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doctoral dissertation

語言使用、互為主觀性與人際互動：

臺灣英文寫作諮詢之建議類指示行為

Language, Intersubjectivity, and Institutional Interaction:

Advice-giving Directives in Taiwan EFL Writing Tutorials

謝承諭

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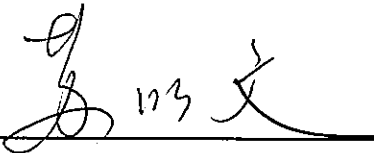
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國立臺灣大學博士學位論文
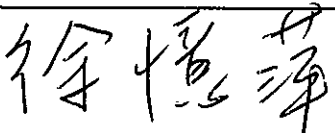# 口試委員會審定書

語言使用、互為主觀性與人際互動：臺灣英文寫作諮詢之建議類指示行為
Language, Intersubjectivity, and Institutional Interaction: Advice-giving Directives in Taiwan EFL Writing Tutorials
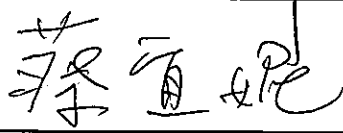
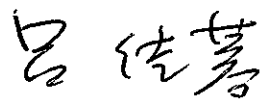　　本論文係 謝承諭 君（D02142002）在國立臺灣大學語言學研究所完成之博士學位論文，於民國 108 年 3 月 22 日承下列考試委員審查通過及口試及格，特此證明

口試委員：

　　　　　　_____（簽名）
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　蔡宜妮　　　　　　　張妤庭

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Acknowledgements

As I argue in this study, writing tutoring interaction is a dynamic, intersubjective process. So is the composition of this dissertation. While both may appear to be dominated by an individual agent, they are, in fact, a collaborative effort that could not be accomplished without the contributions of many people. Thus, I must take this chance to express my gratitude to those who have been supporting me in this process.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my long-time mentor and advisor, Professor Lily I-Wen Su. I have known her for more than a decade, and in these ten or so years, she has taught me not only about doing research and writing papers, but about making decisions and taking responsibilities. She pushed me to my limits and guided me through the challenges. She offered me autonomy when I was ready and gave me assistance when it was needed. This dissertation would not be possible without her.

I am also indebted to other members of my dissertation committee, Professor. Miao-Hsia Chang, Professor Angela Yi-ping Hsu, Professor Chiarung Lu, and Professor I-Ni Tsai, for their valuable feedback on different aspects of this research. Professor Susan Strauss at the Pennsylvania State University, who was, regretfully, not on the committee, also provided several inspiring comments on the previous versions of this dissertation during my 10-month visit at State College. Their insights have made this dissertation much more clear and complete.

In addition, I am grateful to the N writing center for allowing me to audiotape the tutorials and collect data from the participants. I am also thankful for the tutors and tutees who were willing to be part of this study and consented to be recorded. Their participation has enabled us to construct a better understanding about English writing tutorials in Taiwan.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the faculty and staff of GIL, including Professor Wen-Yu Chiang, Professor Li-May Sung, Professor Janice Fon, Professor Shu-Kai Hsieh, Professor Chia-Lin Lee, Professor Chenhao Chiu, Ms. Mei-ling Liu, and Ms. Jia-lan Liu, for their academic and administrative assistance.

Special thanks go to my friends in and outside GIL for their constant support, including Sheng-Fu, Val, Peggy, Jing-Chen, Evan, Mike, Sally, Yu-Yun, Lily, Ben, Sarah, Jarvis, Craig, Greg, Eric, Iju, Wan-Ju Mergen, Thomas, CJ, Nick, Chih, Ivy, Sunny, Yunchia, Tyng, and Morshues. I am also grateful to the members of the COPRA lab, including Andrew, David, Nina, and Jacob, for their feedback on this research.

Finally, my deepest appreciation goes to my family. All of these would be impossible and meaningless if not for you.

Although, as I said earlier, this dissertation is a product of collaboration and intersubjectivity, all the remaining errors, of course, are my own.

摘要

本論文旨在研究臺灣的英文寫作諮詢員，在大學寫作中心的寫作諮詢互動中，使用漢語指示行為的方式，其指示行為的功能，以及影響指示行為結構的因素。僅管不同地區的英文寫作諮詢服務與互動模式皆有所差異，目前大多數相關文獻都聚焦在英語系國家或以英語進行的寫作諮詢互動，鮮少探討如何以其他語言在非英語系國家進行英文寫作諮詢。

有鑑於此，本研究將以互動語言學的研究方法，分析真實發生的寫作諮詢錄音，來探究臺灣的英文寫作諮詢員在諮詢過程中，如何使用漢語指示行為。研究的語料來自臺灣北部一所知名大學的寫作中心，總長約 12.5 小時的英文寫作諮詢錄音。參與的人員包含五位研究生諮詢員，以及二十一位尋求寫作諮詢的研究生，所有人員皆能流利使用中文，並有一定的英文寫作能力與經驗。在語料當中，一共找到約 1064 個漢語指示行為，以作為本研究分析之基礎。

基於收集到之語料，本研究有以下發現：在形式的方面，寫作諮詢中的漢語指示行為最常以宣示結構表現，第二常用的形式為祈使結構，而做為指示行為的問句與片語則只佔一小部份的例子。語料更進一步顯示，若在寫作諮詢中以問句作為指示行為，似乎容易造成誤解，不建議使用。

僅管有許多不同的句型能在寫作諮詢中用來形成漢語指示行為，本研究卻發現，寫作諮詢員在形式上的選擇，大多受到該指示行為在寫作諮詢這類機構話語中，所要達到的功能之影響。本研究指出，寫作諮詢中的指示行為可以依據其功能，分成三大類：建議類指示行為、諮詢管理類指示行為，以及關係類指示行為。不同的指示行為，在句型、長度、複雜度，以及常見共現詞語上，皆有不同的表現。而各大類之語用特徵，如立即性、可達性、參與框架與知識關係，對於各類指示行為細節的語言實現，皆有決定性的影響。

由於建議類指示行為的複雜性與重要性，本論文對於這類指示行為進行了更深入的探討。本研究發現，寫作諮詢員常用四種不同的漢語結構，來建構建

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議類指示行為，包含假設句、因果句、選擇句與舉例句。這些句型不僅出現在特定的順序結構中，更能在言談、人際與教學三方面，達到不同的功能。而這些句型的使用也代表英文寫作諮詢並非一成不變的單向講述，而是不斷變動、合力達成互為主觀性的過程。

　　本研究之貢獻包含下列幾點：第一，本論文描繪出如何在臺灣的大學寫作中心，以漢語進行英文寫作諮詢這類的機構話語。第二，本研究同時也呈現出漢語中形成與運用指示行為的方式。第三，本論文對漢語指示行為在寫作諮詢中的形式分佈，提出功能性的解釋。第四，本研究指出四個常與建議類指示行為共同使用的語言結構，並分析其形式與功能上的特性。最後，基於以上的分析，本論文對於如何在臺灣進行英文寫作諮詢，以及如何訓練諮詢員的方式，提出一些看法與建議。

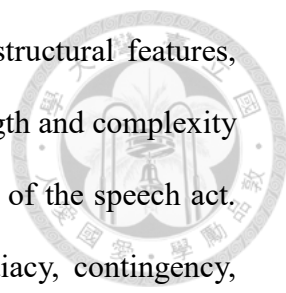關鍵詞：指示行為、建議、英文寫作諮詢、互為主觀性、機構話語、
　　　　互動語言學

Abstract
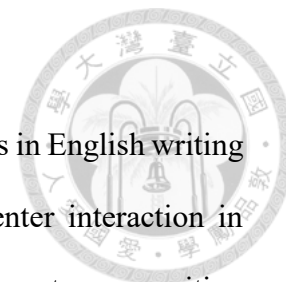
This study aims to investigate tutors' use of Mandarin directives in English writing tutorials in an EFL context. Despite the disparities of writing center interaction in different languages and countries, most past research of writing centers or writing tutoring examines only tutoring encounters conducted in English and/or in North America. Little is known about tutorials that take place in an EFL context and/or in languages other than English. To fill this gap, the present research is set out to analyze the forms and functions of English writing tutors' use of Mandarin directives in Taiwan.

Adopting the approach of Interactional Linguistics, this study is based on 12.5-hour audio recordings of face-to-face bilingual tutoring interactions on English academic writing between 5 graduate tutors and 21 graudate tutees, all of whom spoke fluent Mandarin, in the writing center of a prestigious university in Northern Taiwan. In total, 1064 instances of tutor-initiated Mandarin directives were identified for analysis.

The results show that with respect to the form of directives, declaratives, such as modal declaratives, subject-*jiu* declaratives, and bi-clausal constructions, account for the great majority of the instances. Imperatives, including simple and complex imperatives, are the second most frequent clause type used to form a directive action. Finally, interrogatives and phrasal expressions constitute a small proportion of the tokens. The data also suggests that interrogatively formatted directives seem to cause misinterpretation in writing tutoring and are thus less often employed.

Furthermore, it is argued that the institutional function served by a directive has a significant impact on the realization form of the speech act. The instances of directives in our data can be further grouped into three functional categories: Advice-giving directives (AGDs), tutorial-management directives (TMDs), and rapport-building

directives (RBDs). Each of the categories demonstrates a set of structural features, including the type of form in which the directive is realized, the length and complexity of the directive, and the linguistic devices that recur in the context of the speech act. The pragmatic characteristics of each category, including immediacy, contingency, participation framework and knowledge concerning the nominated action, are found to shape the linguistic features employed to form the directive.

Given the complexity and prominence of AGDs in writing tutorials, a more detailed discussion on this type of directives is presented. Four constructions, i.e., conditional, causal, disjunctive, and exemplification constructions, are recurrently employed to form or support AGDs in writing tutoring discourse. Each construction is used in particular sequential patterns and serves discourse, interpersonal, and pedagogical functions. These findings also indicate that advice-giving in writing tutoring interaction is not fixed and monological, but a dynamic, collaborative process of achieving various types of intersubjectivity.

The contribution of this dissertation is thus manifold. First, it lays out a description of the linguistic patterns used to construct English writing tutoring interaction in an EFL context and in a language other than English. Second, the examples also show how Mandarin directives are formatted and deployed in institutional interaction. Third, this research further proposes a functional and interactional account for the distribution of directive forms. Fourth, this investigation identifies a number of Mandarin constructions that are recurrently used in advice-giving and analyzes their forms and functions. Finally, the current research also provides insights into and suggestions for the practice of writing tutoring in an EFL context.

Keywords: directive, advice-giving, EFL writing tutoring, intersubjectivity,
            institutional discourse, Interactional Linguistics

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Writing center tutorials, in addition to formal English writing classes, have become a crucial and highly needed service to build up L2 students' writing proficiency in higher education (Babcock & Thonus, 2012), even outside North America (Tan, 2011). Insofar as writing tutorials aim to provide advice and assistance to students writers, directives are found to play a significant role in such institution interaction (Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2015; Ritter, 2002; Waring, 2012). Due to the importance of this issue, the present study aims to investigate the forms and functions of Mandarin-based directives used in the bilingual graduate English writing tutorials conducted in the writing center of a Taiwanese university. It is hoped that this study can advance our understanding about directives in Mandarin-based institutional discourse and about writing tutoring in EFL contexts like Taiwan, therefore contributing to the improvement of the quality of such services.

1.1. Background

Traditionally, especially in the dominant ideology of writing centers in North America, the ideal or "orthodoxical" practice of a writing tutorial usually comprises a non-directive, tutee-centered, collaborative peer interaction (Blau, Hall, & Sparks, 2002; Lockett, 2008; North, 1984; Ritter, 2002). This ideal presumes that the tutee who visits the writing center is, more or less, fluent in speaking English, informed of particular norms of English academic writing, and comfortable with the Socratic style of tutoring and interaction.

However, as a number of studies have pointed out, the presence of L2 writers, as well as other populations like graduate students and students with disabilities, in a North American writing center may in fact pose a significant challenge to this philosophy and

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ideology (Babcock, Manning, Rogers, Goff, & McCain, 2012; Blau et al., 2002; Severino & Cogie, 2016; Thonus, 2014). L2 writers may carry with them different expectations, cultural backgrounds, levels of English proficiency, and amounts of training in writing and research that they have received. These characteristics could hinder the construction of a non-directive interaction and thus impact the quality and outcome of the tutorial.

Researchers have also argued that tutors tend to, and should, treat L2 writers differently (Blau et al., 2002; Thonus, 1993, 1999b, 2004; Williams & Severino, 2004), insofar as the latter may carry with them distinctive cultural backgrounds and rhetorical styles (Leki, 2009; Thonus, 1999b) as well as different strengths and weaknesses in their knowledge about academic writing and the English language in general (Nakamaru, 2010; Severino & Cogie, 2016).

On top of that, studies that investigate writing centers outside the United States and Canada also suggest that such institutions may display distinctive characteristics in other countries. For example, based on the data collected from six writing centers in four Asian countries (Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and Singapore), Tan (2011) outlines four features that may distinguish writing centers in Asia from those in North America. First, writing centers in Asia often offer bi- or multilingual services; in contrast, English remains the only, or the most predominant, language used in US-based writing centers. Second, writing centers in Asia tend to have faculty as tutors, whereas in North America, writing tutors come from more diverse sources and are oftentimes graduate, or even undergraduate, students. Third, Asian writing centers usually provide only face-to-face tutorials but not email or real-time tutoring services. And finally, most writing centers in Asia use articles and textbooks adapted from sources in English-speaking countries and thus lack materials tailor-made for local contexts.

In line with Tan's (2011) research, Chang (2013) investigating six university writing centers[1] in Taiwan and further points out that even within the same country, writing centers may vary according to their affiliation, purpose of founding, target students, and services offered.
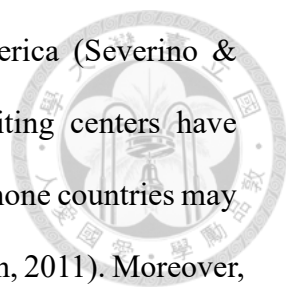
Another factor that also contributes to the potential difference between writing centers in Asia and those in North America and may influence the quality of tutoring interaction is the language used to carry out the encounter. As suggested by the title of Mackiewicz and Thompson's (2015) book, writing tutorials are indeed composed of "talks about writing". Several applied linguists that study the topic of writing center discourse have demonstrated that the linguistic resources employed to construct the tutor-tutee interaction is equally, if not more, important to the content of the tutoring talk (Park, 2012, 2018; Ritter, 2002; Waring, 2005, 2012). Linguistics and Conversation Analysis studies have also found that the structural characteristics and underlying cultural norms of a language may impact how a conversation is shaped (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018; Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996; Sidnell, 2009). It is thus worth looking into the language use of bi- and multilingual tutors in managing the tutoring interaction.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Despite the body of studies on writing centers, several gaps remain. The most frequently mentioned and most significant gap lies in the lack of research on writing centers in an EFL context. Several scholars have pointed out that although the number of writing centers in Asia and Europe is increasing noticeably, the literature of writing

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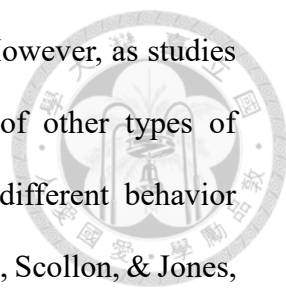
[1] The six universities investigated by Chang (2013) include National Tsing Hua University, National Cheng Chi University, National Chiao Tung University, National Chiayi University, National United University, and National Sun Yat-Sen University. Nevertheless, the writing center where the current research collected data was not examined.

centers focuses disproportionately on those located in North America (Severino & Cogie, 2016; Tan, 2011). As previous studies of Asia-based writing centers have revealed, writing centers outside the United States and other Anglophone countries may have different policies and display distinct features (Chang, 2013; Tan, 2011). Moreover, the linguistic, cultural and socio-political context in which the writing center investigated is situated may also affect how writing centers are run and how writing tutorials are constructed (Babcock et al., 2012). The lack of such studies prevent us from seeing the heterogeneity and thus significant differences of writing centers in different communities and countries.

Moreover, studies that investigate the discourse of writing centers in Asia or Europe tend to analyze tutorials conducted only or primarily in English (e.g., Kim, 2007). One of the very few published studies that addresses the issue of the tutoring language is Cumming and So (1996), which is, however, conducted in a US university. The authors compare L2 tutorials conducted in English and in the first language of the tutees and find no significant differences. On the other hand, Wang (2012), another study conducted in the US, reveals that although tutors prefer to use English as the working language in writing tutorials, they would in fact use the tutee's first language to build rapport with them. Due to the limited amount of research that have been conducted and the few contexts that have been inspected, the impact of the tutoring language remains unclear. Given the still rising number and importance of multilingual/L2 tutors and student writers (Severino & Cogie, 2016; Thonus, 2014), this topic deserves and requires much more attention and exploration.

Finally, while a growing number of researchers have been zooming in on the linguistic resources and strategies that participants of writing tutorials, especially tutors, adopt in the tutoring interaction (Park, 2015; Thonus, 2007; Waring, 2007b), to our knowledge, this line of research scarcely, if ever, studies English writing tutorials in
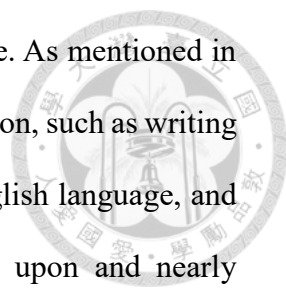
which both the tutor and tutee use a language other than English. However, as studies of cross-linguistic comparison and intercultural communication of other types of institutional interaction have shown, speakers may demonstrate different behavior patterns when using different languages (Bergen et al., 2018; Scollon, Scollon, & Jones, 2011). It is thus worthwhile to investigate how the use of Mandarin, along with some English (and other languages spoken in Taiwan), in writing tutorials shapes the interaction between tutors and tutees and how the institutional context of a writing center tutorial shapes the linguistic patterns that the tutorial participants tend to adopt.

In particular, directives and the devices that support the function of a directive have been the focus of several related investigations (e.g., Park, 2015; Ritter, 2002; Waring, 2012). Research of writing tutorials conducted in English has reported that the directive phase is an essential part of a writing tutorial (Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2015; Reinking, 2012; Ritter, 2002) and that English-speaking tutors display a tendency to formulate directives using particular linguistic patterns (Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2015; Park, 2015; Ritter, 2002). Nevertheless, while recently, an increasing number of studies have examined how speakers of different languages deploy directives in talk-in-interaction and have yielded fruitful findings (e.g., Craven & Potter, 2010; He, 2000; Sorjonen, Raevaara, & Couper-Kuhlen, 2017; Stevanovic & Kuusisto, 2018; Waring & Hruska, 2012), still very little is known about the use of directives in Mandarin conversation, let alone the use of directives in institutional discourse such as writing center tutorials. This type of research is therefore desperately needed.

1.3. Purpose of the study
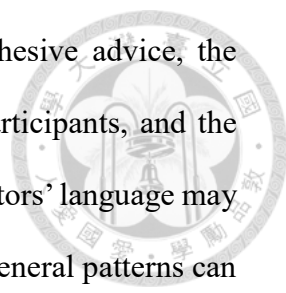
In light of the gaps identified in the previous section, the present dissertation study, drawing from the data of writing tutorials between graduate tutors and tutees collected from a writing center in a prestigious university in Northern Taiwan, aims to achieve a

number of purposes. The first purpose of this research is descriptive. As mentioned in the last section, the major topics that we will address in this dissertation, such as writing centers in an EFL context, writing tutorials conducted in a non-English language, and the use of directives in Mandarin discourse, are barely touched upon and nearly unexplored, despite their importance. Therefore, one of the objectives of this study is to provide an in-depth description of the discourse of Mandarin-based bilingual writing tutorials in Taiwan, with a special focus on the tutors' use of linguistic resources to carry out directive actions in this particular institutional context.

We will show that regardless of the various linguistic resources in Mandarin that can potentially be used to realize directive actions, tutors in fact tend to utilize only a restricted set of forms to issue a particular type of directive. These recurrent realization forms, while sharing a great deal in common with those reported in the literature of writing tutorials conducted in English, display a number of language-specific characteristics. Additionally, zeroing in on the most frequent type of directive, namely the advice-giving directive, we will also explicate how lexico-grammatical patterns such as conditionals, causals, disjunctive, and exemplification constructions can be employed to support the function of the advice-giving action. The recurrent use of these linguistic devices indicates that advice-giving, even though as a directive action, is structurally complex, sequentially sensitive, discursively cohesive, epistemically oriented and intersubjectively constructed.

Secondly, the current study is also intended to be explanatory. In addition to presenting the linguistic devices that the tutors frequently employ, we would like to propose a socio-interactional account for these patterns. Adopting an Interactional Linguistics approach to data of real tutoring discourse (Ochs et al., 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001), we argue that the recurrent linguistic choices that tutors make are largely related to socio-interactional factors such as the institutional purpose of a
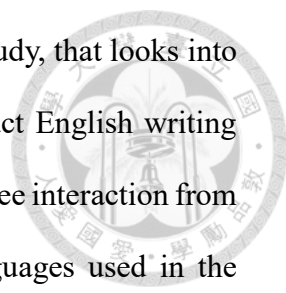
particular directive, the tutors' need to construct relevant and cohesive advice, the management of interpersonal relationships between the tutorial participants, and the pedagogical goal of the tutoring service. In other words, while the tutors' language may seem at first glance to be versatile, complex and idiosyncratic, the general patterns can in fact be explained in terms of the functions of the linguistic resources and the characteristics of the socio-interactional context.

Finally, it is our hope that this dissertation work can have pedagogical implications for tutoring practices as well. To date, not only published studies on writing centers but also training materials for writing tutors have been overwhelmingly North-America oriented (Severino & Cogie, 2016; Tan, 2011; Thonus, 2014). That is, the publicly available resources for writing tutor training are primarily based on the norms and experiences of tutors working in American or Canadian colleges (e.g., Gillespie & Lerner, 2009). However, despite the global status of English as a lingua franca in academic publication, tutoring encounters in fact remain largely local, insofar as the interaction must be held in a specific linguistic and socio-cultural environment and constructed by individual speakers jointly in a turn-by-turn manner. Hence, by presenting and analyzing the linguistic patterns that tutors utilize to manage the tutorial interaction in a Taiwanese university, we attempt to provide a more realistic picture of how bilingual English writing tutorials are carried out in an EFL context in Asia and to identify specific linguistic means for tutors, especially those who speak Chinese, to tackle potentially difficult tasks or situations in the future.

1.4. Significance of the study
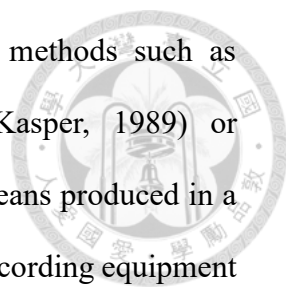
The significance of the present study is manifold. First and foremost, this dissertation is an important contribution to the literature of writing center research. It is not only one of the few efforts to investigate the tutoring discourse of writing centers

in an EFL country, but one of the first studies, if not the very first study, that looks into the use of linguistic resources in a non-English language to conduct English writing tutorials. This research thus paints a very different picture of tutor-tutee interaction from those presented in previous US-based studies, insofar as the languages used in the tutorials, the backgrounds of the tutors and tutees, the academic, linguistic and socio-cultural environments in which the tutorials take place differ significantly. The findings that will be displayed in this dissertation, as mentioned earlier, can also provide some insights into the making of more localized training materials for future tutors or writing consultants in Taiwan and other culturally similar communities.

The second area that the current dissertation sheds some light on is the study of the use of Mandarin Chinese in institutional discourse. In the past two to three decades or so, a decent amount of research has been dedicated to exploring the functions of lexico-grammatical patterns in Mandarin spoken discourse. Nevertheless, most of the past studies base their analysis on data of daily conversation or a few specific genres such as radio programs or TV talk shows (Biq, 1995; Su, 2005; Wang, 2006). Although a number of researchers have demonstrated that linguistic devices may often display context-specific patterns and functions in different types of institutional discourse (e.g., He, 2000; Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2006), such studies are still scant. This dissertation, by scrutinizing the language of Mandarin-based writing tutorials, a rarely examined genre in Chinese linguistics, illustrates how linguistic resources are employed to achieve institutional purposes and how the nature of such an institutional context shapes tutors' linguistic choice.

Lastly, the present study can also enhance our knowledge about directives in talk-in-interaction. As will be detailed in Chapter 2, the directive speech act is ubiquitous in daily life and has been under discussion since the 1970s, yet many of the earlier analyses are based on introspection or observation (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Searle, 1976). Even

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though some of the later studies have adopted more empirical methods such as discourse-completion tasks (DCTs) (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989) or questionnaire surveys (Chen, He, & Hu, 2013), the data is by no means produced in a natural environment. More recently, with the availability of audio-recording equipment and the development of analytic frameworks such as Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics, researchers have started to investigate how directives are employed in real, face-to-face interaction across various languages and contexts (e.g., Sorjonen et al., 2017). Following this stream of research, this dissertation will add to this literature not only by presenting findings from a different language and a different genre but also by putting forth an analysis that better captures the structures, functions and the interaction between of two in the use of directives in institutional discourse.

1.5. Organization of the study

The rest of this dissertation is organized as follows: In Chapter 2, we will present a review on the research of directives and tutoring and identify the limitations of the previous studies. In Chapter 3, we will provide a sketch of the research site and participants and introduce the data and methodology that this dissertation utilizes. Drawing the instances of directives found in our dataset, we will describe in Chapter 4 the structures that are used to realize directive actions and discuss in Chapter 5 the institutional functions that these directives can serve and the link of the functions to the choice of forms. In Chapters 6 and 7, we will further focus our attention to directives formulated to present advice and analyze four of the constructions that support these advice-giving directives. In Chapter 6, we will examine the patterns and functions of conditional and causals used in or with an advice-giving directive and elucidate how these constructions reflect the tutor's consideration of the tutee when giving advice. Meanwhile, in Chapter 7, we will inspect the use of disjunctive and exemplification

constructions in advice-giving and illuminate how these patterns allow the tutor to leave room for the tutee to participate in the construction of possible solutions. Finally, in Chapter 8, we will sum up the research findings, inquire into the implications of our discussion, and point out the limitations of the present dissertation and the directions for future studies.
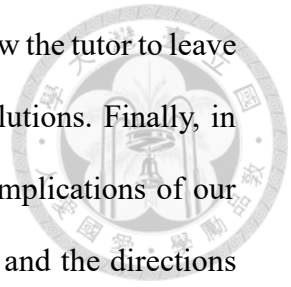
Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter presents a review of the research concerning the main topics that this study will address and pinpoints the major gaps that remain in the literature. Insofar as the focus of this research is on the tutor's use of directives in writing tutoring interaction, we will start by discussing the methods that scholars have adopted to approach the topic of directives and outlining the factors contributing to the variation in the linguistic patterns of directive actions in section 2.2. Next, we will zero in on the literature that touches upon the use of directives in Mandarin Chinese in section 2.3 and that in English writing tutorials in section 2.4. Finally, in section 2.5, previous findings about linguistic resources that tutorial participants recurrently use in support of their formulation of directives in tutoring interactions will also be examined.

2.1. Approaches to directives

Ever since Austin's (1962) trailblazing book, the topic of directives, among other speech acts, has been approached in a number of languages and in a variety of ways. As will be seen in the following discussions, researchers have shifted from using introspection and observation to adopting more empirical and realistic methods such as discourse analysis to explore this issue and thus provided a more fine-grained understanding about directive actions and the related phenomena.

2.1.1. Introspection and observation

The first group of scholars that touch upon the issue of directives mostly base their analysis on introspection or observation. They are primarily philosophers that aim at putting forth a general theory for speech acts. One of the pioneers of speech act research, Austin (1962), who famously points out that words can function as actions and

distinguishes between loctionary, illocutinary and perlocutionary acts, subsumes most directive verbs like *order* and *command* under the category that he terms *exercitive*. According to Austin (1962), exercitives are acts with which speakers exercise their power and influence. They are "the giving of a decision in favor of or against a certain course of action or advocacy of it" and "a decision that something is to be so, as distinct from a judgment that it is so" (p. 154).

Identifying a number of problems that lie in Austin's categorization system, Searle (1976) proposes a new taxonomy of illocutionary acts, including representatives, directives, commisives, expressives, and declarations. He is one of the first scholars that use *directive* as a label to refer to acts that indicate attempts "by the speaker to get the hearer to do something" (p. 355). According to Searle (1976), a directive illocutionary act involves the speaker's want or desire and the addressee's future action. Examples of directive verbs are *order*, *command*, *request*, *invite*, and *advise*, among others. Searle further claims that this taxonomy is significant in that the categories have consequences with respect to the syntactic features of the explicit performative sentences, at least in English. He also points out that some illocutionary verbs such as *warn* and *advise* are linked to more than one illocutionary act. That is, they can be used to either inform the hearer of something or get the hearer to do something about it (p. 369).

One of the most important studies in the 1970s that focuses on the use of directives is Ervin-Tripp (1976). In contrast to Austin and Searle, who rely mostly on introspection and constructed sentences to analyze speech acts, Ervin-Tripp (1976), who uses the data that her students collected from real interaction, illuminates the structures that speakers of American English often employ to formulate directives, including need statements (e.g., *I need a match*), imperatives (e.g., *Give me a match*), imbedded imperatives (e.g., *Could you give me a match*?), permission directives (e.g., *May I have a match*?),

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question directives (e.g., *Gotta match*?), and hints (e.g., *The matches are all gone*) (p, 29). She concludes that these forms vary in terms of explicitness, discourse constraints, and neutralization.

It should be noted, however, that although the data used by Ervin-Tripp (1976) came from either elicitation, notes of daily observation, or transcripts of naturally occurring conversation, the instances of directives are mostly presented in the form of a clause. The relation of the directive with the adjacent discourse and its role in the interaction are rarely discussed.

2.1.2. Discourse completion tasks and questionnaires

Another line of research, which has risen since the 1980s, pays attention to the realization of speech acts in different situations and languages by means of methods like questionnaires and discourse completion tasks (DCTs). One of the most well-known and influential works of this kind is the Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP) project led by Blum-Kulka and her colleagues (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). This research project investigates the realization patterns and strategies of requests and apologies in eight languages and language varieties, including American English, Australian English, British English, Canadian French, Danish, German, Hebrew and Russian (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984).

The CCSARP project divides the realization patterns of requests and apologies into three general levels of directness: Direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). Each of these levels contains more specific realization strategies as displayed in Table 2.1 below. The direct level, which forms the largest group, encompasses the patterns such as mood derivables, explicit performatives, hedged performatives, obligatory statements, and want

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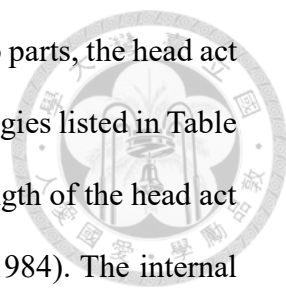
statements. The conventionally indirect level, which is considered to be the most polite type, include question-based patterns such as suggestory formulae and query preparatories. Blum-Kulka (1989) also indicates that conventionally indirect strategies are the most commonly adopted devices for making requests across languages, among the three. Finally, the non-conventionally indirect level, which is the least direct, though not the most polite, level, consists of strategies such as strong hints and weak hints.

Table 1 Levels of request strategies

	Strategy	Example	Level of Directness
1	mood derivable	*Leave me alone.*	direct
2	explicit performative	*I'm asking you not to park the care here.*	direct
3	hedged performative	*I would like you to give your lecture a week earlier.*	direct
4	obligation statement	*you'll have to move the car.*	direct
5	want statement	*I want you to move your car.*	direct
6	suggestory formulae	*how about clearing up?*	conventionally indirect
7	query preparatory	*Could you clean up the mess in the kitchen?*	conventionally indirect
8	strong hints	*You've left the kitchen in a right mess.*	non-conventionally indirect
9	mild hints	*I'm a nun (in response to the persistent boy).*	non-conventionally indirect

Adapted from Blum-Kulka (1987) and Blum-Kulka et al. (1989).

In order to investigate the use of strategies of different levels of directness across situations and languages, researchers of the CCSARP project adopts the method of DCT and presents to the participants 16 situations, each different in the social distance and dominance of the speakers (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). In each of these tasks, the participants first read a description of the situation and are

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asked to complete the conversation. The response is divided into two parts, the head act and supportive moves. The head act is coded as one of the nine strategies listed in Table 2.1. The formulaic expressions used to form the head act and the length of the head act are examined (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). The internal and external modifications of the head act are also analyzed and categorized (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

According to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) recurrent internal modification strategies include negation, past tense, embedded clause, hedges and other downgrader devices. As for external modifications, more commonly seen strategies include grounders, sweeteners, disarmers, and cost minimizers. Speakers of different languages may prefer different modification strategies. For example, while English speakers may adopt more internal modifications, such as tense, Chinese speakers are found to rely heavily on external modifications like grounders as a device to downgrade the face-threatening force of the request (Yu, 1999).

Although this stream of research has since revealed a great deal about the interlanguage, situational and cross-linguistic commonalities and differences in the realization patterns of speech acts like requests and apologies (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Kasper & Dahl, 1991), there remain a number of limitations. First, in recent years, an increasing amount of research has been dedicated to investigating speech act realization in Asian languages like Korean and Chinese (Rue & Zhang, 2008). However, the findings published thus far illustrate primarily the patterns of Indo-European languages and Western cultures. Second, despite the detailed description provided for each situation, the responses collected from the DCTs may not be as authentic as those produced in real interaction. Finally, insofar as social distance and dominance may be constructed and negotiated as the conversation unfolds (Locher & Watts, 2005; Watts, 2003), the use of DCTs may give rise to some inaccurate representation of speakers'

use of speech acts. Variables that are not taken into consideration when the DCTs are designed are often ignored in the analysis (cf. Craven & Potter, 2010; Sorjonen et al., 2017).
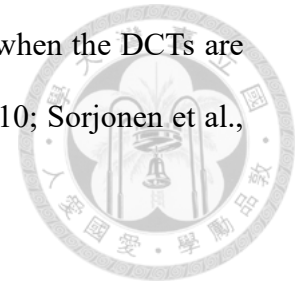
2.1.3. Discourse analysis and Interactional Linguistics

More recently, in view of the limitations that underlie the questionnaire and DCT methods, a growing body of studies has started to look into the use of directives in real spoken interaction across different languages (e.g., Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008; He, 2000; Rue & Zhang, 2008; Sorjonen et al., 2017). This line of research, by examining how speakers employ forms of directives in daily conversation and different types of institutional discourse, has also identified patterns that differ from the findings of research that adopts methods such as DCT and role-play. For example, Rue and Zhang (2008) show that both Chinese and Korean speakers tend to use different head acts and internal/external modification strategies in role-play tasks and natural conversations. Investigating the linguistic patterns for speech acts such as proposal, suggestions and offer, Couper-Kuhlen (2014) suggests that the forms recurrently employed to realize a particular social action are rather fixed and subject to factors such as who will get the future action done and who will benefit from it. These researchers have shown that speakers may behave differently in natural interaction and in more lab-like settings.

Several of such discourse-based studies that examine the use of directives between the same pairs of speakers in the same conversations have also unveiled the pragmatic factors that may influence the realization form of the directive other than directness and politeness. These determinants include, among others, entitlement and contingency, (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008), beneficiary status (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Rossi, 2012) and participation

framework (Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen, 2017; Raevaara, 2017; Rauniomaa, 2017). A more detailed review on these pragmatic factors will be provided in section 2.2. below.
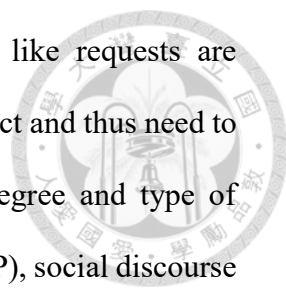
This stream of research has further demonstrated that these socio-interactional factors may influence not only the mood or sentential structure of directive actions, i.e., whether or not the directive is realized in the form of an imperative, interrogative or declarative, as many DCT-based investigations have shown (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), but also other linguistic features such as number, person, and aspect (Sorjonen et al., 2017). A close look at the use of directives in naturally occurring interaction may thus allow for insights that can hardly be obtained via other types of research methods (Rue & Zhang, 2008).

2.2. Factors that influence the form of directives

Previous studies of directives, while drawing on different methods, have identified a number of socio-interactional factors that may contribute to the exact realization form that a speech act takes in a specific context. In what follows, we will discuss these factors and the related findings.

2.2.1. Politeness

One of the most dominant factors to which researchers usually attribute the variation in realization patterns of speech acts is the concept of politeness developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Brown and Levinson (1987) define politeness in relation to the concept of "face," i.e., the public image of a person, put forth by Goffman (1959), and propose two types of politeness, positive politeness and negative politeness, both of which involve strategies to deal with face-threatening acts or to "save face". According to Brown and Levinson (1987), positive politeness refers to the use of strategies to make the addressee feel desirable and connected, while negative politeness

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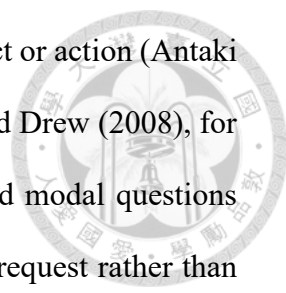
concerns the avoidance of imposition on the hearer. Directives like requests are characterized by Brown and Levinson (1987) as a face-threatening act and thus need to be mitigated by positive or negative politeness strategies. The degree and type of politeness, on the other hand, are determined by the relative power (P), social discourse (D) and ranking of imposition (R).

Drawing on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness, researchers of the CCSARP project argue that speakers of different languages may perceive the degree of directness and politeness that each type of the strategies indicates differently (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Wang, 2011). For example, Blum-Kulka (1987) compares English and Hebrew speakers' judgment about the different levels of request strategies and reports that while these two groups of speakers share some similarities in terms of the most and least polite strategies, they rank strategies like performatives/hedge peformatives and want/obligation statements rather differently. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) also point out that factors such as the participants' age, social status, intimacy and gender may influence their choice of politeness strategies.

Although studies that adopt the methods of DCTs and questionnaires mostly resort to Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework of politeness to explain the cross-linguistic variation in the realization forms of speech acts, scholars that examine the use of directives in talk-in-interaction have identified a number of other pragmatic factors that may contribute to the intralingual and cross-linguistic similarities and differences in speech act realization. In the following sections, we will discuss some of the interactional features that may, according to previous studies, shape the speaker's decision on the realization pattern of a particular directive action.

2.2.2. Entitlement

One of the socio-interactional aspects that has an impact on the form used to issue

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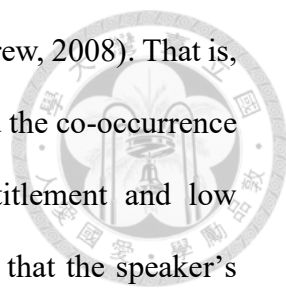
a directive is the speaker's entitlement or right to the requested object or action (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008). Curl and Drew (2008), for example, argue that the choice between the form *I wonder if…* and modal questions such as *can I…* is related to the speaker's entitlement to make the request rather than the type of institutional discourse in which the request is made. That is, while *I wonder if* indicates the speaker's lack of entitlement, the modal expression *Can I…* is linked to a higher level of entitlement. Following Curl and Drew's (2008) model, Craven and Potter (2010) distinguish between directives and requests and argue that the use of directives instead of requests suggests the speaker's entitlement to the action.

Similarly, examining the interaction between support staff members and adult customers with intellectual impairments, Antaki and Kent (2012) also report that the factor of entitlement has influence over the staff's choice of request forms. For example, in their data, bald imperatives account for the highest number of instances and index a high degree of entitlement. Moreover, the authors further suggest that speakers' explanation for their request is also intended to address the issue of their entitlement. As such, entitlement influences not only the form of the head act but also the co-occurring utterances and actions of the request.

2.2.3. Contingency

Another oft-mentioned factor that may shape the form of a directive is the contingency of the requested action for the addressee. Contingency, in the framework of Curl and Drew (2008), pertains to how much the request recipient is able or willing to carry out the requested action (Craven & Potter, 2010, p. 421). When the recipient is considered by the speaker to be able or willing to grant the request, it is regarded as low contingency (Craven & Potter, 2010). As previous researchers have observed, low contingency is closely related to high entitlement in affecting the realization pattern of

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the request (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008). That is, the use of particular forms of requests, such as bald imperatives, and the co-occurrence of explanations with a request may often index both high entitlement and low contingency. On the other hand, forms like *I wonder if*…indicates that the speaker's entitlement to the action is low while the addressee's contingency is high (Curl & Drew, 2008). Similar phenomena are found in different types of discourse (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010) and in languages other than English (Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen, 2017).

It is worth mentioning that in contrast to previous politeness-based research, studies that adopt the entitlement and contingency approach do not treat entitlement and contingency as fixed and given sociolinguistic variables determined by prior pragmatic judgments; rather, the framework "offers a way of making sense of the relationship between turn design and features of local context" (Craven & Potter, 2010, p. 422).

2.2.4. Agency and beneficiary of the future action
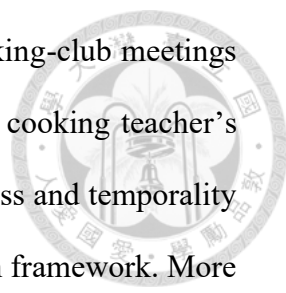
In addition to entitlement and contingency, a line of research also suggests that the person that will implement and/or benefit from the requested action is a critical determinant of how directive actions like requests are realized in interaction. For example, comparing two Italian formats for requesting low-cost and here-and-now actions, imperatives and the first-person interrogative *Mi X?*, Rossi (2012) suggests that the choice of the form is determined by whether the requested action is unilateral or bilateral. According to Rossi (2012), if the request is unilateral, it involves primarily the requester's own interest only, and the *Mi X?* interrogative will be used. On the other hand, if the request is bilateral, it means that the requested action belongs to a joint project committed to by both the requester and the request recipient, and the imperative

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will be employed to make the request instead.

Meanwhile, Couper-Kuhlen (2014) puts for a taxonomy of directive and commissive actions, including proposal, offer, request and suggestion, according to who the agent and beneficiary are, and shows that there is not much overlap between the realization forms of these directive and commissive actions in English and that speakers tend to use particular patterns to realize each form respectively. Focusing on the beneficiary part of Couper-Kuhlen's (2014) account, Clayman and Heritage (2014) propose the concept of beneficiary status and stance, suggesting speakers may use linguistic resources to highlight the benefits or interests of the conversation participants. These studies indicate that who the agent and beneficiary of the requested action are plays a role in the speaker's formulation of the directive action.

2.2.5. Participation frameworks

Finally, a number of scholars have pointed to the fact that the participation framework involved or indicated in the directive action may also contribute to the linguistic features that speakers use to issue a directive. The participation framework in this context refers to the speakers' role and relationship with regard to the nominated action (Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen, 2017; Sorjonen et al., 2017). For example, Etelämäki and Couper-Kuhlen (2017), investigating Finnish speakers' use of a second-person declarative as a directive in face of the recipient's resistance of the first, imperatively formatted directive, suggest that because of the explicit marking of person, the declaratively formatted directive, in comparison to the imperative, which has no overt subject, highlights the "you-me' axis and the relationship between the speaker and the recipient in relation to the action. By using the second-person declarative to foreground the participation framework regarding the nominated action, Finnish speakers can deal with the addressee's lack of commitment.

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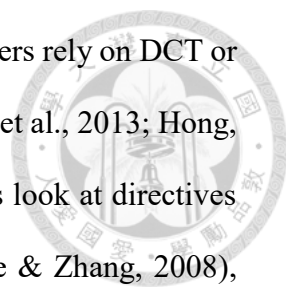
Similarly, drawing on the data of Finnish conversation in cooking-club meetings held in a youth club, Raevaara (2017) argues that the form of the cooking teacher's verbal directive is related not only to the management of the progress and temporality of the ongoing action, but also to the negotiation of the participation framework. More specifically, according to Raevaara (2017), while the imperatively formatted directives used in the conversation of these cooking-club meetings indicate that "the relevant relationship between the teacher and the recipient already prevails, established through their joint orientation to or engagement in the ongoing activity" (p. 386), declaratives, whose subject can be first-, second-, or third-person, allow the speaker to nominate or sustain the actors of the action.

In the same vein, examining the instructor's formulation of directives in a Finnish car-driving lesson, Rauniomaa (2017) points out that while other recurrent patterns such as first-person plural hortatives, directional adverbs and noun phrases with locative case marking, and zero-person constructions with modal or modal-like verbs may characterize the directive as a joint project, second-person imperatives indicate that the addressee or recipient should take the responsibility for the action as an individual.

2.3. Directives in Mandarin Chinese

Surprisingly, the directive speech act in Mandarin Chinese has not received as much attention as the topic in other languages, and the study of Chinese directives has been restricted in terms of the type of directives, the research methodology, and the context in which the directive is situated. With respect to the type of directives, most related research focuses on requests only (e.g., Chen et al., 2013; Kirkpatrick, 1991; Rue & Zhang, 2008). He (2000) is one of the very few that investigate the use of directives other than requests in Mandarin.
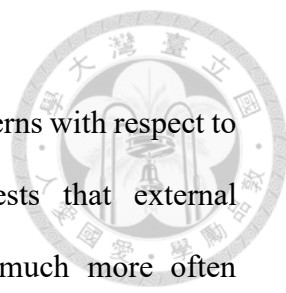
As regards the research method adopted, a majority of researchers rely on DCT or other elicitation-based methods as the primary source of data (Chen et al., 2013; Hong, 1998; Lee-Wong, 1994; Yu, 1999), while a small number of studies look at directives in naturally occurring discourse (He, 2000; Kirkpatrick, 1991; Rue & Zhang, 2008), with Rue and Zhang (2008) comparing data from both role-play tasks and natural conversation.

Finally, although various constructed situations have been included in the materials of DCT-based research, discourse-oriented studies of directives on only a few contexts such as letters of requests sent to a radio program (Kirkpatrick, 1991), discourse in Chinese heritage classrooms (He, 2000) and conversations in a Chinese advertising company (Rue & Zhang, 2008).
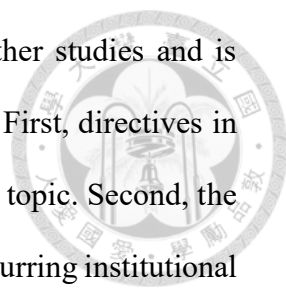
The studies published thus far have identified a number of general patterns that directive actions in Mandarin Chinese display. First, with respect to the form of the head act, most researchers of Chinese requests seem to agree that non-conventionally indirect strategies are the least favored way to issue a request in Mandarin Chinese (Rue & Zhang, 2008; Yu, 1999; Zhang, 1995). However, while some studies report that conventionally indirect strategy is the most frequently used type in Mandarin, as in English (Chen et al., 2013; Yu, 1999; Zhang, 1995), others argue that direct strategies are a more preferred form of a request (Gao, 1999; Lee-Wong, 1994; Skewis, 2003), because imperatives in Mandarin are a more effective and appropriate device for issuing a request and questions may be misunderstood as a complaint (Gao, 1999).

Comparing the results of role-play tasks and natural conversation, Rue and Zhang (2008) show that more conventionally indirect strategies are found in role-play tasks, while more direct strategies occur in naturally occurring conversation. Their findings may suggest that even the speaker's awareness of the research context may contribute to the distribution pattern of the strategies.

In addition, Chinese speakers also seem to show particular patterns with respect to the modification of requests. For example, Yu (1999) suggests that external modifications, such as supportive moves and small talks, are much more often employed than internal modifications in Mandarin requests. Similarly, comparing the request strategies in Chinese and German, Hong (1998) also shows that Chinese speakers tend to use more supportive moves and lexical and phrasal modifications when making a request in comparison to their German counterparts. With regard to the sequential order of the head act and the supportive move, Kirkpatrick (1991), conducting a discourse analysis study on Chinese written letters of request, concludes that the request in Chinese tends to be preceded by the reason for the request.

Finally, examining Chinese teachers' use of directives oriented to the students in two heritage language classrooms in the US, He (2000) divides the directive actions into two types: The instructional directives, which function in relation to the pedagogical procedure or purpose, and the disciplinary directives, which are issued to discipline students. She also demonstrates that each of these types of directives has its own grammatical and sequential characteristics. According to He (2000), instructional directives are often initiating directives, insofar as they are usually formulated to launch talk and action. They can be formatted as an imperative with a discourse marker or a tag question, or as a modalized preference or permission statement. On the other hand, disciplinary directives are usually responsive directives produced in reaction to the students' talk or behavior and usually consist of three components, orientation to students' behavior or other circumstances, evaluation, and the directive. Moreover, He (2000) further argues that in addition to the local functions, the directives also foster the students' socialization of the values of Chinese culture.

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He's (2000) research on directives is distinguishable from other studies and is informative to the present dissertation project in a number of ways. First, directives in general, rather than requests in particular, are treated as the research topic. Second, the directive actions examined by He (2000) take place in a naturally occurring institutional interaction, and the categorization of the directives reflects the nature of the institutional context. Third, the study shows that different types of directives are distinctive not only in the grammatical forms that they take but in the sequential position that they occur in. Fourth, He's (2000) analysis also suggests that in addition to getting the hearer to get something done, directive actions issued in this context also serve more micro-level functions such as initiating or responding to talk or action or more macro-level functions, such as instructing, disciplining, and socializing students. Finally, insofar as the power relationship and distance between the teachers and students mostly remain constant, the purpose of issuing the directive appears to have a significant influence over the structural characteristics of the action.

2.4. Directives in English writing tutorials

Insofar as one of the most important aims of writing center tutorials is to provide tutees some suggestions about their writing, a few researhcers that examine English writing tutoring discourse have also looked into the use of directives in such instituational interaction. Studies that pay attention to the procedure of a writing tutorial even unanimously identify a phase in which the tutor issues directives or give advice to the tutee (Reinking, 2012; Ritter, 2002; Waring, 2012). For example, Ritter (2002) finds that the directive phase is the longest part of a writing tutorial and comprises suggestions from the tutor as the most essential part. Tutors' suggestions can be realized in a variety of forms, including indirect questions, first/second-person modals, imperatives, and repair. Ritter's (2002) data indicate that second-person modals are the

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most frequently utilized among different realization forms. She also points out that tutors sometimes would also use grounders to modify the key act of suggestion-making. In addition to making suggestions, in the directive phase, the tutor may request and check tutees' confirmations, and the participants may engage in more extended negotiation.

Researchers have suggested that L1 tutors, when interacting with L2 tutees, tend to issue directives in a different way. For example, comparing L1 tutors' talks with L1 and L2 tutees, Thonus (1999) observes that tutors often have to tackle the conflicts between politeness and other issues, such as effectiveness and comprehensibility, and thus need to adopt different tutoring strategies and linguistic resources. She notes that tutors may use more bold-on-record imperatives when giving advice to L2 writers in order to enhance comprehensibility, while deploying less face-threatening strategies, such as hedges and second-person modals, when interacting with L1 tutees. More recently, Park (2015) investigates how requests for advice are constructed in writing tutorials and reports that tutees most often make requests in the agenda-setting phase. Analyzing two specific types of request patterns, epistemic downgrades (e.g., *I don't know* x) and explicit requests (e.g., *I want x*), she argues that while the former make relevant the domain of knowledge in the tutorial, the latter underscore the tutee's entitlement to the request. Each request strategy thus may give rise to distinctive interactional consequences.

It is also found that tutors not only use recurrent linguistic patterns to form directives, but also follow particular sequences to give advice. Analyzing advice-giving in graduate writing tutoring as a sequence, Waring (2012) observes that there are three types of sequences: cutting to the chase, building a case initiated by the tutor, and building a case initiated by the tutee, with cutting the chase accounting for half of the instances. Waring (2012) further argues that the advice-giving sequence is motivated

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by two genre-specific principles: "A preference for grounding one's advice" and "a preference for tutee-initiated solutions" (p. 114).

Finally, researchers of writing tutoring discourse, while not focusing on the directive action, also discuss the strategies that tutors use to facilitate tutoring, which is a speech act intended to make the addressee get something done. For example, proposing a comprehensive coding scheme for the analysis of writing tutorials, Mackiewicz and Thompson (2015) show that strategies for tutoring in general can be grouped into three major categories. The first group consists of ways of instruction, including telling, suggesting, and explaining/exemplifying. They find these directive strategies "worrisome but necessary" (p. 83), especially when addressing issues of language and mechanics. The second category is cognitive scaffolding strategies. These strategies allow tutors to facilitate the tutee's process of thinking and development of understanding. This category includes pumping, reading aloud, responding as a reader or a listener, referring to a previous topic, forcing a choice, prompting, hinting, and demonstrating. Finally, tutors can also use "motivational scaffolding strategies" to construct rapport and solidarity with the tutee and thus boost their motivation. Examples of this category are showing concern, praising, reinforcing tutees' ownership and control, being optimistic/using humor, and giving sympathy/empathy. Although Mackiewicz and Thompson's (2015) study does not focus on the relationship between the structure and function of directive actions, their analysis demonstrates the variety of forms that a directive can take in the process of writing tutoring.

2.5. Other recurrent linguistic patterns in English writing tutorials

In addition to directive actions, researchers have also identified a number of other lexico-grammatical patterns that are recurrently employed by participants in writing tutorials in order to serve interpersonal and institutional ends. These linguistic resources

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include causal clauses and discourse markers. We will in what follows provide an overview of the research on the use of these linguistic patterns in English writing tutoring interaction.
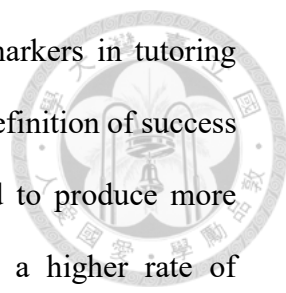
2.5.1. Explanations and causal clauses

One of the verbal resources recurrently employed in tutorials is causal clauses, or explanations and grounders. As mentioned earlier, Ritter (2002) points out that tutors may support the head act of suggesting-making or advice-giving with explanations or grounders. Scrutinizing the tutors' use of accounts, or explanations in advice-giving sequences, Waring (2007b) observes that accounts are multifunctional devices in peer tutoring. They can be employed in four positions, pre-advice, immediately post-advice, post-problematic uptake, and post-acceptance, and serve three major functions, including face-saving, resistance management, and doing pedagogy. As such, the use of accounts in advice sequences of tutoring talks not only passively makes repair but also proactively advances an agenda.

On the other hand, Waring (2007a) proposes the idea of "complex advice acceptance," which constitutes a resource for the tutee or advice recipient to handle asymmetries in tutoring. By "complex advice acceptance," Waring (2007a) refers to the situations in which the advice recipient accepts the advice in a way that is more elaborate and complex than simply responding with an unambiguous, straightforward acceptance token like "okay" and "Got it" (p. 108). Accounts, or causal clauses, are one of the devices that tutees can use to carry out

2.5.2. Discourse/pragmatic cues

Studies have also investigated the use of pragmatic cues and discourse markers in tutoring sessions at an even more micro level. Thonus, for example, has conducted a

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series of studies on the use of verbal and nonverbal pragmatic markers in tutoring discourse (Thonus, 2002, 2007, 2008). For instance, exploring the definition of success in writing tutorials, Thonus (2002) observes that ESL tutees tend to produce more listener responses than their L1 tutor. She also points out that a higher rate of backchannels and laughter is usually related to the success of a tutoring session.

Based on tutorial data between L1 tutors and L2 tutees, Thonus (2007) divides listener responses into two general categories, minimal responses and backchannels. The former occur at the change of floor whereas the latter are produced when the primary speaker is still constructing his or her turn. Backchannels can be further grouped into continuers, such as *uh-huh*, which yields the floor back to the prior speaker, and reactive tokens, such as *okay*, which indicates the listener's stance. She emphasizes in conclusion that L2 learners should be aware and make good use of these resources.

Finally, examining the so-called "coordinated laughter" found in tutoring interaction, Thonus (2008) argues that more acquainted tutor-tutee dyads are more likely to laugh together and may use coordinated laughter to build familiarity rather than merely mitigating face threats.

2.6. Chapter summary

In this chapter, we have reviewed the studies that investigate directives and the devices that co-occur with directives to support their functions. Overviewing the various approaches to this topic, we have shown that there is a trend from the use of introspection and observation to the deployment of more empirical methods such as DCT and discourse analysis to find out about and account for the realization patterns of directive actions. We have also identified a number of pragmatic factors that may influence the form that a directive takes, including politeness, entitlement, contingency, the agent and beneficiary of the nominated action and the participation framework. Next,

we have examined research that looks into the use of directives in Mandarin Chinese and in writing center tutorials. As we displayed in this chapter, while this topic has been receiving increasing attention and yielding fruitful findings, the studies of directives in Mandarin Chinese and in writing center tutoring discourse are still lacking. Finally, we have also discussed how linguistic resources other than directive actions are used to help achieve the purposes of a writing center interaction.

To contribute to this line of research, we use the approach of Interactional Linguistics to analyze the tutors' use of directive actions and the co-occurring linguistic devices in Mandarin-based EFL writing tutorials. Before presenting our findings, in the next chapter, we will provide an introduction to the data and methodology that we employ for the present dissertation project.

Chapter 3 Data and Methodology
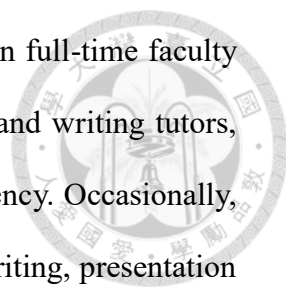
In this chapter, we aim to provide an overview of the data and methodology used in the current dissertation research. We will first introduce the research site in which the tutorials audio-taped took place, the tutors and tutees that participated in this project, and the writing tutorials that were transcribed and examined for the purpose of this study. Next, we will describe how tutoring interactions were transcribed and present the transcription conventions that we adopted. Finally, we will explicate how the data were analyzed, including the criteria for identifying instances of directives, the analytic framework of the directive action, and some concepts relevant to the analysis of the data.

3.1. The research site

The N writing center, where the tutorials were conducted and audiotaped, was founded in a prestigious university in northern Taiwan in the year of 2008 by a Taiwanese linguistics professor. It was and still remains an institute independent from any other departments or learning centers in the university. In contrast with most writing centers in North America, whose primary function is to provide writing tutoring services, one of the initial goals of the N writing center was to offer English and Chinese writing courses for graduate students in different disciplines of the university to which the center was affiliated. This feature is in agreement with Tan's (2011) observation that writing centers in Asia tend to provide bi- or multi-lingual services that encompass multiple functions in addition to writing tutorials[2].

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[2] It should be noted that the tutorial service was not included in the original objectives of the N writing center that the current research investigates, a feature that distinguished the N writing center significantly from US-based writing centers and many writing centers in Asia.

By the time the tutorials were audiotaped, the center had seven full-time faculty members and a number of part-time lecturers, teaching assistants and writing tutors, most of whom were non-native speakers with high English proficiency. Occasionally, the center would hold lectures or workshops regarding academic writing, presentation skills, and other pertinent topics, which both faculty and students of the university could attend without any charge. It also provided fee-based services such as editing, proofreading, and writing consultations offered by faculty members or other native-speaker experts. As can be seen from the description, rather than focusing on academic writing, the center functioned more similarly to a learning center for academic language skills in higher education (Chang, 2013). Akin to most writing centers outside North America, the N writing center did not hold an online writing lab or provide email or real-time tutoring services (Tan, 2011). However, distinct from many other writing centers in Asia, the writing center not only utilized resources constructed in North America and other major English-speaking countries, but also had published materials concerning English or Chinese academic discourse that were designed for the local need (cf. Chang, 2013; Tan, 2011).

The free tutorial service was first test-run in the fall of 2013 and officially launched in the spring of 2014. It was originally targeted at graduate writers but still open to all registered students in the university. In contrast to North American writing centers, whose tutees usually consist of undergraduate students, especially first-years, a majority of the student writers that came to the tutorial service of the N writing center were graduate students or senior undergraduates, who needed to publish in English or apply for a position or program that required English résumés or statements of purpose. This demographic difference not only reflects the major function of English writing ability and writing centers in higher education in Taiwan, an EFL context, but also may have significant influence over the nature of writing tutorial interactions.

Writing tutorials took place mostly in a small, air-conditioned room next to the writing center office. The room was equipped with a desk, several chairs, a whiteboard, a few markers, and a clock. The Wi-Fi was available to faculty, students, staff and affiliates of the university. Both the tutor and the tutee could use the Internet to facilitate the tutorial. The writing center also provided desktop computers and references books, such as dictionaries, thesauruses, grammar books and textbooks, which tutors could utilize to help the tutee.

Applicants had to reserve a session online beforehand or they could walk right in if there was no reservation. Arriving at the center, tutees needed to hand in at least one copy of their writing for the tutor to take notes and for the center to archive. Each tutorial session would last for around 35 to 45 minutes. After a session was completed, the tutor would write a short report, bullet-pointing the writer's writing problem(s) and the suggestion(s) that the tutor provided, while the writer would fill out an online questionnaire, using the center's computer, to evaluate the tutorial they just experienced.

3.2. Participants

Participants of this research were all graduate students at the university to which the N writing center was affiliated, when the data were collected. In total, five tutors and twenty-one tutees contributed to the data used in the present study. All of the participants were bilingual or multilingual speakers whose first language was Chinese, except for the only native English speaker tutor. More detailed information about the tutors and tutees will be provided in the following.

3.2.1. The tutors

The tutors include one male Master's student in Business Administration and four doctoral students in Linguistics. The then Master's student, T01, was the only native

speaker of American English and a Taiwanese American born and raised in the United States, but spoke very fluent Mandarin Chinese due to his family background and learning experience in Taiwan. He went to college in the United States, majoring Finance, and came to Taiwan to pursue his Master's degree in Business Administration. When the tutorials were audiotaped, T01 was working as a teaching assistant and a writing tutor at the N writing center and had three semesters of tutoring experience.

The rest of the tutors, T02, T03, T04, and T05, were all born and raised in Taiwan, with Mandarin Chinese as one of their first languages. T02 and T04 were male while T03 and T05 female. All of them were Ph.D. students in Linguistics when the recordings took place and had majored in English before they started graduate school. The four tutors were proficient and published academic English writers with experiences of teaching English as a teaching assistant for the center and/or as a lecturer in another university when audiotaped. T02 and T03, as well as T01, had worked as a writing tutor ever since the beginning of the free tutorial program in 2014 and also had three semesters of experience in writing tutoring. T04 and T05 joined the tutor team in the spring of 2016 and were trained as a qualified writing tutor when their tutorials were audiotaped, despite the relative short length of their service period. The information of the tutors is displayed in Table 2 below.

Table 2 Description of the tutors
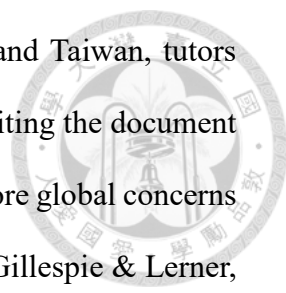
Tutor	Gender	Major	Degree	First language	Service Period
T01	Male	Business Administration	MBA student	English + Mandarin	March 2014–June 2016
T02	Male	Linguistics	PhD student	Mandarin	March 2014–June 2016
T03	Female	Linguistics	PhD student	Mandarin	March 2014–June 2016
T04	Male	Linguistics	PhD student	Mandarin	March 2016–June 2016
T05	Female	Linguistics	PhD student	Mandarin	March 2016–June 2016

Different from other writing centers in Taiwan, where faculty members usually also played the role of a tutor (Chang, 2013), the tutor team at the N writing center when the tutorials were recorded was composed of graduate students instead. The team began with three tutors and then was expanded to five in the spring of 2016. All of the tutors were bi- or multilingual speakers and were either native speakers or very advanced learners of English. The then-director of the writing center had known the tutors in person and hired them when the tutorial program was launched and expanded.

Before serving as a fully qualified tutor at the writing center, one needed to receive training for more than 20 hours. During the training sessions, the trainees were required to read the materials assigned by the coordinator, who was one of the senior full-time lecturers in the N writing center, and to summarize and discuss the content in group meetings with the coordinator. The assigned readings included US-based tutoring guidelines, reflections of past writing tutors retrieved from the websites of North American writing centers, and scholarly or research articles concerning writing styles of various common academic genres and tutoring strategies. The trainees were also asked to practice reviewing sample essays prepared by the coordinator and to observe other tutors' service.

Throughout the pre-service and in-service training sessions, the following tutorial guidelines were reinforced: With respect to the tutoring procedure, the tutor should, at the beginning, ask the tutee for their basic information concerning their major and learning experience of English writing as well as their purpose of attending the tutorial. The tutor then moved on to address the tutee's issue or starts from more general dimensions, such as content and organization.

Regarding the principles of advice-giving, tutors should deem themselves and act as peer writers and assistants rather than instructors. They should try to help the tutee become a better writer rather than simply making the document a better piece of writing

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(North, 1984). Similar to most writing centers in North America and Taiwan, tutors were reminded to follow the "no-proofreading" policy and avoid editing the document for the tutee (Chang, 2013). Tutors were encouraged to start from more global concerns of writing as opposed to mechanics like spelling and grammar (cf. Gillespie & Lerner, 2009). However, insofar as tutees had different expectations about the tutorial, tutors often needed to spend time communicating or even negotiating with them. If proofreading was indeed needed, tutors were advised to direct tutees to consult the writing center for more information about the charged editing service.

Each of the tutors worked for two to three time slots a week and around 35 to 45 minutes for each session. They were required to arrive at the writing center at least five minutes earlier, but did not have to read tutees' document before the tutorial or communicate with them by email afterwards. This policy was implemented to avoid increasing tutors' workload and prevent tutees from expecting the tutor to proofread their writing. As mentioned earlier, after each tutorial was finished, tutors had to turn in to the center a bullet-point summary, outlining the strengths and weaknesses of the tutee in different aspects of writing that they observed and the issues they encountered during the tutorial. The notes were archived and used as the discussion materials for bi-weekly tutor meetings.

In addition to the weekly tutorial service, the tutors were also obliged to attend a tutor meeting every two weeks during the semester. The coordinator of the tutor training program would chair the meeting and lead the discussion. The participants of the meeting would discuss the cases of the previous two weeks and read the feedback from the tutees. They would share their strategies for coping with difficult cases or propose solutions to unsolved problems encountered by other tutors.

3.2.2. The tutees

Forty-five tutees in total agreed to be audiotaped during the data collection period. When the data was collected, all of the recorded tutees were students at the university to which the N writing center was affiliated, ranging from undergraduates to doctoral students. Insofar as the present study aims to focus on the talk between writing tutors and graduate tutees, the recordings of only 21 of them were analyzed in this research project. As shown in Table 3 below, the tutees consisted of 14 female and 7 male graduate students: 8 were pursuing their doctoral degrees, while 13 were in the Master's programs. Only five of them were students of the humanities or social sciences, and 16 were from the science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) field. Not all of them came to the writing center to seek assistance voluntarily; many were encouraged or urged by their instructors or advisors.
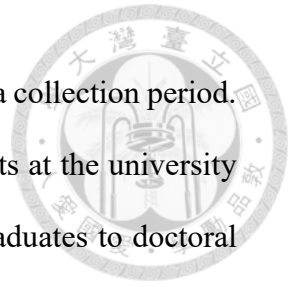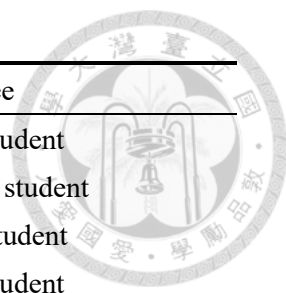
Table 3 Description of the tutees
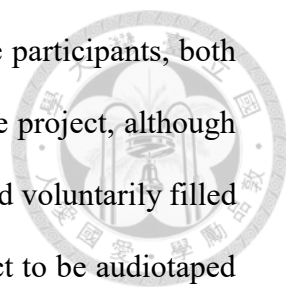
Tutee	Gender	Field	Degree
W01	Male	STEM	MS student
W02	Female	STEM	Ph.D. student
W03	Female	Humanities	MA student
W04	Female	STEM	MS student
W05	Female	STEM	Ph.D. student
W06	Female	STEM	Ph.D. student
W07	Male	Humanities	MA student
W08	Female	STEM	MS student
W09	Female	Humanities	Master's student
W10	Female	STEM	MS student
W11	Male	STEM	Ph.D. student
W12	Female	STEM	MS student
W13	Female	STEM	MS student
W14	Male	STEM	Ph.D. student
W15	Male	STEM	Ph.D. student
W16	Female	STEM	MS student
W17	Male	STEM	Ph.D. student
W18	Male	STEM	MS student
W19	Female	STEM	MS student
W20	Female	STEM	Ph.D. student
W21	Female	Humanities	MA student

All of the tutees were native speakers of Mandarin Chinese and L2 learners of English who had studied the language for at least more than 10 years, albeit with different levels of proficiency. Most of them were born and raised in Taiwan; only one was from the People's Republic of China, studying at the university when the tutorial was conducted. Some had taken or were taking academic writing courses offered by the N writing center and/or had some experience in English academic writing. None of the writers appeared to have disabilities that may have affected the tutoring interaction.

3.3. Tutorials adopted for analysis

The tutorial sessions examined in the current research were audiotaped between

the fall of 2015 and the spring of 2016 at the N writing center. The participants, both the tutors and the tutees, were informed of the general nature of the project, although the researcher did not tell them exactly what he was looking into, and voluntarily filled out the consent form before the talk was recorded. They could reject to be audiotaped or stop the recording whenever they found it necessary. Names and detailed content concerning the tutee's document mentioned in the tutorial were promised to be changed or eliminated. In order not to disrupt or affect the tutor-writer interaction, the researcher was not present or only showed up to explain the research and collect the consent form before the talk began, except for the tutorials that he himself conducted. In total, 49 tutorial talks were audiotaped, and 21 of them, in which the tutee was a graduate student and the document was related to the tutee's research study, were selected and transcribed. Note, however, that due to the policy of the center, the manuscripts turned in by the tutees were not collected and examined for the present study. The analysis is built on the audio-recordings of the tutoring sessions only.

As shown in Table 4 below, the tutorials analyzed in this study addressed a range of research-based academic writings, from conference abstracts and research papers to thesis proposals, and thesis chapters. Tutorial talks in which other types of text such as class reports, admissions documents, and résumés were discussed were not examined and thus excluded from the analysis, because these genres were usually written to address more general purposes and audiences. Due to the time constraint of a tutoring session, the document was usually no more than five pages long, which was also the maximal length suggested on the writer center's website. The length of each recording ranged from 18 minutes and 2 seconds to 51 minutes and 42 seconds[3]. The average

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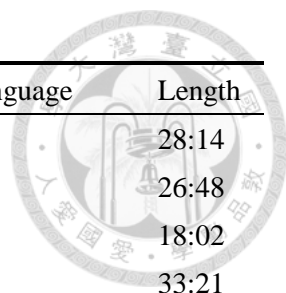
[3] Although each session was supposed to last for 35 to 45 minutes, the actual length varied. Some tutees arrived late, but the tutorial ended on time. Sometimes, the tutorial started on time but ended late, because the tutor tried to get all the important issues addressed. On some occasions, the tutorial participants did not find as many issues to discuss and thus ended the conversation earlier. However, regardless of the length of the tutorial, both the tutor and the tutee worked collaboratively to construct

length of a recording was 35 minutes and 56 seconds, and the total length of the analyzed recordings added up to 12 hours, 34 minutes and 27 seconds.

Some tutors, T01 and T02 for example, contributed to a great proportion of the recordings while others were less well-represented. This was due to a number of reasons. First, the tutorials were not arranged in a laboratory environment, where tutors and writers can be evenly paired up (cf. Cumming & So, 1996). Not every writer that came to the writing center was willing to be audiotaped. Also, T04 and T05 joined the tutor team and this research project in a later time and thus had fewer chances to be recorded. Finally, some tutors just happened to encounter more tutees who brought to the center documents about their own research, while others tended to meet tutees who wanted them to read other types of writings. Given that, any generalization about a pattern or phenomenon will be made only when it is observed across most tutors' sessions.

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and close the interaction.

Table 4 Description of the tutoring sessions

Session	Tutor	Writer	Genre	Working language	Length
S001	T04	W01	conference abstract	Mandarin	28:14
S002	T01	W02	research paper	Mandarin	26:48
S003	T01	W03	thesis chapter	Mandarin	18:02
S004	T02	W04	conference abstract	Mandarin	33:21
S005	T05	W05	research paper	Mandarin	37:49
S006	T05	W06	research paper	Mandarin	42:31
S007	T02	W07	thesis chapter	Mandarin	41:32
S008	T05	W08	thesis chapter	Mandarin	42:23
S009	T05	W09	Thesis proposal	Mandarin	51:42
S010	T03	W10	thesis paper	Mandarin	36:46
S011	T02	W11	research paper	Mandarin	40:10
S012	T01	W12	thesis proposal	Mandarin	28:42
S013	T01	W13	thesis proposal	Mandarin	28:16
S014	T01	W14	research paper	Mandarin	27:39
S015	T03	W15	abstract	Mandarin	31:39
S016	T02	W16	thesis chapter	Mandarin	48:01
S017	T01	W17	research paper	Mandarin	32:09
S018	T02	W18	research paper	Mandarin	46:13
S019	T02	W19	thesis proposal	Mandarin	35:46
S020	T02	W20	research paper	Mandarin	32:36
S021	T02	W21	Thesis chapter	Mandarin	44:08

The primary working language of the tutorials analyzed was Mandarin Chinese, which was the typical case as long as Mandarin was the dominant language of the tutee. The tutor and the tutee would switch back and forth between Chinese and English, especially when quoting or correcting the content of the writing. Also, because English is T01's stronger language, he tended to switch to English more frequently than other tutors, although the talk was conducted still mainly in Chinese. Occasionally, tutorials would be held primarily in English, which happened only when the tutee was not a fluent speaker of Chinese or when the tutee treated the tutorial also as a chance of practicing speaking English. Although these encounters are interesting materials worth

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further investigation, they were not examined or discussed due to the limited scope of the current research.
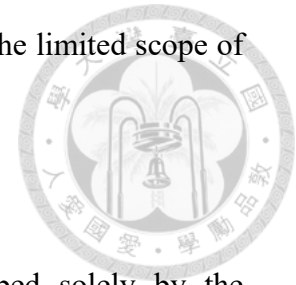
3.4. Data transcription

The recordings of the 21 tutoring sessions were transcribed solely by the researcher first into Chinese characters and then into pinyin. The transcription conventions were based primarily on the simplified version of the transcription system developed by Jefferson (2004), a broad transcription with necessary information noted.

This system is adopted for a number of reasons. First, it is one of the most commonly used transcription systems for conversation analysts and interactional linguists, which makes the current research more comparable to previous studies. Second, it captures the use of linguistic features and paralinguistic qualities, both of which have been found to be instrumental and influential in indexing stances and orchestrating social interaction (Thonus, 2007, 2008; Wu, 2004). Third, it also better represents the turn-by-turn nature of talk-in-interaction, which is found to be a distinctive characteristic of institutional conversation (Heritage, 2005). Insofar as the speakers' use of language in relation to intonation units is not the main concern of the present research, Jefferson's (2004) system is more suitable than the one developed by (Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, & Paolino, 1993). More frequently used transcription symbols and their definitions are presented in Table 5 below.

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Table 5 Common transcription symbols

.	final or falling intonation	::	prolongation
,	continuing intonation	<u>word</u>	stress or emphasis
?	rising intonation	∘word∘	softer sounds
[ ]	overlapping	WORD	louder sounds
=	no break or gap	-	cut-off
(0.5)	silence	.hhh	inbreath
(.)	brief interval (± a tenth of a second)	hhh	outbreath
> <	utterance speeded up	wo(h)rd	plosiveness (associated with laughter, crying or breathiness)
< >	utterances slowed down	( )	unintelligible
↑	shifts into especially high pitch	(word)	dubious designations
↓	shifts into especially low pitch	(( ))	transcriber's descriptions

Adapted from Jefferson (2004, pp. 24-31).

Since not every feature noted in Jefferson's (2004) original system was critical to the present study, the system were modified accordingly. Nuances less relevant to the analysis were not transcribed.

3.5. Data analysis

Drawing on the recordings and transcripts, we set out to investigate the use of directives in EFL writing tutorials conducted by graduate tutors and tutees primarily in Mandarin. In the following, we will identify how the instances of directives were pinpointed in the data, how the occurrences were analyzed under the framework of Interactional Linguistics (Ochs et al., 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001), and what concepts such as intersubjectivity refer to when they are used to discuss the data.

3.5.1. Identification of directives

While both the tutors and tutees issued directives in the audiotaped tutorials, the present study focuses on those initiated, though not necessarily completed, by the tutors. Insofar as directives can be realized in a wide variety of forms (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989;

Ervin-Tripp, 1976), we identified the tokens according to the function or meaning of the utterance. Following the definition of previous studies, directives in this research refer to speech acts formulated to get the hearer to do something in the immediate or remote future (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; He, 2000; Searle, 1976). This general type of speech act includes a group of more specific actions such as request, demand, order, proposal, and advice (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Searle, 1976).

As a speech act can be rather indirect and ambiguous even within a particular context (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Schegloff, 2007; Searle, 1976), when the illocutionary force of an utterance cannot be decided by the utterance or the turn alone, the tutee's response and the later turns produced by the tutorial participants would be taken into consideration.

For example, in (3.1) below, T02 produces an A-not-A question and a tag question in lines 1 and 2, which are not the most typical forms in which a Mandarin directive is realized. However, these questions can and should in fact be understood as a request pragmatically. This meaning-based interpretation is further supported by W04's response *uhn* in line 3. As a results, T02's first turn in (3.1) below is counted as an instance of directives in this study.

(3.1)

01 T02: → 你　要不要　　　簡單　唸　一下. 我們　從　with 到 EDM
　　　　ni　yaobuyao　　jiandan nian　yixia. women cong with dao EDM
　　　　2SG want.NEG.want simple　read　a.bit　1PL　　from　　　to

02　　　→ 這個,　第一個 EDM　這邊,　可以 嗎?
　　　　zhege,　diyige　EDM　zhebian, keyi ma?
　　　　this.CL　first.CL　　　here　　can　Q

03 W04: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

04 T02: 從　with huge 那邊.
　　　　cong with huge nabian.
　　　　from　　　　　there

05 W04: 我　　唸　　嗎?
　　　　wo　nian　ma
　　　　1SG　read　Q

06 T02: 是.
　　　　shi.
　　　　COP

'T02: Would you like to read it? Let's read from *with* to *EDM*. Here, the first *EDM*. Is that okay?
W04: Uhn.
T02: From *with huge*.
W04: Should I read it?
T02: Yes.'

In our data, we spotted approximately 1064 instances of directive actions launched by the tutor. As noted by Antaki and Kent (2012, p. 879), there are, from time to time, more than one utterance that serves the same directive function in the same turn or in separate turns. For example, in (3.2) below, T01 mentions the word *shitai* 'tense' twice in lines 2 and 4 respectively, suggesting that the tutee pay attention to her use of tense in the writing. Although the tutor produces utterances of different structures in the two turns, following Antaki and Kent's (2012) principle, we still counted such instances as one occurence of directive action in this study. The numbers should thus be considered

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approximations. The analysis presented in the following chapters is based on these a

thousand or so instances.

(3.2)

01 T01: 好. 不過::, 我 z-, 我 其實　　早　就　跟 你　說　了,　　就是

　　　　hao. buguo::, wo z-, wo qishi　　zao　jiu　gen ni　shuo　le,　　jiushi

　　　　okay however 1SG 1SG actually already just with 2SG say　ASP/FP that.is

02　　　你的 tense.

　　　　nide tense.

　　　　2SG.GEN

03 W03: tense. 嗯　哼.

　　　　 tense. uhn hun.

　　　　　　INT INT

04 T01: → 注意, 注意 一下　你的::,　你的　　時態.

　　　　 zhuyi, zhuyi yixia　nide ::,　nide　　shitai.

　　　　　notice notice a.bit　2SG.GEN 2SG.GEN　tense

05 W03: 嗯　哼.

　　　　uhn hun.

　　　　INT INT

'T01: Okay. But actually I have told you (your problem). That is, your tense.

W03: Tense. Uhn huh.

T01: Pay some attention to your tense.

W03: Uhn huh.'

Table 6 below displays the distribution of directives among the five tutors. Because

of the total length of T02's recordings, he contributed to the largest number of the

directive instances (491 out of 1064; 46.15%), followed by T01 and T05. In comparsion,

T03 and T04 produced fewer tokens of directives due to the relatively short length of

their recordings.

Table 6 Distribution of directives among tutors
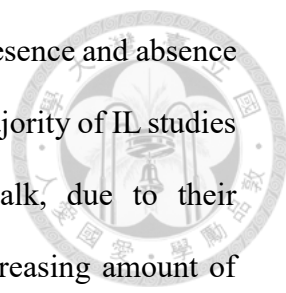
	T01	T02	T03	T04	T05	Total
Tutorial length	161:36	321:47	68:25	28:14	174:25	754:27
Number of directives	240	491	80	57	196	1064
Percentage	22.56	46.15	7.52	5.36	18.42	100

It should be noted again that despite such a difference, the patterns that will be reported and discussed are observed across different tutors' sessions and are thus generalizable to a great extent.

3.5.2. Interactional Linguistics

The occurrences of directives were analyzed under the framework of Interactional Linguistics (IL) (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018; Lindström, 2009; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001). Based on the concepts and methods from a number of different disciplines, including Conversation Analysis (CA), interactional sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and discourse functional grammar, among others, IL posits that conversation is orderly and is organized by mechanisms such as turn-taking, preference, sequence, and repair (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018; Lindström, 2009; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001). Most importantly, it is argued that linguistic features, especially those employed in conversation, are largely shaped or motivated by the socio-interactional functions that they serve and should thus be investigated in a real, interactional context. As a result, research that adopts the IL framework explores either the functions that a particular linguistic form serves or the linguistic forms that serve a particular function (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018; Lindström, 2009).

Methodologically informed by CA, IL research, according to Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2018), follows the following five principles. First, interactional linguists base their analysis on the audio and/or video recordings of naturally occurring interaction.
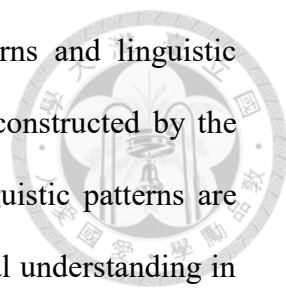
Detailed transcripts of the recordings allow for a close look at the presence and absence of interactional nuances and their influence on language. While a majority of IL studies investigates language use in daily conversation, institutional talk, due to their distinctive characteristics of interaction, has been receiving an increasing amount of attention (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018; Heritage, Robinson, Elliott, Beckett, & Wilkes, 2007).

Second, although each IL study focuses on a particular structure or function, the research is usually conducted in a bottom-up fashion, and the categories should be grounded empirically in the real data (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018). That is to say, rather than holding a specific theoretical hypothesis, interactional linguists have to draw conclusions from their observation of the more local, situated patterns that recur in the data, while some traditionally defined units, such as phrases and clauses, are still adopted (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018).

Third, similar to CA, IL usually takes an emic, or participant-oriented, perspective. This is often achieved by following the "next-turn proof procedure" proposed by CA researchers (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1978; Schegloff, 1996). That is, the analyst's interpretation needs to be supported or warranted by the participants' following turns. The conversationalists' formation of and reaction to the utterances and actions in the talk-in-interaction thus constitute a significant source of information for data analysis.

Fourth, linguistic expressions are deemed to be context-sensitive and have to be examined in actions and sequences. Turns and utterances are analyzed not as an abstract, isolated unit, but as a situated practice for accomplishing actions or other larger socio-interactional projects (Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002). Information pertinent to the micro-interactional context of the linguistic device always needs to be taken into account.

Fifth, insofar as talk-in-interaction unfolds in real time, turns and linguistic structures are considered as "interactional achievements" jointly constructed by the participants of the conversation (Schegloff, 1982). Recurrent linguistic patterns are regarded as resources for managing contingencies and attain mutual understanding in the ongoing interaction (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018). However, given the endless nuances that can be looked into, Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2018) note that IL researchers should remain flexible about the level of granularity (Schegloff, 2000), i.e., how detailed the investigation should be, and adjust their focus and unit of analysis according to the research questions.

The present study, taking the approach of IL, follow these above-mentioned principles, when analyzing the data.

3.5.3. Intersubjectivity

Another concept that is of great importance for our data analysis is the notion of intersubjectivity in language and interaction. First discussed in philosophy and sociology (e.g., Habermas, 2002; Husserl & Kern, 1973), intersubjectivity has been argued by a number of linguists and cognitive scientists to be a critical feature of human language (Du Bois, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006; Nuyts, 2001; Tomasello, 2009; Traugott & Dasher, 2001; Verhagen, 2005). However, in the field of linguistics, the term, intersubjectivity, is used in numerous ways.
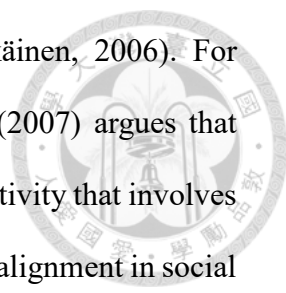
For example, historical linguists like Traugott highlight the role of intersubjectivity in grammaticalization and are interested in exploring the process in which particular linguistic features acquire the function of signaling intersubjectivity, i.e., intersubjectification (Traugott, 2010; Traugott & Dasher, 2001). Taking a more pragmatically oriented perspective, Traugott and her colleagues contrast intersubjectivity with subjectivity, the latter of which represents the speaker's attitude

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or judgment, and refer to the former as the speaker's attention to the addressee's face need (Traugott, 2010; Traugott & Dasher, 2001). They argue that there is a trend for linguistic patterns that express an objective, content meaning to derive a subjective use and then evolve an intersubjective function (Traugott, 2003; Traugott & Dasher, 2001), rather than the other way around.

Meanwhile, cognitive linguists that study the synchronic use of linguistic structures, such as Nuyts and Verhagen, relate the concept of intersubjectivity to language users' cognition and knowledge (Nuyts, 2001; Verhagen, 2005). For Nuyts, subjectivity and intersubjectivity are defined with respect to the type of knowledge source that an evidential/epistemic marker indicates (Nuyts, 2001). Linguistic resources that convey information accessible to only the speaker, such as *I think*, are referred to as subjective, while those that involve knowledge shared within a group of speakers, such as *probable,* are treated as intersubjective (Nuyts, 2001).

On the other hand, Verhagen (2005) links intersubjectivity to speakers' construal and conceptualize it as "argumentativity" theorized by Anscombre and Ducrot (1989). In Anscombre and Ducrot's (1989) theory, the concept of argumentativity, which involves the intent to influence others' thought and attitude, is in contrast to that of informativity, that is, simply communicating information. Drawing on this model, Verhagen (2005) contends that a number of lexico-grammatical patterns are not only informative, but also argumentative, i.e., utilized so as to influence the addressee's conceptualization and inferences. This process of argumentation involves inferences, shared knowledge and individuals' distinctive experiences, and is thus intersubjective (Verhagen, 2005, 2008).

Finally, unlike aforementioned linguists, who deem intersubjectivity as primarily encoded in particular linguistic devices, researchers that investigate language in social interaction, such as Du Bois and Kärkkäinen, treat intersubjectivity as dynamically co-

constructed by speakers in conversation (Du Bois, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006). For example, proposing a discourse-based theory of stance, Du Bois (2007) argues that stancetaking should be conceptualized as a public, intersubjective activity that involves both speakers', or subjects', epistemic and affective positioning and alignment in social interaction. In other words, intersubjectivity is not a given or static feature marked by a linguistic expression, but a result of interpersonal communication and dynamic interaction. Similarly, Kärkkäinen (2006), using two extracts of stancetaking in conversation as examples, also suggests that the construction of epistemic and evaluative stance is an intersubjective process of negotiation to which both participants of talk-in-interaction contribute.

In this dissertation study, we primarily follow the last line of research and treat intersubjectivity as a phenomenon jointly constructed by tutorial participants with particular linguistic constructions. However, as will be seen in the discussions in following chapters, other types of intersubjectivity are also attested, more or less, in the instances of directives issued in writing tutorials.

3.6. Chapter summary

In this chapter, we have described the institute that held the investigated tutorial service, the participants that contributed to our data, and the tutorials that were under scrutiny in the current dissertation research. We have also explicated how the recordings were transcribed, how the target utterances were identified in the transcripts, and how the instances were analyzed. Drawing on these materials and methods, we will in the following four chapters elucidate the forms and functions of directives that we have found in Mandarin-based English writing tutorial discourse.

Chapter 4 Forms of Mandarin directives in EFL writing tutorials
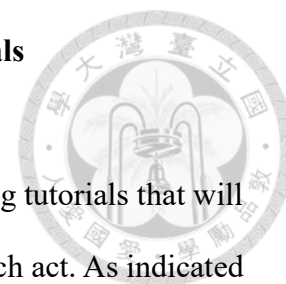
The first aspect of Mandarin directives in bilingual EFL writing tutorials that will be discussed in this dissertation is the realization forms of this speech act. As indicated in Chapter 3, directives are referred to as utterances formulated to get the hearer to do something in the immediate or remote future (Goodwin, 2006; He, 2000; Searle, 1976) and, in this study, only tutor-initiated directives will be discussed. Based on these two principles, we identified approximately 1064 instances of directive action launched by the tutor. With respect to the realization form of the directive, these instances can be grouped into four major categories, including imperatives, interrogatives, declaratives and phrasal resources (cf. Aikhenvald, 2010; Thompson, Fox, & Couper-Kuhlen, 2015; Thonus, 1999a).

As shown in Table 7 below, these categories are hardly evenly distributed. Declaratives, the most predominant type, represent 88.72% of the directives in our tutorial data, while the imperative accounts for 7.89% of the ooccurrences.

Table 7 Distribution of each directive form

	Declarative	Imperative	Interrogative	Phrasal	Total
Number	944	84	28	8	1064
Percentage	88.72	7.89	2.63	0.75	100

Although also found in the dataset, tokens of interrogatives and phrasal resources used as directives only constitute a rather small proportion of the instances, 2.63% and 0.75% for each. In what follows, we will detail the structural features of each category and describe the most common subtypes of construction and their distribution patterns in our data.

4.1. Declaratives

Among different constructions that can function as a directive, the declarative is most frequently used in the writing tutoring discourse. In fact, the great majority of directives identified in our data is realized in the form of a declarative. This category also contains the most diverse patterns. In the following, we will elucidate the ones that are recurrently found in our data, including modal declaratives, [subject + *jiu*] declaratives and bi-clausal constructions, namely, noun-copula-complement constructions and [*wo juede*] constructions.

Table 8 Distribution of different types of declaratives

	Modals	[subject + *jiu*]	Bi-clausal constructions	Others	Total
Number	704	85	59	96	944
Percentage	74.5	9.00	6.25	10.17	100

As can be seen from Table 8 above, modal declaratives account for the majority (74.5%) of declarative directives, while 85 tokens of the [subject + *jiu*] construction (9.00%) and 59 occurences of the bi-clausal constructions (6.25%) were found in our data. This pattern suggests that when deploying declarative directives, which are already an indirect way to form a directive, tutors still tend to use devices like modals and bi-clausal constructions to mitigate the force of this speech act (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Ritter, 2002). In the following, we will focus on the three major types of declarative structures.

4.1.1. Modal declaratives

One of the most frequent declarative forms used as a directive in our data is modal declaratives. While previous writing center studies only discuss the use of first- and second person modals (e.g., Ritter 2002), we also find third-person modals frequently

utilized. As displayed in Table 9 below, while the second-person singular modal accounts for 62.5% of the instances, third-person singular modals also constitute the second largest group (15.48%). In contrast, first-person modals only represent a relatively small proportion of the data (6.54%). The high frequency of third-personal modals is distinctive from what has been reported in previous US-based studies, a phenomenon that will be discussed further in section 4.1.1.2.

Table 9 Distribution of different modal declaratives

	1st SG	1st PL	2nd SG	2nd PL	3rd SG	3rd PL	zero	Total
Number	27	19	440	2	109	0	107	704
Percentage	3.84	2.70	62.50	0.28	15.48	0	15.20	100

It should be noted that these modal declaratives differ not only in the person of the subject but also in other aspects of the clause, which will be described in more detail in the following.

4.1.1.1. Second-person modal declaratives

As illustrated in (4.1) to (4.2) below, tutors most often employ the second-person subject in a modal declarative. A similarly strong preference for the second-person modal is also reported by studies conducted in the context of North American writing centers (Ritter, 2002; Thonus, 1998). Two Mandarin modal verbs in particular are frequently used, i.e., *keyi* 'can' (4.1) and *yao* 'have to' (4.2), to form the directive, regardless of other seemingly near-synonymous modals like *neng* 'can,' *dei* 'have to,' and *bishu* 'have to' (Hsieh, 2006). In other words, although various linguistic devices can be employed to issue a directive, the realization of this particular speech act is largely prefabricated and conventionalized.

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Furthermore, even though the presence of a modal in the directive already can mitigate the speech act (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Brown & Levinson, 1987), the modal declarative still often co-occurs with other downtoners such as *yixia* 'a bit' and *keneng* 'possible'. For example, in (4.1) below, T03 formats a directive with a second-person modal, suggesting that the tutee go back and observe how his supervizer writes a research article. In addition to the modal *keyi* 'can,' the tutor also uses the postverbal modifier *yixia* 'a bit' as a diminutive to mitigate the force of the directive, implying that the tutee only needs to "take a look" at the papers. The tutee then produces an agreement token *hao* 'okay' in response.

(4.1) Second-person modal
01 T03: → 對.　你　可以　回去　觀察　　一下　你們　實驗室,　　跟
　　　　　　　dui.　**ni　keyi　huiqu　guancha　yixia　nimen　shiyanshi**, gen
　　　　　　　right 2SG can　return observe a.bit　　2PL　lab　　　with
02　　　　[老師　　寫] 出來　的　　　文章( )
　　　　　　laoshi　xie chulai de　　　wenzhang
　　　　　　teacher write out　ASSC article
03 W15:　[嗯::]. 好.
　　　　　　uhn　　hao.
　　　　　　INT　　okay
'T03: Yeah. You can go back and take a look at the articles written by your teacher and the
　　　members of your lab.
　W15: Mm. Okay.'

Similarly, in line 3 of (4.2) below, T01 also uses a modal *yao* 'have to' and the hedging adverbial *yidian* 'a bit' to modify the verb *mingque* 'specify' in the directive. Before formulating this directive, the tutor even utilizes the clause *zhishi yige ganjue* 'It's just my feeling' in line 1 to make his utterance sound less assertative and thus downgrade the imposition of the directive.

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(4.2) Second-person modal

01 T01: (tsk) okay. uhm::, (.) 有　一些　的　　部份, 的確　只　是　一個　感覺.
　　　　 (tsk) okay. uhm::, (.) you yixie de bufen, dique zhi shi yige ganjue
　　　　　　 okay INT　　 have some ASSC part　　 indeed only COP one.CL feeling

02 W13: mm.
　　　　 mm.
　　　　 INT

03 T01:→你　要　更　　明確　　一點.
　　　　 ni　yao　geng mingque yidian.
　　　　 2SG want more specify　a.bit

04 W13: 喔:::, 更　明確.
　　　　 ou:::, geng mingque.
　　　　 INT more specify

'T01: Okay. Some parts are indeed… It's just my feeling.
 W13: Mm.
 T01: You need to be more specific.
 W13: Oh! More specific.'

These two examples suggest that tutors can and tend to use multiple linguistic resources in a directive, such as the mood (declaratives), modals, and verbal modifiers, to make it sound less forceful or imposing, thus achieving negative politeness (cf. Bell et al., 2009), especially when the subject of the declarative is the addressee.

4.1.1.2. Third-person modal declaratives

In addition to the second-person subject, the third-person subject, which mostly refers to an inanimate patient, is also often found to be used with the modal construction to form directives, as shown in (4.3). This is slightly different from what is reported in studies based on tutorials conducted in English (cf. Ritter, 2002), in that although the third-person modal is also present in the English data, it is not as remarkable and prominent. This difference may result from the fact that the inanimate patient can be put in the preverbal position as the subject or topic without the use of the passive voice construction in Mandarin Chinese. This finding also resonates with Tai's (2005, p. 560)

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argument that in contrast to English, which is an agent-oriented language that focuses more on the process of an event, Chinese is a patient-oriented language that tends to highlight the result.

Moreover, the third-person modal allows the tutor to focus on the discussed object, achieve cohesion, and state things as a matter of fact without referring to any conversation participant as the accountable agent. For example, in (4.3), the dyad is discussing the organization of components in the tutee's writing. In lines 3 and 4, T05 lays out her advice using the third-person modal. By using *shangmian* 'top' and the demonstrative pronoun *nage* 'that one,' the tutor is linking her advice back to her utterance in line 1. The use of the third-person modal thus enables the tutor to continue the focus on the object.

(4.3) Third-person modal

01 T05: 誰:: 是 在 上面，　　然後　誰　在　下面　　是　什麼.

　　　　shei shi zai shangmian ranhou shei　zai　xiamian shi shenme.

　　　　who COP at　top　　　then　who　at　　bottom COP what

02 W05: 嗯.

　　　　uhn.

　　　　INT

03 T05: → 如果 是　　這樣　　的話, **上面　　　那個　當然　　　要　先　講**

　　　　ruguo shi　　zheyang dehua, **shangmian nage　　dangran yao xian jiang**

　　　　if　　COP this.way　if　　top　　　　that.CL of.course want first say

04 　　啊. 就 大 東西 要　　先　　講.

　　　　a.　jiu da dongxi yao　xian　jiang.

　　　　FP just　big stuff　want first　say

05 W05: 好.

　　　　hao.

　　　　okay

06 T05: 你　　才 會　　講　到 小的　　　來.

　　　　ni　　cai hui　jiang dao xiaode　　　lai.

　　　　2SG then will　say　to small.NOM come

07 W05: 喔::, okay okay.

　　　　ou::, okay okay.

　　　　INT

'T05: (You have to figure out) what is higher in the hierarchy and what is at the lower end

 W05: Mm.

 T05: If that is so, things that are higher in the hierarchy have to be discussed first. That is, more general topics should be introduced earlier.

 W05: Okay.

 T05: And then you move on to the details.

 W05: Oh. Okay, okay.'

Also noticeable in this example is that in contrast to our discussion on the second-person modal, the tutor does not use other mitigators in the directive. This may be due to the fact that no accountable agent is mentioned in this utterance and thus there is not as much need to mitigate.

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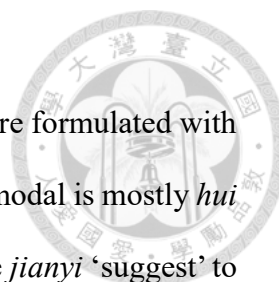
4.1.1.3. First-person modal declaratives

Finally, a relatively smaller number of the modal declaratives are formulated with a first-person subject. When the first-person subject is singular, the modal is mostly *hui* 'will' and the modal declarative can be deployed with predicates like *jianyi* 'suggest' to serve as an illocutionary force-indicating device (IFID) (Searle, 1976) for a directive.

For example, in (4.4) below, T03 first uses the phrase *xiang zai zhege zhuangkuang xia* 'like under this circumstance' in line 1 to link her turn to the foregoing discourse. She puts forth her suggestion after the phrase and preface it with a first-person modal *wo hui jianyi* 'I would suggest,' which serves as an IFID. Tht tutee then responds to T03's turn with a change-of-state token *ou* 'oh' in line 3.

(4.4) First-person modal as IFID
```
01 T03:→像   在 這個   狀況       之  下, 我 會 建議   說, (.h) 你  就
        xiang zai zhege  zhuangkuang zhi  xia, wo hui jianyi shuo, (.h) ni  jiu
        like  at  this.CL situation   ASSC down 1SG will suggest  say,    2SG JIU
02       直接 講   說,  the leaders. 對.
         zhijie jiang shuo, the leaders. dui.
         direct say   say              right
03 W10: 喔:::.
         ou:::.
         INT
04 T03: 他 就 不會 再 they  喔. 好. 回去 找 一下 是 誰. hhh.
         ta  jiu buhui zai they   ou. hao huiqu zhao yixia shi shui. hhh.
         3SG JIU Neg.will again FP good return find a.bit COP who
05 W10: 喔:::.
         ou:::.
         INT
```
'T03: Like under this circumstance, I would suggest that you just say *the leaders*. Right.
 W10: Oh.
 T03: They won't be like *oh, okay. I need to get back and figure* out *who that is*, again.'

The first-person modal can also be used with a counterfactural conditional to realize a directive. For example, in line 1 of (4.5) below, T05 starts this turn with a first-

person subject *wo* and then gradually constructs the turn with a modal adverbial *keneng* 'possible' and a conditional marker *yaoshi* '(what) if'. However, in the middle of the turn she seems to abandon the utterance and relaunches the turn with a counterfactual conditional *ruguo shi wo dehua* 'if I were you' to distance herself from the writing and also to indicate that she is going to give a suggestion. As can be seen from the W08's use of the acknowledgement token *dui* 'right' in line 2, the tutee also appears to understand T05's turn as such. After the tutee's response, T05 puts forth her advice in lines 3 and 4, using a first-person modal.

(4.5) First-person modal with a conditional
```
01 T05 →  所以  我,  可能,  要是,  如果 是   我   的話, [可能],
          suoyi   wo, keneng, yaoshi, ruguo shi   wo    dehua, [keneng],
          so      1SG possible if      if    COP 1SG    if     possible
02 W08:                                          [對].
                                                 [dui].
                                                 right
03 T05: → 我    不知道     這樣     會不會      比較  好. 可是 我 可能
          wo  buzhidao  zheyang   huibuhui      bijiao hao. keshi wo keneng
          1SG NEG.know this.way    will.NEG.will more good but 1SG possible
04     → 就 會 變成,      那邊  剛  那邊  四點一       嘛.
          jiu hui  biancheng, nabian gang nabian sidianyi      me.
          just will become      there   just there   four.point.one Q
05 W08: 四點一,      那邊 四點-,
          sidianyi,        nabian sidian-,
          four.point.one there   four.point
```
'T05: So, if it were me, I would,
 W08: Right.
 T05: I don't know if it would be better, but I would make it… So that is section 4.1, right.
 W06: 4.1. And that is four point…'

On the other hand, when the first-person subject is plural, the modal is usually *keyi* 'can' and the modal declarative mostly functions as a co-hortative to propose an action that can be done together, as in line 1 of (4.6) below. In this example, by using the first-

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plural modal, T02 invites the tutee to get back to and discuss the topic of the ability of resistance mentioned in the writing.
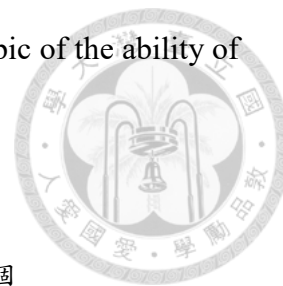
(4.6) First-person modal as co-hortative
01 T02: → 好. **我們　可以　回來　一下**.　抵抗　能力，　所以　這個
　　　　　hao. **women keyi　huilai　yixia.**　dikang nengli, suoyi zhege
　　　　　okay 1PL　can　return　a.bit　defend ability　so　this.CL
02　　　　sensitivity 指的　　　是，　有點　像　抵抗 能力.
　　　　　sensitivity zhide　　　shi,　youdian xiang dikang nengli.
　　　　　　　　point.NOM COP　a.bit　　like defend ability
03 W20: 嗯.
　　　　　uhn.
　　　　　INT
'T02: Okay. We can get back to this a bit. Resistance. So what you mean by sensitivity is a bit like the ability of resistance.
　W20: Mm.'

As can be seen from the three examples above, even first-person modals, when used as a directive, may occur with different lexico-grammatical patterns and can help the speaker to achieve different purposes in writing tutorials.

4.1.2. Subject-*jiu* declaratives

In addition to modal declaratives, the subject-*jiu* declarative is also commonly found in our data. In the literature of Chinese linguistics, the adverbial *jiu* has attracted the attention from a number of researchers (Biq, 1988; Hole, 2004; Lai, 1999). Many have also argued that instead of being merely a pragmatic marker, *jiu* in fact constitutes an essential part of several constructions in Mandarin Chinese (Biq, 2001; J.-S. Wu & Kuo, 2012). As a result, the subject-*jiu* declarative is treated as an individual pattern in this study.

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It should be noted that while several analyses of *jiu* have been proposed (Biq, 1988; Hole, 2004; Lai, 1999), few researchers discuss the function of *jiu* in directives. We find that the use most similar to that found in our data is the conditional, or parametric, use of *jiu* (Biq, 1988; Lai, 1999). As noted by previous researchers on *jiu*, this adverbial often occurs in a conditional construction to indicate that the protasis is a sufficient condition for the apodosis (Lai, 1999). This distribution pattern is also found in our instances of subject-*jiu* declaratives, as illustrated in (4.7) below.

In (4.7), T04 first formats a question in line 1 to confirm with the tutee what he refers to in the abstract. Based on the tutee's response to his question, he then produces a conditional construction to introduce his advice. In the adposis clause, the tutor uses a subject-*jiu* construction to formulate his suggesution and characterize it as a reasonable conclusion of the information that the tutee provides.

(4.7) Subject *jiu*
01 T04: 喔::, 就是　指　那　三場. 是不是.
　　　 ou::,　jiushi zhi na sanchang. shibushi.
　　　 INT　that.is refer.to that three.CL right.NEG.right
02 W01: 嗯.
　　　 uhn.
　　　 INT
03 T04:→如果　是　指　　　那　三場　　的話　就, **我們　就　全部　都　用　過去式.**
　　　 ruguo shi　zhi　　na sanchang dehua jiu, **women jiu quanbu dou yong guoqushi**.
　　　 if　COP refer.to that three.CL if　　JIU 1PL　JIU all　　all use past.tense
04 W01: 喔:::.
　　　 ou:::.
　　　 INT
'T04: Oh! You mean those three hearings, right?
 W01: Mm.
 T04: If you mean those three hearings, then let's all use the past tense.
 W01: Oh, I see.'
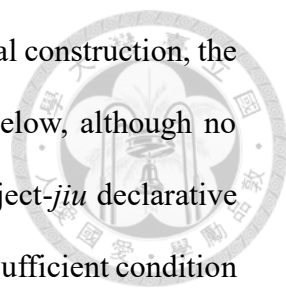
Even when the subject-*jiu* declarative is not used in a conditional construction, the conditional meaning can also be inferred. For example, in (4.8) below, although no explicit conditional marker is used in the adjacent context, the subject-*jiu* declarative can be considered to indicate that the preceding utterance presents a sufficient condition for the directive to be valid. This relation is further implied in the causal marker *yinwei* 'because' in the following examples. The use of the causal marker along with the subject-*jiu* construction allows the tutor to present the advice as a necessary result of the *yinwei*-marked clause. The tutee then accepts this advice without any resistance (line 8).

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(4.8) Subject *jiu*

01 W04: 這裡 的 aim, 要::, 變成　　過去式　　對不對.

　　　 zheli de aim,　yao::, biancheng guoqushi　duibudui.

　　　 here ASSC aim want become　　past.tense right.NEG.right

02 T02: 嗯::. 不用.

　　　 uhn::. buyong.

　　　 INT　NEG.use

03 W04: 嗯::.

　　　 uhn::.

　　　 INT

04 T02: 因為:::,

　　　 yinwei::,

　　　 because

05 W04: [嗯::].

　　　 [uhn::].

　　　 INT

06 T02: [或者 是], 我 會 建議, 現-,　未來式　　啦. 因為　你　　前面　　兩個 都

　　　 [huozhe shi], wo hui jianyi, xian-, weilaishi　　la. yinwei　ni　qianmian liangge dou

　　　 or　　COP 1SG will suggest　future.tense FP because 2SG front　　two.CL all

07 → 是 未來式,　**那　就 這個　就 用　未來式　　啊**.

　　　 shi weilaishi,　**na　jiu zhege　jiu yong weilaishi　　a**.

　　　 COP future.tense that JIU this.CL JIU use　future.tense FP

08 W04: okay. 好.

　　　 okay. hao.

　　　　　　good

'W04: So, I should change the tense of *aim* here to the past tense, right?

　T02: Well, you don't have to.

　W04: Mm?

　T02: because,

　W04: Mm.

　T02: Or, I would suggest that you use the future tense, because the first two verbs are in the future tense. Then, you use the future tense for this one too.

　W04: Okay. Alright.'

　　The instances of [subject + *jiu*] declaratives as directives discussed in this section suggest that when issuing directives, tutors have to not only mitigate the speech act, but also present it as a product of clear reasoning (cf. Waring, 2012).

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doi:10.6342/NTU201900769
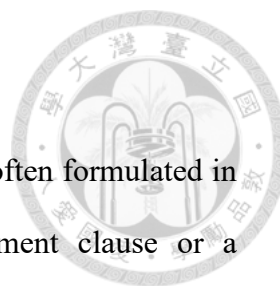
4.1.3. Bi-clausal constructions

In addition to modal verbs and adverbials, directives are also often formulated in the form of a bi-clausal construction such as a noun-complement clause or a complement-taking predicate (CTP). It should be noted that, although structurally, the pattern is bi-clausal, as a number of previous researchers have argued, these constructions are in fact often used as pragmatic devices, such as epistemic/evidential markers (Thompson, 2002), projector constructions (Hopper, 2006), or IFIDs (Delahunty, 2012). In our data, the two most commonly found bi-clausal constructions are noun-copula-complement constructions and the CTP fragment, *wo juede* 'I think,' both of which will be discussed further in the following.

4.1.3.1. Noun-copula-complement (NCC) constructions

One of the recurrent bi-clausal constructions used as directives is the nominal-copula-complement (NCC) construction (Schmid 2000), as shown in Extract (4.9) below. In this example, the construction is composed of a noun phrase, followed by the copula *shi* and a clause or clausal utterance. A modal like *hui* 'will' and the complement *shuo* 'say' may be added before or after the copula.

(4.9) NCC

01 T02: → uh, 我的　　建議　會　是　說, 看　你　可不可以, (0.3) 加

uh **wode　　jianyi　hui　shi　shuo**, kan　ni　kebukeyi, (0.3) jia

INT 1SG.GEN suggest will　COP say　see　2SG can.NEG.can　　add

02　　　個, 譬如　　說,　instead 在 這邊. 你 懂　　　我　意思　　嗎.(.)

ge,　piru　　shuo, instead zai zhebian. ni　dong　　wo　yisi　　ma

CL for.example say　　　　at　here　2SG understand 1SG meaning　Q

03　　　就是, instead, 或, ( ). 嗯::,

jiushi, instead, huo ( ). uhn::,

that.is　　　or　　INT

04 W18: 然後　我　這個　visible,

ranhou wo zhege　visible,

then　1SG this.CL

05 T02: 是.

shi.

COP

'T02: Well, my suggestion would be that maybe you can add, say, an *instead* here. You know
what I mean? Something like *instead* or well…

W18: And then I put *visible* here.

T02: Yes.'

As suggested by previous studies, this construction can serve multiple functions across languages including, for example, organizing topics and focuses in discourse, introducing components like a problem, solution or explanation, and manging turn-taking (cf. Delahunty, 2012; Hsieh, 2018; Schmid, 2000, 2001). Example (4.9) demonstrates that the NCC construction functions more as a projector construction (Doehler, 2011; Hopper, 2006; Huang, 2013) that foreshadows and directs the speaker's attention to the advent of a suggestion. In contrast to other directive forms, the NCC construction has to work in tandem with other patterns such as the imperative or the modal declarative to form a directive.

As shown in the example above, similar to the first-person singular modal, the NCC construction can also serve as an IFID that allows the tutor to characterize the

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following utterance as a directive action. The noun *jianyi* 'advice' in line 1 explicitly characterizes the following utterace as an advice-giving directive.
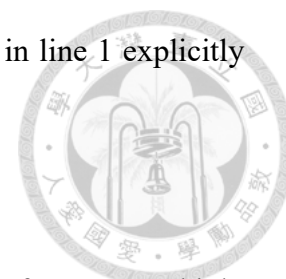
4.1.3.2. The *wo juede* construction

Another commonly used bi-clausal construction is the *wo juede* fragment 'I think' (Huang, 2003; Lim, 2011). As researchers have pointed out, *wo juede* can serve a number of functions in Mandarin discourse, such as marking an epistemic or affective stance (Endo, 2010; Lim, 2011), inviting joint assessment (Lim, 2011), dealing with possible disagreement or interactional trouble (Endo, 2010; Lim, 2011), and managing turn transition (Endo, 2010). With regard to our tutoring data, *wo juede* is primarily employed in the utterance-initial position to mark the source of information and project an upcoming suggestion. As illustrated in (4.10) below, W01 uses the topic/conditional marker *dehua* to elicit suggestions from T04. T04 then presents his advice with the *wo juede* preface. In response to the tutor's advice, the tutee partially repeats the T04's turn and show his agreement with the tutor in line 3.

(4.10) *wo juede*
01 W01: 嗯 哼. 所以::, 整句 來 說 的話,
　　　 uhn hun. suoyi::, zhengju lai shuo dehua,
　　　 INT INT so entire.CL come say if
02 T04:→我 覺得 就 時態 改 一下.
　　　 wo juede jiu shitai gai yixia.
　　　 1SG think JIU tense change a.bit
03 W01: 時態. 哼:::.
　　　 shitai. hun:::.
　　　 tense INT
'W01: Uh huh. So, as for the sentence in general,
　T04: I think you just change the tense.
　W01: The tense. Okay.'
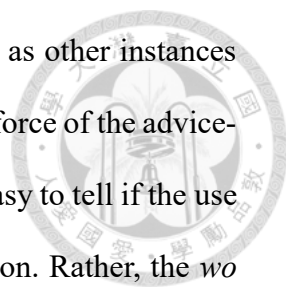
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Although it is very likely that *wo juede* in this excerpt as well as other instances of directives in our data is produced to mitigate the face-threatening force of the advice-giving act and address the potential interactional problem, it is not easy to tell if the use of *wo juede* functions to deal with the problem from the conversation. Rather, the *wo juede* construction seems to work more as an indicator of the tutor's epistemic positioning and also as an invitation for the tutee to make an assessment on the given advice (Lim, 2011), as shown in (4.10) above.

4.2. Imperatives

The second most frequent clausal structure used to realize a directive in the writing tutorials is the imperative. Interestingly, although imperatives are usually deemed to be the principal construction for directive action (Aikhenvald, 2010; Sorjonen et al., 2017) and are used as the most frequent formats in certain institutional contexts (Antaki & Kent, 2012), the overall frequency is relatively low, especially in comparison to that of declaratives, which is a trend also found in writing center interaction conducted entirely in English (Ritter, 2002; Thonus, 1999a).

Since Mandarin Chinese does not have a specific morphosyntactic marker for the imperative, in this study, we will take a more simplified structural definition for this construction. We define imperatives as clauses with a second-person subject (marked or unmarked) and a verb not modified by aspect markers or modal elements that may convey the meaning of a command (cf. Li & Thompson, 1981), excerpt for the negative imperative [4]. Two general types of imperatives are identified in our data: simple imperatives and complex imperatives, as indicated in Table 10. Simple imperatives can be further divided into positive and negative imperatives.

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[4] As discussed in Li and Thompson (1981, p. 455), to negate an imperative in Mandarin Chinese, the speaker needs to use constructions such as *bie* 'don't,' *bu-yao* 'don't,' and *bu-yong* 'not use,' which may appear to be modals or modal-like expressions.

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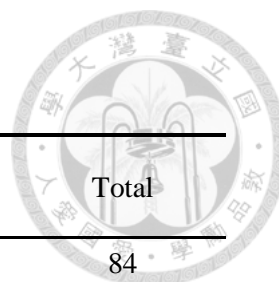
Table 10 Distribution of different types of imperatives

	Simple		Complex	Total
	Positive	Negative		
Number	49	6	29	84
Percentage	58.33	7.14	34.52	100

As can be seen from the table above, positive simple imperatives are most frequently found in our data, accouting for 58.33% of the tokens, while complex imperatives, on the other hand, represent 34.52% of the imperative directives. Finally, six occurrences of simple negative imperatives are found in our data (7.14%). In what follows, we will describe and discuss the patterns of these types of imperatives.

4.2.1. Simple imperatives

Simple imperatives here refer to imperatives that are neither used with another adverbial clause nor embedded in another clause. This group of imperatives can be further divided into positive simple imperatives and negative simple imperatives.

4.2.1.1. Positive simple imperatives

Positive simple imperatives are imperatives that are not marked with any negators. Excerpts (4.11) and (4.12) below exemplify how the positive simple imperative is used in writing tutoring interaction. In (4.11), T04 formulates a question in line 1 to inquire about the main topic of the second paragraph of the tutee's writing. The tutee, W01, responds to the question with an information-receipt marker *ou* 'oh' in line 2, without providing an answer to the tutor's answer. T04 then formats an imperative to ask the tutee to briefly introduce that paragraph.

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(4.11) Positive simple imperative

01 T04: 好, 那= 第二 段　　主要　 是　針對,　什麼　部份.
　　　　 hao, na= dier 　duan　 zhuyao 　shi 　zhendui, shenme bufen.
　　　　 okay that second paragraph mainly COP focus.on　 what 　 part

02 W01: 喔.
　　　　 ou.
　　　　 INT

03 T04: → 先　大致　介紹　　一下　這一　段.
　　　　 xian dazhi　jieshao　yixia　zhe yi　duan.
　　　　 first roughly introduce a.bit 　 this one paragraph

04 W01: 呃::,
　　　　 uh::,
　　　　 INT

05 T04: 就 是　這個　 領域.
　　　　 jiu shi　zhege 　lingyu
　　　　 just COP this.CL field

'T04: Okay. So, what is the second paragraph mainly concerned about?
 W01: Oh.
 T04: Please summarize the paragraph a bit first.
 W01: Well.
 T04: I mean the field.'

　　　 Similarly, in (4.12), T01 first indicates that he has told the tutee earlier that she should pay attention to her use of tense. After W03's response in line 3, T01 uses an imperative in line 4 to make his advice-giving directive more explicit.

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(4.12) Positive simple imperative

01 T01: 好. 不過::, 我 z-, 我 其實　　早　就　跟 你　說　了,　就是
　　　　hao. buguo::, wo z-, wo qishi　　zao　jiu　gen ni　shuo　le,　jiushi
　　　　okay however 1SG 1SG actually already just with 2SG say　ASP/FP that.is

02　　你的 tense.
　　　　nide tense.
　　　　2SG.GEN

03 W03: tense. 嗯　哼.
　　　　tense. uhn hun.
　　　　　　　INT INT

04 T01: → 注意, 注意 一下　你的::,　你的　　時態.
　　　　zhuyi, zhuyi yixia　nide ::,　nide　　shitai.
　　　　notice notice a.bit　2SG.GEN 2SG.GEN　tense

05 W03: 嗯 哼.
　　　　uhn hun.
　　　　INT INT

'T01: Okay. But actually I have told you (your problem). That is, your tense.
W03: Tense. Uhn huh.
T01: Pay some attention to your tense.
W03: Uhn huh.'

As can be seen from the two examples above, similar to the second-person declarative discussed in section 4.1.1.1, the positive simple imperative tends to have predicates modified by mitigators like *yixia* 'a bit'. Moreover, the use of imperatives also appears to make it easier for the addressee to understand the utterance as a directive speech act.

4.2.1.2. Negative simple imperatives

On the other hand, forming a negative simple imperative requires the use of the negative marker *bu* with a modal element, such as *buyao* 'don't' as in (4.13) and *buyong* 'need not,' as in (4.14) (Li & Thompson, 1981). Although a few occurrences are found in the dataset, negative simple imperatives are rather infrequent in number and restricted in the context where they are used.

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In comparison with the positive simple imperative, which can take a variety of verbs, the negative imperative is usually used with predicates pertinent to one's emotion, such as *jinzhang* 'nervous' in (4.13) and *danxin* 'worry' in (4.14), and the predicate is rarely, if ever, modified by mitigators.
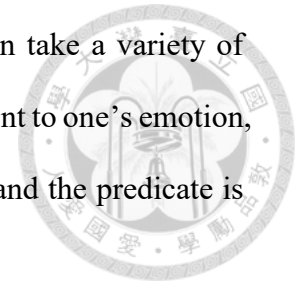
(4.13) Negative simple imperative
01 W05: 這個 嗎.
   zhege ma
   this.CL Q
02 T05: →嗯::, 等 一下 喔. 先 **不要** **緊張.**
   uhn::, deng yixia ou. xian **buyao** **jinzhang.**
   INT wait a.bit FP first NEG.want nervous
03 W05: 喔::.
   ou::
   INT
04 T05: 我 先 把 他 看 完.
   wo xian ba ta kan wan
   1SG first BA 3SG see finish
'W05: Do you mean this?
 T05: Well, hold on a second. Don't be nervous.
 W05: Oh.
 T05: I'll finish reading it first.'

One last feature of negative simple imperatives that distinguishes them from simple positive imperatives in writing tutorials, as can be seen in the two examples above, is that the former are usually not produced alone as an independent turn. Mostly, the negative simple imperative is formulated along with other utterances or speech acts instead. For example, in (4.13) above, T05's use of negative imperative in line 2 is preceded by another imperative *deng yixia ou* 'hold on a second,' requesting the tutee to wait for her. Meanwhile, in (4.14) below, the negative imperative produced by T03 in line 3 follows her overall assessment of the tutee's writing.

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(4.14) Negative simple imperative

01 T03: 對. 那　是　最後, 最後　才　弄的.
　　　dui.　na　shi zuihou, zuihou cai　nongde
　　　right that　COP final　final　CAI deal.with.NOM

02 W10: 嗯::.
　　　uhn::.
　　　INT

03: T03: →其他::,還　好.　**不用　太　擔心.** hhh
　　　qita::, hai hao.　**buyong　tai danxin.**
　　　other still okay　NEG.use　too worry

'T03: Right. That's the very last thing you have to deal with.
　W10: Mm.
　T03: The rest of it is okay. Don't have to be too worried.'

As discussed above, although simple negative imperatives are not frequently found in our data, the instances seem to show a strong tendency in terms of their form, collocating verb and cooccurence with other speech acts.

4.2.2. Complex imperatives

Another major type of imperatives is the complex imperative, which is defined as imperatives that are formed in connection with a subordinate adverbial clause. Oftentimes, complex imperatives contain a preceding conditional clause (cf. Aikhenvald, 2010; Hudson, 1990) and an adverbial *jiu* 'just' before the verb (cf. Heinemann & Steensig, 2017; Sorjonen, 2017). Consider Extracts (4.15) and (4.16).

In (4.15), T01 formats two conditional clauses in line 1 and line 3 respectively before he completes the complex imperative with a *jiu*-prefaced utterance in line 5. Both parts of the complex imperative contribute to the meaning of the directive and cannot be analyzed separately without being semantically and pragmatically incomplete. The conditional clause creates the context and provides background information for the following imperative clause, while the *jiu*-initiated imperative

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clause conveys and specifies the tutor's advice.

(4.15) Complex imperative
01 T01: 所以::, uhm::, (0.3) 如果 你 老師, 是 那樣 寫 的話,
        suoyi ::, uhm::, (0.3) ruguo ni laoshi, shi nayang xie dehua
        so   INT   if 2SG teacher COP that.way write if
02 W12: mm.
        INT
03 T01: → 然後 如果你 老師 是 想要 你 **[那樣 寫 的話]**,
        ranhou ruguo ni laoshi shi xiang yao ni [nayang xie dehua],
        then if 2SG teacher COP think want 2SG that.way write if
04 W12:   [那樣 寫 的話],
                             [nayang xie dehua],
                              that.way write if

05 T01 → 就 按-, 就 按照 你 老師 說的.
        jiu an-, jiu anzhao ni laoshi shuode.
        just just follow 2SG teacher say.NOM
06 W12: hhhhh.
'T01: So, Uhm, if your teacher writes that way,
 W12: Mm.
 T01: And if your teacher wants you to write that way,
 W12: Write that way,
 T01: Then just follow your teacher's instructions.'

    T04 in (4.16) below also uses a complex imperative (in line 5) to form a directive in the writing tutorial. As is evident in this example, the conditional part and the imperatiave part in this instance of complex directives are not only semantically and pragmatically inseparable from each other, but also structurally and intonationally tied to one another.

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(4.16) Complex imperative

01 T04: 所以, 就 是 要 看 你, 這 三場, 的 公聽會,
　　　　suoyi, jiu shi yao kan ni, zhe sanchang, de gongtinghui,
　　　　so just COP want see 2SG this three.CL ASSC hearing

02　　　指的 是 什麼. 是 一 種::,
　　　　zhide shi shenme. shi yi zhong::,
　　　　point.NOM COP what COP one kind

03　　　很 廣泛的 概念的 公聽會, 還是 就是說, 特別,
　　　　hen guangfande gainiande gongtinghui, haishi jiushishuo, tebie,
　　　　very general.ASSC concept.ASSC hearing or that.is.to.say special

04　　　特定的.
　　　　tedingde .
　　　　specific.NOM

05 → 　如果 是 特定 就 用 過去式.
　　　　ruguo shi teding jiu yong guoqushi.
　　　　if COP specific just use past.tense

06 W01: 嗯 哼 哼.
　　　　uhn hun hun
　　　　INT INT INT

‘T04: So, it depends on what you mean by these three public hearings. Do they refer to the very general concept of hearings or to specific events? If they are specific events, use the past tense.

　W01: Mm mm mm.’

In sum, the imperatives illustrated in these instances, in stark contrast to those displayed in the examples of the simple imperative section, are usually structurally prefaced by and semantically linked to a conditional clause in the same turn, which makes the imperative more "complex". These conditionals establish the assumption, based on which the directive action expressed in the imperative can apply. The main predicate in the complex imperative is usually modified by a pre-verbal *jiu* 'just' but not mitigated by post-verbal modifiers such as *yixia* 'a bit,' which also constitutes a feature that distinguishes complex imperatives from simple ones. As will be elucidated later, this pattern, while prevalent, is in fact related to one specific function of the

directive in the writing tutorial.

4.3. Interrogatives

The third type of clausal constructions that can be used to issue a direct action is the interrogative, which is also one of the most oft-mentioned patterns that can serve as a more polite way to form an indirect directive (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1990; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Curl & Drew, 2008). Questions are also often regarded as a nondirective, and thus better, way to advice student writers in US-based writing centers (Blau et al., 2002; Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2015). However, despite the prevalent use of questions in the interaction between tutors and tutees, in our data, only a remarkably small number of interrogatives are employed unequivocally to form a directive (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Gao, 1999), which is a topic that will be addressed in section 4.3.3.

Although there are several types of questions in Mandarin Chinese[5] (e.g., Li & Thompson, 1981; Liu, Pan, & Gu, 1996) only two of them are more commonly found to function unambiguously as a directive, i.e., the A-not-A question and the particle tag question[6], as shown in Table 11 below.

---

[5] Different Chinese linguists may have diffirent ways to categorize questions. Li and Thompson (1981), for example, divide Mandarin questions into four types: (1) question-word questions, which contain question words like *shei* 'who' and *shenme* 'what'; (2) disjunctive questions, which include those with *haishi* 'or' connecting different alternative options and A-not-A questions; (3) tag questions, which are usually produced by adding an A-not-A fragment to a statement to elicit confirmation; (4) particle questions, which refer to questions suffixed by a question particle in Mandarin Chinese such as *ma*, *ne,* and *ba*. On the other hand, Liu et al. (1996) propose that there are three types of questions in Mandarin, including (1) wh-word questions (similar to Li and Thompson's (1981) question word questions), (2) yes-no questions (questions ending with a final particle), and A-not-A questions.

[6] In the present study, A-not-A questions refer to questions with the A-not-A fragment preceding the main predicate while particle tag questions are tag questions formed with a final particle like *ma* or *ne*.

Table 11 Distribution of different types of interrogatives

	A-not-A	Particle tag	Total
Number	21	7	28
Percentage	75	25	100
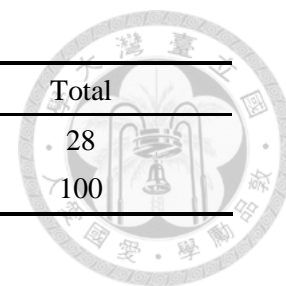
Table 11 above demonstrates that much more instances of A-no-A interrogatives (75%) than particle tag questions (235%) are formulated to serve the function of a directive in writing tutorials. A-not-A questions, among different types of interrogatives, thus appear to be a more preferred form for Mandarin-speaking tutors to construct directives. This distribution pattern may be due to the fact that according to Li and Thompson (1981), A-not-A questions do not function to confirm an assumption, while particle questions sometimes do (p. 550). This type of questions may thus be less imposing than particle questions when used as directives and can help the tutor mitigate the force of the speech act.

4.3.1. A-not-A questions

Although the A-not-A fragment can occur in the middle or at the end of a clause, the clause-medial use is much more commonly treated as a directive. In the following two extracts, the tutor uses an A-not-A question (Li & Thompson, 1981) to issue the directive. These questions can be deemed to serve as a directive in part based on the tutee's response in the following turn(s).

For example, in (4.17), the tutor first formulates an A-not-A question (*ni yao-bu-yao nian yixia* 'Would you like to read it?') to invite the tutee to read the text out loud and then uses a statement together with a tag question (*keyi ma* 'can you?') to identify the sentence from which the tutee should start reading. As can be seen from W04's question *wo nian ma* 'Should I read it?' in line 5, the questions are understood by the tutee to some extent as a request or directive. T02's use of the acknowledgement token

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shi 'yes' also supports this interpretation.

(4.17) A-not-A question
01 T02: → 你 要不要 簡單 唸 一下. 我們 從 with 到 EDM
        ni yaobuyao jiandan nian yixia. women cong with dao EDM
        2SG want.NEG.want simple read a.bit 1PL from to
02 → 這個, 第一個 EDM 這邊, 可以 嗎?
        zhege, diyige EDM zhebian, keyi ma?
        this.CL first.CL here can Q
03 W04: 嗯.
        uhn.
        INT
04 T02: 從 with huge 那邊.
        cong with huge nabian.
        from there
05 W04: 我 唸 嗎?
        wo nian ma
        1SG read Q
06 T02: 是.
        shi.
        COP

'T02: Would you like to read it? Let's read from *with* to *EDM*. Here, the first *EDM*. Is that okay?
W04: Uhn.
T02: From *with huge*.
W04: Should I read it?
T02: Yes.'

On the other hand, in (4.18) below, the tutor first lays out a *wh*-question in lines 1 and 2 to elicit clarification from W01. After the tutee's explanation, T04 then produces an A-not-A question along with a question particle *ne* in line 11, to point out a potential misspelling that the tutee should correct. W01 confirms with the correction and apologize for the typo. The tutee's reaction shows that the tutor's use of the interrogative is received as a directive rather than a real question.

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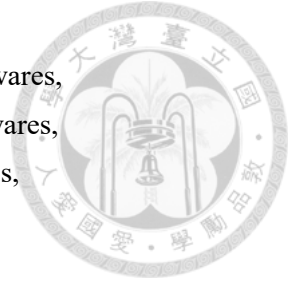
(4.18) A-not-A question

01 T04: 然後, 接下來, 第二句, 　　　 你 說::: there are three:: wares,
　　　　 ranhou, jiexialai, dierju, 　　　 ni shuo ::: there are three:: wares,
　　　　 then　　 next　　 second.sentence 2SG say there are three wares,

02 　　　 這裡的　 wares 是　 什麼　 意思.
　　　　 zhelide　 wares shi　 shenme yisi.
　　　　 here.ASSC　　 COP what　 meaning

03 W01: 就是, 本來　　 是　 想　 要　 講　 三　 波, 就是,
　　　　 jiushi, benlai　 shi　 xiang yao jiang san　 po,　 jiushi,
　　　　 that.is originally COP think want say three wave that.is

04 T04: 喔:::
　　　　 ou:::
　　　　 INT

05 W01: 整篇　　 文章　　 裡面, 是　 分析　 了　 三次的,
　　　　 zhengpian wenzhang limian, shi　 fenxi　 le　 sancide,
　　　　 this.CL　　 article　　 inside　 COP analyze ASP three.CL.ASSC

06 　　　 交鋒,　　 這樣子.
　　　　 jiaofeng,　　 zheyangzi.
　　　　 confrontation this.way

07 T04: okay
　　　　 Okay

08 W01: 嗯
　　　　 uhn
　　　　 INT

09 T04: 好
　　　　 hao
　　　　 okay

10 　　　 (1.1)

11 T04: → 那　 是不是　　　 要　 寫 three, three waves 呢?
　　　　　 na　 shibushi　　　 yao　 xie three, three waves ne?
　　　　　 that COP.NEG.COP want write　　　　　　　　 Q

12 　　　 (1.3)

13 W01: 喔, 對, 應該　 是 waves 吼. (h)不好意思(h).
　　　　 ou, dui, yinggai shi waves hoN.　 (h) buhaoyisi (h).
　　　　 INT right should COP　　 FP　　 sorry

'T04: And then, next, the second sentence. You wrote *there are three wares*. What do you mean
　　 by three wares?

　 W01: I intended to say three waves. That is,

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T04: Oh.

W01: This article analyzes three confrontations.

T04: Okay.

W01: Mm.

T04: Okay.

T04: Then did you mean to write *three waves*?

W01: Oh. Yeah. It should be *waves*. I'm so sorry!'

The two above examples show tha A-not-A questions can indeed be used and understood umambigiously as directives in writing tutoring interaction, regardless of the verb or modal used in the A-not-A phrase.

4.3.2. Particle tag questions

In addition to A-not-A questions, tutors may also use a statement with a particle tag question to issue a directive, as illustrated in (4.19) below. In this extract, the tutor formulates in lines 1 and 2 a statement with the first person plural as the subject together with a particle-based tag question to propose the scope of that very tutorial session, i.e. the organization and logic of the writing. By producing three tokens of *uhn* in line 3, W06 indicates her acceptance of the tutor's proposal.

(4.19) Particle tag question

```
01 T05:→  好. 那  我們  今天 就 先:::::,     改    你的      那個    架構
          hao. na   women jintian jiu xian:::::, gai   nide      nage    jiagou
          okay that 1PL    today just first      correct 2SG.GEN that.CL structure

02        和  邏輯  思緒.    好  嗎.
          han luoji sixu.      hao ma
          and logic thinking okay Q

03 W06:  嗯  嗯  嗯.
          uhn uhn uhn
          INT INT INT
```

'T05: Alright. Let's look at your organization and flow, okay?

  W06: Mm mm mm.'

As displayed in the example above, by adding the particle tag question to her proposal statement, T05 successfully characterisizes her turn as a directive and elicits an agreeing response from the tutee (Stivers & Rossano, 2010).
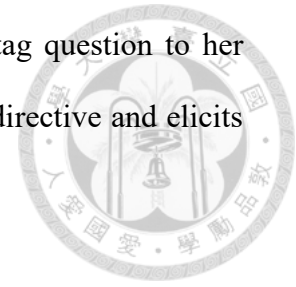
4.3.3. The ambiguity of interrogatives as directives

Although some other instances of interrogatives in our data can potentially function as a directive, however, looking at these examples more closely, we find that the tutor' use of interrogatives is often not treated as a directive by the tutee, and as a result, the tutor has to either abandon the attempt or reformat the directive to make it more explicit. For example, in (4.20) below, T04 puts forth a question about whether the reviewers asked the tutee to elaborate on his research methodology. The question appears to be formatted in the attempt to suggest that the methodology part may need more elaboration. This is further evidenced in T04's explanation in line 6 that not much is mentioned about the methodology. However, the tutee seems to treat the interrogative as a real question and does not capture the possible directive meaning behind the question.

(4.20) Misinterpreted interrogative

01 T04: →然後::::::.(.)　那,(.)　審稿的::,　　那個:::,　回覆的　　意見　　有::,

　　　　ranhou::::::.(.) na ,(.) shengaode::, nage:::, huifude　yijian　you::,

　　　　then　　　　　that　review.ASSC that.CL reply.ASSC opinion have

02　　→有沒有　　　　　希望　　你　再　對　研究　　方法, 再　多

　　　　youmeiyou　　　xiwang ni　　zai　dui yanjiu　fangfa, zai　duo

　　　　have.NEG.have hope 2SG again toward research method again much

03　　　做　一點　說明.

　　　　zuo yidian shuoming.

　　　　do　a.bit　explanation

03 W01: 倒是::,　　還 好.

　　　　daoshi::,　hai hao.

　　　　in.contrast still okay

04 T04: 還 好　就 是.

　　　　hai hao　jiu shi

　　　　still okay just COP

05 W01: 嗯.

　　　　uhn

　　　　INT

06 T04: 好.　因為　這邊　的話::, 就,(.) 比較　沒有　　　提到::,

　　　　hao　yinwei zhebian dehua ::,jiu ,(.) bijiao meiyou　　tidao ::,

　　　　okay because here　if　just　more　NEG.have mention

07 W01: 嗯.

　　　　Uhn.

　　　　INT

08 T04: 研究　　方法. 那　如果 他 沒有,　　特別的::,　　建議　　就 okay

　　　　yanjiu　fangfa. na　ruguo ta meiyou　　tebiede ::,　jianyi　jiu okay

　　　　research method that if　3SG NEG.have special.ASSC advice　just okay

09　　這樣子.

　　　　zheyangzi

　　　　this.way

'T04: Did the reviewers ask you to elaborate on your methodology in the comments?

W01: Not really.

T04: Okay. Because you didn't mention much (about your methodology) here.

W01: Mm.

T04: If they didn't have any comments specifically about your methodology, then that's fine.'

Extract (4.21) below constitutes another example. In line 1, T05 asks the tutee if people in their field all know the definition of a particular term. This inquiry may be suggesting that this term is too technical and needs some more explanation. This directive meaning is made more explicit in the tutor's second question in line 6. Nevertheless, the tutee seems to treat both interrogatives as information-seeking questions and fails to react to the tutor's turns as directive action. Although T05 seems to concede in line 12, she does not change the topic after that; instead, she tries different ways to convey her stance about the writer's use of terminology and the necessity of elaborating on the term, which may indicate that the question she produces in lines 1 to 2 is the initial part of her directive action.

(4.21) Misinterpreted interrogative

```
01 T05: → .h, 我:::    嗯::::: .h 你們 那個  領域  都  知道  這個,  這個,
            .h,  wo:::   un ::::: .h nimen nage lingyu dou zhidao zhege,   zhege,
            1SG   INT    2PL   that.CL field   all   know this.CL   this.CL
02       →這個的      定義      是 什麼   嗎. 這個  是  什麼  意思.
            zhegede      dingyi    shi shenme ma. zhege shi   shenme yisi.
            his.CL.ASSC definition COP what   Q   this.CL COP what     meaning
03       就是 positivity
            jiushi positivity
            that.is
04 W05:  向度.
            xiangdu.
            dimension
05 T05:  向度.  所以   都  知道,  還是,
            xiangdu. suoyi dou zhidao, haishi,
            dimension so   all   know     or
06 W05:  應該  是     會   知道
            yinggai shi    hui   zhidao
            should COP    will   know
07 T05:  是  基本的,   還- 還是  說, 需要  再   稍微,   解釋   一點點
            shi jibende,   hai- haishi shuo, xuyao zai  shaowei, jieshi   yidiandian
            COP basic.NOM    or    say    need again slightly   explain a.little.bit
```

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08 W05: 你 是 說, 這, 這個 詞 嗎?
      ni shi shuo, zhe, zhege ci   ma?
      2SG COP say   this   this.CL word Q

09 T05: 對.
      dui.
      right

10   (1.5)

11 W05: 嗯:::::, 我 好像 沒有 看過 會 解釋 這個 詞 的.
      uhn::::, wo haoxiang meiyou   kanguo hui jieshi zhege ci   de.
      INT   1SG seem   NEG.have see.ASP will explain this.CL word NOM

12 T05: okay, 好
      okay, hao
          okay

'T05: Does everyone in your field know what this means? I mean, positivity.

W05: Dimension.

T05: Dimension. So everyone knows it or…

W05: They should know it.

T05: Is it a basic term or do you need to provide some explanations?

W05: Do you mean this word?

T05: Yeah.
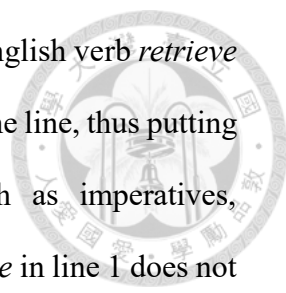
W05: Well, I don't remember seeing anyone explaining this word.

T05: Okay. Alright.'

Also noteworthy in this instance is that T05 uses a canonical particle question rather than a particle tag question, as mentioned earlier. The choice in form may also contribute to such a miscommunication. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, interrogatives tend to be used for certain functions, but not others, which may provide some insights into the interaction between the directive action, its realization form and the institutional functions in Chinese institutional discourse.

4.4. Phrasal resources

Finally, in addition to the three major constructions discussed above, tutors may also use phrasal devices to indicate a directive action. For example, in (4.22) below,

quoting a part from the tutee's writing, T02 produces in line 1 the English verb *retrieve* and adds some stress on the target preposition *at* at the end of the same line, thus putting forward a suggestion without using clausal constructions such as imperatives, interrogatives or declaratives. It should be noted that the verb *retrieve* in line 1 does not function as the predicate of an imperative in the ongoing interaction; rather, it is used metalinguistically to direct the tutee's attention to a particular verb present in the text in question. In order to make sure that his suggestion in line 1 is correct, T02 formats a question in line 3 to confirm the meaning that the tutee would like to convey. Confirmed by W16 in line 4, T02 elaborates on the advice in line 5 by adding in Mandarin Chinese the kind of noun that can follow *at* in English.

This instance shows that to issue a directive, the tutor does not necessarily have to format a complete clause. Instead, only by means of the use of contextualization cues such as intontation (line 1) and code-switching between English and Chinese (lines 1 and 5) (cf. Gumperz, 1982), the tutor can successfully issue a directive and indicate the illocutionary force as the interaction unfolds. Moreover, institutional characteristics, such as the purpose of the tutoring interaction and the use of materials such as a hard copy of the tutee's writing at which both parties can direct their attention, make it possible for the tutor to issue a directive without producing a clause.

(4.22) Phrasal directive

01 T02: → 然後, **retrieve AT,**
        ranhou, **retrieve AT,**
        then

02 W16: 嗯.
        uhn
        INT

03 T02: 因為 這 是 絕對的 點 嘛, 對不對.
        yinwei zhe shi jueduide dian me, duibudui.
        because this COP absolute.ASSC point Q right.NEG.right

04 W16: 對.
        dui
        right

05 T02: → 然後, **at, 那個 絕對的 點.**
        ranhou, **at, nage jueduide dian.**
        then that.CL absolute.ASSC point

06 W16: 嗯.
        uhn
        INT

'T02: And then, *retrieve at*.'
  W16: Mm.
  T02: Because this is an absolute location, right?
  W16: Right.
  T02: So, *at*, this absolute location.
  W16: Mm.'

Extract (4.23) below is another example in which the tutor only uses phrasal devices to mark the suggested phrase and thus form a directive action. In this instance, T01 directly puts forth the expressions that he suggests W17 use without any clausal patterns signaling the illocutionary force of the utterance. Similar to the case in (4.22) above, the tutor uses cues, such as intonation (e.g., pauses) and codeswitching (from Chinese to English), to contextualize the turn in line 4 as a piece of advice and thus a directive action. The fact that prior to line 4 in (4.23), the dyad has been involved in the collaborative activity of finding the appropriate term for what W17 intends to express

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also provides a context for such an interpretation. Finally, the tutee's confirmation question formatted in line 6 further supports our analysis that the utterance in line 4 is indeed treated as a directive action by the participants.
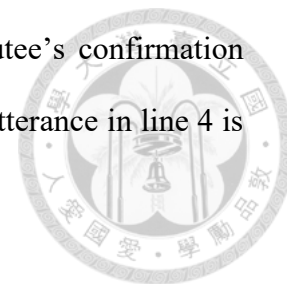
(4.23) Phrasal directive
01 T01: 就是, 就是 多　新的　　　一個. new outgoing UE,
　　　　 jiushi, jiushi duo　xinde　　　 yi.CL. new outgoing UE,
　　　　 that.is that.is more new.NOM　one
02 W17: 其實　他 自己　沒有　　　發. 是　基地台　　　在　找　　他.
　　　　 qishi　ta ziji　meiyou　　fa shi　jiditai　　　zai zhao ta.
　　　　 actually 3SG self　NEG.have emit COP　base.station ASP seek 3SG
03　　　 基地台　　要　找,　找到　　他們.
　　　　 jiditai　　yao　zhao, zhaodao tamen.
　　　　 base.station want find　　find　　3PL
04 T01: → **new**::::, (0.2) **new UE, platform,** (0.3) **incoming.**
05　　　 (1.2)
06 W17: 就 new UE 這樣　　嗎.
　　　　　jiu new UE zheyang ma
　　　　　just　　　this.way Q
'T01: So, there is an additional new outgoing UE.
　W17: Actually it does not send out signals. It's the base station that will find it. The base station has to find them.
　T01: *new… new UE, platform…incoming*.
　W17: So I just say *new UE*?'
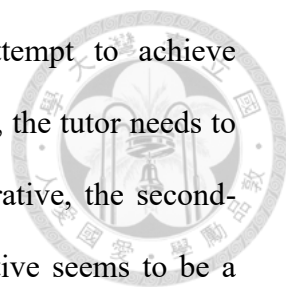
In sum, while out data suggests that tutors prefer to use clausal units to formulate directives, this speech act can still be realized in the form of a phrase, given enough context and (para)linguistic cues. The tutorial participants' engagement in the institutional interaction and their joint attention to the tutee's document allow the tutee to understand these phrases as directives in the ongoing conversation.

4.5. Intersubjectivity in the form of directives

The results presented above suggest that the tutors' use of different patterns to

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realize a directive displays intersubjectivity or at least the attempt to achieve intersubjectivity in a number of ways. First, to carry out a directive, the tutor needs to deploy linguistic devices that engage the tutee, such as the imperative, the second-person modal or interrogatives. As a result, while issuing a directive seems to be a speaker-initiated, monological act, it is in fact a process that involves both subjects in the conversation. Moreover, mitigating devices such as downtoning adverbials (e.g., *yixia* 'a bit' and *keneng* 'possibly') and modals (e.g., *keyi* 'can') are often observed in the instances of directives found in our data, although the tutors may appear or be expected to be more knowledgeable about the conventions of English academic writing and thus hold higher authority in this context. This indicates that when issuing a directive, tutors still need to take the tutee's feeling into consideration (Traugott & Dasher, 2001) and to save each other's face (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Second, whether an utterance or a turn launched by the tutor is treated as a directive depends not only on the intention of the speaker, but also on the mutual understanding of the tutor-tutee dyad. On the one hand, the examples of phrasal directives suggest that given contextual information and prior interaction, the tutor can issue a directive successfully without producing a complete clause. On the other hand, some structures, such as interrogatives, may cause misinterpretation and other interactional problems, if the tutor and the tutee do not achieve common ground or intersubjectivity. Similar forms may thus lead to remarkably different consequences.

Third, as suggested in our discussion, some directives are formulated to clarify or elaborate on a previous directive. For example, an imperative directive can be formatted to make clear the directive force of a declarative directive produced previously, while an interrogative imperative can be issued to specify the action that the tutor invites the tutee to carry out in a prior utterance. Meanwhile, some directives, such as simple negative imperatives, usually do not occur by themselves but have to be used together

with other acts to address the addressee's emotion. This indicates that the use of directives not only involves but also helps construct intersubjectivity in writing tutorial interaction (Du Bois, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006).
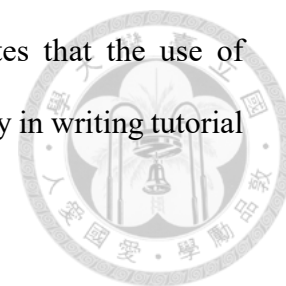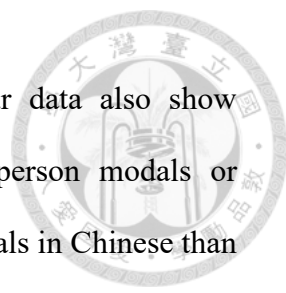
4.6. Chapter summary

In sum, similar to the findings reported in studies of directives in other languages, a variety of linguistic patterns are found to constitute a directive action in the current dataset, and each construction also has variations or sub-patterns, as displayed in Table 12 below. Nevertheless, while an amount of previous research on directives focuses on imperatives and interrogatives (e.g., Curl & Drew, 2008; Rossi, 2012; Waring & Hruska, 2012), our results indicate that the declarative is the most frequent type of constructions found to realize a directive in Mandarin-based EFL writing tutorials in Taiwan, which is in agreement with previous findings on US-based writing center interaction conducted primarily in English (Ritter, 2002). Also similar to what has been observed in prior studies, the modal declarative substantially outnumbers other constructions that can be used to be a directive in writing tutorials (cf. Ritter, 2002).

Table 12 Subtypes and features of each directive form

	Sub-types	Other features
Declarative	-modal declaratives -[subject + *jiu*] -NCC fragments -*wo juede*	-most diverse -most frequent
Imperative	-simple -complex	-modified by particles -often along with conditional constructions
Interrogative	-A-not-A questions -particle tag questions	-not commonly used -often misleading
Phrasal	-verb phrase -noun phrase	-context-driven -confirmation may be needed

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Regardless of these commonalities, directives found in our data also show particular language-specific characteristics. For example, third-person modals or modals with an overt subject are far more frequently found in tutorials in Chinese than in English. On the other hand, interrogatives are rather infrequent as a directive in this type of institutional discourse. Finally, in Mandarin-based EFL tutorial interaction, contextualization cues such as intonation and the switch between English and Mandarin can be used as resources when the tutor issues a directive, which is rarely, if ever, reported in the US- or English-based research on directives and writing centers.

Although the realization forms of directives in Mandarin-based tutorials may appear to be diverse and unpredictable, they are in fact related to the purpose that each directive is deployed to achieve in the institutional encounter. In other words, the form of a directive is largely shaped by its function in that specific context. The next chapter will elucidate the major functions that the instances of directives may serve in the writing tutorial discourse.

Chapter 5 Interaction Between Forms and Institutional Functions of Directives
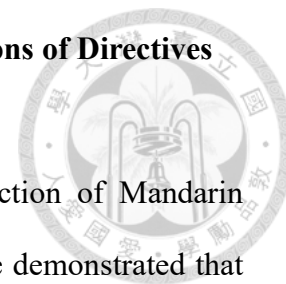
This chapter examines the link between the form and function of Mandarin directives in EFL graduate writing tutorials. In the last chapter, we demonstrated that the directive action in writing tutoring interaction can be realized in a wide range of constructions in Mnadarin Chinese. As reviewed in Chapter 2, previous scholars have found that the particular form used to realize a directive is in fact influenced by a number of socio-interactional factors, such as politeness (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1990; Brown & Levinson, 1987), entitlement, contingency (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008) and the beneficiary relationship between the speakers (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Rossi, 2012). In order to accout for the realization patterns of directive actions in our data, we will put forth a taxonomy of functions that directives can serve in writing tutorials and pinpoint the common devices employed to serve each function. Based on these findings, we will then discuss the interaction between the form and function of the directive in section 5.4.

The instances of directives found in our dataset can be divided into three functional categories: advice-giving directives (AGDs), tutorial-managing directives (TMDs), and rapport-building directives (RBDs). Table 13 below reveals the distribution pattern of the three types of directives. The majority of directives (91.35%) in the writing tutorial discourse are the advice-giving directives, a tendency that may be linked to the primary goal of such institutional interaction (Park, 2015; Waring, 2005, 2012). The second most recurrent function of a directive in writing tutorials is to mangage the progress of the tutorial, which accounts for 8.09% of the instances. Finally, a rather small proportion of the directives (0.56%) is devoted to the function of rapport-building.
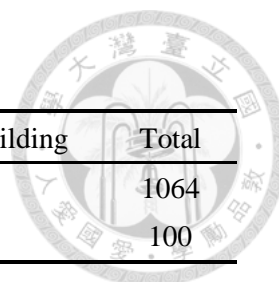
Table 13 Frequency distribution of each functional type of directive

	Advice-giving	Tutotrial-managing	Rapport-building	Total
Number	969	87	8	1064
Percentage	91.07	8.18	0.75	100

In what follows, we will illustrate the characteristics of these three general types of directives and identify the common verbs and other recurrent devices found with diretives in each category. Furthermore, in support of Couper-Kuhlen's (2014) argument, we observe that the form in which the directive is realized is in fact restricted and conventionalized and is indeed largely related to the more specific socio-interactional function that the directive serves in writing tutorial discourse.

5.1. Advice-giving directives (AGDs)

As mentioned above, the most frequent type of directives in the writing tutorial discourse is the advice-giving directives (AGDs). Insofar as obtaining advice on English writing is one of the major purposes of the tutee attending a writing tutorial meeting (Park, 2015; Waring, 2005, 2012), it is natural that the tutor produces a large number of utterances for this function. The ADGs found in our data are issued to address specific issues, such as fixing problems in the document(s) that the dyad is working on, and/or to achieve general goals, such as improving the tutee's writing skills in English.

5.1.1. Realization forms of the AGD

In addition to its overwhelmingly high frequency, the AGD is also realized in the widest range of constructions among the three. In fact, almost all of the major constructions discussed in Chapter 4 are used to formulate an AGD. Many of them,

such as the first-person singular modal (5.1), NCC fragments (5.2) and the *wo juede* marker (5.3), serve primarily, or only, this function, when used as a directive, as illustrated in the following extracts.
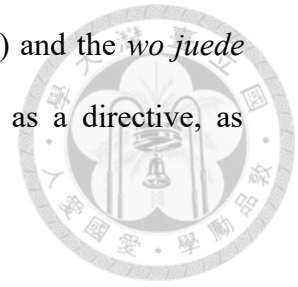
(5.1) Modal declarative

01 T01: 然後, 前面　　的　　　部份, .h. 因為　你　　要　　　強調.
　　　　ranhou, qianmian de　　bufen h. yinwei　ni　　yao　　qiangdiao
　　　　then　　front　　ASSC part　　because 2SG　want　emphasize

02 W02: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

03 T01:➔好::. 嗯, 有,　有 兩個　　方式　可以 說.　按照 我 自己 的 方式,　**我**
　　　　hao::. uhn, you, you liangge fangshi keyi shuo. anzhao wo ziji　de fangshi, **wo**
　　　　good INT have have two.CL method can say　　follow 1SG self GEN method 1SG

04　　　➔**會 先, 提出　　這個　　一個　新的.**
　　　　hui xian tichu　　zhege　　yige　xinde
　　　　will first bring.up this.CL　one　new.NOM

05 W02: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

'T01: Then, as for the previous part, because you need to emphasize it.
 W02: Mm.
 T01: Okay. There are two ways to say it. Following my own way, I would bring this new one
　　　up first.
 W02: Mm.''

(5.2) NCC declarative

01 T03: →另外的::,　　一個　　查法　　　　　就　是:::, 你　可能　就是:::, 去,

           lingwaide::,　yige　　chafa　　　　jiu　shi:::, ni　keneng jiushi:::, qu,

           another.ASSC one.CL search.method just COP　　2SG possible that.is　go

02 　　　　→去 google, 看　人家　怎麼　　使用.

           qu google, kan renjia zenme shiyong.

           go　　　　　see others how　　use

02 W15: 嗯.

           uhn.

           INT

'T03: Another way to know how to use the word is that you can google it and see how other
       people use it.

 W15: Mm.'

(5.3) *Wo juede* construction

01 T02:→我-,　我　覺得，如果　是　我　的話, 你　可能, 這邊　可以　寫,

           wo-, wo juede, ruguo shi wo dehu, ni keneng, zhebian keyi xie,

           1SG 1SG think　if　　COP 1SG if, 2SG possible here can write

02 　　　就是 用, 那個, while 或 whereas 的　　句型, 來　　作 比較.　　　 (.h)

           jiushi yong, nage, while huo whereas de　juxing, lai　zuo bijiao.　　　 (.h)

           that.is use that.CL　　　or　　　　ASSC pattern come do comparison

03 　　　譬如　　　說,　你 就 說, while, the 什麼 東西,

           piru　　　shuo,　ni　jiu shuo, while, the shenme dongxi,

           for.example say　2SG JIU say　　　　　　 what　stuff

04 W16: 嗯.

           uhn.

           INT

'T02: I think, if I were you, I would use the *while* or *whereas* pattern to make a comparison.
    For example, you can say, while the something,

 W16: Mm.'

Moreover, phrasal directives are also found to serve only the function of advice-giving in particular. For example, in (5.4) below, T02 reads the target sentence from lines 1 to 3, and by means of switching to Mandarin Chinese and adding the prosodic stress on *and* in line 3, he puts forth a piece of advice on grammar, reminding the tutee

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of adding a conjunction before the last item in a list. The tuttee receives the advice with an acknowledgement token *uhn* in line 4 without any doubt about the nature of the action that the prior turn is designed for. The tutor's quoting of the phrases from the tutee's writing and the advice sequence in which the dyas is engaging further allow the phrasal utterances in (5.4) to be treated unequivocally as a directive action.

(5.4) Phrasal AGD
```
01 T02: 這樣    okay 吼.   (0.4) sounds of mahjhong, firecracker, (.)
        zheyang okay hoN. (0.4) sounds of mahjhong, firecracker, (.)
        this.way okay FP
02      temple cultural celebration. TV noise, market chant (0.6) uhn:::,(.)
03   →然後,   AND.(.) 最後 一個.   AND Taiwanese opera.
        ranhou AND (.) zuihou yige.   and   Taiwanese opera.
        then              final  one.CL
04 W04: 嗯.
        uhn.
        INT
```
'T02: Is that okay? *Sounds of mahjhong, firecracker, temple, cultulra celebration. TV noise, market chant, uhn..*, and *and*. The last one. *And Taiwanese opera*.
  W04: Mm.'

Despite the diversity in the realization form, AGDs produced by the five tutors seem to demonstrate certain commonalities. Most noticeably, in comparison with the other two types of directives, AGDs are much more frequently produced in the form of a declarative than the other constructions. Second- and third-person modals, in particular, are two of the most prevalent patterns among various declarative constructions (cf. Ritter, 2002). Modals like *keyi* 'can' and *yao* 'have to' are the most common ones used in this pattern.

In fact, as shown in extracts (5.5) and (5.6) below, the second person modal *ni keyi* 'you can' is used so frequently that it seems to be emerging as a prefabricated expression to preface advice in such institutional discourse (cf. Fox & Heinemann, 2016). That is,

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when giving advice, tutors would often produce a subject-modal fragment in the beginning of a turn or an utterance to adumbrate an upcoming suggestion. Occasionally, the tutor may switch to another topic or reformulate the following turn. As shown in (5.5), T01 puts forth two tokens of *ni keyi* 'you can' in lines 1 and 2 to preface his advice for the tutee. Although the tutor does make a short pause after the fragment and keeps repairing his turn, the tutee does not interrupt until he finishes the conditional clause in line 2. The subject-modal fragment thus seems to allow the speaker to sustain the turn and characterize the following utterances as advice.

(5.5) Second-person modal
```
01 T01: →你 可以 sh-, 如果 你 在  你的     me-, methodology 的    部份, 你
          ni   keyi sh-, ruguo ni  zai  nide       me-, methodology de    bufen, ni
          2SG can        if    2SG at  2SG.GEN                          ASSC part 2sg
02      →可以, 如果  你 在   想  要,(.h)  acknowledge 他,
          keyi, ruguo   ni zai  xiang yao, (.h)   acknowledge ta,
          can   if    2SG ASP think want    acknowledge 3SG
03 W03: 嗯 哼
          uhn hun
          INT INT
04 T01: 有 兩個    地方    可以 acknowledge 他.就是說,    你 可以   在
          you liangge difang   keyi acknowledge ta. jiushishuo,  ni   keyi   zai
          have two.CL place   can acknowledge 3SG that.is.to.say 2SG can    at
05      你的     acknowledgements.
          nide       acknowledgements.
          2SG.GEN    acknowledgements
06 W03: 嗯哼.
          uhn hun.
          INT INT
07 T01: 你的     acknowledgements,   的    部份.
          nide       acknowledgements,   de     bufen.
          2SG.GEN acknowledgements   ASSC    part
08 W03: 嗯.
          uhn.
          INT
```

09 T01: 提出:: 謝謝:: Professor xu- 薛

        tichu:: xiexie:: Professor xu- xue

        raise   thanks professor   PN

'T01: You can, if in the methodology section, you can, if you want to acknowledge him

 W03: Uhn huh.

 T01: there are two placess in which you can acknowledge him. That is, you can,

 W03: Uhn huh.

 T01: express your gratitude to Professor Xue,

 W03: Mm.

 T01: in the section of acknowledgements.'

Similiarly, in (5.6) below, T02 produces a second-person modal fragment *ni keneng keyi* 'you maybe can' in line 3; however, instead of finishing the clause with a verb to identify the action that he suggests the tutee take, he uses an exemplification marker *pirushuo* 'for example' to introduce a possible expression that the tutee can use in her writing, which may be considered ungrammatical in writing or prescriptive grammar. Again in this instance, the second-person modal fragment seems to function as a conventionalized construction that projects a particular type of action at least in institutional contexts such as a writing tutorial.
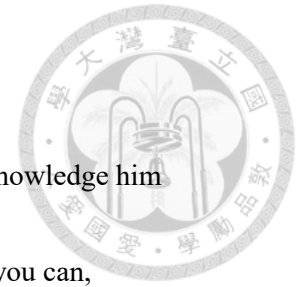
(5.6) Second-person modal

01 T02: 我-, 我 我, 通常　　習慣　會　是 aim at,
　　　　　wo-, wo wo,　tongchang xiguan hui　shi aim at,
　　　　　1SG 1SG 1SG usually　　habit　will COP aim at

02　　　(0.7)

03　　　doing something 啊. 或,　aim to do something. 比較 多::.　就是 你::,
　　　　doing something a.　huo, aim to do something.　bijiao duo::.　jiushi ni::,
　　　　doing something FP　or　aime to do something　more more　that.is 2SG

04 W04: 嗯 嗯.
　　　　uhn uhn.
　　　　INT INT

05 T02: →就是, 你, 目標　是 要 做 什麼　事. 所以 **你　可能　可以**,
　　　　　jiushi, ni,　mubiao shi　yao zuo shenme shi. suoyi **ni　keneng keyi,**
　　　　　that.is 2SG aim　COP want do what　thing so　2SG possible can

06　　　譬如說::,　an analysis aim at, uh::,
　　　　pirushuo::,　an analysis aim at, uh::,
　　　　for.example

07　　　(0.6)

08　　　我　也　不知道,　in-, investigate, examine, 或者　是　explore.
　　　　wo　ye　buzhidao,　in-, investigate, examine, huozhe shi　explore.
　　　　1SG also NEG.know　　　　　　　　　　　　　　or　　COP

09 W04: 喔.
　　　　ou.
　　　　INT

'T02: I usually would write *aim at doing something*, or, *aim to do something*. It's more
　　common. That is,
　W04: Mm mm.
　T02: what's your aim? So, you probably can write something like *an analysis aim at* er.. I
　　　don't know. *Investigate*, *examine* or *explore*
　W04: Oh.'

In addition to declaratives, imperatives are also found to realize an AGD in our

data. However, the imperatives used as AGDs is structurally different from those

employed as TMDs and RBDs in a number of ways. First, as will be discussed in the

following sections, imperatives used as TMDs or RBDs are mostly short and less

complex. Nevertheless, the imperative used to formulate an AGD tends to occur

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adjacent to a modifying clause, such as a conditional or a causal clause. In other words, the tutor often has to justify, explain or mitigate the imperative, as displayed in (5.7) below.
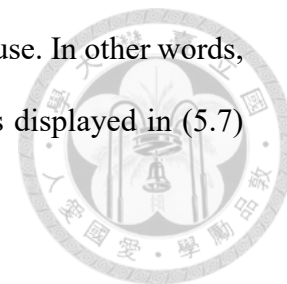
(5.7) Imperative

```
01 T04: 所以, 就   是   要  看  你, 這  三場,     的     公聽會,     指的
        suoyi, jiu  shi  yao kan ni, zhe sanchang, de   gongtinghui, zhide
        so    just  COP want see 2SG this three.CL  ASSC hearing     point.NOM

02      是    什麼.  是  一   種::,     很  廣泛的      概念的   公聽會,
        shi   shenme. shi yi  zhong::,  hen guangfande gainiande gongtinghui,
        COP   what    COP one kind      very general.ASSC concept.ASSC hearing

03    →還是    就是說,     特別,  特定的.      如果 是  特定     就 用
        haishi  jiushishuo, tebie, tedingde.    ruguo shi  teding    jiu yong
        or      that.is.to.say special specific.NOM  if   COP specific  just use

04      過去式.
        guoqushi.
        past.tense

05 W01: 嗯 哼   哼.
        uhn hun hun
        INT INT INT
```

'T04: So, it depends on what you mean by these three public hearings. Do they refer to the very general concept of hearings or to specific events? If they are specific events, use the past tense.

 W01: Mm mm mm.'

Also illustrated in (5.7) is the fact that the verb is often preceded by the adverbial particle *jiu* 'just, then,' a tendency not observed in other types of directives. This pattern seems to indicate that the directive issued involves a process of reasoning (Biq, 1988; Lai, 1999), which may also relate to one of AGDs' functions as an informing action. Meanwhile, the particle *jiu* may also allow the speaker to emphasize the directive, thus showing his or her point of view and persuding the addressee (Biq, 1988; Lai, 1999). Finally, the co-occurrence with a particle that can sometimes be translated as *just* in English also, according to previous studies on imperatives in different languages,

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reflects that the action that the imperative requests is of a more remote project (e.g., Heinemann & Steensig, 2017).

5.1.2. Common predicates in the AGD

Another feature of this type of directive is that unlike TMDs and RBDs, which tend to contain a restricted set of predicates (action verbs for TMDs and emotion predicates for RBDs), AGDs are issued with a variety of verbs, ranging from utterance verbs like *jiang* 'say' (5.8) to general action verbs like *fang* 'put' (5.9).

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(5.8) Utterance verb

01 T05: 誰:: 是 在 上面，　　然後　誰　在　下面　　是　什麼.

shei shi zai shangmian ranhou shei zai xiamian shi shenme.

who COP at top then who at bottom COP what

02 W05: 嗯.

uhn.

INT

03 T05: → 如果 是 　這樣　 的話, **上面　　　那個　當然　　　要　先　講**

ruguo shi zheyang dehua, **shangmian nage dangran yao xian jiang**

if COP this.way if top that.CL of.course want first say

04 　　　啊. 就 大 東西 要 　先　 講.

a. jiu da dongxi yao xian jiang

FP just big stuff want first say

05 W05: 好.

hao

okay

06 T05: 你 　才 會 　講 到 小的 　　來.

ni cai hui jiang dao xiaode lai

2SG then will say to small.NOM come

07 W05: 喔::, okay okay.

ou::, okay okay.

INT

'T05: (You have to figure out) what is higher in the hierarchy and what is at the lower end

W05: Mm.

T05: If that is so, things that are higher in the hierarchy have to be discussed first. That is, more general topics should be introduced earlier.

W05: Okay.

T05: And then you move on to the details.

W05: Oh. Okay, okay.'

Moreover, the *ba* construction, while said to be prevalent in different Mandarin Chinese constructions (Jing-Schmidt, 2005; Li & Thompson, 1981), is more often found in AGDs than in other directives in writing tutorials, as illustrated in (5.9) below.
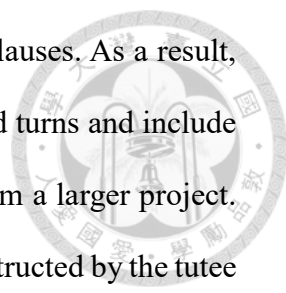
(5.9) *ba*-construction

01 W15: 那 我　那個,　　based on,　這個 也　　是,　放 在　下 一句.
　　　　na wo　nage,　　based on,　zhege　ye　shi, fang zai　xia yiju
　　　　that 1SG that.CL　　　　　this.CL also COP put at　next one.CL

02 T03: 嗯 嗯.　那就-,
　　　　uhn uhn　na jiu-,
　　　　INT INT that just

03 W15: 嗯.
　　　　Uhn
　　　　INT

04 T03: → 就　把　他　放 在 下　一句.　這樣　會 比較 明-,　明顯.
　　　　jiu　ba　ta　fang zai xia　yiju.　zheyang hui bijiao ming-, mingxian.
　　　　just BA 3SG　put at　next one.CL that.way will moire　obvious

W15: 喔:::. okay.
　　　ou:::. okay.
　　　INT　okay

'W15: Then, I'll put *based on* in the next sentence.
 T03: Mm mm. Then,
 W15: Mm.
 T03: Then put it in the next sentence. That will make it more clear.
 W15: I see. Okay.'

In line 1 of (5.9) above, the tutee formulates a statement to indicate that she would put the phrase *based on* in the next sentence and seek confirmation from the tutor. T03 first uses acknowledgement tokens *uhn uhn* to confirm the tutee's proposal and issues an AGD with the use of a *ba*-prefaced imperative. As can be seen from this example, while the tutee uses a common declarative to construct his turn in line 1, the tutor produces an imperative with the *ba* construction in line 4, although the two utterances appear to contain similar components (e.g., *fang zai xia yiju* 'put in the next sentence').

5.1.3. Other features of the AGD

Finally, the AGD, in stark contrast to the other two types of directive, tends to be structurally more complex. It is usually modified by various pragmatic markers like *jiu*

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and/or accompanied by other elements such conditional or causal clauses. As a result, the directive can and often does extend across several utterances and turns and include other supportive actions such as account and exemplification to form a larger project. Moreover, the AGD, although launched by the tutor, is often co-constructed by the tutee and the tutee. In other words, rather than being monological, the advice-giving action in EFL graduate writing tutorials is in fact dynamic and dialogical. Both participants contribute to the making of the directive, even though the tutors may be explicit and directive in their tutoring style.

5.2. Tutorial-managing directives (TMDs)

The second most frequent function of a directive found in our data is to allow the tutor to manage the tutorial. Tutorial-managing directives (TMDs) here refer to directive actions that are formatted to facilitate and orchestrate (part of) the tutoring interaction, including indicating the boundaries of tutoring activities, controlling the progress of the tutorial, and managing other institutional aspects of the encounter. In comparison to the advice-giving directive, TMDs are issued to achieve a more local, here-and-now project; as a result, the tutee would usually respond to the directive by expressing acceptance, carrying out the action or formatting a turn that may facilitate the completion of the action.

5.2.1. Realization forms of the TMD

In comparison with AGDs, TMDs are usually realized in a restricted set of forms, including mostly positive simple imperatives ((5.10) and (5.11)) and interrogatives (5.12), along with a few instances of first-person plural declaratives (5.13). These patterns, in contrast to those discussed in the section of AGDs, are more similar to constructions that past directive research tends to focus on in other languages (e.g.,

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Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Curl & Drew, 2008; Rossi, 2012).

(5.10) Imperative

01 T04: → 先 大致　介紹　一下 這 一　段.

      xian dazhi　jieshao　yixia zhe yi　duan

      first roughly introduce a.bit this one paragraph

02 W01: 呃::,

      uh::,

      INT

03 T04: 就是 這個　領域.

      jiushi zhege　lingyu

      that.is this.CL field

'T04: Please summarize the paragraph a bit first.

 W01: Well.

 T04: I mean the field.'

(5.11) Imperative as TMD [S08]

01 W08: 找 其中　一 種 social learning. 然後　去::, 研究 他::, 神經

      zhao cizhong yi zhong social learning. ranhou qu　yanjiu ta ::, shenjing

      find　among one kind　then　go　study 3SG nerve

02   生理機制,這樣.

      shengli jizhi, zheyang

      physiology mechanism this.way

03 T05: → 我 可以, 借　我 看 一下.

      wo　keyi, jie　wo kan yixia.

      1SG can　lend 1SG see a.bit

03 W08: 好　好 好.　這個 是::,　那個, 目錄.

      hao　hao hao. zhege　shi::,　nage,　mulu .

      okay okay okay this.CL COP　that.CL content

'W08: I chose one type of social learning and studied the neuro-biological mechanism.

 T05: Can I, let me read it for a moment.

 W08: Okay okay okay. This is the table of contents'

(5.12) Interrogative

01 T02: → uhn. 好. 那 你, 可不可以　　幫 我們　唸 一下，就是　從
　　　　　uhn. hao. **na　ni,　kebukeyi　　bang women nian yixia**, jiushi　cong
　　　　　INT okay that 2SG can.NEG.can help 1PL　　read a.bit　that.is from

02　　　 前面　　開始 唸, 然後　唸 到 一個 你 覺得 是 一個, 一個,
　　　　　qianmian kaishi nian ranhou nian dao yige　ni　juede shi　yige,　yige
　　　　　front　　start　read then　read to　one.CL 2SG feel COP one.CL one.CL

03 W18: uhn.
　　　　　INT

04 T02: 就是 像　你 剛才　講的　　嘛, 就是 一個 功能,　一個
　　　　　jiushi xiang ni gangcai jiangde　me, jiushi yige gongneng,　yige
　　　　　that.is like 2SG just　say.NOM FP that.is one.CL function one.CL

05　　　 功能 這樣子.
　　　　　gongneng zheyangzi
　　　　　function this.way

06 W18: uhn.
　　　　　INT

'T02: Mm. Okay. Then can you read it for us? Start from the beginnining and then stop at
　　　where you think is a,
　W18: Mm.
　T02: Just like what you just said, a function, a function.'

(5.13) First-person plural declarative

01 T03: → 嗯::,　okay. 我們　來, 先　來　看 這 段　　好 了.
　　　　　uhn::, okay. **women lai,　xian lai　kan zhe duan　　hao le.**
　　　　　INT　　　　　1SG　come first come see this paragraph okay FP

02 W10: 嗯哼.
　　　　　uhn hun
　　　　　INT INT

'T03: Mm. Okay. Let's take a look at this paragraph first.
　W10: Uhn huh.'

　　　It is also worth noting that, as shown in (5.12), when used as a directive, questions

are most often utilized to serve this function and usually work without any ambiguity

or negotiation between the tutor and the tutee, unlike the instances of interrogatives

discussed in Chapter 4. On the other hand, declaratives, especially second-person and

third-person modals, which are remarkably frequent in tutorials, are rarely found to serve this function instead.

5.2.2. Common predicates in the TMD

Another characteristic of TMDs is that they usually co-occur with an action or utterance verb, like *jieshao* 'introduce' (5.10), *jie* 'lend' (5.11), and *nian* 'read' (5.12), which can be carried out physically in the immediate context. The verb is often preceded by sequence words like *xian* 'first' as in (5.10) and (5.13) and suffixed by the hedge *yixia* 'a bit,' as exemplified in (5.11) and (5.12). These features are also associated with the here-and-now nature of the action that the speaker is getting the addressee to do. In contrast, the *ba* construction, while frequently employed to form an advice-giving directive, is rarely used to achieve the tutorial management function (cf. Jing-Schmidt, 2005).

5.2.3. Other features of the TMD

Finally, the TMD is also distinctive in its length and complexity. In contrast to RBDs, which usually have to co-occur with other speech acts in the same turn, TMDs can be and usually are formulated as an independent act in a single turn. On the other hand, when compared with AGDs, the turn in which a TMD is issued is less complex. Directive action is presented in a more straightforward fashion without any accounts, disclaimers, and other supporting devices. This again can be attributed to the fact the project in which a TMD is involved is usually an action that can and has to be accomplished in the here-and-now context and is highly linked to the procedure to which the tutor as the institutional representative is entitled (cf. Reinking, 2012; Ritter, 2002).

5.3. Rapport-building directives (RBDs)

Finally, a small group of directives is formed to build the rapport or supportive relationship between the tutor and the tutee, which has been considered to be one of the most important functions of writing centers for student writers (Leverenz, 2001; Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2013; Snively, 2008). This group of directives are usually used to address the tutee's affective need and to show the tutor's attention to the tutee's emotional well-being, which is considered one of the motivational strategies in Mackiewicz and Thompson's (2015) model.

5.3.1. Realization forms of the RBD

Among the three types of directives, RBDs are the least frequent in occurrence and most restricted in the form in which they can be realized. They are formulated mostly in the form of a negative simple imperative or a second-person modal with modals like *buyong* 'don't have to' or *buyao* 'don't,' as shown in (5.14) and (5.15) respectively.

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(5.14) Negative second-person modal

01 T01: 但是 架構, 架構 跟 你的, 就是, 大部份 的 內容 沒有,

danshi jiagou, jiagou gen nide, jiushi dabufen de neirong meiyou,

but structure structure with 2SG.GEN that.is majority ASSC conten NEG.have

02 沒有 太 大 的 問題.

Meiyou tai da de wenti.

Neg.have too big ASSC problem

03 W14: 嗯 哼

uhn hun.

INT INT

04 T01: 所以 這個,

suoyi zhege,

so this.CL

05 W14: okay.

okay.

06 T01:→ 所以 這個, 這個, **你，不用 太 擔心**.

suoyi zhege, zhege, **ni, buyong tai danxin**.

so this.CL this.CL 2SG NEG.use too worried

07 W14: 喔::.

ou::.

INT

'T01: But the structure, the structure, and your… I mean, most of your content doesn't have
big problems.

W14: Uhn hun.

T01: So, this,

W14: Okay.

T01: So, you don't have to be too worried about this.

W14: Oh.'

Other constructions discussed in Chapter 4 are not found to form an RBD in our data. This tendency indicates that this category, while containing rather few tokens found in our data, is remarkably consistent in the realization form. In other words, the link between the form and function of RBDs appears to be fairly strong and unignorable.

5.3.2. Common Predicates

In stark contrast to AGDs and RBDs, which may contain a range of verbs, only negative emotional predicates such as *danxin* 'worry' (5.14) and *jinzhang* 'nervous; anxious' (5.15) would occur in this type of directives, as illustrated in the two examples below. No other types of predicates are found to serve this particular function.
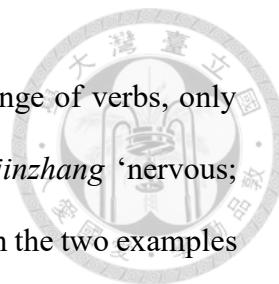
(5.15) Emotional predicate
01 W05: 這個　　嗎.
　　　　zhege　　ma
　　　　this.CL　Q
02 T05: → 嗯::, 等　一下　喔. 先　**不要**　　　**緊張**.
　　　　　uhn::, deng yixia　ou. xian **buyao**　　**jinzhang**.
　　　　　INT　wait a.bit　　FP first NEG.want nervous
03 W05: 喔::.
　　　　ou::.
　　　　INT
04 T05: 我 先　把 他　看　完.
　　　　wo xian ba　ta　kan wan.
　　　　1SG first BA 3SG see finish
'W05: Do you mean this?
　T05: Well, wait a minute. Don't be nervous.
　W05: Oh.
　T05: I'll finish reading it first.'

Moreover, in our data, negative emotion verbs also occur exclusively in RBDs. This appears to be a prefabricated or conventionalized way to construct such directives and fulfill this function.

5.3.3. Other features of the RBD

One more noteworthy feature of RBDs, which can also be observed in (5.14) and (5.15) above, is that unlike the other two types of directives, the RBD rarely constitutes a turn by itself. It often occurs along with other directives, oftentimes TMDs, and seems to function as a mitigator for other directive action carried out in the same turn. Extract

(5.16) below is another example of such use.

Prior to (5.16), W10 asks T03 if there is any way to improve her grammar. T03 suggests that W10 read her draft out loud after she finishes it as a strategy to detect if there is any grammatical error. The tutor further notes that grammar is the last thing that she has to deal with in academic writing. After presenting the suggestions, T03 then puts forth an instance of the RBD, *buyong tai danxin* 'don't have to worry that much' in line 6, in order to address the tutee's feeling and to support her own advice. We can see from this example again that the RBD, while serving a particular function in writing tutorial discourse, tends to occur with a directive that targets at other aspects of the interaction.

(5.16) Negative simple imperative

01 T03: 是　藉由　你,　嘴巴　跟那個　耳朵的　那個,　feedback,　會
　　　　shi　jieyou ni,　zuiba　gen nage　erduode　nage,　feedback,　hui
　　　　COP via　2SG mouth with that.CL ear.ASSC that.CL　　　will

02　　　非常　明顯.
　　　　feichang mingxian.
　　　　very　obvious

03 W10: 喔::.
　　　　ou
　　　　INT

04 T03: 對.　那是　最後,　最後　才　弄的.
　　　　dui.　na shi　zuihou, zuihou cai　nongde .
　　　　right that COP final　final　then deal.with.NOM

05 W10: 嗯::.
　　　　uhn
　　　　INT

06 T03:→其他::, 還 好. **不用　太　擔心.**　.hhh
　　　　qita ::, hai hao. **buyong tai　danxin.** .hhh
　　　　other still okay NEG.use too worry

07 W10: 好.
　　　　hao
　　　　good

'T03: If you can get feedback from your mouth and ear, it'll be very noticeable.
　W10: I see.
　T03: Right. That's the very last thing you have to deal with.
　W10: Mm.
　T03: The rest of it is okay. Don't have to be too worried.
　W10: Okay.'

Although RBDs can to some extent also support the tutorial management function, they are not directly and necessarily related to the organization and activity of tutorial interaction. They also demonstrate several distinctive characteristics from TMDs, including the construction and co-occurring verb, and should thus be considered as a separate category.

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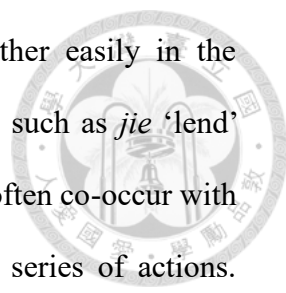
5.4. Interaction between form and function

The two previous sections have revealed the common forms and functions of Mandarin directive actions in EFL writing tutorials. Based on the findings that have been presented, in what follows, we will discuss in more detail the pragmatic factors that may give rise to such distribution patterns, including immediacy of the action and contingency of the tutee, the participation framework, and the knowledge invovled in writing tutorials. As will be elucidated in the discussion, each of the factors influences the forms of three types of directives in nuanced yet significant ways.

5.4.1. Immediacy and contingency of the action

The first set of pragmatic factors in focus is the the immediacy and contingency of the action. The former refers to how soon the action is required to be carried out (Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen, 2017; Zinken & Deppermann, 2017), while the latter concerns how able or willing the addressee is to carry out the action (Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008). With regard to the immediacy of the action, TMDs and RBDs primarily involve actions that need to be performed here and now, immediately after the directive, while AGDs usually pertain to changes to be made in the more remote future, some time after the tutorial. Similarly, the requests proposed in TMDs and RBDs are usually actions that are more likely to be performed by the tutee without much difficulty (low contingency); nevertheless, AGDs many sometimes present suggestions that may not be carried out easily or willingly by the tutee (high contingency), because the tutee may resist the advice out of personal or professional reasons (cf. Waring, 2005). Our data shows that these two factors may be related to a number of structural features of the three types of directives.

The first and most obvious trait linked to immediacy and contingency is the choice of the predicate and the predicate's modifier. TMDs usually contain action or agentive

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verbs representing actions that can be physically carried out rather easily in the immediate context in order to manage the progress of the tutorial, such as *jie* 'lend' (5.11) and *nian* 'read' (5.12). Furthermore, the predicates in TMDs often co-occur with sequence words like *xian* 'first,' which pertain to a process or a series of actions. Likewise, although RBDs do not request a physical action, the affective predicate that often appears in the RBD, such as *danxin* 'worry' (5.14) and *jinzhang* 'nervous; anxious' (5.15), is also related to an emotion state that can and need to be changed in the tutorial and is able to be fully controlled by the tutee. In contrast, tutors in general use less specific or more abstract verbs, such as *tichu* 'raise' (5.1), *yong* 'use' (5.7), and *jiang* 'say' (5.8). The frequent use of modals in the AGD turn also seems to suggest that the action needs not to be performed in the here-and-now context and that the tutee's contingency is taken into consideration (cf. Curl & Drew, 2008).

Another relevant feature is the design of the form in which the directive is realized. Previous studies in other languages have found that imperatives tend to be used to format directives related to a here-and-now project that is already under way (Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen, 2017; Raevaara, 2017; Zinken & Deppermann, 2017), while declaratives are mostly used to launch a new or future project (Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen, 2017; Raevaara, 2017). A similar pattern is also found in our data. AGDs, which are pertinent to actions in a more remote future, are usually realized in the form of a declarative, whereas TMDs and RBDs show a tendency to be formatted imperatively.

As regards the influence of contingency on the directive form, researchers suggest that requests formatted in modal questions are usually related to noncontingent, or unproblematic, actions, while those formatted as declaratives are usually linked to higher contingency, that is, the address may be expected to be less able or willing to carry out the request (cf. Curl & Drew, 2008). This may account for the fact that it is

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the TMD, which is less contingent, but not the AGD, that is more often realized in the form of a modal question.

Finally, the form of the same type of construction may also be influenced by these two factors. For example, both TMDs and RBDs are more often issued in the form of a short and simple imperative, while imperatively formatted AGDs tend to be longer and more complex. This may in part result from the fact that the former two need to be performed immediately and can be performed more easily. The tutor need not use too many hedges and other mitigators. However, in comparison, AGDs are usually formulated in the form of a traditionally deemed "indirect directive" (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Ritter, 2002) with many mitigators and disclaimers, and even when formatted as imperatives, they are often surrounded by conditionals and explanations. These are all signs of the tutor paying attention to the immediacy and contingency of the action (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010).

5.4.2. The participation framewok

The second pragmatic factor that may have impact on the form that a particular directive takes is the participation framework involved in that action. By participation framework, we are referring to how the speaker and the hearer are positioned in relation to an utterance in a social interaction (cf. Furman & Ozyurek, 2007; Goffman, 1981; Hutchby, 2014; Sorjonen et al., 2017). The three types of directives proposed in this dissertation tend to demonstrate different participation frameworks.
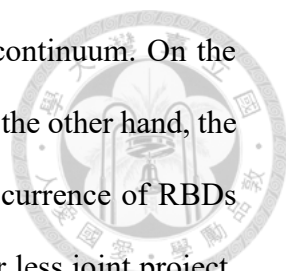
Among the three types of directives, TMDs represent the most collaborative relationship between the tutor and the tutee. In TMDs, the dyad is often framed as a unit working towards the same goals. Both parties need to engage in the conversation to jointly make the ongoing tutorial move forward. This may be the reason why only TMDs can take the form of a first-personal plural modal decarative that functions as a

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co-hortative (see Extract (5.13)). Even when other constructions are used as a TMD, first-person pronouns are also often used as a core element in the same utterance, as can be seen in Extracts (5.11) (*jie wo kan yixia* 'let me take a look') and (5.12) (*na ni, kebukeyi bang women nian yixia* 'then can you read it for us?'). The action is thus presented as bilaterally beneficial (cf. Rossi, 2012) and needs to be performed with both parties' participation.

In contrast, AGDs usually involve directives intended to unilaterally benefit the addressee, namely the tutee (cf. Rossi, 2012), which may account for the frequent use of the second-person modal to form AGDs. The strong preference for this type of declarative may also be related to the fact that the second-person subject helps highlight the you-me distinction between the tutor and the tutee, allowing the speaker to pinpoint the agent accountable for carrying out the action (Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen, 2017). It is noteworthy that although AGDs, similar to TMDs, do occasionally contain the first-person pronoun *wo*, it usually occurs in the epistemic fragment *wo juede* 'I think' and less often as a key element in the clause or in the plural form *women* 'we'[7].

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[7] Extract (4.7) discussed in Chapter 4 and presented again below constitutes an interesting example of the first-person plural pronoun used as the subject in an AGD. One possible reason why the speaker uses a first-person plural subject is because he is trying to make a generalization about the grammar rule and would like to characterize both him and the tutee as a user of English who should follow this rule. However, since such cases are rarely found in our data, we will not go into more detail in this study.

01 T04: 喔::, 就是　指 那 三場. 是不是.
　　　　 ou::,　 jiushi zhi na sanchang. shibushi.
　　　　 INT　　 that.is refer.to that three.CL right.NEG.right
02 W01: 嗯.
　　　　 uhn.
　　　　 INT
03 T04:→如果 是 指　　 那 三場　　的話 就, 我們　就 全部　 都　 用　 過去式.
　　　　 ruguo shi　zhi　　 na sanchang dehua jiu, women jiu quanbu dou yong guoqushi.
　　　　 if　　COP refer.to that three.CL if　　 JIU 1PL　JIU all　　　 all use past.tense
04 W01: 喔:::.
　　　　 ou:::.
　　　　 INT
'T04: Oh! You mean those three hearings, right?
W01: Mm.
T04: If you mean those three hearings, then let's all use the past tense.
W01: Oh, I see.'

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Finally, RBDs appear to lie somewhere in the middle of the continuum. On the one hand, to control one's emtion should be a very personal task; on the other hand, the tutor's effort to build rapport with the tutee and the frequent co-occurrence of RBDs with TMDs seem to suggest RBDs may also contribute to a more or less joint project. This characteristic may explain why subjectless imperatives are used to realize RBDs while first-person propouns are never found to occur in such directives.

5.4.3. Knowledge and AGDs

The last pragmatic factor to be discussed in this section is the issue of knowledge in writing tutorials. The knowledge factor is tightly linked to the form of AGDs in a number of ways. First, as previous studies have pointed out, advice-giving is akin to an informing act in that both present new information to the hearer (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Pilnick, 2001), and thus both acts can be formatted as declaratives (cf. Heritage, 2012b).

Similarly, *wo juede* is found to indicate one's epistemic stance (Endo, 2010; Lim, 2011) while the NCC fragment to introduce new information (Schmid, 2000), and as a result, both constructions often function in the realization form of an ADG. In contrast, in part because interrogatives are usually regarded as an index of uninformedness (Heritage, 2012a), the use of such constructions to form an AGD may be misleading, as illustrated in Chapter 4, and is thus avoided by the tutors.

Finally, the conditional construction that often occurs with AGDs should be considered "epistemic conditionals" in Sweetser's (1991) taxonomy and is thus associated with the participants' knowledge, for it is mostly linked to the speaker's reasoning process[8] (Su, 2005; Sweetser, 1991). This link to knowledge is futher evidenced by the recurrent use of *jiu* 'just' (Biq, 1988; Lai, 1999) and *wo juede* 'I think'

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[8] Although Sweetser (1991) divides conditionals into three mutually exclusive types: content-based conditionals, epistemic conditionals and speech-act conditionals, Su (2005) finds in real conversational data instances of what she terms "the Chain Type" of conditional, which involves more than one type of the conditionals in Sweetser's model. The conditional examples discussed in this dissertation are mostly "epistemic-speech-act conditionals" in Su's (2005) terms. That is, they convey the speaker's epistemic reasoning while serving as an illocutionary speech act, usually a directive.

(Lim, 2011) in the same utterance or same turn.

5.5. Intersubjectivity in the functions of directives

The findings and discussions presented in the previous sections provide not only an explanation for the relations between the forms and functions of directives, but also a more in-depth understanding of the link between directives and intersubjecivity. The analysis put forth in section 5.4 above shows that the intersubjectivity involved in the use of directives can be further dissected into aspects such as contingency, participation frameworks and the involvement of knowledge in the action. In other words, when initiating directives, tutors need to constantly evaluate and negotiate these aspects and adjust the form that they use to formulate the speech act. In addition to their own social position in relation to the tutee, they also have to take into consideration the relationship of the proposed action with them and the tutee and their own relationship with the tutee in relation to the proposed action, to make the directive "intersubjective" (Du Bois, 2007).

Furthermore, the previous sections of this chapter also suggest that the construction of intersubjectivity in forming a directive action is largely a local process. That is, to achieve intersubjectivity in writing tutorials and to decide the form to realize a directive, tutors need to consider the purpose of each utterance, the context of the speech act, and the pragmatic aspects they intend to address. Although the institutional nature of the interaction and their identity as a tutor indeed provide a frame for the encounter, to carry out different directive actions, tutors must make judgments in a turn-by-turn, moment-by-moment fashion and use linguistic devices at different levels to construct each directive jointly with the tutee. The investigation of directives and intersubjectivity should thus focus more on the local management of such speech acts as well.

5.6. Chapter summary

To sum up, as can be seen from the above discussion, the instances of directives in writing tutorials can be further divided into three groups: tutorial-managing directives, rapport-building directives and advice-giving directives. Each category takes a distinctive functional role in the institutional context, despite the dramatic difference in their frequency. This indicates that speech acts like directives can be formed systematically to serve more specific institiutional purposes (cf. He, 2000).

Moreover, while directives can be realized in various forms, as displayed in Chapter 4, the realization pattern is neither randomly assigned nor determined according to the politeness factors discussed in Brown and Levinson (1987). Rather, as summarized in Table 14 below, the realization form is closely linked to the specific function that the directive serves, which echoes the findings of other interaction-based studies on directives (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; He, 2000). In other words, the tutors do distinguish between these functions and would select the realization form according to the institutional function that a particular directive is designed to serve in a rather delicate way. For example, even though imperatives are found to serve all the three functions, the tutors use different subtypes of imperatives for each purpose: Complex imperatives for AGDs, positive simple imperatives for TMDs, and negative simple imperatives for RBDs.

On the other hand, linguistic resources, such as negative simple imperatives, second/third-personal modal declaratives, bi-clausal construction and phrasal devices, are employed as a directive to serve almost exclusively one of the three functions. This seems to suggest that different forms of directives may not be as interchangeable as previous research claims and can function as a directive action only in a specific context.

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Table 14 Pragmatic factors, realization forms, and other features of the directives

	Pragmatic factors	Realizaiton forms	Other features
Advice-giving Directives (AGDs)	[-immediate] [low contingency] [unilateral] [+knowledge]	-declaratives -imperatives (complex) -interrogatives (rare) -phrasal devices	-more diverse -different verbs -more complex and extended
Tutorial-managing Directives (TMDs)	[+immediate] [high contingency] [bilateral] [-knowledge]	-imperatives (simple positive) -interrogatives -first-person plural modal	-less complex -more straightforward -action verbs
Rapport-building Directives (RBDs)	[+immediate] [medium contingency] [bilateral] [-knowledge]	-negative imperatives	-short and restricted -emotion verbs -with other directives

Moreover, as displayed in Table 14 above, each type of directives displays a particular set of pragmatic features in the aspects that we have discussed in section 5.4. These results show that pragmatics not only influences the construction in which the directive is realized, but also modulates the pronouns, verbs, and modifiers that tend to occur in the context. These findings further support the argument that socio-interactional factors other than politeness in fact also have remarkable impact over the lexico-grammatical pattern by means of which a particular Mandarin directive is formatted in EFL writing tutorials, illustrating the interaction between form and function in an institutional context.

As mentioned in the desciprtion of the AGD's characteristics, distinct from the other two types of directives, AGDs tend to be more complex and extended. They are often co-constructed by the tutorial participants. In the next two chapters, zooming in on the instances of AGDs found in our dataset, we will discuss the linguistic resources

that the tutors recurrently employ to supprt the directive action and how the tutor and the tutee collaborate to construct and negotiate the advice-giving act. We will demonstrate, with examples from our data, that tutors would adopt a number of strategies to design and format the AGD and that although the tutor may appear to be the primary or even sole speaker when offering the advice, the AGD is in fact dialogic and intersubjective.
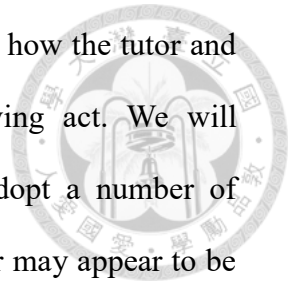
Chapter 6 Conditional and Causal Constructions in AGDs
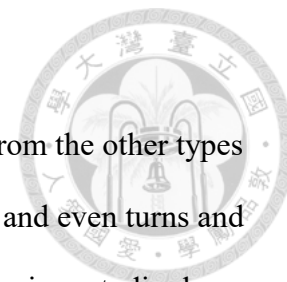
As mentioned in Chapter 5, the AGD is considerably distinct from the other types of directives identified, insofar as it often extends across utterances and even turns and often consists of compound or complex sentences. As some of the previous studies have also suggested, although every AGD has a core utterance that conveys the directive meaning, this type of directive is often composed of a sequence of actions and accompanied by other linguistic constructions (cf. DeCapua & Dunham, 1993; Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Hudson, 1990; Locher, 2006; Waring, 2012). However, this issue is still not yet sufficiently investigated as it deserves, both in writing tutorial discourse studies and Chinese linguistics.

In our data, four types of linguistic patterns are recurrently utilized when the tutor issues an AGD, including adverbials constructions like conditionals and causals and connecting devices for presenting alternative options and specific examples like disjunctive and exemplification markers. By examining these four constructions, we will further illuminate the characteristics of AGDs in tutoring discourse.

In this chapter, we will zero in on the two adverbial constructions, conditionals and causals, and discuss their forms and functions and the interaction between the two. Drawing on the instances of conditionals and causals, we intend to argue that advice-giving is a complex, sequential activity, in which the tutor needs to use various linguistic resources to persuade and negotiate with the tutee. Moreover, we will also show that both conditional and causal constructions are multifunctional devices in writing tutorials, serving functions concerning the discoursal, interpersonal and pedagogical aspects of this particular type of institutional interaction.

6.1. Conditional constructions

As mentioned in Chapter 4, conditionals frequently occur in the context of AGDs (441 out of 1064; 41.45%). In particular, the conditionals found to be employed with the AGD are mostly epistemic-speech-act conditionals (Su, 2005; Sweetser, 1991). That is, the protasis, which is marked by the conditional marker, usually conveys information related to the speaker's knowledge or reasoning, while the apodosis serves as the core of a directive action. In what follows, we will reveal the forms that the conditional clause usually takes, the sequence in which it is employed and the functions that conditionals may serve in relation to the adjacent AGD.

6.1.1. Linguistic patterns of conditional constructions

Although in Mandarin Chinese, a variety of markers can be deployed to form a conditional construction (Hsu, Wang, & Hu, 2015; Su, 2005; Wang, 2006) only a few are found in the context of AGDs. The conditional patterns identified in our data include [*ruguo* + utterance + *dehua*] (6.1), [*ruguo* + utterance] (6.2), and [utterance + *dehua*] (6.3) (Su, 2005). In particular, the [*ruguo* + utterance + *dehua*] pattern accounts for the highest number of conditional instances, regardless of the potential redundancy of using two near-synonymous markers to convey the conditional meaning (cf. Su, 2005).

(6.1) [*ruguo* + utterance + *dehua*]

01 T04:→如果 是　 指　 那 三場　　 的話　 就, 我們　 就 全部　 都用

  ruguo shi　 zhi　 na sanchang dehua jiu, women jiu quanbu dou yong

  if　 COP refer that three.CL if　　 JIU, 1PL　 then all　　 all use

02　　 過去式.

  guoqushi.

  tast.tense

03 W01: 喔:::.

  ou:::.

  INT

'T04: If you mean those three hearings, then let's all use the past tense.

 W01: Oh, I see.'

(6.2) [*ruguo* + utterance]

01 T01:→但是 如果 你　 只是, 在,　 介紹　　 你　 這個　　 研究,

  danshi **ruguo ni　 zhishi, zai,　 jieshao　 ni　 zhege　 yanjiu,**

  but　　 if　 2SG only　 ASP introduce 2SG this.CL research

02 W14: 喔:::.

  ou:::.

  INT

03 T01: 當然　　 你 就是 要 說,　 we also a-, 嗯::, (.) we can, we also analyzed, 對.

  dangran ni jiushi yao shuo, we also a-, uhn::, (.) we can, we also analyzed, dui.

  of.course 2SG

04　　 還是 用　　 過去式.

  haishi yong　 guoqushi.

  still　 use　 past.tense

'T01: But if you're still introducing your study,

 W14: Oh.

 T01: of course, you have to say *we also a*, uhn, *we can*, *we also analyzed*. Yeah. You still have

  to use the past tense.'

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(6.3) [utterance + *dehua*]

01 T05: 這樣　　就是　　每　一, 段,　　　就　是　只要　一個 主軸.　　不要 到
zheyang jiu shi　　mei　yi, duan,　　　jiu　shi　zhi yao　yige zhuzhou. buyao dao
this.way JIU COP every one paragraph, JIU COP only want one.CL core　don't to

02 →兩個. 兩個　有點　太 多　了. **這樣　　兩個 的話**, 你　就　會
liangge. liangge you dian tai duo　le. **zheyang liangge dehua**, ni　jiu hui
two.CL two.CL have bit too much FP this.way two.CL if　　2PL JIU will

03 覺得, 你 好像,　寫　很多,　可是 有點　不　知道, 抓不到
juede, ni haoxiang xie　hen duo,　keshi you dian bu　zhidao zhuabudao
think 2PL seem　write very much but　have bit NEG know capture.NEG.to

04 自己的 重點　　在 哪裡.
zijide　zhongdian zai　nali.
self.GEN point　　LOC where

05 W05: 嗯.
uhn.
INT

'T05: Then, each paragraph should be about only one main topic. Don't try to talk about two topics in one paragraph. That'll be too much. If you talk about two topics in one paragraph, you'll feel that you have written a lot, but you wouldn't know, wouldn't know what your main point is.

W05: Mm.'

As regards the marked utterance, or the protasis part in a conditional, there also appear to be a number of structural features. First, many of the protasis clauses have no overt subject, as shown in (6.4).

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(6.4) No overt subject

01 T01: 把 這個 放 在 這 裡面.

        ba   zhege fang zai zhe limian

        BA this.CL put at   this inside

02 W14: mmhm.

        mmhm.

        INT

03 T01:→**如果 是 這樣 的話**, 還是 強調 這個.

        ruguo shi zheyang   dehua, haishi qiangdiao zhege.

        if   COP this.way if   still   emphasize this.CL

'T01: Put this in that.

 W14: Mm mm.

 T01: If (that) is the case, still emphasize this.'

When present in the clause, the subject is mostly the second-person singular pronoun, as exemplified in (6.5). Also illustrated in this example is that when the subject of the protasis is second-person singular, a modal like *xiangyao* 'want' or a copula is frequently used in the same clause.

(6.5) Second-person subject

01 T03: 因為 那本 書 是::, 針對 學術 嘛.

        yinwei naben   shu   shi::, zhendui   xueshu   me.

        because that.CL book COP focus.on academic FP

02 W15: 喔::.

        ou::.

        INT

03 T03:→ **所以 如果 你 想 要 回 到 更 基本**, [你 可以 在 網路 上 找].

        suoyi ruguo ni   xiang yao hui dao geng jiben, [ni   keyi zai wangru shang zhao].

        so   if   2SG think want return to more basic 2SG can at   internet up   find

04 W15:   [嗯 嗯 嗯 嗯 嗯].

                           [uhn uhn uhn uhn uhn].

                            INT INT INT INT INT

'T03: Because this book focuses on academic (writing),

 W15: Oh.

 T03: if you want to get back to more basic (vocabulary), you can find it online.

 W15: Mm mm.'
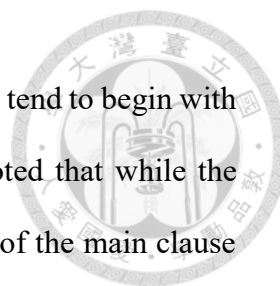
Second, the protasis clauses that do not contain an overt subject tend to begin with the copula/focus marker *shi*, as displayed in (6.6). It should be noted that while the subject of an English participle phrase needs to be the same as that of the main clause to be dropped, this rule does not apply in Mandarin. In fact, as (6.4) and (6.6) demonstrate, the subject, very often, has to be retrieved or inferred from the foregoing context. This may be attributed to the topic chain phenomenon in Mandarin Chinese (Cao, 1979) and the function of conditionals in writing tutoring discourse, the latter of which will be discussed in section 6.1.3.

(6.6) Copula/focus *shi*

01 T02: mm::. 好. 因為, 因為, 其實 這個 是 比較 是, (0.3) 領域
   mm::. hao. yinwei, yinwei, qishi zhege shi bijiao shi, (0.3) lingyu
   INT good because because actually this.CL COP more COP field

02 →習慣. 因為, 這 就 變成 說::, (.) **如果 是, 如果 是,** 一般
   xiguan. yinwei, zhe jiu biancheng shuo::, (.) ruguo shi, ruguo shi, yiban
   habit because this JIU become say if COP if COP general

03   英文 的話,
   yingwen dehua,
   English if

04 W16: 嗯.
   uhn.
   INT

05 T02: 通常, 位置 的, 介係詞 都 會 是 at 啦.
   tongchang, weizhi de, jiexici dou hui shi at la.
   usually position ASSC preposition all will COP at FP

06 W16: 嗯.
   uhn.
   INT

'T02: Mm. Okay. Because this is more of the conventions of your discipline. Because if it were written in plain English,
 W16: Mm.
 T02: usually the preposition for a location would be *at*.
 W16: Mm.'
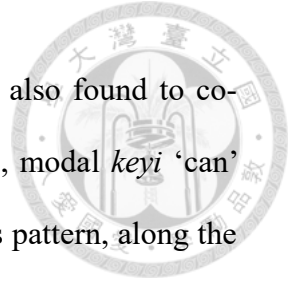
In addition to *shi*-prefaced clauses, the conditional marker is also found to co-occur with a lexical or phrasal element, such as a copula *shi* (6.7), modal *keyi* 'can' (6.8), or an anaphoric expression like *zheyang* 'this way' (6.9). This pattern, along the with the prominence of clauses with no overt subject discussed above, seems to suggest that the protasis of the conditional construction that is often formatted with a Mandarin AGD is pragmatically tightly knitted with the discourse that precedes the directive, although the protasis element is and should be semantically and intonationally linked to the following apodosis clause.

(6.7) Copula/focus *shi*

```
01 T01: 就是說, .h, 這個 應該   是 到 目前 為止,   是不是       還 是
        jiushishuo, .h, zhege yinggai shi dao muqian weizhi, shibushi      hai shi
        that.is.to.say this.CL should COP to   now   until   COP-NEG-COP still COP

02      持續   的    一個    現象.=
        chixu   de    yige    xianxiang.=
        continue ASSC one.CL phenomenon

03 W01: =是.
        =shi.
         COP

04 T01:→如果 是 的話, 我 就   會 建議 你 這邊   時態 上,    稍微    改 一下.
        ruguo shi dehua, wo jiu   hui jianyi ni zhebian shitai shang, shaowei gai yixia.
        if    COP if    1SP JIU will suggest 2SP here tense top    a.bit    change a.bit
```

'T01: In other words, is that a phenomenon that has still been ongoing so far?
 W01: Yes.
 T01: If that is so, I would suggest that you make some change in your use of tense here.'

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(6.8) *keyi*

01 T03:→然後::, 如果 可以 的話, 用 in addition, 會, 比較:::, (.) 會 是

       ranhou::, **ruguo keyi dehua,** yong in addition, hui, bijiao:::, (.) hui shi

       then if can if use will more will COP

02   moreover 這種.

       moreover zhezhong.

             this.kind

03 W15: 嗯.

       uhn.

       INT

04 T03: 感覺 besides 就, 他 是 在 比較::, borderline. 就是,

       ganjue besides jiu, ta shi zai bijiao::, borderline. jiushi,

       feel JIU 3SP COP ASP compare that.is

05 W15: 喔:::.

       ou:::.

       INT

'T03: Then, if you can, use *in addition*. It would be more similar to *moreover*.

 W15: Mm.

 T03: *Besides* seems to be at the borderline. I mean,

 W15: Oh, I see.'

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(6.9) zheyang [S05]

01 T05: 的確 你 第一句 話 就 破題 很 好. 可是 就 是::, 就 有 點
　　　　 dique ni diyiju hua jiu poti hen hao. keshi jiu shi::, jiu you dian
　　　　 indeed 2SP first.CL words JIU to.the.point very good but JIU COP JIU have some

02 　　 不 知道. 可是 你 其實 是 要 講 說::, positive negative, 你 是
　　　　 Bu zhidao. keshi ni qishi shi yao jiang shuo::, positive negative, ni shi
　　　　 NEG know but 2SP actually COP want say say 2SG COP

03 　→打算 採用 什麼 的 方式. 對. **那 這樣 的話,** 你 這邊 就
　　　　 dasuan caiyong shenme de fangshi. dui. **na zheyang dehua,** ni zhebian jiu
　　　　 plan adopt what ASSC method right that this.way if 2SG here JIU

04 　　 要, 少 一 句 話 了.
　　　　 yao, shao yiju hua le.
　　　　 want reduce one.CL words FP

05 W05: 嗯.
　　　　 uhn.
　　　　 INT

'T05: Indeed, that fact that you can express your main idea in the first sentence is great. But it's just a bit, I don't know. But, you're actually trying to say, positive and negative, what method you would like to adopt. Yeah. So if that's case, you need one more sentence here.
　 W05: Mm.'

As can be seen from the discussion above, conditionals that tend to co-occur with AGDs display a number of structural traits with regard to both the recurrent markers and the components of the protasis part. In the next section, we will reveal how conditionals are deployed with AGDs in relation to a broader context.

6.1.2. Sequences of conditionals and AGDs

Although the utterance marked by the conditional marker can occur after the core directive (Wang, 2001, 2006), our data shows that most protasis elements surrounding AGDs tend to precede the directive. In other words, the conditional-marked utterance is often designed to provide or establish a context in which the upcoming advice applies, as demonstrated in the following excerpt, rather than function as an afterthought or a parenthetical.

(6.10) Conditional → AGD

01 T03: →按照　　　你　原來　這樣子　　的話，那　你，　就是，　就是::，如果
　　　　　anzhao　　　ni　yuanlai zheyangzi dehua, na　ni,　jiushi,　jiushi::, **ruguo**
　　　　　according.to 2SG original this.way　if　that 2SG　that.is　that.is　if

02　　　→改　　最　少　的話，
　　　　　gai　　zui　shao dehua,
　　　　　change most little if

03 W15: 嗯.
　　　　　uhn.
　　　　　INT

04 T03: based on 前面　　那個　逗點，　不用.
　　　　　based on qianmian nage　doudian, buyong.
　　　　　　　　　front　　that.CL comma　NEG.use

05 W15: 嗯 哼 哼.
　　　　　uhn hun hun.
　　　　　INT INT INT

'T03: If we follow your original writing, I mean, if we make the least change,
　W15: Mm.
　T03: you don't need the comma before *based on*.
　W15: Uhn huh.'

　　Moreover, as mentioned in section 6.1.1, a majority of the protasis utterances are

phrases or subjectless, copula-prefaced clauses, as illustrated in the instance below. This

may very likely indicate that the content of the protasis utterance is closely related to

the preceding discourse. For example, in (6.11) below, T04 asks a question in line 1 to

seek clarification of a phrase that the tutee puts in his writing. After the tutee's

explanation, T04 formulates a conditional construction in connection with the

information presented in the prior turns. As evident in the tutor's use of the deictic

expression *zheyanzi* 'this way,' the protasis of the conditional in fact serves as a pivotal

point linking the previous discourse to the tutor's AGD (cf. Wang, 2006).

(6.11) Conditional → AGD

01 T04: 然後::, 這裡 的　　inferring to 是 什麼 意思.
　　　　ranhou::, zheli　de　　inferring to shi　shenme yisi.
　　　　then　　here　ASSC　　　　　COP what　meaning

02 W01: 呃, 就是 包-, 想　要 指 說 包括,
　　　　uh, jiushi bao-, xiang yao zhi shuo baogua,
　　　　INT that.is　think want refer say include

03 T04: 喔:::.
　　　　ou:::.
　　　　INT

04 W01: 包括 後面　　兩個, 這樣子.
　　　　baogua houmian liangge, zheyangzi.
　　　　include back　　two.CL this.way

05 T04: okay.
　　　　okay.

06 W01: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

07 T04:→如果 是 這樣子　　的話, 其實 including 就 可以 了.
　　　　ruguo shi zheyangzi dehua, qishi　including jiu keyi　le.
　　　　if　　COP this.way　if　actually　　　　　JIU can　FP

08 W01: 喔:, including.
　　　　ou:, including.
　　　　INT

'T04: And what do you mean by inferring to here?
 W01: Well, by that, I'd like to say it includes,
 T04: Oh, I see.
 W01: it includes the following two.
 T04: Okay.
 W01: Mm.
 T04: If that's the case, actually you can just use *including*.
 W01: Oh! Including.'

The sequence of the use of conditionals in the context of an AGD can thus be presented as in Figure 1 below

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Tutor: [Discourse] → [Conditional] → [AGD]

Figure 1 Sequential patterns of the conditional constructions
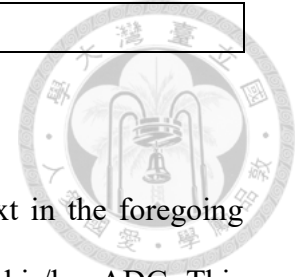
The figure above shows that the tutor would construct the context in the foregoing discourse and use a conditional construction to link the context to his/her ADG. This sequential pattern is closely related to the function of conditional constructions, which will be the topic of the next section.

6.1.3. Functions of conditionals for AGDs

In the literature across languages, conditionals have been argued to be a multifunctional construction in both daily and institutional discourse (e.g., Dancygier & Sweetser, 2005; Ferguson, 2001; Louwerse, Crossley, & Jeuniaux, 2008; Su, 2005; Warchał, 2010). Past studies have suggested that conditionals can serve functions such as persuasion, hedging, negotiation, politeness and the like. However, as mentioned above, conditionals found in the context of AGDs seem to display a clear distribution pattern. That is, tutors may tend to use conditionals to achieve particular purposes. In the following, we will argue that the use of conditionals in writing tutorials may have discoursal, interpersonal and pedagogical functions.

As mentioned above, the protasis element of conditionals in writing tutoring discourse is often subjectless or a simple phrase. Moreover, the semantic subject of the protasis is often retrievable not from the apodosis utterance, but from the preceding discourse. Meanwhile, the protasis is also semantically related to the following directive. Given that, the conditional can function as a discourse connector linking background information to the advice that the tutor attempts to give (cf. Wang, 2006). Consider the following examples.

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In (6.12) below, T05 states in line 1 that she would not have only a major heading for each section. She then mentions the major heading again in the protasis of a conditional and lays out her advice that she would have a more specific sub-heading in the apodosis. Clearly, the protasis in T05's turn serves as a signal of the transition from the previous context to her directive action.

(6.12) Discourse function

01 T05:→對 對. 就 不會　　只 有 大標. 如果 有 大標 的話，我的　　副標
　　　　dui dui. jiu buhui　**zhi you dabiao. ruguo you dabiao dehua,** wode fubiao
　　　　right right JIU NEG.will only have title　if　have title　if　1SG.GEN subtitle

02　　　就 會 下　得 比較 清楚.
　　　　jiu hui xia　de bijiao qingchu.
　　　　JIU will decide CSC more clear

03 W06: 就 更　清楚.
　　　　　jiu geng qingchu.
　　　　　JIU more clear

04 T05: 對. 我的-,　　就是　起碼 知道 他, 讓 他 知道 說, 在, 這邊　開始
　　　　dui. wode-,　jiushi qima zhidao ta, rang ta zhidao shuo, zai, zhebian kaishi
　　　　right 1SG.GEN that.ist at.least know 3SG let 3SG know　say　at there start

05　　　是 methodology.
　　　　shi methodology.
　　　　COP

06 W06: hmm.
　　　　　hmm.
　　　　　INT

'T05: Right, right. Then there shouldn't be only the main title. If there is a main title, then I'll
　　　make the subtitle more specific.
　W06: Make it more specific.
　T05: Yeah. So as to let the reader know that the methods section starts from here.
　W06: Hmm.'

Similarly, in (6.13) below, the tutee, W20, asks a question in line 1 concerning subject-verb agreement. In response to W20's question, the tutor uses a conditional marker and a deictic expression *zhebian* 'here' to relate his advice to the tutee's request.

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Moreover, the protasis of the conditional in T02's turn also allows the tutee to anticipate the content of the tutor's advice and further participate in the co-construction of the directive, as can be seen in lines 6 to 9.

(6.13) Discourse function
01 W20: 所以, 我　就　想　　說, 那::, 這樣子,　這個 名-,　　當成　　　一個
　　　　　 suoyi, wo　jiu xiang shuo na::, zheyangzi, zhege ming-, dangcheng　yige
　　　　　 so　　1SG JIU think say that　this.way　this.CL　　　taken.as　　one.CL
02　　　　名詞　　的話,
　　　　　 mingci　dehua,
　　　　　 noun　　if
03 T02: 喔::::.
　　　　　 ou::::.
　　　　　 INT
04 W20: 後面　　　是　要 用　are 還是　要 用　　is.
　　　　　 houmian shi　yao yong are haishi yao yong is.
　　　　　 back　　 COP want use　　or　　want use
05　　　　(1.1)
06 T02:→我 先　 說,　如果 你 這邊　　是 單數,　　這邊　就　 會 是, (.)
　　　　　 wo xian shuo, **ruguo ni　zhebian shi danshu,** zhebian jiu　hui shi, (.)
　　　　　 1SG first say　if　　2SG here　　COP singular　here　JIU will COP
07 W20: 單數.
　　　　　 danshu.
　　　　　 singular
08 T02: 單數, 對.
　　　　　 danshu, dui.
　　　　　 singular right
09 W20: 嗯.
　　　　　 uhn.
　　　　　 INT
'W20: So, I was wondering if this is treated as a noun,
　T02: Oh, I see.
　W20: should I use *are* or *is* as the main verb?
　T02: Let me say this first. If this is singular, then that'll be singular.
　W20: Singular.
　T02: Singular. Right.
　W20: Mm.'
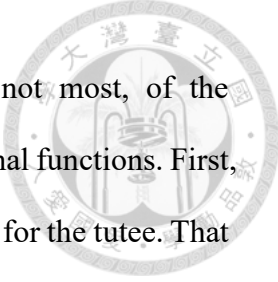
In addition to the discourse connecting function, some, if not most, of the conditional instances are also formed to serve a number of interpersonal functions. First, the conditional construction allows the tutor to leave some autonomy for the tutee. That is, by using a conditional, the tutor can put forward the advice without imposing too much pressure on the tutee. For example, in (6.14) below, T01 produces in line 1 a protasis *ruguo ni keyi dehua* "if you can,' prior to the advice that he is going to give. This protasis in fact does not constitute a real condition for the following advice to be true. However, by adding this protasis, the tutor mitigates the face-threatening force of the following directive, allowing the tutee to make the final decision. The advice is not something that the tutee must accept without any hesitation. In the same extract, T01 formulates another conditional construction, albeit in English, to suggest that the tutee is not required to follow this advice regardless of any other factors. The same strategy is used by T03 in (6.8), in which the tutor uses *ruguo keyi dehua* 'if you can' to indicate that the tutee still owns autonomy over whether to make the change or not.

(6.14) Interperosnal function

01 T01: → 我 想　要 你 強調　的,　　uhm:::, 所以 我 才 說, **如果 你**
          wo xiang yao ni qiangdiao de,　uhm:::, suoyi wo cai shuo, **ruguo ni**
          1SP think want 2SP emphasize ASSC INT so 1SP CAI say if　2SP

02 　→**可以 的話,**　one sentence, maybe eight words 或是 ten words. 如果
    keyi　dehua, one sentence, maybe eight words huoshi ten words. ruguo
    can　if　　　　　　　　　　　　　　or　　　　　　　if

03 　　if you have 如果 你 有, if you have the, if you have the room.
    if you have ruguo ni you, if you have the, if you have the room.
              If　2SP have

04 W02: 嗯.
    uhn.
    INT

05 T01: That's why I say, what is the purpose. What is the motivation. 你 到底,
    That's why I say, what is the purpose. What is the motivation. ni　daodi,
                            2SP after.all

06 　　為什麼　要, 做 這個 研究.
    weishenme yao, zuo zhege yanjiu.
    why　　　want do this.CL study

'T01: What I want you to highlight, uhm, so, that's why I say, if you can, one sentence. Maybe
    eight words or ten words. If you have, if you have, if you have the room,
 W02: Mm.
 T01: That's why I say, what is the purpose. What is the motivation? Why exactly did you
    conduct this research?'

    Another way that the conditional construction can be used to mitigate the force of the directive is by downgrading the seriousness of the problem, as illustrated in (6.15) below. In this extract, T02 first comments that there is not a big problem in the sentence that he just read and then formulates a *ruguo*-prefaced utterance before laying out his advice. Notice that in the *ruguo*-marked protasis, the tutor does not present the condition for the following advice to be true or applicable. Rather, he uses the utterance to suggest that he may be being picky when making that suggestion, indicating that the problem is not as significant although repairable.

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(6.15) Interpersonal function

01 T02: → 好，這句:, 沒有　　太 大 的　問題，好.　我　我，**如果 要，挑**

　　　　hao, zheju:, meiyou　　tai da de wenti, hao. wo wo, **ruguo yao, tiao**

　　　　good this.CL NEG.have too big ASSC problem good 1SG 1SG if　want pick

02 　　→**毛病,**　就是,通常,　會 習慣　　　　會 用　one of, 變成　　　LC

　　　　maobing, jiushi, tongchang hui xiguan　　hui yong　one of, biancheng LC

　　　　problem that.is　usually　will accustomed.to will use　　　become

03 　　became one of the most famous singers who sang in Taiwanese Mandarin

　　　became one of the most famous singers who sang in Taiwanese Mandarin

04 　　Chi-, 呃::, Southern Min.

　　　Chi-,　uh::, Southern Min.

　　　　　INT

05 W04: 你　說　a 變成　　one of.

　　　ni　shuo a　biancheng one of.

　　　2SG say　become

06 T02: 就是 one of the most famous singer, singers, who sang, in Taiwanese Southern Min.

　　　jiushi one of the most famous singer, singers, who sang, in Taiwanese Southern Min.

　　　that.is

07 　　因為 就是 那個, 九零　年代,　有名　的　人,　其中 之　一 嘛.

　　　yinwei jiushi nage jiuling　niandai, youming de　ren,　qizhong zhi　yi me.

　　　because that.is that.CL ninety period famous ASSC person　among ASSC one FP

08 　　英文　比較 習慣　用,　one of　啦.

　　　ingwen　bijao xiguan　yong,　one of　la.

　　　English　more accustom use　　　FP

09 W04: 嗯:::.

　　　uhn:::

　　　INT

'T02: Okay. There's no big problem in this sentence. If I must be picky, usually we would use
　　one of and make it into something like *LC became one of the most famous singers who
　　sang in Taiwanese Mandarin,* er*, Southern Min.*

　W04: You mean replace *a* with *one of*.

　T02: I mean *one of the most famous singer, singers*, *who sang in Taiwanese Southern Min.*
　　(You mean) he was one of the most famous people in the 90s, right? So, in English,
　　people tend to use *one of* (*the most famous people* to refer to that).

　W04: Mmmm.'

　　　Conditional constructions can also serve interpersonal functions by engaging the

addressee in the making of the advice. As shown in (6.16) below, the tutee identifies in

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line 1 what he intended to express in the sentence. The tutor produces a confirmation-seeking question in the next turn, to which the tutee responds with an acknowledgement token *uhn*. The tutor then formulates a conditional construction to present his advice. It is noticeable that T04 uses the phrase *zhi na san chang* "referring to those three events," which is originally formulated by the tutee, twice in this extract. By means of the repetition in the conditional, the tutor not only connects the AGD to the foregoing discourse, but also engages the tutee in the process of constructing the advice (cf. Tannen, 1987).

(6.16) Interpersonal function
01 W01: 呃::, 就是 在 我　那邊 是 指　三場　的　公聽會.
　　　　uh::, jiushi zai wo　nabian shi zhi　sanchang de　gongtinghui.
　　　　INT that.is at 1SG　there COP refer three.CL ASSC hearing
02 T04: 喔::, 就是 指　那　三場,　是不是.
　　　　ou::,　jiushi zhi　na　sanchang, shibushi.
　　　　INT　that.is refer that three.CL　COP.NEG.COP
03 W01: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT
04 T04: → 如果　是 指那 三場　　　的話 就, 我們　就 全部　都　用
　　　　　ruguo shi zhi na　sanchang　dehua jiu, women jiu quanbu dou yong
　　　　　 if　COP　refer that three.CL if　JIU 1PL　JIU all　all use
05　　　　過去式.
　　　　guoqushi.
　　　　past.tense
06 W01: 喔:::.
　　　　ou:::.
　　　　INT
'W01: Well, by this, I mean the three public hearings.'
 T04: Oh! You mean those three hearings, right?
 W01: Mm.
 T04: If you mean those three hearings, then let's all use the past tense.
 W01: Oh, I see.'

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Additionally, as alluded to earlier, tutors often refer to the content of the previous discourse or the tutee's intention in the protasis. By doing so, the tutor can relate the following AGD to the tutee's need and increase the tutee's involvement. This may also partly explain why the second-person pronoun is often serves as the subject of the protasis, if there is one, for the second-person subject is a well-studied resource for involving the audience in both spoken and written discourse (Hyland, 2005; Kuo, 2001, 2003).

Finally, conditionals are also pedagogically instrumental. One of the most common ways that the conditional construction contributes to the pedagogical function is by revealing a grammatical rule or a writing principle. As illustrated in (6.17) below, T02 formulates two conditional constructions to pinpoint the link between the intended meaning and the selected word. By juxtaposing the two conditionals, the tutor also distinguishes between two related but distinct words and demonstrates to the tutee how the make the choice.

(6.17) Pedagogical function

01 T02: 好. (.) 呃::, 所以 你 講　說, simplified, 應該　說, 這個　是, (.) 你,
　　　　 hao. (.) uh::, suoyi　ni jiang shuo, simplified, yinggai shuo, zhege　shi, (.) ni,
　　　　 good　INT so　　2SP say　say　　　　　should　say this.CL COP　2SP

02　　→你 如果 是 簡單,
　　　　 ni　**ruguo shi jiandan,**
　　　　 2SP　if　COP easy

03 W07: 嗯.
　　　　 uhn.
　　　　 INT

04 T02: → 就是 simple. 那 **如果 是 說,　這件　事情　很 複雜,　　然後　我**
　　　　 jiushi simple. na　**ruguo shi shuo, zhejian shiqing hen fuza,**　　ranhou wo
　　　　 that.is　　that　if　COP say　this.CL thing very complicated then 1SP
　　　　 把 他 簡單化,　(.) 就 變成　　是, simpliFIED.
　　　　 ba　ta jiandanhua, (.) jiu biancheng shi, simpliFIED.
　　　　 BA 3SP simplify　　JIU become　COP

05 W07: 喔. 好.
　　　　 ou. hao.
　　　　 INT good

'T02: Okay. Well, so you use *simplied*. I mean, this should be, if you mean *simple*,
 W07: Mm.
 T02: Then, its' simple. And if something is complex and I make it simple, then it's *simplified*.
 W07: Oh. Okay.'

　　　　Moreover, the use of conditionals also allows the tutor to make generalizations that go beyond the text they are discussing in that tutorial, which is aimed to not only make the text a better piece of writing but also help the tutee to become a better writer.

　　　　To achieve pedagogical goals, tutors may also use conditionals to demonstrate how they, as a writer, would reason and what they would do, if they were to write the same text. For example, in Extract (6.18) below, T05 formats a protasis *ruguo shi wo dehua* 'if it were me' in line 1 before putting forth her advice. By prefacing her AGD with the conditional, T05 characterizes the following utterances as the change that she would make if she were the writer. In doing so, although the tutor does not provide the tutee a generalizable rule that the latter can follow, she still presents a model from which the

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tutee can learn something, given the assumption that she is an experienced writer and a

qualified tutor.

(6.18) Pedagogical function
01 T05: → 所以 我, 可能, 要是, **如果 是 我 的話**, 可能,
　　　　　　suoyi wo, keneng, yaoshi, **ruguo shi wo dehua**, keneng,
　　　　　　so　　1SG possible what.if　if　COP 1SG if　　possible
02 W06: 對.
　　　　　　dui.
　　　　　　right
03 T05: 我 不 　　知道 　這樣 　會不會 　　比較 好. 可是 我 可能 　就 會
　　　　　　wo bu　　zhidao zheyang huibuhui　　bijiao hao. keshi wo keneng jiu hui
　　　　　　1SP NEG know this.way will.NEG.will more good but 1SG possible JIU will
04 　　　　　變成, 　　那邊 剛 　那邊 　四點一 　　　嘛.
　　　　　　biancheng, nabian gang nabian sidianyi 　　me.
　　　　　　become 　　there just 　there 　four.point.one FP
05 W06: 四點一, 　　那邊 四點-,
　　　　　　sidianyi, 　　nabian sidian-,
　　　　　　four.point.one there four.point.
06 T05: 然後 四點二 　　　的話, 我 可能 　就 　下 　個 標題, 是 類似, 因子 的,
　　　　　　ranhou sidianer 　　dehua, wo keneng　jiu　xia　ge biaoti, shi　leisi,　yinzi　de,
　　　　　　then four.point.two if 　　1SG possible JIU decide CL title COP similar factor ASSC
07 　　　　　各個,
　　　　　　gege,
　　　　　　every.CL
'T05: So, if it were me, I would,
 W08: Right.
 T05: I don't know if it would be better, but I would make it… So that is section 4.1, right.
 W06: 4.1. And that is four point…
 T05: Then as for section 4.2, I'll give it a heading, about every aspect of the variables.'

Thus far, we have seen how conditionals are used in particular ways to achieve

discourse, interpersonal, and pedagogical purposes. The multifunctionality may thus

account for the prevalence of conditional constructions in the context of AGDs issued

by the tutor. In the next section, we will examine another group of constructions that

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often co-occurs with AGDs, which displays commonalities with and disparities from conditionals discussed above.

6.2. Causal constructions

Another common set of patterns frequently found in the context of an AGD is causal constructions (445 out of 1064; 41.82%). Despite their prevalence and multifunctionality in Mandarin conversation (Song & Tao, 2009; Wang & Huang, 2006), causal constructions, similar to the other constructions discussed in this chapter, are found mostly in the context of AGDs and rarely in that of the other two types of directives. It is thus worthwhile to examine the patterns and functions that they serve in relation to AGDs.

6.2.1. Linguistic patterns of causal constructions

Similar to the results regarding the conditional construction, while Mandarin Chinese has a range of linguistic devices to indicate cause-effect relations (Li & Thompson, 1981), the tutors in our data seem to employ only a limited set of prefacing particles, such as *yinwei* 'because' and *suoyi* 'so,' to achieve this function. This may be partly due to the fact that the conversation between the tutor and the tutee in a writing tutorial is essentially unplanned and informal.

However, in contrast to conditionals in Mandarin, in which only the protasis part is linguistically marked, both the cause and effect elements in a causal construction can be prefaced by an overt particle. Interestingly, although either the cause marker *yinwei* or the effect marker *suoyi* can be absent in a clausal construction without being syntactically or semantically ill-formed, as demonstrated in (6.19) and (6.20), the tutors still often use both particles in an AGD, as shown in (6.21). This pattern seems to be slightly in conflict with the findings of previous studies on causal constructions in

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spoken discourse (Biq, 1995; Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2001), which will be further

discussed in later sections.

(6.19) *yinwei* only

01 T01: →因為 這個　　是 你 第一次 提 出來,
　　　　　yinwei zhege　shi ni diyici ti chulai
　　　　　because this.CL COP 2SG first.CL raise out

02 W17: 嗯.
　　　　　uhn.
　　　　　INT

03 T01: 畢竟 你 在,
　　　　　bijing ni zai,
　　　　　after.all 2SG at

04 W17: 對 對 對. 我 應該 先 寫.
　　　　　dui dui dui. wo yinggai xian xie
　　　　　right right right 1SG should first write

05: T01:→你 要, 一定 要 先 寫.
　　　　　ni yao, yiding yao xian xie.
　　　　　2SG want, definite want first write

06 W17: 嗯.
　　　　　uhn.
　　　　　INT

'T01: Because this is the first time that you bring this up,

 W17: Mm.

 T01: After all, you have,

 W17: Yes yes yes. I should write it first.

 T01: You definitely need to write it first.

 W17: Mm.'

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(6.20) *suoyi* only

01 T02: 你的　　中間　　已經　　隔　　太 多　句子　　了. 應該　這樣子　　講.
　　　　nide　zhongjian yijing　ge　　tai duo　jiuzi　　le. yinggai zheyangzi jiang.
　　　　2SP.GEN middle　　already separate too many sentence FP should this.way　say

02 W04: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

03 T02:→**所以:,　你　可以::,　加　個::,　人名**,　　　　這樣.　他的::,　　他的::, (.) 姓氏
　　　　suoyi:, ni　keyi::,　jia ge::, renming,　　zheyang. tade::,　　tade::, (.) xingshi
　　　　so　2Sg can　　add CL　person.name this.way 3SG.GEN 3SG.GEN last.name

04 　　這樣子.
　　　　zheyangzi.
　　　　this.way

05 W04: 嗯　哼.
　　　　uhn hun.
　　　　INT INT

'T02: There are too many sentences in-between. I should put it this way.

W04: Mm.

T02: So you can add a number to it. His last name.

W04: Uhn hun.'

(6.21) Both *yinwei* and *suoyi*

01 T04: → 因為　　**become** 可以　表達 的　　東西　常常　　　是, (.) 嗯, 可以
　　　　　　yinwei　become keyi　biaoda de　　dongxi changchang shi, (.) uhn, keyi
　　　　　　because　　　　can　express ASSC stuff　often　　　COP　INT can

　　　　用　時態 上　來, 可以 用 時態 上　　來, 來　　表達 這樣子.
　　　　yong shitai shang lai, keyi yong shitai shang lai, lai,　　biaoda zheyangzi.
　　　　use　tense　up　come can use tense up　　come come express this.way

02 W01: 嗯　哼 哼 哼.
　　　　uhn hun hun hun.
　　　　INT INT INT INT

03 T04:→所以 像　　這邊　的, (.) become, 就 其實　　是　可以:, 刪掉,
　　　　suoyi xiang zhebian de, (.) become, jiu　qishi　　shi　keyi:, shandiao,
　　　　so　　like　　here　ASSC　　　　　JIU actually COP can　　delete

04　　這樣子.
　　　　zheyangzi.
　　　　this.way

'T04: Because the concept that the word *become* can express is often conveyed in the use of tense.

　W01: Uhn huh.

　T04: So the use of *become* here, for example, can be deleted.'

Another structural difference between conditionals and causals in the context of an AGD lies in the non-AGD part of the construction, i.e., the protasis in a conditional and the cause in a causal construction. While the protasis that co-occurs with the AGD tends to be short, subject-less utterances, the part marked by *yinwei* 'because' in the causal construction is usually full clauses with second- or third-person subjects, as illustrated in the following examples. This characteristic seems to suggest that although both conditional and causal clauses are common adverbial constructions that surround the AGD, they may serve distinctive pragmatic or discourse functions in addition to their semantic difference (cf. Wang, 2006), which will be further discussed in section 6.2.3.
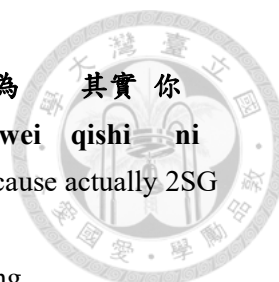
(6.22) Second-person subject

01 T02: → 通常　　　這個 x 前面　　都 會 有 the 比較 多::. **因為　其實　你**

　　　　　tongchang zhege x qianmian dou hui you the bijiao duo::. **yinwei　qishi　ni**

　　　　　usually　this.CL　front　all will have　more much because actually 2SG

02　　　有 of y, 我 就 知道 這 是 誰 了. 所以 可以 加 the 這樣.

　　　　　you of y, wo jiu zhidao zhe shi shei le. suoyi keyi　jia the zheyang

　　　　　have　1SG JIU know this COP who FP so can add　　this.way

03 W04: 嗯　哼.

　　　　　uhn hun.

　　　　　INT INT

'T02: Usually there will be a *the* before the *x* most of the time, because in fact if you have *of*

　　y, then I'll know who that is. You can then add a *the* there.

　W04: Uhn huh.

(6.23) Third-person subject

01 T04: → **因為　　become 可以　表達　　的　　東西　常常　　　是**, (.) 嗯, 可以

　　　　　yinwei　become keyi　biaoda　de　　dongxi changchang shi, (.) uhn, keyi

　　　　　because　　　can　express ASSC stuff　often　　COP　INT can

　　　　　用　時態 上　來, 可以 用 時態 上　　來, 來　表達　這樣子.

　　　　　yong shitai shang lai, keyi yong shitai shang lai,　lai,　biaoda　zheyangzi.

　　　　　use　tense up　come can use tense　up　come come express this.way

02 W01: 嗯　哼 哼 哼.

　　　　　uhn hun hun hun.

　　　　　INT INT INT INT

03 T04: 所以 像　這邊　的, (.) become, 就 其實　　是 可以:, 刪掉,

　　　　　suoyi xiang zhebian de, (.) become, jiu　qishi　shi　keyi:, shandiao,

　　　　　so　like　here ASSC　　　　JIU　actually COP can　delete

04　　　這樣子.

　　　　　zheyangzi.

　　　　　this.way

05 W01: 嗯　哼 哼 哼.

　　　　　uhn hun hun hun.

　　　　　INT INT INT INT

'T04: Because the concept that the word *become* can express is often conveyed in the use of

　　tense.

　W01: Uhn huh.

　T04: So the use of *become* here, for example, can be deleted.

　W01: Uhn huh.'
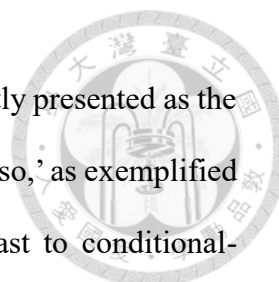
Finally, when present in a causal construction, the AGD is mostly presented as the result of a cause or a reason, marked by the prefacing particle *suoyi* 'so,' as exemplified in (6.20) and (6.21) above and (6.24) below. Moreover, in contrast to conditional-prefaced AGDs, which can take the form of an imperative, AGDs marked by *suoyi* are consistently realized in the form of a declarative, as also illustrated in the following instance.

(6.24) *suoyi*

```
01 T01: 真的    是    你的      font 太  大.
        zhende  shi  nide       font tai  da.
        really  COP  2SG.GEN    too   big
02 W17: 喔:::.
        ou:::.
        INT
03 T01: →font 太  大. 所以，我的      意見    就是，你 把  你的       font   縮
         font tai da. suoyi, wode     yijian jiushi, ni ba nide        font   suo
              too big  so     1SG.GEN opinion that.is 2SG BA 2SG.GEN           shrink
04      一半.
        yiban.
        half
05 W17: Mm.
        Mm.
        INT
```

'T01: It's really because your font size is too big.

W17: Oh.

T01: Your font is too big, so my suggestion is that you halve the font size.

W17: Mm.'

As presented above, while both conditionals and causals are constructions that are recurrently deployed in the instances of AGDs, they have distinctive structural features. In the next section, we will further discuss another aspect in which the two constructions differ, that is, the common sequential patterns in relation to the AGD.

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6.2.2. Sequences of causal constructions and AGDs

The sequential position of the causal clause is a topic that has received much attention not only in Chinese linguistics (Biq, 1995; Chang & Su, 2012; Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2001), but also across languages (Diessel, 2001; Diessel & Hetterle, 2011; Ford & Mori, 1994). Most previous studies report a tendency of the causal clause in Mandarin Chinese to occur after the main clause or the clause that reveals the effect or result, as illustrated in (6.25) and (6.26) below. A common explanation for such a propensity is that causal clauses are often deployed as an interactional means to mitigate a stance-laden, repairable statement (Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2001).

(6.25) AGD → causal
01 T03:→那, 或許,　　可以　講,　　 **results showed that.**
　　　　　na,　huoxu,　keyi　jiang,　results showed that.
　　　　　that　perhaps can　　say
02 W15: 喔:::.
　　　　　ou:::.
　　　　　INT
03 T03:→**因為　　這, 才　會　知道　說**,
　　　　　yinwei zhe, cai hui zhidao shuo,
　　　　　because this CAI will know say
04 W15: 喔:::.
　　　　　ou:::.
　　　　　INT
05 T03: [你　在　講的　　是　你],
　　　　　[ni　zai　jiangde　shi　ni],
　　　　　2SG ASP say.NOM COP 2SG
06 W15: [對 對　對 對　　對].
　　　　　dui dui　dui dui　dui
　　　　　INT INT INT INT INT
'T03: Then, perhaps you can say *results showed that*.
 W15: Oh.
 T03: Because this, (readers) will then know that,

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W15: Oh.

T03: You're talking about your own (research).

W15: Right right right.'

(6.26) AGD → response → causal

01 T05:→對. 那 我 這樣　　還是 覺得 空間　先　講.
　　　dui. na wo　zheyang haishi juede kongjian xian jiang.
　　　right that 1SG this.way still feel　space　　first say

02 W06: 好. 空間　　先　講.
　　　hao. kongjian xian jiang
　　　good space　　first say

03 T05:→因為 你 前面　　應該　　總是　　要 先　解釋, 你 那麼 多 因子 的
　　　yinwei ni qianmian yinggai zhongshi yao xian jieshi, ni　name duo yinzi de
　　　because 2SG front should　　still　　want first explain 2SG that many factor ASSC

04　　　作用　是　什麼 啊.
　　　zuoyong shi shenme a.
　　　function COP what FP

05 W06: 對.
　　　dui.
　　　right

06 T05: 之類的.
　　　zhileide.
　　　and.stuff

'T05: Right. Then I still think you should talk about the spatial aspect first.

W06: Okay. The spatial aspect first.

T05: Because you should always explain in the beginning what the function of the multifactorial analysis is.

W06: Right.

T05: Or something like that.'

Meanwhile, our data shows a slightly different pattern. As exemplified in the examples below, a proportion of the *yinwei*-marked clauses found in the context of an AGD in fact precede the core directive, i.e., the result clause, despite the fact that the examples are found in spoken discourse (cf. Song & Tao, 2009). The order of the clauses is in general the same even when only the cause clause or the result clause is marked, as illustrated in (6.27) and (6.28) below.

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(6.27) *yinweii* + cause → *suoyi* + effect

01 T03:→這, 這邊, 因為 明顯 他 是 要 換 一個 小 主題.

    zhe, zhebian, yinwei mingxian ta shi yao huan yige xiao chuti

    this here because obvious 3SG COP want change one.CL small topic

02 W15: 嗯 哼 哼 哼.

    uhn hun hun hun.

    INT INT INT INT

03 T03: →所以, 你 就 要, (.) 想 辦法, 把 他 裡面 的 information, 跟

    suoyi, ni jiu yao, (.) xiang banfa, ba ta limian de information, gen

    so 2SG JIU want think method BA 3SG inside ASSC with

04   上面 的 那 一句, 扣 在 一起.

    shangmian de na yiju, kou zai yiqi.

    top ASSC that one.CL lock at together

05: W15: 嗯 嗯 嗯 嗯.

    uhn uhn uhn uhn

    INT INT INT INT

'T03: Here. Because obviously, he's making a slight change to another subtopic,

 W15: uhn huh.

 T03: you need to figure out a way to link the information to the previous sentence.

 W15: Mm mm.'

(6.28) *yinweii* + cause → effect

01 T02: from life of Taiwanese society, such as,

    from life of Taiwanese society, such as,

02 W04: 嗯.

    uhn.

    INT

03 T02:→因為 你 後面 有 很多 東西, 你 可以 用 加 個 as.

    yinwei ni houmian you hen duo dongxi, ni keyi yong jia ge as.

    because 2SG back have very much stuff 2SG can use add CL

04   such as sounds of mahjhong, firecracker:::r, cracker::,(.) s.

    such as sounds of mahjhong, firecracker:::r, cracker::,(.) s.

'T02: from life of Taiwanese society, such as

 W04: Mm.

 T02: Because you've got lots of things to mention in the following, you can add an *as*, like
    such as sounds of mahjhong and *firecrackers*.'

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The sequence of the causal construction and the AGD can thus be represented in the figure below.

(a)
Tutor: [discourse] → (*yinwei*) [account] → (suoyi) [AGD]

(b)
Tutor: [AGD] → *yinwei* [account]

(c)
Tutor: [AGD]
Tutee: [response]
Tutor: *yinwei* [account]
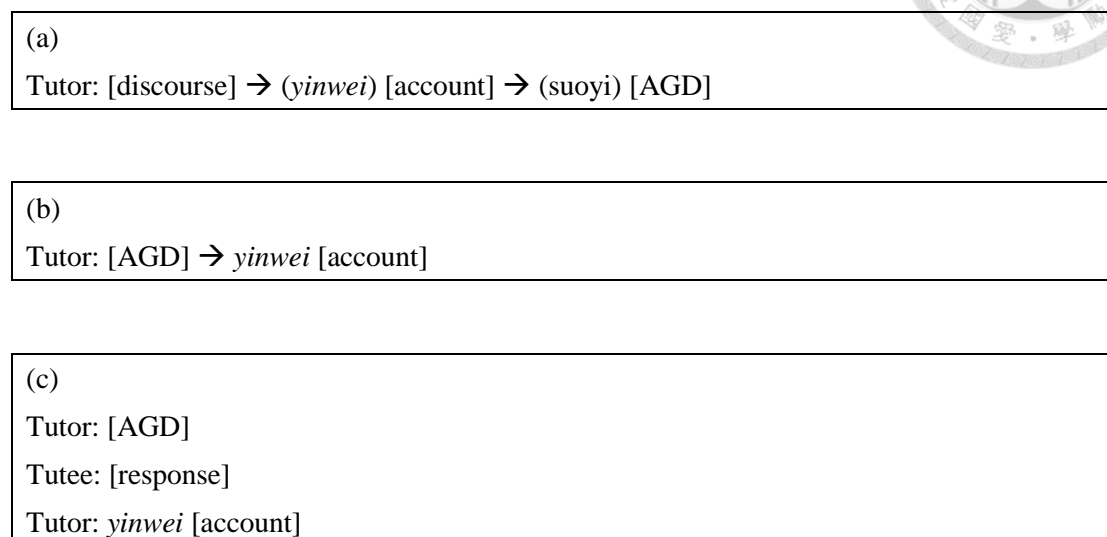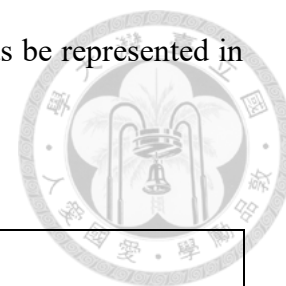
Figure 2 Sequential patterns of the causal constructions

As Table 15 below shows, the utterance that conveys the cause tends to precede the utterance that presents the effect or result in writing tutorals. There may be at least three reasons why the tendency observed in our data differs from that reported in other studies. First, we examined not only clauses preceded by *yinwei* 'because,' but also other causal clauses, such as those preceded by *suoyi* 'so'. When a *suoyi*-initated clause is formulated, the cause almost always precedes the *suoyi* clause.

Table 15 Distribution of cause and effect elements in AGDs

	cause before effect	effect before cause
Number	258	187
Percentage	57.98	42.02

Second, Song and Tao (2009) suggests that when the utterance is more planned, language users are more likely to use the cause-first order. Third, since the content of the AGD is the focus of this particular type of institutional discourse, it is thus placed

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toward the end of an utterance, where the new information is usually revealed (LaPolla, 1995). Finally, by discussing the reason before laying out the directive, the tutor demonstrates the process of reasoning when making the decision. This may allow the tutor to convince the tutee to accept the advice while fulfilling his or her pedagogical purpose. We will elaborate on this topic further in the next section.

6.2.3. Functions of causal constructions for AGDs

As Waring (2007b) observes, accounts are pervasive and multifunctional in the advice-giving sequence of English writing tutorials that take place in the United States. Their functions, according to the author, include facework, pedagogy and the management of resistance. Similar to Waring's (2007) observation in English, causal constructions that present an account in Mandarin Chinese also appear to support the AGD in various ways.

Discursively, causal constructions seem to differ from conditionals in the information that they introduce. That is, while the latter are often used to present given information, the former indicate that the following content may be new information that contrasts with the foregoing discourse. This is evidenced partly in the fact that causal constructions mostly precede a full clause with an overt subject and a main predicate, whereas the conditional is usually followed by utterances in which the reference can and has to be inferred from the context. Consider the following example.

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(6.29) Discourse function

01 T02: 我 先 說, 那 我 覺得 你的 第一句 可能 就 不用, 就 不
　　　　wo xian shuo, na wo juede nide diyiju keneng jiu buyong, jiu bu
　　　　1SG first say that 1SG think 2SG.GEN first.CL possible JIU NEG.use JIU NEG

02 　　需要 第一句 啦. [因為,]
　　　　xuyao diyiju la. [yinwei,]
　　　　need first.CL FP because

03 W16: 　　　　　　　　　[嗯.]
　　　　　　　　　　　　[uhn.]
　　　　　　　　　　　　 INT

04 T02: → 你 懂 我 意思 嗎. **因為 他, ( ) 因為 通常 第一句 會**
　　　　　ni dong wo yisi ma. **yinwei ta, ( ) yinwei tongchang diyiju hui**
　　　　　2SG understand 1SG meaning Q because 3SG because usually first.CL will

05 　　**是, 不是 主題-, 就是 通常 是 主題 啦.** [所以,]
　　　　shi, bushi chuti-, jiushi tongchang shi chuti la. [suoyi,]
　　　　COP NEG.COP topic that.is usually COP topic FP so

06 W16: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[嗯.]
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　uhn.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　INT

07 T02: 所以, 你 這樣 講 的 時候, 我 看到 這個 的 時候, 我 會
　　　　suoyi, ni zheyang jiang de shihou, wo kangdao zhege de shihou, wo hui
　　　　so 2SG this.way say ASSC time 1SG see this.CL ASSC time 1SG will

08 　　期待,
　　　　qidai,
　　　　expect

09 　　(0.8s)

10 W16: 要 講 很 多::.
　　　　yao jiang hen duo::.
　　　　want say very much

'T02: Let me say this first. I don't think you need your first sentences. It's not necessary,
　　　because…
　W16: Mm.
　T02: Do you know what I mean? Because it, because usually if it's not the topic sentence,
　　　usually it's the topic sentence. So,
　W16: Mm.
　T02: So when you put it that way, when I read this, I'll expect that,
　W16: I'm going to say more about it.'

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In the above example, T02 first puts forward his suggestion in lines 1 and 2, which is responded to by the tutee with a mere *uhn*. The tutor then provides an account for the suggestion in the next turn. The *yinwei*-prefaced clause presents not only an explanation for the preceding AGD, but also some new information that may contrast or contradict with the tutee's assumption or idea. Apparently, in this example, the tutor seems to suggest that how the tutee organizes his writing may counter to the expectation of an English reader.

The same strategy can be observed in (6.30) below. At the end of this extract, T04 suggests that the tutee add a plural marker to the noun *value*, and before explicitly laying out this advice, the tutor formulates a *yinwei*-prefaced clause to explain the reasoning behind this suggestion. Similar to the case in (6.29) above, the tutor implies the discrepancy between the structure that the tutee uses in his writing and the purpose that he may intend to achieve by means of the *yinwei*-clause. In so doing, the tutor not only identifies the causal relation between the adjacent utterances, but also indicates the contrastive information conveyed in the causal construction.

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(6.30) Discourse function

01 T04: 然後::: 這個 value 可能　指　的　是　　一種，就是 指　的
　　　　ranhou::: zhege value keneng　zhi　de　shi　　yizhong, jiushi zhi　de
　　　　then　　this.CL　　possible refer ASSC COP　one.kind that.is refer ASSC

02　　　就是 一個　價值觀　的　感覺　嘛.
　　　　jiushi yige　jiazhiguan de　　ganjue me.
　　　　that.is one.CL value　　ASSC feeling FP

03 W01: 嗯 嗯 嗯.
　　　　uhn uhn uhn.
　　　　INT INT INT

03 T04:→那, 因為　　你　接下來 下面　有　提到　　兩樣　　東西.
　　　　na, yinwei ni jiexialai xiamian you tidao liangyang dongxi.
　　　　that　because 2SG next　bottom　have mention two.kind stuff

04 W01: 是.
　　　　shi.
　　　　COP

05 T04:→**所以 我 就　會 建議 value 這個　地方 可以　加 個 s.**
　　　　suoyi wo jiu　hui jianyi value zhege　difang keyi　jia ge s.
　　　　so　　1SG JIU will suggest　this.CL place　can　add CL

06 W01: 喔, s.
　　　　ou, s.
　　　　INT

'T04: And the *value* here can refer to sort of like a moral value.
 W01: Mm mm.
 T04: And because you mention two things in the following,
 W01: Right.
 T04: So, I'll suggest that you add an *s* after *value*.
 W01: Oh! *S.*'

The fact that causal constructions tend to introduce new, contrastive information is also related to their interpersonal function (Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2001). As past research has suggested, the act of advice-giving is by itself more or less face-threatening, and thus the advice giver may use devices to mitigate the force (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Locher, 2006; Zuczkowski, Bongelli, & Riccioni, 2017). Accounts, or causals, are one of the resources for achieving this end (Song & Tao, 2009; Waring, 2007b).

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For example, T05 in (6.31) below asks the tutee to clarify in her revision what she means by the word *behavior*, implying that the original writing is not clear enough. T05's advice is potentially face-threatening in at least two ways. First, she indicates that her text may have a clarity problem (*ni keneng yao jiang qingchu* 'you may have to make it clearer'), which is a more or less negative assessment. Meanwhile, this is also an AGD that aims to get the tutee to do something in the future. As a result, in order to mitigate the force, the tutor formats a *yinwei*-prefaced utterance to provide an account for her advice and assessment.

(6.31) Interpersonal function

01 T05: 你的 behaviors, 指　的　　是::::: (0.4) 誰.
　　　　nide behaviors, zhi de　shi::::: (0.4) shei.
　　　　2SG.GEN　　　refer ASSC COP　　who

02　　　(4.0)

03 T05: 是　前面　的　那個　嗎.
　　　　shi qianmian de　nage　ma.
　　　　COP front　ASSC that.CL Q

04 W08: 就是:, 學 到 的　　新 東西.
　　　　jiushi:, xue dao de　xin dongxi.
　　　　that.is learn to ASSC new stuff

05 T05: 喔,　學 到 的　　新　東 西 喔. 那 你　可能　要 s::::,　講　清楚.
　　　　ou,　xue dao de　xin　dongxi ou. na　ni　keneng yao s;:::, jiang qingchu
　　　　INT learn to　ASSC new stuff　FP that 2SG possible want　say　clear

06 →因為 behavior 可以 是 行-, 就是 一般　的　　動物 行為,　或 什麼
　　　yinwei behavior keyi shi xing-, jiushi yiban　de　　dongwu xingwei, huo shenme
　　　because　　can COP　that.is general ASSC animal　behavior or　what

07　　　行為.
　　　　xingwei.
　　　　behavior

08 W08: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

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09 T05:→所以　你　這邊　　可能　　要　講　清楚，你的　　behavior　指　的　是::,
　　　　suoyi　ni　zhebian keneng　yao jiang qingchu nide　behavior　zhi de　shi::,
　　　　so　　2SG　here　　possible want say　clear　2SG.GEN　　　　refer ASSC COP
10　　**(.)　哪　一個　　部份　的.**
　　　　(.) na　yige　　bufen de.
　　　　　which one.CL part　　ASSC
11 W08: 喔::.
　　　　ou::.
　　　　INT

'T05: What do you mean by *behavior*? The former one?
 W08: I mean, the things that have just been learned.
 T05: Oh, the things that have just be learned. Then you probably have to make it clear,
　　　because the behavior can be a general behavior of an animal or something else.
 W08: Mm.
 T05: So, you may need to make it clear about what you're referring to by *behavior*.
 W08: Oh, I see.'

　　Similarly, T03 in (6.32) below makes clears in line 1 that the "problem" lies in the organization, which constitutes a straightforward assessment. Based on that, the tutor then puts forward a piece of advice after the tutee's production of the response token *uhn* in line 2. The advice along with the assessment constitutes a social action that may threaten both the tutee's positive and negative face (desirability and autonomy), and as a consequence, T03 formulates an account to remedy this situation. Noticeably, the *yinwei*-prefaced utterance in fact does not present the reason why the tutor gives such advice. Rather, it is designed to appeal to the tutee's experience and to show that the tutee also senses the problem herself, which may engage the tutee in the evaluation and revision of the structure.

(6.32) Interpersonal function

01 T03: 那 你 看, 就是::, 我-, z-, 剛剛　　那 是 架構 的 問題 嘛.
　　　　 na　ni kan, jiushi::, wo-, z-, ganggang na　shi　jiagou　de　wenti　me.
　　　　 that 2SG see that.is 1SG　　just　　that COP structure ASSC problem FP

02 W07: 嗯.
　　　　 uhn.
　　　　 INT

03 T03: →就是 你　回去 可以 把 他 變成　　三 段.　　　 因為　 其實,
　　　　 jiushi ni　huiqu keyi ba ta biancheng san duan.　 yinwei　qishi,
　　　　 that.is 2SG return can BA 3SG become three paragraph because actually

04 W07: 嗯.
　　　　 uhn.
　　　　 INT

05 T03: →你 自己 在 找 的　　時候, 也 不 太-,
　　　　 ni　ziji　zai chao de　　shihou, ye bu tai-,
　　　　 2SG self ASP find ASSC time　 also NEG too

06 W07: 嗯.
　　　　 uhn.
　　　　 INT

'T03: So, you see, the thing we just talked was a problem of the organization.
 W07: Mm.
 T03: So when you are revising it, you can make it into three paragraphs, because in fact,
 W07: Mm.
 T03: you yourself were not quite able to find the information either.
 W07: Mm.'

Apart from their discourse and interpersonal functions, causal constructions also help tutors to do pedagogy (cf. Waring, 2007b). For example, in (6.33) below, the tutor first comments on the tutee's organization of her writing (*jiushi youdian tai jiu le* 'It's just a bit too long'), indicating that the tutee waits too long to reveal her stance toward the research topic. After her assessment in line 1 and the tutee's information-receipt token *ou* 'oh' in line 2, T05 elaborates on her advice by formulating a *yinwei*-prefaced turn. It should be noted that the *yinwei*-prefaced turn functions not only to support the evaluation that the tutor has made but also to substantiate the content of the advice,

specifying how the writer should structure the text. In so doing, the tutor also informs of the tutee some general principles of research writing.

(6.33) Pedagogical function

01 T05: 就是 有 點 太, 久 了.
       jiushi you dian tai, jiu le.
       that.is have bit too long FP

02 W08: 喔.
       ou.
       INT

03 T05: → 因為 在 前面 就 應該 要 讓 他 知道 說, 喔, 你 這篇
       yinwei zai qianmian jiu yinggai yao rang ta zhidao shuo, ou, ni zhepian
       because LOC front JIU should want let 3SG know say INT 2SG this.CL

04   paper 主要 的::, (.) 脈絡 是 要 走 哪 一塊. ａｂｃ 三條 路 之後
       paper zhuyao de::, (.) mailuo shi yao zhou na yikuai. a b c santiao lu zhihou
         main ASSC context COP want go which one.area three.CL road after

05   你 要 走 哪 一塊. 然後, ａｂｃ下面 可能 有 小 ａ 小 b.
       ni yao zhou na yikuai. ranhou, a b c xiamian keneng you xiao a xiao b
       2SG want go which one.area then bottom possible have small small

06   小 ｃ.
       xiao c.
       small

07 W08: 嗯.
       uhn.
       INT

'T05: It takes a bit too long.
 W08: Oh.
 T05: Because you should let the reader know in the beginning, oh, what's the main track that this paper is going to take. After these three tracks, a, b, and c, which path are you going to take? And there might be a', b', and c', under the categories, a, b, and c.
 W08: Mm.'

Pedagogically, casual constructions can be used to highlight a grammatical rule or demonstrate to tutees how they can decide which grammatical rule to apply when composing their text. For instance, in (6.34) below, T03 uses a *yinwei*-prefaced clause to introduce the reason why the writer should use *they* to refer to the term *job difficulties*

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mentioned in the text earlier. A similar case can be found in (6.32) above, in which the tutor uses a *yinwei*-prefaced utterance to reveal the reason why a plural form of the noun should be used. This use of the causal construction is also akin to the pedagogical use of conditionals in that both constructions function to construct a condition for the following advice on language structure and also display the tutor's reasoning process of making the decision.

(6.34) Pedagogical function
01 T03: 如果, (0.2) 他 they 他 也 可以 代表, job difficulties.
　　　 ruguo, (0.2) ta they ta ye keyi daibiao, job difficulties.
　　　 if　　 3SG　 3SG also can represent
02 W10: 嗯 嗯.
　　　 uhn uhn
　　　 INT INT
03 T03:→因為　 全部　 都 是 複數. 這 三個　　 都 可以 用 they.
　　　 yinwei quanbu dou shi fushu. zhe sange　 dou keyi yong they.
　　　 because　all　 all COP plural this three.CL all　can use
04 W10: 嗯::.
　　　 uhn::.
　　　 INT
'T03: If it can refer to job difficulties
 W10: Mm mm.
 T05: Because all of them are plural, you can use they to refer to them three.
 W10: Mm.'

Finally, causal constructions allow tutors to reveal how they or a potential reader understands or views this passage. By doing so, the tutor not only pinpoints a potential problem of the original text, but also provides the tutee with the reader's perspective. To illustrate, T04 in (6.35) below uses the *yinwei*-turn clause to indicate that one of the sentences they have been discussing is not quite clear and therefore the tutee may need to elaborate on that to clarify.

(6.35) Pedagogical function

01 T04:→ okay. 好. **因為::, er:::m 這句 話, 就:::, 稍微 可能 有 點 不 太**
　　　　 okay. hao. **yinwei::, er:::m zheju hua, jiu:::, shaowei keneng you dian bu tai**
　　　　 good because　　 this.CL words JIU a.bit possible have bit NEG too

02 　　→**清楚.**
　　　　 qingchu.
　　　　 clear

03 W01: 嗯 哼 哼 哼.
　　　　 uhn hun hun hun.
　　　　 INT INT INT INT

04 T04: 所以 可能 要 把你 剛剛 講 的 部份, 再, 再 多 加
　　　　 suoyi keneng yao ba ni ganggang jiang de bufen, zai, zai duo jia
　　　　 so possible want BA 2SG just say ASSC part again again more add

05 　　一點 描述.
　　　　 yidian miaoshu.
　　　　 a.bit description

'T04: Okay. Alright. Because this sentence is a bit not clear,
 W01: Uh huh.
 T04: you may need to elaborate on what you have just said.'
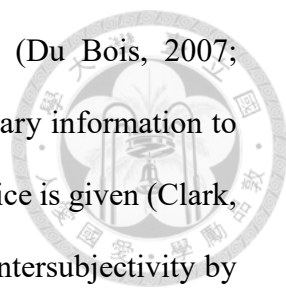
In this example, the tutor uses the causal construction to introduce the reader's perspective into the discourse so as to support their advice while informing tutees of the issue(s) to which they should pay more attention when drafting their texts. This strategy, although fairly common in advice-giving interaction, is mainly implemented with the help of the causal construction rather than the more pervasive conditional construction.

6.3. Intersubjectivity in conditional and causal constructions

The examples of conditional and causal constructions discussed in this chapter also demonstrate particular dimensions of intersubjectivity involved in AGDs. First, as alluded to in the discussions of the discourse function of the two constructions, the tutor needs to take into account the addressee's information/knowledge status when

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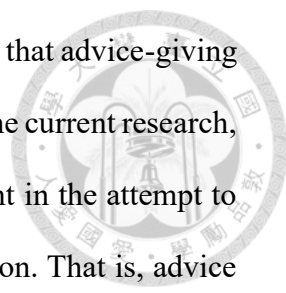
employing conditionals and causals to form instances of AGDs (Du Bois, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006). The use of these patterns also helps add necessary information to the common ground between the tutor and tutee when a piece of advice is given (Clark, 1996). These two structures thus contribute to the construction of intersubjectivity by enhancing the tutorial participants' mutual understanding and the tutee's understanding of the AGD.

Moreover, the use of these two constructions in AGDs is not only cognitive and informative, but also interpersonal and persuasive. The two patterns allow the tutor to address the tutee's face want by either avoiding imposing pressure on the tutee or engaging the tutee in the construction of the advice (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Traugott & Dasher, 2001). By deploying conditionals and causals in AGDs, tutors are also enabled to present their process of reasoning in handling similar issues, as if they were the writer, which helps them to construct an argument and persuade the tutee to carry out the proposed suggestion (Verhagen, 2005).

6.4. Chapter summary
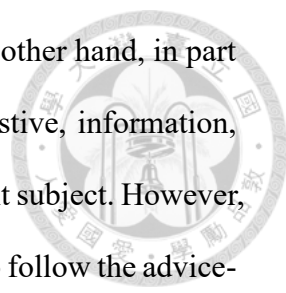
In this chapter, we have examined two of the Mandarin adverbial constructions most commonly found in the context of advice-giving directives in writing tutorials, i.e., conditionals and causals. The frequent occurrences of conditionals and causals adjacent to AGDs, but not to other types of directives mentioned in the previous chapter, suggest that advice-giving is distinctive from other directive actions, as some of the previous studies on advice-giving have emphasized. A number of researchers have identified the similarity between advice-giving and other types of speech acts, such as informing (Heritage & Sefi, 1992), assertives (Riccioni, Bongelli, & Zuczkowski, 2014), and assessments and judgments (Locher, 2006).

Based on these previous analyses and our data, we further argue that advice-giving is different from other directive actions in that speakers, or tutors in the current research, when giving advice to addressees, are also constructing an argument in the attempt to convince them to accept the advice, at least in the ongoing interaction. That is, advice is designed in a way that aims not only to inform, assert or assess, but also to negotiate, persuade and convince (Verhagen, 2005). Although in our data, tutors do talk much more and more often than their tutee and tend to make statements rather than ask questions when giving advice, they do not simply provide authoritative suggestions in a unidirectional way. Instead, tutors need to take the tutee's thoughts and words in account and construct their advice accordingly.

The AGD's tendency to co-occur with conditionals and causals also, to some extent, corresponds with previous researchers' argument that advice-giving should be conceptualized as a sequential activity rather than a mere speech act (Locher & Limberg, 2012; Riccioni et al., 2014). That is, unlike other types of directives found in our data and those discussed in the speech-act literature, AGDs usually constitute more than one simple utterance or clause and involve multiple turns and sequences. From the examples examined in this chapter, we can see that given the co-occurring adverbial constructions, the advice-giving turns are by themselves already structurally and conceptually more complicated than other directive actions. Moreover, as our discussion has shown, these adverbial constructions not only allow the speaker to elaborate on the advice, but also link the advice to the adjacent discourse and also to the addressee.

Our analysis further demonstrates that the form and position of these adverbial constructions are largely shaped by their functions in the sequential context. For example, in our data, conditionals are found to precede the advice-giving directive and often contain phrases or subjectless clauses, which may come from the previous turn or utterance. These traits, as we have argued, are related to the use of conditionals in

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connecting the adjacent discourse and in engaging the tutee. On the other hand, in part because causal clauses often introduce new, and sometimes contrastive, information, the causal marker *yinwei* tends to precede a full clause with an explicit subject. However, although a number of the *yinwei*-prefaced clauses are indeed found to follow the advice-giving utterance, as discourse-based studies have repeatedly attested (e.g., Diessel & Hetterle, 2011; Ford & Mori, 1994; Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2006), a good proportion of *yinwei*-marked utterances are also observed to occur prior to the advice or the result clause. This may be partly attributed to the fact that tutors may plan more before formulating their advice and that causal clauses serve not only interpersonal functions but also other purposes.

Finally, we elucidate how tutors use conditionals and causals to achieve discoursal, interpersonal, pedagogical functions in various ways. Some of these functions are more or less institution- or genre-specific (e.g., pedagogy), while some are also commonly in other types of spoken discourse (e.g., interpersonal functions). These functions may suggest that writing tutorial interactions, while mostly casual and conversational, are distinctive to some extent from daily conversations and the disparity can give rise to the difference in the deployment of particular lexico-grammatical devices. They also show that tutors, when giving advice in a tutorial, are not simply playing the role of a professional, authoritative consultant, but need to design their turns delicately in order to manage different issues (discourse, interaction and pedagogy) simultaneously.

In the next chapter, we will investigate two other groups of linguistic constructions that are often utilized along with AGDs and argue that tutors, while professional and directive, may appear to position themselves as uncertain or less absolute when presenting to the tutee their advice. In so doing, they may also attempt to achieve particular interpersonal and pedagogical ends in the ongoing interaction.

Chapter 7 Disjunctive and Exemplification Constructions in AGDs
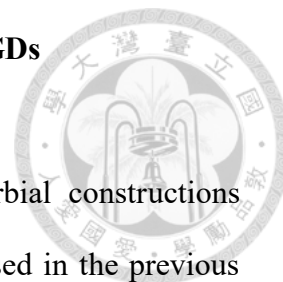
In chapter 6, we have discussed two most frequent adverbial constructions deployed in the instances of AGDs in writing tutorials. As discussed in the previous chapter, these two constructions tend to be realized in particular forms and employed to serve important institutional and interpersonal functions. However, our results show that in addition to these two patterns, tutors also appear to recurrently adopt other types of linguistic devices when constructing an AGD in discourse. Disjunctive constructions (256 out of 1064; 24.06%) and exemplification constructions (125 out of 1064; 11.75%), in particular, are examples of such commonly used linguistic devices in writing tutoring interaction and will be examined and analyzed in the present chapter.

Similar to conditionals and causals, these two sets of linguistic patterns facilitate the tutor' management of discourse, interpersonal and pedagogical functions in writing tutorial encounters. Furthermore, we will argue in what follows that disjunctive and exemplification constructions are even more intersubjectively oriented than the ones examined in the previous chapter in that they enable the tutor to not only address the tutee's concerns but also leave some room for tutee autonomy and participation in constructing the advice.

7.1. Disjunctive constructions

In comparison with conditional and causal constructions, whose use in institutional and daily conversations has been studied by a fair number of researchers across languages (e.g., Chang & Su, 2012; Ford & Mori, 1994; Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2006; Waring, 2007b), constructions that present alternative choices have not received much attention in the literature (e.g., Ariel & Mauri, 2018; Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2016). Nevertheless, as will be shown in the following, these disjunctive

constructions, similar to conditional and causal constructions, also play a significant role in tutors' arrangement and formulation of the AGD.

7.1.1. Linguistic patterns of disjunctive constructions

Among constructions that tend to co-occur with AGDs, those employed to present alternative choices show the greatest diversity. Three major lexcio-grammatical patterns are found to serve this function, including (1) canonical disjunctive markers such as *huoshi*, *huozhe*, *huozheshi*, and *haishi* 'or,' (2) adverbial markers such as *yaome* and *buran*, and (3) NCC fragments such as *lingwai yige fangfa shi* 'another way is'. Instances of each of the constructions will be provided and discussed below.

The most frequent markers that the tutors in our study use to indicate alternative suggestions are canonical disjunctive connectors such as *huoshi*, *huozhe*, and *huozheshi*, 'or,' as exemplified in (7.1) below. In this example, T01 first lays out an AGD in line 1, suggesting that the tutee pay attention to her use of tense. After W03's response in line 2, the tutor specifies in line 3 the clause where the tutee may have to adjust her use of tense. T01 extends his turn by producing a disjunctive marker *huoshi* in the same line to provide an alternative interpretation of the writer's intended meaning and deploys another disjunctive marker in line 5 to introduce a way to correct the sentence based on the alternative interpretation.

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(7.1) *huo*(*zhe*)*shi*

01 T01: 我　發現　　說，可能　　只是 你 需要　注意　一下 你的　　tense.

wo　faxian　shuo, keneng zhishi ni　xuyao zhuyi　yixia nide　　tense.

1SG discover say　possible just　1SG need notice　a.bit 2SG.GEN

02 W03: 嗯 哼.

uhn hun.

INT INT

03 T01: → 就是說，　the results showed.或，　或是, 如果 只是 只 有 一個 result,

jiushishuo, the results showed. **huo, huoshi**, ruguo zhishi zhi you yige result,

that.is.to.say　　　　　　　　or　　or　　if　　just　only have one.CL

04 W03: 喔.

ou.

INT

05 T01: → 或者　是 the result showed that.

huozhe shi the result showed that.

or　　COP

06 W03: 嗯 哼.

uhn hun.

INT INT

'T01: I just figured that probably you just need to pay attention to your use of tense.

W03: Uh huh.

T01: I mean, *the results showed* or if there is only one *result*

W03: Oh.

T01: or *the result showed that*.

W03: Uh huh.'

Although the disjunctive markers mentioned here can preface a noun or verb phrase, most instances in our data are found to precede a clause, as illustrated in the excerptS above. This tendency may suggest that the disjunctive connectors may function more as a discourse marker rather than simply a grammatical conjunction at least in writing tutoring discourse.

In addition to these canonical disjunctive connectors, other disjunctive markers such as *yaome* 'either' and *buran* 'otherwise' are also found in our data, as exemplified in (7.2) and (7.3) below respectively, despite their low frequency. Although both *yaome*

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and *buran* can convey the meaning of alternativity, these two markers differ in their structural distribution. As also displayed in the following examples, while *buran*, similar to the canonical connectors discussed earlier, prefaces suggestions other than the first one mentioned in the discourse, *yaome* tends to occur in pairs or with another disjunctive marker such as *huoshi*, a pattern similar to the either-or construction in English.

(7.2) *yaome… yaome…*
01 T02:→通常　　就是, 反正　　**要嘛**　　就是 對稱,　　**要嘛** 就是　a and b

　　　　tongchang jiushi, fanzheng yaome　 jiushi duicheng, yaome jiushi a and b

　　　　usually　　that.is anyway　either　 that.is parallel　　either that.is

02　　　然後　　名詞.

　　　　ranhou　mingci.

　　　　then　　noun

03 W21: 然後 或是　 把 那個　東西　 往前.　　嗯.

　　　　ranhou huoshi ba nage　　dongxi wangqian. uhn.

　　　　then　or　　BA that.CL stuff　　forward　INT

04 T02: 對, 或者 是　　名詞, a and b.

　　　　dui, huozhe shi　mingci, a and b.

　　　　right or　　COP noun

05 W21: 好.

　　　　hao.

　　　　good

'T02: Usually, it's either in parallel or *a and b*, and then the noun,

　W21: Or move this thing forward. Mm.

　T02: Right. Or The noun, *a and b*.

　W21: Okay.'

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(7.3) (*yao*) *buran*

01 T05: 然後 目前, 只(), 這樣 也 可以.
       ranhou muqian zhi (), zheyang ye keyi.
       then so.far only this.way also can

02 W06: okay.
       okay.

03 T05: → 可是::, **要不然** 就是 把 他 換 到 第三 章 的, 比較 前面
       keshi::, yaoburan jiushi ba ta huan dao disan zhang de, bijiao qianmian
       but otherwise that.is BA 3SG change to third chapter ASSC more front

04   一點點.
       yidiandian.
       a.bit

05 W06: 嗯 哼. 好.
       uhn hun. hao.
       INT INT good

'T05: And it's okay as it is now.
 W06: Okay.
 T05: But, or you can move it to the first few pages of Chapter 3.
 W06: Uh huh. Okay.'

It should be noted that the marker *yaome* 'either' in (7.4) above is distinctive from other disjunctive constructions in a number of ways. First, it is the only device that marks the first option rather than the second option. Second, and also as a result of the first trait, it projects another option even prior to the presentation of the first option. As can be seen from (7.4), the tutor's use of the *yaome* marker allows the tutee to produce the second part of the suggestion, thus co-constructing the tutor's advice. Third, *yaome* restricts the options to only the two presented, which is referred to as the exhaustive use of disjunction in Ariel and Mauri's (2018) terms, unlike other disjunctive constructions, which allow for more possible choices.

Finally, the alternative choice can also be introduced into the discourse by means of the NCC fragment, as demonstrated in (7.4) below. In such a case, the noun phrase tends to be an abstract noun meaning 'method' or 'approach' in Mandarin, such as

fangfa 'method' modified by an adjective that expresses the meaning of alternativity, such as *lingwai* 'another,' as illustrated in the examples below. The noun phrase can thus help specify the category or function of the following utterance, while characterizing it as an alternative option.
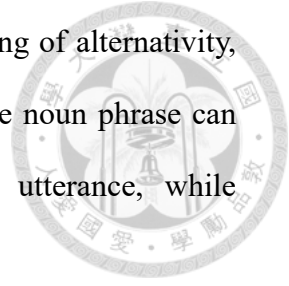
(7.4) NCC
01 T03: →另外 的::, 一個　　查法　　　　就是:::, 你 可能　　就是:::, 去, 去 google,
　　　　lingwai de::, yige　chafa　　　jiushi:::, ni　keneng　jiushi:::, qu, qu google,
　　　　other　ASSC one.CL search.method that.is　2SG possible that.is　　go go
02　　看 人家 怎麼 使用.
　　　kan renjia zenme shiyong.
　　　see others how　use
03 W15: 嗯.
　　　uhn.
　　　INT
'T03: Another way to know how to use the word is that you can google it and see how other
　　　people use it.
　W15: Mm.'

The above discussion shows that tutors can use a number of constructions to provide alternative options in the tutoring interaction. In the following section, we will explicate how tutors employ these constructions in particular sequential patterns.

7.1.2. Sequences of disjunctive constructions and AGDs

In contrast to the conditional and causal constructions discussed in the previous chapter, the types of disjunctive constructions mentioned in section 7.1.1 occur primarily after the core directive. As exemplified in (7.5) to (7.7) below, the tutor would first put forth a suggestion and then produce an utterance prefaced by the disjunctive marker as a possible alternative choice. This order seems to be fixed and is essential to the use of disjunctive constructions, except for the case of *yaome* 'either' discussed in the last section. This sequential order, as will be elucidated in section 7.1.3, is also

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linked to its function in writing tutorial interaction.

(7.5) *huoshi*

01 T01: 他 這個　研究 的　部份 的話,

        ta　zhege　yanjiu de　bufen dehua,

        3SG this.CL study ASSC part　if

02 W03: 嗯.

        uhn.

        INT

03 T01:→你 可以 放 在 introduction. 就 在 最:: 前面　　的　　部份

        ni　keyi fang zai introduction. jiu zai zui:: qianmian　de　　bufen

        2SG can　put　at　　　　　　JIU at most front　　ASSC　part

04 W03: 嗯 哼.

        uhn hun.

        INT INT

05 T01:→**或 是:::, (**.) 在 你, 對, 就 在 你　introduction 的　　部份.

        huo shi:::, (.) zai ni,　dui, jiu zai ni　introduction de　　bufen.

        or　COP　　at　2SG yes JIU at 2SG　　　　　ASSC part

06 W03: 嗯 哼.

        uhn hun.

        INT INT

'T01: As for his research,

 W03: Mm.

 T01: You can mention it in the very beginning of your introduction section.

 W03: Uhn huh.

 T01: Or, in your, yes, in your introduction section.

 W03: Uhn huh.'

(7.6) (*yao*) *buran*

01 T05:→對. 如果 你　提到 的話, 應該　就是 下面　　也　　要　講.
　　　　dui. ruguo ni　　tidao dehua, yinggai jiushi xiamian ye　　yao jiang.
　　　　right if　2SG mention if　should　　that.is bottom also want say

02 W05: 喔↑.
　　　　ou↑.
　　　　INT

03: T05 →要不然　就是::, 呃::, 你 要　　提　　　說 為什麼　　你 不-, 討論
　　　　yaoburan jiushi::, uh::, ni　yao　ti　　shuo weishenme ni　bu-, taolun
　　　　otherwise that.is　INT 2SG want mention say why　　2SG NEG discuss

04　　　 這 一塊.
　　　　zhe yikuai.
　　　　this one.area

'T05: Right. If you bring that up, then you should mention it in the following too.
　W05: Oh, really.
　T05: Otherwise, I mean, well, you have to explain why you won't discuss this topic.'

(7.7) NCC

01 T02: → okay. 好, 一種 方法 是, 沒錯. 這 是 一種 方法. 然後 **有**
　　　　okay. hao, yizhong fangfa shi, meicuo. zhe shi yizhong fangfa. ranhou **you**
　　　good one.kind method COP NEG.wrong this COP one.kind method then have

02　　　 **一種,**　　比較 複雜　的, 寫法 就是 把 them, 換 成 which.
　　　　yizhong, bijiao fuzade,　xiefa jiushi ba them, huan cheng which.
　　　　one.kind more complex ASSC writing.method that.is BA　　change to

03 W04: them.
　　　　them.

04 T02: 就是 讓 他 變成 一個 關係 代名詞, 這樣子.
　　　　jiushi rang ta biancheng yige guanxi daimingci, zheyangzi.
　　　　that.is let 3SG become one.CL relative pronoun this.way

05 W04: 喔.
　　　　ou.
　　　　INT

'T02: Okay. Alright. That's correct. This is one way to do it. And there is a more complicated
　　　way to write it. That is, you replace *them* with *which*.
　W04: *them*.
　T02: Just make it a relative pronoun, I mean.
　W04: Oh.'

Despite the consistency in their position relative to the AGD, disjunctive constructions vary in their position in turns. As shown in (7.8) below, the tutor may produce the alternative option immediately after the core directive in the same turn. No tutee reaction or interruption is observed. In other words, the production of a disjunctive construction is initiated primarily by the tutor alone.

(7.8) Disjunctive construction in the same turn
```
01 T05: 對. 所以, 我-, 我:::, 因為    今天::, 時間 也   沒     那麼 多, 可是
        dui. suoyi, wo-, wo:::, yinwei   jintian::, shijian ye   mei       name duo, keshi
        right so    1SG 1SG   because today    time   also NEG.have that much but
02      我::, 大概    跟    你    講    一下, 你 可能     回去 如果 之後  要 再 改
        wo::, dagai   gen   ni    jiang yixia, ni  keneng   huiqu ruguo zhihou yao zai gai
        1SG generally with 2SG say   a.bit   2SG possible return if after want again change
03      其他 部份 的話, (.h) 你   可以, 遵照     著 一個    規則. 就是:::, 寫作
        qita   bufen dehua, (.h) ni   keyi,   zunzhao zhe yige     guize. jiushi:::, xiezuo
        other   part   if         2SG can     follow   ASP one.CL rule  that.is   writing
04    →上,    我們    會 用 old to new. 就是:::, (.) 然後 或者  是,    從
        shang, women hui yong old to new. jiushi:::, (.) ranhou huozhe shi,     cong
        up     1PL    will use            that.is      then  or    COP   from
05      general, 到 specific.
        general, dao specific.
                  to
06 W05: 嗯 哼 哼.
        uhn hun hun.
        INT INT INT
```
'T05: Right. So, because there is not much time today. But I'll just give you some tips. If you're going to revise other parts after this tutorial, you can follow this rule. That is, in writing, we usually go from old to new and, or from general to specific.
 W05: Uhn huh.'

On the other hand, several instances of disjunctive constructions are used in the third turn, i.e., after the tutee reacts to the AGD. In such cases, the tutor first provides a piece of advice in the first turn, and after the tutee responds with a reactive token or a clause, the tutor then formulates the disjunctive construction, partly in response to the

tutee's turn. For example, in (7.9) below, T01 uses a conditional construction in line 1 to suggest that the tutee can consult the center if they need editing service. Partly because the tutee only responds with an acknowledgement token *uhn*, the tutor formulates a disjunctive construction to provide an alternative option, that is, the tutee does not have to consult the writing center and can find an editor by himself. In contrast to the instances above, the use of disjunctive constructions in (7.9) is, to a greater extent, prompted by the tutee's more passive reaction or lack of more aligning responses.

(7.9) Disjunctive construction in the third turn
```
01 T01 :→所以 呢,  如果 你 要   找   editing 的話, 你 可以 問 我們  中心.
        suoyi ne,  ruguo ni  yao   zhao editing dehua, ni  keyi wen women zhongxin.
        so    FP   if   2SG want find          if    2SG can ask  1PL    center
02 W17: mm.
        mm.
        INT
03 T01:→或是  你 可以 找, 找  人,   來   找   edit-.  幫  你 editing.
        huoshi ni  keyi zhao, zhao ren,  lai   zhao edit-.   bang ni editing.
        or     2SG can find  find person come find          help 2SG
04 W17: 嗯
        uhn.
        INT
```
'T01: So, if you need editing service, you can consult our center.
 W17: Mm.
 T01: Or, you can find someone to help you edit (your writing).
 W17: Mm.'

Extract (7.10) below presents another interesting use of the disjunctive construction in the context of AGDs. In this excerpt, T05 attempts to lay out a suggestion in line 1. However, the lengthening of the syllable *zai* at the end of this turn seems to indicate her difficulty in finding a better word to phrase it, which then prompts the tutee to co-construct the AGD. The tutor first responds with an agreement marker *dui* 'right' in line 3 and then uses the disjunctive marker *huoshi* 'or' to introduce another

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possible solution. In this example, T05's use of the disjunctive construction is clearly

motivated by the tutee's turn.

(7.10) Disjunctive construction in the third turn
01 T05:→我　會 覺得 你 要不要　　　 把 他 放 在::,
　　　　 wo　 hui juede ni　 yaobuyao　　　 ba 　ta　 fang zai::,
　　　　 1SG will think 2SG want.NEG.want BA 3SG put　 at
02 W06:→第二　 章　　 嗎.
　　　　　 dier　 zhang　 ma.
　　　　　 second chapter　 Q
03 T05:→對. 或 是　 第三　 章,　 methodology.
　　　　 dui.　 huo　　 shidisan zhang, methodology.
　　　　 right　 or COP third　　 chapter
04 W06: 喔, 為什麼.
　　　　　 ou, weishenme.
　　　　　 INT why
'T05: I think maybe you can put it in…
 W06: Chapter 2?
 T05: Yeah. Or Chapter 3, methodology.
 W06: Oh, why?'

　　　　Drawing on the data and the above discussion, the sequential patterns of the

disjunctive constructions can thus be represented in the figure below.

(a) In the same turn
Tutor: [AGD] → [disjunctive construction]

(b) In the third turn
Tutor: [AGD]
Tutee: [response]
Tutor: [disjunctive construction]
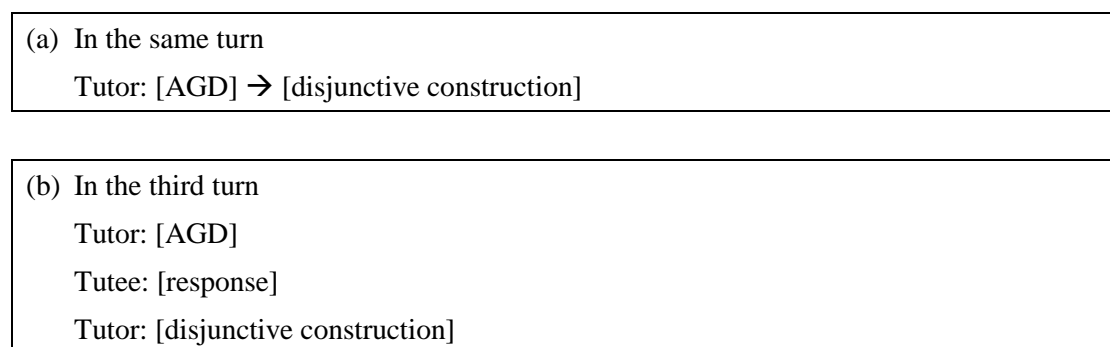
Figure 3 Sequential patterns of the disjunctive constructions

As can be seen from this figure, the disjunctive construction is distinguishable from the

first two constructions. Moreover, the patterns, we will argue, may be closely related to

the function of this construction in the context of the AGD, which will be the focus of the next section.

7.1.3. Functions of disjunctive constructions for AGDs

Although the disjunctive constructions are not as often discussed in the literature as conditional and casual constructions are, they also serve a number of functions in support of the construction of an AGD. With respect to its function in managing the tutoring discourse, disjunctive constructions can be used as a projector construction (Hopper, 2006) that initiates a turn and indicates that there is more to come. For example, in (7.11) below, T01 provides a pattern that the tutee can use in her writing to express her intended meaning. After the tutee's response, in which she uses the change-of-state token *ou:::* 'oh' and a partial repeat from line 1, the tutor uses *huozheshi* 'or' to initiate his next turn. Interestingly, although T01 does not yet have an alternative option in mind, he still uses the disjunctive marker to launch the turn. As can be seen from this instance, the disjunctive marker *huozheshi* 'or' indeed allows the speaker manage the unfolding discourse rather than merely connecting two equivalent options.

(7.11) Discourse function

01 T01: 感覺 有 點 興趣, 你 可以 說, there's a, there's a growing need,

　　　　ganjue you dian xingqu, ni keyi shuo, there's a, there's a growing need,

　　　　feel　have bit interest 2SG can say

02 W13: 喔:::. growing need.

　　　　ou:::. growing need.

　　　　INT

03 T01:→或者 是 there's a growing, uhm, 也 可以 找 幾個, 更, 更 強烈 的

　　　　huozhe shi there's a growing, uhm, ye keyi zhao jige, geng, geng qianglie de

　　　　or　COP　　　　　　　　INT also can find a.few more more strong　ASSC

04　　 字. 就是說,

　　　　zi.　jiushishuo,

　　　　word that.is.to.say

04 W13: 喔:::.

　　　　 ou:::.

　　　　INT

'T01: If you think there is something interesting, you can say *there's a growing need*.

 W13: Oh, *growing need.*

 T01: Or *there's a growing*, uhm, you can also use some stronger words, I mean,

 W13: Oh, I see.'

　　Extract (7.12) below is another example, in which the disjunctive marker involves in the function of discourse management. T05 first presents a piece of advice in lines 1 and 2. In response the tutee's production of the change-of-state token *ou* 'oh' in line 4, the tutor uses a disjunctive marker *huozheshi* 'or' in line 5 to preface the alternative option. It should be noted that the prefaced turn is fairly long (longer than the first suggestion) and is not structurally parallel to the previous turn. Moreover, between the tutor's first turn and the prefaced turn, there is a remarkable pause followed by a reactive token produced by the tutee. That is, the two presumably alternatives are only loosely connected. Thus, rather than functioning as a conjunction, the disjunctive marker in this example in fact plays a role more similar to that of a discourse marker, which enables the speaker to project a longer turn and achieve cohesion in the conversation (Schiffrin, 1987).

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(7.12) Discourse function

01 T05: 對. 就是，那個 銜接， 你 為什麼， 要，從 這樣子 所以 你 開始
　　　　dui. jiushi, nage xianjie, ni weishenme, yao, cong zheyangzi suoyi ni kaishi
　　　　right that.is that.CL transition 2SG why　　　want from this.way so 2SG start

02　　　講 下面. 就是 這樣 就是 總結.
　　　jiang xiamian. jiushi zheyang jiushi zongjie.
　　　say bottom that.is this.way that.is conclusion

03　　　(2.1)

04 W08: 喔:::.
　　　　ou:::.
　　　　INT

05: T05:→或者 是， 你 當然 也 可以 小結 一下, 然後, 再 講 說, 你
　　　　huozhe shi, ni dangran ye keyi xiaojie yixia, ranhou, zai jiang shuo, ni
　　　　or COP 2SG surely also can conclude a.bit then again say say 2SG

06　　　下面 準備 要-, 所以 你 下面, 你 才 要 接下來 要 準備
　　　xiamian zhunbei yao-, suoyi ni xiamian, ni cai yao jiexialai yao zhunbei
　　　bottom prepare want so 2SG bottome 2SG CAI want next want prepare

07　　　講 什麼 東西. 然後 是 跟 上面 其實 有 點 關聯 的.
　　　jiang shenme dongxi. ranhou shi gen shangmian qishi you dian guanlian de
　　　say what stuff then COP with top actually have bit link ASSC

08 W08: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

09 T05: 這樣 就 不會 覺得 怪怪 的.
　　　　zheyang jiu buhui juede guaiguai de.
　　　　this.way JIU NEG.will feel weird ASSC

'T05: Right. That transition. What did you do it this way? You just provided a conclusion
　　　soon after you started to talk about the rest of the content.
　W08: Oh, I see.
　T05: Or of course you can also sum it up a bit, and then say you prepare to, so you p repare
　　　to talk about something in the following, which is related to the previous topic.
　W08: Mm.
　T05: If so, it won't sound that awkward.'

In addition to their function in discourse management, disjunctive constructions

also help achieve interpersonal ends. One of the often discussed functions that

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disjunctive markers across languages can serve is indexing uncertainty (cf. Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2016). As shown in (7.13) below, the phrases that follow the disjunctive markers in lines 4 and 5 (*shenme dongxi* 'what thing' and *shenmede* 'what') do not express any content meaning (Biq, 2004; Hsieh, 2005). Rather, they are used with the disjunctive particles to form what Overstreet (1999) terms "general extenders" to indicate that the speaker is not certain about the exact word that the writer should use in her discipline. In so doing, the tutor also invites the tutee to co-construct epistemically the specific content of the advice (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995).

(7.13) Interpersonal function
01 T02: supply should be satisfied first. 那 你 可能 就是說, due to the principle,
       supply should be satisfied first. na ni keneng jiushishuo due to the principle,
                        that 2SG possible that.is.to.say
02   (.)that,
       that,
03 W07: 嗯 哼.
      uhn hun.
      INT INT
04 T02:→就是說, principle **或 是** 什麼 東西. 我 不 知道 那個 叫 什麼.
      jiushishuo, principle **huo shi** shenme dongxi. wo bu zhidao nage jia shenme.
      that.is.to.say or COP what stuff 1SG NEG know that.CL call what
05   是 principle 嗎,還是 原理 或 什麼 的.
      shi principle ma, haishi yuanli huo shenme de.
      COP Q or principle or what ASSC
06 W07: okay.
      okay.
'T02: *Supply should be satisfied first*. Then you probably just say *due to the principle that*,
 W07: Uh huh.
 T02: I mean, *principle* or what. I don't how that is called. Is it a principle or a theory or what?'

Similar uses can be spotted in (7.14) below. As can be seen from this example, the tutor utilizes three disjunctive markers in one turn, among which the instance of *huo* 'or' formulated in line 2 is most akin to the use of general extenders discussed earlier.

That is, the disjunctive marker is followed by a vague nominal item like *shenmede* 'what' to index the speaker's lack of specific knowledge. The other two occurrences of disjunctive markers, although not followed by a general noun, also display the tutor's uncertainty about the exact content that follows.
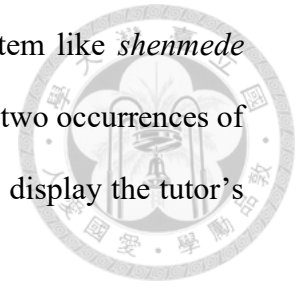
(7.14) Interpersonal function

```
01 T05:→那  所以 喔::, 我 下面  就 會 講   什麼.  或者  是,(.) 這個  東西
        na  suoyi ou::, wo xiamian jiu hui jiang shenme. huozhe shi, (.) zhege  dongxi
        that so   INT 1SG bottom JIU will say  what  or    COP  this.CL stuff
02     →的 di-, 我們  會 用  一個   方式  來 做 或 什麼  的. 然後 才 在
        de di-,  women hui yong yige   fangshi lai   zuo huo shenme de. ranhou cai zai
        ASSC   1PL   will use  one.CL method come do or   what ASSC then CAI at
03     →講   這個.  或 是:::, (.) 對, 就是 要 講 一下.
        jiang zhege.   huo shi:::, (.) dui, jiushi yao jiang yixia.
        say   this.CL or COP     right that.is want say a.bit
04 W05: 好. 可以.
        hao. keyi.
        good can
```

'T05: So in the following, I'll say something like, or, we will use some method to do it or what, and then talk about this, or. Yeah. You have to talk about it a bit.'

Another interpersonal function, which is related to the sequential position of disjunctive constructions, is to preface self-repair (cf. Lerner & Kitzinger, 2015), as demonstrated in the following examples. In line 1 of (7.15), W21 formulates a statement that casts some doubt on the advice that the tutor provides prior to the excerpt. In response to the tutee's turn, T02 produces a token of *huozheshi* 'or' in the attempt to tackle this interactional trouble, i.e., being questioned by the addressee, though unable to finish the turn. After the tutee completes her comment in line 3, the tutor uses the disjunctive marker *huozhe* 'or' again to introduce an alternative choice. The disjunctive construction thus allows the tutor to project an other-initiated self-repair in the conversation.

(7.15) Interpersonal function

01 W21: 喔::. 我 可以 在 literature review 寫 那麼 strong 的，[就是],
   ou::. wo keyi zai literature review xie name strong de, [jiushi],
   INT 1SG can at   write that ASSC that.is

02 T02:   [或者] 是::, 呃::,
               huozhe shi::, uh::,
               or COP INT

03 W21: 就 可以 寫 到 自己 的 opinion 很 多. [就是],
   jiu keyi xie dao ziji de opinion hen duo. [jiushi],
   JIU can write to self ASSC very much that.is

04 T02:→   [**或者**] 你 不要 用 problem
            [**huozhe**] ni buyao yong problem
            or 2SG NEG.want use

05   這個 字. 但是 就是[說::],
   zhege zi. danshi jiushi[shuo::],
   this.CL word but that.is.to.say

06 W21:   [喔::].
             [ou::].
             INT

07 T02: they 就是::, they::, 就是說, 他們 說 cerebellum 怎麼樣.
   they jiushi::, they::, jiushishuo, tamen shuo cerebellum zenmeyang.
    that.is   that.is.to.say 3PL say   how

08 W21: 嗯.
   uhn.
   INT

'W21: Oh. Can I write something so strong in the literature review section? I mean,
T02: Or, well…
W21: can write so much about my own opinion? I mean,
T02: Or you don't have to use the word *problem*. But, I mean,
W21: Oh.
T02: What they say about the cerebellum.
W21: Mm.'

Disjunctive constructions can be used to preface self-initiated self-repair in the tutorial discourse as well. For example, in line 1 of (7.16) below, T04 first formulates a modal directive, suggesting the tutee reconsidering something. However, although the

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tutor produces the complementizer *shuo* 'say' after the modal fragment, which indicates strongly that there is more to come afterwards (Huang, 2003), he abandons that advice and relaunches his act by means of the disjunctive marker *huozhe* 'or' in the same line. In this example, the disjunctive construction is used to imply that the speaker is initiating a self-repair in the following utterance, as T04 does in this excerpt, although without the prompt from the tutee.

(7.16) Interpersonal function
01 T04:→就是, 可以 再 去 思考 一下 說, 或者 你們 這個 領域, 你們
    jiushi, keyi zai qu sikao yixia shuo, huozhe nimen zhege lingyu, nimen
    that.is can again go think a.bit say or 2PL this.CL field 2PL
02 這個 領域 的 期刊, 可能 有 很 多 討論 到, 婚姻 的::
    zhege lingyu de qikan, keneng you hen duo taolun dao, hunyin de::
    this.CL field ASSC journal possible have very much discuss to marriage ASSC
03 英文 的 期刊.
    yingwen de qikan.
    English ASSC journal
04 W01: 嗯 哼 哼 哼.
    uhn hun hun hun.
    INT INT INT INT
'T04: I mean you can reconsider it, or maybe in your field, there are many English journals
     that touch upon the topic of marriage.
W01: Uh huh.'

Finally, the use of disjunctive constructions also allows the tutor to fulfill pedagogical purposes. By providing an alternative suggestion, the tutor presents a number of viable options, from which the tutee can choose, and attempts to broaden the tutee's repertoire of linguistic or rhetorical devices for research writing. For example, in (7.17) below, T05 suggests that the tutee include the discussion of future studies in the conclusion section or have an independent section elaborating on future studies. As can be seen from the tutee's production of the counter-expectation response token *haN* (Hsieh & Su, 2016) and the confirmation question in line 7, the advice that T05 gives

may to some extent go against what the tutee knew before this extract.

(7.17) Pedagogical function

01 T05: 可是:::, 對. 可是 這樣子, 有 一個　好處　　是 你 就, 不只 有
　　　　keshi:::, dui. keshi zheyanzi, you yige　haochu　shi ni jiu, buzhi　you
　　　　but　　right but　this.way have one.CL advantage COP 2SG JIU NEG.only have

02　　　discussion. 你 就　可以 有 further studies. 就是 你 discussion, uh, 不是
　　　　discussion. ni　jiu　keyi you further studies. jiushi　ni discussion, uh,　bushi
　　　　　　　　　2SG JIU can　have　　　　　　that.is 2SG　　　INT　NEG.COP

03　　　discussion.
　　　　discussion.

04 W06: 喔, 未來 的 研究.
　　　　ou, weilai de yanjiu.
　　　　INT future ASSC research

05 T05:→conclusion 裡面 可以 寫 further study. 或 是 你　要 一個　章節　寫
　　　　conclusion limian keyi xie further study.　huo shi　ni　yao yige　zhangjie xie
　　　　　　　　inside can write　　　　　　or COP 2SG want one.CL section write

06　　　你的　　further study, 就 寫　詳細 一點點.
　　　　nide　　further study,　jiu xie　xiangxi yidiandian.
　　　　2SG.GEN　　　　　　JIU write detailed one.bit

07 W06: haN, 真的. 也 可以 這樣子　喔.
　　　　haN, zhende. ye keyi　zheyangzi ou.
　　　　INT　really also can　this.way　FP

08 T05: 可以 啊, 可以 啊, 可以 啊.
　　　　keyi a,　keyi a, keyi a.
　　　　can　FP　can　FP can　FP

'T05: But, yeah. But, if so, there's an advantage. That is, you can have not only a section for
　　discussion, but also a section for further studies. That is, in your discussion, er, not
　　discussion.

　W06: Oh, future studies.

　T05: You can talk about the further studies in your conclusion. Or you can devote an
　　individual section to furthers studies. If so, you can go into more details.

　W06: Huh? Really? Can we do that?

　T05: Yes. Of course, we can.'

Extract (7.18) below illustrates a similar use. T02 uses both the disjunctive marker

(*huozheshi* 'or') and the NCC fragment (*lingwai yizhong kenengxing shi* 'another

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possibility is') to introduce the alternative suggestion. Although the tutee in the instance does not display as much surprise as W06 in the last examples does, the tutor still exposes the tutee to more than one way to fix the problem and convey the message more accurately. By means of the disjunctive construction, the tutor also involves the tutee in the process of decision-making and allows for more learner autonomy in the tutorial (Hyland & Hyland, 2006; Tassinari, 2011).

(7.18) Pedagogical function

01 T02: →那 或者 是,

　　　　na **huozhe shi,**

　　　　that or 　　COP

02 W07: 嗯 哼.

　　　　uhn hun.

　　　　INT INT

03 T02: →另外 　一種 　　可能性 　　是, 你 　可以 把 這個::, 因果句

　　　　lingwai yizhong kenengxing shi, 　ni 　keyi 　ba zhege::, yinguoju

　　　　other 　　one.kind possibility COP 2SG can 　BA this.CL causal.clause

04 　　　 的 這個 　　因為 　的 　這 一句,

　　　　de zhege 　　yinwei 　de 　zhe yiju,

　　　　ASSC this.CL because ASSC this one.CL

04 W07: 嗯 嗯.

　　　　uhn uhn.

　　　　INT INT

05 T02: 把 他 調 到 前面 這樣子.

　　　　ba ta diao dao qianmian zheyangzi.

　　　　BA 3SG adjust to front this.way
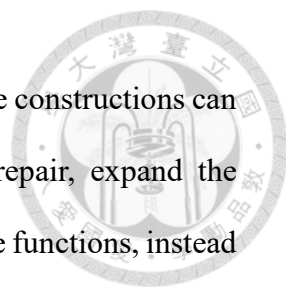
06 W07: 好.

　　　　hao.

　　　good

'T02: Or,

 W07: Uh huh.

 T02: another possibility is that you can move this causal clause,

 W07: Mm mm.

 T02: forward to the front.

 W07: Okay.'

In sum, as displayed in the analysis presented above, disjunctive constructions can function to project utterances, indicate uncertainty, preface self-repair, expand the tutee's writing repertoire and leave room for learner autonomy. These functions, instead of working independently, are closely linked to and supportive of one another.

In the next section, we will look into another set of understudied linguistic devices that serves similar ends and demonstrate how tutors use these resources to manage the writing tutorial discourse.

7.2. Exemplification constructions

The final group of co-occurring patterns that distinguishes AGDs from the other two types of directives and will be discussed in this dissertation is the exemplification construction[9]. Similar to the disjunctive construction discussed in the previous section, linguistic devices for providing examples are rarely discussed in the literature of advice-giving discourse and even in the studies on daily conversation (cf. Barotto, 2018). However, they constitute an unignorable part of the AGD in writing tutorials and thus deserves a closer look and a further discussion.

7.2.1. Linguistic patterns of exemplification constructions

In our data, utterances of exemplification are marked by particles such as *liru*(*shuo*), *piru*(*shuo*), and *biruo*(*shuo*) 'for example,' as exemplified in (7.19), (7.20) and (7.22) respectively. Although linguistic resources for presenting examples in Mandarin Chinese are rarely mentioned, let alone described, in reference grammars, exemplification markers do display particular usage patterns in discourse. To begin with,

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[9] Although exemplification markers are recurrently found in the context of AGDs issued by most tutors, no tokens of such markers can be spotted in the AGDs constructed by T01, the only Taiwanese American tutor. It is unclear why there is such a dramatic difference.

when used in spoken discourse, exemplification markers are often followed by an utterance-verb-turned complementizer *shuo* 'say' (Huang, 2003) and an intonational break, as shown in the examples below. This indicates that such resources are deployed not only to characterize an adjacent linguistic unit as an example, but also to introduce new components into the discourse. As a result, Mandarin exemplification particles, unlike those in English and many other languages, scarcely occur in the utterance-final position.

(7.19) *liru shuo*
```
01 T02: 這是    一種. 可是 如果, 你  今天  就是  不  確定,    他 到底
        zhe shi  yizhong. keshi ruguo, ni  jintian jiushi  bu  queding,  ta daodi
        this COP one.kind but   if     2SG today  that.is NEG certain  3SG after.all
02     可不可以     數  的    時候, 你  就 可以, 找 一個,  你  確定    他
        kebukeyi      shu de   shihou, ni  jiu keyi, zhao yige,  ni  queding ta
        can.NEG.can count ASSC time  2SG JIU can find  one.CL 2SG certain 3SG
03  →可以  數  的    東西, 冠    上去.  例如      說,
        keyi  shu de   dongxi, guan  shangqu. **liru      shuo,**
        can   count ASSC stuff  crown onto     for.example say
04 W20: Mm.
        mm.
        INT
05 T02: degree 啊, 或者  是,  uh::, (.) 你   剛才 講  什麼,  攻擊  程度    還
        degree a,   huozhe shi,   uh;:, (.) ni   gancai jiang sheme, gongji chengdu hai
              FP   or     COP INT    2SG just   say  what  attack degree  or
06     什麼.
        shenme.
        what
07 W20: 抵抗 能力.
         dikang nengli.
         defend ability
08 T02: 抵抗 能力.
        dikang nengli.
        defend ability
```

'T02: This is one way. But, if you're not sure if it is countable, you can find something that
you are certain that it can be counted and attach the noun to it. For example,
W20: Mm.
T02: degree, or what you just said, degree of attack or what.
W20: Ability of resistance.
T02: Ability of resistance.'

(7.20) *piru shuo*

01 T03: 你　可以　放　在　一個　段落.
　　　　ni　keyi fang zai yige　　duanluo.
　　　　2SG can　put at　one.CL paragraph

02 W10: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

03 T03: 然後　到 你　引　　　出 主題 之後,
　　　　ranhou dao ni　ying　　chu zhuti zhihou,
　　　　then　to 2SG introduce out topic after

04 W10: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

05 T03:→你　就　可以　說, **譬如**　　　**說**, in this study,
　　　　ni　jiu keyi shuo, **piru**　　　**shuo**, in this study,
　　　　2SG JIU can　say for.example say

06 W10: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

07 T03: 呃::, 怎麼樣,　　做 了 一些 questionnaire. 這是 第二　　段.
　　　　uh::, zenmeyang, zuo le yixie　questionnaire. zhe shi　dier　　duan.
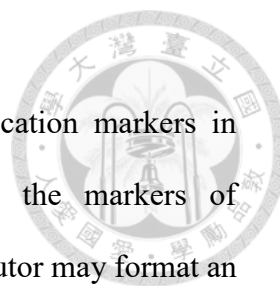　　　　INT　how　　　do FP some　　　　　　　　this COP second paragraph

08 W10: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

Nevertheless, this does not imply that the use of exemplification markers in Mandarin discourse is homogeneous. Our data suggests that the markers of exemplification in Mandarin are deployed in two major ways. The tutor may format an exemplification utterance after a complete AGD is produced, as illustrated in the examples below. Both *pirushuo* 'for example' in line 1 of (7.21) and *birushuo* 'for example) in line 3 of (7.22) are produced after a complete clause is formulated, and the component following the exemplification marker is to illustrate the advice given in the previous clause.

(7.21) After a complete clause
01 T02: →然後::,　　有　一些　地方,　可以::,　可以::　改.　**譬如　說**::,　(.)　嗯:::,　(.)　　這
　　　　　ranhou::,　you yixie difang, keyi::,　keyi::　　gai.　**piru shuo**::,　(.)　uhn:::,　(.) zhe
　　　　　then　　have some place can　can　　change for.example say INT　　　this
02　　　大寫:::,　然後::,　(.)　　which　可以　改　成　　　被-,　那個:::　　關係　代名詞::.
　　　　daxie:::,　ranhou::,　(.) which keyi gai　　cheng bei-, nage;::　　guanxi daimingci:.
　　　　capital　then　　　　　　　　can change to　　PASS that.CL relative pronoun
03　　　然後　有　一些　時態::,
　　　　ranhou you yixie shitai::,
　　　　then　have some tense
04 W04: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT
05 T02: 然後　有　一些　地方　要　加　　the.
　　　　ranhou you yixie difang yao jia　　the.
　　　　then have some place want add
06 W04: 嗯　嗯.
　　　　uhn uhn.
　　　　INT INT
'T02: Then, there are some minor points that you can work on. For example, well, the capital
　　　letter, and *which* can be changed another relative pronoun, and then some of the tenses.
　W04: Mm.
　T02: And you need to add *the* in some places.
　W04: Mm mm.'

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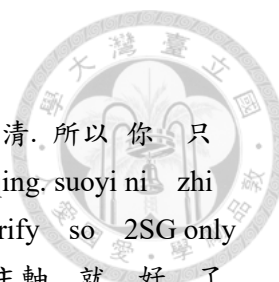
(7.22) After a complete clause

01 T05: 這樣　很 好　啊. 就是:::, 很　多 點子. 只是 要　釐清. 所以 你 只
　　　　 zheyang hen hao　a. jiushi:::, hen　duo dianzi. zhishi yao　liqing. suoyi ni　zhi
　　　　 this.way very good FP that.is　very many idea　just　want clarify　so　2SG only

02　　　要 抓住, 每一個, (.)　段落, (.) 就是 一個 表達 的　主軸 就 好 了.
　　　　 yao zhuazhu, meiyige, (.)　duanluo, (.) jiushi　yige　biaoda　de　zhuzhou jiu hao le.
　　　　 want catch　every.CL　paragraph　that.is one.CL express ASSC core　JIU good FP

03　→你 有點 太多,　想 把 東西 塞　進去. 對::. 每一個, 段落.
　　　　 ni you dian tai duo,　xiang ba dongxi sai　jinqu. dui::. meiyige, duanluo.
　　　　 2SG have bit too much think BA stuff squeeze into　right every.CL paragraph

04　→比如　　說, 你 接　的　段落　主要 是, 想 要 表達
　　　　 birus　huo, ni jie　de　duanluo zhuyao shi,　xiang yao biaoda
　　　　 for.example say 2SG connect ASSC paragraph main　COP think want express

05　　　的　重點　是, (.) 解釋 positive symptom, 這樣 okay.
　　　　 de　zhongdian shi, (.) jieshi positive symptom, zheyang okay.
　　　　 ASSC point　COP　express　　　　　　　　 this.way

06 W05: 嗯 嗯 嗯.
　　　　 uhn uhn uhn
　　　　 INT INT INT

'T05: That's a good thing. You have so many new ideas. It's just that you have to present them in a clear way. So, you only have to make sure that there is one and only one main point in each paragraph. Sometimes you may want to squeeze too many things into one paragraph, right. For example, this following paragraph aims to explain what the positive symptom is. That's fine.

W05: Uhn uhn.'

Meanwhile the exemplification marker can also be put in the middle of an AGD, mostly after the main verb, as in (7.23).

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(7.23) In the middle of an AGD

01 T03:→對. 所以 你 其他 的　　東西 就是::, **譬如**　　　**說**::, team trust 你 就 可以
　　　　　dui. suoyi ni qita de dongxi jiushi::, **piru**　　**shuo**::, team trust ni jiu keyi
　　　　　right so 2SG other ASSC stuff that.is for.example say　　2SG JIU can

02　　　講　　說 是, (0.5) 就是, (0.3) trust between the men-, team members.
　　　　jiang shuo shi, (0.5) jiushi, (0.3) trust between the men-, team members.
　　　　say say COP　　　that.is

03 W10: 嗯 嗯 嗯 嗯.
　　　　　uhn uhn uhn uhn.
　　　　　INT INT INT INT

04 T03: 像　 這樣子 的　　方式.
　　　　　xiang zheyangzi de　fangshi
　　　　　like this.way ASSC method

05 W10: 嗯.
　　　　　uhn.
　　　　　INT

'T03: Right. So, as for other stuff in your writing, I mean, for example, team trust. You can
　　　replace it with trust between the team members.
 W10: Mm mm.
 T03: Something like that.
 W10: Mm.'

As these instances demonstrate, in contrast to the first pattern, the exemplification marker in the clause-middle use is usually followed by a noun or verb phrase instead of a clause. In other words, the component prefaced by the marker is a part of, rather than a supplement to the AGD. This structural distribution may also relate to the function of the exemplification construction, which will be elucidated further in section 7.2.3.

7.2.2. Sequences of exemplification and AGDs

Similar to disjunctive constructions, exemplification devices often occur subsequent to the core AGD. As exemplified in (7.24) and (7.25) below, the tutor provides an example after the core AGD is constructed in the same turn.

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(7.24) Exemplification construction in the same turn

01 T02: 我-, 我 覺得, 如果 是 我 的話, 你 可能, 這邊 可以 寫, 就是 用,
　　　　wo-, wo juede, ruguo shi wo dehua, ni keneng, zhebian keyi xie, jiushi yong,
　　　　1SG 1SG think if　COP 1SG if　　2SG possible here can write that.is use

02 →那個, while 或 whereas 的 句型, 來 作 比較. (.h) 譬如 說, 你 就
　　　　nage, while huo whereas de juxing, lai zuo bijiao. (.h) **piru shuo**, ni　jiu
　　　　that.CL　or　　ASSC pattern come do compare for.example say 2SG JIU

03 　　說, while, the 什麼 東西,
　　　　shuo, while the shenme dongxi,
　　　　say　　　　　　shenme stuff

04 W16: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

'T02: I think, if I were you, I would use the *while* or *whereas* pattern to make the comparison.
　　　For example, you can say *while th*e or what.
　　W16: Mm.'

　　　The example can also occur in the turn after the tutee's response, as shown in the

next two extracts. In these instances, the tutor presents the core advice and the examples

in different turns.

191

(7.25) Exemplification construction in a different turn

01 T03: 你 要　用::,　比較::, spoken 的　　language.

　　　　ni　yao yong::, bijiao::, spoken de　　language.

　　　2SG want use　　more　　　　　ASSC

02 W10: 嗯 嗯.

　　　　uhn uhn.

　　　　INT INT

03 T03:→就,　比如　　　像　　說,　　(.) uhm::. to::,

　　　　jiu, **biru　　　xiang shuo**, (.) uhm::. to::,

　　　　JIU for.example like　say

04　　　((5.1))

05 T03: to study how cognitive diversity affects team creativity.

　　　　to study how cognitive diversity affects team creativity.

06 W10: 嗯.

　　　　uhn.

　　　　INT

'T03: You have to use more colloquial language.

 W10: Mm mm.

 T03: Like, for example, uhm, *to*, *to study how cognitive diversity affects team creativity*.

 W10: Mm.

However, unlike disjunctive constructions, the exemplification device can be, and often is, used within in the core AGD, as demonstrated in (7.26) below. As discussed in section 7.2.1, the exemplification marker is often deployed after the subject or the main verb of the AGD and thus part of the core directive is treated as an example in discourse. It should be emphasized that this pattern is only found in the instances of exemplification devices but not in those of conditional, causal or disjunctive constructions in Mandarin Chinese.

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(7.26) Exemplification construction after the subject

01 T02: 我 會 比較 期待 你 可以 再 給 我 多 一些些. 因為, 你 這邊,
　　　 wo hui bijiao qidai ni keyi zai gei wo duo yixiexie. yinwei, ni zhebian,
　　　 1SG will more expect 2SG can again give 1SG much a.bit because 2SG here

02 →呃, 譬如 說, it has to be pres-, 就是 你 還是 要 告訴 我
　　　 uh, **piru shuo**, it has to be pres-, jishi ni haishi yao gaosu wo
　　　 INT for.example say that.is 2SG still want tell 1SG

03 說, 到底 這個 s-, case 是 什麼.
　　　 shuo, daodi zhege s-, case shi shenme.
　　　 say after.all this.CL COP what

04 W07: 嗯.
　　　 uhn.
　　　 INT

'T02: I would expect that you can give me a bit more information, because what you have here,
　　　 er, for example, *it has to be pres-*. I mean, you still have to tell me that what exactly this
　　　 case is referring to?
　 W07: Mm.'

Based on the discussion above, the sequential patterns of the exemplification
device can be represented in the following figure.

```
(a) In the same turn
    i.   Tutor: [AGD] → [exemplification construction]
    ii.  Tutor: [AGD [[exemplification construction]] AGD]
```

```
(b) In the third turn
    Tutor: [AGD]
    Tutee: [response]
    Tutor: [exemplification construction]
```
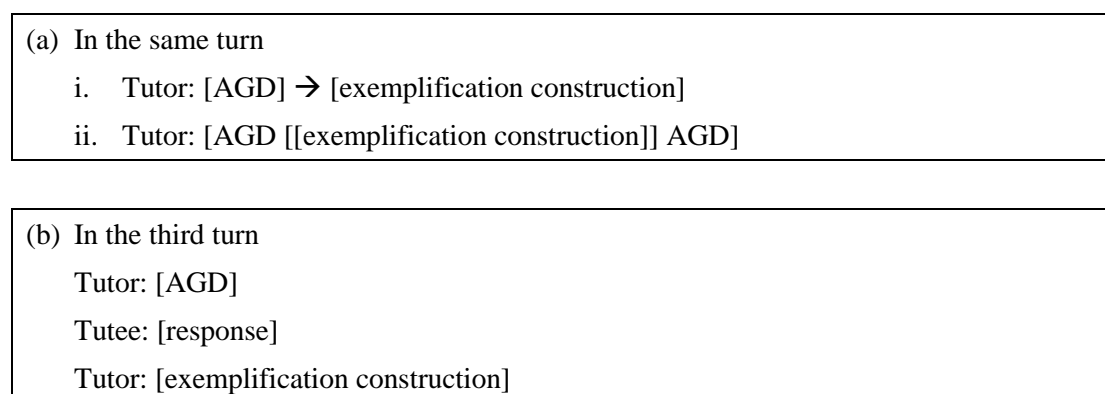
Figure 4 Sequential patterns of the exemplification constructions

As can be seen in this figure, the exemplification construction can function not
only as a resource for external modification of the directive action in the same or
different turn, but also a device for internal modification of an ADG.

7.2.3. Functions of exemplification for AGDs

Similar to disjunctive constructions, exemplification constructions have received relatively little attention from linguists. As Hyland (2007: 278), who studies the use of exemplification in academic writing rightly points out, "exemplification plays a key part in the interactive process between reader's possible need for clarification and provides a more accessible way of perceiving it." The tutor's deployment of exemplification in face-to-face writing tutorials is no less, if not more, important than what Hyland (2007) suggests. Exemplification serves at least three major functions in writing tutorial interaction.

First, the use of exemplification markers helps tutors manage the discourse by enabling them to (re)launch the AGD and specify the topic. For example, prior to (7.27), T05 suggests that the tutee move a particular piece of information to the methods chapter. In response to the tutee's *weishenme* 'why' question, the tutor lays out a multi-turn explanation from line 1 of (7.27) below. As can be seen from this excerpt, the tutor uses *piru shuo* 'for example' in line 8 to initiate her turn after the tutee's acknowledgement token in line 7. Moreover, in addition to launching a new turn, the tutor also employs the exemplification marker to pinpoint a topic and manage the develop of the discourse.

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(7.27) Discourse function

01 T05: 我　不　　知道. 我-, 我們　領域　是　methodology 可能　　是, 第一個　就
        wo bu zhidao. wo-, women lingyu shi methodology keneng   shi, diyige jiu
        1SG NEG know   1SG 1PL   field COP   possible COP first.CL JIU

02 　　是 抽樣.　抽樣　　描述　　包含　樣本,　說　有　幾個　　　男生
        shi chouyang. chouyang miaoshu baohan yangban, shuo you jige   nansheng
        COP sample   sample   description include sample say have how.many boy

03 　　幾個　　　女生　那::.
        jige   nusheng na::.
        how.many girl   FP

04 W06: 嗯　哼　哼　哼.
        uhn hun hun hun.
        INT INT INT INT

05 T05: 然後 空間　　　大小 啊, 環境　　　等等.　　因為 你,　的 這個, 剛剛
        ranhou kongjian daxiao a,   huanjing dengdeng. yinwei   ni,   de   zhege, ganggang
        then   space   size FP environment etc.   because 2SG ASSC this.CL just

06 　　描述,　我　　聽　　起來 也 蠻 像 這個 的.
        miaoshu, wo   tingqilai ye   man xiang zhege   de.
        describe   1SG sound   also very like   this.CL ASSC

07 W06: 對.
        dui.
        right

08 T05:→**譬如**　　　**說**,　　平均　起來, 男生　　共　佔,　百分之 多少. 因為
        piru   **shuo**, pingjun qilai, nansheng gong zhan, baifenzhi duoshao. yinwei
        for.example say   average ASP boy   total occupy percent how.many because

09 　　這個 [也 是].
        zhege [ye shi].
        this.CL also COP

10 W06:　[嗯 哼 哼 哼].
        [uhn hun hun hun].
        INT INT INT INT

11 T05: 就 只是, 一般　的 data　的　描述.
        jiu zhishi, yiban de   data   de   miaoshu.
        JIU just   normal ASSC   ASSC description

12 W06: 對. data 的　　描述.
        dui. data de   miaoshu.
        right   ASSC description

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'T05: I don't know. In my field, the first thing presented in the methodology section is a description of the samples, say how many men and how many women.

W06: Uh huh.

T05: and the size of the location, the environment, and so on. Because what you have just described sounds pretty similar to me.
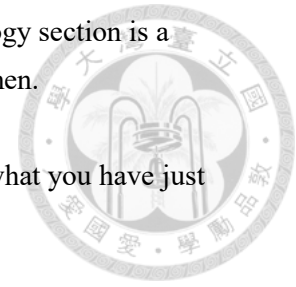
W06: Right.

T05: For example, on average, what percentage do males account for? Because this is also,

W06: Uh huh.

T05: Some general description of the data.

W06: Right. A description of the data.'

On the other hand, exemplification markers in (7.28) below, although not deployed to initiate a new turn, still function to manage the turn and restart the utterance. For example, T02 first formulates in an NCC fragment in line 1 to indicate an upcoming suggestion. However, instead of presenting his advice immediately after the NCC fragment, the tutor produces an utterance prefaced by an exemplification marker, which still does not reveal the content of the advice. After the *duibudui* question in line 2, the tutor continues to construct the directive. Yet again, the tutor fails to formulate a syntactically and semantically complete clause and relaunches the clause by using the second token of *pirushuo* 'for example' in line 2. As shown in this example, the tutor seems to utilize the exemplification markers as a signal for repairing and re-initiating the advice-giving act and to specifies the topic that he attempts to address.

(7.28) Discourse function

```
01 T02:→喔,  我  我 我的     想法 會 是 說, 譬如    說 你  講  到
        ou,  wo  wo wode    xiangfa hui  shi shuo, piru   shuo ni  jiang dao
        INT 1SG 1SG 1SG.GEN thought will COP say for.example say 2SG say to
02    →這邊   對不對, 然後 這邊 可能 會 有, uhn::, (0.5) 譬如 說,
        zhebian duibudui, ranhou zhebian keneng hui you uhn::, (0.5) piru shuo
        here    right.NEG.right then here possible will have          for.example say
03     你 用  in addition to, 因為 你  這邊   已經 講  完  了 對不對.
        ni yong, in addition to, yinwei ni  zhebian yijing jiang wan   le duibudui.
        2SG use              because 2SG here    already say finish FP right.NEG.right
```

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04 W16: 嗯.
     uhn.
    INT

05 T02: in addition to, (.) in addition, (0.3), to, (.) 這-, 這些 東西.
    in addition to, (.) in addition, (0.3), to, (.) zhe-, zhexie dongxi.
                            this this.PL stuff

06 W16: 嗯.
     uhn.
    INT

07 T02: 然後, the, 這個. 然後, 這個 用, 這個 用, 那個::, 那個 叫 什麼,
    ranhou, the, zhege. ranhou, zhege yong, zhege yong, nage::, nage jiao shenme,
    then   this.CL then this.CL use   this.CL use   that.CL that.CL call what

08   關係 代名詞, 就是 the, m-, the, the, the, maps, which, provide 這個
    guanxi daimingci, jiushi the, m-, the, the, the, maps, which, provide zhege
    relative pronoun that.is   this.CL

09   東西.
    dongxi.
    stuff

09 W16: 嗯.
     uhn.
     INT

'T02: So my idea is that, for example, you finish talking about this topic here, right? And then there might be, uhn, for example, you use *in addition to*, because you have done discussing it here, right?

 W16: Mm.

 T02: *in addition to, in addition to* these things

 W16: Mm.

 T02: Then you use, what is it called, a relative pronoun, that is, *the maps which provide* this stuff,

 W16: Mm.'

    The second function of exemplification constructions in tutorial interaction is to serve interpersonal purposes. Similar to disjunctive constructions, exemplification devices also allow the speaker to lower the degree of certainty or imposition (cf. Barotto, 2018). Although this may seem counterintuitive, because exemplification constructions should help bring into the discourse some specific information, nevertheless, the tutor

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in fact uses the exemplification marker to indicate that what is suggested in the following is just one possible example, rather than the exact or only way to revise the writing (cf. Barotto, 2018).
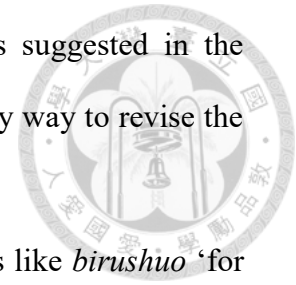
As shown in (7.29) below, the use of exemplification markers like *birushuo* 'for example' is to suggest that the advice the tutor is going to give is just an instance, not a piece of advice that the tutee has to take word for word. This intention is further spelled out explicitly by the tutor in line 1, *wo xianzai shi, suibian, ju yige li* 'now I'm just giving an example'. The exact content of the advice is then revealed after the disclaimer.

(7.29) Interpersonal function
01 T04:→類似　**比如**　　　　說，你　可以　講，　呃:::,　我　現在　　是，隨便，　　舉
　　　　leisi　**biru**　　　shuo, ni　keyi　jiang, er:::,　wo xianzai shi, suibian,　ju
　　　　similar for.example say 2SG can　　say　INT　1SG now　COP randomly raise
02　　　一個　　例.
　　　　yige　　li.
　　　　one.CL example
03 W01:　嗯　嗯.
　　　　uhn uhn.
　　　　INT INT
04 T04: equality is discussed.
　　　　equality is discussed.
05 W01:　嗯　哼.
　　　　uhn hun.
　　　　INT INT
'T04: For example, you can say something like, er, I am just giving you an example to illustrate,
　W01: Mm mm.
　T04: *Equality is discussed*.
　W01: Uh huh.'

Likewise, in (7.30) below, T03 formulates in line 1 a general suggestion about the order of the sentences and then puts forth a *yinwei* 'because' prefaced turn to elaborate on the suggestion. In line 3, she reads a sentence from the original text that the tutee brings to the tutorial and presents in lines 4 and 5 a possible way to complete the

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sentence. Notice that the speaker does not utilize *pirushuo* 'for example' when she refers to a sentence from the text in line 3. Instead, the marker is deployed in line 4, when the tutor starts to construct a possible way to rephrase the sentence. In other words, the exemplification marker does not necessarily introduce some more specific and exact information or mark the start of the "example". Rather, it may be more likely to index the beginning of a suggestion about which the tutor is not so sure. This uncertainty is also indicated in the question word *shenme* 'what' and the general noun *dongxi* 'thing,' (Biq, 2004; Hsieh, 2005) as well as the comparative marker *xiang* 'like' and the general proximal deixis 'this way' in line 5.

(7.30) Interpersonal function
```
01 T03: 就  把 他  放  在 下  一句. 這樣   會 比較 明-,   明顯.
        jiu ba  ta  fang zai xia  yiju.  zheyang hui bijiao ming-, mingxian.
        JIU BA 3SG put at   next one.CL this.way will more         obvious
02 W15: 喔:::. okay.
        ou:::. okay.
        INT
03 T03: 因為    你 這個    是:::, ei::, a method is proposed to solve the problems.
        yinwei  ni  zhege   shi:::, ei::, a method is proposed to solve the problems.
        because 2SG this.CL COP
04  →  然後,  譬如      說::, (.) project, projecting the ( ) claim is a method based on
        ranhou, piru        shuo::, (.) project, projecting the ( ) claim is a method based on
        then    for.example say
05      the idea of 什麼   東西,  像    這樣.
        the idea of shenme dongxi, xiang zheyang.
                    what   stuff   like  this.way
06 W15: 嗯  嗯  嗯.
        uhn uhn uhn.
        INT INT INT
```
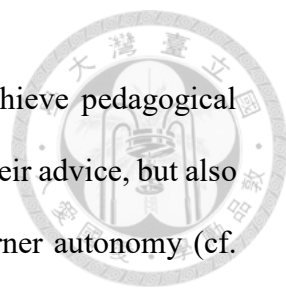'T03: It'll make it more noticeable if you put it in the next sentence.
 W15: Oh, okay.
 T03: Because you're saying that *a method is proposed to solve the problems*. And for example, *project, projecting the claim is a method based on the idea of* what, or something like that.
 W15: Mmhmm.'

Finally, exemplification constructions also allow tutors to achieve pedagogical goals. By using the exemplification marker, tutors not only clarify their advice, but also present some potential solutions while leaving some room for learner autonomy (cf. Hyland & Hyland, 2006; Tassinari, 2011). For example, in (7.31) below, T03 produces in line 3 a token of *pirushuo* 'for example' to introduce the language that the tutee can adopt to form the sentences. Although T03 does spell out a specific chunk of words that can be used, she then formulates the question word *zenmeyang* 'how' in line 4 to indicate that the writer needs to figure out the exact wording and that this is just a pattern or template. In doing so, the tutor provides a scaffold for the tutee while allowing her some freedom to construct the text (Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2015; Thompson, 2009).

(7.31) Pedagogical function

01 T03: 然後 到 你 引 出 主題 之後,
　　　　ranhou dao ni yin chu zhuti zhihou,
　　　　then to 2SG introduce out topic after

02 W10: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

03 T03:→你 就 可以 說, 譬如 說, in this study,
　　　　ni jiu keyi shuo, **piru** **shuo**, in this study,
　　　　2SG JIU can say for.example say

03 W10: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

04 T03: 呃::, 怎麼樣, 做 了 一些 questionnaire. 這是 第二 段.
　　　　uh::, zenmeyang, zuo le yixie questionnaire. zhe shi dier duan.
　　　　INT how do ASP some this COP second paragraph

05 W10: 嗯.
　　　　uhn.
　　　　INT

'T03: And after you introduce the main topic,
　W10: Mm.
　T03: You can say, for example, *in this study*,
　W10: Mm.
　T03: We have done some questionnaire survey or what. This is for the second paragraph.
　W10: Mm.'

　　　Extract (7.33) displays a similar example. In lines 1 and 2 of this excerpt, the tutor points out an information gap in the tutee's writing. After the tutee's turn in line 3, showing her recognition of the problem, T02 then puts forth some general advice in lines 4 and 5, suggesting that the tutee add some transition phrases to the sentence. He then uses the exemplification marker *pirushuo* 'for example' to preface an example of what he means by his advice. Note that in the utterance following the exemplification marker, the tutor also deploys a disjunctive construction in line 6 to indicate that the tutee has the final say on how to convey the message.

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(7.33) Pedagogical function

01 T02: 上　一章　　好像　也　沒有, (.) 提到, (.) 哪　一個　好壞.　　然後
　　　　shang yizhang　haoxiang ye　meiyou, (.) tidao, (.) na　yige　haohuai.　ranhou
　　　　last　one.chapter seem　　also NEG.have mention which one.CL good.bad then

02　　　這 一章　　　的　　標題 也　沒有　　　說::,
　　　zhe yizhang　　de　　biaoti ye　meiyou　　shuo::,
　　　this one.chapter ASSC title　also NEG.have say

03 W21: 然後　這 一章　　　就　突然,
　　　　ranhou zhe yizhang　　jiu　turan,
　　　　then　this one.chapter JIU suddenly

04 T02: 對　對　　對. 所以 變成　　說, (.h) 看 你　要不要,　　　就是
　　　　dui　dui　dui. suoyi biancheng shuo, (.h) kan ni　yaobuyao,　　jiushi
　　　　right right right so　become　say　　see 2SG want.NEG.want that.is

05　　→前面　　加　一個 東西, 把　他　連結 過來. **譬如**　　**說**, 喔, 除了
　　　qianmian jia　yige dongxi, ba　ta　lianjie guolai. **piru**　　**shuo**, ou, chule
　　　front　　add one.CL stuff　BA 3SG link　over　for.example say　INT except

06　　　那個　東西　之外,　那, behavior, (.) 也　很　重要.　　或 也 很　多　　人
　　　nage　dongxi zhiwai, na, behavior, (.) ye　hen zhongyao. huo ye hen　duo　ren
　　　that.CL stuff　except that　　　　　also very important　or also very many person

07　　　在　研究.
　　　zai　yanjiu.
　　　ASP study

‘T02: You didn't mention which one is better in the last chapter and didn't spell it out in the
　　　title of this chapter either.

　W21: And then suddenly in this chapter,

　T02: Right right right. So now, you can decide if you want to add something before it and
　　　create a link between the two. For example, (you can say something like) in addition to
　　　that, behavior is a very important issue or is studied by many people.'

To recapitulate, the above discussion shows that exemplification constructions not

only introduce examples or elaborations into the tutoring discourse, but also help tutors

to manage turns and topics, lower the degree of certainty and imposition, and provide

the tutee pedagogical scaffolds and learner autonomy. In the next section, we will move

on to discuss the implications that the instances of disjunctive and exemplification

constructions have for the study of advice-giving and intersubjectivity.
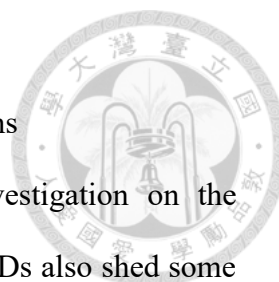
7.3. Intersubjectivity in disjunctive and exemplification constructions

Similar to the discussion presented in Chapter 6, our investigation on the occurrences of disjunctive and exemplification constructions in AGDs also shed some light on the intersubjective aspects of advice-giving. First of all, as argued in sections 7.1.3. and 7.1.4., the tutors' use of disjunctive and exemplification constructions allows and requires the tutee to actively participate in the construction of the advice, insofar as the tutor, by using disjunctive or exemplification constructions, provides the tutee more than one option to choose from. The tutee needs to make the choice or find a more appropriate way to revise the writing based on the example given by the tutor.

Second, the form of the disjunctive and exemplification constructions is also, to some extent, intersubjectively co-constructed. As presented in sections 7.1.2 and 7.2.2, some instances of the disjunctive and exemplification constructions are produced in response to the tutee's reaction to the AGD. In other words, the use of the disjunctive and exemplification devices can be prompted by the tutee's turn. The deployment and the structure of two patterns therefore involve both tutorial participants as well.

Third, as can be seen from the instances of disjunctive and exemplification patterns, the intersubjectivity involved in AGDs is constructed in a turn-by-turn, utterance-by-utterance fashion, which echoes our argument about the nature of directives in Chapter 5. That is to say, advice given by the tutor is managed locally as the interaction unfolds. Tutors do not put forth a complete piece of advice and achieve intersubjectivity in a single utterance or a single turn. Instead, the tutor extends and repairs the AGD by adding altertatives and examples to the speech act. The intersubjectivity or mutual understanding between the tutor and tutee is thus accumulated gradually as the AGD expands.

7.4. Chapter summary

In the previous chapter, by examining the instances of conditional and causal constructions in and around AGDs, we claim that giving advice in writing tutorials may require tutors use constructions to support their suggestions and persuade the tutee in the ongoing interaction. In other words, although tutors tend not to use questions, which are traditionally deemed to be a less directive way, to present their advice, it does not mean that their authority is given. In contrast, tutors have to strive for tutees' trust and acceptance when constructing an AGD.

What we have presented in this chapter, on the other hand, is that when giving advice, tutors may also try to downgrade their certainty or assertiveness by characterizing the advice as one of the possible options or examples to allow the tutee to involve in the decision-making process (cf. Ariel & Mauri, 2018; Barotto, 2018). In other words, disjunctive and exemplification constructions, as we have pointed out in this chapter, enable tutors to provide suggestions on how to revise the piece of writing in question while letting the tutee make the final choice or figure out the exact terms by themselves.

This is interesting in that presumably, the inclusion of alternatives should render the statement more comprehensive and generalizable, whereas the presentation of examples should provide more specific and concrete evidence. However, our data suggests that these constructions seem to work more or less as an epistemic hedge (Barotto, 2018; Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2016; Lakoff, 1973) in the context of AGDs, on the contrary. Although previous studies have also identified the hedging function of disjunctive and exemplification devices in other types of discourse (Barotto, 2018; Jing-Schmidt & Peng, 2016), the tendency seems to be even stronger in our data, partly because the advice has to be constructed spontaneously and giving advice in such an institutional context constitutes a potential face-threatening act for both the tutor and

the tutee (Bell & Youmans, 2006; Brown & Levinson, 1987).

The instances of disjunctive and exemplification patterns also show that AGDs are in fact constructed incrementally as the discourse unfolds and are sensitive to the ongoing interaction (cf. Waring, 2005, 2012; Zuczkowski et al., 2017). This is evidenced in the fact that disjunctive and exemplification constructions can be used to respond to the tutee's turn and to repair the tutor's own utterance (cf. Hyland, 2007; Lerner & Kitzinger, 2015). Both constructions also allow the tutor to manage turn-taking and indicate that more is yet to come. This again supports our argument that advice-giving, rather than being merely a directive act, is a social activity that may involve more than one participant and extend across multiple utterances and turns (Waring, 2012; Zuczkowski et al., 2017).

Finally, while the use of conditionals and causals, as we have argued in Chapter 6, is interpersonally minded and interactionally functional, the employment of disjunctive and exemplification constructions enables tutors to engage the tutee in the construction of the advice to an even greater extent. When presenting a piece of advice along with a disjunctive and/or exemplification device, the tutor in fact gives the tutee the freedom to epistemically co-construct it (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995). To the very least, tutees must decide which of the alternatives better suits their need or think of a more appropriate and specific way to revise their text. The use of disjunctive and exemplification constructions thus is intersubjective not only because the tutor takes into consideration the tutee's perspective and face want (Verhagen, 2005), but also because both the tutor and the tutee can contribute to the product, cognitively and/or linguistically, in the advice-giving activity.

These findings, along with those presented in the previous chapter, seem to suggest that while the tutor may adopt a more direct or directive way of advice-giving, the tutorial is not as tutor-centered and the tutee does not take an entirely passive or

receptively role either, as some of the previous studies have implied (e.g., Bell & Elledge, 2008; Thonus, 2004). Instead, the deployment of these four constructions in or with AGDs indicates that the advice-giving activity is jointly constructed to various degrees and that the tutor would make efforts to not only take into account the tutee's words and thoughts but leave room for tutee autonomy and involvement. The results also show that the interaction between the tutor and the tutee is so dynamic and intricate that it is difficult, and may be too hasty, to label a tutor as being authoritative or characterize a tutorial encounter as being tutor-dominant by merely looking at quantitative data or a limited number of variables, insofar as the participants in the tutoring interaction have a range of resources to engage in the interaction and negotiate with each other, especially when both parties can use their dominant language(s).

Chapter 8 General Discussion and Conclusions
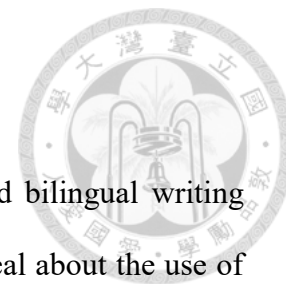
In this study, by examining the discourse of Mandarin-based bilingual writing tutorials conducted in an EFL country, we have revealed a great deal about the use of directives and the construction of advice in a non-English language in a specific institutional context. We showed in Chapter 4 that while a variety of forms could be used to realize a directive action in tutorials, tutors tend to employ only a number of the potential resources, among which the declaratives, especially modal declaratives, account for the overwhelming majority of instances. Bi-clausal constructions such as NCC and CTP fragments are also recurrently used as IFIDs, projector constructions and/or mitigating devices to present the tutor's advice (Huang, 2003; Thompson, 2002). Both positive and negative imperatives are found to realize a directive in writing tutorials, despite the low frequency of the latter; meanwhile, a notable proportion of imperatives are formulated in a complex structure, mostly in a conditional construction. With respect to the interrogative, while past studies have characterized questions as a crucial conventionalized indirect strategy to realize directives and a preferred tool of giving advice in tutoring, the interrogative is the least frequently used form as a directive in our data. This may, as we pointed out, arise from the context of the writing tutoring interaction and the ambiguity of this particular form.

Drawing on these patterns, we proposed in Chapter 5 three major institutional functions that directives can help achieve in tutoring interaction, i.e., advice-giving, tutorial-management, and rapport-building, and argued that the form used to realize a directive is largely determined by the institutional function of the directive action. We demonstrated that each type of directive tends to be realized in particular structures and that some linguistic devices are primarily used to serve a certain institutional function. To be specific, while AGDs are found to be realized in almost all of the constructions

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identified in Chapter 4, tutors show a strong tendency to formulate AGDs in second- or third-person modal declaratives. On the other hand, TMDs are much more likely to be issued in the form of a positive simple imperative or an interrogative. Finally, RBDs are constructed almost exclusively as negative simiple imperatives. In addition, we also pinpointed the person, predicate and other linguistic expressions that recur in the instances of each type of directive and discussed the pragmatic factors that may give rise to such patterns.

In Chapters 6 and 7, we looked further into the instances of AGDs, as AGDs represent the majority of the tokens, can be realized in the widest range of forms and are usually structurally much more complex and more extended than the other two types of directives. We identified four specific linguistic constructions that are often employed in or with AGDs to support the function of such directive actions, i.e., conditional, causal, disjunctive, and exemplification constructions, and discussed the lexico-grammatical and sequential patterns as well as the discourse, interpersonal, and pedagogical functions of each of the four constructions.
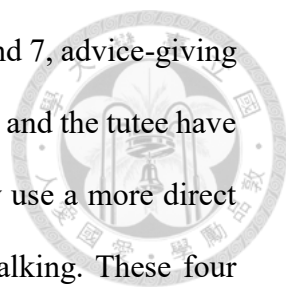
In Chapter 6, we zoomed in on the use of conditionals and causals, two of the most commonly found adverbial constructions, in the instances of AGDs. Despite the high frequency of both constructions, we observed a number of differences between the conditionals and causals. First, similar to what past studies have suggested, while the utterances with conditional markers almost always precede the main clause, those prefaced by a causal marker are more likely to occur after the main clause (Biq, 1995; Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2006). That being said, compared to what has been reported in the literature, a higher proportion of causal clauses are still found to precede the main clause, partly because tutoring discourse is, or is expected to be, more planned (Song & Tao, 2009; Wang, 2006). Second, in contrast to conditional clauses which tends to contain primarily old or given information linked to the previous discourse, the content

presented in the causal clause is more often new and contrastive (Wang, 2006). Third, regarding their functions, conditionals can help engage the tutee and make generalizations, whereas causals can mitigate the face-threatening force and allow the tutor to present the reader's point of view (Su, 2005; Wang, 2006).
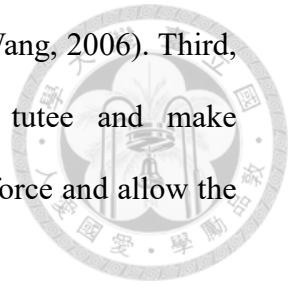
Regardless of these disparities, conditionals and causals used in the instances of AGDs are also found to share a number of commonalities. First, both constructions can be employed to present a grammatical rule or a general writing principle. Second, both conditionals and causals are used to demonstrate how the tutor would reason when encountering a similar situation. Third, the use of these two linguistic patterns allows tutors to indicate their concern of the tutee's point of view and potential resistance toward the advice, which reflects the intersubjective side of advice-giving (Song & Tao, 2009; Su, 2005).

Meanwhile, in Chapter 7, we examined the tutors' use of two less discussed constructions, i.e., disjunctive and exemplification constructions, in giving advice on writing. We found that despite their structural difference, disjunctive and exemplification constructions are largely similar with respect to their functions. Both can introduce, or imply that there is, more than one possible solution to the problem under discussion. By using these constructions, tutors not only give advice on the particular piece of writing in question, but also help the tutee to increase their writing proficiency in general. Also because the use of these two patterns does not present one and only one solution, disjunctive and exemplification constructions enable tutors to downgrade their certainty and leave some room for tutees to construct the more feasible or suitable solution when they revise the writing. In that sense, the employment of these two constructions to present advice, similar to that of conditionals and causals, also involves joint participation and intersubjectivity, albeit in a different way.
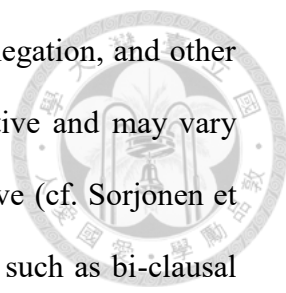
As can be concluded from the analyses laid out in Chapters 6 and 7, advice-giving is a complex, extended and dynamic process, in which both the tutor and the tutee have to engage cognitively and interactionlly, even though the tutor may use a more direct or directive style of tutoring and is accountable for most of the talking. These four constructions help the tutor construct the advice-giving activity and achieve different purposes. Their linguistic and sequential patterns, in turn, are also shaped by the ongoing interaction and the function that they are intended to serve in every moment.

On top of these findings, we will, in the remainder of this chapter, discuss the implications of the present dissertation research for the study of directives in discourse, the understanding of the roles of writing tutors, and the training of future tutors in a Mandarin-speaking EFL environment.

8.1. Facets of directives in institutional discourse

Although scholars have been discussing directives since the 1970s, most studies were based on data obtained via methods such as introspection, observation, DCTs or questionnaires (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Searle, 1976). The examples given in the previous publications were either constructed by the researcher or by participants in a laboratory context and/or based on hypothetical situations. The present dissertation thus contributes to this stream of research by presenting a more realistic picture of how directives in Mandarin Chinese are formulated and utilized in a particular type of institutional discourse. Moreover, the use of discourse data to investigate directives not only produces new findings, but also provides some new insights into various facets of directive actions.
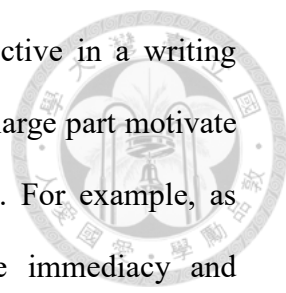
First of all, the findings suggest that in addition to the mood or sentential structure in which the speech act is realized, other linguistic aspects of a directive are also worthy of further analysis. We showed, for example, that features, such as the person of the

subject, the semantics of the predicate, the modifying adverbials, negation, and other co-occurring constructions, are all involved in the use of a directive and may vary according to the function that a particular directive is aimed to serve (cf. Sorjonen et al., 2017). We also discussed the occurrences of linguistic devices such as bi-clausal constructions, disjunctive constructions and exemplification constructions, which have not received as much attention in the literature of directive studies, and illustrated how speakers employ these resources to construct and support the directive action.

In this dissertation, we further emphasized the institutional function of directives and its link to the realization form. Previous function-oriented research on directives in discourse tend to use a more general, speech-act-based taxonomy to label the function of a directive. For example, Couper-Kuhlen (2014) divides directives into categories such as proposal, requests and offer. Although such a categorization system is suitable for studies on the use of directives in daily conversation (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014), our results suggest that a more context- or genre-specific functional taxonomy is necessary and may yield a more accurate analysis.

Our discussion on three types of directives also points to the diversity in speech acts even of the same category and highlight the importance of studying directives and other types of speech acts in discourse (Sorjonen et al., 2017). In contrast to the examples constructed by previous researchers or research participants, in which the target speech act is usually realized as a single utterance, mostly in the form of a simple clause (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Searle, 1976), the directives displayed in the present study are much more diverse. Directives in real discourse, such as RBDs, can be rather short and often co-occur with another directive in the same turn. They can, as shown in the instances of AGDs, also extend across utterances, and even turns, and be realized in a structure more complex than one can construct out of context.

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We also revealed that each institutional function of the directive in a writing tutorial can be further broken down into various aspects, which in large part motivate the use of particular linguistic features in the tutorial interaction. For example, as discussed in Chapter 5, socio-pragmatic factors, including the immediacy and contingency of the action, the participation framework, and the knowledge involved in the instances of AGDs, are all related to the choice of linguistic structures, such as the form of the clause, the person of the subject, the main predicate, and the modifier of the predicate. Chapters 6 and 7, on the other hand, demonstrate that even within the single category of AGDs, different discourse, interactional and pedagogical purposes may lead to the employment of particular constructions to realize or support the directive action. Our analyses show that apart from politeness, a variable which a majority of research has been using to explicate speech-act phenomena (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Brown & Levinson, 1987), the realization of directives is motivated by the interaction of a number of other contextual factors as well.

8.2. Directives and the roles of writing tutors

In addition to shedding light on various aspects of directives in Mandarin discourse, the findings also yield some insights into the roles that tutors play in writing tutorial interaction. The most obvious and important role of the tutor is, by all means, that of an advice-giver (Waring, 2012). This is clearly reflected in the remarkably high frequency of AGDs in our data. While many previous studies tend to adopt a dichotomous view towards tutoring styles, that is, the tutor is either direct/directive/authoritative or indirect/non-directive/egalitarian (Thonus, 1999a, 2004), the patterns displayed and discussed in the present study suggest that tutors in fact would employ and shift between a wide range of linguistic resources to communicate their advice. Even linguistic constructions subsumed under the same category, such as declaratives, may

differ in their pragmatic implications. A variety of lexico-grammatical patterns can be used to project, extend, and modify an AGD, thus expressing the tutor's consideration and engagement of the tutee when formulating the advice.
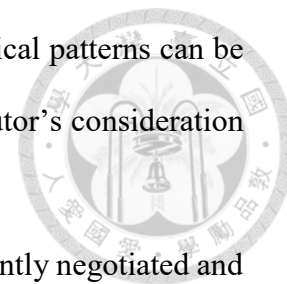
The interaction between the two parties is not fixed, but constantly negotiated and jointly constructed in a turn-by-turn, suggestion-by-suggestion fashion. As a result, the tutor should try to choose the most appropriate way to present the advice at the very moment in the ongoing interaction, rather than treating a particular form, such as questions, as the best or most preferred across situations. As our results indicate, the use of questions as a directive may be in conflict with the tutor's role as an advice-giver and may thus give rise to misunderstandings between the tutorial participants.

Chapters 6 and 7 further revealed that to be a competent advice-giver, the tutor needs to manage a number of issues. Pedagogically, tutors do not simply "tell" the tutee what to do with the piece of writing in question. Oftentimes, they need to "build a case" by justifying their suggestion and mitigating the generalization that they make (cf. Ritter, 2002; Waring, 2012). They have to demonstrate to the tutee how they reason and make decisions when encountering a similar situation and put forth an example solution to the problem (Roscoe & Chi, 2007). Sometimes, they may also leave some room for the tutee to determine the most appropriate way to express their idea in their own field. By discussing with tutees their own writing and persuading them to accept the given advice, the tutor provides the tutee a model of critical thinking/reading and argumentative writing.
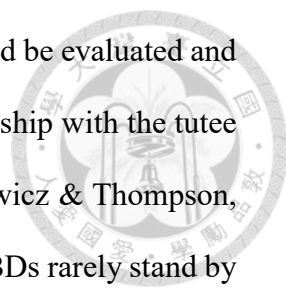
In addition, tutors must integrate the information from different sources, including the text under discussion, the tutee's response, and their own training and knowledge, in order to construct a piece of discursively coherent advice. The content that supports the advice can be presented as on the basis of or in conflict with the foregoing discourse. Tutors can also characterize their suggestion as an acknowledged rule/principle or as

an alternative/example in a broader category by means of different linguistic devices.

Finally, giving advice also requires the tutor to address the interpersonal need of the tutee. It is necessary for the tutor to take into consideration the tutee's knowledge and feeling, downgrade the potential force of the directive action, involve the tutee into the conversation, and give the student writer some autonomy to make the final decision. Partly because of the identity of the tutors as peers and because of the tutors' lack of professional knowledge of the tutee's research, mitigating and politeness devices such as hedges, downtoners and the four constructions are commonly found in our data as well (Bell, Arnold, & Haddock, 2009). This appears to differ from the findings of some previous research that examines the interaction between L1 tutors and L2 tutees (Thonus, 2004).

Another crucial role that a tutor has to take, as the results show, is the manager of the institutional interaction. This is one of the parts that distinguishes tutors from other advice-givers and writing tutorials from other advice-giving genres. Tutors use directives to start and end (a part of) the tutorial, direct the tutee to engage in a particular activity, such as reading-out-loud, and indicate the switch to another topic or another section of the writing at hand. Directives may also be employed to facilitate or postpone the process of the tutoring interaction. The reason why tutors need to do these is because they appear to be the representative of the writing center in the tutorial (Weigle & Nelson, 2004) and are held responsible for fulfilling the goals of such an institutional encounter. Interestingly, although the purposes of advice-giving and tutorial management can both be achieved by the use of directives, tutors tend to use different realization forms when taking on different roles. This demonstrates the link between the tutor's role in an interaction and the language that he or she uses.

Finally, tutors are expected to build rapport with the tutee and address the tutee's affective need every now and then. After all, writing tutorial interaction is still a kind
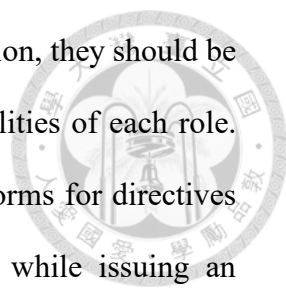
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of interpersonal communication. Moreover, insofar as the tutor would be evaluated and need to persuade the tutee to accept their advice, the tutor's relationship with the tutee has great influence over the quality of the writing tutorial (Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2015; Thonus, 1998). As displayed in the examples in Chapter 5, RBDs rarely stand by themselves, but instead often occur in support of other directives, a distribution pattern that indicates the function of tutors' rapport-building role. This finding also corresponds, to some extent, with the conclusion of previous studies that rapport-building can be a useful scaffolding strategy in tutoring (Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2015; Thompson, 2009) and that writing centers can serve as a place where graduate tutees find emotional support and comfort (Leverenz, 2001; Snively, 2008). It should, however, be noted that the instances of RBDs are rather few in our data. It remains unclear whether directives are the major speech act that help achieve the function, what other linguistic devices are used to support the building of rapport, and how often and when the tutor takes on this role in the tutoring process. More research is needed to investigate other rapport-building strategies and tutors' use of these strategies.

As can be seen from the above discussions, writing tutors play multiple roles in the tutoring encounter. Each role is connected with and can support one another. To manage institutional interactions like writing tutorials, tutors have to not only constantly switch between different roles, but also adopt appropriate linguistic resources to address various purposes. Drawing on these findings, in the next section, we attempt to outline a few suggestions on the training of tutoring skills in an EFL context.

8.3. Directives, intersubjectivity, and tutoring skills in an EFL context

The findings and discussions that we have presented thus far may yield some implications for the training of English writing tutors in an EFL context. First, insofar

as tutors need to take at least three roles as discussed in the last section, they should be informed of the strategies that can help them fulfill the responsibilities of each role. They should also be aware of the effect that different realization forms for directives may have when they are taking a different role. For example, while issuing an interrogative-based directive usually causes no problem when tutors are managing the progress of the tutorial interaction, an AGD in the form of a question should be used with much caution. As suggested by Waring and Hruska (2012), directives, if not dealt with appropriately, may lead to interactional problems and even hinder the learner's learning opportunity. Tutors should be informed of and pay attention to this.

Second, echoing previous studies on cross-communication, which suggest that Chinese speakers, in comparison to Westerners, are more willing to give and receive advice (e.g., Feng, 2015), our research suggests that tutors can feel more confident in and comfortable with presenting advice in a more straightforward way. Meanwhile, tutors should understand that tutoring and advice-giving, especially when tutees are graduate student writers, is a process of persuasion, rather than lecturing (Roscoe & Chi, 2007). Instead of simply presenting the information as a matter of fact, tutors should be ready to justify their statement, specify the condition in which the mentioned rule or principle can apply, and illuminate their process of reasoning. In other words, the education of tutors needs to focus not only on their ability to pinpoint the problem and provide potential solutions but also on their skills to explain the reason why such advice is given (Roscoe & Chi, 2007).

In addition, tutors can enhance the quality and effectiveness of the tutorial by increasing the tutee's participation and autonomy in the construction of advice. Past publications on writing centers usually suggest that tutors use questions to guide and engage tutees (Blau et al., 2002). However, as we have pointed out, this may very likely give rise to misunderstandings in the tutoring process. There are, in fact, several other

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linguistic resources that tutors can adopt to serve similar ends with less ambiguity, such as conditional, disjunctive, and exemplification constructions. As a result, tutors should be encouraged to explore and employ such resources.

Tutors also need to develop their capability of striking a balance between pedagogical discourse and interpersonal communication (Bell & Youmans, 2006; Thonus, 1998, 2008). As shown in our discussions in this chapter above and the previous ones, the influence of interpersonal factors is ubiquitous in almost every part of the tutoring interaction. Handling interpersonal issues appropriately thus not only facilitates the progress of the tutorial, but also enables tutors to better persuade the tutee. Strategies for addressing interpersonal needs in tutoring encounters include the use of subjects of particular persons, verb modifiers, rapport- and emotion-oriented imperatives, and more complex constructions, such as the four discussed in Chapter 6 and 7. On the other hand, tutors should also be educated to manage interpersonal nuances without sacrificing their own credibility and the clarity of their message.

As can be seen from the above discussion, in addition to knowledge concerning English academic writing and skills of tutoring, tutors should also be informed of the relationship between a successful tutoring interaction and the achievement of intersubjectivity in the process. Tutors should understand that intersubjectivitiy is jointly and dynamically constructed by them and the tutee (Du Bois, 2007; Kärkkäinen, 2006); their language needs to be not only informative but also argumentative (Anscombre & Ducrot, 1989; Verhagen, 2005, 2008); and they have to take into consideration the tutee's knowledge state and face need (Traugott, 2010; Traugott & Dasher, 2001) when formulating their turns and actions in the writing tutoring interaction.

8.4. Using Mandarin in a tutorial about English academic writing

The patterns that we illustrated in this study not only reflect the structural chracteristics of Mandarin directives in relation to the general features of the language, but also reveal a number of possible advantages made possible by using Mandarin in an English writing tutorial.

With respective to the structural features, as we pointed out in section 4.1.1, Mandarin allows speakers to use the third-person inanimate subject or zero-marking subject in a modal declarative as a directive and avoid spelling out the human agent that should carry out the directive. This is in agreement with Tai's (2005) argument that Chinese is a patient-oriented language. Our observation concerning the ambiguity of interrogatives as directive actions also corresponds with previous findings about request strategies in Mandarin Chinese (Gao, 1999). It seems that interrogatives in general may not be as conventionalized a realization form of directives as previous studies suggest, at least in Mandarin Chinese.

In addition, our analysis of the four constructions that tend to co-occurr with AGDs provides insight into Mandarin spoken in Taiwan. For example, our discussion on conditional and causal constructions suggests that while these two patterns in general follow the preferred sequential order reported in the literature (Wang, 2001, 2006), the characteristics of the institutional discourse also have influence over their distribution patterns. Meanwhile, by examining the use of disjunctive and exemplification constructions, we have shed light on two topics that are rarely touched upon in Chinese linguistics. We showed that these two constructions are more flexible in terms of the position in which they can occur, are deployed in different sequences and are able to serve multiple functions in interaction.

The data also suggests that using Mandarin in English writing tutorials may have a number of advantages over using English only. First of all, the switch between

Mandarin and English is, most obviously, an additional resource that tutors can use to manage the tutoring discourse. Tutors can use English to quote or refer to the content of the writing that is being discussed and use Mandarin to make suggestions. Tutees may thus have a clearer idea about the boundaries of quotation from the text and suggestion by the tutor.

Second, the use of Mandarin also seems to allow the tutor to leave the tutee some autonomy to decide which linguistic expression in English that they should use. For example, English can be employed by the tutor to formulate the linguistic patterns that the writer can use in their writing, while Mandarin Chinese functions as the metalinguistic language that spells out the principle or device that the tutee can adopt. By using Mandarin in such cases, the tutor can make a more generalized description about the pattern or grammatical rule rather than give the tutee a specific word or phrase to fill in the blank and thus help the tutee become a better, more autonomous English learner and writer.

Third, Mandarin, as a patient-oriented language (Tai, 2005), enables the tutor to present the suggestion without specifying the person that is held accountable for the requested action. This may help the speaker to mitigate the face threat that can potentially be brought about by the directive (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Finally, as shown in examples presented in this study, graduate writing tutoring involves a process of explanation, clarification, persuasion and negotiation (Ritter, 2002; Waring, 2005, 2012). The participants have to deal with the state of the art in a field and discuss texts with terms that are unfamiliar to writers of other disciplines and ideas that may be still in development. Utilizing a language that both the tutor and tutee are comfortable with and proficient at may facilitate such as a complex and dyamnic interaction. EFL tutors can pay more attention to communicating their advice and providing possible solutions, while EFL tutees are more able to negotiate with the tutor
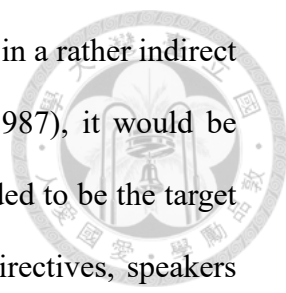
so as to learn how to improve the writing and become a better writer (Canagarajah, 2009; Waring, 2005; Woodward-Kron, 2007).

8.5. Limitations and future studies

At last, we would like to identify a few limitations of the present research and directions for future studies. The first limitation lies in the scope of the research. Only one writing center in Taiwan was included and the tutorials examined in the present study involved only five tutors, most of whom shared similar academic backgrounds, and a number of graduate student tutees, who had been writing about their research in English before they came to the writing center. Although graduate students constituted the majority of the tutee population in the writing center investigated, it is uncertain whether the same conclusions could be applied to tutorials with undergraduate tutees or on texts that are not based on one's original research. It is also worth exploring whether the academic training of the tutor would affect their tutoring performance (Mackiewicz, 2004) and how the same tutor may behave differently using different tutoring languages (Cumming & So, 1996). Only by involving more writing centers and tutors/tutees in the research can we construct a clearer picture about how writing tutorials are usually carried out in an EFL country, and only by then can we make a more accurate cross-linguistic and cross-cultural comparison of tutoring activities and advice-giving sequences.
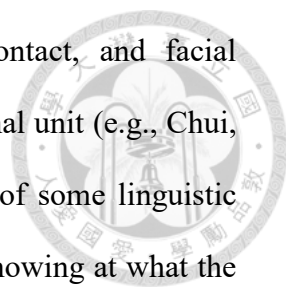
The second limitation concerns identifying and counting the instances of directives and the co-occurring constructions. As we, as well as some of the past studies (Antaki & Kent, 2012), have admitted, it is not easy to count the exact number of directives in real discourse for a number of reasons. First, speakers may produce more than one utterance to realize the same directive action in adjacent discourse. Utterance-based and action-based methods may each have their own strengths and weaknesses. Moreover,

insofar as directives, as well as other speech acts, can be carried out in a rather indirect or implicit way (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Brown & Levinson, 1987), it would be difficult to assert if we have identified every utterance that is intended to be the target action. With respect to the linguistic devices that co-occur with directives, speakers would employ a variety of constructions that are not in a paradigmatic relation with each other and may not be categorized under the same general grammatical category. Lexico-grammatical patterns such as the four constructions analyzed in the present study, while displaying their own specific structures and functions in tutorials, can, and oftentimes may, co-occur with each other. Although we have tried our best in presenting an organized description of the constructions, the categories may not be in perfect parallel or mutual exclusion.

Third, while directives comprise a huge part of tutorial discourse, a number of other speech acts and sequences can also be found in writing tutorials and play a role no less important than that of a directive. As past studies on writing center discourse have observed, actions such as questions and assessments are common in tutorials and may impact the quality of the tutorial and the perception of the tutee (Graesser & Person, 1994; Park, 2018; Roscoe & Chi, 2007; Thonus, 2002). Linguistic features, such as reporting verbs, causal constructions, and listener response particles, also serve multiple functions and can be utilized to address discursive, interpersonal and pedagogical issues (Park, 2018; Thonus, 2007; Waring, 2007b). Other linguistic and paralinguistic cues including interjections, discourse markers, speech prosody, and code-switching, can also be the focus of future research.

Fourth, the analysis of the present study is based on audio-taped data. The transcripts that we use do not record much visual information, if any. However, as research has argued, multimodal elements like gestures also contribute to the tutoring interaction (Kim & Cho, 2017; Thompson, 2009). Studies of Conversation Analysis and

Interactional Linguistics have also shown that posture, eye contact, and facial expressions may all work with linguistic patterns to form a functional unit (e.g., Chui, 2009; Goodwin & Alim, 2010; Kärkkäinen, 2012). The meaning of some linguistic devices, such as deictics, can even hardly be understood without knowing at what the participants are physically pointing. It is difficult, if not impossible, to investigate these phenomena with no video recordings of the interactions at hand.
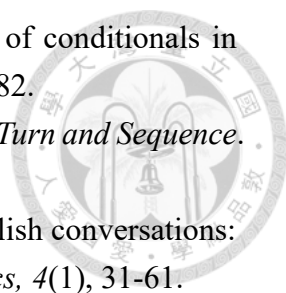
Finally, we only approached the topic of writing tutorials by analyzing the tutoring discourse per se. The texts discussed by the participants are not examined. Other factors such as the learning history of the tutees, the tutee's perception and evaluation of the tutors, the contribution of the tutorial to the tutee's decision process and proficiency development, and the impact of tutoring training and meetings over tutors' performance, are not even touched upon. As the investigation of these aspects may allow for a more comprehensive understanding, future studies may consider using more types of data and adopting different research methods to gain insights into this topic.
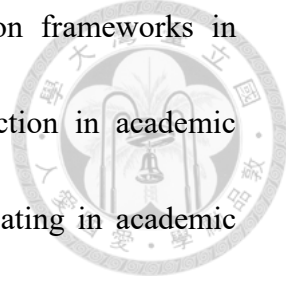
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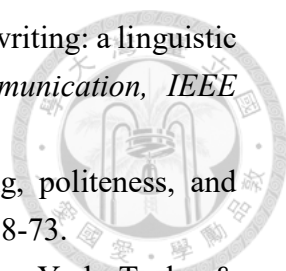
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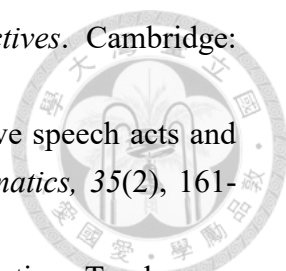Heritage, J. (2005). Conversation analysis and institutional talk. In K. L. Fitch & R. E.

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Appendix A. Common transcription symbols

.	final or falling intonation	::	prolongation
,	continuing intonation	word	stress or emphasis
?	rising intonation	∘word∘	softer sounds
[ ]	overlapping	WORD	louder sounds
=	no break or gap	-	cut-off
(0.5)	silence	.hhh	inbreath
(.)	brief interval (± a tenth of a second)	hhh	outbreath
> <	utterance speeded up	wo(h)rd	plosiveness (associated with laughter, crying or breathiness)
< >	utterances slowed down	( )	unintelligible
↑	shifts into especially high pitch	(word)	dubious designations
↓	shifts into especially low pitch	(( ))	transcriber's descriptions

Appendix B. Abbreviations

1SG	first-person singular
1PL	first-person plural
2SG	second person singular
3SG	third person singular
3PL	third person plural
ASP	aspect marker
ASSC	associative
CL	classifier
COP	copular verb
CSC	complex stative construction
GEN	genitive marker
INT	interjection
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominalizer
PN	proper name
FP	final particle
Q	question particle