocutions, this is achieved by means of anaphoric or cataphoric (but necessarily endophoric) reference of a meta-illocutionary item to a pertinent realization strategy performed by the same speaker within the same discourse act or macro speech act.

Quantitatively, the parameter *locution* is entextualized very rarely in the present study's overall dataset. Qualitatively, this parameter was mainly entextualized by means of direct

quotation, some instances of which were overtly marked, while others were not. Moreover, entextualizations of the parameter *locution* often occurred in combination with operations of identification, which established a relation of functional equivalence between the locutionary act and the illocutionary act. These operations of identification were realized either explicitly by means of copular constructions or implicitly by means of specific configurations of reference, syntactic functions, and thematic roles, among other things. The examples below illustrate selected aspects of entextualizations of the parameter *locution* including overt and non-overt markings of discursive importation as well as different realizations of the operation of identification of the locutionary and the illocutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole:

(161) All across our church, parents chased their children, weeping and wailing. **"Please do not take our children,"** they begged. (GB_BEG_51)

(162) God's word tells me to **"Give thanks in all circumstances"** (1 Thessalonians 5:18). This verse is a command, but like all commands, it's meant for my good to realign my heart away from myself and towards the Lord where it belongs. (KE_COMMAND_39)

(163) But ultimately if your business can not or will not adapt to the rest of the world, then I have one humble request. **Please make it clear from the start.** (HK_REQUEST_1)

(164) One fan in the crowd seemed pleased with the changes when **"Thank you!"** was cried out from the back of the room, followed by a round of applause. (GB_THANK_93)

(165) How to apologize for the delay? #1 **We regret this unfortunate situation over which we had no control and apologize for the inconvenience.** #2 **It is very unfortunate that there should have been any mistake/misunderstanding, but we hope you will forgive the delay it has caused.** (HK_APOLOGY_62)

(166) So then, back to your clingy 9 month old. Rather than being a cause for concern that you've done something wrong and will have a shy, clingy child living with you until their 30s, actually what his 'clingy' behaviour could be interpreted as is a way of him congratulating you **"you did good mum!"**. (GB_CONGRATULATION_87)

In (161), the parameter *locution* is entextualized by means of the overtly marked direct quotation *"Please do not take our children"*. Moreover, the relevant meta-illocutionary item, viz. the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg* inflected for past tense, is used as a *verbum dicendi*, thus implying a functional equivalence between saying "Please do not take our children" on the one hand and begging on the other. In (162), the parameter *locution* is entextualized by means of the overtly marked direct quotation *"Give thanks in all circumstances"*. This quotation is anaphorically referred to by the noun phrase *this verse* consisting of the referential determiner *this* and the head *verse*. The status of *verse* is further specified in the entextualization of the (medium-bound) *place* of the quoted material, viz. *1 Thessalonians 5:18*. Moreover, (the referent of) the noun phrase *this verse* is explicitly identified with the illocution of *command*

by means of the speaker's use of the copular construction *This verse is a command*. In other words, the speaker explicitly presents the utterance of "Give thanks in all circumstances" (as found in *1 Thessalonians 5:18*) as functionally equivalent to, and a realization of, a command. In (163), the parameter *locution* is entextualized by means of the utterance *Please make it clear from the start*. This utterance is, however, not discursively imported by means of quotation. The reason for the lack of quotation is that the relevant utterance is being performed in the discursive here-and-now rather than having to be imported from outside the discursive here-and-now. In other words, it is the speaker's own performance of the utterance *Please make it clear from the start* which corresponds to the locutionary act. Moreover, this utterance is further cataphorically referred to by the noun phrase *one humble request*, which consists of the determiner (realized by the numeral) *one* specifying quantity, the pre-modifier (realized by the adjective) *humble* expressing humility, and the head (realized by the noun) *request* specifying the relevant illocution. Crucially, the cataphoric reference of *(one humble) request* to *Please make it clear from the start* implies that performing "Please make it clear from the start" is functionally equivalent to performing a (humble) request. In the present constellation of it being the speaker (i.e., requester) themselves who is performing "Please make it clear from the start", the cataphoric reference of *(one humble) request* may further be conceptualized as a clarification of the speaker-intended force associated with this utterance. As an interesting side note, the entextualizations of the parameter *locution* across the first example (relating to begging) and the third example (relating to humbly requesting) are structurally similar. Specifically, they both contain an imperative form of the main verb (i.e., *(to) take*, *(to) make*), which conventionally indicates *directive* illocutionary force, and the adverb *please*, which is functionally ambivalent in that it may function both as a politeness marker and an intensifier with respect to this *directive* force. In (164), the parameter *locution* is entextualized by means of the overtly marked direct quotation "Thank you!". In this example, there are no overt or covert operations of identification expressing functional equivalence between the locutionary and the illocutionary aspect of the respective speech act. However, since the quoted utterance contains the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* (which explicates the illocutionary aspect of the speech act) and since the utterance "Thank you!" conventionally realizes the illocution of thanking, it may be inferred that saying (or *crying out*) "Thank you!" is (presented as) functionally equivalent to performing the illocution of thanking. In (165), the parameter *locution* is entextualized by means of the unmarked direct quotations *We regret this unfortunate situation over which we had no control and apologize for the inconvenience* and *It is very unfortunate that there should have been any mistake/misunderstanding, but we hope you will*

forgive the delay it has caused. Sequentially, these two unmarked quotations (in the sense of metarepresentations) can be conceptualized as the speaker's answers to their own question – possibly as part of a section of Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) – regarding qualitative aspects of possible realizations of the illocution of apologizing (for a delay). Against this background, the lack of overt marking of the quotations can be explained by the fact that the quoted material primarily represents utterances which may be performed in the future rather than utterances which have more or less certainly been performed in the past. Moreover, while the two (non-overtly) quoted utterances both constitute possible answers to the interrogative word *how*, the rest of the interrogative clause (i.e., the sub-ordinate clause *to apologize for the delay*) realizes the thematic role of *purpose*. The thematic role of *purpose* (as realized by this sub-ordinate clause), in turn, connects the performance of the quoted utterances to the intention associated with performing the illocution of apologizing (for the delay), thus establishing a relation of functional equivalence between the locutionary and the illocutionary act. In (166), the parameter *locution* is entextualized by means of the overtly marked direct quotation “*you did good mum!*”. Since the supposed speaker of this utterance is the hearer's *9 month old*, however, it is very improbable that the utterance “*you did good mum!*” has, in fact, been intelligibly performed in this specific context. Consequently, the supposed direct quotation “*you did good mum!*” can be assigned the status of a scare quote possibly indicating purposeful inaccuracy of the respective utterance. Against this background, the content of the quote, viz. “*you did good mum!*”, can be conceptualized as a simplified standard realization of the illocution of congratulating which functionally corresponds to the *clingy behaviour* of the supposed speaker (i.e., the *9 month old*). In other words, there are two operations of identification in the present example: First, the performance of the quoted utterance is identified with the performance of the illocutionary act of congratulating by means of the scare quote “*you did good mum!*” realizing the syntactic function of adverbial (of manner), thus implying that performing this utterance constitutes a possible manner of performing the respective illocution. Second, the illocution of congratulating (in the manner of saying “*you did good mum!*”) is identified with the *9 month old's clingy behavior* which is described as *a way of him congratulating you* as part of the respective copular construction.

In addition to qualitative aspects, entextualizations of the parameter *locution* also displayed some quantitative variation across the different independent variables selected for the present purposes. Regarding illocutionary types, the parameter *locution* is entextualized more often in references to *directive* illocutions than in references to *expressive* illocutions. Within references to *directive* illocutions, this parameter is entextualized most often in references to

commanding. Nonetheless, most entextualizations of this parameter across references to all *directive* illocutions consisted either of imperative clauses (e.g., “*Let me go*”, “*Turn the other cheek*”, “*Remember those who live in the world’s poorest regions*”) or of the content of these illocutions only (e.g., “*one more time*”, “*security hold*”, “*the char-grilled barbecued Iberian pork*”). Within references to *expressive* illocutions, no such differences were found, neither regarding quantitative variation across references to individual illocutions nor regarding fine-grained qualitative trends. Finally, there was again no notable quantitative variation across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE, possibly due to the low number of entextualizations of the parameter *locution* overall.

4.3.2.2 *Perlocution*

The parameter *perlocution* is entextualized relatively frequently in the present study’s overall dataset. Notably, this parameter is multifaceted as it includes the speaker’s perlocutionary act (motivated by their perlocutionary intent) on the one hand and consequential perlocutionary effects in the form of objects and sequels on the other. Perlocutionary effects are further not restricted in number and may thus represent chains of causation consisting of causally and temporally ‘more immediate’ and ‘less immediate’ objects or sequels with respect to the corresponding illocution. Moreover, all these aspects of the parameter *perlocution* can be entextualized both in more general and in more specific terms (e.g., *obeying* someone’s command vs. *shooting* on someone’s command). The examples below illustrate selected entextualizations associated with (different aspects of) the parameter *perlocution*:

(167) I told I want to wake my family up, but I am not able to beg them and **persuade them to wake up**, for I am lower than them when I try to persuade them, I have to stand higher and start to kill them. (HK_BEG_34)

(168) As a man, to love football is a law and a command that is not written in any constitution or enacted in any Act of Parliament but **strictly adhered to**. (KE_COMMAND_34)

(169) At the request of a commenter, **I added a couple lines to the script** that will dump the output to a text file in the root of the C: drive. (HK_REQUEST_33)

(170) 10 year old Jamin [...] becomes obsessed with his new shoes fearing to take them off in case they get stolen. He also will not play in them in case they are spoiled. His team mates beg him to take the shoes off and get on to the field but **he refuses**. (KE_BEG_40)

(171) Jesus’ command to throw a fishing net over the other side of a boat after the disciple’s failed attempt to catch fish **resulted in a massive catch**. (GB_COMMAND_23)

(172) **Biden also addressed questions over the Obama administration’s response** to requests for increased security at the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya. (KE_REQUEST_43)

(173) I will now boycott the Stirling Albion game in protest at the Behaviour of this bigot, unless Stirling Albion and Mr King Dick issue a full unreserved apology. (GB_APOLOGY_25)

In (167), the parameter *perlocution* is tentatively entextualized in the form of a reference to the speaker's (i.e., supposed beggar's) own perlocutionary act (motivated by their perlocutionary intent) to *persuade (their family) to wake up*. Moreover, this perlocutionary act – represented by the perlocutionary verb *(to) persuade* – is coordinated with the corresponding illocutionary act – represented by the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) beg* – by means of the conjunction *and*. This operation of coordination implies that the illocutionary act of begging is, in some way, equatable with the perlocutionary act of persuading, which may be explained by the two acts being conceptualized as different sub-acts of the same speech act as a whole. Despite being coordinated, however, these two sub-acts are not (presented as being) performed. Rather, the speaker expresses their lack of dynamic ability to perform these acts due to the speaker's lower position (in social hierarchy) which their performance would entail. In (168), the parameter *perlocution* is entextualized in the form of a reference to the generalized perlocutionary effect of the *command (to love football)*, viz. the perlocutionary object of the latter being *strictly adhered to*. In other words, the entextualization of this parameter does not include a reference to the specific action performed by the commandees (i.e., *loving football*), but rather a reference to the general behavioral response of the commandees with respect to the command in question (i.e., *strictly adhering*). The specific action which constitutes the *strict adherence* to the command can, however, be inferred based on the entextualization of the content of the command, viz. *to love football*. Apart from that, the bringing about of the perlocutionary object (i.e., *strictly adhering to the command by loving football*) is presented as temporally indefinite. This is reflected in the use of the indefinite present of the general perlocutionary verb *(to) adhere to* (which is further inflected for passive voice) in combination with the specific perlocutionary verb *(to) love* specifying (mental) state rather than a self-contained action. In (169), the parameter *perlocution* is entextualized in the form of a reference to the particularized perlocutionary effect of *the request of a commenter*, viz. the perlocutionary object of *(the speaker, the requestee) adding a couple lines to the script (that will dump the output to a text file in the root of the C: drive)*. While in (168), the specific perlocutionary effect could be inferred based on the entextualization of the content of the illocution (i.e., *to love football*), in (169), the content of the illocution can be inferred based on the entextualization of the specific perlocutionary effect (i.e., *(the speaker, the requestee) adding a couple lines to the script [...]*). Since the (entextualizations of the) content and perlocutionary effect are equivalent, it may

further be inferred that the specific perlocutionary effect of (*the speaker, the requestee*) *adding a couple lines to the script* [...] constitutes the general perlocutionary object of *complying* to the request (in analogy to *adhering* to the command). Other than in (168), however, the (particularized) perlocutionary effect consists of a self-contained action (i.e., *adding a couple lines to the script*) rather than a (mental) state (i.e., *to love football*), which is further reflected in the use of the past-tense inflection of the perlocutionary verb (*to*) *add*. In (170), the parameter *perlocution* is entextualized by means of a reference to the perlocutionary sequel of (*10-year-old Jamin's*) *teammates begging him to take the shoes off and get onto the field*, viz. (*10-year-old Jamin*) *refusing*. The act of *refusing* constitutes a perlocutionary sequel in itself as it is never conventionally invited or intended to be brought about by the performance of the illocution of begging (or any *directive* illocution), at least whenever normal input and output conditions obtain. This discrepancy between the conventional perlocutionary object of begging (i.e., *giving in, complying*, etc.) and the actual perlocutionary sequel (i.e., *refusing*) can be argued to be reflected, among other things, in the use of the conjunction *but*. While this conjunction syntactically coordinates the two clauses specifying the performance of the illocutionary act and the perlocutionary sequel, it also establishes a discursive relation of contrast between the contents of the first and the second clause, which can be attributed to the non-achievement of the conventional perlocutionary object of the illocution of begging. Lastly, the use of present tense forms in both the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *beg* and the perlocutionary verb (*to*) *refuse* can be attributed to the speaker's use of the narrative present. In (171), the parameter *perlocution* is entextualized by means of a reference to the perlocutionary effect of *Jesus' command to throw a fishing net over the other side of a boat*, viz. *it resulting in a massive catch*. Although the *massive catch* is consequential with respect to the command (as reflected in the verb (*to*) *result*), it is not an immediate effect of the illocution of commanding. The *massive catch* is rather a consequence of the commandees' (i.e., *disciples'*) compliance or obedience (i.e., the conventional perlocutionary object of commanding) in the form of *throwing a fishing net over the other side of a boat*. Therefore, the commandees *throwing a fishing net over the other side of the boat* can be conceptualized as the 'more immediate' perlocutionary effect corresponding to the conventional perlocutionary object of the command (which is, however, not entextualized), whereas the *massive catch* can be conceptualized as the 'less immediate' perlocutionary effect of the command. In (172), the parameter *perlocution* is entextualized by various references to generalized and particularized perlocutionary effects of *requests for increased security at the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya*. Specifically, these references encompass *the Obama administration's response, questions over this response, and Biden*

addressing these questions. The status of *the Obama administration's response* as a perlocutionary object or a perlocutionary sequel depends on the conceptualization of the *request* and the *response* in question. Specifically, if the request in question is conceptualized as a request for action to increase security, *the Obama administration's response* would have to be classified as a perlocutionary sequel as it does not constitute a compliance with this request in itself. By contrast, if the request is conceptualized as a request for information about how an increase in security is planned to be brought about, *the Obama administration's response* could also be classified as the perlocutionary object, provided that the response contains the requested information. *Questions over this response* and *Biden addressing these questions* are, on the other hand, both clearly perlocutionary sequels of the request in question as they are not conventionally invited or intended to be brought about by the illocution of requesting. Needless to say, the three perlocutionary effects further display decreasing 'degrees of immediacy' with respect to the communicative situation in which the relevant request was performed, with *the Obama administration's response* constituting the 'most immediate' perlocutionary effect and *Biden addressing (questions over the Obama administration's response)* constituting the 'least immediate' perlocutionary effect. In (173), the parameter *perlocution* is not entextualized, strictly speaking. However, it can be inferred based on the speaker's specification of the consequential effect associated with the lack of a *full unreserved apology*, viz. *(the speaker) now boycotting the Stirling Albion game*, within an utterance expressing (negated) conditionality in the form of an exception by means of the subordinating conjunction *unless* (i.e., 'except if'). This implies that if *Stirling Albion and Mr King Dick issue a full unreserved apology*, (the speaker) will not boycott the Stirling Albion game anymore. In relation to the *full unreserved apology*, *(the speaker) not boycotting the Stirling Albion game* is a perlocutionary sequel because apologies – just as other *expressive* illocutions – only conventionally invite acknowledgements on the part of the apologizees. Apart from that, it appears highly improbable that (representatives of) *Stirling Albion*, a football club, would perform an apology with the specific perlocutionary intent that the speaker of this utterance (i.e., a potentially anonymous blogger) stops *boycotting the Stirling Albion game*. In short, the speaker implicitly and tentatively specifies the hypothetical perlocutionary sequel of the relevant apology on condition that the latter is, or will be, performed.

In terms of quantitative variation, the parameter *perlocution* is entextualized substantially more often in references to *directive* illocutions than in references to *expressive* illocutions. In references to *directive* illocutions, this parameter was entextualized in slightly more than half of the examples, whereas in references to *expressive* illocutions, it was

entextualized in less than 10% of the cases. Within references to *directive* illocutions, the parameter *perlocution* was entextualized roughly equally frequently in references to requesting and commanding, and somewhat less frequently in references to begging. Moreover, references to requesting and begging mainly contained references to specific perlocutionary effects (e.g., *Miss Liu hopping on the van, Apple delivering something new, the court being adjourned*), whereas references to commanding often contained references to general perlocutionary effects (e.g., *obeying, fulfilling, following*). Within references to *expressive* illocutions, by far the most entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* were found in references to apologizing, where speakers mainly referred to perlocutionary sequels associated with the relevant apology (e.g., *(the participants) reaching a mediated settlement, (the speaker) running away*). References to thanking and congratulating, by contrast, contained hardly any entextualizations of this parameter overall. Finally, despite the relatively high number of entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* in the present dataset, and especially in references to *directive* illocutions, there were once again no notable differences across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. In other words, while variation across illocutionary types is very pronounced and variation across individual illocutions is somewhat pronounced, ‘cross-regional’ differences are minimal overall.

4.3.3 Felicity conditions

In terms of the parameter type *felicity conditions*, the present study considers entextualizations of the parameters *input and output conditions*, *content*, *preparatory condition*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition*, which are presented successively in the following sub-chapters. Specifically, entextualization patterns of the parameter *normal input and output conditions* will be presented first (sub-chapter 4.3.3.1), followed by entextualization patterns of the parameters *content* (sub-chapter 4.3.3.2), *preparatory condition* (sub-chapter 4.3.3.3), *sincerity condition* (sub-chapter 4.3.3.4), and finally *essential condition* (sub-chapter 4.3.3.5).

4.3.3.1 Input and output conditions

The parameter *input and output conditions* was entextualized exceedingly rarely in the present dataset. In fact, only three examples were found overall:

(174) Yesterday, I went to the scene to understand the course of events. According to Mrs Ho, that night, two Mainland Chinese men came out from the Karaoke bar on the opposite side of the newsstand and wanted to buy Kent cigarettes. However, at that time, she wasn't there. **Her son didn't understand their Mandarin request** and so rejected it. (HK_REQUEST_5)

(175) The second survivor had been the first of the group of five to start screaming. **His vocal cords destroyed** he was unable to beg or object to surgery, and he only reacted by shaking his head violently in disapproval when the anesthetic gas was brought near him. (GB_BEG_17)

(176) Subhana'Allah, when we look at the context of this remarkable event we discover that Prophet Ibrahim (a.s) was without children till the age of 86. # In pursuance to a command of Allah (swt) **conveyed to him in a dream**, he prepared himself to slaughter his beloved son Ismail. (GB_COMMAND_17)

In (174), the parameter *input and output conditions* is entextualized by a reference to *Mrs. Ho's son* (i.e., the requestee) not understanding the Mandarin request performed by the *two Mainland Chinese men* (i.e., the requesters). It can be inferred both from the origin of this example (i.e., the *Hong Kong* sub-corpus of the GloWbE) and from the reference to *two Mainland Chinese men*, who constitute the 'other' in terms of identity construction, that the requestee is probably a Hong Kong resident who is proficient in Cantonese (and possibly English) but not in Mandarin. As a result, the *input and output conditions* are not (presented as) 'normal' in that a language (or dialect) barrier between the two participants precludes a mutually intelligible interaction. In (175), the parameter *input and output conditions* is entextualized by a reference to *the second survivor's* (i.e., supposed beggar's) *vocal cords* being *destroyed*, thus rendering verbal communication with the supposed beggar as a participant impossible, and the *input and output conditions* 'anomalous'. This is reflected, among other things, in the (negated) reference to *the second survivor's* dynamic ability to perform the illocution of begging. Consequently, the supposed beggar resorts to the non-verbal alternative of *shaking his head violently* in order to perform a communicative action equivalent to *begging or objecting to surgery*. In (176), the parameter *input and output conditions* is entextualized by a reference to the relevant command being *conveyed [...] in a dream*. Although the commandee prepares themselves to bring about the conventional perlocutionary object of this specific illocution (i.e., *to slaughter his beloved son Ismail*), the *input and output conditions* of this interaction are still 'anomalous' in that the latter took place as part of a *dream*, viz. involuntary mental experiences during certain stages of sleep. The fact that the commandee acts on the command as though 'normal' *input and output conditions* obtained can be accounted for by the present example being situated within a religious context, which commonly encompasses spiritual, supernatural, and transcendental elements in establishing relations between human (or otherwise earthly) entities and divine entities, broadly conceived. Overall, the only three entextualizations found in the present dataset

notably all imply some kind of abnormality regarding the *input and output conditions*, with reasons for this abnormality ranging from linguistic (in)competence to physiological impairments and further to religious spirituality. Needless to say, the exceedingly low number of entextualizations does not permit constructive juxtapositions of the results across illocutions, illocutionary types, or ‘regions’.

4.3.3.2 *Content*

In the present classification, entextualizations of the parameter *content* are equivalent to specifications of the object of discourse or talk associated with the illocutions in question. In contrast to entextualizations of the parameter *locution* (see sub-chapter 4.3.2.1), they are further characterized by their *de re* preservation of the what-is-said (or the ‘what-could-be-said’) regarding the realization of a relevant illocution. The parameter *content* is thus different from Searle’s (1969) notion of propositional content in that entextualizations of this parameter do not constitute the force-neutral component of illocutionary acts (see, e.g., Searle 1969: 31-33) but rather reported or performed ‘object(s)’ of these illocutions in question, viz. the requested, the commanded, the begged (for), the thanked (for), the apologized (for), and the congratulated (on). These *de re* specifications of the ‘object(s)’ of the illocutions in question often occur in adjacent position relative to the respective meta-illocutionary items. Syntactically speaking, entextualizations of the parameter *content* are often found in the object of the sentence (in case of meta-illocutionary verbs inflected for active voice) or in the subject of the sentence (in case of meta-illocutionary verbs inflected for passive voice), or in phrase-internal pre-modifiers or post-modifiers (in case of meta-illocutionary nouns as heads of noun phrases).

Quantitatively, the parameter *content* was entextualized very frequently in the present study’s dataset. Qualitatively, entextualizations of this parameter were highly diverse and mainly occurred in adjacent position relative to the relevant meta-illocutionary item. Despite their overall frequency and diversity, however, entextualizations of this parameter display a crucial, fundamental difference in terms of their implications in references to *directive* illocutions and references to *expressive* illocutions. Particularly, while entextualizations of the parameter *content* in references to *directive* illocutions imply the particularized perlocutionary object of the illocution in question, entextualizations of this parameter in references to *expressive* illocutions imply the obtaining of the relevant preparatory condition(s). The

examples below illustrate selected entextualizations of the parameter *content* across illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora:

(177) Thankfully they didn't make us hand over the deposit because this new mortgage restriction means that the bank may have turned down our **mortgage request** anyway! (HK_REQUEST_38)

(178) Treasonous Western ruling elites have imported many millions of Muslims into our countries to enable Muslims to OBEY the Quran **command to wage jihad against us and conquer our nations**. (GB_COMMAND_18)

(179) I was making conversation with the kids, and I asked a young boy how he was doing. He told me that his father was dead, his mother had AIDS, and he lived in his older brother's backyard. There was no food for him except for what he ate at school for lunch. During the weekends, he went out and **begged** for **food**. (KE_BEG_60)

(180) Hey Sharan, **thanks** for **your message**! (HK_THANK_25)

(181) What can I say? **Apologies** that **it's taken me this length of time to post an update about the festive season**. (GB_APOLOGY_33)

(182) **Congratulations** on **having one of the most sophisticated blogs I've come across in some time**! (KE_CONGRATULATION_8)

In (177), the parameter *content* is entextualized in the left adjacent position of the meta-illocutionary noun *request*, viz. *mortgage*. In terms of word formation and syntax, this left adjacent position corresponds to the modifier of the compound noun *mortgage request*, which itself functions as the head of the noun phrase *our mortgage request* realizing the direct object of the clause. In (178), the parameter *content* is entextualized in the right adjacent position of the meta-illocutionary noun *command*, viz. *to wage jihad against us and conquer our nations*. Syntactically, this entextualization constitutes the post-modifier of the noun phrase *the command to wage jihad against us and conquer our nations*, which is realized by a non-finite subordinate clause containing two conjoined predicates, viz. *to wage jihad against us* and *(to) conquer our nations*. In (179), the parameter *content* is entextualized in the right adjacent position of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) beg (for)* inflected for past tense, viz. *food*. In terms of syntax, *food* is the direct object of the clause whose predicate is realized by the prepositional verb *(to) beg for*. In (180), the parameter *content* is entextualized in the right adjacent position of the plural meta-illocutionary noun *thanks*, viz. *(for) your* (i.e., the hearer's) *message*. Following the argument that *thanks* can be conventionally completed in the form of *I (hereby) express my thanks (to you)*, the prepositional phrase *for your message* realizes the adverbial of the clause. Notably, however, it is only the noun phrase realizing the prepositional complement, *your message*, which entextualizes the parameter *content* with respect to the illocution of

thanking. In (181), the parameter *content* is entextualized in the right adjacent position of the plural meta-illocutionary noun *apologies*, viz. *(that) it's taken me* (i.e., the speaker) *this length of time to post an update about the festive season*. Following the above argument regarding syntactic completion, the entextualization of this parameter occurs within the subordinate that-clause which realizes the adverbial specifying the reason for the speaker's *apologies*. Notably, unlike the subordinate clause itself, the subordinating conjunction *that* does not belong to the entextualization of this parameter. In (182), the parameter *content* is again entextualized in the right adjacent position of the plural meta-illocutionary noun *congratulations*, viz. *(on) having one of the most sophisticated blogs I've* (i.e., the speaker has) *come across in some time*. Here, this parameter is again entextualized within the adverbial of the clause (specifying reason), which this time is realized by a prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition *on* as well as the prepositional complement realized by the subordinate participle clause *having one of the most sophisticated blogs [...]*. The state of affairs associated with the verb *(to) have*, whose present participle form *having* lacks a syntactic subject, is interpreted as having been brought about by the hearer (i.e., congratulatee) of the utterance. Lastly, it is only the subordinate participle clause (realizing the prepositional complement) in which the parameter *content* is entextualized.

The entextualizations of the parameter *content* in the examples discussed above are very reflective of different aspects of the respective illocutions' common situatedness in context. Specifically, requesting a *mortgage* indicates a business context, commanding *to wage jihad and conquer nations* indicates both a religious and a military context, and begging for *food* indicates a non-institutional context encompassing the securing of basic survival needs. On the other hand, thanking someone for a *message*, apologizing for *taking a length of time to post an update*, and congratulating someone on *having one of the most sophisticated blogs* ties (the content of) these illocutions more strongly to the immediate communicative situation, viz. the ongoing, albeit often asynchronous, interaction between bloggers on the respective virtual platforms. While the examples above are broadly representative of the overall pattern found in contextual anchorings of *directive* and *expressive* illocutions, entextualizations of the parameter *content* were, in fact, much more diverse. To name just a few examples, entextualizations of this parameter in references to *directive* illocutions encompassed '*styled*' *interiors*, *a paper map*, and *to use acupuncture during childbirth* in references to requesting, *to burn schools*, *to alienate some Crown lands*, and *to seek the truth* in references to commanding, and *the final whistle*, *to get a flu shot*, and *to be allowed to return to the US* in references to begging. In references to *expressive* illocutions, by contrast, entextualizations encompassed *taking the call*,

bringing back memories with beautiful photos, and *accepting to do the intervention in Somalia* in references to thanking, *the manner in which the garden was removed*, *the death of Lee*, and *leaving the house in such a mess* in references to apologizing, and *the qualification to yet another cup final*, *the wedding*, and *the commitment to democracy and stability* in references to congratulating. Despite this diversity, however, entextualizations of the parameter *content* still mainly followed the overall pattern of contextual anchorings of different illocutions (belonging to different illocutionary types) presented above. In face of the high frequency and diversity of entextualizations of this parameter, however, hardly any distinct ‘cross-regional’ patterns could be found. In line with previously reported results, the only exception was found in references commanding, which encompassed entextualizations relating to Islamic faith in GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE but not in GloWbE HK. Apart from that, entextualizations of the parameter *content* were somewhat equally frequent and diverse across all sub-corpora considered for the present purposes.

4.3.3.3 Preparatory condition

The parameter *preparatory condition* was also entextualized frequently in the present dataset, albeit not as frequently as the parameter *content*. In terms of qualitative aspects, entextualizations of this parameter in references to *directive* illocutions are fundamentally different from those in references to *expressive* illocutions as described above. While in references to *expressive* illocutions, entextualizations of the parameter *content* imply (the obtaining of) the relevant preparatory condition(s), references to *directive* illocutions require a separate reference to (one of) the relevant preparatory condition(s) potentially in addition to an entextualization of the parameter *content*. Nonetheless, there are also examples in which references to *expressive* illocutions are not combined with an entextualization of the parameter *content*, but with an entextualization of the parameter *preparatory condition* only. Apart from this general difference between *directive* and *expressive* illocutions, findings included that preparatory conditions may further be presented as ‘less immediate’ and ‘more immediate’ with respect to (the performance of) the respective illocution. Moreover, in cases where an illocution requires multiple preparatory conditions to obtain, the speaker may foreground only one, more than one, or all conditions in entextualizing this parameter. The examples below illustrate selected combinations of these features in entextualizations of the parameter *preparatory condition* across the independent variables chosen for the present purposes:

(183) If **you've really bent the rules, you will be sent to the suspended area page. This will give you an option** to appeal the suspension and file a help request. (GB_REQUEST_1)

(184) Genet Air Limited has a leading edge in all aspects of tours and safaris with professionally trained drivers/guides. However, we encourage our clients to **have a temporary personal insurance which can be organised by us** on request at an extra fee. (KE_REQUEST_34)

(185) **The Police in Kisumu during thPEV were acting like rogues let loose on the populace and there was not a SINGLE sign of somebody in charge** giving a structured command. (KE_COMMAND_27)

(186) You have not kept the command the LORD your God gave you. (HK_COMMAND_15)

(187) Truly there is none who does not see or hear the way **our Somali brothers are suffering as a result of terrorism and the murder of Somali citizens -- having seen Tanzania save so many other countries** I would beg Tanzania to try to save Somalia from these people called Al-Shabaab. (KE_BEG_11)

(188) **I didn't know so much about mortgages until I visited B360 Website.** Thanks for the insightful articles. (KE_THANK_16)

(189) Below is a compilation of what people are saying about this move. My apologies -- **all links are only in English**. (HK_APOLOGY_42)

(190) **Fantasy manager Jason Tranter has his second week on top of the table.** Congratulations. (GB_CONGRATULATION_22)

(191) Today, I am humbled by the support extended by members from all sections of the club, from Bowling, to Squash, Tennis and the Golfing section. My congratulations to the winners and let me particularly thank the Tennis section for undertaking a most worthy project, that of building tennis courts for the less fortunate in Kibera. (KE_CONGRATULATION_29)

Examples (183)-(187) illustrate entextualizations of the parameter *preparatory condition* in references to *directive* illocutions. In (183), the parameter *preparatory condition* is triply entextualized by *you've really bent the rules, you will be sent to the suspended area page*, and *(this will give you) an option*. The first and the second entextualizations of this parameter constitute the antecedent and the consequent of the respective conditional sentence, and in the third entextualization, the pronoun *this* anaphorically refers to the second *preparatory condition* specified in the consequent, viz. the hearer (i.e., potential requester) being sent to the suspended area page. Since the first two entextualizations are connected by means of conditional and temporal succession, the first entextualization can be conceptualized as the 'less immediate' preparatory condition and the second entextualization as the 'more immediate' preparatory condition of the illocution in question. The third entextualization, which is anchored to the second entextualization (i.e., the 'more immediate' preparatory condition) by means of the anaphoric reference of the pronoun *this*, further contains a reference to hearer's (i.e., potential requester's) dynamic ability and/or deontic permission to perform the respective illocution in

the form of *an option*. In other words, the (conditional) obtaining of the ‘less immediate’ preparatory condition is presented as resulting in the obtaining of the ‘more immediate’ preparatory condition encompassing, among other things, the potential requester’s dynamic ability and/or deontic permission to perform the illocution of requesting. In (184), the parameter *preparatory condition* is entextualized by *a temporary personal insurance which can be organised by us*, where the pronoun *which* – as the subject of the relative clause – anaphorically refers to *a temporary personal insurance*. Rather than focusing on past actions or states of dynamic ability and/or deontic permission to perform the illocution on the part of the speaker, this example foregrounds the potential hearer’s (i.e., requestee’s) dynamic ability to perform the requested action (or to make *p* true), viz. organizing a temporary personal insurance. Importantly, *at an extra fee* is not taken to entextualize the parameter *preparatory condition* because (paying) this fee is only required for the illocution’s success (i.e., the temporary personal insurance actually being organized) but not for its felicity. In (185), the parameter *preparatory condition* is entextualized both by *the police [...] acting like rogues (let loose on the populace)* and by *(there not being a SINGLE sign of) somebody in charge*. Specifically, the latter entextualization (especially *somebody in charge*) foregrounds the preparatory condition of an asymmetrical power relationship in favor of the speaker (i.e., commander) in the illocution of commanding. Against this background, the former entextualization constitutes a contradiction to the latter which, however, requires extra-linguistic world knowledge for purposes of inference: Although *the police* (as an institution) is commonly hierarchically structured, thus ostensibly fulfilling the requirement of an asymmetrical power relationship in commanding, the fact that *the police* (in the form of human police officers) *were acting like rogues* probably rendered it impossible to recognize an asymmetrical power relationship among the police officers (i.e., *somebody in charge*), which itself precluded the felicitous performance of a command. In (186), the parameter *preparatory condition* is not entextualized, strictly speaking. However, it can still be inferred based on the entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* (i.e., commander) and *hearer* (i.e., commandee), viz. *the LORD your God* on the one hand and the hearer of the utterance (*you*) on the other. Specifically, since God is the main object of faith as well as the supreme being in (mono-)theistic religions (such as Christianity), God is commonly presented as omnipotent and thus in a position of eternal power over all other worldly entities, including humans. Consequently, *the LORD your God* is presented as inherently being in a position of power over the person referred to by *you* (possibly as long as this person is a member of the relevant (mono-)theistic religion). In other words, the asymmetrical power relationship required as part of the preparatory conditions of commanding

is implied based on entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* in combination with the relevant extra-linguistic world knowledge which all participants of the interaction are assumed to have. In (187), the parameter *preparatory condition* is entextualized both by *our Somali brothers are suffering as a result of terrorism and the murder of Somali citizens* and by *having seen Tanzania save so many other countries*. The former entextualization relates to (the origin of) the Somalis' desperateness in their securing of survival. Specifically, the 'less immediate' preparatory condition of *terrorism and the murder of Somali citizens* is presented as having directly resulted in the 'more immediate' preparatory condition of *(the speakers') Somali brothers suffering* (and thus being in desperate need of help). The latter entextualization, by contrast, implicitly relates to the potential beggie's (i.e., Tanzania's) dynamic ability to perform the relevant action, viz. *to try to save Somalia from these people called Al-Shabaab*. Particularly, the potential beggie's dynamic ability to perform this action can be inferred from the speaker *having seen Tanzania save so many other countries*, which presupposes that *Tanzania* (i.e., political representatives of the country of Tanzania by metonymy) is able to *save countries*. Considering that all the relevant preparatory conditions obtain, the (Kenyan) speaker of this utterance asserts that they would perform the illocution of begging directed at *Tanzania* if they were a *Somali citizen*.

Examples (188)-(191) illustrate entextualizations of the parameter *preparatory condition* in references to *expressive* illocutions. In (188), the parameter *preparatory condition* is entextualized by *I didn't know so much about mortgages until I visited B360 website*. This implies that after the speaker had visited this website, they learned more about mortgages, which in turn corresponds to the benefit to the speaker (i.e., *thanker*) constituting a preparatory condition of the illocution of *thanking*. Moreover, the entextualization of the *content* of this illocution, viz. *the insightful articles*, further implies that the relevant articles (and their quality of being insightful) also benefited the speaker (i.e., *thanker*). In combination, these two specifications probably do not relate to two separate preparatory conditions, but rather to the same preparatory condition including varying levels of specificity. Particularly, *the insightful articles* were most probably part of the *B360 website* which the speaker (i.e., *thanker*) visited, helping them learn more about mortgages. In (189), the parameter *preparatory condition* is entextualized by *all links are only in English*. Interestingly, this example does not contain an entextualization of the parameter *content*. Rather, the content of the apology is implied by the entextualized preparatory condition, viz. *all links being only in English*, which constitutes the offense required for the apology to be felicitous. The fact that *all links are only in English* is presented as constituting an offense can be explained by the speaker (and probably the hearers)

originating from Hong Kong, where Cantonese is dominant and could be expected by the hearers to be the language used on the websites linked by the speaker. More generally, this example constitutes a case where it is not (the obtaining of) the preparatory condition which is implied by the entextualization of the parameter *content*, but rather the content which is implied by the entextualization of the parameter *preparatory condition*. Needless to say, this is due to the fact that the content and (the obtaining of) the preparatory condition(s) are intrinsically interconnected in *expressive* illocutions. In (190), the parameter *preparatory condition* is entextualized by *Fantasy manager Jason Trenter has his second week on top of the table*. Similar to (189), this example does also not contain an entextualization of the parameter *content*. The main difference between (189) and (190) is that, in the latter, the entextualization of the parameter *preparatory condition* occurs before rather than after the meta-illocutionary item. But regardless of this positioning, the (non-entextualized) content of the congratulation is again implied by the entextualized preparatory condition, viz. Fantasy manager Jason Trenter having his second week on top of the table, which constitutes the event (believed to be) in the hearer's (i.e., congratulatee's) interest. This implied specification of the content based on the entextualization of the parameter *preparatory condition* can again be explained by the intrinsic interconnectedness of the content and (the obtaining of) the preparatory condition(s) in *expressive* illocutions. On a different note, the entextualization of the parameter *preparatory condition* further contains an entextualization of *Fantasy manager Jason Trenter's* participant status, specifically as the *hearer* (i.e., congratulatee) of this illocution. In (191) the parameter *preparatory condition* is not entextualized, strictly speaking. However, it can still be inferred based on the entextualization of the parameter *hearer*, viz. *the winners*. Since the expression *the winners* ascribes agentivity to the persons involved in *winning* (a game, a competition, or similar), the particularized preparatory condition can be inferred to be that the relevant persons (i.e., the hearers, the congratulatees) were agentively involved in *winning* (i.e., won) the respective games and/or competitions, most probably in *bowling*, *squash*, *tennis*, and *golfing*. This inferred particularized preparatory condition is, of course, presented as the event (believed to be) in the interest of the hearers (i.e., congratulatees).

Overall, the parameter *preparatory condition* can be both (explicitly) entextualized or implied based on a variety of cues in entextualizations of other parameters including *content*, *speaker*, and *hearer*. References to *directive* illocutions require distinct (and often explicit) references to their preparatory conditions. These encompass references to 'less immediate' and 'more immediate' aspects of (more or less) 'objective' states of affairs across all *directive* illocutions as well as references to dynamic ability (or availability) mainly in requesting,

references to asymmetrical power relations mainly in commanding, and references to desperateness in the securing of survival mainly in begging. References to *expressive* illocutions, by contrast, do not require distinct references to their preparatory conditions as their obtaining is often implied in the entextualization of the parameter *content* or other parameters. Nonetheless, several examples include (explicit) entextualizations of the parameter *preparatory condition*, which either imply the content of the illocution (in cases where the parameter *content* is not entextualized) or supplement the content of the illocution (in cases where the parameter *content* is entextualized). By and large, most preparatory conditions of *expressive* illocutions, if entextualized, relate to various aspects of the ongoing interaction among the respective bloggers, broadly conceived. Corresponding to the results reported in entextualizations of the parameter *content* above, entextualizations of the parameter *preparatory condition* mainly related to (the content of) messages or replies in references to thanking, the lack of posts or an unsatisfactory content of a post in references to apologizing, and events in the interest of the hearer (e.g., marriage, the birth of a child, winning a competition), often revealed as part of the ongoing interaction, in references to congratulating. Needless to say, occasional exceptions to this overall pattern certainly exist. Regarding ‘cross-regional’ patterns, however, there was once again no noticeable difference across the three sub-corpora except for entextualized preparatory conditions relating to Islamic faith in GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE, which were not found in GloWbE HK.

4.3.3.4 *Sincerity condition*

The parameter *sincerity condition* was entextualized very rarely in the present dataset. Qualitatively, two main types of entextualizations can be distinguished: General references to the concept of sincerity encompassing both literal expressions (e.g., *sincere*, *genuine*) and metaphorical expressions (e.g., *full*, *deep*, *heartly*) on the one hand, and specific references to the particular mental state(s) expressed in the performance of the respective illocutions (e.g., *want* in begging, *appreciation* in thanking) on the other. The examples below constitute a selection of the few instances in which the parameter *sincerity condition* was entextualized across illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora chosen for the present study:

(192) As for Jim Chuchu, I hear he does not take portraits anymore, regardless of who you are. I always keep begging my friend to make this dream happen but it seems to be futile. I **want** him to

take my picture **so badly**, Jim Chuchu if you are reading this, please make this wish come true. (KE_BEG_96)

(193) Wouldn't it be nice if... you could stay the night? Your **wish** is our command. (HK_COMMAND_13)

(194) Thanks for the feedback guys, very much **appreciated**. (GB_THANK_15)

(195) Of course it's significant to apologize plus **be sincere** regarding it. However then again, apologizing everyday is not the path to take. Should you keep telling her which you're sorry, then your apology might lose its **sincerity**. (HK_APOLOGY_57)

(196) Dear Readers, I **sincerely** apologize for having abandoned you for much of the month of September. (KE_APOLOGY_71)

(197) These hate mongers of our time have devised one clever way of escaping prosecution especially if they are politicians holding cabinet appointments. First they will go into hiding or seek refuge in sanctuaries such as parliament where they know they are protected. And as they buy time plotting their next move, they hurriedly prepare **hollow** apologies such the one Waititu treated us to this week. (KE_APOLOGY_28)

(198) **Hearty** congratulations AT for such an erudite and thought-provoking article. (GB_CONGRATULATION_21)

In (192), the parameter *sincerity condition* is entextualized by *want [...] (so badly)*. In this case, the speaker (i.e., beggar) refers to the specific mental state which they express in begging the hearer (i.e., the beggee, *Jim Chuchu*) to make their dream of taking their picture come true. Specifically, the expressed mental state is that of *want*, which is further intensified by the adverb phrase *so badly*. This intensification of the mental state of *want* can further be argued to implicitly reflect the speaker's (i.e., beggar's) desperateness regarding their picture being taken, which is part of the preparatory condition of the illocution of begging. In (193), the parameter *sincerity condition* is entextualized by *wish*. This example also contains a reference to a specific mental state commonly expressed in *directive* illocutions, namely that of *wish*. As described above, this idiomatic expression literally equates (the expression of) the mental state of *wish* with the illocution of *command*. Importantly, while *wish* can be said to be (one of) the 'weakest' or 'least forceful' mental state(s) among the ones expressed in *directive* illocutions (i.e., *wish*, *want*, *desire*), the illocution of commanding is among the 'strongest' or 'most forceful' *directive* illocutions, especially in comparison to, say, requesting or advising. Against this background, it can be concluded that in using this expression, the speaker informs the hearer that the hearer's potential expression of the comparatively 'less forceful' mental state of *wish* will be interpreted by the speaker as a performance of the 'more forceful' illocutionary act of *command*, including, of course, the conventional illocutionary effect of creating a strong obligation for the speaker to obey the hearer by bringing about the intended perlocutionary effect. In (194), the parameter *sincerity condition* is entextualized by *appreciated*. Here, the speaker (i.e., thanker) again refers

to the specific mental state associated with and expressed in the illocution of thanking, viz. *appreciation* (alongside *gratitude*). Although the clause containing the reference to the mental state of *appreciation* is elliptical as it lacks a subject and an auxiliary verb (i.e., *very much appreciated*), it can be syntactically completed by *it is very much appreciated*, where the pronoun *it* anaphorically refers to *the feedback*, which itself constitutes the content (and, by implication, the preparatory condition) of the respective illocution. Moreover, (the reference to) the mental state of appreciation lacks a thematic experiencer due to the reference to appreciation taking the form of a passive verb which does not require an additional clause constituent. However, the experiencer of this mental state can be inferred to be the speaker (i.e., thanker) since they have just explicitly performed the illocution of thanking and thereby conventionally expressed the mental state(s) of *appreciation* and/or *gratitude*. Against this background, the utterance (*it is*) *very much appreciated (by me)* can be conceptualized as a supportive move relative to the head act *thanks for the feedback guys*. In (195), the parameter *sincerity condition* is entextualized both by the adjective *sincere* and the noun *sincerity*. In contrast to the first three examples, where entextualizations of this parameter referred to a particular mental state associated with the corresponding illocution, this example contains a reference to the general concept of sincerity. Explicitly importing the notion of sincerity into the discourse, the speaker discusses the importance of sincerity in performing the illocutionary act of apologizing as well as the effect of an increased frequency of performing the illocutionary act of apologizing on its sincerity. In discussing the importance of sincerity in apologizing by stating that *it's significant to apologize plus be sincere*, the speaker notably separates the notion of sincerity from the illocution of apologizing by presenting sincerity as a quality added (*plus*) to an apology rather than a pragmatic presupposition of an apology in particular and any illocution in general. Moreover, the speaker establishes a correlation between the frequency of performing the illocution of apologizing and the notion of sincerity by stating that an increased frequency (i.e., *apologizing everyday, keep telling [...] that you're sorry*) may result in a (perceived) decrease or loss of sincerity. Notably, this is the only example in the entire dataset in which the general concept of sincerity (as opposed to specific mental states) is elaborated upon as a distinct object of meta-communication. In (196), the parameter *sincerity condition* is entextualized by the adverb *sincerely*. While the entextualization of this parameter also contains a reference to the general concept of sincerity, it is crucially different from (195) in that it does not constitute a distinct object of meta-communication. Rather, the adverb *sincerely* only serves to modify the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *apologize*. However, considering that the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *apologize* is used performatively as part of the explicit performative construction *I*

apologize for [...] (in its full syntactic form), the adverb *sincerely* may – in addition to its general syntactic role of modifying the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) apologize* – further be assigned the pragmatic role of intensifying the illocutionary force associated with the speaker’s act of apologizing. In (197), the parameter *sincerity condition* is entextualized by the adjective *hollow*, which functions as a pre-modifier of the plural meta-illocutionary noun *apologies*. In contrast to the examples discussed above, this example contains a metaphorical rather than a literal reference to the general concept of sincerity, construing the illocution as a ‘container’ and sincerity as the ‘charge’ or ‘filling’. Consequently, *hollow* refers to a lack of sincerity resulting in the metaphorical container ‘not being filled’. By contrast, the pre-modifying adjective *full*, which also occurs in the present dataset, refers to the givenness of sincerity which ‘fills the container’. A similar dichotomy found in the dataset is *shallow* vs. *deep* foregrounding the depth of the ‘container’ as metaphorically representing the illocution, where *shallow* metaphorically refers to a lack of sincerity (as it cannot ‘fill the container’), whereas *deep* metaphorically refers to its givenness (as it can, and indeed does, ‘fill the container’). In (198), the parameter *sincerity condition* is entextualized by the adjective *heartly*, which functions as a pre-modifier of the meta-illocutionary noun *congratulations*. This example also contains a metaphorical reference to the general concept of sincerity, where (the mental state expressed in) the illocution of congratulating is attributed to the (speaker’s, congratulator’s) heart. Since the heart conventionally symbolizes, among other things, (strong) feelings in general and pleasure, affection, and love in particular, the reference to ‘heartiness’ can be interpreted as the speaker genuinely entertaining the mental state of pleasure and, by extension, being sincere in expressing the latter as part of the illocution of congratulating. In addition to syntactically pre-modifying the plural meta-illocutionary noun *congratulations* and entextualizing the parameter *sincerity condition*, the use of the adverb *heartly* may further be said to pragmatically intensify the illocutionary force of the congratulation as the speaker is using the corresponding meta-illocutionary noun performatively as part of the nominal elliptical construction *congratulations [...]*.

Altogether, entextualizations of the parameter *sincerity condition* were quite diverse as they encompassed both general and specific references as well as literal and metaphorical expressions. Despite their low overall frequency, entextualizations of this parameter displayed quite clear-cut qualitative and quantitative patterns across references to different illocutions and illocutionary types. Regarding quantitative variation, the parameter *sincerity condition* was entextualized substantially more frequently in references to *expressive* illocutions than in references to *directive* illocutions. Within references to *expressive* illocutions (and the entire

dataset more generally), this parameter was by far most often entextualized in references to apologizing. Within references to *directive* illocutions, by contrast, no such difference across individual illocutions was detected. In terms of qualitative variation, references to *directive* illocutions were combined almost exclusively with references to specific mental states expressed by them (i.e., *want*, *wish*, *desire*). Notably, *wish* was most often associated with the illocution of commanding, which is due to (variants of) the idiomatic expression *Your wish is my command* occurring multiple times in the present dataset. Otherwise, no notable patterns across individual *directive* illocutions were found. References to *expressive* illocutions, on the other hand, displayed much more qualitative variation in entextualizations of the parameter *sincerity condition*: While references to thanking were also mainly combined with references to the specific mental state(s) expressed (i.e., *gratitude*, *appreciation*), references to apologizing were most often combined with references to the general concept of sincerity, both literal (e.g., *sincere*, *genuine*) and metaphorical (e.g., *full*, *hollow*, *deep*), and references to congratulating were most often combined with metaphorical references to both the general concept of sincerity and the specific mental state of pleasure (e.g., *heartly*, *warm*). In the face of quite distinct differences in entextualizations of the parameter *sincerity condition* across illocutions and illocutionary types, ‘cross-regional’ differences were again minimal, as GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE all roughly followed a similar pattern including the same similarities and differences in entextualizations of this parameter across the remaining independent variables as outlined above.

4.3.3.5 *Essential condition*

The parameter *essential condition* is also entextualized very rarely in the present dataset. For the present purposes, entextualizations of this parameter were taken to be explications of the *counts as*-relation between the speaker’s utterance on the one hand and the illocution – specifically (the speaker’s undertaking to bring about) the illocutionary point – on the other. As a result of explicating this *counts as*-relation, entextualizations of the parameter *essential condition* highly co-occur with entextualizations of the parameter *locution*, as the latter are then explicitly linked to (the concept of) the respective illocution as referred to by the relevant meta-illocutionary item. However, there were also instances in which non-verbal actions were presented as *counting as* the performance of a specific illocutionary act. The examples below illustrate selected realizations of explications of the *counts as*-relation across illocutions, illocutionary types, and sub-corpora:

(199) "You really gotta move," his lips moved from somewhere underneath that grisly beard. I'm no fool, I knew that it **wasn't** a request; it **was** a command, a thin veiled threat. (KE_COMMAND_19)

(200) For, although Kant always insists that God abides by the moral law, he does not therefore believe God is subordinate to it; rather, the categorical imperative **is** a command of God. (HK_COMMAND_39)

(201) A strong Amazon listing is a vital tool to help the right people discover the right books for them. So I have two requests for help, regardless of whether you yourself are interested in The Olympics Beat, and two calls to action for anyone who did buy the book. Requests for Help (for everyone) # 1) Go to the Amazon listing for The Olympics Beat and tag it with relevant key words. [...] # 2) Go to the Amazon listing for The Olympics Beat and click the 'like' button just beneath the title. (HK_REQUEST_45)

(202) The Federation for Historical Memory said that it considers the 500ft high granite cross a "symbol of death and vengeance " and is demanding it be " blown up **as** a public apology to the victims of Francoism. " (GB_APOLOGY_24)

(203) The Director of Public Prosecutions (the DDP) dismissed the hate-speech charges against the Minister after he apologised for his utterances **stating**, "On deep reflection, I humbly tender my most sincere apology to all Kenyans for the remarks I made on July 2010 and during the campaigns for the by-elections as Member of Parliament for Matuga. [...]" (KE_APOLOGY_90)

(204) Prime Minister David Cameron congratulated President Obama on his victory, saying " I think he's a very successful US president, and I look forward to working with him in the future ". (GB_CONGRATULATION_93)

In (199), the quoted utterance *You really gotta move*, which at the same time constitutes the entextualization of the parameter *locution*, is linked to the illocution of commanding represented by the meta-illocutionary noun *command*. This is achieved by the copular verb (*to be* inflected for past tense (i.e., *was*) in combination with the anaphoric reference of the pronoun *it* to the utterance *You really gotta move*. In this way, the speaker of the utterance establishes a link between utterance and illocution, thus presenting *You really gotta move* ('X') as *counting as* a command ('Y') in the respective context ('C'). Notably, the speaker further relates this *counts as*-relation to other *counts as*-relations involving the same utterance, namely by way of contrast with regard to requesting (i.e., *it wasn't a request*) and by way of equation and/or assimilation with regard to threatening (i.e., *(it was) a thin veiled threat*). In (200), the parameter *essential condition* is also entextualized by the copular verb (*to be* inflected for third person and present tense (i.e., *is*), which establishes a link in the form of a *counts as*-relation between *the categorical imperative* on the one hand and *a command (of God)* on the other. While this example is similar to (199) in establishing a link (and a *counts as*-relation) using the same copular verb, the main difference between the two examples is that, unlike *You really gotta move* in the first example, *the categorical imperative* does not entextualize the parameter *locution*. This is because *the categorical imperative* does not preserve the respective what-is-

said, for example in the form of a quotation (e.g., “Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law” or similar forms), but refers to the latter descriptively by using its conventionalized descriptive term. Therefore, it is, strictly speaking, the referent of *the categorical imperative* (i.e., the precise what-is-said) (‘X’) which is presented by the speaker as *counting as* a command (of God) (‘Y’) in the respective context (‘C’). In (201), the parameter *essential condition* is not entextualized in the form of a language-specific or verbal linking element (such as a copular verb). Here, however, it is the non-linguistic (or at least non-natural-linguistic) hash sign (#) which can be said to realize the linking function between *Requests for Help (for everyone)* on the one hand and 1) *Go to the Amazon listing for The Olympics Beat and tag it with relevant key words* as well as 2) *Go to the Amazon listing for The Olympics Beat and click the ‘like’ button just beneath the title* on the other. In this case, the function of the hash sign (#) can be said to be similar, in some respects, to the function of a colon (:), which commonly establishes links in the form of introducing explanations and exemplifications of an aforementioned notion, among other things. By establishing this type of link between utterance(s) and illocution, the speaker presents both 1) *Go to the Amazon listing for The Olympics Beat and tag it with relevant key words* (‘X₁’) and 2) *Go to the Amazon listing for The Olympics Beat and click the ‘like’ button just beneath the title* (‘X₂’) as *counting as* the speaker’s (i.e., requester’s) *Requests for Help (for everyone)* (‘Y’), which the speaker performs within the discursive here-and-now, constituting the relevant context (‘C’). In (202), the parameter *essential condition* is entextualized by the preposition *as*, which establishes a link between *the 500ft high granite cross being blown up* on the one hand and *a public apology to the victims of Francoism* on the other. In contrast to the examples discussed so far, which encompassed (i) quoted preservations of, (ii) descriptive references to, or (iii) performances of the what-is-said, the action linked to the illocution of apologizing in this case (i.e., blowing up the 500ft high granite cross) is entirely non-verbal. Moreover, this blowing up of the 500ft high granite cross is presented as being *demanded* by the *Federation for Historical Memory*, thus presupposing that it had not already been blown up at the time of utterance. Against this background, the linking preposition *as* refers to the potential function that the blowing up of the 500ft high granite cross would have, namely that of *a public apology to the victims of Francoism*. In other words, the speaker presents the (potential) blowing up of the 500ft high granite cross in the future (‘X’) as *counting as* an apology (‘Y’) in the particularized context of ‘(the aftermath of) the Spanish civil war’, broadly conceived (‘C’). In (203), the parameter *essential condition* is entextualized by the gerund *stating*, which establishes a link between the following quoted utterance (i.e., *On deep reflection, I humbly*

tender my most sincere apology to all Kenyans for the remarks I made on July 2010 and during the campaigns for the by-elections as Member of Parliament for Matuga) on the one hand and *the Minister apologizing for his utterances* on the other. Specifically, the apology of the Minister is presented as being performed ‘in’ performing (i.e., *stating*) this utterance in Austinian speech-act-theoretic terms or ‘by’ performing (i.e., *stating*) this utterance in ordinary terms. Consequently, the relevant utterance (‘X’) is presented as *counting as* an apology (‘Y’) in the respective context (‘C’). Example (204) is very similar to example (203) in that the parameter *essential condition* is also entextualized by a gerund, viz. *saying*, which establishes a link between *Prime Minister David Cameron congratulating President Obama on his victory* on the one hand and the quoted utterance (i.e., *I think he’s a very successful US president, and I look forward to working with him in the future*) in the other. Ostensibly, the same mechanisms apply accordingly: In supposedly presenting the congratulation as being performed ‘in’ or ‘by’ performing (i.e., *saying*) the respective utterance, the speaker appears to establish a *counts as*-relation between the quoted utterance (‘X’) and a congratulation (‘Y’) within the particularized context of President Barack Obama’s re-election (‘C’). However, the main difference between (203) and (204) is that whereas the quoted utterance in the former contains a device indicating the relevant illocutionary force of apologizing (i.e., the meta-illocutionary noun *apology* in combination with a ‘first-order verb of performance’, viz. *(to) tender*), the quoted utterance in the latter does not contain any devices indicating the illocutionary force of congratulating. In fact, the quoted utterance does not even contain a reference to *Obama’s victory*. Therefore, the quoted utterance can be conceptualized as a supportive move complementing the (unquoted) head act realizing the illocution of congratulating. Moreover, it is conceivable that this illocutionary (micro-)act of congratulating further functions as the main component of the discursive (macro-)act of congratulating, which the speaker (i.e., congratulator, *Prime Minister David Cameron*) most probably performs by using a head act and (multiple) supportive moves. In short, while the gerund (‘in’/‘by’) *stating* in (203) establishes a *counts as*-relation between the utterance and the illocutionary (micro-)act of apologizing, where the quoted utterance (including relevant illocutionary force indicating devices) necessarily functions as the head act of the apology, the gerund (‘in’/‘by’) *saying* in (204) establishes a *counts as*-relation between the utterance and the discursive (macro-)act of congratulating, where the quoted utterance (lacking relevant illocutionary force indicating devices) likely functions as a supportive move of the congratulation.

Although entextualizations of the parameter *essential condition* were very infrequent in the present dataset, a distinct quantitative preference pattern could be observed across

references to different illocutions and illocutionary types. Specifically, this parameter was entextualized more frequently in combination with references to *directive* illocutions than in combination with references to *expressive* illocutions. However, there was also a distinct quantitative preference pattern within references to *directive* and *expressive* illocutions respectively. Within references to *directive* illocutions, the parameter *essential condition* was entextualized most often in references to the illocution of commanding, whereas within references to *expressive* illocutions, this parameter was entextualized most often in references to apologizing. Notably, entextualizations of this parameter across references to commanding and apologizing generally appeared to serve different purposes. In references to commanding, entextualizations of the parameter *essential condition* (and thus preservative explications of the specific realization of a command) were often used by the speaker to explicate the particularized perlocutionary object of this illocution, whereas in references to apologizing, entextualizations of this parameter (and thus preservative explications of the specific realization of an apology) were often used by the speaker to question the sincerity and/or the overall appropriateness of this illocution. Needless to say, exceptions to this overall pattern also exist in the present dataset. Finally, there was once again no detectable ‘cross-regional’ preference pattern regarding (the very infrequent) entextualizations of the parameter *essential condition*, as GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE largely followed the overall qualitative and quantitative patterns described above.

4.4 Realization types of the *performative* use type

For the present purposes, the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon was defined as presenting the illocution in question as a discursive process situated in the discursive here-and-now and as conceptually congruous across the participants of the ongoing interaction. From a metacommunicative and/or metapragmatic perspective, using a meta-illocutionary item in its *performative* use type corresponds to explicitly referring to the illocution which one simultaneously performs under the default pragmatic presupposition of felicity. From a ‘speech-act-realizational’ perspective, the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon thus necessarily corresponds to explicit (as opposed to implicit) realizations of the illocution in question. It is this specific constellation – viz. explicit realizations of an illocution by means of *performative* meta-illocutionary references to the latter (under the presupposition of felicity) – within which the following analysis is situated. The analysis is centered around juxtaposing occurrences of the four most quantitatively predominant realization types of the

performative use type across illocutions, illocutionary types, and ‘regions’. The four realization types in question are labeled *explicit performative*, *elliptical verbal*, *elliptical nominal*, and *hedged performative*. These are illustrated in that order in examples (205)-(207):

(205) **I beg you**, if I die, look after my baby, please, promise me! (HK_BEG_30)

(206) **Thank you** Patrick so much, I really admire all you do for Somalia. (KE_THANK_60)

(207) **Congratulations** on your efforts to protect this wonderful bird.
(GB_CONGRATULATION_40)

(208) **I would like to request** the government and WFP the World Food Programme to help us as soon as possible. (KE_REQUEST_63)

The *explicit performative* realization type corresponds to the Austinian explicit performative, viz. (the full form of) a first-person present active declarative clause which contains a meta-illocutionary verb specifying the illocution which is being performed in the discursive here-and-now. The *elliptical verbal* realization type can be conceptualized as a sub-type of the *explicit performative* realization type. The only difference between the two is subject omission and thereby the lack of an explicit reference to the speaker in the *elliptical verbal* type. Regardless of this subject omission, however, the meta-illocutionary verb – which then (often) occurs in initial position within the utterance – is still interpreted as showing indicative/declarative mood rather than imperative mood despite being formally ambiguous in that regard, at least on the surface. A factor contributing to this interpretation is the common occurrence of explicit references to the hearer (e.g., *you*) in direct object function, which eliminates an interpretation in favor of the meta-illocutionary verb showing imperative mood. The *elliptical nominal* realization type is, in a sense, also a sub-type of the *explicit performative* realization type. But in addition to subject omission, the *elliptical nominal* realization type is further characterized by predicate omission, which crucially precludes the performative use of a meta-illocutionary verb. Instead, this realization type contains a meta-illocutionary noun (phrase) in direct object function, which commonly occurs in initial position within the utterance. Consequently, the *elliptical nominal* realization type entails a shift in the expression of performativity away from a specific meta-illocutionary verb and – implicitly – towards a more general verb such as *(to) perform* or *(to) express*. Specifically, while the *elliptical verbal* realization *Thank you* retains the performative function of the meta-illocutionary verb *(to) thank* from the full form *I thank you*, the *elliptical nominal* realization *Thanks* entails a shift in the (implied) performative verb towards the more general verb *(to) express* in the completed form

I express (my) thanks. Finally, in contrast to the *explicit performative*, the *elliptical verbal*, and the *elliptical nominal* realization types, which – despite variation in the performative verb – are all conventionally direct realization strategies, the *hedged performative* realization type is a conventionally indirect realization strategy. The *hedged performative* realization type is characterized by the speaker's expression of their dynamic volition associated with the performance of the illocution represented by the relevant meta-illocutionary item (most often a non-finite verb). In performing the direct, literal act of informing the hearer about the own dynamic volition to perform an illocution, the speaker indirectly performs this illocution by way of convention.

In addition to these four realization types, an *other* category was introduced which comprised quantitatively negligible realization strategies of the performative use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. This *other* category encompassed inflections of the performative meta-illocutionary verb for either passive voice or for progressive aspect as well as performative uses of non-meta-illocutionary verbs in combination with meta-illocutionary nouns. Examples (209)-(211) below illustrate – in that order – an inflection of the performative meta-illocutionary verb for passive voice, an inflection of the performative meta-illocutionary verb for progressive aspect, and the performative use of a non-meta-illocutionary verb in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun in direct object function:

(209) All websites **are requested** to rapidly delete all articles sourced from the " Jinghua Daily ", the " Capital Daily " and the " Huaxia Times " concerning the Beijing taxi price adjustment, please acknowledge receipt, thank you. (HK_REQUEST_83)

(210) This law suit HAS to get in the media!!?? I'm **begging** you to do a story about it. (KE_BEG_77)

(211) I share my **congratulations** with Somali National Forces, local forces and AMISOM forces who jointly took control of Kismayo. (KE_CONGRATULATION_5)

While these strategies are certainly worth analyzing from a qualitative point of view, they were hardly quantitatively present in this study's dataset, which is why they will not be the (main) focus of analysis.

4.4.1 Directives

Table 6 illustrates raw frequency distributions of realization types of the *performative* use type across meta-illocutionary references to *directive* illocutions. Due to occasional exclusions of individual examples from the present study's overall dataset, these raw frequencies display slight deviations from the corresponding relative frequencies reported (in the form of percentage values) in sub-chapters 4.2.1.1, 4.2.1.2, and 4.2.1.3. Overall, (both absolute and relative) frequencies of the *performative* use type in meta-illocutionary references to *directive* illocutions were very low, with references to begging constituting the only exception to this pattern. Between all sub-corpora considered for the present purposes, meta-illocutionary references to requesting and commanding displayed seven and six *performative* uses respectively, whereas references to begging displayed 31 *performative* uses. Needless to say, these raw frequency values are too low for chi-square tests to be performed, making potential differences across realization types, illocutions, and sub-corpora inconclusive in terms of statistical significance. Nonetheless, it can be observed that, at least by trend, the *performative* use type displays a considerable share only in references to begging as opposed to references to requesting and commanding (see also sub-chapters 4.2.1.1-4.2.1.3), that the *performative* use type in references to begging is quantitatively dominated by the *explicit performative* realization type, and perhaps that GloWbE KE comprises a considerably larger share of the performative use type than GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK.

Table 6. Distribution of realization types of the *performative* use type across *directive* illocutions.

<i>performative</i> realization types	REQUESTING			COMMANDING			BEGGING		
	GB	HK	KE	GB	HK	KE	GB	HK	KE
explicit perf.	0	0	3	2	0	3	9	11	7
elliptical V	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
elliptical N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
hedged perf.	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
other	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
Σ	0	1	6	3	0	3	11	12	8

4.4.2 Expressives

Table 7 illustrates raw frequency distributions of realization types of the *performative* use type across meta-illocutionary references to *expressive* illocutions. Once again, occasional exclusions of examples from this study's dataset resulted in slight discrepancies between the

raw frequencies reported below and the corresponding percentage values reported in sub-chapters 4.2.2.1, 4.2.2.2, and 4.2.2.3. Frequencies of the *performative* use type in meta-illocutionary references to *expressive* illocutions were very high in contrast to references to *directive* illocutions, with references to apologizing constituting an exception to this pattern. Overall, meta-illocutionary references to thanking displayed 263 *performative* uses, meta-illocutionary references to congratulating displayed 195 *performative* uses, and meta-illocutionary references to apologizing displayed 68 *performative* uses. However, these *performative* uses centered around only a few realization types (in terms of quantity), thus ruling out the validity of chi-square tests for many potential juxtapositions of illocutions, sub-corpora, or realization types. Nonetheless, those juxtapositions which did quantitatively allow for chi-square tests to be performed were tested for statistical significance based on slightly reduced total sums of frequencies of occurrence (excluding the infrequently occurring realization types) where necessary and/or applicable.

Considering the sum of all realization types, a 3x3 chi-squared test revealed no statistically significant relation between the three *expressive* illocutions and the three sub-corpora ($\chi^2 = 0.1$, $p = 0.99874$). Moreover, all of the dyadic juxtapositions of illocutions and/or sub-corpora displayed similarly small effect sizes and none of them were statistically significant. Regarding raw frequencies of the *elliptical nominal* realization type exclusively, another 3x3 chi-squared test again revealed no statistically significant relation between *expressive* illocution and the three sub-corpora ($\chi^2 = 0.6$, $p = 0.96664$). Furthermore, none of the dyadic juxtapositions of illocutions and/or sub-corpora revealed statistically significant differences. In terms of the two most frequent realization types for each illocution, 3x2 chi squared tests revealed no statistically significant relation between realization types (i.e., *elliptical verbal* versus *elliptical nominal*) and sub-corpora in thanking ($\chi^2 = 3.3$, $p = 0.18814$), no statistically significant relation between realization types (i.e., *explicit performative* versus *elliptical nominal*) and sub-corpora in apologizing ($\chi^2 = 0.9$, $p = 0.62763$), and a marginally significant relation between realization types (i.e., *explicit performative* versus *elliptical nominal*) and sub-corpora in congratulating ($\chi^2 = 4.5$, $p = 0.10608$). In (*performative*) references to thanking, dyadic juxtapositions of the *elliptical verbal* and the *elliptical nominal* realization type displayed no statistically significant difference across GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK ($\chi^2 = 0.3$, $p = 0.60551$), no statistically significant difference across GloWbE UK and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 1.7$, $p = 0.19749$), and a marginally statistically significant difference across GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 3.1$, $p = 0.07716$). In (*performative*) references to apologizing, dyadic juxtapositions of the *explicit performative* and the *elliptical nominal* realization type displayed

no statistically significant difference across GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK ($\chi^2 = 0.9$, $p = 0.33729$), no significant difference across GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 0.1$, $p = 0.69945$), and no significant difference across GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 0.3$, $p = 0.59147$). In (*performative*) references to congratulating, dyadic juxtapositions of the *explicit performative* and the *elliptical nominal* realization type displayed no statistically significant difference across GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK ($\chi^2 = 0.0$, $p = 0.95451$), a marginally significant difference across GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 3.1$, $p = 0.07668$), and a marginally significant difference across GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE ($\chi^2 = 2.9$, $p = 0.08958$). Apart from these juxtapositions, (most) remaining raw frequency values were too low for their distributions to be tested for statistical significance according to chi-squared tests.

Nonetheless, it can be observed that, within *expressives*, thanking is most often performed explicitly and dominated by the *elliptical nominal* as well as the *elliptical verbal* realization type, congratulating is less often performed explicitly but dominated by the *elliptical nominal* realization type only, and apologizing is least often performed explicitly and displays a somewhat balanced distribution of the *explicit performative* and the *elliptical nominal* realization type. While many of these distributions are relatively stable (or at least not significantly different) across sub-corpora, GloWbE KE displays a (marginally significantly) higher frequency of the *explicit performative* realization type as well as a (marginally significantly) lower frequency of the *elliptical nominal* realization type in explicit performances of the illocution of congratulating (and potentially thanking) but not in explicit performances of the illocution of apologizing. These main results will be discussed against the background of potential cross-cultural differences, the effect of the genre of blogging, and the status of routinized formulae in explicit performances of *expressive* illocutions.

Table 7. Distribution of realization types of the *performative* use type across *expressive* illocutions.

<i>performative</i> realization types	THANKING			APOLOGIZING			CONGRATULATING		
	GB	HK	KE	GB	HK	KE	GB	HK	KE
explicit perf.	3	3	11	7	10	7	5	5	11
elliptical V	32	27	36	0	0	0	0	0	0
elliptical N	50	50	37	13	10	10	54	52	44
hedged perf.	5	5	4	3	2	2	3	6	8
other	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	2	2
Σ	90	85	88	23	23	22	65	65	65

4.5 Summary

The present sub-chapter aims to briefly summarize this study's main results in view of the following discussion which will serve the purpose of relating the findings of the present study to its theoretical embedding. The results obtained in the present study relate to (i) absolute and normalized frequencies of use of meta-illocutionary items, both in terms of occurrences per million words and in terms of word class distribution, (ii) use type distributions of meta-illocutionary items in context, (iii) entextualization patterns regarding contextual features of illocutions (as represented by the respective meta-illocutionary items), and (iv) realizations of the *performative* use type of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. These results are further juxtaposed (i) inter-categorially along the lines of *directives* and *expressives*, (ii) intra-categorially along the lines of requesting, commanding, and begging on the one hand, and thanking, apologizing, and congratulating on the other, and (iii) 'cross-regionally' along the lines of GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE.

In terms of frequencies per million words, the three *expressive* illocutions (i.e., thanking, apologizing, congratulating) were explicitly referred to almost twice as often as the three *directive* illocutions (i.e., requesting, commanding, begging). However, there was a distinct quantitative imbalance between explicit references to the individual illocutions, both within the *directive* class and within the *expressive* class. Within the *directive* class, references to requesting occurred – on average – more than twice as often as references to commanding and almost six times as often as references to begging. Within the *expressive* class, references to thanking occurred – on average – more than eight times as often as references to apologizing and almost twelve times as often as references to congratulating. In other words, the normalized frequency distribution across *directives* and *expressives* is, in large part, (co-)determined by the normalized frequencies of references to requesting and thanking respectively. In terms of 'cross-regional' differences, the subset pertaining to *directive* illocutions displayed a distinct quantitative dispreference for references to requesting in GloWbE GB, a quantitative preference for references to commanding in GloWbE HK, and a quantitative preference for references to begging in GloWbE KE. The subset pertaining to *expressive* illocutions, on the other hand, displayed a distinct quantitative dispreference for references to thanking in GloWbE HK, a distinct quantitative preference for references to apologizing in GloWbE GB, and a quantitative preference for references to congratulating in GloWbE KE.

In terms of word class distribution, the three *directive* illocutions were referred to slightly more often by verb forms than by noun forms, whereas in references to expressive

illocutions, the corresponding word class distribution was almost fully balanced. However, these distributions displayed strong variation across *directive* illocutions: While the illocutions of requesting and commanding both displayed notable preferences for nominal references, the illocution of begging was almost exclusively referred to by verb forms, which skewed the average distribution for the three *directive* illocutions in favor of the latter. By contrast, the corresponding degree of variation across *expressive* illocution was substantially lower: References to thanking and apologizing both displayed a slight preference for verb forms, whereas references to congratulating displayed a slight preference for noun forms. ‘Cross-regional’ differences in word class distribution were found in references to four of the six illocutions considered, namely requesting and commanding in the *directive* class, and thanking and congratulating in the expressive class. In references to these four illocutions, GloWbE KE always displayed a markedly stronger preference for verb forms than GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK. While word class distributions of GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE were roughly on par, the share of verb forms in GloWbE KE was higher by about 10-15% in each case. In references to begging and apologizing, by contrast, no such differences were found.

In terms of use type distributions of meta-illocutionary items in context, references to the three *directive* illocutions displayed an average preference (in terms of relative frequency ranking) for the *descriptive* use type followed by the *meta-commenting* use type, the *mixed* category, and the *performative* use type. References to the three *expressive* illocutions, by contrast, displayed a distinct average preference (in terms of relative frequency ranking) for the *performative* use type followed by the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type, and the *mixed* category. Within references to *directive* illocutions, the average preference pattern (in terms of relative frequency ranking) remained fully stable across references to requesting, commanding, and begging. Within references to *expressive* illocutions, by contrast, there was distinct intra-categorical variation regarding preference patterns (in terms of relative frequency rankings): While references to thanking and congratulating were in line with the average pattern, references to apologizing displayed a divergent preference pattern favoring the *descriptive* use type followed by the *meta-commenting* use type, the *performative* use type, and the *mixed* category, thus broadly resembling the average preference pattern found in references to *directive* illocutions. Moreover, although references to thanking and congratulating were in line with the average pattern found in references to *expressive* illocutions, they differed substantially in the shares of the preferred *performative* use type, which was almost 90% in references to thanking but only 66% in references to congratulating. ‘Cross-regional’ differences in use type distributions were relatively small in references to *directive* illocutions.

The included, among other things, a GloWbE GB preference for the *descriptive* use type in references to requesting, a GloWbE GB preference and a GloWbE HK dispreference for the *descriptive* use type in references to commanding, and a GloWbE KE preference for the *descriptive* use type as well as a GloWbE KE dispreference for the *performative* use type in references to begging. In references to *expressive* illocutions, by contrast, ‘cross-regional’ differences in use type distributions were (almost) non-existent.

In terms of entextualization patterns, individual contextual features (represented as parameters in the present analysis) displayed different degrees of variation across this study’s independent variables. Entextualizations of the parameter type *setting*, which consisted of the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, and *place*, displayed strong qualitative variation across references to *directive* and *expressive* illocutions. In references to *directive* illocutions, entextualizations of these parameters most often pointed away from the discursive here-and-now, with references to third parties entextualizing the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*, general references to the past (and occasionally specific references to a point in time in the past) entextualizing the parameter *time*, and occasional references to physical places or virtual spaces outside the relevant blog entextualizing the parameter *place*. In references to *expressive* illocutions, by contrast, entextualizations of these parameters most often pointed towards the discursive here-and-now, with references to the respective bloggers entextualizing the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*, general (and occasionally specific) references to the present entextualizing the parameter *time*, and occasional references to the relevant blog or virtual space entextualizing the parameter *place*. Within references to *directive* illocutions, only entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* displayed major variation, whereas entextualizations of the parameters *time* and *place* remained largely stable. In references to requesting, the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* were entextualized by references to entities in business and politics, in references to commanding, these parameters were entextualized by references to entities in religion and the military, and in references to commanding, they were entextualized by references to private persons. Within references to *expressive* illocutions, some – albeit minor – variation was found in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* and also in entextualizations of the parameters *time* and *place*. While entextualizations in references to thanking and congratulating followed the overall pattern for *expressives* described above, references to apologizing displayed a balance both in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* – which were realized both by references to the respective bloggers and references to entities in business and politics – and in entextualizations of the parameters *time*

and *place* – which were realized both by references to the present and the respective blog, and by references to the past and a physical place or a virtual space outside of the respective blog.

Entextualizations of the parameter type *concomitant constitutive acts*, which consisted of the parameters *locution* and *perlocution*, also displayed variation across references to *directive* and *expressive* illocutions. The parameter *locution*, which was rarely entextualized overall, was entextualized most often in references to commanding and slightly less often in references to apologizing. Apart from that, no variation across illocutions or illocutionary types could be discerned due to the low overall frequency of entextualizations of this parameter. Entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution*, by contrast, displayed very strong quantitative variation across references to *directive* and *expressive* illocutions: In references to *directive* illocutions, this parameter was entextualized in more than half of the dataset, whereas in references to *expressive* illocutions, this parameter was entextualized in less than one tenth of the dataset. Within references to *directive* illocutions, the parameter *perlocution* was most often entextualized in references to requesting and commanding, and less frequently in references to begging. Moreover, entextualizations of this parameter were mainly realized by general references (i.e., *obeying*, *fulfilling*) in commanding as opposed to specific references (i.e., *buying a car*) in requesting and begging. Within references to *expressive* illocutions, by contrast, no such differences were observed due to the low overall occurrence of entextualizations of this parameter.

Entextualizations of the parameter type *felicity conditions*, which consisted of the parameters *input and output conditions*, *content*, *preparatory condition*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition*, displayed relatively little variation across illocutions and illocutionary types, although some distinct differences were found. The parameter *input and output conditions* was entextualized only three times in the entire dataset, and all three entextualizations of this pattern indicated that normal input and output conditions did not obtain. Needless to say, this exceedingly low number of entextualizations does not permit juxtapositions across (references to) illocutions or illocutionary types. The parameter *content* was entextualized in almost all examples in the present dataset. While entextualizations of this parameter were highly diverse overall, some trends across illocutions and illocutionary types could still be identified. In references to *directive* illocutions, entextualizations of the parameter *content* often specified a future act of the *hearer* outside the ongoing interaction, whereas in references to *expressive* illocutions, entextualizations of the parameter *content* often specified a past act of the *speaker* which was (more or less) related to the ongoing asynchronous

interaction on the respective blog. Within the *directive* class, entextualizations of the parameter *content* – which largely tied in with those of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* presented above – mainly related to the *hearer's* future act as part of a political or business transaction in references to requesting, the *hearer's* future act as part of a religious ritual or a military directive in references to commanding, and the *hearer's* future act facilitating the securing of the *speaker's* survival in references to begging. Within the *expressive* class, by contrast, entextualizations of the parameter *content* mainly related to the *hearer's* past act of commenting on the *speaker's* blogpost in references to thanking, the *speaker's* past failure to update the *hearer(s)* by not posting on the blog in references to apologizing, and the *hearer's* past marriage, birth of a child, or victory at a competition – as shared with the blogging community by means of a blogpost – in references to congratulating. The parameter *preparatory condition* was also entextualized often in the present dataset, albeit not as often as the parameter *content*. The main difference in entextualizations of this parameter across references to *directive* illocutions and *expressive* illocutions is that in the latter, this parameter (and thus the obtaining of the relevant preparatory condition) was most often implied by entextualizations of the parameter *content*, whereas in the former, entextualizations of the parameters *content* and *preparatory condition* were separate. Within *directive* illocutions, references to requesting were most often combined with references to the dynamic ability of the requestee to perform the relevant act, references to commanding were most often combined with references to the asymmetrical power relation between the participants in favor of the commander, and references to begging were most often combined with references to the desperation of the beggar in meeting their basic needs or securing their survival. Within references to *expressives*, by contrast, specifications of preparatory conditions of the individual illocutions mainly corresponded to the respective entextualizations of the parameter *content*, viz. the thankee having commented on the thanker's blogpost, the apologizer not having updated the apologizee(s) by means of a blogpost, and the congratulatee having won a competition, gotten married, or had a child as revealed in a previous blogpost. The parameter *sincerity condition* was again entextualized very rarely in the present dataset. Entextualizations of this parameter encompassed both general and specific references, and literal and metaphorical references to sincerity and/or the relevant mental states expressed in the performance of the respective illocutions. Despite the low overall number of entextualizations of this parameter, this number was substantially higher in references to *expressive* illocutions than in references to *directive* illocutions. Within *directive* illocutions, entextualizations of this parameter were most frequent in references to commanding, whereas within *expressive* illocutions, they were most frequent

in references to apologizing. Moreover, references to *directive* illocutions mainly favored literal references to the specific mental state expressed (e.g., *wish*, *want*), whereas references to *expressive* illocutions favored references to the general concept of sincerity, both literal ones (i.e., *sincere*) and metaphorical ones (e.g., *full*, *deep*). Finally, the parameter *essential condition* was also entextualized very rarely in the present dataset. Conceptualized as explications of the *counts as*-relation between an utterance (or a non-verbal act) ('X') and an illocution ('Y') in a specific context ('C'), entextualizations of this parameter occurred almost exclusively in references to commanding and in references to apologizing. In references to commanding, entextualizations of the parameter *essential condition* mainly served the purpose of emphasizing (the strength of) the illocutionary force of an utterance (including, by implication, its conventional illocutionary effects and particularized perlocutionary objects). In references to apologizing, by contrast, entextualizations of this parameter were often used to challenge the apologizer's sincerity in performing this illocution, which was (almost) never the case in references to commanding.

While entextualizations of different parameters and parameter types varied to differing degrees across the independent variables of illocution and illocutionary type, they hardly varied at all across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. The only exception to this is found in the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *place*, and *content*, where entextualizations in GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE relate to both Christian and Islamic faith, whereas entextualizations in GloWbE HK relate to Christian faith exclusively. Apart from that, entextualization patterns across these sub-corpora are highly similar with respect to most (if not all) parameters chosen for the present purposes.

In terms of realization types of the *performative* use type of meta-illocutionary references, the rather small dataset pertaining to *directive* illocutions was generally dominated by the *explicit performative* realization type, whereas the large dataset pertaining to *expressive* illocutions was dominated by the *elliptical nominal* realization type and, to a lesser extent, by the *elliptical verbal* realization type. Within meta-illocutionary references to *directive* illocutions, *performative* references to begging occurred more frequently than *performative* references to requesting and commanding. In meta-illocutionary references to requesting, GloWbE KE displayed the most *explicit performative* uses relative to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK. In meta-illocutionary references to commanding, GloWbE HK displayed no *performative* uses at all in contrast to the three uses each in GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE,. In meta-illocutionary references to begging, GloWbE KE displayed the least *explicit performative*

uses relative to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK. Within meta-illocutionary references to *expressive* illocutions, *performative* references to thanking and apologizing displayed by far the highest and lowest frequencies respectively. In meta-illocutionary references to thanking, GloWbE KE displayed both a higher frequency of the *explicit performative* realization type and a lower frequency of the *elliptical nominal* realization type than GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK. In meta-illocutionary references to apologizing, which display a relatively balanced distribution of the *explicit performative* realization type and the *elliptical nominal* realization type in the comparatively small dataset, GloWbE HK displayed the highest frequency of the *explicit performative* realization type and GloWbE GB displayed the highest frequency of the *elliptical nominal* realization type. In meta-illocutionary references to congratulating, GloWbE KE again displayed both a higher frequency of the *explicit performative* realization type and a lower frequency of the *elliptical nominal* realization type than GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK, which reached marginal statistical significance.

5. Discussion

The present chapter aims to relate the main empirical results of the present study to various aspects of its theoretical embedding, thus providing tentative explanations for the patterns found in the dataset. Specifically, this chapter will be sub-divided into discussions of frequencies and salience (sub-chapter 5.1), word class shares and institutionalization (sub-chapter 5.2), use type distributions, realizations, and conceptualizations of illocutionary types (sub-chapter 5.3), entextualization patterns and the situatedness of illocutions (and speech acts) in discourse (sub-chapter 5.4), and *performative* realization types, routinized formulae, and cross-cultural differences (sub-chapter 5.5).

5.1 Frequencies and salience

While the relationship between frequencies of occurrence and cognitive salience is often problematized within psycholinguistic approaches to language processing and language acquisition (e.g., Boswijk & Coler 2020), emerging empirical studies on the meta-illocutionary lexicon in use – which are mainly based on corpus data – still subscribe to the assumption that “high frequencies [of meta-illocutionary items] reflect the psychological salience and interactional prominence of the speech acts [or illocutions] that they name” (Schneider 2021:

14). Following this assumption, the following conclusions – in line with the normalized frequencies reported above (see sub-chapter 4.1.1) – can be drawn: Inter-categorially, the three *expressive* illocutions are overall more salient and interactionally prominent than the three *directive* illocutions. Intra-categorially, the illocutions of requesting and thanking are by far the most salient and interactionally prominent within the classes of *directives* and *expressives* respectively. ‘Cross-regionally’, across the three *directive* illocutions considered for the present purposes, the illocution of requesting is the least salient/prominent in GloWbE GB, the illocution of commanding is the most salient/prominent in GloWbE HK, and the illocution of begging is the most salient/prominent in GloWbE KE. Across *expressives*, the illocution of thanking is the most salient/prominent in GloWbE KE and the least salient/prominent in GloWbE HK, the illocution of apologizing is the most salient/prominent in GloWbE GB, and the illocution of congratulating is the most salient/prominent in GloWbE KE. While some of these contrastive findings can be explained with sufficient degrees of confidence, others require further research and empirical verification.

The stronger overall salience and prominence of *expressive* illocutions vis-à-vis *directive* illocutions can be attributed to the status of blogs as social tools (Baker & Moore 2008) and social arenas (Walker Rettberg 2014). Specifically, the genre of blogging is often conceptualized as the predecessor of social media and its sub-genres, many of which have since undergone a development from text-predominant to multimodal and further to image-predominant microblogs (Newson et al. 2009). As the name suggests, social media is characterized, among other things, by the establishment, maintenance, and expansion of social networks among users as facilitated by (computer-)mediated communication in general and virtual platforms (and their communicative modes and functions) in particular. Establishing, maintaining, and expanding social networks through (computer-)mediated communication, in turn, requires an emphasis on the social aspect of (verbal) communication by the relevant participants. This is precisely the case in *expressive* illocutions, which – in addition to expressing the speaker’s mental states about states of affairs – are characterized by their distinctive social function (Norrick 1978). Defined broadly as “the set of roles it fills in a given society”, the social function of an illocutionary act “necessarily includes its perlocutionary effect, perhaps as a means to achieving it, but may go beyond it” (Norrick 1978: 280). The social function is thus predominantly situated in what can be called the ‘less immediate’ perlocutionary effect (or, more precisely in terms of speaker intention, the ‘less immediate’ perlocutionary object) of an illocution. In the case of *expressives*, this ‘less immediate’ perlocutionary effect (or object), in turn, results from – or is intended to result from – the ‘more

immediate' perlocutionary effect (or object) of the hearer acknowledging the speaker's expression of their mental state about a state of affairs. Beyond the common perlocutionary effect (or object) of the hearer's acknowledgement, the illocution of thanking can have the social functions of "a compliment or flattery, perhaps in the hope of receiving future favors" (Norrick 1978: 285), the illocution of apologizing can be performed "to appease people we have injured, to avoid accusations and/or reprisals, to implicate contrition and, of course, to elicit acts of forgiving and be freed from guilt" (Norrick 1978: 284), and the illocution of congratulating can have the social functions of expressing "personal pride in addition to pleasure, as when a trainer congratulates [their] prize trainee on a victory" or "encouraging the addressee to continue [their] efforts" (Norrick 1978: 286). The predominance of the social function of *expressive* illocutions – in relation to which (the expression of) the speaker's mental states only "play a secondary role" (Norrick 1978: 280) – is thus argued to explain their salience and prominence in the social genre of blogging as reflected in normalized frequencies of pertinent meta-illocutionary references in the present dataset.

Within *directive* illocutions, the strongest overall salience and prominence of references to requesting can be attributed to the underspecified status of the illocution of requesting within the class of *directives* as reflected in its preparatory conditions. Specifically, while the illocution of requesting only requires (the speaker's belief regarding) the hearer's ability to perform the requested act as well as the non-obviousness of the hearer performing this act in a normal course of events as part of its preparatory conditions, other members of the *directive* class require additional preparatory conditions, viz. the institutional power relationship between the speaker and the hearer in commanding or the speaker's desperation in securing their basic needs in begging (Searle 1969: 66-67). Against this background, requesting can be conceptualized as a 'more general' *directive* illocution, whereas commanding and begging can be conceptualized as 'more specific' *directive* illocutions. In other words, the illocutions of commanding and begging can be conceptualized as particularized types of the illocution of requesting, at least in terms of Searle's (1969) preparatory conditions. Considering that requesting requires the least number of preparatory conditions to obtain, and that meta-illocutionary references to *directive* illocutions were generally dominated by the *descriptive* use type, it is conceivable that ordinary language users who talk about *directive* illocutions (as performed outside the discursive here-and-now) generally resort to using meta-illocutionary references to the 'more general' illocution of requesting, especially in cases where they have no (or too little) detailed knowledge of the (non-)obtaining of the relevant preparatory conditions. In this view, referring to the 'more general' *directive* illocution of requesting rather than a 'more specific' *directive*

illocution (if applicable) can be argued to constitute a ‘safe option’ forfeiting specificity in denomination for the purpose of preserving or facilitating communicative efficiency. The speakers’ resorting to this ‘safe option’ is, in turn, argued to be (partially and indirectly) reflected in the high normalized frequency values for references to requesting as opposed to those for references to commanding and begging. Needless to say, the discussion of findings pertaining to frequencies of references to *directive* illocutions is restricted to the three illocutions selected for the present purposes (i.e., requesting, commanding, begging). Therefore, it cannot account for references to other, potentially comparable locutions or illocutions (e.g., requiring, asking, telling), which may be more quantitatively predominant in the (largely) informal genre of blogging (Montero-Fleta et al. 2009).

‘Cross-regionally’, references to requesting were quantitatively dispreferred in GloWbE GB relative to GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE. This difference can be argued to indirectly reflect either different degrees of granularity in denominating illocutions or diverging preferences for the use of meta-illocutionary and ‘meta-locutionary’ references. On the one hand, it is conceivable that – rather than referring to the ‘more general’ *directive* illocution of requesting – speakers of English in the UK prefer to use meta-illocutionary references to ‘more specific’ *directive* illocutions (e.g., ordering, imploring, advising, etc.), thus displaying a higher degree of granularity and prioritizing specificity in the denomination of illocutions. In this case, preference among Hong Kong and Kenyan speakers of English to refer to the ‘more general’ *directive* illocution of requesting could be attributed to normed and standardized second language education which does not distinguish as strongly between the fine-grained functional differences between individual *directive* illocutions. On the other hand, it is also possible that – rather than using meta-illocutionary references to requesting – UK speakers of English prefer to use ‘meta-locutionary’ references to asking, which could be conceptualized as a functional equivalent commonly used in informal contexts (such as blogging). In this case, the preference among Hong Kong and Kenyan speakers of English to use meta-illocutionary rather than ‘meta-locutionary’ references may be attributed to the speakers’ interpretation of blogging as a more formal genre (by comparison), thus potentially evoking exonormative standards regarding formal register. However, it must be stressed that both these claims are put forward only very tentatively (not least due to their being based on indirect evidence) and are therefore in urgent need of empirical verification.

References to commanding were quantitatively preferred in GloWbE HK relative to GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE. This result is tentatively argued to reflect socio-political

circumstances in Hong Kong, especially considering its relation to ('Mainland') China. Although GloWbE HK also contained many examples relating to commanding in religious contexts, it was characterized, among other things, by frequent references to (representatives of) the People's Republic of China and its politically motivated actions directed at (the population of) Hong Kong, which did not occur at all in the other corresponding datasets. The two examples are cases in point:

(212) Hong Kong suffers disasters. [...] The **brainwashing** period is endless. Nobody can stop the **invasion of the Communist Party**. Listen to the command of **the North**. (HK_COMMAND_1)

(213) **Chinese media** are venturing today through a deep gorge of history. **Political controls**, existential pressures, reliance on advertising, restrained by powerful interests -- and this has caused many media to keep idealism at an arm's length. [...] Compliant **propaganda** is now oddly mixed with the kitsch and low-brow as media bend to the commands of **the government** on the one hand, and tilt toward the demands of the market. (HK_COMMAND_72)

The speakers of both (212) and (213) refer to the People's Republic of China as a country or geographical location (i.e., *China/Chinese, the North*) as well as to its (semi-)political representative bodies (i.e., *the Communist Party, the government*, possibly also *Chinese media*). Moreover, both examples contain negatively connotated references to the exertion of power and influence by (representatives of) the People's Republic of China on Hong Kong (i.e., *invasion, political controls*) as well as negatively connotated references to politically motivated operations carried out by (representatives of) the People's Republic of China directed at the Hong Kong population (i.e., *brainwashing, propaganda*). These two examples are argued to contextualize and thus specify the higher overall salience and prominence of the illocution of commanding found among Hong Kong speakers of English (as reflected in higher normalized frequency values of the respective meta-illocutionary items). Specifically, it is plausible that this salience and prominence of commanding results, among other things, from the (omni)presence of representative bodies of the People's Republic of China in Hong Kong (including exertions of influence and power), leading to a sensitive socio-political situation in the region, especially since the 1997 Handover.

References to begging were quantitatively preferred in GloWbE KE relative to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK. This difference is tentatively attributed to begging being a widely debated topic in Kenya due to changing attitudes towards it as part of a gradual shift from collectivist to individualist cultural orientations resulting from (the aftermath of) colonial rule. From a collectivist point of view, begging – mainly as a result of poverty – “was seen as a challenge to

the community around and any one living near such a person tried the much they could to meet their needs” (Oduor 2002: 5). Individualist cultural orientations – which are characterized, among other things, by a stronger prioritization of the self and one’s own needs and achievements – are argued to have made poverty more visible and thus created “room for destitution” (Oduor 2002: 5). Against this background, beggars often use the strategy of appealing to the original collectivist cultural orientation in order to compel fellow Kenyans to donate money or goods for the securing of the beggars’ basic needs. The apparent success of this strategy has led to begging becoming pervasive in Kenya in Kenyan society, crucially also disingenuously under the pretense of failure to meet one’s own basic needs or as a form of forced labor (Oduor 2002: 5). The pervasiveness and the disingenuousness of begging in Kenya is, in turn, reflected in the present dataset:

(214) Begging is **part of life**. We call it 'daheateyan' -- begging is the **first born**. It is **part of life**. (KE_BEG_9)

(215) Maybe the refugees don't value education like Kenyans. Or it's a gene thing. The **refugee parents** prefer to have their kids beg for them **in the streets of Westlands and Parklands in Nairobi** instead of benefiting from free education in the camps. (KE_BEG_26)

(216) There's lack of self-discipline somewhere that's causing these kids to stray. And when I did my survey I found that, yes there are orphaned kids, but there are also street kids by design; **parents send their children to the street to beg**. (KE_BEG_48)

Example (214) attests to the pervasiveness of begging in Kenya as a *part of life* and as a metaphorical *first born*, whereas examples (215) and (216) testify to the disingenuousness and the exploitation of children by their parents (including *refugee parents*) who *send their children to the street to beg* (e.g., *in the streets of Westlands and Parklands in Nairobi*), possibly as an additional source of income. In this context, the exploitation of children appears to be an effective strategy in appealing to the collectivist cultural orientation which calls for the provision of help and support (monetary or otherwise) for a helpless member of a community. Overall, the pervasiveness of begging as a strategic tool against the background of the gradual and dynamic shift in cultural orientation within Kenyan society is argued to account for the salience and prominence of the illocution of begging in GloWbE KE. A further observation corroborating this overall finding is that the illocution of begging and the (broader) activity of begging are partially intertwined (see also sub-chapter 2.4.1). While the activity of begging may, and often does, include various forms of the illocution of begging, performances of this illocution – especially explicit ones (e.g., *I beg you to do X*) – are themselves not restricted to

the activity of begging but may also be conceptualized as more ‘formal’, ‘humble’, or ‘polite’ requests (in the ordinary reading of these terms) (de Silva 1976, Ohso 1983). Therefore, the high degree of salience/prominence associated with begging in GloWbE KE (as reflected in explicit references to the latter) may have been due to a higher predominance of the (broader) activity of begging in Kenya rather than a higher predominance of the illocution of begging exclusively. Conversely, it is possible (albeit not attestable) that, as a result of the potentially lower predominance of the (broader) activity of begging in the UK and Hong Kong (as compared to Kenya), the illocution of begging in these regions is comparatively more predominant than the (broader) activity of begging. Within *expressive* illocutions, the strongest overall salience and predominance of references to thanking (as opposed to references to apologizing or congratulating) can be attributed to previous observations that meta-illocutionary references to thanking are generally very frequent within the genre of blogging. Specifically, the illocution of thanking – alongside the illocution of complimenting – has “a tendency to introduce blog comments and readers thus tend to initiate their comments by establishing rapport with fellow bloggers” (Lutzky & Gee 2018: 182). The present study’s results pertaining to the frequency of meta-illocutionary references to thanking (partially) confirm findings in Lutzky & Gee (2018), whose study examined frequencies of single word types, three-word clusters, and five-word clusters in preface position of blogposts and comments in the Birmingham Blog Corpus (BBC). Specifically, Lutzky & Gee (2018) find that, within the BBC, *thanks* is the fifth most frequent single word type in preface position (surpassed only by *I*, *oh*, *hi*, and *this*), *thanks for the* and *thank you for* are third and fourth most frequent three-word clusters in preface position respectively (surpassed only by *I love the* and *this post has*), and that *thank you so much for* is the second most frequent five-word cluster in preface position (surpassed only by *this post has been removed*, which itself is part of an automated message). The authors argue that these repeated initiations of blogposts and comments by (*performative*) references to thanking relate to the social dimension of the medium-specific functions of blogging:

They show how blog authors actively engage with their audience and reply to comments that were left on a post by thanking readers for visiting their page or leaving a comment (e.g. *Thanks for stopping by my*, *Thank you all for your*). At the same time, readers of posts express their appreciation for the information shared (e.g. *Thank you for sharing this/your ...*), thus referring to one of the main functions of blogs. (Lutzky & Gee 2018: 182)

In short, the high (normalized) frequency of occurrence of meta-illocutionary references to thanking found in the present study is argued to reflect – in combination with Lutzky & Gee’s (2018) findings – the distinct salience and prominence of the illocution of thanking as an instrument for social rapport-building in blogging. From a speech-act-theoretic perspective, this is achieved by bloggers presenting the contributions of others (i.e., their use of medium-specific functions of blogging such as posting, commenting, or sharing) as a benefit to themselves as required by the relevant preparatory condition of the illocution of thanking.

‘Cross-regionally’, references to thanking were quantitatively dispreferred in GloWbE HK and quantitatively preferred in GloWbE KE relative to GloWbE GB. While the quantitative dispreference in GloWbE HK can be attributed to Chinese reservedness in expressing gratitude (Wong 2010), the quantitative preference in GloWbE KE can be tentatively explained by the expressive nature of Swahili culture (Eastman 1992). In her study of expressions of gratitude in HKE based on analyses of the stem *thank* in the ICE-HK corpus, Wong (2010) finds only very few ‘gratitude clusters’ in her data, leading her to conclude that “the Hong Kong Chinese tend to be rather reserved in expressing their gratitude explicitly” (2010: 1256). According to Wong (2010), this overall finding is “closely tied to the Chinese way of thanking” (2010: 1255), which is characterized, among other things, by non-verbalization or avoidance strategies (Cheng 2006) reflecting (Hong Kong) Chinese speakers’ adherence to the maxims of modesty and humility (Eisenstein & Bodman 1986; 1993). Against this background, it is argued that the quantitative dispreference for meta-illocutionary references to thanking in GloWbE HK – which themselves were dominated by the *performative* use type – indirectly reflects the (Hong Kong) Chinese reservedness in expressing gratitude manifesting itself in the pervasiveness of non-verbalization or avoidance strategies as opposed to explicit verbalizations. While expressions of gratitude in HKE are well-researched empirically, there are no corresponding studies examining expressions of gratitude in KenE, at least to the author’s knowledge. However, expressions of gratitude have been discussed within the context of Swahili interjections and Swahili expressive culture by Eastman (1992). In this study, Eastman (1992) lists the Swahili expression *ahsante!* (‘thanks’) as one of many interjections which represent “a graduated transformation from purely ‘expressive’ acts (nonlinguistic) to bona fide verbal ‘expressions’” (1992: 277). Interjections, in this case, are conceptualized as a sub-type of *response cries* (Goffman 1978) which – as remnants of traditional Swahili expressive culture (Eastman 1984) – are often accompanied by performative gestures. Together, these interjections and gestures constitute pragmatic particles which function as ‘markers of emotional involvement’ (see also Östman 1982) and thus “represent an aspect of a Swahili communicative

system interacting with both the structure/form of language and the structure/form of discourse” (Eastman 1992: 282). Together with Coulmas’ (1981) observation that “the more tradition-oriented a society is, the more its members seem to make use of situational formulae” (1981: 11), it is conceivable that the high normalized frequency values of meta-illocutionary references to thanking in GloWbE KE – which are further dominated by the *performative* use type – reflect a transfer of (the pervasiveness of) these situational formulae such as *ahsante!* (‘thanks’) in Swahili onto the speakers’ performance in their L2 English. Needless to say, this claim is very tentative, not least due to current dynamic shifts in cultural orientations (and tradition-orientedness) in Kenyan society since the end of the Cold War and ensuing socio-political developments.

References to apologizing were quantitatively preferred in GloWbE GB relative to GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE. This result is tentatively argued to reflect the prominence of public apologies in British society, which has been attested both in terms of their frequencies of occurrence (Deutschmann 2003) and in terms of frequencies of reports of the latter (Ancarno 2015). Based on data elicited by means of role plays and Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs), Deutschmann (2003) concludes that apologizing is “partly a public ‘performance’” since, in his dataset, “apologising was far more common when there was an audience present” (2003: 209-210). Deutschmann (2003) attributes this finding to the importance of “presenting oneself as ‘respectable’, not only to the addressee, but also in the eyes of others present” (2003: 210). The author adds:

In public situations, it is difficult to know what value norms are held by the audience and most individuals tend to play it safe by conforming to standard views and standard ways of expressing them. When differences of opinions are aired, the apology (and probably other politeness formulae) plays an important role in disarming and toning down statements which can be conceived as controversial. (Deutschmann 2003: 210)

In addition to Deutschmann’s (2003) findings regarding frequencies of occurrence, Ancarno (2015), who contrastively examines explicit reports of public apologies across British and French media outlets, finds that public apologies are much more frequently reported in the British media than in the French media. Ancarno (2015) attributes his overall finding that “public apologizing is embraced differently across the two national media cultures” (2015: 150) to a distinctive British ‘national culture of accountability’. According to Ancarno (2015), this ‘national culture of accountability’ is reflected, among other things, in British newswriters’

particularized requirements for a public apology to be felicitous (or successful). These particularized and explicated requirements are systematized and presented by Ancarno (2015: 151) as additional felicity conditions for public apologies complementing those in Ogiermann (2009) (based on Searle 1969) for apologies in general:

- (i) Public apologies should be performed by explicit apology expressions.
- (ii) Speakers should explicitly take personal responsibility for the offence or admit guilt.
- (iii) Speakers should be personally responsible for the apologized event.
- (iv) Public apologies should be prompt.
- (v) Public apologies should be delivered willingly.
- (vi) Public apologies may be undermined if:
 - A ... public figures perform their apologies by means of an expression of sorrow/regret;
 - B ... public figures use apologies for their own benefit.

Considering that many examples in GloWbE GB include references to (and meta-comments about) *public apologies*, *full and unreserved apologies*, and *admissions of responsibility*, it can be argued with a relatively high degree of confidence that the distinctive salience and prominence of apologizing in this sub-corpus (as reflected in high normalized frequency values of the corresponding meta-illocutionary items) is related to the importance ascribed to (public) accountability and respectability in British culture.

Lastly, references to congratulating were quantitatively preferred in GloWbE KE relative to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK. Although empirical research on congratulating in Kenya is scarce (but see Rotich et al. 2021), it is worth noting that, alongside *ahsante!* ('thanks'), Eastman (1992) also lists *shabashi!* ('Bravo', 'Well done') as a common Swahili interjection which is "used to congratulate a person for, e.g., surviving an illness" (1992: 277). As noted above, these interjections are often accompanied by gestures, and conventionalized combinations of language use and gesture use commonly function as pragmatic markers signaling emotional involvement of the speaker, which itself is argued to be a remnant of Swahili expressive culture. Against this background, the frequent use of meta-illocutionary references to congratulating in GloWbE KE – which are further dominated by the *performative* use type – may again be reflective of the pervasiveness of situational formulae in arguably more tradition-oriented cultures, although the supposed tradition-orientedness in Kenyan culture in

the present is highly debatable. On another note, a more remotely related study by Meierkord (2023) on praising in Ugandan and British English, which found a substantially higher prevalence of praising in Ugandan English, may – in combination with the present study’s results – suggest an overall preference for acknowledging or elevating the hearer’s esteem in Swahili culture or the East African region. However, fine-grained functional differences between praising and congratulating as well as historical and socio-political dissimilarities between Uganda and Kenya rule out any further claims in that regard.

5.2 Word class shares and institutionalization

Word class shares of meta-illocutionary references are argued to reveal how often and to which degree language users construe illocutions as THINGS or ACTIONS in cognitive-grammatical terms (Langacker 1987), considering inter-categorical variation across *directives* and *expressives*, intra-categorical variation across requesting, commanding, and begging on the one hand (*directives*) and thanking, apologizing, and congratulating on the other (*expressives*), and ‘cross-regional’ differences across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. In terms of inter-categorical variation, the overall similarity of word class shares across references to *directives* and *expressives* reveals that – at least at first sight – (illocutions belonging to) both illocutionary types are almost equally construed as THINGS and ACTIONS respectively, with *directives* even being construed slightly more often as ACTIONS. However, an intra-categorical perspective on this initial result reveals strong variation across individual illocutions belonging to the same type, especially within the class of *directives*. Specifically, while the illocutions of requesting and commanding display a moderate and a somewhat stronger preference for being construed as THINGS respectively, the illocution of begging displays an almost one-sided preference for being construed as an ACTION. Within the class of *expressives*, by contrast, the illocutions of thanking and apologizing displayed a slight and a moderate preference for being construed as ACTIONS respectively, whereas the illocution of congratulating displayed a slight preference for being construed as a THING. ‘Cross-regionally’, noteworthy differences were found in references to requesting and commanding (*directives*) as well as in references to thanking and congratulating (*expressives*) but not in references to begging (*directives*) and apologizing (*expressives*). Interestingly, the character of these differences displayed a very high degree of stability across (references to) the four illocutions in which these differences were found. In each case, it was GloWbE KE which displayed a stronger preference for construing these four illocutions as ACTIONS rather than

THINGS relative to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK. Quantitatively, this difference manifested itself in shares of meta-illocutionary verb forms, which were always about 10-15% larger in GloWbE KE than in GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK (which themselves displayed roughly similar shares). These overall differences in word class shares and construal of illocutions – especially intra-categorical and ‘cross-regional’ ones – will be discussed against the background of institutionalization, register, and cross-cultural conceptualizations of the illocutions in question.

Within the *directive* class, intra-categorical differences in word class shares and construal are attributed to differing degrees of institutionalization and formality associated with the individual *directive* illocutions. According to both Searle’s (1969) felicity conditions (specifically the preparatory condition) and Searle’s (1975) speech act taxonomy (specifically the ‘lower-level’ classification principle distinguishing between institutional and non-institutional illocutions), the illocution of commanding requires an extra-linguistic institution (e.g., religion, military, etc.), whereas the illocutions of requesting and begging do not. Institutional (or institutionalized) interactions, in turn, are typically characterized by high degrees of formality, which is why the constitutive communicative actions (e.g., illocutions) tend to be assigned the status of ‘items’ primarily serving the purpose of advancing institutional procedures rather than, say, maintaining social relationships (Ellis 1965). The conceptualization of illocutions as ‘items’ in institutional(ized) discourse is argued to be reflected in the present study’s finding that references to the illocution of commanding – which itself requires an extra-linguistic institution by definition – display the largest share of noun forms, thus construing this illocution as a THING rather than an ACTION. A further finding corroborating this argument is Biber’s (1988) related observation that nominalization – and the resulting preservation of an impersonal tone, among other things – is a common feature of formal register as used in institutional(ized) discourse genres. In the case of references to commanding, nominalization is, of course, achieved by means of zero-derivation, where the meta-illocutionary verb (*to command*) is converted into the meta-illocutionary noun *command*. Overall, the quantitative pervasiveness of nominal forms in references to commanding can thus be argued to indicate an association with formal register (Biber 1988), whose use is (co-)determined by institutional(ized) discourse presupposing the presence of extra-linguistic institutions (Searle 1969, 1975). Against this background, the (necessary) situatedness of commanding in an institutional(ized) context and the concomitant use of formal register is argued to manifest itself in ordinary language users construing this illocution as a THING rather than an ACTION (Langacker 1987).

While the illocution of requesting does not require an extra-linguistic institution according to Searle (1969, 1975), references to this illocution still displayed a moderate preference for noun forms rather than verb forms. This moderate preference among language users to also construe the illocution of requesting as a THING rather than an ACTION is attributed to discrepancy between ordinary (i.e., first-order) and speech-act-theoretic (i.e., second-order) conceptualizations of this illocution. In speech-act-theoretic terms, the illocution of requesting can be conceptualized as the ‘most general’ *directive* illocution as it only requires those preparatory conditions to obtain which are common to all *directive* illocutions, viz. (the speaker’s belief regarding) the hearer’s ability to perform the requested action and the non-obviousness regarding the hearer’s performance of this action in the normal course of events (Searle 1969: 66). In other words, the felicitous performance of the illocution of requesting does not (necessarily) require the presence of an extra-linguistic institution, among other things. Based on the present study’s dataset, however, it appears that ordinary language users do associate the illocution of requesting with institutional(ized) discourse, at least if explicitly referred to by the respective meta-illocutionary item. The following examples are cases in point:

(217) **Sunday Herald Deputy Business Editor Steven Vass** began to take an interest in the story and submitted a **Freedom of Information request** for the SFT's ranking of the sixteen TIF proposals. (GB_REQUEST_7)

(218) As regards **the leadership of Yahoo!**, it would be best if they communicated more clearly how they deal with requests from **the Chinese authorities** for **personal data and other possible instances of collaboration with China's censors** which may not have been made public up to now. (HK_REQUEST_51)

(219) At last week's vice presidential debate, **Biden** had asserted "we weren't told" about the requests. But a **State Department official** had acknowledged during **congressional testimony** receiving the request. (KE_REQUEST_10)

Ordinary language users’ associations of (explicit references to) the illocution of requesting with institutional(ized) discourse is most clearly reflected in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* (i.e., requester) and *hearer* (i.e., requestee), which range from entities in the media (*Sunday Herald Deputy Business Editor Steven Vass*) to entities in business (*the leadership of Yahoo!*) and further to entities in politics (*Chinese authorities, Biden, a State Department official*). Moreover, entextualizations of the parameter *content* (i.e., *personal data and other possible instances of collaboration with China’s censors*), references to events relevant to the performance of the respective request (i.e., *congressional testimony*), and references to the type of request (i.e., *Freedom of Information request*) reinforce this association. Against this

background, the moderate preference for noun forms can be argued to reflect ordinary language users' associations of requesting – at least as represented by relevant lexical items – with institutional(ized) discourse, albeit not as strongly as in commanding (possibly due to a lack of overt asymmetrical power relationships). This association is argued to be lexically rather than conceptually motivated, thus surfacing as a supposed discrepancy between first-order and second-order conceptualizations of the illocution of requesting. Apart from that, the remaining arguments regarding the predominance of nominal forms presented above – viz. the role of formal register in institutional discourse (Biber 1988) and the resulting construal of requests as THINGS as opposed to ACTIONS (Langacker 1987) – apply accordingly.

In contrast to references to requesting and commanding, references to begging were overwhelmingly dominated by verb forms rather than noun forms, thus construing this illocution almost exclusively as an ACTION. In line with the suggested mapping of word class shares onto degrees of institutionalization introduced above, this finding is attributed to a low degree of institutionalization associated with the illocution of begging. This low degree of institutionalization can be explained both in terms of speech-act-theoretic aspects and in terms of social implications of begging. In speech-act-theoretic terms, begging – unlike commanding (and requesting as conceptualized by ordinary language users) – does not require an extra-linguistic institution (Searle 1969, 1975). In terms of social implications, begging is typically motivated by the speaker's desperation in fulfilling their basic needs and thus entails a social submission which encompasses the speaker's (i.e., beggar's) hope for, or reliance on, the hearer's (i.e., beggee's) benevolence in performing the desired action. Moreover, the activity of begging – which is closely related to the illocution of begging – is typically performed by ordinary persons or, in cases of organized begging, beggars acting as ordinary persons as opposed to representatives of institutions. This situatedness of begging in the social rather than the institutional domain is further reflected in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*, which are dominated by first names (e.g., *Jacob*, *Amanda*), pronominal references to the speaker and the hearer of the ongoing interaction (e.g., *I*, *you*), and general anonymous specifications (e.g., *the old man*, *the lady*). Against this background, the dominance of verb forms in meta-illocutionary references to begging – and thus the construal of this illocution as an ACTION (Langacker 1987) as – is argued to reinforce the embeddedness of the latter in the social domain, which is in line both with the lack of a requirement of an extra-linguistic institution (Searle 1969, 1975) and with the smaller number of nominalizations as part of a less formal register in non-institutional(ized) discourse (Biber 1988). Apart from low degrees of institutionalization and a less formal register, the predominance of verb forms may further be

connected to the lexicological/phraseological observation that nominalization in explicit references to begging (i.e., *a/the beg*) appears much less common than in explicit references to requesting (i.e., *a/the request*) and in explicit references to commanding (i.e., *a/the command*).

In references to *expressive* illocutions, ordinary language users displayed a slight and a moderate preference for construing the illocutions of thanking and apologizing as ACTIONS (rather than THINGS) respectively, and a moderate preference for construing the illocution of congratulating as a THING (rather than an ACTION). These findings may – at least partially – also be discussed against the background of degrees of institutionalization of the respective illocutions. In this view, the illocutions of thanking and apologizing could be argued to be anchored (slightly) more strongly in the social domain rather than the institutional domain, whereas the illocution of congratulating would have to be argued to be anchored (slightly) more strongly in the institutional rather than the social domain. While the results pertaining to thanking and apologizing would be in line with the strong social function attested for *expressive* illocutions (Norrick 1978), the result pertaining to congratulating would strongly contradict Norrick's (1978) line of argument. The likely reason for these supposedly contradictory findings is the (varying) predominance of the *performative* use type in references to (most) *expressive* illocutions. Specifically, it is conceivable that while the prevalence of noun forms can be attributed to high degrees of institutionalization and formality in *talk about* illocutions (encompassing the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use type of meta-illocutionary references), this mapping is inverted in (explicit) *performances of* these illocutions: Verbal realizations – especially as part of the full-fledged explicit performative formula (e.g., *I congratulate you.*) – appear more formal and possibly more institutionalized, whereas nominal realizations – especially as part of elliptical performatives (e.g., *Thanks!*) – appear less formal and possibly less institutionalized. This juxtaposition is further substantiated by the argument that routinized formulae such as *thank you/thanks*, *apologies*, and *congratulations* occupy a middle position on the continuum between elliptical constructions on the one hand and interjections (as pragmatic markers) – which typically occur in informal and spoken discourse – on the other (Aijmer 2004, Ameka 2006, Norrick 2011). Consequently, the mapping of word class shares onto degrees of institutionalization must crucially be discussed in light of the relative prevalence of the *performative* use type, which itself is very dominant in references to (most) *expressive* illocutions but hardly played a role in references to *directive* illocutions overall.

Among all (*expressive*) illocutions considered in the present dataset, references to thanking were characterized by the strongest prevalence of the *performative* use type. As a result, and as distinct from references to *directive* illocutions, larger shares of noun forms would be conceptualized as reflecting a low degree of institutionalization associated with the illocution of thanking. However, the reported word class shares display a slight preference for verb forms rather than noun forms, which would suggest an anchoring of the illocution of thanking in institutional(ized) discourse contrary to expectations (Norrick 1978). This (supposedly unexpected) finding can arguably be explained by the syntactic idiosyncrasy of a very predominant thanking formula, which was also strongly represented in the present dataset. Specifically, the illocution of thanking is very commonly realized by elliptical verbal constructions encompassing subject omission relative to the explicit performative formula (i.e., *thank you*), whereas other *expressive* illocutions such as apologizing and congratulating do not have a respective counterpart (i.e., **apologize to you*, **congratulate you*). But although the elliptical verbal construction is syntactically very similar to the highly formalized explicit performative (as it is characterized ‘only’ by subject omission rather than subject and predicate omission), this construction is not conventionally associated with high levels of formality. Rather, the formula *thank you* is so highly routinized that it tends to transgress different registers and degrees of institutionalization (Coulmas 1981a). Thus, it is very probable that the illocution of thanking displays low degrees of institutionalization despite the word class distribution reported in meta-illocutionary references to the latter. In other words, references to thanking can be said to be (partially) exempt from the mapping of word class shares onto degrees of institutionalization, which is in part due to the syntactic idiosyncrasy of the routinized formula *thank you* commonly used to realize this illocution across genres and registers.

In contrast to references to thanking, references to apologizing were the least dominated by the *performative* use type among all *expressive* illocutions. Consequently, and similar to references to *directive* illocutions, larger shares of noun forms would be conceptualized as reflecting a high degree of institutionalization associated with the illocution of apologizing. But in line with previous observations that apologizing – as an *expressive* illocution – predominantly fulfils a social function (Norrick 1978), ordinary language users’ preference for the use of verb forms construing this illocution as an ACTION (rather than noun forms construing this illocution as a THING) is argued to indicate the situatedness of this illocution in the social rather than the institutional domain. Nonetheless, while the illocution of apologizing was referred to more often by verb forms than by noun forms, the difference in shares between meta-illocutionary nouns (43.9%) and meta-illocutionary verbs (56.1%) was

rather small (12.2%pt.). This finding is attributed to the relative prominence of public apologies (especially in British society), which are much more institutionalized than private apologies by definition and which may thus be expected to be characterized by larger shares of nominal references. Interestingly, GLoWbE GB did, in fact, display the largest share of meta-illocutionary nouns in references to apologizing (46.7% as opposed to 42.9% and 42.1%), which could be interpreted as reflecting higher degrees of institutionalization in apologizing, possibly due to the greater importance placed on public apologies in British culture as part of the ‘national culture of accountability (and respectability)’ described above (Deutschmann 2003, Ancarno 2015). Due to the small magnitude of this difference in word class shares, however, this last claim remains tentative at this stage. Overall, word class shares in meta-illocutionary references to apologizing (in combination with a comparatively low degree of prominence of the *performative* use type) are argued to reflect the general situatedness of this illocution in the social domain while at the same time accounting for (the socio-cultural importance placed on) public and thus more institutionalized apologies.

References to congratulating were again dominated by the *performative* use type (although not as strongly as references to thanking), which is why larger shares of noun forms would be conceptualized as reflecting a low degree of institutionalization associated with this illocution. In fact, this is precisely what the present study has found: Meta-illocutionary references to congratulating display a moderate preference for noun forms construing this illocution as a THING rather than verb forms construing this illocution as an ACTION. By and large, this is argued to reflect the prevalence of elliptical nominal constructions in realizations of the *performative* use type (i.e., *congratulations*, *congrats*), which are conventionally less formal than explicit performative constructions (i.e., *I congratulate you*). Notably, unlike in references to thanking, elliptical verbal realizations (i.e., **congratulate you*) do not play a role, thus rendering more transparent the preference for noun forms in realizations of the *performative* use type and thus the situatedness of congratulating in the social rather than the institutional domain (Norrick 1978). Nonetheless, the overall preference for meta-illocutionary nouns (56.7%) over meta-illocutionary verbs (43.3%) was again rather small (13.4%pt.). This finding is attributed to the fact that references to congratulating were not dominated as strongly by the *performative* use type as references to thanking. Therefore, it is conceivable that the remaining use types (i.e., *descriptive* and *meta-commenting*) comprised many verbal references to congratulating by means of which ordinary language users anchored this illocution in social or non-institutional discourse as part of *talk about* (rather than *performances of*) the latter. Overall, it can be concluded that while word class shares in *talk about directive* illocutions

reveal strongly varying degrees of institutionalization associated with requesting, commanding, and begging respectively, word class shares in both *talk about* and (explicit) *performances of expressive* illocutions – in combination with conventionalized and occasionally idiosyncratic realization formulae – largely anchor the illocutions of thanking, apologizing, and congratulating in the social rather than the institutional domain, with the illocution of apologizing (and the socio-cultural importance placed on public apologies) potentially constituting an exception to this overall pattern.

‘Cross-regionally’, Kenyan speakers of English displayed a stronger preference than British and Hong Kong speakers of English for construing the illocutions of requesting and commanding (*directives*) as well as thanking and congratulating (*expressives*) as ACTIONS rather than THINGS (Langacker 1987). In references to both thanking and congratulating, this distinct preference in GloWbE KE in fact inverted the relative frequency ranking in favor of verb forms (as opposed to noun forms in GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE), and in references to requesting, the GloWbE KE preference resulted in a perfect balance of noun and verb forms (as opposed to a clear preference for noun forms in GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK). In references to commanding, by contrast, the GloWbE KE preference did not change the frequency ranking of noun and verb forms. Regardless of changes to the frequency ranking, the distinct preference among Kenyan speakers of English for construing illocutions as ACTIONS rather than THINGS is argued to reflect the social orientation of Kenyan and Swahili culture (Wynne-Jones 2017). Despite recent dynamic shifts towards individualism (Oburu 2024), Kenyan and Swahili culture are still characterized by strong collectivist tendencies (Onyango 2017), which are also partially accounted for in ethnomethodological studies on Swahili tradition-orientedness and Swahili expressive culture (Eastman 1984; 1992), among other things. Against this background, it is conceivable that by using meta-illocutionary verbs and thus construing the respective illocutions as ACTIONS, Kenyan speakers of English foreground the social relevance of these illocutions, even if they are institutional in nature (e.g., commanding). GloWbE HK, by contrast, displays word class shares which are roughly on par with GloWbE GB. This overall finding may be discussed along the lines of multiple, partially interrelated circumstances and/or lines of argument. For one, it may be tentatively attributed to exonormative ideals prevalent among speakers of English in Hong Kong (e.g., Groves 2011), potentially surfacing – in the present case – in pertinent word class distributions approximating those among (British) native speakers of English as reflected in GloWbE GB. If this line of argument is not followed (conceivably due to the fact that current political changes may have enforced a more traditionally Chinese perspective on language use), the roughly matching word class

distributions across GloWbE HK and GloWbE GB may also be (partially) connected to the high number of tourists, expats, returnees, and foreigners engaging in blogging on Hong Kong webpages, with many of them being (near-)native speakers of (British) English and thus potentially skewing the word class distribution towards a predominantly native dataset such as the one found in GloWbE GB. In any case, it is clear that word class distributions in the present study are not only affected by the relevant illocutions themselves, but crucially also by the genre of blogging (including its peculiar, spatially highly unrestricted mode of participation) as well as cross-regional conceptualizations of degrees of (in)formality associated with this genre. Especially in non-native contexts, these cross-regional conceptualizations may further be characterized by degrees of approximation and/or assimilation to (informal) British blogging conventions among Hong Kong bloggers on the one hand, and degrees of differentiation and/or dissimilation from (informal) British blogging conventions among Kenyan bloggers, possibly due to formal schooling, on the other.

Lastly, it is noteworthy that while references to requesting, commanding, thanking, and congratulating featured conspicuously larger shares of meta-illocutionary verbs in GloWbE KE relative to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK, references to begging and apologizing did not. This is particularly interesting since begging and apologizing belong to a different class each, which rules out a discussion of this result along the lines of Searle's (1975) illocutionary types. Nonetheless, it can be argued that – despite their difference in class membership – the illocutions of begging and apologizing share an element of social submission to the hearer. This social submission surfaces in an (implicit or explicit) admission of the speaker's desperation and hope for the hearer's benevolence in begging, and an (explicit or explicit) admission of the speaker's guilt and hope for the hearer's forgiveness in apologizing. Following this line of argument, similar word class shares in references to these two illocutions across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE may be argued to reflect similar (and potentially not language-community-specific) degrees of situatedness in the social domain associated with illocutions which entail the speaker's social submission to the hearer (surfacing in various forms). Naturally, this argument is put forward very tentatively, and its substantiation is highly dependent on future research.

5.3 Use type distributions, realizations, and conceptualizations of illocutions and types

Use type distributions of references to the three *directive* and the three *expressive* illocutions are argued to indirectly reflect ordinary language users' preference patterns in realizing these illocutions as well as their (implicit) conceptualization of the two illocutionary types. In terms of preference patterns in realization, it is argued that a predominance of the *performative* use type indicates a general preference among ordinary language users to explicitly realize the respective illocution(s) using the meta-illocutionary lexicon, whereas a predominance of the *descriptive* and the *meta-commenting* use types, revealing a general preference for explicit *talk about* the respective illocution(s), may further indirectly point towards a preference among ordinary language users to realize the respective illocution(s) implicitly. In terms of (implicit) conceptualizations of illocutionary types, similarities in use type distributions across references to illocutions belonging to the same illocutionary type are argued to indirectly reflect broad conceptual similarities among members (i.e., illocutions) of this category (i.e., illocutionary type), whereas differences in use type distributions across references to illocutions belonging to the same illocutionary type are argued to indirectly reflect broad conceptual differences between members (i.e., illocutions) of this category (i.e., illocutionary type). While preference patterns in realizations of illocutions can be analyzed both from an inter-categorical perspective and from an intra-categorical perspective, (implicit) conceptualizations of illocutionary types crucially rely on inter-categorical juxtapositions of intra-categorical similarities and differences in pertinent use type distributions.

Regarding preference patterns in realization, a first broad distinction between *directives* and *expressives* can be made based on average use type distributions across references to the three *directive* illocutions and the three *expressive* illocutions considered for the present purposes. The average share of use type distributions in references to *directive* illocutions displayed a distinct preference for *talk about* illocutions (79.8%), with the *descriptive* use type and the *meta-commenting* use type accounting for 50.1% and 29.7% of the dataset respectively. By contrast, the average share of use type distributions in references to *expressive* illocutions displayed a distinct preference for (explicit) *performances of* illocutions, with the *performative* use type alone accounting for 59.6% of the dataset. This preference among ordinary language users to *talk about directive* illocutions on the one hand and to (explicitly) *perform expressive* illocutions on the other can further be argued to (indirectly) reflect diverging preferences in explicitness and implicitness in realizations of these illocutions. Although the present study cannot account for implicit realization strategies due to its methodological design (i.e., form-

based analyses of explicit and reflexive references to illocutions), it is conceivable that the contrastive finding mentioned above may have resulted, among other things, from a general preference among ordinary language users to explicitly realize *expressive* illocutions and to implicitly realize *directive* illocutions. This argument is largely consistent with the notion of conversational routine and its manifestation in often formulaic, explicit, and direct realizations of *expressive* illocutions on the one hand (Coulmas 1981a, Aijmer 2014), and the notion of face-threatening acts (FTAs) as well as the prominence of face-threat mitigation in often conventionally indirect realizations of *directive* illocutions on the other (Brown & Levinson 1987, Blum-Kulka 1987, Kranich et al. 2021). Most explicit realizations of *expressive* illocutions correspond to (parts of) routine formulae, which are “expressions whose occurrence is closely bound to specific social situations which are [...] highly predictable in a communicative course of events” (Coulmas 1979: 240). These formulae have been found to be predominant in realizations of thanking (e.g., ‘Thank you’) (Coulmas 1981b, Aijmer 2014), apologizing (e.g., ‘Apologies’) (Coulmas 1981b, Fraser 1981, Aijmer 2014), and congratulating (e.g., ‘Congratulations’) (Coulmas 1979). Displaying high degrees of explicitness (and directness), the use of routine formulae affords “maximum certainty [for the thanker, apologizer, congratulator] of knowing that the act performed will be understood by the addressee in the intended manner” (Coulmas 1979: 251-252). The attested predominance of routine formulae in realizations of thanking, apologizing, and congratulating is thus argued to be reflected in the large average share of the *performative* use type in references to *expressive* illocutions encompassing explicit realizations of these illocutions by definition. In references to *directive* illocutions, by contrast, the small average share of the *performative* use type – and thus the small average share of explicit realizations of these illocutions – is argued to directly reflect a stronger preference among ordinary language users to *talk about* rather than to (explicitly) *perform* these illocutions and, more relevantly, to further indirectly reflect a stronger preference for implicit realization strategies associated with the performance of these illocutions. This preference for implicit (and, on a related note, indirect) realization strategies, in turn, is most probably motivated by face-threat mitigation within the wider theoretical framework of (second-order) politeness. In Brown & Levinson’s (1987) view, most *directive* illocutions intrinsically threaten the hearer’s negative face want, viz. “the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that [their] actions be unimpeded by others” (1987: 312). In order to remain polite, speakers performing these *directive* illocutions can mitigate this intrinsic negative face threat by performing the FTA with redressive action (encompassing positive or negative politeness) or off-record. Both off-record strategies and FTAs with redressive action

comprise strategies which are (roughly) compatible with implicitness (and indirectness). Examples are “Be [...] conventionally indirect” and “hedge” (Brown & Levinson 1987: 322) for FTAs with redressive action, and “Give hints/clues”, “Be ambiguous”, and “Be vague” (1987: 323) for off-record strategies. Moreover, conventionally indirect strategies – most of which do not normally include an explicit reference to the illocution in question (e.g., query preparatory, suggestory formula, etc.) – are not only rated among the most polite in English (Blum-Kulka 1987), but also used most frequently across different varieties of English, including BrE (Kranich et al. 2021). Against this background, the small average share of the *performative* use type can be argued to hint at a common preference for implicit (and indirect) realization strategies in performances of *directive* illocutions conceivably motivated by face-threat mitigation. However, it must be re-emphasized that this claim is based on indirect evidence as the present study can effectively not account for implicit realizations of (*directive*) illocutions by design.

While the above inter-categorical perspective allowed for a broad distinction to be made between a general preference for *talk about* (and possibly implicit realizations of) *directive* illocutions on the one hand and explicit realizations or *performances of expressive* illocutions on the other, an intra-categorical perspective further enables a more detailed overview of preferences in realization across illocutions of the same type. The discussion of intra-categorical preferences in realization will be based on distributions of the *performative* use type exclusively. Within the class of *directives*, the *performative* use type – which displays a very small average share (5.6%) – is more frequently found in references to begging (12.3%) than in references to requesting (2.3%) and commanding (2.0%). In other words, the illocution of begging – often situated in the private or political domain – is explicitly realized more often than the illocutions of requesting – often situated in the political or business domain – and commanding – often situated in the military or religious domain. This result is attributed to different degrees of severity of (intrinsic) threats to the hearer’s negative face as well as different degrees of (purported) power exercised in the use of explicit performative realization strategies vis-à-vis other realization strategies across the three *directive* illocutions under consideration. According to Searle (1969), the illocution of requesting is characterized by an unspecified power relationship between the requester and the requestee and can therefore – despite other permissible configurations – be assumed to be symmetrical by default. In the face of the default configuration of a symmetrical power relationship, explicit realization strategies – most prominently the direct explicit performative (but, to a degree, also the more indirect hedged performative) – may entail an aggravation of the intrinsic negative face threat of this

illocution and could further be conceptualized as the requester's exercise of purported power. Against this background, the low share of the *performative* use type in references to requesting – and thus the low share of explicit performative realizations of this illocution – can be attributed to the largely egalitarian and democratic nature of online discourse in general and blogging in particular (Montero-Fleta et al. 2009). In commanding, which in contrast to requesting does encompass a power asymmetry in favor of the commander (Searle 1969), the supposed aggravation of the intrinsic negative face threat entailed in the use of an explicit performative strategy would be justified by the speaker's position and exercise of power. But again, it is argued that egalitarianism and democracy in online discourse largely preclude such power asymmetries (or speakers claiming power for themselves and exercising the latter), which is conceivably reflected in the low share of explicit performative realizations of the illocution of commanding. Moreover, it is conceivable that bloggers, who engage in public and mediated communication, prefer more implicit realization patterns in performing the illocutions of requesting and commanding as these two illocutions are FTAs which can be argued to require redressive action for purposes of negative-face-threat mitigation, especially in online settings characterized by a high degree of anonymity among co-participants. The only exception in this regard is communication between bloggers (i.e., posters and/or followers) on the one hand and blog administrators on the other, where the latter are in a position of (institutional) power over the former and can thus more readily afford to explicitly perform the illocutions of requesting or commanding. Evidently, the clear-cut distribution of rights and obligations among bloggers – including pertinent participant roles and their implementation in an online format – cannot be disregarded in the discussion of use type distributions in explicit and reflexive references to (*directive*) illocutions, most notably requesting and commanding. The illocution of begging, by contrast, is characterized by the beggar's submission to the beggee as well as the beggar's reliance upon, and hope for, the beggee's benevolence in performing the specified action. In other words, performing the illocution of begging hardly creates a state of deontic obligation for the beggee to perform the relevant action (Sbisà 1984). Against this background, higher levels of explicitness (and directness) in realization can be argued to be less likely to entail an aggravation of the threat to the beggee's negative face precisely because the latter retains the choice regarding their future course of action. Thus, the higher share of the *performative* use type in meta-illocutionary references to begging is argued to reflect the conceivable lack of negative face threat aggravation resulting from higher degrees of explicitness (and directness) in realizations of this illocution. Nonetheless, these attributions of findings are to be treated

with caution, not least because the differences in shares of the *performative* use type across references to individual *directive* illocutions are relatively small overall.

Within the class of *expressives*, the *performative* use type – which displays a much larger average share (59.6%) – displays strong variation, ranging from 89.3% in references to thanking to 66.0% in references to congratulating and 23.3% in references to apologizing. In other words, the illocution of thanking is realized explicitly more often than the illocution of congratulating and much more often than the illocution of apologizing. While the share of the *performative* use type in references to congratulating is roughly on par with the corresponding average share across references to all *expressive* illocutions, the larger share of this use type in references to thanking is attributed to the high predictability of the corresponding social situation and the resulting formulaicness in realizations of this illocution (Coulmas 1979, 1981b; Aijmer 2014), whereas the lower share of this use type in references to apologizing is attributed to the high degree of formality associated with the items *apology* and *apologize* (Wierzbicka 1987) as well as the predominance of the IFID *sorry* in less formal contexts (Meier 1998; Lutzky & Kehoe 2017). Regarding the illocution of thanking, the high predictability of social situations warranting (formulaic) realizations of this illocution (Coulmas 1979, 1981b) is argued to be partially reflected in the high normalized frequency values of meta-illocutionary references to thanking compared to the remaining *expressive* illocutions (see sub-chapter 4.1.1, Table 4). In other words, the high normalized frequency values of meta-illocutionary references to thanking conceivably indicate a high degree of salience and/or prominence of this illocution in discourse (see sub-chapter 5.1), which itself may be argued to be due to a frequent recurrence of the stereotypical and “petrified” (Coulmas 1979: 251) social situation types in which the illocution of thanking is (to be) performed, often in a formulaic manner (Coulmas 1981b; Aijmer 2014). At the same time, (both nominal and verbal forms of) meta-illocutionary references to thanking are constitutive elements of the formulae by means of which this illocution is realized (i.e., ‘thank you’, ‘thanks’). Therefore, the high frequency values of meta-illocutionary references to thanking in combination with the large share of the *performative* use type are argued to reflect a high degree of formulaicness in realizations of this illocution, possibly serving to maximize the identifiability of this illocution in recurrent and stereotypical social situations which are commonly characterized by establishing rapport and solidarity among participants (see also Manes & Wolfson 1981). Regarding the illocution of apologizing, it is hypothesized that the small share of the *performative* use type in explicit references to this illocution is largely due to the relative predominance of the IFID *sorry* in realizations of apologies. This is in line with previous research, which has found that among realizations

containing the expressions *apologize*, *sorry*, *forgive*, *excuse*, and *pardon*, *sorry* is “the overwhelming favorite” (Meier 1998: 216, but see also Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 206, Lutzky & Kehoe 2017, Su & Lu 2023), accounting for as much as 84% of all realizations in some studies (Aijmer 2014). In contrast to *sorry*, (nominal or verbal forms of) explicit references to the illocution in question (i.e., *apology*, *apologies*, *apologize*, etc.) have been argued to be marked for formal register (e.g., Wierzbicka 1987). Considering the high degree of informality and equality attested for most types of online discourse in general and the genre of blogging in particular (Montero-Fleta et al. 2009), it is conceivable that the comparatively small share of the *performative* use type in references to apologizing is due to a stronger overall preference among bloggers to use the (conventionally more informal) IFID *sorry*. Consequently, explicit references to apologizing appear to be used more often in reflexive *talk about*, rather than (explicit) *performances of*, this illocution. Importantly, that is not to say that apologies are not characterized by a formulaic realization pattern: Realizations of apologies are, in fact, very formulaic (Fraser 1981, Meier 1998, Aijmer 2014) with the main characteristic being that they appear to display a preference for the (more informal) IFID *sorry*. Importantly, this overall argument is put forward only very tentatively as the present study cannot, by design, account for (qualitative and quantitative aspects of) the use of the IFID *sorry* across different sub-corpora of the GloWbE. Finally, (shares of the *performative* use type in) references to congratulating have been argued to occupy a ‘middle position’ between references to thanking and references to apologizing. The reason for (references to) this illocution occupying a ‘middle position’ is argued to be twofold: On the one hand, the illocution of congratulating appears to be less discursively salient and/or prominent than the illocution of thanking as reflected in the much lower normalized frequency values of meta-illocutionary references to this illocution. This may indicate a less common recurrence of the corresponding stereotypical social situation requiring the performance of a congratulation, which is why realizations of this illocution could be less one-sided than realizations of thanking. On the other hand, realizations of the illocution of congratulating appear to lack a quantitatively dominant IFID corresponding to the (less formal) *sorry* in realizations of apologies. This may reinforce the presence and use of meta-illocutionary items as constitutive elements of formulaic realizations of this illocution (such as *Congratulations!*) as reflected in higher shares of the *performative* use type. Clearly, (use type distributions in) references to *expressive* illocutions display much stronger intra-categorical variation than references to *directive* illocutions.

In addition to (indirectly) reflecting preferences in the realization of the illocutions, use type distributions of references to the three *directive* and the three *expressive* illocutions are

further argued to (indirectly) reflect the conceptual structure of these two illocutionary types based on Searle's (1975) speech act taxonomy. The indirect nature of the evidence is due to the fact that it is not (use type distributions in) explicit references to the illocutionary types (i.e., *directives*, *expressives*) which are contrasted, but rather intra-categorical similarities and differences in (use type distributions in) explicit references to the individual illocutions belonging to these illocutionary types (i.e., requesting, commanding, and begging for *directives*; thanking, apologizing, and congratulating for *expressives*). As argued above (see sub-chapters 2.2.3.2.1 and 2.2.3.2.2), the *directive* class has a 'more cohesive' character containing more contiguous and overlapping members, whereas the *expressive* class has a 'more diversified' character containing more distinct and discrete members. This is due to different degrees of variation across Searle's (1975) primary, "most important" (1975: 348) classification principles (i.e., illocutionary point, direction of fit, expressed mental state) on the one hand, and Searle's (1975) secondary classification principles "that need remarking" (1975: 348) (e.g., presence or absence of an extra-linguistic institution, differences in power between the speaker and the hearer, differences in the strength of the illocutionary force, etc.) on the other. Specifically, the *directive* class displays stability in terms of Searle's (1975) primary principles: All *directive* illocutions constitute attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to perform an action (*illocutionary point*), have a world-to-words direction of fit (*direction of fit*), and express the speaker's mental state of want, wish, or desire (*expressed mental state*) (Searle 1975: 355-356). Within this stable class of *directives*, the individual members (i.e., illocutions) display variation according to Searle's (1975) secondary principles and thus differ 'only' in terms of detailed contextual configurations such as the presence or absence of an extra-linguistic institution (e.g., in commanding vs. begging). The *expressive* class, by contrast, already displays variation in terms of Searle's (1975) primary principles: The illocutionary point of its members is to express the mental state specified in the sincerity condition (*illocutionary point*), which itself is variable (*expressed mental state*) as long as it does not entail a direction of fit (*direction of fit*) (Searle 1975: 356-358). Accordingly, individual members (i.e., illocutions) of the class of *expressives* display variation in terms of Searle's (1975) primary principle of *expressed mental state* (which further affects the *illocutionary point*), with the illocution of thanking expressing the speaker's gratitude, the illocution of apologizing expressing the speaker's regret, and the illocution of congratulating expressing the speaker's pleasure. Moreover, variation in terms of Searle's secondary principles does not change illocutionary status within the *expressive* class (as distinct from the *directive* class): For example, a congratulation performed by a speaker in a position of power remains a

congratulation, and an apology performed as part of institutional discourse remains an apology. As indicated above, the *directive* and the *expressive* class are thus characterized by different conceptual qualities, with the former being ‘more cohesive’ containing more contiguous and overlapping members, and the latter being ‘more diversified’ containing more distinct and discrete members.

These diverging conceptual qualities of the *directive* and the *expressive* class are argued to be indirectly reflected in use type distributions of meta-illocutionary references to the three *directive* illocutions and the three *expressive* illocutions under consideration. This is because use type distributions in references to *directive* illocutions displayed many intra-categorical similarities, whereas use type distributions in references to *expressive* illocutions displayed many intra-categorical differences. Within references to *directive* illocutions, the average relative frequency ranking of individual use types displayed full stability across references to requesting, references to commanding, and references to begging. In each case, it was the *descriptive* use type which was most prevalent in the respective datasets, followed by the *meta-commenting* use type, the *mixed* category, and finally the *performative* use type. Notably, the specific average relative frequency values of these use types displayed some intra-categorical and ‘cross-regional’ variation. Intra-categorially, for example, the *meta-commenting* use type displayed the highest average relative frequency value in references to commanding (39.7%) and the lowest average relative frequency value in references to begging (19.7%), and the *performative* use type displayed the highest average relative frequency value in references to begging (12.3%) and the lowest average relative frequency value in references to commanding (2%). ‘Cross-regionally’, for instance, GloWbE GB (65%) displayed a larger share of the *descriptive* use type in references to requesting compared to GloWbE HK (51%) and GloWbE KE (47%), and GloWbE KE (8%) displayed a smaller share of the *performative* use type in references begging compared to GloWbE HK (14%) and GloWbE GB (15%). Nonetheless, these intra-categorical and ‘cross-regional’ differences did not alter the overall average relative frequency ranking of use types, which remained fully stable across meta-illocutionary references to requesting, commanding, and begging. It is argued that this stability in use type distributions – despite a few deviations from the overall pattern – reflects the conceptually ‘more cohesive’ character of the *directive* class in general and the conceptual contiguity or overlap of its members (i.e., illocutions) in particular.

Within references to *expressive* illocutions, by contrast, both the average relative frequency ranking and specific average relative frequency values of individual use types

displayed strong variation across references to thanking, references to apologizing, and references to congratulating. In terms of average relative frequency rankings, references to apologizing, which displayed a preference for the *descriptive* use type followed by the *meta-commenting* use type, the *descriptive* use type, and the *mixed* category, differed substantially from references to thanking and congratulating, which both displayed a preference for the *performative* use type followed by the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type, and the *mixed* category. Moreover, while references to thanking and congratulating were similar in terms of average relative frequency rankings of use types, the specific average relative frequency values pertaining to these use types displayed strong variation. In references to thanking, the *performative* use type accounted for 89.3% across all sub-corpora, whereas in references to congratulating, this use type only accounted for 66%, thus allowing for larger shares of the remaining use types. In other words, references to thanking display a distinct dominance of the *performative* use type, references to congratulating display a moderate dominance of the *performative* use type, and references to apologizing display a relatively balanced distribution of use types slightly favoring the *descriptive* use type. It is argued that these marked differences in use type distributions between references to thanking, apologizing, and congratulating reflect the conceptually ‘more diversified’ character of the *expressive* class in general and the conceptual distinctness and discreteness of its members (i.e., illocutions) in particular.

Apart from the similar use type distributions arguably reflecting the conceptual stability and ‘cohesiveness’ of the *directive* class, and the different use type distributions arguably reflecting the conceptual variability and ‘diversification’ of the *expressive* class, it is especially noteworthy that while use type distributions in references to individual *directive* illocutions did, display statistically significant differences across sub-corpora, use type distributions in references to individual *expressive* illocutions did not. Specifically, the distinct GloWbE GB preference for the *descriptive* use type in references to requesting and commanding may be argued to reflect high degrees of conceptual congruity associated with (the felicity and contextual situatedness of) these two illocutions, whereas the larger shares of the *meta-commenting* use type and the *mixed* category in GloWbE HK and GloWbE KE could be indicative of ongoing congruency operations among bloggers regarding the felicity and contextual situatedness of these illocutions. On another note, the distinct GloWbE KE preference for the *descriptive* use type in references to begging (as well as the distinct GloWbE KE dispreference for the *performative* use type in references to begging) can be said to corroborate the above argument that on Kenyan webpages, relevant items tend to refer to the

activity of begging, whereas on British and Hong Kong webpages, these items tend to refer to the illocution of begging, potentially as a ‘humble’ or ‘polite’ (in its common-sense meaning) alternative to the illocution of requesting (de Silva 1976, Ohso 1983). In contrast to *directive* illocutions, use type distributions in references to *expressive* illocutions displayed no statistically significant differences across sub-corpora. This finding is argued to reflect a high degree of intercommunal stability associated with ordinary conceptualizations especially of the *expressive* class as a whole as well as its individual members. Since use type distributions of references to most of the illocutions under consideration were highly similar across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE, it appears that conceptualizations of these illocutions (and illocutionary types) are largely stable across these ‘regions’ and, by implication, language communities. Put differently, it is conceivable that – unlike formal realizations of functional categories, which do display much variation across regions and varieties of English – conceptualizations of functional categories (such as illocutions) are much less language-community-specific, at least as long as the same natural language – in this case English – is used (but see Diegoli 2022 for cross-linguistic conceptual differences between thanking and apologizing across English and Japanese). Finally, although the present study’s argument regarding (potential) intercommunal stability in conceptualizations of illocutions is certainly insufficient for a universality claim to be made, future research may discuss this study’s findings against the background of illocutionary ontology and further natural languages or language varieties/‘regions’, thus potentially accounting for language-specific or variety/‘region’-specific construal of illocutions and other functional categories.

5.4 Entextualization patterns and the situatedness of illocutions in discourse

Entextualization patterns surrounding meta-illocutionary references are broadly argued to reflect selected aspects of the respective illocutions’ situatedness in discourse. Multiple findings reported above (see sub-chapter 4.3) lend themselves to a discussion against the background of different aspects pertaining to the discursive situatedness of the illocutions in question. Regarding the parameter type *setting* (encompassing the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, and *place*), it was mainly found that while pertinent entextualizations in references to *expressive* illocutions mainly contained specifications of values corresponding to the deictic origo, entextualizations in references to *directive* illocutions often contained specifications of values pointing outside the deictic origo. Regarding the parameter type *concomitant constitutive acts* (encompassing the parameters *locution* and *perlocution*), it was mainly found that while the

parameter *locution* was rarely entextualized (albeit slightly more frequently in references to *directive* illocutions), the parameter *perlocution* was entextualized often in references to *directive* illocutions but hardly ever in references to *expressive* illocutions. Regarding the parameter type *felicity conditions* (encompassing the parameters *input and output conditions*, *content*, *preparatory condition*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition*), it was mainly found that across almost the entire dataset, the parameters *content* and *preparatory condition* were entextualized often, whereas the parameters *input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition* were entextualized very rarely, if at all. Notably, there were almost no ‘cross-regional’ differences in the dataset. These main findings constitute the evidence considered in the following discussion focusing on the discursive situatedness of the three *directive* illocutions and the three *expressive* illocutions under analysis.

Entextualization patterns pertaining to the parameter type *setting* – viz. indexical assignments of particularized values to the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, and *place* – are argued to reflect contextual specifications and/or restrictions inherent in the quantitatively predominant use type(s) in references to the respective illocutions (and, by extension, the respective illocutionary types). Specifically, while references to *directive* illocutions were dominated by the *descriptive* use type (constituting *talk about* these illocutions), references to expressive illocutions were dominated by the *performative* use type (constituting explicit *performances of* these illocutions). As indicated above (see sub-chapters 2.3.2.1, 3.3), the *performative* use type entails a presentation of the illocution in question as a discursive process which is anchored in the discursive here-and-now (i.e., the immediate communicative situation), whereas the *descriptive* use type entails a presentation of the respective illocution as a discursive product which is anchored outside the discursive here-and-now. Consequently, it can be argued that the *performative* use type restricts entextualizations (i.e., indexical specifications) of the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, and *place* to values largely corresponding to the deictic origo, whereas the *descriptive* use type permits substantially more variation in that regard, with the only restriction being that at least one of these parameters must be assigned a value which does not correspond to the deictic origo.

In the *performative* use type, the parameter *speaker* is typically entextualized by the self-referential first-person singular pronoun *I* (or the inclusive first-person plural pronoun *we*), the parameter *hearer* is typically entextualized by the second-person pronoun *you*, the parameter *time* is typically assigned the value *present* by means of present tense inflections of either the meta-illocutionary verb or the ‘first-order verb of performance’ occurring in

combination with a meta-illocutionary noun, and the parameter *place* is typically entextualized by proximal adverbs such as *here* or adverbials of place containing self-referential indexicals such as *on this blog*. Importantly, it is not required that all these parameters be entextualized in *performative* references to illocutions. This is because the *performative* use type itself can be argued to constitute an outline figure or a frame (Fillmore 1976) which binds specifications of the parameter type *setting* to a configuration corresponding to the deictic origo (thereby reflecting the situatedness of the corresponding illocution in the discursive here-and-now). Against this background, specifications of parameters which are not entextualized in discourse are inferred by the participants to correspond, by default, to the value corresponding to the deictic origo.

In the *descriptive* use type, the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* are often entextualized by references to third parties in the form of politics and/or business representatives or private persons, the parameter *time* is often assigned the value *past* by means of past tense inflections of meta-illocutionary verbs or ‘first-order verbs of performance’ occurring in combination with a meta-illocutionary noun, and the parameter *place* is often entextualized by distal adverbs such as *there* or adverbials of place pointing away from the deictic origo such as *in Somalia*. While in most cases, specifications of multiple parameters pointed away from the deictic origo, it suffices, in fact, that the particularized value of only one of these parameters does not correspond to the deictic origo. In the utterance *I congratulated you*, for instance, the entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* (*I*) and *hearer* (*you*) ostensibly correspond to the deictic origo, whereas the parameter *time* does not correspond to the deictic origo as it is assigned the value *past* by means of the past tense inflection of the meta-illocutionary verb (*to*) *congratulate*. Consequently, the use type of this meta-illocutionary reference is *descriptive* rather than *performative* as the illocution in question is presented as a discursive product anchored outside the discursive here-and-now. By and large, *descriptive* references to illocutions co-occur with a higher number of entextualizations of the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *place*, and *time* than *performative* references to illocutions. This can be attributed to the argument above that the frame or outline figure pertaining to (contextual specifications of) the parameter type *setting* is much more pre-specified and restrictive in the *performative* use type (i.e., corresponding to the deictic origo) than in the *descriptive* use type (i.e., not corresponding to the deictic origo).

Overall, the finding that entextualizations of the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *place*, and *time* largely displayed values corresponding to the deictic origo in references to *expressive*

illocutions and not corresponding to the deictic origo in references to *directive* illocutions is argued to be a direct consequence of the predominance of the *performative* use type and the *descriptive* use type in references to *expressive* and *directive* illocutions respectively. This mapping between quantitative use type dominance and values (not) corresponding to the deictic origo is further corroborated by intra-categorical variation. Within the class of *directives*, references to each illocution were dominated by specifications pointing outside the deictic origo. Regarding entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*, the illocution of requesting was mainly situated in the domain of business and/or politics, the illocution of commanding was mainly situated in the domain of the military or faith and religion, and the illocution of begging was mainly situated in the (semi-)private domain with participants not acting as institutional representatives. Regarding entextualizations of the parameter *time*, (performances of) all *directive* illocutions were predominantly situated in the *past* by means of tense inflections of pertinent items, sometimes in combination with temporal adverbials such as *in 1992*. The parameter *place* was entextualized very rarely across the entire dataset, thus arguably revealing a low degree of discursive at-issueness of this parameter (Potts 2005). In cases where this parameter was entextualized, however, (performances of) all *directive* illocutions were predominantly situated spatially (and spatio-temporally) at a distance from the immediate communicative situation. Within the class of *expressives*, by contrast, references to thanking and congratulating were dominated by entextualizations whose values corresponded to the deictic origo, whereas references to apologizing displayed a large share of entextualizations whose values did not correspond to the deictic origo. In references to thanking and congratulating, the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* were mainly entextualized by first-person pronouns (*I, we*) and second-person pronouns (*you*) respectively, the parameter *time* was mainly assigned the value *present* by means of tense inflections of pertinent items, and the parameter *place* was mainly entextualized by proximal adverbs and/or adverbial specifications of place. In references to apologizing, by contrast, entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* contained more references to political and/or business representatives (thus displaying some similarities with the illocution of requesting specifically), the parameter *time* was more often assigned the value *past* by means of tense inflections as well as temporal adverbs and adverbials, and the parameter *place* was more often entextualized by distal adverbs and/or adverbial specifications of place. Notably, the parameter *place* was entextualized only very rarely across references to all *expressive* illocutions, which is again argued to reflect a low degree of discursive at-issueness of this parameter (Potts 2005), which apparently holds not only across individual *directive* illocutions, but across *directive* and *expressive* illocutions.

Apart from that, there clearly appears to be a strong mapping between quantitative use type dominance and entextualization patterns with respect to the parameter type *setting* (encompassing the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, and *place*), which is argued to be due to the contextual specifications, configurations, and/or restrictions as part of the frame or outline figure (Fillmore 1976) entailed by different use types. As shown above, this mapping displays a high degree of stability both inter-categorially and intra-categorially.

Entextualization patterns pertaining to the parameter type *concomitant constitutive acts* – viz. indexical assignations of particularized values to the parameters *locution* and *perlocution* – are argued to largely reflect the degrees to which the locutionary aspect and the perlocutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole are discursively at issue in references to the illocutionary aspect of the latter. The parameter *locution* was entextualized very infrequently overall, but slightly more frequently in references to *directive* illocutions than in references to *expressive* illocutions. This finding is argued to suggest that the locutionary aspects of the respective speech acts as wholes are hardly at issue in explicit references to their illocutionary aspects, especially in the case of *expressives*. The overall result pertaining to the low degree of at-issueness of the parameter *locution* is attributed to a difference in comprehensiveness of meaning between references to the illocutionary aspect and references to the locutionary aspect of a speech act. Specifically, references to the locutionary act are restricted to providing information about language-specific aspects of communicative action only, that is, the what-is-said as (largely) detached from its illocutionary status and its felicity in context, whereas references to the illocutionary act additionally include social (and/or institutional) aspects of communicative action which account for the illocutionary force as well as the illocution's felicity, among other things. In other words, while references to locutions only consider the what-is-said, references to illocutions go beyond the what-is-said: They foreground the what-is-meant and, in doing so, suppose the existence and/or performance of an adequate what-is-said without elaborating on the latter. Therefore, unless a specific situation justifies the importation of the what-is-said into the discourse (e.g., for purposes of explicit problematization and/or verbatim reporting in the media), the meaning of an explicit reference to an illocution covers a wider scope of contextual information regarding a (felicitous) communicative action (i.e., linguistic *plus* social, institutional, etc.) than the meaning of an explicit reference to a locution (i.e., linguistic 'only'). In these default cases (where problematization does not play a role), it is thus probably more communicatively efficient to refer to the illocutionary aspect rather than the locutionary aspect of the speech act as a whole, mainly because references to illocutions (i.e., *X congratulating Y*) are both (often) shorter and convey a wider scope of

contextual information than references to locutions (i.e., *X saying to Y: “Congratulations!”*). Apart from the overall infrequency of entextualizations of the parameter *locution*, references to *expressive* illocutions included even fewer entextualizations of this parameter than references to *directive* illocutions. This result is again attributed to the formulaicness of realizations attested for many *expressive* illocutions (Coulmas 1981a). Specifically, since most *expressive* illocutions are commonly realized by a very restricted set of linguistic forms which are routinely used in the corresponding stereotypical situations (e.g., *thanks/thank you, sorry/apologies, congratulations/well done*), there is a high probability that an importation of the what-is-said into the discourse will often be communicatively redundant (and thus less efficient), especially in cases where the what-is-said is not explicitly problematized but rather accepted by participants as adequate by default. Consequently, (the often more formulaic) realizations of *expressive* illocutions are imported into the discourse even less frequently than (the often less formulaic) realizations of *directive* illocutions, which is argued to be reflected in fewer entextualizations of the parameter *locution* in references to *expressives* compared to references to *directives*.

The parameter *perlocution* was entextualized very infrequently in references to *expressive* illocutions but in more than half of the dataset pertaining to references to *directive* illocutions. This overall difference is attributed to the argument that *directive* illocutions display a stronger orientation towards future courses of action than *expressive* illocutions. The stronger orientation of *directive* illocutions to future courses of action is reflected in Searle’s (1975) illocutionary point and direction of fit, partially in Austin’s (1962[1975]) conventional illocutionary effects of ‘taking effect’ (see also Sbisà 2009, 2013) and invitations of a response, and Austin’s (1962[1975]) perlocutionary object. First, in terms of illocutionary point, any *directive* illocution constitutes the speaker’s attempt to get the hearer to perform an action which is necessarily anchored in the future (Searle 1975: 355). By contrast, any *expressive* illocution serves to express the speaker’s mental state about a state of affairs which is necessarily anchored in the past and/or present (Searle 1975: 356). Second, in terms of direction of fit, the world-to-words direction of fit in *directive* illocutions entails that the proposition expressed by the speaker is not (yet) true – rather, this proposition is to be made true by means of the future action of the hearer (Searle 1975: 355). By contrast, the empty direction of fit in *expressive* illocutions entails the presupposition that the relevant state of affairs is (already) real and/or actual (Searle 1975: 357). Third, in terms of ‘taking effect’, illocutions such as requesting, commanding, and begging each conventionally create, to varying degrees, a state of deontic obligation for the hearer to perform the action specified in the respective utterance. By contrast,

illocutions such as thanking, apologizing, and congratulating each conventionally satisfy the deontic obligation for the speaker to express the mental states of gratitude, regret, and pleasure about existing states of affairs (Sbisà 2009: 44-46). Fourth, in terms of invitations of a response, illocutions such as requesting, commanding, and begging each conventionally invite – under the presupposition of felicity – the hearer’s performance of the action specified in the respective utterance. By contrast, illocutions such as thanking, apologizing, and congratulating conventionally invite, at most, the hearer’s acknowledgement of the speaker’s performance of the respective illocutions as opposed to a full-fledged future course of action (Austin 1962 [1975]: 116). Fifth, in terms of perlocutionary objects (i.e., perlocutions conventionally associated with corresponding illocutions), illocutions such as requesting, commanding, and begging are conventionally linked to the speaker’s perlocutionary intent to bring about the hearer’s future action. By contrast, while illocutions such as thanking, apologizing, and congratulating do encompass intended perlocutionary sequels corresponding to their social functions (Norrick 1978), their perlocutionary objects are also restricted to the bringing about of the hearer’s acknowledgment at most. Clearly, *directive* illocutions display a stronger orientation towards initiating or ‘opening up’ – metaphorically speaking – future courses of action, whereas *expressive* illocutions display a stronger orientation towards reacting or ‘responding to’ past courses of action and/or present states of affairs. This is also reflected, among other things, in the distinction between *directives* (most prominently requests) as *pre-event acts* and *expressives* (most prominently apologies) as *post-event acts* (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984: 206). Against this background, it is argued that the stronger connectedness of *directive* illocutions to future courses of action is reflected in the higher number of entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* (thus also indicating a higher level of discursive at-issueness of this parameter). Conversely, the comparatively weaker connectedness of *expressive* illocutions to future courses of action is reflected in the lower number of entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* (thus also indicating a lower level of at-issueness of this parameter), and the comparatively stronger connectedness of *expressive* illocutions to past courses of action is reflected in the finding that entextualizations of the parameter *content* in references to *expressive* illocutions are, by implication, also entextualizations of the parameter *preparatory condition*, which in most cases encompasses a past act or event. Lastly, while entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* were roughly on par across references to individual *directive* illocutions, the finding that this parameter was entextualized slightly less frequently in references to begging is attributed to the argument that begging, due to its social submission, creates only a very weak deontic obligation (if any) for the hearer (i.e., beggee) to

perform the respective action. Since the success of begging largely depends on the hearer's (i.e., beggee's) benevolence, it is conceivable that the respective perlocutionary object is brought about less frequently (as compared to the illocutions of requesting and commanding), which is argued, in turn, to be reflected in the lower frequency of entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* (thus indicating a lower level of discursive at-issueness of this parameter) in references to begging.

Entextualization patterns pertaining to the parameter type *felicity conditions* – viz. indexical assignments of particularized values to the parameters *input and output conditions*, *content*, *preparatory condition*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition* – are argued to (inversely) reflect degrees of conventionalization associated with the respective parameters (i.e., conditions). Across all illocutionary types, illocutions, and sub-corpora, it was found that the parameters *content* and *preparatory condition* were entextualized frequently, whereas the parameters *input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition* were hardly entextualized at all. This overall finding is attributed to the argument that while (entextualizations of) the parameters *content* and *preparatory condition* allow for context-specific particularizations of the respective illocutions, the parameters *input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition* are based on background conditions (in the form of pragmatic presuppositions) which are assumed to obtain by default in (almost) all communication, irrespective of the specific illocutionary act(s) performed. The status of normal input and output conditions, the sincerity condition, and the essential condition as background conditions is reflected in different forms in Austin (1962[1975]) and in Searle (1969).

According to Searle (1969), normal input and output conditions “cover the large and indefinite range of conditions under which any kind of serious and literal linguistic communication is possible”, including “such things as that the speaker and the hearer both know how to speak the language; both are conscious of what they are doing; they have no physical impediments to communication [...]; and they are not acting in a play or telling jokes etc.” (1969: 57). In contrast to (most of) the remaining conditions, Searle construes normal input and output conditions “broadly enough so that together with the other conditions it guarantees that H understands the utterance” (1969: 61). In a footnote, Searle further notes that these circumstances constitute “a general condition on any serious linguistic communication” (1969: 61) which is neither peculiar to a language (and/or dialect) nor to a speech act (or illocution). Since Searle's (1969) normal input and output conditions are not peculiar to specific illocutionary acts but are rather a condition of – and a pragmatic presupposition in – serious and

literal linguistic communication more generally, it can be assumed that, in explicit references to specific illocutions, normal input and output conditions are presupposed to obtain by all participants, thus rendering it redundant to explicitly refer to these conditions unless their obtaining is doubtful. This redundancy of explicit references to normal input and output conditions is reflected both in the exceedingly low frequency of entextualizations of the parameter *input and output conditions* and in the finding that, qualitatively, all entextualizations indicated a non-obtaining of these conditions. In other words, qualitative and quantitative findings pertaining to entextualization patterns of the parameter *input and output conditions* are argued to indicate a high degree of conventionalization associated with (the obtaining of) Searle's (1969) normal input and output conditions in a default setting.

Unlike normal input and output conditions, Searle's (1969) conceptualizes the sincerity condition as a 'more specific' condition since the specific expressed mental state is (more or less) peculiar to the illocutionary act performed (e.g., wish/want/desire for requesting, regret for apologizing, etc.). In contrast to the specificity of mental states expressed in different illocutions, however, sincerity in general is, in fact, required in (most) linguistic communication as accommodated in Austin's (1962[1975]) $\Gamma.1$ condition applying to presumably any performative. Specifically, Austin's $\Gamma.1$ condition requires that "Where, as often, the [accepted conventional] procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings [...], then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those thoughts or feelings" (1962[1975]: 15). Violations of this condition are conceptualized as *insincerities*, a sub-type of *abuses* in which the respective act is "professed but hollow" (1962[1975]: 18). As mentioned above, Austin's $\Gamma.1$ condition applies to presumably any performative, thus implying, by extension, that sincerity is a prerequisite to most verbal communication among participants engaging in social interaction. Against this background, sincerity – or Searle's (1969) sincerity condition – can also be assigned the status of a general pragmatic presupposition as it is taken to obtain by default, at least unless doubts arise. The argument that sincerity is a general pragmatic presupposition in communication is again argued to be reflected in the low frequencies of entextualizations of the parameter *sincerity condition*, thus pointing towards the lack of necessity to explicitly refer to the interactants' sincerity in communication as well as the high degree of conventionalization associated with the interactants' sincerity in default settings. The only exception to the overall infrequency in entextualizations of the parameter *sincerity condition* was found in references to apologizing. This finding is attributed to their intensifying function in the *performative* use type (e.g., *I sincerely apologize*, *Sincere apologies*, etc.) as well as to the general importance placed on sincerity in public apologies,

especially (but not exclusively) in discussions and problematizations of the latter in British society (Ancarno 2015).

The final parameter which was entextualized only very rarely in the present dataset was the parameter *essential condition*. According to Searle (1969), the essential condition – unlike his remaining conditions, which “take the form of quasi-imperatives” – “is of the kind peculiar to systems of constitutive rules” (1969: 63) which “often have the form: X counts as Y in context C” (1969: 35). These constitutive rules, in turn, are at the core of Searle’s more general hypothesis that speaking a language – irrespective of the specific act(s) performed – is engaging in a rule-governed form of behavior. Specifically, Searle hypothesizes that “the semantic structure of a language may be regarded as a conventional realization of a series of sets of underlying constitutive rules, and that speech acts are acts characteristically performed by uttering expressions in accordance with these sets of constitutive rules” (1969: 37). Thus, Searle’s essential condition may be conceptualized as an importation of his general(ized) notion of constitutive rules into the felicity conditions of particular(ized) illocutions. And since these constitutive rules (and their realization) are involved in speaking (presumably) any language and performing (presumably) any illocution or speech act, the essential condition can also be assigned the status of a background condition which is presupposed by interactants to obtain in communication by default. Against this background, it would appear redundant for interactants to explicate, in a default configuration, that a certain utterance or behavior *counts as*, say, a request in a specific context, and that this request *counts as* the requester’s attempt to get the requestee to perform an action. Therefore, the low frequency of entextualizations of the parameter *essential condition* is argued to reflect a high degree of conventionalization associated with Searle’s (1969) corresponding notion, conceivably due to its pervasiveness in verbal communication more generally.

In contrast to entextualizations of the parameters *input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition*, which are infrequent conceivably due to the high degree of conventionalization associated with the felicity conditions, entextualizations of the parameters *content* and *preparatory condition* contain context-specific particularizations of (the performance of) the respective illocutions in context. Importantly, that is not to say that the general specifications of these conditions (e.g., a reference to a future act of the requestee as the *content*, the thankee’s past act having benefited the thanker as the *preparatory condition* etc.) are not conventionalized. However, it is argued that the context-specific particularizations of these parameters – viz. whether a requester requested a day off or a higher salary (*content*),

or whether an apologizer stepped on someone's toe or killed someone's family (*preparatory condition*) – display a higher degree of discursive at-issueness, conceivably because they contribute more strongly to fully or partially answering the respective questions under discussion (QUDs) (Benz & Jasinskaja 2017). This higher degree of discursive at-issueness is argued to be reflected in the higher frequency of entextualizations of the parameters *content* and *preparatory condition* as opposed to the parameters *input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition*, which – as pragmatic presuppositions – need not be entextualized as these background conditions are assumed to obtain by default in most (verbal) communication.

While the analysis of entextualization patterns revealed many inter-categorical differences and some intra-categorical differences (most prominently in entextualization patterns regarding the parameter types *setting* and *concomitant constitutive acts*), differences across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE were minimal overall. The only notable exception to this finding pertains to references to different types of faith, such as Christianity and Islam, within the overall (blog) topic of religion. This difference was mainly found in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* (e.g., *Jesus, God, Allah, Prophet Muhammad*, etc.), *hearer* (e.g., *followers, disciples, the faithful*, etc.), *place* (*1 Thessalonians 5:18, the Qur'an*, etc.), and *content* (e.g., *to come to repentance, to wage jihad*, etc.), especially (but not exclusively) in meta-illocutionary references to commanding. Specifically, while all datasets were generally dominated by references to elements of Christianity, GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE displayed larger shares of references to elements of Islam, whereas GloWbE HK contained hardly any such references. This overall difference is attributed to the overall salience and/or prominence of Islamic faith relative to Christianity in the respective regions. Specifically, while around 11.4% of Kenyans and 5.9% of Britons are declared followers of Islam, the corresponding value for Hong Kong Chinese is only 4.1% (World Population Review). These differences in shares of Muslim population by country are argued to be broadly reflected in qualitative trends across sub-corpora in entextualizations of parameters such as *speaker, hearer, place*, and *content* in references to commanding, which itself includes asymmetrical power relationships among participants within institutions such as religion. Apart from this 'cross-regional' difference, entextualization patterns are largely similar across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. These broad similarities across sub-corpora are argued to indicate a high overall degree of intercommunity (or a lack of 'language-community-specificity') in the conceptualization of the six illocutions selected for the present purposes, especially regarding their general situatedness in discourse. However, a crucial factor contributing to this high degree of intercommunity is

that entextualization patterns were directed only at the assignment of particularized values to frame attributes representing contextual factors of illocutions in general (as opposed to their specific status in the selected regions in particular). Moreover, the present study considered only a limited amount of meta-illocutionary lexemes (and constructions involving them) within a highly specific dataset, thus crucially qualifying the above claim regarding conceptual intercommunity and calling for future research to put this line of argument to the test.

5.5 *Performative* realization types, routinized formulae, and cross-cultural differences

Distributions of realization types of the *performative* use type are argued to reflect degrees of prominence of different strategies in explicit realizations of the respective illocutions. Inter-categorially, the present study has found that while *directive* illocutions – which are rarely realized explicitly – display an overall preference for the *explicit performative* realization type, expressive illocutions – which are often realized explicitly – display a clear preference for the *elliptical nominal* realization type among a slightly more varied distribution of realization types. Intra-categorially, the present study has found that, within *directive* illocutions, the *performative* use type occurs most often in references to begging and substantially less often in references to requesting and commanding, although raw frequencies for most realization types were far too low to account for calculations of statistical significance. Nonetheless, the *explicit performative* realization type dominates the (rarely occurring) *performative* use type across all *directive* illocutions. Within *expressive* illocutions, the *performative* use type occurs by far the most often in references to thanking, less often in references to congratulating, and even less often in references to apologizing (although still twice as often as in references to begging). In terms of realization types, *expressive* illocutions generally display a clear quantitative preference for the *elliptical nominal* realization type followed by the *explicit performative* realization type and the *hedged performative* realization type. A notable exception to this overall pattern is thanking, where the *elliptical nominal* realization type is followed by the *elliptical verbal* realization type and only then by the *explicit performative* and the *hedged performative* realization types. In fact, the *elliptical verbal* realization type was not found at all in explicit performances of the illocutions of apologizing and congratulating. ‘Cross-regionally’, the most striking difference found in the present study relates to a marginally significantly stronger preference in GloWbE KE for the *explicit performative* realization type as opposed to the *elliptical nominal* realization type in explicit realizations of the illocutions of thanking and congratulating. Specifically, while the raw sum of all realization types was

strikingly similar across the illocutions and sub-corpora under consideration, GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK displayed a very similar preference for the *elliptical nominal* realization type, whereas GloWbE KE displayed a marginally significantly larger share of the *explicit performative* realization type (quantitatively ‘at the cost of’ the *elliptical nominal* realization type).

Inter-categorially, the low frequency of the *performative* use type in references to *directive* illocutions is argued to indicate that the *directive* illocutions selected for the present purposes are rarely realized explicitly, conceivably due to the face-threatening potential of these realization strategies (Brown & Levinson 1987). That is, of course, not to say that *directive* illocutions are rarely performed in general – arguably, (most) *directive* illocutions are rather performed by means of conventionally indirect realization strategies (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Blum-Kulka 1987), which the present study is, however, not designed to account for (as most of these strategies do not contain meta-illocutionary items). The clear preference for the *explicit performative* realization type in those (rare) cases where *directive* illocutions are realized explicitly is attributed to two circumstances: First, unlike in *expressive* illocutions, neither the *elliptical nominal* nor the *elliptical verbal* realization type are conventionalized types of strategies to perform *directive* illocutions (i.e., **Begs for food*, **Command you to love one another*, etc.). Second, two of the three *directive* illocutions chosen for the present purposes – viz. commanding and begging – entail a pre-specified, asymmetrical power relationship between interactants (as part of their preparatory conditions), which is argued to render it less necessary for the commander or beggar to opt for implicit (or indirect) realization strategies in order to mitigate the negative face threat to the commandee or beggee respectively. In commanding, the commander is in a position of institutional power, justifying high levels of explicitness (and directness) in the performance of this illocution. In begging, the beggar submits to the beggee and relies on their benevolence in performing the relevant act which they are not (strongly) obligated to perform. In this context, high levels of explicitness (and directness) may signal the beggar’s desperation and submission to the beggee. Against this background, the use of explicit but indirect realization strategies (such as the *hedged performative* realization type) appears rather unusual, albeit not impossible, both in commanding (e.g., *I want to command you to be candid*) and in begging (e.g., *I would like to beg you for some money*). Consequently, the overall predominance of the *explicit performative* realization type in (the overall infrequent) explicit realizations of *directive* illocutions can be ascribed to a lack of conventionalized *elliptical nominal* and *elliptical verbal* realization strategies on the one hand, and to a possible lack of necessity to opt for indirect strategies in

explicit realizations of illocutions which entail, by definition, a pre-specified, asymmetrical power relationship between the interactants involved on the other, especially considering that these illocutions account for two thirds of the pertinent dataset.

In contrast to *directive* illocutions, the high frequency of the *performative* use type in references to *expressive* illocutions is argued to indicate that the *expressive* illocutions selected for the present purposes are often realized explicitly. This is conceivably due to their distinct social functions such as rapport-building (Norrick 1978) and the resulting need for easy identifiability in discourse (Coulmas 1981a), especially in blogs as social tools (Baker & Moore 2008) or social arenas (Walker Rettberg 2014). That is, of course, not to say that *expressive* illocutions are exclusively realized explicitly – implicit realization strategies such as *I appreciate it* for thanking, *Sorry* for apologizing, and *Well done* for congratulating also exist, but appear to display varying degrees of prominence in realizations of the respective illocutions, and cannot be accounted for by the present study (as these strategies do not contain meta-illocutionary items). The clear preference for the *elliptical nominal* realization type across all *expressive* illocutions is argued to reflect the high degree of spontaneity and/or impulsiveness associated with the performance of *expressive* illocutions in discourse. Specifically, routinized and formulaic realizations such as *thanks*, *apologies*, and *congratulations* have been argued to have a hybrid syntactic status between elliptical sentences on the one hand, and interjections (functioning as pragmatic markers) on the other (Aijmer 2004, Ameka 2006, Norrick 2011). The syntactic similarity of *elliptical nominal* realizations to interjections – combined with the strong situatedness of *expressive* illocutions in the discursive here-and-now as evidenced by the predominance of the *performative* use type – can be argued to attest to the high degree of spontaneity and/or impulsiveness with which *expressive* illocutions are performed in discourse, at least in contrast to *directive* illocutions. A further, genre-specific observation corroborating this line of argument is that bloggers, who are likely to be younger of age (see also sub-chapters 2.4.1 and 2.4.2), may display an overall preference for elliptical/abbreviated forms of formulaic realizations as these form part of the “markedly more oral elements” (Montero-Fleta et al. 2009: 776) found in (informal) online discourse and thus reflect an overall “pattern of ‘drift’ towards more oral styles” (Biber & Finegan 1989: 487). In speech-act-theoretic terms, the high degree of spontaneity and/or impulsiveness associated with the performance of *expressive* illocutions is further reflected in Searle’s (1975) illocutionary point and direction of fit: Since the direction of fit is empty, the expressed mental states do not relate to (the truth about) the world in any way. Therefore, and according to the illocutionary point, it is the actual expression of these mental states in the here-and-now which is foregrounded, whereas (the truth about) the

corresponding state of affairs in the world is presupposed and therefore backgrounded (Searle 1975: 356-358). Overall, the predominance of the *elliptical nominal* realization type in (the very frequent) explicit realizations of *expressive* illocutions is attributed to the formulaic nature of realizations of these illocutions (Coulmas 1981a). This formulaic nature, in turn, is argued both to contribute to the ease of identifiability of these illocutions in discourse, thus facilitating rapport-building among other social functions of *expressives* (Norrick 1978), and to reflect the spontaneity and/or impulsiveness associated with the performance of *expressive* illocutions, which itself is reflected syntactically in the similarity of *elliptical nominal* realizations to interjections, and pragmatically in the empty direction of fit and the illocutionary point which foregrounds the expression of the speaker's mental state (Searle 1975).

Intra-categorially, the higher frequency of explicit realizations of begging (as opposed to requesting and commanding) within the *directive* class is attributed to their (arguably) submissive function entailing an appeal to the beggee's benevolence. Specifically, while the illocutions of requesting and begging are conceivably realized more often by implicit strategies (such as, among other things, the conventionally indirect *query preparatory* in requesting and the conventionally direct *mood derivable* in commanding), the choice of an explicit realization in begging can be said to reinforce the beggar's submission to the beggee due to the beggar's overt display of the act which they are performing (which, by definition, entails a submissive element). This reinforcement of the beggar's submission to the beggee may, in turn, further imply an appeal to the beggee's benevolence in performing the specified act in order to help the beggar out of their desperate situation, especially considering the beggee's weak deontic obligation (if any) to do so. However, more research is required to confirm or qualify this claim.

Within the *expressive* class, the strong quantitative presence of the *elliptical verbal* realization type alongside the *elliptical nominal* realization type in thanking (as opposed to apologizing and congratulating) is attributed to the prominence of the conventionalized formula *thank you* (Coulmas 1981b, Aijmer 2014). While this *elliptical verbal* formula is highly conventionalized in (explicit) realizations of thanking, corresponding formulae in (explicit) realizations of apologizing (**Apologize to you*) or congratulating (**Congratulate you*) are not commonly used. Consequently, explicit performances of thanks encompass a considerable share of *elliptical verbal* realizations, whereas explicit performances of neither apologies nor congratulations include a single *elliptical verbal* realization. On a different note, the less pronounced dominance of the *elliptical nominal* realization type in explicit performances of apologies is attributed to the overall smaller shares of these explicit performances (i.e., the

performative use type of meta-illocutionary references to apologizing) in the dataset. As mentioned above, these smaller shares of explicit performances, in turn, are most probably due to the pervasive preference for the IFID *sorry* in realizations of apologies (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984, Meier 1998, Su & Lu 2023), especially also in blogging (Lutzky & Kehoe 2017). However, as the present study cannot account for quantitative distributions of *sorry*, this claim needs empirical verification.

Across sub-corpora, the marginally significantly stronger preference for the *explicit performative* realization type ('at the cost of' the *elliptical nominal* realization type) in realizations of thanks and congratulations in GloWbE KE (as opposed to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK) is argued to indicate a distinct conventionalized realization pattern in this region, with the use of the *explicit performative* realization type potentially constituting an identity marker among Kenyans. Specifically, rather than displaying an almost one-sided preference for *elliptical nominal* realizations, which are syntactically similar to interjections and pragmatically similar to pragmatic markers (Aijmer 2004, Ameka 2006, Norrick 2011), bloggers on Kenyan webpages resort marginally significantly more often to using full-fledged *explicit performative* realizations, which as part of a corresponding conventional procedure "have the general character of ritual or ceremonial [...] acts" (Austin 1962[1975]: 18-19). The stronger preference in GloWbE KE for realizations displaying a more ritual or ceremonial character may conceivably be influenced by (at least) two factors: First, this preference may be due to stronger orientedness of Swahili culture towards "ritual and ceremonial occasions" (Eastman 1992: 279) requiring the performance of expressive acts whose realizations have primarily "ritualistic functions" (1992: 285). Following this line of argument, the (marginally significantly) higher frequencies of the more profuse *explicit performative* realization type in GloWbE KE can be argued to represent partial remnants of the traditional ritual-orientedness of Swahili society. Interestingly, this ritual-orientendness, if accurate, appears to persist – albeit to a low degree – among typically young (Kenyan) bloggers, who otherwise possibly share a more progressive (and thus less ritual-oriented) worldview (Oburu 2024). Second, the stronger preference for the *explicit performative* realization type in GloWbE KE may also be indicative of formal register reflecting increased levels of formality associated with the use of English in Kenya. As Budohoska (2011: 46) puts it:

Informal settings are generally dominated by Kiswahili and tribal languages, leaving the context of use for English limited mostly to professional life, education and the media. These domains are

naturally associated with a formal register influencing the overall level of formality of the English language in Kenya. (Budohoska 2011: 46)

Against this background, the present study's findings pertaining to the overrepresentation of the full-fledged *explicit performative* realization type in GloWbE KE may be argued to broadly align with Budohoska's (2011: 35-39) loosely related finding that, in terms of markers of negation, ICE-Kenya is characterized by a highly statistically significant overrepresentation of full forms as well as a highly statistically significant underrepresentation of contracted forms as compared to ICE-GB across both spoken and written genres (with both full and contracted forms generally occurring in each corpus). It thus appears conceivable that, based on Budohoska's (2011) and the present findings, Kenyans' association of the use of English with an elevated degree of formality – even as part of typically more informal genres such as blogs (Montero-Fleta et al. 2009) – requires a formal register which may be characterized, among other things, by a use of full-fledged forms as opposed to abbreviated forms, potentially ranging from markers of negation (Budohoska 2011: 35-39) to explicit realizations of (*expressive*) illocutions (see sub-chapter 4.4). However, both these claims are put forward only very tentatively, calling for future research to further disentangle potential cause-and-effect relationships between Swahili culture, (in)formality in blogging and the use of English, and the stronger preference for *explicit performative* realization types in GloWbE KE as opposed to GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK.

6. Conclusion

The present study has broadly explored the use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon in ordinary language. Specifically, this study has examined selected aspects of the use of explicit and reflexive references to three *directive* illocutions (requesting, commanding, begging) and three *expressive* illocutions (thanking, apologizing, congratulating) across three GloWbE sub-corpora (GB, HK, KE). In doing so, this study has drawn on speech act theory, metapragmatics, and socio-cultural variation. Regarding speech act theory, the concepts of most import for the present study were Austin's (1962[1975]) tripartite classification of the speech act as a whole, Austin's (1962[1975]) generalized and Searle's (1969) particularized felicity conditions, and Searle's (1975) speech act taxonomy. Regarding metapragmatics, the present study has subscribed to the conceptualization of this research area as concerned with the study of explicit and reflexive references to pragmatic aspects of verbal communication or, in other words, the

study of meta-semiosis involving pragmatic aspects of language use (Caffi 1984, Silverstein 1993, Verschueren 2021). Regarding socio-cultural variation, this study has mainly considered the status of the English language in, and demographic features of, the focal regions as well as the ‘bridging genre’ of online blogging (Herring et al. 2005). Based on form-based corpus searches in the *Great Britain*, *Hong Kong*, and *Kenya* sub-corpora of the GloWbE (Davies 2013), (examples containing) the relevant meta-illocutionary items were analyzed for (i) their absolute and normalized frequencies of occurrence, (ii) word class distributions, (iii) use type distributions and realizations, (iv) entextualization patterns regarding contextual features of the illocutions in question, and (v) realization types of the *performative* use type. Findings regarding each of these foci of analysis were juxtaposed (i) inter-categorially along the lines of illocutionary types (i.e., *directives* versus *expressives*) (ii) intra-categorially along the lines of illocutions belonging to the same illocutionary type (i.e., requesting versus commanding versus begging on the one hand, and thanking versus apologizing versus congratulating on the other), and (iii) ‘cross-regionally’ along the lines of GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE. The following sub-chapters will subsequently encompass a summary of the present study’s findings and points of discussion (sub-chapter 6.1), a brief overview of this study’s main limitations (sub-chapter 6.2), and a note on implications for future research (sub-chapter 6.3).

6.1 Summary of findings and points of discussion

Regarding (i) frequencies of occurrence of meta-illocutionary items, *expressive* illocutions are referred to more often than *directive* illocutions (inter-categorial variation), the illocution of thanking is referred to far more often than the illocutions of apologizing and congratulating, and the illocution of requesting is referred to far more often than the illocutions of commanding and begging (intra-categorial variation). Requesting is referred to least often in GloWbE GB, commanding is referred to most often in GloWbE HK, and begging is referred to most often in GloWbE KE. Thanking is referred to most often in GloWbE KE and least often in GloWbE HK, apologizing is referred to most often in GloWbE GB, and congratulating is referred to most often in GloWbE KE (‘cross-regional variation’). The findings pertaining to (normalized) frequencies of occurrence of meta-illocutionary items have been discussed against the background of discursive salience and/or prominence of the illocutions in question. Specifically, the higher prominence of *expressive* illocutions has been ascribed to their social function (Norrick 1978) and their pervasiveness in blogs, which themselves are conceptualized as social tools (Baker & Moore 2008) or social arenas (Walker Rettberg 2014). The higher

prominence of requesting within *directives* has been ascribed to its underspecified status vis-à-vis other illocutions such as commanding or begging (Searle 1969), possibly indicating that referring to the less specified illocution of requesting may constitute a ‘safe option’ for interactants who do not have enough knowledge of the respective context (and felicity conditions) to accountably refer to a more specified illocution such as commanding, begging, suggesting, ordering, imploring, and so on. The higher prominence of thanking within *expressives* has been ascribed to the bloggers’ construal of each other’s posts, comments, replies, and other forms of interaction as beneficial both to the common understanding of a particular topic and to the (semi-anonymous) social relationship between the bloggers themselves. The lower prominence of requesting in GloWbE GB has been estimated to be either due to a potentially higher level of granularity in denominating illocutions or due to a general preference for the ‘meta-locutionary’ item referring to *asking* rather than the meta-illocutionary item referring *requesting*. The higher prominence of commanding in GloWbE HK has been ascribed to the delicate political situation in Hong Kong as well as the social, political, economic, and military influence exerted by (Mainland) Chinese authorities in the region. The higher prominence of begging in GloWbE KE has been ascribed to the pervasiveness of the activity of begging in Kenya, possibly as a way of exploiting traditional collectivist cultural orientations (e.g., the conceptualization of a community member’s unmet needs as a challenge to the community as a whole) for individual gains. The higher prominence of thanking and congratulating in GloWbE KE has been argued to reflect the great importance placed on expressing – often in a ritualized way – one’s emotions as a defining characteristic of what Eastman (1984, 1992) calls Swahili expressive culture. The lower prominence of thanking in GloWbE HK has been ascribed to the general reservedness of Hong Kong speakers of English in thanking (Wong 2010), arguably due to their strong adherence to the modesty and humility maxims (Eisenstein & Bodman 1986, 1993) resulting in a general preference for non-verbalization or avoidance strategies (Cheng 2006). Finally, the higher prominence of apologizing in GloWbE GB has been ascribed to the British ‘national culture of accountability’ encompassing, among other things, the importance of (public) apologies as a way for the apologizer to display accountability for their actions and overall respectability within a society (Deutschmann 2003, Ancarno 2015).

Regarding (ii) word class distributions, *directive* illocutions were referred to more often by meta-illocutionary verbs, whereas *expressive* illocutions were referred to almost equally by meta-illocutionary verbs and meta-illocutionary nouns (inter-categorical variation). Within *directives*, the illocutions of requesting and commanding were referred to (slightly) more often

by meta-illocutionary nouns, whereas the illocution of begging was referred to almost exclusively by meta-illocutionary verbs. Within *expressives*, the illocutions of thanking and apologizing were referred to slightly more often by meta-illocutionary verbs, whereas the illocution of congratulating was referred to slightly more often by meta-illocutionary nouns (intra-categorical variation). The illocutions of requesting and commanding (*directives*) as well as the illocutions of thanking and congratulating (*expressives*) were referred to more often by meta-illocutionary verbs in GloWbE KE compared to GloWbE GB and GLoWbE HK (for which word class distributions similarly favored meta-illocutionary nouns). By contrast, there were hardly any differences across the three sub-corpora in word class distributions of meta-illocutionary references to begging (*directives*) and apologizing (*expressives*) ('cross-regional variation'). The findings pertaining to word class distributions have been discussed against the background of degrees of institutionalization associated with the illocutions in question. Specifically, it has been argued that in *talk about* illocutions, a preference for meta-illocutionary nouns indicates a high degree of institutionalization associated with the illocution in question as nominal forms construe the respective illocution as a THING (Langacker 1987), thus assigning the latter the status of – or binding it to – an object or item within a highly formalized discourse genre, broadly conceived. In (explicit) *performances of* illocutions, by contrast, it has been argued that a preference for meta-illocutionary nouns indicates a low degree of institutionalization as nominal forms display syntactic similarities to interjections and pragmatic similarities to pragmatic markers (Aijmer 2004, Ameka 2006, Norrick 2011), thus signaling a high degree of spontaneity and a low degree of formality associated with the illocutions in question. According to this line of argument, the *directive* illocutions selected for the present purposes display strong variation in their degrees of institutionalization. With each *directive* illocution being *talked about* much more often than it being (explicitly) *performed*, the more pronounced preference for meta-illocutionary nouns in references to commanding has been argued to indicate a high degree of institutionalization, the less pronounced preference for meta-illocutionary nouns in references to requesting has been argued to indicate a slightly lower (although still high) degree of institutionalization, and the dominance of meta-illocutionary verbs in references to commanding has been argued to indicate a very low degree of institutionalization. In *expressives*, the slight predominance of meta-illocutionary nouns in references to congratulating – which are dominated by (explicit) *performances of* this illocution – and the slight predominance of meta-illocutionary verbs in references to apologizing – which are dominated by *talk about* this illocution – were argued to indicate a relatively low degree of institutionalization associated with the two illocutions. References to thanking, by contrast,

displayed a slight predominance of meta-illocutionary verbs while being dominated by (explicit) *performances* of this illocution, thus ostensibly indicating a high degree of institutionalization. However, it has been argued that the conventionalized and widely common *elliptical verbal* realization strategy *thank you*, which does not have an equivalent in apologizing and congratulating (**apologize to you*, **congratulate you*), may have distorted the overall word class distribution and thus its explanatory power in indicating degrees of institutionalization. Finally, the overall preference in GloWbE KE for meta-illocutionary verbs rather than nouns – especially in references to requesting and commanding (*directives*) as well as thanking and congratulating (*expressives*) – was tentatively argued to foreground the social relevance of those illocutions which are otherwise (strongly) institutionalized among *directives*, and to display a higher degree of rapport-building by means of the use of full rather than elliptical realizations in *expressives*.

Regarding (iii) use type distributions, references to *directive* illocutions were dominated by the *descriptive* use type (followed by the *meta-commenting* use type, the *mixed* category, and the *performative* use type), whereas references to *expressive* illocutions were dominated by the *performative* use type (followed by the *descriptive* use type, the *meta-commenting* use type, and the *mixed* category) (inter-categorical variation). Within the *directive* class, the average relative frequency rankings of use types remained perfectly stable across references to requesting, commanding, and begging. Average relative frequency values displayed some (and at times statistically significant) variation, with the *meta-commenting* use type being slightly more predominant in references to commanding and the *performative* use type being slightly more frequent in references to begging. Within the *expressive* class, average relative frequency rankings varied strongly across thanking and congratulating on the one hand and apologizing on the other, with the former being in line with the ranking for references to *expressive* illocutions, and the latter displaying a preference for the *descriptive* use type followed by the *meta-commenting* use type, the *descriptive* use type, and the *mixed* category. Moreover, in terms of average relative frequency values, references to individual *expressive* illocutions displayed even stronger differences, with the *performative* use type alone displaying values of 89.3% in references to thanking, 66.0% in references to congratulating, and only 23.3% in references to apologizing (intra-categorical variation). Variation across the three sub-corpora was minor overall, with the notable exceptions being a significantly stronger preference in GloWbE GB for the *descriptive* use type in references to requesting and commanding, a significantly stronger preference in GloWbE KE for the *descriptive* use type in references to begging, and a slight (and not statistically significant) dispreference in GloWbE GB for the *descriptive* use

type in references to apologizing. Apart from that, use type distributions were largely similar across the sub-corpora considered for the present purposes ('cross-regional variation'). The findings pertaining to use type distributions have been discussed against the background of the situatedness of the respective illocutions in discourse as well as the conceptual structure of illocutionary types (Searle 1975). The dominance of the *performative* use type in references to *expressive* illocutions has been argued to reflect the stronger situatedness of these illocutions in the here-and-now (as also reflected in their empty direction of fit, see Searle 1975), whereas the dominance of the *descriptive* use type in references to *directive* illocutions has been argued to reflect the stronger situatedness of these illocutions outside the discursive here-and-now. Intracategorially, the broad similarities in use type distributions across references to individual *directive* illocutions on the one hand and the distinct differences in use type distributions across references to individual *expressive* illocutions on the other has been argued to (partially) reflect the conceptual structure of the respective illocutionary types. Specifically, while the similar use type distributions in references to *directive* illocutions were argued to reflect the conceptually 'more cohesive' character of the *directive* class (containing more contiguous and/or overlapping members, viz. illocutions), the different use type distributions in references to *expressive* illocutions were argued to reflect the conceptually 'more diversified' character of the *expressive* class (containing more distinct and separate members, viz. illocutions). However, the strong variation in shares of the *performative* use type across references to individual *expressive* illocutions – most prominently the low shares in references to apologizing – could have also been due to the prevalence of (conventionalized) implicit realization strategies such as *sorry*, for which the present study could, however, not account. While 'cross-regional variation' was comparatively minor overall, the preference in GloWbE GB for the *descriptive* use type in references to requesting and commanding was tentatively argued to tentatively reflect the lack of contention surrounding (the felicity of) these illocutions, the preference in GloWbE KE for the *descriptive* use type in references to begging was tentatively argued to reflect the pervasiveness of the activity of begging in Kenya resulting in frequent reports of the latter, and the dispreference in GloWbE GB for the *descriptive* use type in references to apologizing could be tentatively argued to reflect the contention surrounding (the felicity of) this illocution, especially considering the emphasis on accountability and respectability in British culture (Deutschmann 2003, Ancarno 2015).

Regarding (iv) entextualization patterns, references to *directive* illocutions most often co-occurred with entextualizations specifying values not corresponding to the deictic origo (in terms of the parameter type *setting*) as well as with frequent entextualizations of the parameter

perlocution (belonging to the parameter type *concomitant constitutive acts*). By contrast, references to *expressive* illocutions most often co-occurred with entextualizations specifying values corresponding to the deictic origo (in terms of the parameter type *setting*) but very infrequently with entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* (belonging to the parameter type *concomitant constitutive acts*). Apart from this overall difference, entextualization patterns were roughly similar across these two illocutionary types, both qualitatively and quantitatively, with probably the most notable finding being an almost complete lack of entextualizations of the parameters *place* (*setting*), *locution* (*concomitant constitutive acts*), *input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition* (*felicity conditions*) across almost the entire dataset (inter-categorical variation). Within the *directive* class, the most notable difference was found in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer*: In references to requesting, these parameters were often entextualized by references to entities in business and/or politics, in references to commanding, they were often entextualized by references to entities in military and/or religion, and in references to begging, they were often entextualized by references to private persons. Moreover, references to commanding co-occurred slightly more frequently with entextualizations of the parameters *locution* and *essential condition*, and references to begging co-occurred slightly less frequently with entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution*. Within the *expressive* class, the most prominent difference was found in entextualizations of parameters belonging to the parameter type *setting* in references to thanking and congratulating on the one hand, and references to apologizing on the other. Specifically, while entextualizations of the relevant parameters (i.e., *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, *place*) in references to thanking and congratulating corresponded to the deictic origo, those in references to apologizing did not. Moreover, references to apologizing co-occurred slightly more frequently with entextualizations of the parameters *perlocution* (*concomitant constitutive acts*) and *sincerity condition* (*felicity conditions*) (intra-categorical variation). In contrast to (sometimes pronounced) inter-categorical and intra-categorical variation, variation across GloWbE GB, GloWbE HK, and GloWbE KE was minimal. In fact, the only notable difference across these three sub-corpora was found in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, and *place* in references to commanding (in contexts of religion): While GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE contained references to both Islamic faith (i.e., *Allah*, *Muhammad*, *the Qur'an*) and Christian faith (i.e., *Jesus*, *Moses*, *the Bible*), GloWbE HK almost exclusively contained references to Christian faith. Apart from that, these three sub-corpora displayed broad similarities in terms of entextualization patterns ('cross-regional variation'). The findings pertaining to entextualization patterns have (also) been discussed against the background of

different aspects of the situatedness of the respective illocutions in discourse. In terms of parameters belonging to the parameter type *setting* (i.e., *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, and *place*), the prevalence of entextualizations corresponding to the deictic origo in references to *expressive* illocutions on the one hand and the prevalence of entextualizations not corresponding to the deictic origo in references to *directive* illocutions on the other have been argued to be a direct consequence of the predominance of different use types in references to these illocutions. Specifically, while the *performative* use type – which was predominant in references to *expressive* illocutions – restricts the discursive situatedness of the respective illocution(s) to the here-and-now (i.e., the deictic origo), the *descriptive* use type – which was predominant in references to *directive* illocutions – permits much more variation regarding the discursive situatedness of the respective illocution(s) as long as the specification of at least one parameter does not correspond to the deictic origo. In terms of the parameter *perlocution* (belonging to the parameter type *concomitant constitutive acts*), the higher frequencies of entextualizations of this parameter in references to *directive* illocutions has been argued to indicate a stronger connectedness of *directive* illocutions with future courses of action, whereas the lower frequencies of entextualizations of this parameter in references to *expressive* illocutions has been argued to indicate a weaker connectedness of *expressive* illocutions to future courses of action. The types and degrees of connectedness of different illocutions and illocutionary types are reflected in Searle's (1975) classification principles illocutionary point and direction of fit, (partially) in Austin's (1962[1975]) conventional illocutionary effects 'taking effect' and invitations of a response (see also Sbisà 2009, 2013), and (partially) in Austin's (1962[1975]) perlocutionary object. Apart from these two inter-categorical differences, the broad qualitative and quantitative similarities between entextualization patterns in references to *directive* and *expressive* illocutions, especially the lack of entextualizations of the parameters *place* (*setting*), *locution* (*concomitant constitutive acts*), *input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition* (*felicity conditions*) has been discussed against the background of degrees of discursive at-issueness and degrees of conventionalization associated with these parameters. Regarding the parameters *place* and *locution*, low frequencies of entextualizations have been argued to point to a low degree of at-issueness of this parameter, arguably for reasons of communicative efficiency, among other things. Regarding the parameters *input and output conditions*, *sincerity condition*, and *essential condition*, low frequencies of entextualizations have been argued to indicate a high degree of conventionalization associated with these parameters, arguably because the corresponding felicity conditions represent pragmatic presuppositions which are generally assumed to obtain by default and are only explicitly

referred to when doubts about their obtaining arise (Sbisà 2002). Intra-categorially, the varying entextualizations of the parameters *speaker* and *hearer* across (references to) individual *directive* illocutions have been argued to reflect the situatedness of requesting in the institutionalized domain of business and/or politics, commanding in the institutionalized domain of military or religion, and begging in the non-institutional domain. The more frequent entextualizations of the parameters *locution* and *essential condition* in references to commanding have been argued to reflect the prominence of direct quotations of commands in religious contexts (e.g., from the Bible or the Qur'an) as well as the interactants' explicit ascriptions of illocutionary force to the quoted material. The less frequent entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* in references to begging have been argued to reflect the slightly weaker connectedness of this illocution to a future course of action, which is due to the beggar's submission to the beggee, the weak character (if any) of the deontic obligation conventionally created by begging, and the bringing about of the perlocutionary object being almost entirely dependent on the beggee's benevolence. Within *expressives*, the finding that entextualizations of parameters belonging to the parameter type *setting* (i.e., *speaker*, *hearer*, *time*, and *place*) corresponded to the deictic origo in references to thanking and congratulating but did not correspond to the deictic origo in references to apologizing was again attributed to the dominant use types in references to these illocutions. Specifically, while the *performative* use type – which was predominant in references to thanking and congratulating – restricts the discursive situatedness of the respective illocutions in the here-and-now (i.e., deictic origo), the *descriptive* use type – which was predominant in references to apologizing – permits more variation as long as the entextualization of at least one parameter specifies a value which does not correspond to the deictic origo. Moreover, the more frequent entextualizations of the parameter *perlocution* in references to apologizing have been attributed to its remedying social function (Norrick 1978) as part of its (intended) perlocutionary sequel (Austin 1962[1975]), and the more frequent entextualizations of the parameter *sincerity condition* in references to apologizing have been attributed both to the intensifying function of references to sincerity in the *performative* use type (e.g., *I sincerely apologize*, *Sincere apologies*, etc.) and to the overall importance placed on sincerity in apologizing, especially in public settings (Deutschmann 2003, Ancarno 2015). Finally, the only notable 'cross-regional' difference in entextualization patterns – namely the finding that, mainly in entextualizations of the parameters *speaker*, *hearer*, and *place* in references to commanding (in contexts of religion), GloWbE GB and GloWbE KE contained references to both Christian and Islamic faith, whereas GloWbE HK almost exclusively contained references to Christian faith – has been attributed to the different shares of the Muslim

population (and thus potentially the predominance of Islam) in these countries and regions, with Kenya displaying the largest share followed by Great Britain and Hong Kong (World Population Review). Aside from this difference, the broad ‘cross-regional’ similarities in entextualizations of contextual parameters have been argued to reflect a high degree of intercommunity (or a lack of ‘language-community-specificity’) in the conceptualization of illocutions, at least in the context of English.

Regarding (v) realization types of the *performative* use type, (the infrequently occurring) explicit realizations of *directive* illocutions were dominated by the *explicit performative* realization type, whereas (the frequently occurring) explicit realizations of *expressive* illocutions were dominated by the *elliptical nominal* realization type (inter-categorical variation). Within *directives*, explicit realizations of begging displayed the highest degree of predominance of the *explicit performative* realization type. Explicit realizations of requesting and commanding also displayed a preference for the *explicit performative* realization type, but this preference was not as noticeable as in begging due to the lower share of the *performative* use type in references to the former. Within *expressives*, explicit realizations of congratulating displayed an almost one-sided preference for the *elliptical nominal* realization type, explicit realizations of apologizing displayed a somewhat less noticeable preference for the *elliptical nominal* realization type (due to the low share of the *performative* use type in references to this illocution), and explicit realizations of thanking displayed a preference for both the *elliptical nominal* and – in contrast to the other two illocutions – the *elliptical verbal* realization type (intra-categorical variation). In terms of variation across sub-corpora, the only noticeable difference was that, especially in explicit realizations of thanking and congratulating, GloWbE KE – other than GloWbE GB and GloWbE HK – displayed a stronger preference for the *explicit performative* realization type and a less strong preference for the *elliptical nominal* realization type. Otherwise, the distribution of realization types of the *performative* use type was largely stable across the three sub-corpora (‘cross-regional variation’). The findings pertaining to realization types of the *performative* use type have been discussed against the background of preferences in (explicit) realization as well as routinized and formulaic language use. The low frequency of the *performative* use type in references to *directive* illocutions has been argued to indirectly reflect a possible preference among interactants to realize *directive* illocutions implicitly (and indirectly) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, Blum-Kulka 1989). The predominance of the *explicit performative* realization type among the infrequent explicit realizations has been attributed to the lack of conventionalized *elliptical nominal* and *elliptical verbal* realization types on the one hand, and the increased overtness of the illocutionary aspect

of the speech act as a whole on the other. The high frequency of the *performative* use type in references to *expressive* illocutions has been argued to reflect a possible preference among interactants to realize *expressive* illocutions explicitly, arguably because higher degrees of identifiability in discourse (Coulmas 1981a) facilitate, among other things, rapport-building among interactants as one of the many social functions of *expressive* illocutions (Norrick 1978). The predominance of the *elliptical nominal* realization type among the frequent explicit realizations has been attributed to high degrees of spontaneity and/or impulsiveness associated with the performance of *expressive* illocutions. This is reflected syntactically in the similarities of *elliptical nominal* realizations to interjections and pragmatically in the similarities of *elliptical nominal* realizations to pragmatic markers (Aijmer 2004, Ameka 2006, Norrick 2011), and further in *expressive* illocutions' empty direction of fit as well as their illocutionary point to ('only') express the speaker's mental state about a state of affairs (Searle 1975). On a different note, the dominance of the *elliptical nominal* realization type across all *expressive* illocutions (albeit to different extents) has been argued to reflect the high overall degree of formulaicness associated with the performance of *expressive* illocutions (Coulmas 1979, 1981a). Intra-categorially, the stronger predominance of the *explicit performative* realization type in begging (as opposed to requesting and commanding) has been tentatively argued to indicate that these realizations (e.g., *I beg you to help me*) reinforce the beggar's submission to the beggee as well as the beggar's appeal to the beggee's benevolence in performing the relevant act (which is not required in requesting and commanding as reflected in their felicity conditions). Within *expressives*, the weaker predominance of the *elliptical nominal* realization type in apologizing has been ascribed to the smaller share of the *performative* use type (arguably due to an overall preference for the IFID *sorry* in realizations of this illocution), whereas the large share of the *elliptical verbal* realization type in thanking has been attributed to the (almost) idiosyncratic conventionalized realization strategy *thank you*, which does not have counterparts in realizations of the other (*expressive*) illocutions. Across sub-corpora, the larger shares in GloWbE KE of the *explicit performative* realization type as compared to the *elliptical nominal* realization type in both thanking and congratulating have been tentatively attributed to a preference for realizations displaying a more ritual and ceremonial character as a reflection of tradition-orientedness in Swahili expressive culture on the one hand (Eastman 1984, 1992), and a potential association of elevated degrees of formality with the use of the English language – even on (largely informal) blogs – on the other.

6.2 Limitations

Despite its many insightful findings, the present study is undoubtedly limited in terms of the explanatory power of its results. Probably the most obvious limitation results from the methodological shortcomings inherent in basing the present study on empirical data from the GloWbE corpus. While the selection of the GloWbE corpus has certainly been advantageous for pursuing the present study's research aims of conducting a large-scale exploration of the use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon across different regions and potentially different varieties of English, the questionable origin of empirical data (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 4-5) calls into question the representativeness of this dataset with respect to the 'regions'/varieties under consideration. Moreover, the doubtful genre balance in the GloWbE corpus (Davies & Fuchs 2015: 4-5) has resulted in the decision to consider data (almost) exclusively from the *Blog* section rather than the *General* section in order to preserve genre homogeneity, despite the internal heterogeneity of this 'bridging genre' (Herring et al. 2005). While the internal heterogeneity of the genre of blogging has been taken as the main reason for considering this genre a suitable proxy for exploring the use of meta-illocutionary expressions in general, it goes without saying that the genre of blogging alone is far from representative of English in the UK, Hong Kong, and Kenya respectively. Thus, it is possible that at least some of the present study's findings are the result of (region-specific) genre conventions rather than inter-categorical, intra-categorical, or 'cross-regional' differences. Needless to say, further research is required to demonstrate the potential effect of genre on the use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, especially in second-language contexts (but see Schneider 2021, 2022 for first-language contexts).

Next, the present study's argument that use type distributions in references to individual illocutions indirectly reflect the conceptual structure of the classes to which these illocutions belong – viz. the 'cohesiveness' of the *directive* class and the 'diversification' of the *expressive* class – might be foremost a result of the specific illocutions chosen for the present purposes. Especially regarding the ('more diversified') *expressive* class, the distinct difference in use type distributions between references to thanking and congratulating (dominated by the *performative* use type) on the one hand and references to apologizing (displaying a more balanced distribution slightly favoring the *descriptive* use type) on the other is most probably due to the supposed predominance of the IFID *sorry* in realizations of apologies. Consequently, use type distributions in explicit references to apologies make this illocution appear – purportedly and at first sight – similar to *directive* illocutions, at least in terms of meta-illocutionary references to it. In other words, the supposed dominance of the IFID *sorry* in realizations of apologies

might have played an important role in establishing the present study's argument of use type distributions indirectly reflecting the conceptual structure of superordinate illocutionary classes, especially because the dominance of *sorry* distorts the apparent regularity of (explicit) references to *expressive* illocutions being dominated by the *performative* use type, situating (the performance of) these illocutions in the discursive here-and-now. Against this background, it appears advisable to treat the mapping of use type distributions onto conceptual structures of illocutionary types with caution. This is because use type distributions in references to a different *expressive* illocution, whose realizations may not be dominated by an IFID equivalent to *sorry* in apologizing, could very well resemble those reported for thanking and congratulating, which would invalidate the argument of the 'more diverse' character of the *expressive* class being reflected in the diverse use type distributions across individual *expressive* illocutions. Instead, it is claimed, more modestly, that use type distributions in references to illocutions probably more strongly reflect the conventionalized use of the respective lexical items rather than the conceptual structure of illocutions and/or illocutionary types.

On a related note regarding use types, the *meta-commenting* use type distinguished for the present purposes is highly internally diverse, thus calling into question the precision of many results involving this use type. Specifically, the *meta-commenting* use type encompasses features of modality (including futurity), conditionality, and/or identification – which may, but do not have to, co-occur in clusters – as well as, optionally, features of question and/or negation functioning as amplifiers of the presented incongruity pertaining to the conceptualization of (the felicity of) the respective illocution among the interactants. In other words, there are many features which, according to the present study's classification, render an utterance a meta-comment on the felicity or the performance of an illocution. Consequently, shares and distributions of the *meta-commenting* use type as a whole do, of course, not give information about the specific features responsible for the classification of an example as a meta-comment. While this study's 'lumping' distinction between the *performative* use type, the *descriptive* use type, and the *meta-commenting* use type proved highly useful for the present purposes of exploring large-scale patterns in the use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon, more fine-grained analyses could enlarge on the individual features of the *meta-commenting* use type as well as their qualitative realizations and quantitative distributions. A broad-brush overview of the present data suggests a predominance of conditionality in references to *directive* illocutions (especially requests) and a predominance of modality in references to *expressive* illocutions (especially apologies), but of course, this claim requires more fine-grained empirical verification.

Lastly, while the present study has considered both one region where English is widely spoken natively (i.e., UK) and, more relevantly, two regions where English is spoken as a second or foreign language (i.e., Hong Kong, Kenya), its findings are not argued to contribute to discussions and theoretical frameworks pertaining to the status and development of pertinent non-native varieties (i.e., Hong Kong English, Kenyan English) against the background of historical, socio-cultural, political, and identity-based factors (e.g., Schneider 2007). For the present purposes (only), the present study has instead considered English as spoken in the UK, Hong Kong, and Kenya, rather than British English, Hong Kong English, and Kenyan English. . This is because it was more the bloggers' use of the (English) meta-illocutionary lexicon which was the present study's main object of investigation rather than the status and/or the stage of development of the respective varieties using the example of conceptualizations of illocutions. On condition that the (problematic) compatibility of the pertinent research paradigms – viz. (meta-)pragmatics and World Englishes – is further brought out, future research may, of course, complement the present study in that regard.

6.3 Implications for future research

In comparison to previous research on explicit and reflexive references to illocutions (Schneider 2021, 2022; Schoppa 2022), the present study constitutes the first large-scale investigation into the ordinary use of the meta-illocutionary lexicon. The extended scope of the present study is reflected in the number of illocutions selected for analysis (i.e., six, as opposed to one or two in previous research), the juxtaposition of two illocutionary types (which has not been done before), and not least in the comparison of results across regions in which the status of English varies strongly. Overall, the findings of this large-scale study have revealed that usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon reflect various theoretical, conceptual, and societal aspects associated with the illocutions to which the respective items refer. Specifically, (normalized) frequencies were linked to the salience and/or prominence of the relevant illocutions, word class distributions were linked to degrees of institutionalization, use type distributions were linked to the situatedness of illocutions in discourse and (tentatively) to the conceptual structure of illocutionary types, entextualization patterns were also linked to the situatedness of illocutions in discourse as well as degrees of discursive at-issueness and conventionalization associated with individual contextual parameters, and distributions of realization types of the *performative* use type were (partially) linked to preferences in realization of the illocutions in question.

In a broader frame of reference, the present study has shown that many aspects associated with the meta-level of (ordinary) language use – in this case (usage patterns of) explicit and reflexive references to illocutions – are largely congruous both with the object-level of (ordinary) language use – in this case realizations of these illocutions in discourse – and with (non-ordinary) theoretical aspects of language use – in this case speech act theory and its constitutive elements, viz. the tripartite classification of the speech act, felicity conditions, and taxonomies. However, the congruity of the mapping between the meta-level of language use, the object-level of language use, and (meta-)pragmatic theory is far from perfect. The two most notable counterexamples to the congruity of this mapping pertain to (references to) the illocutions of requesting and apologizing. Regarding the former, the speech-act-theoretic view suggests that the illocution of requesting is an underspecified (and thus possibly the most ‘general’) *directive* illocution, whereas usage patterns of meta-illocutionary references to this illocution have revealed that, for ordinary language users, requesting is quite specific to (more formal) contexts of business and/or politics. Regarding the latter, the speech-act-theoretic view – and specifically the status of apologizing as an *expressive* illocution – would suggest that, by trend, apologies are situated more strongly in the discursive here-and-now, whereas usage patterns of meta-illocutionary references to this illocution have revealed that, for ordinary language users, explicit and reflexive references to apologizing tend to be *descriptive* in nature, most probably due to the predominance of the IFID *sorry* in realizations of this illocution, especially in informal contexts.

Needless to say, more research is required to enlarge upon, and further refine, the degree of (in)congruity of the mapping between the meta-level of language use, the object-level of language use, and (meta-)pragmatic theory. Pursuing this objective, future empirical studies could, most obviously, consider further illocutionary types, further illocutions of the same illocutionary type(s), further regions, further languages, and/or further genres. Research of this kind would undoubtedly add to the explanatory power of the present study by substantiating or qualifying selected claims made above, thus advancing the study of usage patterns of the meta-illocutionary lexicon within (meta-)pragmatics and related research areas. For the time being, suffice it to say that the meta-level and the object-level of language use are inextricably intertwined (Lucy 1993) and – at least for the most part – probably best conceptualized as two sides of the same metaphorical coin.

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