How Study Abroad Affects Students' Ability to Argue

Simon COLE

Abstract

This paper examines the development of a coding system, based on van Eemeren and Grootendorst's comprehensive theory of argumentation. This framework is then used on a corpus of argumentative discourse to analyze differences in the pragmatic development of learners with and without experience of learning English in a Second Language context. The study reveals that learners with ESL experience are more likely to play the role of the antagonist in discussions, using questions to draw out contradictions and "corner" their opponents, before delivering contra-argument and critiques making heavy use of rhetorical questions. Learners with ESL experience also exhibit far more variation in the way that speech acts are realized.

Keywords : argumentation, speech act, pragmatics

1. Introduction

There is a rich literature reporting studies of the way that learners realize various speech acts in their L2. Ellis (1994) in a review of research in the field of interlanguage pragmatics, lists studies of requests, apologies and refusals. Kasper and Dahl (1991) in their article on the research methods typically used in interlanguage pragmatics, also detail studies of complaints, suggestions, thanks, corrections and answers.

One area that probably hasn't received the attention it deserves is argumentative discourse produced by language learners. The research that has been conducted has largely been limited to studies of the speech act 'disagreement.' The only substantial studies of note to have involved Japanese subjects were Beebe and Takahashi's studies (1989a) and (1989b) which used a Discourse Completion Questionnaire (DCQ), plus notebook data of authentic conversation, to examine use of a number speech acts including 'disagreement', by 15 Japanese and 22 native English.

The relative paucity of studies that examine the way that learners express opinions, disagree and structure their arguments is surprising given the importance of the role that argumentation plays in the academic community and in academic discourse in general. It is even more surprising given developments in the related discipline of argumentation studies. Argumentation theorists such as Jacobs and Jackson (1982) and van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) have drawn heavily

on pragmatics in general and speech act theory in particular in an attempt to produce a comprehensive account of the way that people argue. While Eemeren and Grootendorst's primary concern is to lay down norms for the conduct of what they term a "critical discussion," their attempt to integrate Searlean and Gricean insights (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984) has produced a model of argumentative discourse that can also be of use to researchers whose main concern is description of pragmatic behaviour.

One of the reasons that researchers have steered clear of this area is that argumentation is a relatively complex speech act. As van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984, p. 32) point out, "Even the simplest argumentation for or against an expressed opinion contains, if it is made fully explicit at least two statements ... Each of these statements can be expressed in a separate sentence and if this happens there is no one-to-one correlation between what Searle calls the illocutionary act of arguing and one particular sentence." They further note that, "advancing a constellation of statements can only be regarded as a performance of the speech act argumentation if the sentences uttered stand in a particular relationship to another sentence (or collection of sentences) whose utterance counts as the advancing of an expressed opinion." (1984, 33) They describe argumentation as an illocutionary act complex or compound illocution.

This relative complexity means that some of the research methods most commonly used in interlanguage pragmatics such as DCQs and elicitation techniques involving role plays, do not really lend themselves to an investigation of the way that learners argue. To be sure, it is perfectly possible to design a DCQ to elicit examples of particular illocutionary acts such as 'disagreement,' that occur within the illocutionary act complex of argumentation. However, such an approach is not likely to throw much light on what is perhaps a more interesting question, the way that learners string together these basic illocutionary acts across a number of turns, to construct an argument. An approach that examines more extended discourse is likely to be more useful. However, the alternative, collecting notebook or recorded data of natural language use, also has its problems, including the difficulties involved in collected sufficient data.

The pilot study described in this paper uses a corpus of data from video-taped classroom discussions to investigate the argumentation of Japanese learners of English. The study aimed to use van Eemeren and Grootendorst's framework to develop a coding system with which to analyze learners' argumentation. The framework developed was then used to examine differences in the patterns of argumentation of students who had experience of learning English in a Second Language (ESL) context in an English speaking country as opposed to those whose experience of learning English had been limited to a Foreign Language (EFL) context in a non-English speaking country.

Kasper and Schmidt (1996) argue that:

Because pragmatic knowledge by definition is highly sensitive to social and cultural features of context, one would expect input that is richer in qualitative and quantitative terms to result in

better learning outcomes. A second language environment is more likely to provide learners with the diverse frequent input they need for pragmatic development than a foreign language learning context especially if the instruction is pre-communicative or non-communicative. (p. 160)

A number of different studies have shown that learners with ESL experience do perform speech acts in English in different ways. Takahashi and Beebe (1987) in a study of Japanese learners found considerable differences in the way ESL, as opposed to EFL learners realized refusals. In a longitudinal study, Cole and Anderson (2002) found a dramatic change in Japanese learners' request realization after a ten-month home stay in an English speaking country. It seems highly likely that an examination of learners' argumentation would show similar differences.

2. Method

The corpus consists of transcriptions of 31 video taped discussions. Altogether some 66 university freshmen took part producing a corpus of 832 speech acts and 12,689 words. Participants' English speaking ability varied considerably, TOEFL scores used for placement in the classes where the discussions took place ranged from 480 to 593 points. Twenty-two of the sixty-six students had ESL experience. For the purpose of this study this was defined as having lived in an English speaking country for over six months. Learners with ESL experience produced 347 of the speech acts totaling 6,014 words, whilst students with only EFL experience produced 485 and 6,668 respectively.

Each discussion involved four or in some cases, five students discussing issues related to two four-week content based English modules they had completed. One of these dealt with the assassination of John F. Kennedy and the other the question of the death penalty. In the discussions students were not free to choose the standpoint that they would adopt. Instead standpoints were randomly assigned immediately prior to the discussion to ensure that at least two students would adopt each standpoint.

Although the discussions approximate to the kind of activity students might experience in an academic context in a discussion or debate it is not strictly speaking naturally occurring language data. Since students receive a grade for their work in class, these discussions, have the characteristics of a performance. The discussions can best be classified as a form of open-ended role play. While data obtained from role-plays almost certainly does have differences with language use in a more natural context, these differences are most evident in very controlled rather than open-ended role-plays. Role-plays have a long tradition in interlanguage pragmatics research. In fact none of the research methods commonly used in interlanguage pragmatics is without its problems. As Beebe and Takahashi (1989a) point out even naturally collected data has its own biases. Kasper and Dahl (1991) comment that, "IL pragmaticists are caught between a rock and a hard place,"

when it comes to data collection.

The video recordings were transcribed and speech acts tagged using Tams Analyzer an OSX/Linux transcription, tagging and data analysis tool designed for use in qualitative research. Speaker data, including gender and ESL experience was also marked in the corpus. The software allows tags and text contained within them, to be selected on the basis of multiple criteria. For example, it is possible to use the software to select all directives produced by students with experience studying in an ESL context. It also allows for the export of subsections of the corpus for analysis in other programs. Using this feature it was also possible to use a lexical profiler to examine separately word frequency and lexical features of the output of students with ESL and without ESL experience.

3. Coding

Details of the coding scheme used are given in appendix A. The scheme borrows heavily from van Eemeren and Grootendorst's (2004) pragma-dialectical approach. Their model is based on the ideal of an argument as a critical discussion aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint. While their model provides a useful framework for analyzing argumentative discourse, it should of course be born in mind that argumentation in practice is unlikely to form a perfect match with their normative model of what constitutes a "critical discussion."

While van Eemeren and Grootendorst's (2004) model argues that an ideal critical discussion should pass through four stages, confrontation. opening, argument and conclusion, they concede that in practice stages are often missed or not clearly delineated. For example they note "A discussion stage that is almost never fully represented ,,, is the opening stage. The fact, for example, that the rules that apply to the resolution process are often not explicitly stated us without doubt to some extent due to the fact that they are deemed obvious." (p. 98-99) Given the nature of the discussions, a mini-debate format, in the corpus it would seem unlikely that either opening or concluding stages would be present. However, many of the discussions did show evidence of a confrontation stage. Before commencing the argumentation stage proper, subjects did adopt standpoints and elicit them from others. Thus these utterances were coded as a 'standpoint.' Attempts to elicit a standpoint were also distinguished from directives seeking clarification or to elicit further argumentation.

The pragma-dialectical approach makes a distinction between pro argumentation aimed at overcoming a listener's doubt in the truth of an expressed opinion and contra-argumentation aimed at demonstrating its falsity (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984, p. 82). In order to make this distinction, after identifying examples of argumentation, it was necessary to identify the expressed opinion, often not explicitly stated, to which the argumentation refers. This was marked as a comment within the argument tag. Because the disputes are mixed (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004, p. 60) with discussants adopting opposing standpoints on the main point at issue, it was

sometimes difficult to make this distinction. For example, is an argument without an explicitly stated 'claim' contra-argumentation attempting to persuade a speaker to abandon their commitment to the claim that, "the death penalty should be abolished" or pro-argumentation supporting the expressed opinion that "the death penalty should be retained?" In this situation, the approach taken was to code it as pro-argumentation if there was no claim in the immediately preceding utterances to which it could plausibly be seen as a counter-argument.

A distinction was also made between argumentation that doesn't of necessity challenge the acceptability of the claim or proposition advanced in support of the claim. Rather it challenges what Toulmin (1958) calls the warrant, the justification that this proposition provides for the claim. This is type of argumentation is coded as a "critique." A simple example of how these different types of argument are coded is provided in Appendix B.

Three types of directives are also identified, requests for a speaker to adopt a standpoint, requests for argumentation, and requests for clarification. The category of clarification was also distinguished from argumentation. This is composed of what van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) call usage declaratives; clarification, definition, precization, amplification, explication or explicitization of an assertion previously made. A number of other speech acts were identified, such as simple statements of agreement or disagreement, which under the pragma-dialectical approach are classed as commissives, since they commit the speaker to the truth, or otherwise of certain propositions. A number of other speech acts were identified, but of these only suggestions, made when a speakers could not recall the English word, made up more than 1% of the total.

Once speech acts had been identified and coded, pro and contra argumentation and requests for argumentation, and clarification were analyzed for the manner in which they were realized. In the case of argumentation the presence of explicit claims or conclusions, markers for agreement or disagreement, hedges, concessions, rhetorical questions and relators were identified. In the directives instances of explicit requests, questions signaled solely by rising intonation, yes/no questions and 'wh' questions were tagged.

4. Results

4.1 General

Detailed results are given in Appendix C. As can be seen from Figure 1., below students with ESL experience tended to be more verbose, producing more speech acts per person and also slightly longer speech acts. A vocabulary profile of the output showed few differences between ESL and non-ESL (NESL) learners. The type token ratio was identical 0.13. The lexical density (content words as a proportion of the total) of the NESL learners was very slightly higher than ESL, 0.48 as opposed to 0.44. The NESL learners used slightly more low frequency words, not included in either the academic word list or the General Service List, 14.03% as opposed to 10.36%.

Figure 1.

	Number	Total words	Total speech acts	Words per speech act	Speech acts per person
ESL	22	6,014	347	17.33	15.77
NESL	44	6,668	485	13.75	11.02
Total	66	12,689	832	15.25	12.61

A broad look at the overall categories of speech act produced by the two groups shows some obvious differences. While argumentation made up a slightly higher proportion of the total, 48% as opposed to 44%, the biggest differences were the percentage of standpoints, clarification and directives. The NESL group was twice as likely to produce a standpoint or clarification. Directives made up 27% of the ESL corpus, but only 18% of the NESL corpus. The contrast can clearly be seen in Chart 1. below.

Chart 1.
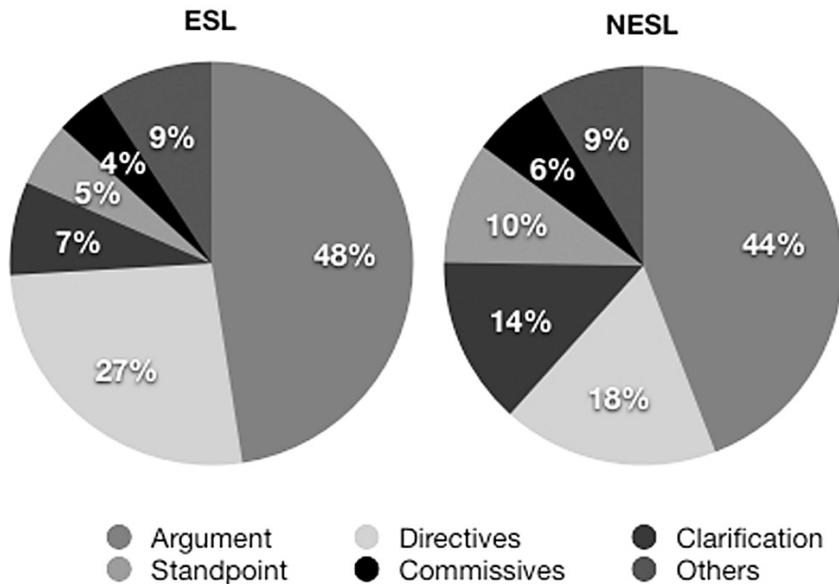
4.2 Directives

A closer look at the directives shows that the differences between ESL and NESL groups are not spread evenly across all types of directives. While there are only minor differences in the number of requests for clarification as a percentage of total speech acts, learners with ESL experience are once again over twice as likely to request further argumentation as the NESL group (see figure 2.)

Figure 2.

	Total speech acts	request for argumentation	request for clarification	request for standpoint	other request
ESL	347	14.41%	9.22%	2.59%	0.29%
NESL	485	6.19%	8.04%	2.68%	0.62%
Total	832	9.62%	8.53%	2.64%	0.48%

All figures shown are as a percentage of total speech acts.

An examination of the form that questions take also shows another interesting difference between the two groups. The form that directives take is more likely to be a 'WH' question than for the ESL than NESL group. Although the total numbers are small learners with ESL experience are also a lot more likely to use an explicit request form, e.g. "Please explain what you mean by that," than learners without. Overall there was a tendency for both groups to use 'WH' questions to elicit argumentation and simple statements or even single words with rising intonation to ask for clarification.

A more detailed investigation reveals that the higher percentage of 'WH' questions produced by the ESL group is due almost entirely to their use in requests for argumentation. The ESL group was actually slightly less likely to use 'WH' questions in requests for clarification. On the other hand explicit requests were more likely to be made by students with ESL experience requesting clarification.

A list of the 'WH' questions used by both groups when making requests for argumentation is included as Appendix D. A comparison shows that most of the requests made by the NESL group were generic in nature and could have been made in response to almost any statement. Two question forms, "What do you think?" and "Why do you think so?" account for over half of the

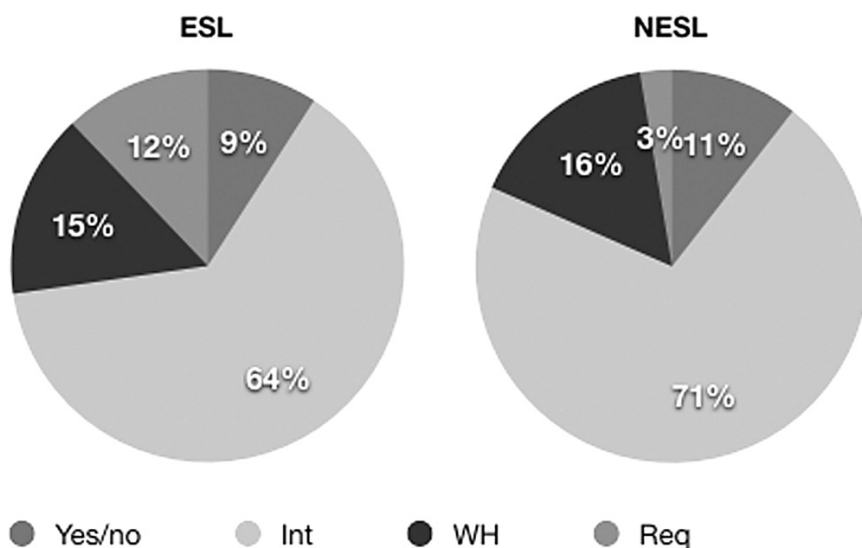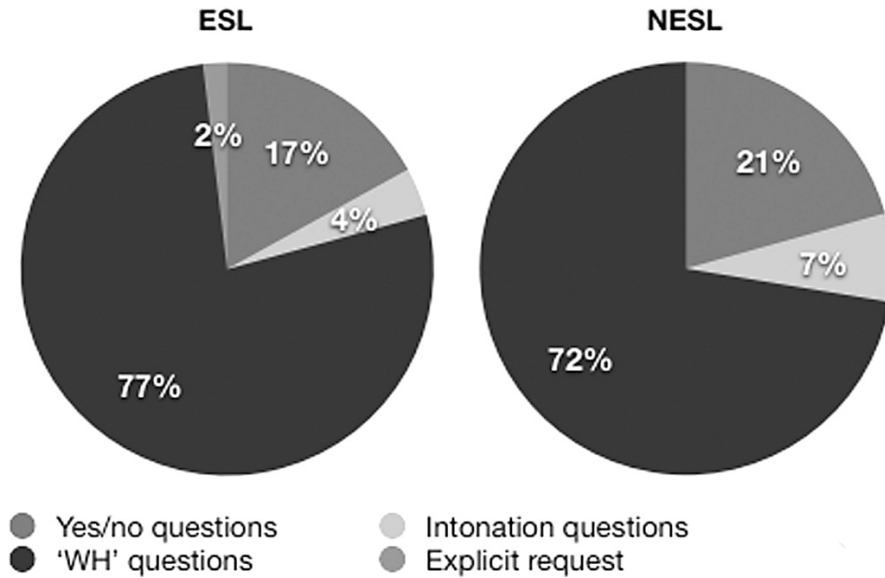**Chart 2. Form as percentage of requests for argumentation.**

Chart 3. Question form as percentage of request for clarification

ESL

NESL

2% 17%

4%

77%

21%

7%

72%

● Yes/no questions ○ Intonation questions
● 'WH' questions ● Explicit request

examples. In contrast, there is far more variety in the requests made by those with ESL experience. There appears to be a tendency for this second group to use the questions for strategic positioning to steer the discussion in the direction of subtopics where they feel they have the stronger case. Both groups used questions to request justification where none was provided, to bring a speaker into the discussion and to ask for comment on the acceptability or otherwise of their own argumentation.

4.3 Argumentation

Overall there were slightly more instances of pro than contra-argumentation in the corpus, 173 compared to 167, while there were only 39 examples of critique of argumentation. The roles played by students with ESL experience in the discussions seemed to be very different. This group in fact produced more contra than pro-argumentation and also a higher proportion of the category "critique." This can be seen clearly in chart 4., below, which shows the breakdown by types as a percentage of total argumentation. The main differences across all forms of argumentation between ESL and NESL groups were that the former were slightly more likely to hedge their argumentation and a lot more likely to use rhetorical questions and agreement markers.

The results also show general differences between the ways in which the argument types are realized. The specific features of contra argumentation seem to be more use of disagreement markers, rhetorical questions, explicitly stated conclusions and partial concessions, although there were very few of the latter. On the other hand pro-argumentation was more likely to have an explicit claim before the argumentation and more likely to have an agreement marker.

Looking at the form of their pro-argumentation the ESL group were still more likely to hedge,

much less likely to use disagreement markers or an explicit conclusion. They still used a few rhetorical questions, but these were now a very small percentage of the total, only about 3% of their pro-argumentation.

Chart 4. Type of argumentation as percentage of total argumentation.
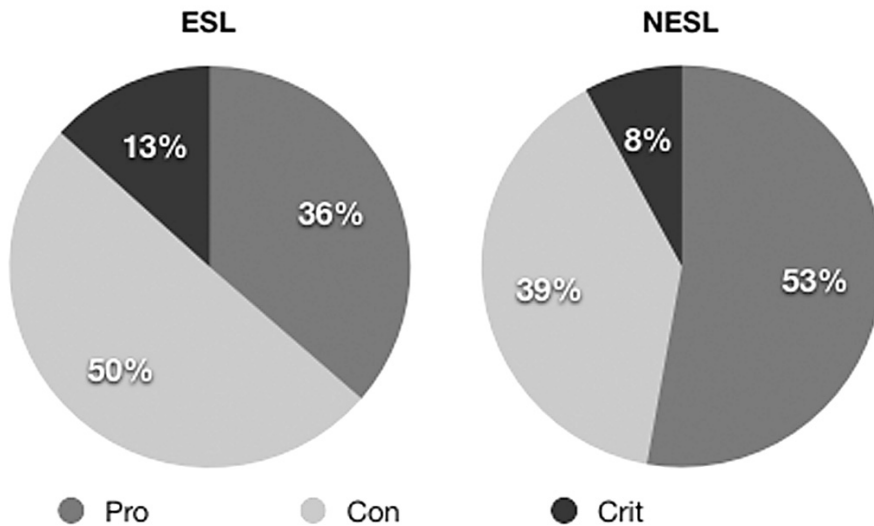
A comparison contra-argumentation indicates that the ESL group are again more likely to hedge their arguments, to use an expression of agreement and more likely to use a partial concession although the numbers are again very small. However, the most interesting result is probably the number of rhetorical questions they are likely to use. Nearly 20% of all the contra-argumentation produced by the ESL group contained a rhetorical question, compared to under 5% for the NESL. These are shown in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3. Form of contra-argumentation

	Hedge	Claim	Conclusion	Disag marker	Agree marker	Rhetorical question	Conc	Relator
ESL	37%	1%	17%	51%	5%	19%	5%	4%
NESL	33%	2%	15%	57%	1%	5%	2%	4%

A list of hedges produced by the two groups is included as Appendix E. It shows that the most common hedges used by both groups were the quality hedge "I think" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 164) or variations of it and the adverb "maybe" However, once again there was more variety in the hedges used by the ESL group. In particular they used a number of quantity hedges (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 166) such as "a bit," "a little," "kind of,", "kind of like," and "not exactly."

5. Discussion

Altogether a pattern emerges of a far more aggressive approach to argument by the ESL group. They are less likely to state their standpoint, they are more likely to use contra-argumentation or critique their opponents' arguments. They are more like to adopt the role of the antagonist attempting to find fault and point out contradictions within the arguments of others in the discussion. They are also more likely to use questioning to strategically steer the discussion towards what they see as the weak-points of the opposing arguments.

This combination of questioning and the use of rhetorical questions are particularly interesting. In the argumentation literature there is an argument sequence, sometimes termed confrontation, in which one party uses a series of leading questions to draw their opponent into taking a contradictory stance and then use a rhetorical question to draw this to their attention (Bleiberg and Churchill, 1975) This also resembles what Felton and Kuhn (2001, 145) termed a corner sequence, one of the strategic sequences that they found adults were more likely to use in their comparison of argumentation strategies used by adults and adolescents.

The two conversations below show examples of this aggressive questioning followed by an attack on the argumentation. Students B and D are both students who have lived and studied in an English speaking country:

Conversation 1

A: But I think that no one have right ... right to kill people. Even if they ...

B: Even if the murderer killed people?... Then what do you think is the suitable punishment for the (inaudible) crime?

A: Ah. I think that instead of death penalty, we would ... We should put the ... Keeping in prison for life.

B: But it cost high isn't it? And talking of the cost, the cost of prison is from tax, so we have to pay for the crime murder.

Conversation 2

C: The percent of miscarriage is so low.

D: How do you know?

C: Ah. (laughter)

E: I think it cannot be helped. (laughter)

D: Ah. So when you boyfriend ... boyfriend or whoever you love is got, like, miscarriage of judge I think you don't want them to ... you know ... die?
（laughter）

E: No. Of course.

Another difference that is apparent from the data is that there is a lot less variation in the language of the students without ESL experience. It is a lot more limited to a small number of set formulas. It would appear that most of these learners are still at what Ellis (1994, p.181) developing Blum-Kulka (1991) terms Phase 1 of the development of their pragmatic competence when they rely on the use of formula, such as "What do you think?" to elicit argument or "I think" to express opinions and a tendency to overuse simple markers, for example prefacing most argument with the disagreement marker "but".

While it is clear that there are differences between the argumentation produced by ESL and NESL groups the reasons for this are not at all clear. It is possible that it could be due to cultural influences from experiencing argumentation in an English speaking country. However, it seems more likely that it is related to a difference in the proficiency of the learners in the two groups. In order to be able to critique and produce contra-argumentation it is necessary to be able to hear what others are saying and come up with a quick response. It may well be difficult to do this if the learners' attention is fixed mainly on trying to comprehend the message. It is probably significant that a lot of the directives used by the NESL group involve formulas that can be used regardless of whether the message has been understood.

It is really beyond the scope of this paper to provide an answer to this question. It would require both L1 and L2 base line data and probably proficiency data on the subjects.

6. Conclusion

A pilot study like this almost inevitably has limitations. In this the lack of statistical analysis, and L1 and L2 baseline data mean that it is not going to give us any robust new insights into the development of learners L2 argumentative competence. However the use of a discourse approach backed by a systematic framework, in this case a theory of argumentation, with which to analyze the data, does seem to have merit and is likely to provide insights into features that would not be picked up by a DCQ or other elicitation techniques. On the other hand it would be extremely difficult to get a large amount of data of natural L2 argumentation.

It is also true that the coding system needs further development. It is not clear to what extent it would be possible to use it as is to analyze say native speakers taking part in similar discussions or lower level students.

One of the weaknesses of the approach is how you could use it to vary factors like social-power and distance, which is not varied at all in this study. Beebe and Takashi (1989a & b) found that social status was a major determinant of the directness of Japanese students. One advantage that use of a DCQ has over an open ended role play technique like this is the ability to manipulate these variables.. To gain an overall view of the way that the pragmatic competence of L2 learners develops, it is probably necessary to use more than one approach.

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Appendix A Coding Scheme

Speech acts

Agreement: An utterance where a speaker signals that they have the same opinion as a previous speaker in the discussion. It is not supported by further argumentation. It is a commissive because it commits the speaker to support for a particular opinion, fact etc.

Clarification: What van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) term a usage declarative. A clarification/definition/precization/amplification/explication/explicitization of an assertion previously made. It will often be a response to a question or to subsequent argumentation that indicates the original argumentation has not been correctly understood.

Confirmation: A confirmation of understanding, in response to a clarification.

Contra-argumentation: Argumentation that aims to show that a claim or a proposition advanced in support of a claim in a discussion is not acceptable. It is an attempt to convince the person making a claim that it is not acceptable

Critique: Doesn't challenge either the acceptability of a proposition advanced in support of a claim or necessarily the claim itself, though the antagonist may have raised questions about either. It questions that the argumentation is a logical justification for the claim, or in other words what Toulmin terms the warrant.

Disagreement: A simple expression of disagreement, not supported by any argumentation. It has the force of a commissive since it commits the speaker to a negative view of the argument/expressed opinion

Directive>argumentation: A directive where a speaker is asked to provide argumentation/further argumentation

Directive>clarification: A directive that asks a speaker to provide clarification. The speakers lack of understanding is the defining characteristic.

Directive>other: Any other directive.

Directive>standpoint: Request for the listener to state their standpoint on the question at issue.

Expressive: This is Searle's category of expressive speech acts, such as thanks or apologies.

Null: An unintelligible, off task, or L1 utterance.

Pro-argumentation: This is argumentation aimed at showing the truth of or overcoming doubt in a claim made by the speaker, or someone he is in agreement with.

Standpoint: This is a statement of the speakers position in regard to the main point at issue in a discussion. It will include a stance on the proposition and optionally a justification for the stance. However, its main purpose is not to advance argumentation, but to identify standpoint. It belongs to the confrontation stage of a discussion as defined by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) rather than the argumentation stage proper. It will normally be the first utterance by the speaker. It may be preceded by directives, e.g. questions to other speakers.

Suggestion: A suggestion. In this context mainly helping another student when they cannot come

up with a word, or if they use a Japanese word

Form of directive

Intonation Question: A question signaled solely by intonation.

"WH" Question: A question with any of the WH question words.

Yes/No Question: A question which elicits a yes or no response.

Request: An explicit request form, such as, "Please explain what you mean by that."

Form of argumentation

Agreement marker: An expression or word prefacing argumentation that indicates agreement with a previous speaker.

Claim: The proposition of the argument explicitly stated before the argument.

Conclusion: The proposition of the argument explicitly stated after the argument.

Disagreement marker: An expression or word prefacing argumentation that indicates disagreement with a previous speaker.

Hedge: A hedge on the illocutionary force of an argument.

Concession: A partial concession used before a disagreement marker. e.g. "You may have a point, but"

Rhetorical question: A question form uttered with the illocutionary force of an argument where the speaker already knows the answer to the question.

Relator: An reference relating the point to something said by another speaker. For example, "you said that X"

Appendix B: Coding example.

Claim is underlined the supporting argumentation is in bold.

Pro argumentation

<u>The death penalty should be abolished</u> because **some times innocent people are executed.**

Pro-argumentation.

Yes. **There is also evidence that it discriminates against black people.**

Contra-argumentation attacking support

But, **the number of innocent people actually executed is very small.**

Contra-argumentation attacking claim

But, **if you do that the number of murders will increase.**

Critique

Miscarriages of a justice happen with life imprisonment too. That's an argument for improving judicial procedures, not necessarily for abolishing capital punishment altogether.

Appendix C: Results

Table 1. Major speech acts ESL v NESL

	Speech Acts	Argument	Directive	Clar	StandP	Comm	Others
ESL	347	165	92	26	18	14	32
NESL	485	214	85	66	48	30	42
Total	832	379	177	92	66	44	74

Table 2 Directives ESL v NESL

	Request/ argument	Request clarification	Request standpoint	Other request	Total
ESL	50	32	9	1	92
NESL	30	39	13	3	85
Total	80	71	22	4	177

Table 3. Form of Directives

	Yes/No question	Intonation question	'WH' question	Explicit request
ESL	13	23	55	5
NESL	13	30	39	1
Total	26	53	94	6

Table 4. Form of requests for argumentation

	Yes/no questions	Intonation questions	'WH' questions	Explicit request	Total
ESL	9	2	41	1	53
NESL	6	2	21	0	29
Total	15	4	62	1	82

Table 5. Form of requests for clarification

	Yes/no questions	Intonation questons	'WH' questions	Requests
ESL	3	21	5	4
NESL	4	27	6	1
Total	7	48	11	5

Table 6. Argumentation ESL v NESL

	Pro argumentation	Contra argumentation	Critique
ESL	60	83	22
NESL	113	84	17
Total	173	167	39

Table 7. Form of all argumentation

	Total Arg	Hedge	Claim	Concl	Disagree	Agree	RhetQ	Conc	Rel
ESL	165	63	4	17	61	14	21	4	4
NESL	214	76	5	26	87	9	6	5	3
Total	379	139	9	43	148	23	27	9	7

Table 8. Form of contra-argumentation

	Cont Arg	Hedge	Claim	Concl	Disagree	Agree	RhetQ	Conc	Rel
ESL	83	31	1	14	42	4	16	4	3
NESL	84	28	2	13	48	1	4	2	3
Total	167	59	3	27	90	5	20	6	6

Table 9 Form of pro-argumentation.

	Pro Arg	Hedge	Claim	Conclu	Disagree	Agree	RhetQ	Conc	Rel
ESL	60	23	3	3	11	10	2	0	1
NESL	113	40	3	13	31	8	1	2	0
Total	173	63	6	16	42	18	3	2	1

Table 10. Form of critique.

	Total critique	Hedge	Claim	Conclu	Disagree	Agree	RhetQ	Conc	Rel
ESL	22	9	0	0	8	0	3	0	0
NESL	17	8	0	0	8	0	1	1	0
Total	39	17	0	0	16	0	4	1	0

Appendix D: Requests for argumentation

ESL

And how do you .... How would you explain about the bullets?

And then, how about the motivation?

But how about if someone innocent was brought to trial and he got the death penalty? What do you think about that?

How about you?

How do you know?

How do you know?

How he deserves to die?

I mean what do you think about the magic bullet?

In what way?

Like what? For example?

So who else can did it?

Some people are against the death penalty, it is true, but other people very strongly support the death penalty, so how do we proceed to abolish it?

What do you think (gestures to S182) What do you think?

What do you think about that?

What do you think about that?

What do you think about that?

What do you think about the HSCA?

What do you think is the suitable punishment for the (inaudible) crime?

What do you think this problem?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you want to talk about in Warren Commission?

What is your evidence for theory of CIA/FBI or any other government agency related to (inaudible) ?

When you say there was a conspiracy, who were the conspiracy?

Who are they?

Why do you support ... Why do you think it's not good to have death penalty?

Why do you think it's there?

Why is it?

Why it makes not so strong?

Why Jack Ruby killed Oswald?

Why only Lee Harvey Oswald?

Why?

Why?

Why?

Why?

Why?

Why?

NESL

How punish these people who don't mind (inadaudible) or?

But what evidence do you have, about this conspiracy theory?

How?

So what do you think?

What about the cost?

What did the Oswald have clear motivation?

What do you think about the conspiracy?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

Why do you think so strong?

Why do you think so?

Why do you think so?

Why do you think so?

Why do you think so?

Why?

Why?

Appendix E: Hedges

ESL

a bit	I think	maybe
a little bit	I think	Maybe
a little bit	I think	Maybe
could	I think	maybe
don't think	I think	Maybe
Er ... Well I think	I think	maybe
I also think	I think	Maybe
I believe	I think	Maybe
I do believe	I think	maybe
I don't think	I think	maybe
I don't think	I think	maybe
I don't think	I think	maybe.
I don't think	I think	Maybe.
I don't think	I think	might
I don't think	I think that	might
I don't think	I think,	might be
I don't think	I think.	might be a possibility
I don't think	I think.	not exactly
I guess	I thought	not really
I heard that	I would think	not really
I think	in my opinion	or someting
I think	It could	pretty
I think	It could be	So even though we have not ... we
I think	it is said	have no solid evidence .
I think	it's just possibility	there is a possibility that
I think	It's no evidence	They could have
I think	just	they think there is high possibility
I think	kind of	not too
I think	kind of	we think
I think	kind of like	we think
I think	like	We think that
I think	little bit	We thought
I think	maybe	

NESL

at least	I think	I think
generally	I think	I think
I ... I think	I think	I think
I ... I think	I think	I think
I ... We think	I think	I think
I also think	I think	I think
I don't think	I think	I think
I don't think	I think	I think

I think	I think	maybe
I think	I think ... I don't think	maybe
I think	I think ... I may think	maybe
I think	I think ... We think	maybe
I think	I think he	maybe
I think	I think that	maybe
I think	I think that	maybe
I think	I think that	Maybe
I think	I think the ... I think so	Maybe
I think	I think.	might
I think	I think.	might
I think	I think.	might
I think	I think.	might
I think	In my opinion	probably
I think	is possible	Probably.
I think	It is possible	so
I think	it is said tha	Some people say
I think	may ... It may	some people say that
I think	may sometimes	sometimes
I think	Maybe	There is a possibility that
I think	maybe	there was a possi... there is a
I think	maybe	possibility
I think	maybe	We ... We can think
I think	maybe	we think
I think	maybe	