

Dissonations of the modern reform of the World Monetary System in the aspect of global challenges

Disonaciones de la reforma moderna del Sistema Monetario Mundial en el aspecto de los desafíos globales

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ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the analysis of the features of the reform of the world monetary system created in 1976-1978. The transformations of its structural principles –such as the basic standard of SDR, exchange rate regime, management of the activities of its institutional structures - the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, are considered. The assessment of this reform is given as inertial and incomplete in the context of global imbalances in the global economy and the development of a multipolar model of development of the countries of the world. The proposal on the need for a target orientation, the considered reform to create a new world monetary system, adapted to global challenges and less vulnerable to crisis shocks, is substantiated.

Keywords: reform, world monetary system, world currencies, International Monetary Fund, World Bank

RESUMEN

El artículo está dedicado al análisis de las características de la reforma del sistema monetario mundial creado en 1976-1978. Se consideran las transformaciones de sus principios estructurales, como el estándar básico de DEG, el régimen cambiario, la gestión de las actividades de sus estructuras institucionales, el Fondo Monetario Internacional y el Banco Mundial. La evaluación de esta reforma se da como inercial e incompleta en el contexto de los desequilibrios globales en la economía global y el desarrollo de un modelo de desarrollo multipolar de los países del mundo. La propuesta sobre la necesidad de una orientación a objetivos, la reforma considerada para crear un nuevo sistema monetario mundial, adaptada a los desafíos globales y menos vulnerable a las crisis, está respaldada.

Palabras clave: reforma, sistema monetario mundial, monedas mundiales, Fondo Monetario Internacional, Banco Mundial.

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Introduction

The global financial and economic crisis of 2008-2009 that is the first one in the conditions of globalization of the world economy and finance revealed a systemic crisis of the modern Jamaican World Monetary System (WMS), formed 40 years ago¹.

The initiator of the acceleration of its reform was the first G20 summit (Washington, November 2008), where the heads of 20 states adopted the Report on the Reform Plan of the World Monetary System. In our opinion, the fundamental reasons for its reform were:

- the globalization of the world economy and finance, which has demanded an increase in the internationalization of currency, credit, financial relations and the form of their organization;
- the world crisis, which revealed the vulnerability of the WMS to crisis shocks and the incompatibility of its structural principles with global challenges;
- the multipolarity of the development of the world, the increasing the role of developing countries, especially large and leading ones, exacerbated the problem of increasing their quotas, votes, representation in the IMF and the World Bank;
- the dominance of national money, primarily the US dollar, as world currencies is contrary to the conditions of globalization of the world economy, which requires a global currency as the basic currency standard of the new world monetary system.

The logic of the analysis of the features of the reform of the Jamaican WMS is determined by its structural principles (Table 1).

Table 1. Comparison of the structural principles of the Jamaican and Bretton Woods world monetary systems.

Bretton Woods WMS from 1944-1946	Jamaican WMS from 1976-1978
gold exchange standard, in fact, gold dollar standard	the standard of the international currency unit SDR ² demonetization of gold ³
the regime of fixed exchange rates with allowable fluctuations within $\pm 1\%$ ($\pm 0.75\%$ in Europe)	free choice of any exchange rate regimes for states
the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development that is the head organization of the World Bank Group (established in 1944-1946)	the IMF and the World Bank Group are the institutional structure of the WMS

Research

The contradictory nature of the reform was manifested in the reform of the SDR. The global crisis of 2008–2009, as well as the crises in Asian countries in the late 1990s, again revealed the shortcomings of SDR as the basic currency standard of the WMS - a small amount of their periodic emissions and the principles of distribution among countries in proportion to their quota in the Fund's capital determines the share of votes and representation in the IMF Executive Board.

However, the reform of the SDR standard was limited to two transformations. First, according to the initiative of G20, the Fund significantly increased the volume of their emissions by 9.5 times (from \$ 33 billion to \$ 316 billion) in 2009 (Smyslov, 2009: p. 62). But as a result of the simultaneous increase in quotas of all Member States, 2/3 of the new SDR emissions were still distributed in favor of the developed countries and 1/3 of the developing countries. The disproportion between the distribution of quotas and their votes is similarly preserved (IMF, 2009).

Secondly, as a result of the reform of the procedure for access of currencies to the SDR basket, the requirements for the countries issuing these currencies were significantly strengthened.

¹ This fourth world monetary system was created by the decision of the International Monetary and Financial Conference in Kingston (Jamaica) in 1976, ratified by member countries in 1978. In Russia, it is called Jamaican, unlike Paris, Genoese, Bretton-Woods WMS.

² SDR- special drawing rights of member countries in the IMF.

³ Demonetization- the ousting of gold from the WMS, replacing it with leading national currencies as world money.

In addition, requirements on the volume of official foreign exchange reserves, operations with their currency in foreign exchange markets, debt obligations of banks and international borrowings denominated in this currency were added.

In this regard, China's application for the inclusion of Yuan in the SDR basket was rejected by the Fund in 2011 and satisfied only at the end of November 2015, and the yuan was included in the SDR basket starting from the period 2016–2020. (Table 2).

Table 2 - Shares of currencies in the SDR currency basket (%).

Currency	2011-2015	2016-2020
US dollar	41,9	41,73
Euro	37,4	30,93
Yuan	-	10,92
Yen	9,4	8,33
British pound	11,3	8,09

Source: International Monetary Fond. Annual Report 2016.

These data indicate that the share of the dollar and the euro account for 72.66% of the currency basket of SDR. We note that the downward trend in the share of the euro, which will intensify due to the systemic crisis of the euro area, which began in the context of the global crisis of 2008–2009, and the upcoming British exit from the European Union. The US sanctions policy toward its competitors, especially China and Russia, the risk of unleashing an economic and currency war in the world by US can increase the negative consequences for the US economy, which is characterized by imbalances, especially in the financial market, where the growth of speculative operations is increasing, especially with derivatives.

The assignment of the status of world currency to the Yuan by the Fund indicates the increasing role of China as one of the major developing countries in WMS. This reflects the multipolarity of the development of the world, the problems of which are fundamentally researched in Russian science (Perskaya, 2018). Add a new appearance of the multipolarity of the modern world, the increasing the aggregate share of quotas of the BRICS countries - Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (up to 14.7%), their share of votes and representation on the Executive Council as a result of the IMF reform in the form of appointing its own executive director. Moreover, India and Brazil for this purpose headed two new groups consisting of more than 7 states with an insignificant number of votes, which delegated them the right to appoint an executive director.

Some authors, for example, J. Williamson (USA), propose to expand the SDR basket, give more countries to receive seignorage, and the ability to cover the deficit of their balance of payments with national currency (4).

The role of the SDR, the international currency unit as the basic standard of the WMS remains in a state of uncertainty, since the global currency is the most consistent with the conditions of globalization of the world economy and finance. Even before globalization in the early 1960s. R. Triffin (USA) proposed to introduce the national currency, citing the inability of national currencies to be world money. In the context of globalization, the idea of global currency has gained many of its supporters. (see below).

The dissonance of the reform of the other principle of the Jamaican WMS, the exchange rate regime, manifested itself in a combination of the formal preservation of the right of a free choice of any regime with a focus on a floating one, especially free floating rate.

The IMF conducts this policy from the position of “soft power”, through negotiations with individual central banks, convincing them of the advantages of freely floating exchange rate ratios in the interests of implementing their macroeconomic policies. This criterion for the country's choice of the regime of its currency exchange rate, taking into account the lessons of the global crisis, essentially canceled the democratic principle of choosing the exchange rate policy, based on the 1998 Funds introduced criteria for this choice - the specifics of the economy and the interests of the country.

In the context of a combination of market and government regulation, the impact of free market floating rates on the automatic restoration of the balance of international payments, even under capitalism and free competition was not completely effective. It is useful to recall that Adam Smith (1723–1790), a supporter of liberalism (*laissez faire*) and free-trade as a regulator of the economy and balance of international payments, emphasized the need for state protectionism in the national interest.

In the context of globalization of financial and economic regulation in connection with the global crisis of 2008-2009, the effect of a freely floating exchange rate on the automatic rebalancing of the balance of payments is all the more utopian. This view is confirmed by the foreign trade policies of countries, especially the US, abusing sanctions against competitors.

The peculiarity of the reform of the exchange rate regime was manifested in the fact that the monetary policy of member countries became one of the main objects introduced by the Global Monetary Surveillance Fund. The IMF makes recommendations to countries on managing currency reserves, orienting them to the purchase of low-yielding US Treasury bonds, EU bonds and Fund bonds, i.e. for crediting its main shareholders and itself to the detriment of the national interests of the member states. In response to the sanctions, the countries reduced the portfolio of these securities.

The gold reserves of countries have not become the object of global monetary supervision of the IMF, since 40 years ago they were demonetized under the Jamaican monetary system, although they still remain a real asset. As a result of discussions about the role of gold before the creation of the Jamaican monetary system, the view was formed in Russia that it was not only a valuable commodity, but also a real reserve asset that serves as an international reserve (Atlas, 2010).

But during the reform of the WMS and before it, the Fund recognized gold as real reserve assets and sold 403.3 tons of gold during the crisis to replenish its credit resources. World gold reserves are 33,827.8 tons, including more than 8.1 thousand tons in the United States; about 10.8 thousand tons in the euro zone (World Official Gold Holdings, 2018).

This is explained by the role of monetary gold as real reserve assets, and selling which on the global market, any goods can be bought and foreign currency debts can be repaid.

Despite the ousting of gold from the Jamaican WMS, the IMF carries out the interstate regulation of the volume of its sale and purchase based on an agreement with the central banks of several member countries.

For the first time in 40 years, the management of the Fund and the World Bank, the global institutions of credit and financial regulation of the WMS, has been reformed. In contrast to a number of publications abroad and in Russia, the study of this direction of the reform of the Jamaican system has been carried out comprehensively. This approach is due to the following features:

- the status of special UN institutions of global importance;
- the synchronous increase in the number of participants: only IMF member countries can join the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development that is the head organization of the World Bank Group, including its four divisions;
- the joint participation in interstate regulation, transformed into global financial and economic regulation due to the global crisis;
- the holding of joint sessions with the participation of all member countries.

J.-M. Keynes figuratively called them “Siamese twins” at the international Bretton Woods conference in 1944 when deciding on the principles of the Bretton Woods world monetary system, despite the differences in their activities. The IMF provides loans to member countries (up to 5 years) to cover the current account deficit of the balance of payments, not only actual, but also likely in the foreseeable future. The World Bank Group, a global investment institution, specializes in long-term lending and financing of investment projects of member countries in order to develop their economies and reduce their vulnerability to crisis shocks.

The global crisis revealed the shortcomings of the Fund and the World Bank Group, their inability to provide member countries with anti-crisis and stabilization loans in a timely manner.

On the recommendation of the G20 summit (London, 2009), the management of their activities was reformed in the following areas (Khlebnikova, 2014):

- an increase of their credit resources, especially the IMF;
- the IMF's credit and financial policy was given more attention than the foreign exchange one; new, more flexible preventive forms of credit were developed for countries that have not only actual but also potential balance of payments deficit. Particular attention is paid to concessional lending to low-income countries

(LIC), to assistance or the development of foreign debt settlement schemes, to technical assistance (but their payment is introduced) in carrying out reforms, including monetary ones.

- A new phenomenon was the participation of the IMF and the World Bank in the globalization of financial and economic regulation in joint programs: the supervision of systemic risks, especially in the financial sector; the finalization of financial sector risk assessment programs taking into account the macroeconomic status with the aim of giving countries early warning of the probability of a crisis; the monitoring of macroeconomic indicators.

¾ of Member States voluntarily conducted a recommended risk assessment procedure. Since October 2011 it has become mandatory, especially for countries where systemically important financial institutions (SII) operate. The SII crisis revealed the bankruptcy of their liberal assessment (too big to fail).

Discussion of problematic issues.

As a result of the research, the author's estimates of dissonances in the reform of the basic principles of the Jamaica monetary system and the proposal for its completion in order to create a new WMS, taking into account current global challenges, are substantiated.

1. Evaluating the reform of the basic currency principle of the SDR standard, we note that it was limited to two real transformations.

First, the unprecedented large emission with the aim of increasing their volume by 9.5 times did not solve the problem of the chronic shortage of the Fund's resources and increase of the share of the majority of developing countries in its distribution and votes, since at the same time the quotas of almost all countries were increased in different proportions. For this reason, the imbalance in the distribution of votes has been preserved. The two main shareholders accounted for 46% of the vote. The United States has 16.8% of the votes and the right of veto to make significant decisions of the Foundation; European Union has 29.4% and conditional veto in the case of a unanimous vote of 28 member states, which is problematic in the face of increasing Euroscepticism and the systemic crisis of the euro area and the EU as a whole as a result of the global crisis of 2008-2009.

Secondly, the requirements for countries claiming to include the national currency in the SDR basket have been strengthened, which was manifested in the delay of China's application to introduce the Yuan into its composition for 5 years (2011-2015) after the new conditions have been met.

Only at the end of November 2015, the Yuan was included in the SDR basket, receiving the status of world currency and taking the third place after the US dollar and the euro.

2. Considering the prospect of expansion as an unlikely one, we note two features of the SDR basket.

Firstly, the composition of the currencies in the SDR basket rarely changes, regardless of their condition. If the new stringent requirements is applied to their issuers, like to China, then the share of some currencies may further decrease, especially the British pound due to losses with the upcoming British exit from the European Union.

Secondly, the share of the US dollar is invariably in the lead, especially in the context of the globalization of the world economy, despite the deterioration of economic and currency indicators, a huge public debt, and the trade balance deficit (Table 3).

Table 3 - Share of US dollar in the basket of currencies (%)

US dollar	1996-2000	2001-2005	2006-2010	2011-2015	2016-2020
	39	45	44	41,9	41,73

Source: IMF, Annual Report, 2001-2016.

3. However, the economic superiority of the United States is lost due to the strengthening of competing countries.

The pillar of dollar hegemony has changed, since the dollar famine that is an acute shortage of dollars in countries with a balance of payments deficit, especially according to settlements with the United States, has been replaced by an excess of dollars in international trade and dollarization of the economies of most countries. The risk of currency shocks due to the periodic inflow and outflow of dollar assets to one country and another has increased.

The preservation of the dollar standard in a modified form of the SDR serves as the basis for preserving the periodic manipulation of the US dollar in the form of hard sanctions, not only economic but also currency pressure on unwanted competitors, manifests itself in modern conditions, for example, since 2014 against Russia, then the EU, Turkey, Iran and other countries.

4. The protest of a number of sovereign states manifests itself against US and EU sanctions in the introduction of counter-sanctions and measures of protection against the US manipulation of the dollar. There was a threat of trade and currency wars initiated by the United States.

The predicted measures outlined by the Fund to raise the role of the SDR, an unviable, unsecured international currency unit, raise doubts.

Among them: the development of methods to reduce the risks of losses using SDR by states, taking into account the criticism of countries in the absence of their provision. It is intended to interest the private sector in their application in transactions in order to expand the demand for the functioning of this international currency unit, which is actually used in the limited official sphere of the Fund's relations with the central banks of member countries. The idea of issuing bonds nominated in SDR, and even more so the creation of an international market for such bonds, is difficult to implement, since the competitive market of bonds, nominated in real world currencies - the US dollar, euro and other currencies that are in demand, is active.

5. The hypothesis of conducting currency interventions in the SDR is illogical due to the lack of interest in buying them in the foreign exchange market instead of foreign currencies.

The IMF predicts the implementation of the SDR function of world money. However, a comparative analysis of the SDR, the international currency unit with the ECU, the European currency unit, which served as the basic standard of the European Monetary System for 20 years before the euro issue, demonstrates the superiority of the ECU compared to the SDR (Krasavina, 2017: p.19).

It is characteristic that the IMF, evaluating the SDR reform it carried out, reduced its significance to a secondary level compared to the task of ensuring macroeconomic stability in member countries.

The primary task of updating the global monetary system, according to a number of foreign and Russian specialists, is the introduction of a global currency.

Paying tribute to the predecessors of this idea, we note the authors of the projects from issuing a collective reserve world currency provided with gold and goods to returning to the gold standard due to the Bretton Woods crisis that began in 1968. Neo-liberal and neo-Keynesian theories served as their theoretical basis. The homeland of neometalism that was oriented to enhancing the role of gold as world money up to the restoration of the gold standard was France, and its founder was J. Rueff on recommendation of whom President Charles de Gaulle exchanged 90% of the country's currency reserves to gold, causing monetary war with the USA.

Neoliberals resurrected the ideas of automatic self-regulation of the balance of payments by introducing floating exchange rates (M. Friedman, F. Mahlun, and others). In a crisis of neo-Keynesianism, neo-Keynesians returned to the idea of J.M. Keynes on the issue of the type of the international currency that is called bacnor (Triffin, U. Martin, A. Dey, F. Perroux, J. Denise). The United States advocated the demonetization of gold and the creation of an international currency unit. (Seligman, 1968).

20 years ago, P. Walker, the former head of the US Federal Reserve, proposed to introduce a single world currency if we want to have a truly globalized economy (Smyslov, 2009: p. 65). But, in our opinion, it is important one national leading world currency doesn't become a single global currency. In this aspect, the most radical is R. Cooper's idea of introducing a single collective world currency, up to its elimination of national currencies from international circulation. This defines the search for an alternative to the US dollar as the leading reserve currency.

In preparation for the G20 summit in London (April 2009), Russia proposed the introduction of a supranational reserve currency in the world monetary system (he proposals of the Russian Federation to the G20 Summit in London, 2008). At the G20 summit, China supported the proposal to discuss the introduction of a reserve currency to replace the dollar. Brazil joined this initiative. President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev proposed to introduce a unit of account.

Thus, the problem of SDR is not solved and remains in a state of uncertainty, since in the context of globalization a supranational currency that is not tied to one national currency, the US dollar is needed. This is also important for protection against manipulation of the US dollar, the introduction of monetary sanctions, provoking a currency

war.

Conclusions

Evaluation of the reform of the exchange rate regime and the justification for the proposal to improve this structural principle of the WMS.

The paradox of reforming this structural principle of the Jamaican WMS manifested, on the one hand, in the formal preservation of the country's right to choose any regime of exchange ratios of its currency to foreign, on the other hand, in the combination with the increased influence of the Fund on their choice. Changing the selection criteria, instead of specifics of the economy and interests of the country, the priority of national macroeconomic policies and the stability of macroeconomic indicators were introduced and exchange rate policy became one of the main objects of the Fund's global oversight, contrary to the sovereign rights of member states.

The periodically updated classification of up to 10 exchange rate regimes (including in 2016) does not always coincide with the national classification. Often, three types of floating rates - free-floating, floating, managed floating based on the binding of a national currency to a foreign currency, usually the US dollar, are identified with the general concept of a floating rate.

Meanwhile, the free floating exchange rate recommended by the Fund from the position of "soft power" through negotiations with the central banks of individual countries prohibits regular currency interventions to support it, with the exception of three days in six months in a crisis state of the national currency market.

The regime of managed floating based on the binding of a country's currency to a foreign currency increases its dependence on the issuing state and its monetary policy and, according to the Fund's classification, is essentially non-floating, since the market regulation of its formation is insignificant.

In this regard, in the context of a combination of market and government regulation of the exchange rate in the context of globalization of financial, currency and economic regulation introduced in connection with the global crisis of 2008–2009, the most optimal is the floating exchange rate with the right to periodically adjust it in the national interest. In practice, this is what happens. Moreover, in order to save the official currency reserves of the country, indirect methods using swaps, repos, currency refinancing by the central bank of commercial banks of the country and other forms are preferable. Some countries, such as China, devalued Yuan three times after it was included in the SDR basket.

Thus, a vague reform of the exchange rate regime also requires clarification in order to complete it.

The evaluation of the reform of the management of the Fund is controversial, since positive measures have not reached the goal, and a number of G20 recommendations have not yet been implemented. For example, a large issue of SDR, as always, did not change the proportion of its distribution between developed countries (2/3) and developing (1/3) of its total amount and did not solve the problem of the chronic shortage of the Fund's credit resources. Traditional and new borrowings of the fund from member countries and other creditors on the basis of bilateral agreements became the source of their replenishment. For the first time, the Fund began to issue its bonds denominated in SDR, but sells them to member countries, rather than to the global financial market, as recommended by the G20 summit, apparently to insure against the risk of their low non-competitiveness compared to securities denominated in world and national currencies. Having a large gold reserve (more than 2.8 thousand tons) due to payment in gold (or dollars) of the USA by a 25% contribution of countries in the Fund's capital when it was created in 1944-1946. The fund sold 403.3 tons to replenish its resources. But these measures are insufficient to address the chronic shortage of credit resources of the Fund.

Although the IMF's credit policy reform has received more attention than the monetary policy, in practice the negative assessment of member countries' access to loans from the Fund and the World Bank has remained, at least due to their burdensome conditions and stabilization programs.

A new trend has become the transformation of interstate regulation into global financial, credit and currency regulation in accordance with the recommendation of the G20 summits. The object of integrated currency supervision was official foreign exchange reserves, monetary policy focused on their orientation towards the purchase of securities by the main shareholders such as the United States and the European Union and the Fund itself, to the detriment of the interests of other member countries. The manipulation of the US dollar caused the response of most of these countries in the form of selling low-yielding US treasury securities.

The incompleteness of the management reform of the Fund and the World Bank is manifested in the need to implement the G20 recommendation on the transparency and openness of the appointment of IMF management (always an

EU citizen, although it has veto power only by unanimous vote of 28 member countries, which is doubtful in the face of increasing Euroscepticism and Brexit) and World Bank groups (always a US citizen).

The incompleteness of the reform of the Jamaican WMS is evidenced by the lack of discussion of changing its structural principles at an international conference and drawing up an interstate agreement on a new WMS and its subsequent ratification on the basis of its decision, as it was during the creation of four world currency systems since 1867 (Krasavina, 2017: p.22).

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