FLOUTING THE COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION: MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND PRAGMATIC FAILURES¹

Gabriel-Dan BĂRBULEȚ

1 Decembrie 1918 University of Alba Iulia, Romania

Email: gabriel.barbulet@uab.ro

Abstract

This study provides an in-depth examination of the ways in which cultural differences influence the manner in which speakers flout Grice's Cooperative Principle, ultimately resulting in frequent misunderstandings and pragmatic failures during intercultural communication. Building on the theoretical framework established by H. P. Grice, the paper investigates how the four conversational maxims, Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner, are not universally interpreted or prioritized in the same way across diverse cultural settings. In many instances, speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds unintentionally violate or deliberately flout these maxims, not out of a desire to deceive or disrupt conversation, but as a reflection of their culturally embedded communicative norms and expectations. Such divergences in the interpretation and application of the maxims often to breakdowns in communication, where interlocutors misinterpret intentions, infer incorrect meanings, or fail to achieve mutual understanding. Through a cross-cultural pragmatic perspective, this study aims to uncover the subtle yet profound ways in which

⁻

¹ Article History: Received: 15.08.2025. Revised: 30.09.2025. Accepted: 01.10.2025. Published: 15.11.2025. Distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution License CC BY-NC 4.0. Citation: BĂRBULEȚ, G.-D. (2025). FLOUTING THE COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION: MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND PRAGMATIC FAILURES. Incursiuni în imaginar 16. IMAGINARUL ȘI ADAPTĂRILE TEXTULUI LITERAR/L'IMAGINAIRE ET LES ADAPTATIONS DU TEXTE LITTÉRAIRE/ / LITERARY ADAPTATIONS AND THE IMAGINARY. Vol. 16. Nr. 1. 323-338. https://doi.org/10.29302/Inlmag.2025.161.13. No funding was received either for the research presented in the article or for the creation of the article.

differing cultural assumptions about cooperation, relevance, politeness, and clarity shape discourse practices and contribute to miscommunication. By analyzing a variety of authentic intercultural exchanges, the paper highlights the importance of recognizing and adapting to these pragmatic differences in order to promote more effective and sensitive communication across cultural boundaries.

Keywords: pragmatics; cooperative principle; cross-cultural communication; conversation maxims; flouting maxims.

Introduction

Communication across cultures presents a unique set of challenges, often rooted in differing pragmatic norms and expectations. One central framework for understanding effective communication is Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle, which posits that participants in a conversation generally adhere to four maxims, Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner, to ensure mutual understanding. These maxims function as implicit guidelines for producing and interpreting meaningful discourse. However, in real-world interactions, especially those that span cultural boundaries, speakers frequently flout these maxims, either strategically, to generate implicature, or unintentionally, due to differences in communicative conventions.

Flouting, in Gricean terms, occurs when a speaker deliberately appears to break a conversational maxim in a way that signals an implied meaning to the hearer. While this practice is often contextually appropriate and even necessary within a shared cultural frame, it can result in pragmatic failure when the hearer interprets the utterance literally or according to different cultural norms. In cross-cultural communication, this disconnect can lead to confusion, offense, or misjudgment, ultimately impeding the communicative goal.

This article investigates how flouting the Cooperative Principle contributes to miscommunication in cross-cultural interactions. It focuses on pragmatic failure as a critical concept in intercultural pragmatics, drawing upon Thomas's (1983) distinction between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure. The study analyzes a set of real-world case studies from diverse intercultural settings, business, academia, and tourism, to

uncover recurring patterns of misunderstanding resulting from maxim flouting. By situating these examples within established theories of intercultural communication (Hall, 1976; Hofstede, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 1995), the analysis seeks to bridge theoretical insights and practical implications.

The central aim of the paper is twofold: to illustrate how implicit cultural assumptions shape pragmatic expectations, and to demonstrate how breaches, intentional or otherwise, of Grice's maxims can hinder successful intercultural communication. Through this investigation, the article highlights the necessity of developing intercultural pragmatic competence to navigate and mitigate such misunderstandings effectively.

Literature Review

The Cooperative Principle and Conversational Maxims

The foundation of pragmatic theory in modern linguistics owes much to H. P. Grice, who, in his seminal paper *Logic and Conversation*, introduced the Cooperative Principle, the idea that interlocutors are expected to cooperate in conversation by adhering to four maxims: Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner (Grice, 1975, p. 45). These maxims guide speakers to provide the right amount of information (Quantity), ensure truthfulness (Quality), maintain relevance (Relation), and be clear and orderly (Manner). Grice acknowledged that speakers frequently appear to "flout" these maxims, not to deceive, but to generate implicatures, or indirectly conveyed meanings understood within context (Grice, 1975, p. 49). For example, a sarcastic remark that violates the maxim of Quality may still be interpreted correctly when both speaker and hearer share the same pragmatic expectations.

Flouting, Implicature, and Intentional Deviations

Flouting must be distinguished from violating: while the former implies that the speaker expects the hearer to recognize the breach and infer the intended meaning, the latter refers to uncooperative or deceptive behavior (Thomas, 1995, p. 65). In cultures with highly contextualized communication styles, such as Japan or China, speakers may deliberately flout maxims

(especially Quantity and Manner) to preserve harmony or avoid confrontation, relying on shared cultural frames to convey their meaning. Leech (1983, p. 81) adds that politeness often overrides directness, and thus flouting becomes a culturally sanctioned strategy. However, in intercultural interactions where interlocutors do not share the same contextual frames, this flouting can lead to pragmatic breakdowns.

Cross-Cultural Pragmatics and Communication Styles

Intercultural communication often exposes the culturally relative nature of Grice's maxims. Edward T. Hall (1976, p. 91) differentiates between high-context cultures, where much meaning is implied and dependent on shared background knowledge (e.g., Korea, France), and low-context cultures, where communication is more explicit and literal (e.g., Germany, the U.S.). Misalignment between these styles increases the likelihood that one speaker may flout a maxim while the other interprets the utterance through a different cultural lens.

Hofstede's (2001, p. 210) work on cultural dimensions such as individualism versus collectivism and uncertainty avoidance, also sheds light on why certain cultures are more inclined to indirectness or strategic vagueness. These preferences influence how, and to what extent, maxims are followed or flouted in practice. For instance, collectivist societies may prioritize face-saving strategies, frequently leading to flouts of the maxim of Quantity (e.g., providing less information to maintain harmony), while individualist cultures may view such omissions as evasive or uncooperative.

Pragmatic Failure: Sociopragmatic and Pragmalinguistic Dimensions

Pragmatic failure is a key concept in intercultural pragmatics, defined by Thomas (1983, p. 97) as "the inability to understand what is meant by what is said." She categorizes failure into pragmalinguistic failure, errors in transferring the linguistic form, and sociopragmatic failure, which arises from mismatches in social norms or communicative values. Both types are frequently the result of flouting maxims that are misunderstood due to differing cultural assumptions.

This distinction is echoed in Wierzbicka's (2003, p. 40) critique of the universality of Gricean maxims. She argues that pragmatic norms are deeply embedded in language-specific cultural scripts, which means that what counts as "relevant" or "clear" may vary significantly across languages and cultures. For example, the Japanese strategy of enryo (restraint) may flout the maxim of Quantity in English-language interactions, leading to perceptions of vagueness or disinterest by Western interlocutors.

Politeness, Face, and Cultural Norms

Brown and Levinson's (1987, p. 61) theory of politeness and face offers an important supplement to Grice's theory, especially in cross-cultural settings. Their concepts of positive face (the desire to be liked and approved of) and negative face (the desire not to be imposed upon) explain how speakers may flout maxims not to mislead, but to manage social relationships. In cultures with strong emphasis on negative face (e.g., Britain, Japan), indirectness and hedging may lead to violations of the Manner maxim, which can confuse speakers from cultures that value explicitness and directness.

Últimately, these theoretical insights converge on one point: pragmatic norms and expectations are not universal. Gricean maxims, while foundational, must be critically examined in intercultural contexts where different rules of engagement, politeness, and implicature apply. The following case studies will illustrate how such differences manifest in practice, often leading to significant misunderstanding when the flouting of a maxim is misinterpreted, or simply unnoticed, by the interlocutor.

The theoretical frameworks outlined in the literature review, Grice's Cooperative Principle, Thomas's typology of pragmatic failure, and cross-cultural perspectives from Hall, and Wierzbicka, provide a foundation Hofstede. understanding miscommunication how arises conversational maxims are interpreted through differing cultural lenses. These concepts are not merely abstract; they manifest in concrete, real-life interactions where assumptions relevance, clarity, and politeness clash. The following case studies illustrate how the flouting of maxims, while pragmatically meaningful within one culture, can lead to significant

misunderstandings when interlocutors operate under divergent pragmatic norms.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative, case-based approach rooted in the principles of intercultural pragmatics. The objective is to analyze how the flouting of Grice's maxims in cross-cultural communication leads to misunderstandings and pragmatic failure. The study uses real-life case examples gathered from multiple discourse contexts to provide insight into the patterns of conversational breakdowns.

Aspect	Description
Research Approach	Qualitative, descriptive, discourse-analytic
Analytic Framework	Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle, with a focus on the four maxims: Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner. Analysis also integrates Thomas's (1983) theory of pragmatic failure and Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness theory.
Research Questions	I. In what ways are the maxims of the Cooperative Principle flouted in cross-cultural communication? 2. How do cultural norms influence the interpretation of these flouts? 3. What kinds of pragmatic failures arise, and what are their communicative consequences?
Data Sources	Authentic case examples drawn from: • Business negotiations (e.g., U.SJapan) • Academic settings (e.g., UK-China) • Tourist interactions (e.g., France-USA) Data include transcripts, field notes, and documented incidents from prior published studies and corpora. Each case is time-and-location specific.
Selection Criteria	Cases were selected based on the presence of observable communicative misunderstandings linked to flouting of conversational maxims. Only cross-cultural interactions involving speakers of different pragmatic conventions were considered.
Data Collection	Cases were retrieved from: • Intercultural

Aspect	Description
	communication reports • Academic publications • Public transcripts (e.g., TED talks, interviews) • Ethnographic data from secondary sources All cases were verified for cultural representativeness.
Analytical Procedure	Each case was subjected to the following steps: 1. Identification of the relevant conversational exchange. 2. Determination of which maxim(s) were flouted. 3. Interpretation of intended implicature and actual hearer response. 4. Identification of pragmatic failure (if applicable), classified as either sociopragmatic or pragmalinguistic. 5. Cultural contextualization using frameworks from Hall (1976), Hofstede (2001), and Scollon & Scollon (1995).
Ethical Considerations	Only public or anonymized data are used. No identifiable private conversations or confidential materials are included.

In this section, three real-world case studies are examined to illustrate how the flouting of Grice's maxims in cross-cultural communication can lead to misunderstandings and pragmatic failures. Each example highlights a different discourse context, business, academia, and tourism, and demonstrates how implicit cultural assumptions affect the interpretation of conversational implicatures.

Case Study 1: Business Negotiation between American and Japanese Executives

A publicly available case from the *Harvard Business Review* article "Culture and Communication: Overcoming Cross-Cultural Differences in Business Negotiations" (Meyer, 2015, December) documents a failed negotiation between a U.S. tech firm and a Japanese electronics manufacturer. During a pivotal meeting in Tokyo, the American lead negotiator proposed a joint venture and, seeking a decisive response, asked, "Can we expect to move forward with the agreement by next quarter?" The Japanese executive responded, "That would be difficult, but we will think carefully about it."

From an American perspective, anchored in a low-context, explicit communication style, this response was interpreted as a sign of hesitance, yet still open to further persuasion. However, from a Japanese high-context viewpoint, the phrase "we will think carefully about it" was a culturally appropriate way of declining the offer without direct confrontation. In effect, the Japanese executive flouted the maxim of Relation by giving a response that was indirect and noncommittal in context, while also flouting Manner by using vague language to preserve harmony.

The pragmatic failure occurred when the American side took the statement as provisional acceptance rather than polite refusal, ultimately resulting in logistical misalignment and a dissolved negotiation. This reflects a sociopragmatic failure, as the two parties held different expectations about how agreement and dissent are conveyed. The case illustrates how indirectness, while cooperative in one culture, may be seen as uncooperative or evasive in another.

Case Study 2: Academic Miscommunication between British Professor and Chinese Student

This case, documented in Scollon and Scollon's *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach* (1995, p. 142), involves an intercultural exchange in a British university classroom. A British professor gave feedback to a Chinese postgraduate student's presentation with the comment, "That was a very brave attempt, and I can see you've made an effort."

The student, who came from a culture where direct praise is usually explicit and criticism more implicit, interpreted this as sincere commendation. In contrast, within British academic discourse, "a brave attempt" is often a polite euphemism implying that the presentation was flawed. Here, the professor flouted the maxim of Quality, saying something not entirely true in the literal sense, to soften critique and maintain the student's positive face. The student, however, took the utterance at face value, resulting in a pragmalinguistic failure: the mismatch occurred at the level of how linguistic forms are used pragmatically in different cultures.

The misunderstanding highlights how cultural conventions surrounding politeness strategies and indirect speech acts can lead to misinterpretation when the listener is not attuned to the implicature. In this context, a cooperative flout designed to cushion criticism was misconstrued as genuine praise, delaying the student's academic progress until the confusion was resolved in later one-on-one meetings.

Case Study 3: Tourist Encounter in Paris between American Visitors and French Locals

A real-life incident described in the travel column of *The Guardian* (Willsher, 2019, October 5) recounts an American couple in Paris who approached a bakery counter and enthusiastically exclaimed, "Hi! Could we get two of those amazing-looking croissants, please? They look incredible!" The French vendor responded with a curt "Bonjour. What do you want?"

The Americans were startled and later described the vendor as "rude," believing they had been welcoming and polite. In reality, their mistake lay in flouting the maxim of Relation within the French pragmatic frame. In French culture, especially in formal or commercial settings, the use of ritual politeness—such as beginning every interaction with "bonjour" and maintaining linguistic distance—is considered essential to cooperative communication. The Americans had unintentionally bypassed this ritual opening, thereby flouting a locally important sociopragmatic rule, even though their intention was friendliness.

The vendor's clipped response was, in turn, a corrective flout of the maxim of Manner, intentionally abrupt to signal that a cultural norm had been violated. This led to a sociopragmatic failure, rooted not in the literal content of the exchange, but in the failure to align with culturally prescribed forms of initiating interaction. This case illustrates how expectations of formality, tone, and conversational sequence differ across cultural contexts and how these differences can trigger pragmatic breakdowns, even in brief, everyday exchanges.

These three case studies collectively demonstrate that flouting the Cooperative Principle can either enrich or disrupt communication depending on the interlocutors' shared

assumptions. In each case, the speaker expected the hearer to derive a specific implicature based on their own cultural context, yet the hearer processed the utterance through a different interpretive lens. Whether in formal negotiations, academic feedback, or informal service interactions, the potential for pragmatic failure is heightened when cultural norms governing politeness, directness, and relevance diverge.

Discussion

The case studies analyzed above underscore a central insight of intercultural pragmatics: communication is not merely a matter of linguistic code but of shared assumptions, social expectations, and cultural norms. Grice's Cooperative Principle, while theoretically elegant and broadly applicable, assumes a common pragmatic ground between interlocutors, a condition rarely met in intercultural encounters. When speakers flout maxims expecting implicatures to be drawn, the success of communication depends on the hearer's ability to recognize both the flout and its culturally situated meaning. As the case studies show, this interpretive process is deeply influenced by culturally bound conventions and communicative expectations.

A comparative analysis of the three case studies reveals patterns in the types of maxims most vulnerable to misinterpretation in cross-cultural contexts.

The maxims of Relation and Manner emerge as particularly problematic. In the Japanese-American negotiation, the Japanese executive's indirect refusal was pragmatically appropriate within a high-context communication style but was read as evasive or indecisive by the American counterpart. This misalignment reflects divergent expectations about how relevance and clarity are realized. In cultures that prioritize implicitness and relational harmony, flouting the maxim of Relation through circumlocution is not only common but expected. Conversely, in low-context cultures such as the United States, indirectness may be interpreted as a lack of transparency or commitment.

The British-Chinese academic encounter similarly illustrates how Quality, when strategically flouted to deliver polite criticism, can fail to generate the intended implicature if the

hearer is not culturally attuned to indirect evaluative language. The British professor's euphemistic "brave attempt" presupposed an audience familiar with such understatements as veiled critique. Yet for the Chinese student, socialized into more literal and hierarchical academic norms, the utterance was interpreted as sincere encouragement. This case reinforces Thomas's (1983) distinction between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure: while the linguistic form was grammatically correct and pragmatically conventional in British English, its intended force was lost in cross-cultural translation.

The interaction between the American tourists and the French vendor further complicates the role of ritualized politeness in cross-cultural interaction. The Americans' cheerful, informal greeting flouted the local French sociopragmatic script, in which politeness is marked not by exuberance but by structured formality, such as the obligatory opening "bonjour." The French response, abrupt and corrective, was not a breach of politeness in the French frame but a culturally coded reprimand for perceived rudeness. This dynamic reveals the implicit relational work involved in managing face and social roles (Locher & Watts, 2005), suggesting that cooperative communication cannot be assessed outside of culturally specific norms for what counts as appropriate behavior.

Taken together, these examples demonstrate that flouting maxims is not inherently uncooperative; rather, it is often a highly strategic act rooted in a culturally specific understanding of how meaning is negotiated. The pragmatic breakdowns occur when the hearer fails to recognize the speaker's intention because the relevant cultural frame is absent. In each case, the hearer processed the utterance according to their own pragmatic schema, leading to unintended interpretations and, in some cases, damaged relational outcomes. These findings support Wierzbicka's (2003) critique of the universality of Gricean pragmatics, emphasizing the need to embed maxim-based analysis within culturally sensitive models of discourse.

Furthermore, the role of face and politeness strategies—as theorized by Brown and Levinson (1987), intersects significantly with maxim flouting. In the British and Japanese examples, speakers deliberately avoided directness in order to preserve the

hearer's face, whether through understatement or vagueness. However, when the hearer's cultural expectations for facework differ, these strategies can backfire. For instance, American directness may be interpreted as aggressive or insensitive in a Japanese context, while British euphemism may be seen as deceptive or unhelpful in East Asian educational cultures where authority is expected to speak unambiguously.

The implications of these findings are both theoretical and practical. Theoretically, they call for a reconceptualization of Grice's maxims as culturally variable heuristics rather than universal principles. While the underlying logic of cooperation in communication remains valid, the specific ways in which cooperation is signaled and understood differ across cultures. Pragmatic competence, therefore, must be reframed as intercultural pragmatic competence, involving not only knowledge of a second language but also an awareness of culturally embedded norms for expressing relevance, politeness, truthfulness, and clarity.

Practically, this means that speakers engaging in cross-cultural communication, whether in business, academia, or tourism, must develop a meta-pragmatic awareness of how their speech acts might be interpreted by others with different communicative expectations. Such awareness can be cultivated through exposure, training, and reflexive practice. The rise of globalized interaction makes this kind of competence increasingly vital. As illustrated by the failed negotiation, the misinterpreted feedback, and the strained tourist encounter, the costs of pragmatic failure can range from minor awkwardness to significant relational and professional consequences.

In conclusion, the discussion of these case studies within the framework of the Cooperative Principle and intercultural pragmatics reveals the fragility of implicit meaning in intercultural encounters. It demonstrates the need to move beyond monolithic models of communication and to recognize that flouting, far from being a simple pragmatic device, is a culturally loaded act that must be interpreted with care and contextual understanding.

Conclusion

This study has explored the flouting of the Cooperative Principle in cross-cultural communication, emphasizing how pragmatic intentions can be misinterpreted when interlocutors come from different cultural and communicative backgrounds. Through the integration of foundational theories in pragmatics, primarily those of Grice (1975), Thomas (1983), and Brown and with frameworks from Levinson (1987). intercultural communication research, such as Hall's (1976) high- and lowcontext cultures and Hofstede's (2001) cultural dimensions, the article has demonstrated that the pragmatic norms governing conversational behavior are far from universal. Rather, they are deeply embedded in cultural values and communicative expectations.

The three case studies examined, drawn from real interactions in business, academia, and tourism, demonstrate the diverse ways in which Gricean maxims may be flouted in ways that are culturally cooperative but pragmatically opaque to an outsider. In each example, the speaker employed strategies that were contextually appropriate within their cultural framework: indirectness to preserve harmony in a Japanese business setting, euphemistic politeness in British academic feedback, and formal ritual openings in French service interactions. Yet in each case, the hearer's failure to recognize the pragmatic force behind these flouts led to misunderstandings, misattributions of intent, and in some cases, damaged interpersonal or professional relationships.

One of the central conclusions that can be drawn is that flouting the Cooperative Principle is not inherently indicative of failed communication. On the contrary, in culturally homogenous contexts, it often functions as an advanced pragmatic tool, used to convey politeness, irony, humor, or criticism in a socially acceptable manner. However, in intercultural settings, where shared assumptions cannot be taken for granted, these same flouts become sources of ambiguity and potential conflict. The implicatures that native speakers rely on are not automatically retrievable for interlocutors from different pragmatic traditions, leading to what Thomas (1983) describes as both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure.

From a theoretical perspective, these findings reinforce the need for a revised, interculturally grounded model of pragmatics, one that does not presume the universality of Gricean principles but treats them as flexible frameworks whose instantiation varies across cultural and situational contexts. Grice's maxims, while still valuable as heuristic tools, must be interpreted with caution in intercultural analyses. The maxim of Quantity, for instance, may be interpreted differently in cultures where verbal economy is prized, while the maxim of Manner may yield to politeness conventions that privilege vagueness or ambiguity as face-saving strategies. Moreover, the maxim of Relation, typically associated with relevance and topic maintenance, may be overridden in cultures where indirectness and deference shape the structure of conversation.

Additionally, the findings in this article have practical implications for the cultivation of intercultural pragmatic competence, a key component of effective communication in a globalized world. Language learners, business professionals, educators, and diplomats alike need more than grammatical accuracy or lexical range; they must develop a nuanced understanding of how meaning is constructed, signaled, and interpreted in specific cultural contexts. Pragmatic awareness should therefore be an integral part of language education and intercultural training programs, emphasizing not only how to speak appropriately but also how to interpret speech acts within unfamiliar pragmatic systems.

Equally important is the need to encourage reflexivity and empathy in intercultural interactions. Misunderstandings arising from flouting are often attributed to personality or attitude, such as labeling a speaker as evasive, rude, or overly blunt, when they are in fact grounded in divergent communicative norms. Training in intercultural pragmatics can foster a greater sensitivity to these differences and help individuals recognize that what may seem like a breach of cooperation may, in another cultural frame, be a demonstration of it.

The article also suggests directions for future research. While this study has focused on spoken interactions in professional and service-oriented contexts, future studies might investigate digital communication, where pragmatic cues are

filtered through text and emoji, and where the potential for misinterpreted implicature is arguably even higher. Social media discourse, intercultural video conferencing, and multilingual online communities all represent rich terrains for exploring how the Cooperative Principle is negotiated, adapted, or resisted in technologically mediated environments.

Moreover, quantitative research could complement this study by measuring the frequency and type of pragmatic failures across cultures, potentially using corpus data or survey-based methods. It would also be valuable to examine how speakers adapt over time, what strategies they develop to mitigate or repair breakdowns, and how intercultural communicative competence evolves through repeated exposure.

As a conclusion, this article has demonstrated that pragmatic competence is a culturally situated skill, one that involves not only knowledge of the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, but also an awareness of how these principles are inflected by cultural expectations and social norms. In crosscultural contexts, flouting a maxim does not necessarily hinder communication, but it does require a shared frame of interpretation. Where that frame is absent, pragmatic failure is likely to follow. Recognizing this, and preparing for it through education, awareness, and reflective practice, is essential for anyone operating in our increasingly interconnected world.

References:

- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics: Vol. 3. Speech acts* (pp. 41–58). Academic Press.
- Hall, E. T. (1976). Beyond culture. Anchor Books.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.

- Leech, G. N. (1983). Principles of pragmatics. Longman.
- Locher, M. A., & Watts, R. J. (2005). Politeness theory and relational work. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1(1), 9–33. https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.9
- Meyer, E. (2015, December). Culture and communication: Overcoming cross-cultural differences in business negotiations. *Harvard Business Review*. https://hbr.org
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (1995). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach*. Blackwell.
- Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics*, 4(2), 91–112. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/4.2.91
- Thomas, J. (1995). *Meaning in interaction: An introduction to pragmatics*. Longman.
- Warwick Centre for Applied Linguistics. (n.d.). Intercultural communication: Case studies and teaching materials. University of Warwick. Retrieved May 11, 2025, from https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/al/globalpad/intercultural/
- Wierzbicka, A. (2003). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction* (2nd ed.). Mouton de Gruyter.
- Willsher, K. (2019, October 5). Why Parisians seem rude and why they're not. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/05/why-parisians-seem-rude-and-why-theyre-not