

An Analysis of Expressions of Gratitude in Irish English and New Zealand English

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Introduction

The expression of gratitude plays an important social function. Failure to properly acknowledge the beneficial actions of another may damage relationships and reduce the likelihood of good will and similarly beneficial deeds being proffered on subsequent occasions. On the other hand, a well-executed thank-you can improve interpersonal ties and enhance the chances of future benevolence. In many cultures, parents make a particular point of teaching their children to express gratitude (Demuth, 2009). At the same time, how an expression of gratitude is realized may vary greatly depending on culture.

Much research on the expression and function of gratitude in a variety of languages has been undertaken, including studies of American English (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986, 1993), British English (Aijmer, 1996; Okamoto & Robinson, 1997; Schauer & Adolphs, 2006), Hong Kong English (Wong, 2009) Chinese (Zhu et. al., 2008), German (Nakamura, 2005), Japanese (Ide, 1998; Kumatoridani, 1999; Kotani, 2002), Persian (Koutlaki, 2002), South Asian languages (Apte, 1974), Swedish (Pedersen, 2009), Thai (Intachakra, 2004), and West African languages (Ameka, 2006). Some of the studies compare expressions of gratitude in two or more languages, including research comparing expressions of gratitude in a variety of English and another language. How-

ever, research on the ways in which expressions of gratitude are manifested in different varieties of English has been infrequent. A notable exception is the analysis of Jautz (2008) of gratitude in British and New Zealand radio programs, which is introduced in more detail in the next section.

Studies of pragmatic differences between varieties of inner-circle English

Jautz (2008) found several differences between the expressions of gratitude in radio programs in Britain and New Zealand. Overall, the British data in the sub-corpora investigated significantly included more expressions of gratitude than the New Zealand sub-corpora used, which was of equal size. On the other hand, the expressions of gratitude in the New Zealand data specified the reason for gratitude much more often than it was indicated in the British data. Expressions of gratitude related to phatic communication, such as saying thank you following an inquiry regarding the speaker's health were also more common in the New Zealand data than in the British data, which had a higher percentage of expressions of gratitude for some sort of service, financial support, or material goods.

The semantic realization of the expressions of gratitude also varied between the two countries' data. *Thank you* was more common in British English than in New Zealand English, whereas *Thanks* was more prevalent in the New Zealand data. Additionally, the New Zealanders showed a preference for intensifying expressions of gratitude using *very much* while the British data had more occurrences of *very much indeed*.

Studies comparing other types of pragmatic use across varieties of inner-circle English also indicate that there may be significant differences. In a study of the use of "please" in American and New Zealand English, Sato (2008) found differences in positioning and the form of the words accompanying please. In a study of response tokens in British and Irish discourse, O'Keefe and Adolfs (2008) found differences in form and frequency. Tottie (1991) examined backchannels in British and American English and found differences in frequency and form. McCarthy's (2002) study of response tokens in

British and American English found differences in the frequency of various tokens, but similarities in their local contexts and functions.

In a study of offers in Irish English and British English, Barron (2005) found that while both cultures show a preference for conventionally indirect strategies, and the most frequently used strategies are shared by both, there were differences in the frequencies of other strategies, and some strategies were used only by Irish English speakers or by only British speakers. There were also differences in form, and the Irish English speakers used a higher level of external mitigation. Barron (2008) compared requests in Irish English and British English and observed a higher degree of indirectness in the Irish requests.

Schneider (2005) analyzed responses to expressions of gratitude in Ireland, England, and the U.S. and found differences in frequency of use of thanks minimizers, standardization, type of strategy, and form. Schneider (2008) investigated small talk in England, Ireland, and the U.S. and found differences in formal level, actional level, interactional level, topic level, and organizational level. Table 1 shows a summary of the inter-varietal pragmatic studies of inner-circle Englishes.

Table 1. Inter-varietal pragmatic studies of inner-circle Englishes

Author / date of publication	Focus of study	Varieties examined	Findings
Jautz (2008)	Expressions of gratitude	British English and New Zealand English	Differences in frequency and form
Sato (2008)	Use of <i>please</i>	American English and New Zealand English	Differences in positioning of <i>please</i> and form of accompanying words
O'Keefe and Adolfs (2008)	Response tokens	British English and Irish English	Differences in frequency and form
Tottie (1991)	Backchannels	British and American English	Differences in frequency and form

McCarthy (2002)	Response tokens	British English and American English	Differences in frequency of various tokens; similarities in local context and function
Barron (2005)	Offers	British English and Irish English	Differences in strategies used, form, and degree of external mitigation
Barron (2008)	Requests	British English and Irish English	Differences in degree of indirectness
Schneider (2005)	Responses to expressions of gratitude	British English, Irish English, and American English	Differences in frequency of use of thanks minimizers, standardization, type of strategy, and form
Schneider (2008)	Small talk	British English, Irish English, and American English	Differences in formal level, actional level, interactional level, topic level, and organizational level

The present study

The present study examines expressions of gratitude in Irish English and New Zealand in the ICE-Ireland corpus and the ICE-New Zealand corpus as part of a wider inter-varietal study of expressions of gratitude. Both of the corpora are approximately one million words each, with spoken English composing roughly 60% of the corpus, and written English 40%. Table 2 shows the breakdown of the types of language and their quantities. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of 2,000 word texts.

Table 2. Breakdown of types of language in the ICE corpora (ICE website, 2009)

SPOKEN (300)	Dialogues (180)	Private (100)	Face-to-face conversations (90) Phone calls (10)
		Public (80)	Classroom lessons (20) Broadcast discussions (20) Broadcast interviews (10) Parliamentary debates (10) Legal cross-examinations (10) Business transactions (10)
	Monologues (120)	Unscripted (70)	Spontaneous commentaries (20) Unscripted speeches (30) Demonstrations (10) Legal presentations (10)
		Scripted (50)	Broadcast news (20) Broadcast talks (20) Non-broadcast talks (10)
WRITTEN (200)	Non-printed (50)	Student writing (20)	Student essays (10) Exam scripts (10)
		Letters (30)	Social letters (15) Business letters (15)
	Printed (150)	Academic writing (40)	Humanities (10) Social Sciences (10) Natural Sciences (10) Technology (10)
		Popular writing (40)	Humanities (10) Social Sciences (10) Natural Sciences (10) Technology (10)
		Reportage (20)	Press news reports (20)
		Instructional writing (20)	Administrative writing (10) Skills/hobbies (10)
		Persuasive writing (10)	Press editorials (10)
		Creative writing (20)	Novels & short stories (20)

In the first part of the study, the frequency of occurrence of *thank* and *thanks* are investigated in each corpus. In addition, any other intensifying phrases or supplementary expressions that were used in tandem with these words to convey gratitude are also examined. Expressions of gratitude to a

third party were included. However, the use of *thanks to...* to mean “due to”, as in “Thanks to the outline maps that recent historians of science have compiled...” were excluded. In a few cases, such as “Thanks to Tony’s sheepskin covers I never got a sore bum”, it is possible to interpret the words as indirectly thanking someone for making something available. Nonetheless, only *thanks to...* statements that directly addressed a person, group of people, or institution were counted in the token tallies. Additionally, references to gratitude, for example, “You get no thanks either. But someone has to do the job” or “...despite the number of injuries and the fact that some of them were serious Newry must be giving thanks today that it wasn’t a lot worse,” were excluded.

Expressions using *thank* or *thanks* comprised almost all of the verbal demonstrations of gratitude. However, in the next section of the analysis the frequency of the following words was further investigated and analyzed: *grateful*, *appreciate*, *cheers*, and *obliged*. Here, too, uses of these words that are not related to the expression of gratitude, for example, the use of *appreciate* to mean “discern”, were excluded from the analysis. Similarly, tokens using *cheers* in toasts rather than as an expression of gratitude were not included.

The final section of the analysis examines in detail *thank* and *thanks* in the face-to-face conversations of both corpora, investigating the function of the words in context. In many cases, it was unclear what the expression of gratitude referred to, as for example, a cup of tea might be passed to someone in the middle of talking about something else, warranting a brief thanks with no specification of the object since it would be clear to the other participants. In other situations it appeared that allusion was made to previous events or ongoing jokes, which were difficult to interpret. Therefore, the analysis is qualitative rather quantitative, attempting to shed light on both on how expressions of gratitude may be used in face-to-face conversations, and to observe potential differences in gratitude expressions in Irish and New Zealand discourse.

Analysis

Table 3 shows the breakdown of occurrences of the words in the spoken and written sections of the two corpora.

Table 3. Breakdown of occurrences of *thank* and *thanks* in the ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ corpora

	<i>thank</i>	<i>thanks</i>	<i>thank + thanks</i>
ICE-Ireland spoken	144	79	223
ICE-Ireland written	50	19	69
ICE-Ireland total	194	98	292
ICE-NZ spoken	186	41	227
ICE-NZ written	79	45	124
ICE-NZ total	265	86	351

- Intra-corpora differences

Thank was used much more frequently in both the spoken and written ICE-Ireland sub-corpora than *thanks*. *Thank* was used 1.8 times as frequently as *thanks* in the Irish spoken data. There were 144 *thank* tokens and 79 *thanks* tokens. An even greater difference in frequency was found in the Irish written data. *Thank* was used approximately 2.6 times as often as *thanks*, with 50 and 19 tokens respectively. Generally speaking, expressions of gratitude were much more common in the spoken Irish data than in the written data. When the percentages are adjusted because the spoken data represents 60% of the total corpus and the written data represents 40% of the total corpus, *thank* and *thanks* were used about 2.2 times as often in the Irish spoken data than in the Irish written data, with combined tallies in the spoken data amounting to 223, and in the written data totaling 69.

The difference in the frequency of use of *thank* and *thanks* was even more pronounced in the New Zealand spoken sub-corpora. *Thank* was used 4.5 times more often than *thanks* in the New Zealand spoken data, with *thank* tokens totaling 186 and *thanks* tokens amounting to 41. As in the Irish spoken

and written data and the New Zealand spoken data, *thank* was also used more frequently in the New Zealand written data. There were 79 occurrences of *thank* and 45 of *thanks*, meaning that *thank* was used about 1.8 times more frequently than *thanks*. Unlike the Irish data, which showed a much higher frequency of expressions of gratitude in the spoken sub-corpora than in the written sub-corpora, when the percentages are adjusted because the spoken data represents 60% of the total corpus and the written data represents 40% of the total corpus, *thank* and *thanks* were used 1.2 times more often in the New Zealand spoken data than in the New Zealand written data, with 227 and 124 tokens respectively.

- Inter-corpora differences

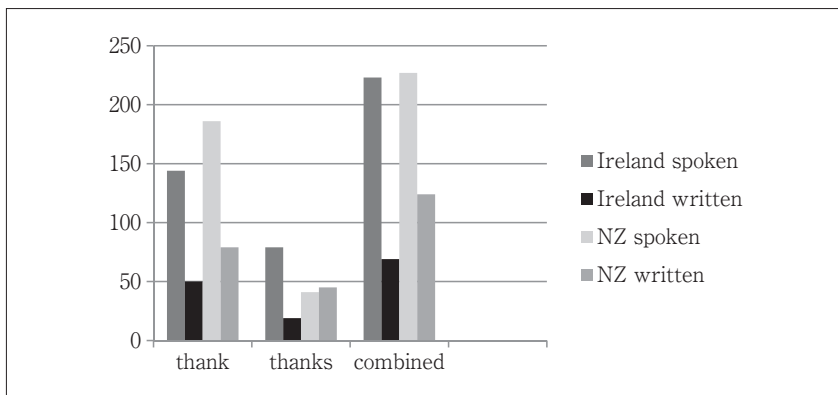
Overall, *thank* occurred more frequently in the New Zealand corpus than in the Irish corpus. The NZ spoken data used *thank* slightly more often than the Ireland spoken data, with 186 and 144 tokens respectively. The NZ written data, with 79 occurrences of *thank*, used it 1.5 times more often than the Ireland written data, which had 50 *thank* tokens. Similarly, the combined frequency of *thank* in the spoken and written data was roughly 1.4 times higher in the NZ data (265 tokens) than in the Irish data (194 tokens).

Thanks occurred 2.4 times as frequently in the NZ written data than in the Irish written data, with 19 tokens in the Irish data and 45 in the New Zealand data. Conversely, the Irish spoken data used *thanks* roughly twice as frequently as the NZ spoken data (79 tokens in the Irish spoken data and 41 in the New Zealand spoken data). The combined total for *thanks* in the written and spoken data of both the Ireland and NZ corpora was only slightly different, with 98 and 86 tokens respectively.

The combined total for *thanks* and *thank* in the spoken data of both the Ireland and NZ corpora was almost the same, with tokens in the Irish data amounting to 223 tokens and the New Zealand data at 227. However, the combined total for *thanks* and *thank* in the New Zealand written data was about 1.8 times as frequent as that of the corresponding Irish data, with 124

tokens compared to 69. The combined total for *thanks* and *thank* in both the New Zealand written and spoken data was slightly greater than that of the corresponding Irish data, with 351 tokens and 293 tokens respectively. Graph 1 shows the frequency of occurrence of the words in the corpora.

Graph 1. Frequency of *thank* and *thanks* in the ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ corpora



- Comparison according to language type

Table 4 shows a comparison of the frequency of *thank* and *thanks* in the spoken sub-corpora according to language type.

Table 4. Thank and thanks tokens according to language type in the spoken sub-corpora

		ICE-Ireland			ICE-NZ		
		<i>thank</i>	<i>thanks</i>	<i>thank+thanks</i>	<i>thank</i>	<i>thanks</i>	<i>thank+thanks</i>
Dialogues	Private	46	38	84	28	15	43
	Public	48	14	62	112	12	124
Monologues	Scripted	27	13	40	12	11	23
	Unscripted	23	14	37	34	3	37
Total		144	79	223	186	41	227

The number of *thank* tokens was slightly larger than *thanks* tokens in

the Irish private conversations (46 and 43 respectively), but the number of *thank* tokens was almost twice as many as *thanks* token in the New Zealand data. There were 28 *thank* tokens in the ICE-NZ private conversation data but only 15 *thanks* tokens. It is in the public dialogues that a more significant difference in the frequency of use of *thank* and *thanks* could be seen in both corpora, but particularly in the New Zealand corpus. In the Irish public dialogues, *thank*, with 48 tokens, was about three times as frequent as *thanks*, with 14 tokens. In the New Zealand data, *thank* was more than nine times more frequent than *thanks* (112 tokens for *thank* and only 12 for *thanks*).

In the Irish scripted monologues, *thank* (27 tokens) was about twice as frequent as *thanks* (13 tokens), but in the New Zealand data the frequency was almost the same (12 and 11 tokens respectively). In the unscripted monologues, however, *thank* tokens were 1.6 times the number of *thanks* tokens in the Irish data (23 and 14 tokens respectively). As with the public dialogues, with the unscripted monologues, the New Zealand data showed a particularly large difference in frequency between *thank* and *thanks*. *Thanks*, with 34 tokens, was 11 times as frequent as *thank*, with only three tokens.

Although the combined total *thank* and *thanks* expressions of gratitude were about the same in the ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ spoken sub-corpora, at 223 and 227 tokens respectively, there were roughly twice as many private dialogue tokens (84) in the Irish spoken data than there were in the New Zealand data (43 tokens). On the other hand, the ICE-Ireland public dialogue tokens were about half of the number of those in the New Zealand sub-corpora (62 and 124 tokens respectively). Additionally, there were about 1.7 times as many *thank* and *thanks* tokens in the Irish scripted monologues (40) than there were in the New Zealand scripted monologues (23). There was no difference between the two sub-corpora regarding the combined total for unscripted monologues. Graph 2 shows the distribution of *thank* and *thanks* in the ICE-Ireland sub-corpora according to spoken language type and Graph 3 shows the corresponding breakdown for the ICE-NZ sub-corpora.

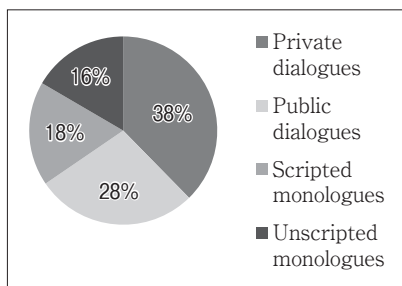
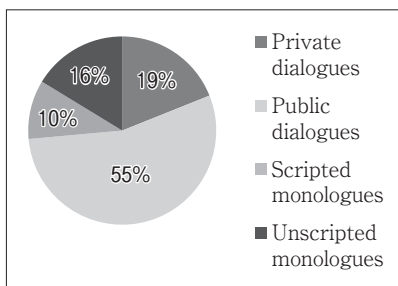
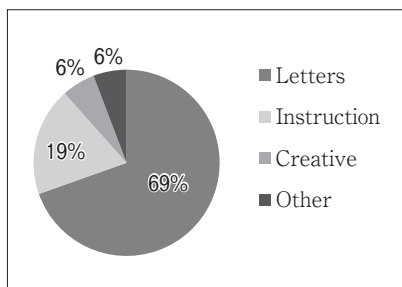
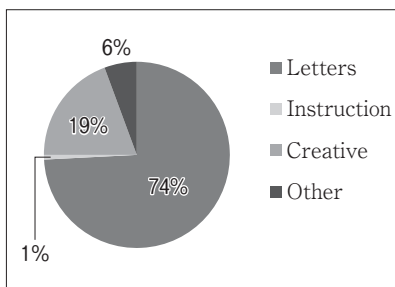
Graph 2. *thank* and *thanks* in ICE-Ireland according to spoken language type**Graph 3.** *thank* and *thanks* in ICE-NZ according to spoken language type

Table 5 shows a comparison of the frequency of *thank* and *thanks* in the written sub-corpora according to language type. In both sub-corpora, expressions of gratitude were most common in letters, with *thank* more frequent than *thanks* in the both. However, the difference in frequency was greater in the Irish data than in the New Zealand data. In the ICE-Ireland corpus, *thank* occurred in letters 36 times, three times more often than *thanks*, which occurred 12 times. In the ICE-NZ corpus letters, there were 58 *thank* tokens, about 1.7 times more frequent than *thanks*, with 34 tokens.

The combined occurrence of *thank* and *thanks* in New Zealand letters was almost double the corresponding Irish data, with 92 tokens and 48 respectively. On the other hand, the combined number of tokens in the instructional writing language type was 13 for the Irish data, but only one for the New Zealand data. Expressions of gratitude in creative writing, however, were more prevalent in the New Zealand data. There were 24 tokens of this type but only four tokens in the Irish creative writing. Graph 4 shows the distribution of *thank* and *thanks* in the ICE-Ireland sub-corpora according to language type and Graph 5 shows the corresponding breakdown for the ICE-NZ sub-corpora.

Table 5. *Thank* and *thanks* tokens according to language type in the written corpora

		ICE-Ireland			ICE-NZ		
		<i>thank</i>	<i>thanks</i>	<i>thank+ thanks</i>	<i>thank</i>	<i>thanks</i>	<i>thank+ thanks</i>
Non-printed	Student writing	0	0	0	1	1	2
	Letters	36	12	48	58	34	92
Printed	Academic writing	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Popular writing	1	0	1	3	2	5
	Reportage	1	1	2	0	0	0
	Instructional writing	8	5	13	0	1	1
	Persuasive writing	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Creative writing	3	1	4	17	7	24
Total		50	19	69	79	45	124

Graph 4. *thank* and *thanks* in ICE-Ireland according to written language type**Graph 5.** *thank* and *thanks* in ICE-NZ according to written language type

- Forms of expressions

Table 6 shows the forms of expressions using *thank* in both corpora. In both the Irish and New Zealand corpora, the majority of expressions of gratitude using *thank* took the form *thank you*, which might be further followed by intensifiers such as *very much* or *so much*, or by the name or title of the person being thanked, or by both. *Thank you* comprised 128 spoken expressions of gratitude using *thank* in the Irish sub-corpus, or 89%. The percent of

thank expressions in the Irish written sub-corpus that used the form *thank you* was slightly lower, at 68%, or 34 expressions. Similarly, *thank you* forms occupied 91% of the New Zealand *thank* spoken sub-corpus, or 170 expressions, and exactly the same percentage of the New Zealand written *thank* expressions used *thank you*, or 72 expressions.

The person or institution to whom/which the gratitude was being expressed was specified in 58 expressions of spoken gratitude in the Irish sub-corpus, or in 40% of the *thank* expressions. Of these, 26 were addresses to a title, such as “Thank you, Mr. Chairman”. Specification of names was less common in the New Zealand spoken data. About 22% of the *thank* expressions (41) included a name or title. Seventeen of these were addresses to a title. There were only three occurrences of the addressee being specified in the Irish written data and there were no occurrences in the New Zealand written data.

The use of intensifiers was much more frequent in the Irish spoken data than in the New Zealand spoken data. In the Irish spoken data there were 23 *thank* expressions using an intensifier, or 16% of all of the *thank* expressions. The New Zealand spoken data only had 15 *thank* expressions using an intensifier, or 8% of all of the *thank* expressions. The intensifier used in both sub-corpora was *very much*. Two of these intensified expressions of gratitude in the Irish data included *Thank you very much indeed*. Intensifiers were used much less frequently in the written data in both sub-corpora, with only five such expressions in each set of data. Of these, in the Irish written data one was *thank you very very much* and another was *thank you so much*. In the New Zealand written data *thank you so much* occurred twice.

Reason specification, by adding *for...* onto the expression of gratitude, was much more common in the written *thank* data of both corpora. Thirty-one out of 50 tokens, or 62%, of the Irish written data using *thank* specified the reason, as did 43 tokens out of 79 in the New Zealand data, or 54%. On the other hand, only 8% of both the Irish and New Zealand spoken data did so. Statements of desire, like *I'd like/love to thank...* or *I want/wish to thank...*

were more frequent in both the Irish spoken and written data than in the New Zealand data, amounting to about 9% of the combined Irish *thank* data, compared to the New Zealand data in which such statements were only 2% of the combined data.

Expressions of gratitude to God or providence, such as *thank God* or *thank goodness*, represented about 7% of the combined Irish spoken data and 4% of the combined New Zealand spoken data. Refusals such as *no thank you* were not frequent in either sub-corpora. Such expressions of gratitude in the act of rejection amounted to only 3% of the combined Irish spoken data and 1.5% of the combined New Zealand spoken data.

Table 6. Form of *thank* expressions in ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ

Form	ICE-Ireland			ICE-NZ		
	spoken	written	total	spoken	written	total
thank you	128	34	162	170	72	242
Addressee specification	58	3	61	41	0	41
Use of intensifiers	23	5	28	15	5	20
Reason specification	12	31	43	14	43	57
Desire statement	10	7	17	3	2	5
Gratitude to God or providence	6	7	13	8	3	11
Refusals	5	0	5	3	1	4

Table 7 shows the forms of the expressions using *thanks* in the ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ corpora. *Thanks* expression took a variety of intensified forms including *thanks very much*, *thanks a lot*, *thanks a million*, *thanks so much*, and *many thanks*. *Thanks very much* was used more frequently among these forms. Twenty-seven percent of the Irish spoken *thanks* data used this form, or 21 tokens out of 79. On the other hand, it was not used at all in the Irish written data or in the New Zealand spoken data, and only twice, or in 4%, of the New Zealand written data.

The second-most frequent intensified forms were *thanks a raillion* and

many thanks. *Thanks a million* was used in 5% of the combined Irish spoken and written data. This form was not present in the New Zealand data. Conversely, *many thanks* appeared in 11% of the New Zealand written data, or in five tokens out of 45 but did not appear in the Irish data or the New Zealand spoken data. Use of *thanks a lot*, *thanks so much*, and *thanks go to...* was negligible in the Irish data and not used at all in the New Zealand data. *Please accept our grateful/sincere thanks* was used twice in the New Zealand written data but not in any of the other sub-corpora. *Thanks to...* occupied about 9% of the combined spoken and written *thanks* data in both corpora.

Addressee specification in combination with *thanks* was common in both the Irish and New Zealand spoken sub-corpora. Seventeen tokens out of 79, or 22%, of the Irish spoken data addressed the person being thanked by name or title. The frequency was significantly higher in the New Zealand spoken data in which 19 tokens out of 41, or 46%, did so. The addressee was never specified in the Irish written data and only in two tokens out of 45, or 4%, of the New Zealand written *thanks* data.

Reason specification was also common in both the Irish and New Zealand written data using *thanks*. Twelve tokens out of 19, or 63% of the Irish written data took the form *thanks for...*, either with intensification or without. Eighteen tokens out of 45, or 40%, of the New Zealand written *thanks* data also specified the reason for gratitude.

Five percent, or four tokens out of 79 in the Irish spoken *thanks* data expressed gratitude to “God” or “the Lord”. However, there was no such expression used in either the Irish or New Zealand written data, and there was only one token in the New Zealand spoken data.

Ten percent of the Irish spoken *thanks* data, or eight tokens out of 79, were refusals in the form of *no thanks*. On the other hand, there were no refusals in the Irish written *thanks* data or in the New Zealand spoken data, and only two tokens of this sort in the New Zealand written *thanks* data.

Table 7. Form of *thanks* expressions in ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ

	ICE-Ireland			ICE-NZ		
	spoken	written	total	spoken	written	total
<i>Thanks very much</i>	21	0	21	0	2	0
<i>Thanks a lot</i>	3	0	3	0	0	0
<i>Thanks a million</i>	3	2	5	0	0	0
<i>Thanks so much</i>	1	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Many thanks</i>	0	0	0	0	5	5
<i>Thanks go to...</i>	0	2	2	0	0	0
<i>Thanks to...</i>	6	3	9	5	3	8
<i>Please accept our grateful/ sincere thanks</i>	0	0	0	0	2	2
Addressee specification	17	0	17	19	2	21
Reason specification	3	9	12	3	18	21
<i>Thanks to God/the Lord</i>	4	0	4	1	0	1
refusals	8	0	8	0	2	2

- Other expressions of gratitude

Other words to express gratitude were rare in the corpora except when used in combination with *thank* or *thanks*. Of those functioning independently, *grateful* was the most frequent, particularly in the New Zealand written data, which included seven expressions of gratitude using this word.

An interesting point about the use of *grateful* in the New Zealand written data is its use as a type of concession or conciliatory remark, before expressing a further lack that must be filled, as in <ICE-NZ:W1B-027#86:5> “While the Group is grateful for the two additional posts approved in 1995, it must be added that these posts have not even compensated for growth experienced in 1996.” and in <ICE-NZ:W1B-028#29:2> “It is good to see significant progress has been made, that numbers of the changes we asked for have been made and that our properties have been revalued with the result that our premium for the coming year will be significantly lower than it was this year. <ICE-NZ:W1B-028#30:2> We are grateful for these things. <p><ICE-NZ:

W1B-028#31:2>However, there is still some change necessary which I imagine needs now to take place urgently.” In these examples *grateful* appears to serve a mitigating function before a subsequent negative remark.

In a somewhat similar manner, *grateful* was also used once in the New Zealand written data to respond to a potentially face-threatening act of rectification: <ICE-NZ:W2E-007#49:1>“They have pointed out one mistake in my column. <ICE-NZ:W2E-007#50:1>Apparently they do have a lady councillor to make the tea. <ICE-NZ:W2E-007#51:1>I am grateful to them for this correction.”

Among the other words expressing gratitude, *cheers* was the second most common following *grateful*. It was used five times in the Irish spoken sub-corpora but not in any of the other sub-corpora. *Appreciate* was used both in the Irish spoken sub-corpora and the New Zealand written spoken sub-corpora three times each but it was not used in the other sub-corpora. *Obligated* was used once in the Irish spoken sub-corpora.

Not included in these tallies, but also of interest, is the use of *grateful* and *appreciate* in requests. The form *would be grateful* appeared in 11 tokens in the Irish written data and in 10 tokens in the New Zealand written data. Similarly, *would appreciate* was used once in the Irish spoken data, four times in the Irish written data, once in the New Zealand spoken data, and five times in the New Zealand written data.

Table 8. Other expressions of gratitude in ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ

	ICE-Ireland		ICE-NZ	
	spoken	written	spoken	written
<i>grateful</i>	3	2	3	7
<i>cheers</i>	5	0	0	0
<i>appreciate</i>	3	0	0	3
<i>obliged</i>	1	0	0	0

• *Thank* and *thanks* in face-to-face conversation

Thirty-two face-to-face segments of conversations that included expressions of gratitude in the Irish data and 13 in the New Zealand data were examined. Some segments included more than one expression of gratitude, fulfilling more than one function. Gratitude was observed to function in several different ways, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9. Functions of expressions of gratitude in face-to-face conversations

Function	ICE-Ireland	ICE-NZ
Response to receiving food/drink	○	○
Refusing food/drink	○	○
Request for food/drink	○	×
Response to present	○	×
Response to help	○	○
Response to advice	○	×
Response to help remembering	○	○
Response to agreement	○	×
Response to <i>How are you?</i> ²	○	○
Humour/sarcasm	○	○
<i>Thank God</i> etc.	○	○

Expressions of gratitude in conversations related to food and drink were the most common. Fifteen of the Irish segments of conversations examined and three of the New Zealand conversations included expressions of gratitude in receiving, refusing, or requesting food or drink. Of these, 11 of the Irish segments included an expression of gratitude when receiving or after receiving food as well as one of the New Zealand segments. At times, the expressions of gratitude were preceded by an offer, as in the following.

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-006\$A> <#> So girls would you like a glass of wine
<S1A-006\$B> <#> I'd love a wee glass of wine <#> Thanks very much

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-073\$B> <#> <[1> Will you have another drop of wine Bronwyn <#> It 's there
 </[1> </[1>
 <S1A-073\$C> <#> <[2> Yes thanks </[2> </[2>
 <S1A-073\$B> <#> <[3> Nice isn't it </[3> </[3>
 <S1A-073\$C> <#> <[4> 'Tis yeah </[4> </[4>

It is not, however, necessary to express gratitude when offered:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-067\$A> <#> Granny do you want tea
 <S1A-067\$C> <#> Yeah yeah please
 <S1A-067\$D> <#> I 'll have a cup too thanks

This segment also reveals the use of *thanks* in a request, as D takes advantage of A's offer to C for a cup of tea.

On other occasions, the food or drink is simply provided without comment but is acknowledged when it is received:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-053\$C> <#> Thank-you
 <S1A-053\$B> <#> You 're welcome
 <S1A-053\$D> <#> Mairead these are lovely
 <S1A-053\$A> <#> <> No </.> not as <[> <[> but </[> they 're nicer as the nutty ones
 <S1A-053\$C> <#> <[> Mmm </[> </[>
 <S1A-053\$C> <#> You keep going on about the nutty ones
 <S1A-053\$A> <#> But they 're gorgeous oh
 <S1A-053\$D> <#> These are heaven though

In this segment, C expresses gratitude by saying *Thank you* after receiving some a confectionary item. D also shows appreciation by commenting *Mairead, these are lovely*. Following this, A seems to get into a bit of difficulty as she begins to make an observation that another type of confection is nicer but then realizes that such an remark might seem churlish, and attempts a clumsy modification midway to suggest that the present sweet is as good or better than the other. Nonetheless, her statement appears to be taken as criticism by C, who says *You keep going on about the nutty ones*, leading A to

defend her original assertion: *But they're gorgeous, oh*. D may not have intended to follow up her previous compliment, but she adds another statement of praise, *These are heaven though*, likely in order to restore the gratitude thrust of the conversation which has gone off track.

On the other hand, the food or drink may be provided with a short statement of bestowal:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-067\$A> <#> No <#> Did you make Granny a sandwich <,> <unclear> several
 sylls </unclear> <#> There 's a cup of tea Granny
 <S1A-067\$D> <#> Thanks <#>

In two of the Irish conversations an expression of gratitude may have been elicited by a question:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-019\$D> <#> Is that alright <#> Are those alright <#> Too <|> <|> strong or
 too </|> weak or
 <S1A-019\$B> <#> <|> They 're lovely </|> </|>
 <S1A-019\$C> <#> Just gorgeous
 <S1A-019\$A> <#> Perfect
 <S1A-019\$C> <#> Here cheers folks
 <S1A-019\$D> <#> <|> <|> Cheers </|>
 <S1A-019\$A> <#> <|> Cheers </|>
 <S1A-019\$B> <#> <|> Cheers </|>
 <S1A-019\$C> <#> <|> Cheers </|> </|>
 <S1A-019\$A> <#> Thank-you Sally-Anne <#> This is lovely
 <S1A-019\$C> <#> Yes <#> Thanks a lot

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-078\$A> <#> Well is everybody happy with their lunch
 <S1A-078\$D> <#> Mmm <#> Oh
 <S1A-078\$C> <#> Lovely thank-you
 <S1A-078\$B> <#> It 's beautiful thanks

In one case, the gratitude seemed to be an attempt to make amends after voicing a criticism:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-073\$B> <#> <unclear> several syls </unclear> <#> Well I don't know why I was left out from a cup of tea
 <S1A-073\$C> <#> Cos you weren't finished <#> You were still having you dinner
 <S1A-073\$B> <#> Well I was chewing the chewing the rag <,> chewing bits of it <#> It was a lovely lunch dinner <#> Thank-you

The expression of gratitude can also appear to function as a way of acknowledging the end of a meal:

<ICE-NZ:S1A-060#123:1:W> that was very nice thank you tama

Positive adjectives often accompanied the expressions of gratitude. *Lovely* was most common, occurring six times in Irish segments examined. *Gorgeous* appeared twice, and *perfect*, *beautiful*, *most enjoyable*, and *fine* were each used once. In the one New Zealand segment that expressed gratitude in receiving food *nice* was used in tandem with *Thank you*.

Refusals of offers for food and drink were also common. Eight of the Irish segments and three of the New Zealand segments included expressions of gratitude when turning down such an offer. Such negative responses tended to be brief, and an expression of gratitude was not always required, as can be seen in the first refusal in the following conversation in which a mother offers a potato to various family members in succession.

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-078\$A> <#> Would you like a potato Abigail
 <S1A-078\$B> <#> No Mam
 <S1A-078\$A> <#> I've a couple over now <#> Do you want one Dad
 <S1A-078\$D> <#> No thanks
 <S1A-078\$A> <#> Do you want one Eleanor

An unadorned *No thanks* was most frequent in refusals of food or drink. Five of the Irish refusals and all three of the New Zealand took this form. Of the remaining three refusals examined in the Irish face-to-face data, two additionally included a brief reason for the refusal:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-056\$B> <#> <|> Are you sure </|> </|> <#> Would you like some orange juice Michelle
<S1A-056\$C> <#> No I 'm fine thanks

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-052\$A> <#> Disbanded <&> laughter </&> <#> Will anyone <|> <|> need </|> a second slice of toast if I put it in the toaster
<S1A-052\$B> <#> <|> He 's </|> </|> no I 've got one already thanks

Only one set of two associated refusals used *thank you*:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-059\$B> <#> Would you like a cup of tea
<S1A-059\$A> <#> Uh <,> no thank-you
<S1A-059\$B> <#> <&> laughter </&> Okay coffee
<S1A-059\$A> <#> No <,> nothing at the moment thank-you

The second refusal also includes the phrase *nothing at the moment*, perhaps as a way of warding off further offers and reassuring the other person that sufficient attention has been paid to the speaker's needs.

The longest gratitude sequences in the face-to-face data were related to receiving gifts. There were two such segments in the Irish data. In the first, a blouse and earrings are given as a birthday present.

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-007\$A> <&> \$A hands present to \$B </&> <#> A little very belated birthday present
<S1A-007\$B> <#> Well thank-you very much but you really did not need to
<S1A-007\$A> <#> I know I 've been so bad and I just <,> I just had <&> laughter </&> <#>
Well I no I just decided it was a good opportunity to see everybody <,> everybody in the one room and then that was the idea
<S1A-007\$F> <#> Aw you 're very kind <#> And very well organised
<S1A-007\$A> <#> You haven't organised <,> you haven't opened it yet
<&> unclear speech </&>
<S1A-007\$B> <#> Ooh this is definitely me now
<S1A-007\$A> <#> I thought it was very you Pat
<S1A-007\$B> <#> <|> <|> Oh it is </|>
<S1A-007\$A> <#> <|> I thought </|> </|> it was gorgeous

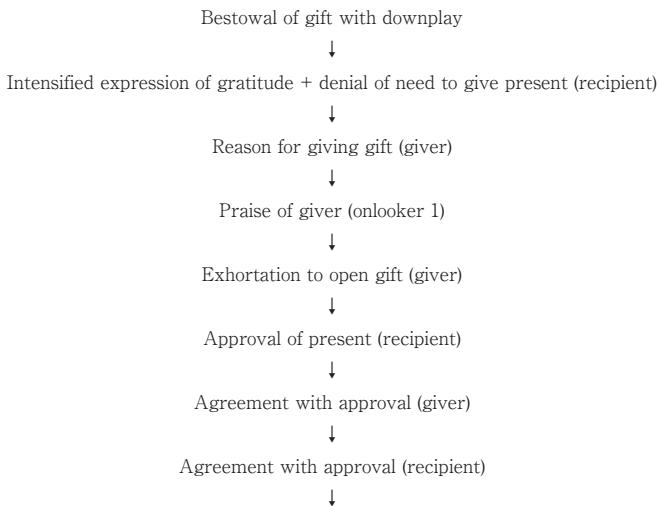
<S1A-007\$D> <#> Oh <|> <|> that 's beautiful </|>
 <S1A-007\$C> <#> <|> Oh that 's beautiful </|> </|>
 <S1A-007\$F> <#> Oh that 's gorgeous
 <S1A-007\$B> <#> Now Mary-Louise and I can go out and see whose top is lower <&> laughter
 </&> <#> There was one night we were really drunk and we were saying to all the boys <>
 no my top isn't as low
 <S1A-007\$A> <#> I think you need to put a wee stitch in this flower here actually cos it sort of
 flops down a bit
 <S1A-007\$B> <#> Doreen that is gorgeous <#> Thank-you very much pet <#> That 's so kind of
 you
 <S1A-007\$A> <#> You 're very welcome <#> And I got you some earrings to go with them
 <S1A-007\$C> <#> Oh that 's beautiful
 <S1A-007\$A> <#> <|> <|> Very you </|>
 <S1A-007\$F> <#> <|> Oh Doreen that is so <unclear> several sylls </unclear> </|> </|>
 <S1A-007\$B> <#> They are so me Doreen
 <&> unclear speech </&>
 <S1A-007\$D> <#> You should come home more often Doreen
 <S1A-007\$A> <#> Huh
 <S1A-007\$D> <#> You should come home more often
 <&> laughter </&>
 <S1A-007\$B> <#> Oh that 's very nice now <#> Doreen this is really great
 <S1A-007\$A> <#> I took my fashion advisor Linda Harney with me today and she was helping me
 pick out all these <> och thanks a million <> all these tops and everything
 <S1A-007\$F> <#> Thank-you <#> They 're really lovely
 <S1A-007\$A> <#> Now Pat honestly if you don't <> <|> <|> <unclear> 2 sylls </unclear> or
 whatever </|> I have the receipts
 <S1A-007\$B> <#> <|> Oh I love them </|> </|>
 <S1A-007\$B> <#> Well I think I 'll need to be tanned when I wear it
 <&> unclear speech </&>

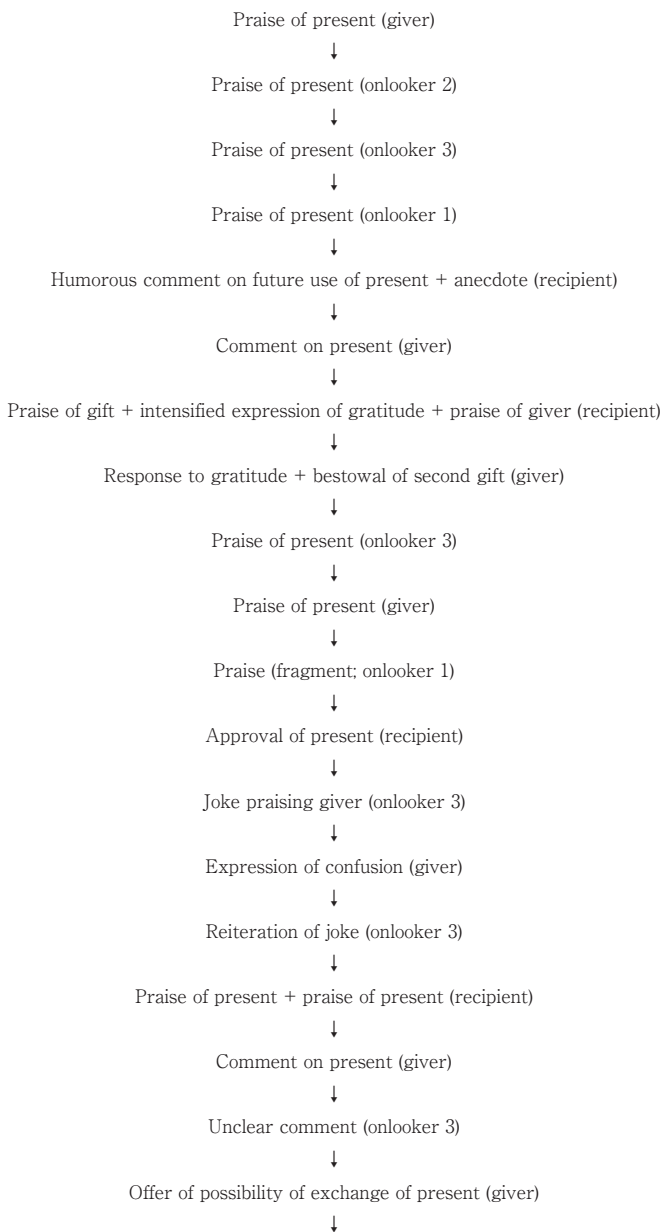
Diagram 1 shows the flow of the gratitude event. What is of particular interest is the role of the three onlookers, who offer praise of the giver once, praise of the present four times, a praise fragment which either intends to praise the giver or the present, and a joke that praises the giver. The recipient, for her part, uses an intensified expression of gratitude, *Thank you very much*, twice, once as soon as she has received the present, and once near the

end of the part of the sequence related to the first present. The second expression of gratitude may act as a trigger for the giver, as she bestows the second gift just after this. The recipient does not use an illocutionary force indicating device (*thank/thanks*) after receiving the second present, but instead praises the present and the giver.

The role of the giver in accomplishing the gratitude sequence is also significant. The giver agrees with the approval of the first present, saying *I thought it was gorgeous*, and of the second present, saying *Very you*. While *Very you* does not specifically praise the present itself, it is a statement of appropriate choice, and hence indirect praise of the giver herself. Despite the long sequence in which all participants have made a response to the present, at the end of the gratitude sequence the giver notes that it is possible to return the present, eliciting a final praise and comment from the recipient: *Oh I love them. Well, I think I'll need to be tanned when I wear it*. This brings the gratitude event to a close, and the conversation moves on to a discussion of tanning salons, with no further talk of the present.

Diagram 1. Flow of gratitude sequence in present segment 1





Statement of satisfaction + comment on present (recipient)

The second present segment is different from the first segment because there are two givers and no onlookers. In the segment, C and B give A a key-chain as a souvenir from a recent trip to Crete:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-075\$C> <#> Oh Mags we have something for you <,> all the way from Crete
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Ah
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> Don't get too excited
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> But why did youse <,> why did youse
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> We wanted to <,> <unclear> 1 syll </unclear>
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Ah thanks <#> Can I open it
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> No you can't open it
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Ah okay <#> Thanks oh is that my <|> <|> <unclear> 4 sylls </unclear>
 </|>
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> <|> You missed </|> </|> the suntan
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Yeah <|> <|> exactly </|> <#> Why didn't <unclear> 5 sylls </unclear>
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> <|> It 's all gone </|> </|>
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Sorry <,> well now you still have a bit of a <|> <|> glow of you </|>
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> <|> No </|> </|>
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> No <,> no <,> no <&> laughter </&>
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Can I open this <#> Oh thanks
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> She 's all <|> <|> confused </|>
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> <|> Ah youse didn't </|> </|> have to buy me anything you know <#> I hope
 you didn't feel obliged or anything like that <,> <#> It feels nice
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> Feels nice <&> laughter </&>
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> You know what I mean <#> Oh my God <#> I thought it was a spider for a
 second <&> laughter </&>
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> Oh yeah we really bought you a spider from Crete
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Ah that is so cute <#> I like that
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> Do you want to know what it is
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> It looks like a key-ring <&> laughter </&> <#> Oh wow what is it
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> Well it is <,> but it 's supposed to be a good luck charm made made of olive
 wood
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Oh is it olive wood
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> Mm hmm straight from Crete <&> laughter </&>

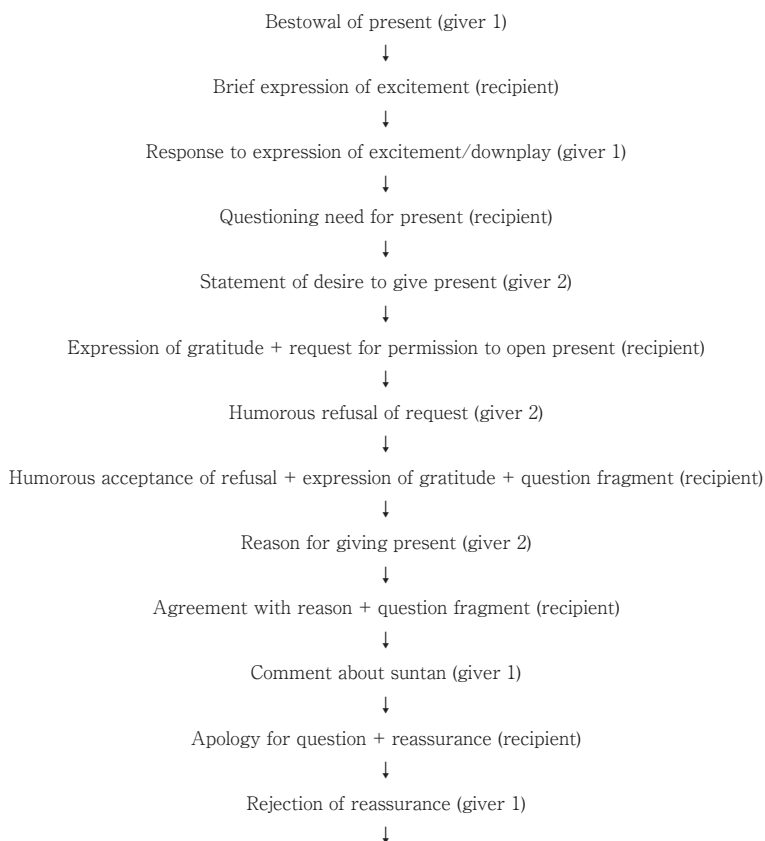
<S1A-075\$A> <#> No that is beautiful <#> It really <|> <|> is </|>
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> <|> All the little </|> </|> olives that grow over there
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> That 's about all that does <&> laughter </&>
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> Oh I know <,> <|> <|> <unclear> 4 sylls </unclear> </|>
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> <|> Were </|> </|> there loads of olives there as well
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> Yeah
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> Were there what
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Oh I love olives
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> No not this many <&> laughter </&>
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> Just like everywhere you go <,> olives
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Oh <|> <|> I love </|>
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> <|> All </|> </|> different shapes sizes <|> <|> colours </|>
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> <|> Lack </|> </|> of imagination there
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Oh I love olives <#> Oh can I go there as well <#> This is really really nice
 <#> I like this <#> This is so sweet <#> Thanks so much <#> Thank-you <|> <|>
 <unclear> 4 sylls </unclear> </|>
 <S1A-075\$B> <#> <|> Oh you 're more </|> </|> than welcome
 <S1A-075\$A> <#> Oh I know thanks no <,> <&> laughter </&> <#> Thanks very much <#>
 You 're very good the two of you <#> Thanks very much <#> It 's nice to know that you did
 think of me but I 'm going to use it as a key-ring <#> But I 'll take good care of it <&> laugh-
 ter </&> <#> Is that okay
 <S1A-075\$C> <#> You see if you have it as a key-ring you 'll have it with you the whole time

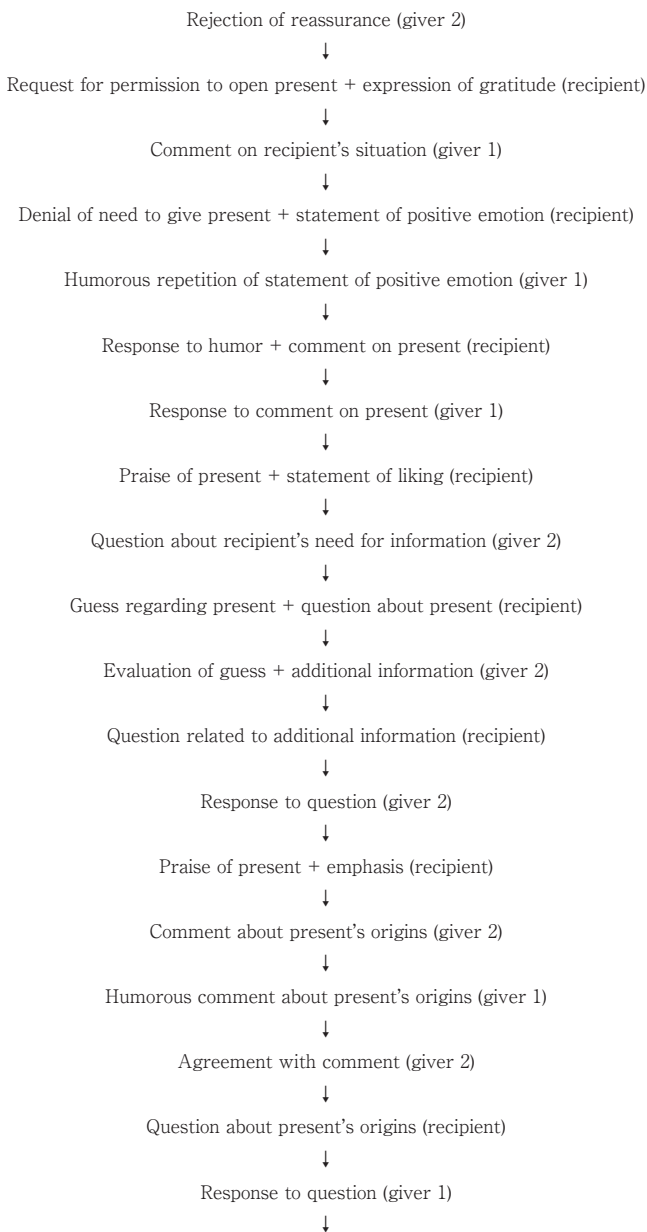
Diagram 2 shows the flow of gratitude in this sequence. In the sequence, the recipient makes eight expressions of gratitude, three of which are intensified, once with *so much*, and the other two times with *very much*. She also makes two statements of positive emotion, *It feels nice* and *It's nice to know that you did think of me*. Additionally, she offers praise of the present four times, saying it is *cute*, *beautiful*, *nice*, and *sweet*, as well as praising the givers once, saying, *You're very good, the two of you*. When praising the present as beautiful, the recipient adds further emphasis by saying, *It really is*. On top of this, she makes two statements of liking: *I like that* and *I like this*.

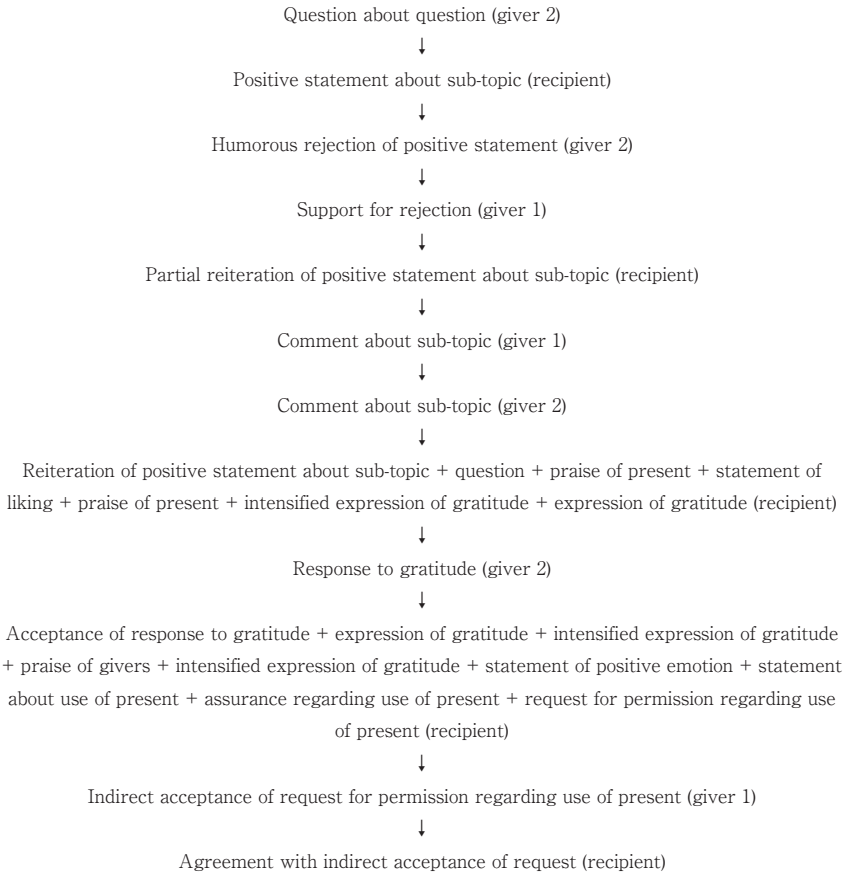
This amounts to 18 gratitude tokens, an astonishingly large number. It is all the more remarkable to note that the present in question is a good-luck charm/key-ring, hardly a huge present. Not only does the recipient speak

positively about the present, but she also states that she likes olives three times, a sub-topic that has developed in the conversation because the key-ring is made of olive wood. This appears to be an extension of gratitude, in which other things related to the present also meet with approbation. As in the previously examined present sequence, humor is also part of the conversation, with a joking refusal of the request for permission to open the present, and a possible sexual innuendo in giver 1's laughing reiteration of *Feels nice*.

Diagram 2. Flow of gratitude sequence in present segment 2







Both the Irish and New Zealand face-to-face conversations also included expressions of gratitude for tangible assistance. There was only one segment of this type in the Irish data, as two people briefly thank a third person for performing an errand, both using her name in doing so:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-088\$D> <#> <|> Thanks very </|> </|> much Arielle for going to the shop <S1A-088\$E> <#> Thank-you <|> <|> Arielle </|>

The New Zealand data had two segments related to gratitude for assistance, both longer than the Irish one. In one, a person, named Pam, volunteers to put up a poster for an event, prompting the other conversation participant to say that she can do it herself: <ICE-NZ:S1A-091#241:1:A> oh well i'll do that <ICE-NZ:S1A-091#242:1:A> thanks pam. Pam further offers to make a poster to be put up elsewhere, and the other person accepts, saying, <ICE-NZ:S1A-091#246:1:A> oh that would be good <ICE-NZ:S1A-091#247:1:A> thank you.

The second New Zealand gratitude assistance sequence is quite a bit longer. In it, a woman named Kate thanks a man named Simon for “getting through” something that is unspecified:

<ICE-NZ:S1A-044#272:1:K> you're getting through them simon
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#273:1:S> yeah thanks kate thanks
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#274:1:S> <laughs>you just stand there</laughs>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#275:1:K> oh
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#276:1:J> kate did make tea
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#277:1:K> i did <|><|>make</|> tea
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#278:1:J> <|><|>she</|><|></|>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#279:1:S> and a fine tea it was
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#280:1:K> yes <&>13:00</&>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#281:1:S> <O>laughs</O> <|><|><O>laughs</O></|>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#282:1:J> <|><unclear>word</unclear></|></|>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#283:1:K> thank you simon
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#284:1:S> oh that's all right
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#285:1:S> thank <.>you</.> thank you for saying you're getting through them
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#286:1:S> i do appreciate it really <unclear>word</unclear>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#287:1:K>i was just taking an interest <|><|><unclear>word</unclear> activity</|>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#288:1:S> <|><laughs>oh that's</|><|> good of you</laughs>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#289:1:S> i see
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#290:1:S> i see
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#291:1:K> and making conversation
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-044#292:1:S> oh there's allowed to be definite lulls

In this above segment, Simon makes two expressions of gratitude following Kate's positive statement of his progress: *Yeah thanks, Kate, thanks* and jokingly criticizes Kate for not doing anything, leading another speaker to note that Kate had made tea. Following this, Simon praises Kate's tea: *And a fine tea it was*, to which Kate responds with *Thank you, Simon*. This sets in motion an interesting development in the conversation, as Simon first responds to Kate's expression of gratitude by saying *Oh, that's all right*. He adds to this response by once again thanking Kate for her initial positive remark, adding a further supporting expression of gratitude using "appreciate": *Thank you... thank you for saying "You're getting through them." I do appreciate it, really...* Subsequently, Kate offers the reason for her original expression of gratitude: *I was just taking an interest... activity...*, producing another expression of gratitude from Simon in the form of praise: *Oh, that's good of you*. Kate provides yet another reason for her original expression, this time one related to discourse management: *And making conversation*, which Simon concurs with.

This segment is of particular interest in the way that expressions of gratitude are used twice in response to other expressions of gratitude. It is also interesting to note Kate's own comment on her use of an expression of gratitude as a local discourse management strategy. As with the present segments examined earlier, humor is also an element in the gratitude sequence.

Only one example from either of the corpora's face-to-face conversations investigated followed a piece of advice, a brief segment from the Irish sub-corpora related to guidance about a problem with a television, which includes *Cheers* in addition to *Thank you*:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-041\$D> <#> You 've no remote <|> <|> for that TV </|1> <#> Just keep hitting the button down til you come to channel nought should be your auxiliary channel <|2> <|2> or </|2>
 <S1A-041\$B> <#> <|1> No </|1> </|1>
 <S1A-041\$B> <#> <|2> Cheers </|2> </|2> <#> Thank-you <&& laughter </&&>

Slightly more frequent were expressions of gratitude for help in remembering something. Two segments from the ICE-Ireland sub-corpus and one from the ICE-NZ contained this type of gratitude function. In the first example, a woman cannot remember the name of a play:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-018\$D> <#> <[2> When was this </[2> </[2>
 <S1A-018\$A> <#> At the at the uh <,> what was the play called <#> The free play <#> The
 two people <,> it was two names
 <S1A-018\$D> <#> Oh I didn't see it
 <S1A-018\$A> <#> Larkey and
 <S1A-018\$B> <#> Little and Grand
 <S1A-018\$A> <#> <[> <[> Little and Grand </[> <#> Thank-you

B responds to A's having provided the name of the play by repeating and then saying *Thank you*. Similarly, when a woman, A, searches for the best way to describe herself, another woman, B, suggests a possibility:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-061\$A> <#> But but uhm but but <,> they they tend to be uhm now I I I 'm
 not one of those really even though I like to have things done for me but I 'm not really uhm I
 'm more of uhm eh what am I I 'm more of I 'm more of an independent <[> <[> <,> lu </>
 </[>
 <S1A-061\$B> <#> <[> Get up </[> </[> and go type
 <S1A-061\$A> <#> Yes I 'm more of an independent get up and go type yes exactly exactly <#>
 Thank-you Eleanor <#> You saved me there now from an embarrassing mm decline

A repeats what she has said previously, incorporating B's phrase. This is followed by emphasizing that B's contribution is appropriate, saying *exactly, exactly*. Next A thanks B with *Thank you*, along with the use of the woman's name, and a further reason is given for her gratitude: *You saved me there now from an embarrassing, mm, decline*. This example is slightly different from the previous one because A does not specifically ask for help in remembering something. B's contribution points to the cooperative nature of communication as she helps A express her point.

The example from the New Zealand sub-corpus is the briefest of the three, when a woman, B, tells another woman, Q, the name of a class which

Q cannot recall:

<ICE-NZ:S1A-002#259:1:Q> what class were we looking at them in
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-002#260:1:B> <O>laughs</O> linguistics i do believe it was um
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-002#261:1:Q> thank you bernice flynn

In this segment, unlike in the Irish examples, there is no reiteration of the word provided. Q says *Thank you* adding the other woman's name. In all three examples, *thank you* is used rather than *thanks*. However, a greater number of segments would need to be examined to assess whether this is significant.

In the face-to-face conversations, gratitude was also expressed when another conversational participant indicated agreement with the sentiments being expressed by a speaker. In this segment from the Irish data, a woman agrees with another woman that men their age are childish:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-025\$B> <#> <[I 'm not that </[> </[> stupid looking <#> Everybody thinks I 'm older than Nigel <,> and he 's three years older than me
 <S1A-025\$A> <#> I read that <#> Seriously <#> We mature faster than youse
 <S1A-025\$C> <#> I heard that as well <#> Sure you read all these different things
 <S1A-025\$A> <#> But it 's true <#> That 's why I 'm going out with somebody who 's three years older than me
 <S1A-025\$C> <#> Are you
 <S1A-025\$A> <#> Cos fellas my age are just so immature <&& laughter </&& <#> They really are
 <S1A-025\$B> <#> Aye they are I think
 <S1A-025\$A> <#> Aye <#> Thank-you Joanne <#> Thank-you <#>

The speaker thanks the other woman who agrees with her opinion, saying *Thank you, Joanne. Thank you*. It is interesting to note that here, too, as in the examples in which help was provided in remembering something, *thank you* is used rather than *thanks*. In the other segment of this type, also in the Irish data, *Thank you* is also used. There were no segments expressing gratitude for agreement in the New Zealand face-to-face conversations.

While one of the most often-learned gratitude sequences for non-native speakers is a *thanks* or *thank you* in response to *How are you?* there was only one example of this type in either of the face-to-face sub-corpora.

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-007\$B> <#> How are you honey
<S1A-007\$A> <#> Good thanks <#> How are you

Sarcastic expressions of gratitude were observed in two segments of the ICE-Ireland face-to-face conversations. In this first example, some men and women are having a disagreement about the role of women in the church. *Thank you* is used acerbically at two points, by two different women, to indicate that the arguments put forth is not a meaningful contribution:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-030\$C> <#> <[> </|> Mark why <.> sh </.> why should a man
be a minister and a woman <,> not allowed to be <#> Why <#> What 's wrong with women
that <,> what 's so different
<S1A-030\$A> <#> Can't have the same
<S1A-030\$D> <#> If you remember from Genesis
<S1A-030\$C> <#> Yes thank-you Mark <#> I do
<S1A-030\$D> <#> Man Adam was created <,> and then God took a <[1> <[1> rib from Adam
</[1> <,> to <,> cre </.> <,> <[2> <[2> create Eve </[2>
<S1A-030\$A> <#> <[1> Oh no </[1> </[1>
<S1A-030\$C> <#> <[2> Create Eve </[2> </[2> <#> Yes thank-you

While these ironic statements are in direct response to another person's statements, in this next example, the sarcastic expression of gratitude, reported to someone else later, is used to indicate a lack of communication on the part of the addressee:

<ICE-NZ.S1A-007#255:1:T> and i walked in and said hi and dad said oh giddy how are you I said
fine
<ICE-NZ.S1A-007#256:1:T> and that was all he said to me for the whole <.>nigh</.>
<ICE-NZ.S1A-007#257:1:T> he we all sat round and had dinner
<ICE-NZ.S1A-007#258:1:T> he got up went into the lounge and he didn't talk to us for the
<laughs>whole night</laughs>

<ICE-NZ.S1A-007#259:1:T> when i left i said <O>tut</O> thanks for the tantalizing conversation
<laughs>i really enjoyed it</laughs>

Humorous expressions of gratitude were also used to indicate that what someone else has said is slightly problematic. In the following example from the Irish data, a woman uses *No thanks* not only to suggest that she does not want baby books but also to emphasize that she is not thinking about having children soon:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-025\$A> <#> And when are you going to throw out all my baby books anyway
<#> I mean what 's the point of them
<S1A-025\$B> <#> They 're for after dopey
<S1A-025\$A> <#> As long as you don't leave them here
<S1A-025\$B> <#> I 'll hardly leave them here unless you 're planning to have one
<S1A-025\$A> <#> No you 're alright <#> No <|> <|> thanks </|>

The remaining four humorous examples were all from the New Zealand data. In the first example, *thank you* is used to respond to an unexpected and distasteful revelation:

<ICE-NZ.S1A-051#279:1:G> <softly><?>there's</?> a hole in your trousers</softly>
<ICE-NZ.S1A-051#280:1:A> no i've got my fingernail on my trousers <|><|>so it wouldn't</|> flick
on to your carpet
<ICE-NZ.S1A-051#281:1:G> <|><O>exhales</O></|></|>
<ICE-NZ.S1A-051#282:1:G> <|><|><laughs><O>tut</O> that's <?>touching</?> anna thank you
um</laughs></|>

Similarly, in the next example, *thanks for that* is used at the end of a long explanation of the problem and solution to dealing with hair removed from a hairbrush:

<ICE-NZ.S1A-039#21:1:T> you tried to burn</quietly> <O>laughs</O>
<ICE-NZ.S1A-039#22:1:Q> <voice=highpitched><unclear>word</unclear></voice=highpitched>
<ICE-NZ.S1A-039#23:1:T> <?>fine</?> not a problem

<ICE-NZ.S1A-039#24:1:Q> eh?
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#25:1:T> you're all right eh
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#26:1:Q> <O>coughs</O> <|><[1]><?>it</?> did it smelt</[1]> disgusting
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#27:1:Q> <O>voc</O> imagine what <.>it</.> would smell like if it was more
 than just hair that <?>was</?> burnt <„>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#28:1:Q> <|2><[2>mm</[2>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#29:1:T> <[1]><?>you're all right</?></[1]></|1>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#30:1:T> <[2><.>why</.></[2></|2> <.>th</.> <.>o</.> on the hairbrush
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#31:1:Q> <loudly>no</loudly> i took it off
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#32:1:T> oh why didn't you just flush it down the toilet <.>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#33:1:T> no that's what you do with hair cos it's the best way
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#34:1:T> cos if you put it in a rubbish bin it blows away in draughts
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#35:1:Q> <drawls>oh yeah</drawls>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#36:1:T> you take <.>y</.> you take <.>y</.> your hair off your brush and you
 flush it down the toilet
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#37:1:Q> <O>laughs</O>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#38:1:T> trust me this is someone with long <[1><[1]><?>thin</?></[1> hair for
 all her life
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#39:1:T> it's the best way <[2><[2>to do it</[2>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#40:1:T> i used to throw <.>it</.>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#41:1:T> i used to <.>th</.> when i was little i used to throw out my window <.>
 and it would fly right back in my face
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#42:1:Q> <[1><O>coughs</O></[1></[1>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#43:1:Q> <[2>well um</[2></[2>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-039#44:1:Q> oh <|><[1>thanks for that <O>laughs</O> <O>coughs</O></[1>
 um

It appears that Q is at a loss for words to respond to T's somewhat repugnant and strange story of throwing her unwanted hair out of the window. While the two examples just examined reveal the use of gratitude in managing unpalatable scenarios, the following two are related to supposed personality deficiencies. The first brief example is an ironic response to a humorous assertion of lack of support:

<ICE-NZ.S1A-009#33:1:S> well i don't think we'll be able to get you any character witnesses simon
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#34:1:H> <O>laughs</O> thank you for <|><[>that vote of confidence

<O>sniffs</O></>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#35:1.S> <[><O>laughs</O></[></>

In the next example, the speakers discuss a video that will be made featuring a man, H. S, the other speaker, makes a non-serious suggestion which is followed by a similarly non-serious defense of the suggestion by positing “massive problems of self-image” on the part of H:

<ICE-NZ.S1A-009#180:1.H> <[>i'm</[></> not interested in revealing myself on video
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#181:1.H> it seems just the <.>most</.>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#182:1.H> i mean i'm <O>laughs</O> unhappy enough with my little <mock=tearful>personality as it is without <>12:00</> showing everybody else</mock=tearful>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#183:1.S> <O>laughs</O> <[1><[1>maybe</[1> we could um just
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#184:1.S> <[2><[2>i don't know</[2> symbolically show your um
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#185:1.H> <[1><[?>mm</[1></[1>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#186:1.H> <[2><O>laughs</O> sad</[2></[2>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#187:1.H> all his little sickness
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#188:1.S> <laughs><.>your</.> your <[><[><O>laughs</O> no i was going to
 <.>say</.></laughs></[>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#189:1.H> <[><O>laughs</O></[></>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#190:1.H> <laughs>like a <.>p</.> silhouette of penises running around</laughs>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#191:1.S> your massive problems with selfimage could do with that sort
 <.>of</.>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#192:1.H> <O>laughs</O>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#193:1.S> <O>laughs</O>
 <ICE-NZ.S1A-009#194:1.H> <laughs>yeah thanks jonathan

In all the cases of expressions of gratitude used sarcastically or humorously that were examined, the expression of gratitude is a means to drawing attention to an unfavorable or unattractive situation. As such, they function as non-threatening criticisms, ranging from fairly strong disparagements to quite mild ridicule.

Both ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ also contain expressions of gratitude to God/goodness in the face-to-face conversations. In the Irish data, there were

three such segments, all using *God*, with two taking the form *Thank God* and one formulated as *Thanks be to God*. All were related to an assertion of gratitude that an anticipated or imagined unfavorable situation had not come to pass, as in this first example, about a man who the speaker had feared might have been drinking alcohol:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-037\$B> <#>...he had come in and oh Lord here 's me to myself </> oh thank God he must be off the drink

Similarly, in this segment a worker in a health-care facility expresses gratitude that he or she has not had to deal with sexual goings-on, in this case with *Thank God* serving as a prelude before the reason for the thankfulness is made clear subsequently:

In the remaining example from the Irish data, the speaker expresses gratitude that another person's plans for a trip have been abandoned:

(ICE-Ireland) <S1A-067\$A> <#> Remember he was talking about going to Cork <#> Is that </> </> off the cards </>
 <S1A-067\$C> <#> </> Yeah oh that 's off </> </> <#> Thanks be to God
 <S1A-067\$A> <#> Is it
 <S1A-067\$C> <#> I wouldn't like to see him going to Cork
 <S1A-067\$A> <#> Why not
 <S1A-067\$C> <#> Oh I don't know <#> Wouldn't like to see him

It appears that in this example *Thanks be to God* may also be a means not only of expressing gratitude, but also by doing so to strongly indicate the speaker's attitude toward an imagined event. When the other speaker follows up instead on the fact of the called-off trip rather than the gratefulness associated with the abandonment, he more explicitly asserts *I wouldn't like to see him going to Cork*, although interestingly, he is unable or unwilling to explain why.

The first of the two examples in the New Zealand data using *Thank*

goodness relates to a potentially serious reason for gratitude, as a woman explains that her mother is not bothering her about producing grandchildren:

<ICE-NZ:S1A-067#145:1:S> i want lots
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#146:1:A> <O>tut</O> <O>laughs</O>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#147:1:S> bit hard to do <laughs>though</laughs> when you've only got one son
 and a daughter who's certainly not interested
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#148:1:A> <O>laughs</O>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#149:1:S> mm
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#150:1:A> mm my mum would have sympathy with you there
 <|><|><O>laughs</O></|> <?>she's</?> only got us two <O>tut</O> and
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#151:1:S> <|><O>laughs</O></|></|>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#152:1:S> oh you and your brother
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#153:1:A> mm
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#154:1:S> oh
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-067#155:1:A> mm <O>tut</O> she hasn't put pressure on me yet though thank
 <&>9:00</&> goodness <O>laughs</O>

On the other hand, the other example that used *Thank goodness* is about a comparatively inconsequential event. The speaker expresses gratitude about an uninterrupted chance to eat a meal:

<ICE-NZ:S1A-003#210:1:M> there's a recipe <&>9:00</&> for two peanut sauces so i rang her
 back <.>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-003#211:1:M> meanwhile i haven't eaten my sausage yet and we're getting over half
 an hour here
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-003#212:1:M> so anyway i rang her back and gave it to her over the <[3]><[3]>phone
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-003#213:1:M> well</[3]> thank goodness she didn't ring straight back after
 <.>she</.>
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-003#214:1:M> about an hour later
 <ICE-NZ:S1A-003#215:1:B> <[1]>good old alison</[1]></[1]>

While the Irish data uses *God* and the New Zealand data uses *goodness*, these expressions of gratitude to providence function similarly in both sub-corpora. They indicate an attitude toward an event that is unwelcome but the occurrence of which had been thought to be possible or even likely.

Conclusion

A number of differences between Irish and New Zealand expressions of gratitude could be observed in this examination of such expressions in the ICE-Ireland and ICE-NZ corpora. In particular, *thanks* was almost twice as frequent in the Irish spoken data than in the New Zealand spoken data. On the other hand, *thanks* was more than twice as frequent in the New Zealand written data than in the Irish written data.

Among the spoken language types, *thank* and *thanks* expressions of gratitude were most common in face-to-face conversations in the Irish spoken data. Thirty-eight percent of all of the Irish spoken *thank* and *thanks* expressions of gratitude were of this type. Such expressions in the Irish public dialogue data amounted to 28% of the total Irish *thank* and *thanks* expressions. Conversely, expressions using *thank* and *thanks* in the New Zealand spoken data were most common in the public dialogues, comprising 55% of all the New Zealand spoken data. Face-to-face conversations, on the other hand, amounted to 19% of the data.

Among the written sub-corpora, expressions of gratitude using *thank* or *thanks* were most common in letters in both sub-corpora, comprising 69% of the Irish written data and 74% of the New Zealand written data. However, the second-most frequent language type in the Irish data was instructional writing, amounting to 19%, while for the New Zealand data, the second-most frequent type of language using *thank* and *thanks* was creative writing, also comprising 19%.

Specifying the name or title of the gratitude addressee was much more common in the Irish spoken *thank* data. Forty percent of all *thank* expressions in this sub-corpora did so. On the other hand, in the New Zealand spoken *thank* corpora, addressee specification occurred in only 21% of the cases. Conversely, 46% of the New Zealand spoken *thanks* data specified the addressee, while only 22% of the corresponding Irish data did so.

Twenty-seven percent of the Irish spoken *thanks* data took the form

thanks very much. However, this form was not used at all in the Irish written data or the New Zealand spoken data, and only in 4% of the New Zealand written *thanks* data. *Many thanks* comprised 11% of the New Zealand written *thanks* data but was not used in the Irish spoken or written data, or in the New Zealand spoken data.

Refusals, in the form of *no thanks*, comprised 10% of the Irish spoken *thanks* data, but there were no refusals in the Irish written data or New Zealand spoken data, and only two tokens of this type in the New Zealand written *thanks* data.

Expressions of gratitude other than *thank* or *thanks* were not used often. However, among these, *grateful* was most common, particularly in the New Zealand written data, which appeared to use it especially as a conciliatory preface before a negative remark. There were five *cheers* tokens in the Irish spoken data but it was not present in any of the other sub-corpora.

An in-depth analysis of the expressions of gratitude used in the face-to-face conversations in both corpora revealed a variety of functions. Expressions of gratitude were most common in conversations related to food or drink. The most frequent positive adjective used in tandem with expressions of gratitude of this type was *lovely*. All refusals in the face-to-face conversations were rejections of offers for food or drink. Two conversation segments using expressions of gratitude in the Irish data were related to present-giving. These were very long and included many expressions of gratitude as well as humor. The role of onlookers in contributing to the gratitude event was also of interest.

While *thank you* in response to *How are you?* is often considered a basic use of an expression of gratitude, only one such response occurred in the face-to-face conversations. On the other hand, expressions of gratitude were used to acknowledge various types of communicative aid, such as helping to remember words and names, and when a speaker concurred with another. Expressions of gratitude that were humorous or sarcastic also appeared in the face-to-face conversations of both corpora and often appeared to be con-

versation management devices when a speaker's statement was viewed as problematic. Both corpora included expressions of gratitude to God or providence, which appeared to fulfill the same discourse function of expressing an attitude toward a non-occurring negative event.

As in other studies of inter-varietal pragmatic differences, the present study revealed interesting differences in frequency and function. Additional study of differences between Irish English and New Zealand English in other sub-corpora other than face-to-face conversations is necessary in order to further understand these differences.

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