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edited by

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dedication   We dedicate this issue
to our colleagues and founders of
Pragmatics and Language Learning,
Professor Lawrence F. Bouton and
Professor Yamuna Kachru.

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series editor's foreword

After lying dormant for several years, the *Pragmatics and Language Learning* conference made a strong reappearance at the 2004 meeting at Indiana University, Bloomington. Co-hosted by Kathleen Bardovi-Harlig, J. César Félix-Brasdefer, and Alwiya S. Omar, PLL 2004 proved to be as dynamic a showcase of current research in pragmatics as its many predecessors under the leadership of PLL's intellectual parents, Professors Lawrence F. Bouton and Yamuna Kachru.

With the revitalization of the PLL conference, the *Pragmatics and Language Learning Monograph Series* is also back as a forum for selected papers from the conference. The model agreed upon in informal consultation between PLL *aficionados* is to rotate the conference between self-selected venues on a biennial schedule, with the conference hosts serving as editors of the PLL volume related to their conference. In order to ensure continuity between volumes, the series is published by the National Foreign Language Resource Center, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Papers are selected for inclusion in the PLL volumes based on a double-blind external peer review process.

Pragmatics and Language Learning 11, edited by Kathleen Bardovi-Harlig, J. César Félix-Brasdefer, and Alwiya S. Omar, testifies to the continuity and new developments in (interlanguage) pragmatics. Standard research issues figure prominently in this volume, such as nonnative speakers' use and learning of speech acts and of the pragmatic meanings of linguistic resources, and the effect of instructional intervention on L2 pragmatic learning. But many authors now examine these well-established topics in new activities and media, from new theoretical and methodological perspectives. The monograph documents researchers' increasing attention to different forms of computer-mediated communication as environments for using and developing L2 pragmatic competence, and of conversation analysis as an approach to different aspects of interaction in a variety of settings.

A big mahalo to the contributors, to Kathleen, César, and Alwiya for their thoughtful and meticulous preparation of this volume, and to Deborah Masterson of the NFLRC for her expert production.

Gabriele Kasper
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

preface

This is the eleventh volume of *Pragmatics and Language Learning*. Much has changed in the field since the first volume appeared in 1990. We owe a debt of intellectual gratitude to the founding editors, Lawrence Bouton and Yamuna Kachru, for providing a venue for scholars of pragmatics and second language learning and teaching to disseminate their work. After a brief sabbatical, the monograph series has found a new home with the National Foreign Language Resource Center at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa; the editing of the individual volumes will go to guest editors under the series editorship of Gabriele Kasper.

We have continued the guiding principles of *Pragmatics and Language Learning* in this new volume. We have included papers by established scholars and new ones, and these papers discuss pragmatics and language learning in a range of languages, based on language data collected by a variety of means, and interpreted from both acquisitional and instructional perspectives.

This volume contains thirteen articles. In addition to English as a target language, the contributions to this volume also focus on the target languages of German, Japanese, Kiswahili, and Spanish. Descriptions of the native languages of learners also provide information on German, Japanese, Spanish, and Persian.

The chapters also provide a view of the change in research design and analysis in the field of pragmatics and language learning. The increasing influence of conversation analysis (CA) in second language acquisition has promoted the collection and analysis of talk in interlanguage pragmatics. The conversation-analytic perspective is represented in contributions by Gabriele Kasper, Noël Houck and Seiko Fujii, and Midori Ishida.

Houck and Fujii explore academic interactions, while Ishida investigates talk used in problem-solving tasks. The analysis of authentic discourse also embraces computer-mediated discourse in papers by Sigrun Biesenbach-Lucas, and Nina Vyatkina and Julie Belz. The conversation-analytic perspective is extended to the teaching of negotiation of refusals by César Félix-Brasdefer.

Discourse completion tasks allow the investigation of less commonly researched languages as in the study of Persian refusals by Mohammad Hossein Keshavarz, Zohreh Eslami, and Vahid Ghahraman. The familiar task

is adapted for use in Kiswahili and supplemented by observation of spontaneous conversations and television by Alwiya Omar. Edelmira Nickels administered photo-enhanced scenarios in an oral DCT, and Gila Schauer employed the video questionnaire introduced by Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998) with a newly designed multimedia elicitation task, examining both perception and production.

Reports of instruction include a variety of methods as well. Félix-Brasdefer reports on teaching the negotiation of refusals in Spanish through the Web-based delivery of native-speaker and learner conversations. Explicit and implicit teaching conditions are compared in the learning of English suggestions by Alicia Martínez-Flor. The paper by Lynn Pearson explores the attitudes of L2 Spanish learners regarding pragmatics instruction in the form of speech act lessons in their university level courses.

The papers in this volume also cover a number of topics. The main topics covered include the role of linguistic development in L2 pragmatics, development in both conversation and speech acts, and the influence of instruction. No volume on pragmatics would be complete without investigations of speech acts, but it is also representative of current research in the field that the contributions show a balanced focus between conversations and speech acts.

The dual role of formulas in the research on acquisition of L2 pragmatics is investigated by Kathleen Bardovi-Harlig. Two additional papers explore the role of grammatical and linguistic development in modality as related to the acquisition of pragmatics. Ishida examines the use of modal expressions in Japanese, and Vyatkina and Belz address German modal particles.

The importance of conversation analysis in SLA research is argued by Kasper. CA is brought to bear on the analysis of delay as an interactional resource in academic interaction in the paper by Houck and Fujii, and modal expressions are analyzed in decision-making activities by Ishida. CA forms the basis for the teaching of interaction and negotiation in the contribution by Félix-Brasdefer.

Speech acts are investigated in different languages and settings. Biesenbach-Lucas investigates the requests in student-to-faculty e-mail exchanges in English. Requests are also investigated by Omar who explores requests in Kiswahili by both native speakers (who show interesting regional preferences) and learners. Requests are also the focal speech act in Nickels' study on the effects of setting on speech act performance. The perfect partner to requests is refusals (even if dispreferred!), and two papers address this speech act. Keshavarz, Eslami, and Ghahraman offer an account of transfer from Persian to English in Iranian EFL Refusals, and

Félix-Brasdefer provides native and learner examples of refusals as a basis of teaching negotiation in multi-turn speech acts. The recognition of appropriate suggestions is the focus of Martínez-Flor's treatment study. Kasper integrates the investigation of speech acts with a conversation-analytic perspective.

Finally, the role of instruction in the development of second language pragmatics is addressed by four of the papers. Two of the papers report studies of the influence of pedagogical intervention on the developing second language. Vyatkina and Belz report the effects of a learner corpus-driven intervention in the development of L2 German, and Martínez-Flor reports on the effectiveness of explicit and implicit treatments on EFL learners' confidence in recognizing appropriate suggestions in English. Pearson's paper approaches the influence of instruction from a different perspective, reporting on learner attitudes following speech act instruction in L2 Spanish. The final paper by Félix-Brasdefer integrates conversation as positive evidence, negotiation, and Web-based delivery as resources for the instruction of speech acts in a foreign language classroom.

The combination of topics and issues that are addressed in this volume reflect the progress of research in pragmatics and language learning today. We hope that this volume will encourage investigation of pragmatics in an increasingly wider range of target languages as well as continued innovation in methods, analysis, and teaching in pragmatics and language learning.

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On the Role of Formulas in the Acquisition of L2 Pragmatics

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There has recently been a renewed interest in formulas and formulaic sequences in the general second language studies literature. This may be of particular interest in the field of interlanguage pragmatics where the acquisition of socially conventional language has been an area of continuous investigation. In contrast to social orientations to language use, acquisition studies have shown a less sustained interest in formulas. Early research in second language acquisition included empirical studies of formula use by adult learners (Hanania & Gradman, 1977; Scarcella, 1979; Schmidt, 1983; Yorio, 1980, 1989), but as individual studies of second language acquisition research became more focused and the investigation of the development of grammatical competence was dominated by generative grammar and later Universal Grammar (UG), which emphasized the rule-governed nature of language production, research that focused on formulas became less common. Such a move away from a focus on formulas was encouraged by the claims that creative or productive language use and knowledge of formulaic language developed in different systems, that is, that knowledge of formulas did not contribute to syntactic development (Bohn, 1986; Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Krashen & Scarcella, 1978; Rehbein, 1987). As a result, studies of second language acquisition typically isolated suspected formulas from productive use in the analysis stage (Bardovi-Harlig, 2002).

More recently, however, a number of different lines of inquiry are reconsidering the role that formulas play in both language acquisition and language use. The ongoing discussion of frequency effects (N. C. Ellis, 1996, 2002a, 2002b), the rise of corpus linguistics which contributes to the ease of identifying recurrent strings in both native and nonnative language production (DeCock, 2000), and pedagogical interests (Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992) have contributed to the increased attention that formulas are receiving in second language acquisition (e.g., Schmitt, 2004). Reviews such as Wray's (2002) *Formulaic language and the lexicon,* in which she synthesizes the literature on formulaic language use in child L1 acquisition, adult and child L2 acquisition, and adult language loss, both consolidate

current understanding of formula research and point the way to future research.

A recurring focus of formula research is the function of formulas in language acquisition and language use, whether among native speakers or learners. Both communicative strategies and production strategies have been identified. As a communicative strategy, the use of formulas has been credited with (a) allowing learners early entry into communication when there is general lack of competence in target language rules (Rehbein, 1987; Weinert, 1995), (b) eliciting further input for acquisition (Dulay et al., 1982; Wong-Fillmore, 1976), (c) increasing a speaker's confidence that speech acts performed will be understood by the interlocutor in the intended way (Wildner-Bassett, 1994, p. 4), and (d) making a language learner appear nativelike (Yorio, 1989). As a production strategy, the use of formulas (a) allows for fluency in production and faster processing (Weinert, 1995) and (b) saves the speaker planning time that can be used where it is needed more (Peters, 1983).[1]

Interestingly, in the general formula literature, authors often cite pragmatics as an area in which formulas are frequent. Granger (1998) even attributes the research in pragmatics as one impetus to study formulas. She writes,

> Pragmatics has become a major field of study in its own right, in linguistics, and now in EFL. Pragmatic competence has come to be viewed as an essential part of learners' competence. The formulaic nature of many pragmalinguistic rules has necessarily contributed to bringing the study of prefabs to the fore.   (p. 145)

At a time when other inquiries point to pragmatics as a source of formulaic language use, it seems worthwhile to investigate it from within the framework of pragmatics and language learning. The goal of this paper is to assess the state of inquiry on formulas in interlanguage pragmatics and in so doing to suggest directions for further research. I will first give a brief orientation to research on formulas and then review empirical studies of formula use in interlanguage pragmatics.

Overview: Situating and Defining *Formula*

In their seminal article, Kasper and Schmidt (1996, p. 163) posed the question "Does chunk learning (formulaic speech) play a role in acquisition of L2 pragmatics?" At the time, a comprehensive answer could be brief, and I include it here in its entirety.

As Schmidt (1983), R. Ellis (1992), and Sawyer (1992) suggest, there appears to be an important role for prefabricated speech in pragmatic development. As formulae and routines often consist of lexicalized sentence stems (Pawley & Syder, 1983) with open slots, learners can decompose them and extend their use productively, as in Wes's extension of permission requests from a few completely fixed expressions in specific contexts (e.g., *Can I get?* in restaurants) to more productive use (sometimes incorrect) in a very broad range of requests. But the importance of formulaic speech is not limited to its role in the early stages as a stepping stone toward the higher realms of creative language use. Routine formulae constitute a substantial part of adult NS pragmatic competence, and learners need to acquire a sizable repertoire of routines in order to cope efficiently with recurrent and expanding social situations and discourse requirements (Coulmas, 1981). Therefore, how pragmatic routines are acquired has to be addressed as a research issue in its own right.   (Wildner-Bassett, 1984, 1994)

What has the intervening decade of research contributed to answering this question?

In order to answer this question, we need to first begin with the term *formula*. This is not just an academic exercise, because the key to what we know rests in our interpretation of this term. Although the multiple characteristics of formulas and the vexing issues of definition and identification have been much discussed in the greater literature on formulas, it seems that interlanguage pragmatics research has been sheltered from this scrutiny, possibly to its disadvantage. In this short introduction, readers have already encountered the terms *formulas, formulaic sequences, chunks, prefabs (prefabricated speech), routines,* and *formulaic routines*, and there are many more (see, e.g., Weinert, 1995; Wray, 2002; Wray & Perkins, 2000). In interlanguage pragmatics research, the terms *formula* and *routine* are the most common of these.[2]

In the literature on L2 pragmatics, we see three primary uses of the term *formula*: one which describes a feature of the acquisition process, one which describes the end point, or target, and one which describes components of a speech act, or *semantic formulas*. These uses are often not clearly distinguished in the L2 pragmatics literature, where the use of *formula* continues relatively undefined. The crucial commonality, as we will discuss below, is that developmental and target formulas are not analyzed into their constituent parts. In contrast, semantic formulas are often conventional, but not necessarily invariant.

Readers who first encountered formulas in work on language acquisition may recognize this type of definition: "Routines are whole utterances that are unusually error-free and show no transitional stages of development or systematic order of acquisition. They are learned as unanalyzed wholes, much as one learns a single word" (Dulay et al., 1982, p. 232–233). I am going to refer to the formulas thus described as *developmental formulas*.

Readers who first encountered formulas from a sociolinguistic perspective might find the definition by Coulmas (1981) of *routine formulae* to be more familiar: Routine formulae are "highly conventionalized prepatterned expressions whose occurrence is tied to more or less standardized communication situations" (p. 2–3). Restricting the focus of the discussion to conversational routines, he continues, "conversational routines are tacit agreements, which the members of a community presume to be shared by every reasonable co-member. In embodying social knowledge they are essential in the handling of day-to-day transactions" (p. 4). I am going to refer to these formulas as *target formulas.*

Readers who first encountered formulas in pragmatics may be familiar with *semantic formulas*, which are components of a speech act. For example, an apology may contain an expression of apology, a statement of responsibility, an offer of repair, or a promise of forbearance, all of which are semantic formulas. [3] (These are also sometimes called *pragmatic strategies*.) However, semantic formulas need not be formulaic, in either the acquisitional or target sense, and indeed are often not. For this reason, this use of *formula* will not be explored further here, even though it contributes to the three-way terminological overlap in interlanguage pragmatics.

Leaving semantic formulas aside, then, we return to the synthesis by Wray (2000, 2002) in which she proposes a definition that takes into account the common characteristics of acquisitional and target formulas: A formula is

> ...a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated, that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar.   (2000, p. 465)

The common core identified by Wray helps us understand how the two main uses can become entangled. But in this article, I am going to pursue the differences rather than the commonalities between developmental and target formulas in order to attempt to answer the question *What role do formulas play in the acquisition of L2 pragmatics?*

Before I begin the survey of the literature, some caveats are in order. The literature on formulaic language in general is much more complex than I

can do justice to in this paper. Work on formulas often includes discussions of different types of recurrent strings from idioms to much more flexible collocations to very loose associations modeled on syntactic patterns only. I will focus as much as possible on the work in pragmatics that specifically appeals to the concept of *formula,* and I will ignore the other nuances of *formula* to pursue the difference between developmental and target formulas. And finally, as Krashen and Scarcella (1978), Yorio (1989), and Wray (2002) have pointed out, there are significant differences between adults and children in the area of formula use, and the authors recommend not conflating studies of the two populations. I will therefore limit my discussion to studies of adult second language learners.

Developmental Formulas

I will first consider the evidence from the acquisitional approach. The stage at which developmental formulas play the greatest role is in the earliest stages of acquisition. Myles, Hooper, and Mitchell (1998, p. 325) identify six main characteristics of formulas in the speech of L2 learners.[4] Formulas typically are

- at least two morphemes in length
- phonologically coherent, that is, fluently articulated, nonhesitant
- unrelated to productive patterns in learner's speech
- greater complexity in comparison with the learner's other output
- used repeatedly and always in the same form
- [potentially] inappropriate (syntactically, semantically or pragmatically) or otherwise idiosyncratic.

The crucial issue in SLA with regards to the developmental role of formulas is their relation to grammar. A formula cannot be accounted for by the interlanguage grammar of the learner. This was the criterion used by Brown (1973) in analyzing the first question strings produced in child first language acquisition. This is captured in points (3) and (4) in the list by Myles and colleagues. N. C. Ellis (2002a) suggests that acquisition follows a sequence from *formula>low-scope pattern>construction*.

Although research in this area agrees that grammar and formulas are different —different enough for formulas to be called "special constructions" by R. Ellis (1984) and Dulay et al. (1982)— there are two claims in the literature about the precise relation of formula to grammar in the subsequent stages. On some accounts, the grammar *catches* up to the formula, and as it

does, the formula becomes analyzed; learners come to recognize the pieces of the formulas (R. Ellis, 1984; Krashen & Scarcella, 1978; Myles et al., 1998; Myles, Mitchell, & Hooper, 1999). On other accounts the formulas themselves drive the acquisition of the grammar (syntax or morphology). The formulas become input to the rule formation process and grammar is learned by analogy to the formulas (Hakuta, 1974; Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992).

It is important to note that at the stage we are talking about, formulas are unanalyzed because they literally cannot be analyzed by the learner grammar. They are, thus, unanalyzable. In fact, the unanalyzability of the formula is crucial in the developmental account. It is the apparent grammar of the sequence, which cannot be accounted for by the learner's grammar in general, that leads to the identification of the formulaic sequence by the analyst.

What do we know about developmental sequences in the second language acquisition of pragmatics? The best known case is reported by Schmidt (1983). The case study followed the development of an adult learner, Wes, by means of production data over the course of 3 years. Schmidt's report convincingly demonstrates that Wes used formulas, and that they were developmental, that is, they were used at a stage where the internal grammar of the formulas exceeded his grammar more generally.

Schmidt reports specifically on the use of the formula, *shall we go* as in (1). *Shall we* appears exclusively in the request, *Shall we go*, and does not appear with other verbs. At the same time, the grammar produces *Sitting?* as in (2). This was used multiple times as an equivalent of "shall we sit down?" or "would you like to sit down?" Over time Wes's interlanguage showed some grammatical development. For example, progressive forms for directives (including requests) became less frequent, and the use of imperatives increased, as in (3). *Shall we* and *let's* were reported to be used with "a great many different requests;" (which I interpret as meaning different verbs, but this is not shown), and, in general, Wes's directives showed more elaboration. The examples show that *shall we go* no longer appeared in isolation, but rather appeared in longer turns and could be discontinuous, as in (4).

(1) Shall we go
(2) Sitting? (Shall we sit down? or Would you like to sit down?)
(3) Please next month send orders more quick.
(4) Shall we maybe go out coffee now, or you want later?

Even at this elaborated stage, however, Wes's grammar did not catch up with the apparent structure of his formulas. Wes demonstrated no subject-

verb inversion in questions as in (5) and (6), except in routine, formulaic utterances as in (7) and (8). Thus, the formulas identified by Schmidt meet the minimum requirements of both being invariant and being different from the productive grammar.

(5)   Ah, you has keys?
(6)   When Tim is coming?
(7)   Do you have time?
(8)   Are you busy?

Wes's use of formulas did not drive the acquisition of syntax; he is an example of a learner whose syntax shows little development. Rehbein (1987) came to the same conclusion in his study of three L1 speakers of Turkish who had lived in Germany over 8 years and who had received no instruction. He reported that the use of formulas resulted in no syntactic development, describing formula use instead as a final restrictive state in the interlanguage. In a study of the use of the affective particle *ne* by adult L2 learners of Japanese, Sawyer (1992) reported that 10 of 11 learners used formulas that end in *ne*, and in particular one formula, *soo desu ne* (an unspecific back channel that has a range of meanings including 'yeah' and 'right'). There is little evidence, however, that this would become creative use, and in fact, his most advanced learner showed no formula use involving the particle. Yorio (1989) cites the learners reported on by Hanania and Gradman (1977), Huebner (1983), Schumann (1978), and Shapira (1978) as further examples of learners whose use of formulas does not lead to grammar acquisition. Wray (2002, p. 193) states that "Krashen and Scarcella (1978), Schmidt (1983), R. Ellis (1984), Yorio (1989) and Granger (1998) are amongst those who believe that 'there does not seem to be a direct line from prefabs to creative language' (Granger, 1998, p. 157)".

Wes is the most celebrated adult learner whose use of developmental formulas is documented longitudinally in the pragmatics literature. Why are there so few others in the literature? First, formulaic use is idiosyncratic, even in L1 children, as pointed out by both Peters (1983) and Wray (2002). This could be a case of individual variation (see also Bardovi-Harlig, 2002), but it is unlikely that Wes is that unusual (namely, that he is the one learner who uses formulas successfully in marked contrast to the learners that Rehbein describes, when no one else does). Second, this lack of evidence about developmental formulas and their integration into grammar is more likely due to the fact that the acquisition of pragmatics by the lowest level learners —the learners most likely to show this developmental stage— has not been well documented in interlanguage pragmatics. I have discussed this

elsewhere (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999a, 1999b) and will not elaborate on it here except to say that the more advanced learners that are characteristically the object of study in the interlanguage pragmatics literature are unlikely to exhibit this type of formula use.

A further factor is that even longitudinal studies may deal with targetlike use of formulas rather than developmental formulas. For example, both R. Ellis (1992) and Achiba (2003), report on child acquisition of requests, and both studies identify a stage at which the children begin to use what they call the "can I" or "can you" request formulas, although neither study establishes that the requests exceed the grammar of the interlanguage more generally. In fact, the grammar of the interlanguage is not taken into account in these reports. Thus, no information is provided about developmental formulas, showing that this has not been a priority in interlanguage pragmatics. In contrast, R. Ellis (1984), in an earlier report of the same learners for a more general SLA audience, does provide information of the development of grammar.

Further blurring the distinction between the two types of formulas is the fact that, especially with learners who are more grammatically advanced than speakers like Wes, developmental formulas often show targetlike production. In fact, the formula that the acquisition researcher identifies could be one and the same as the target formula the sociolinguist identifies: Wes's use of *Shall we go* is both targetlike and unanalyzable by his interlanguage grammar (a criterion for identifying what I am calling *developmental formulas*).

However, there are also cases where the two approaches do not agree on whether something is formulaic or not.[5] For example, Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig (2000, 2001) report on early uses of *I think* and *maybe* as lexical markers of modality that are used before the English modals emerge. Kasper and Rose (2002) identify these as formulas, where as Salsbury and I do not. In our analysis from the acquisitional perspective, *I think* and *maybe* are well within the learners' level of grammar; more precisely, the learners are in the lexical stage of interlanguage development, which precedes the morphological stage in which the modal system begins to emerge (Bardovi-Harlig, 2000; Dietrich, Klein, & Noyau, 1995; Salsbury, 2000). As a result, our analysis focuses on the relation of these expressions of modality to the developing grammar, while Kasper and Rose's focuses on the recurrent character of the strings. Thus, our perspectives offer different interpretations of the strings and the knowledge that underlies them, and the difference between them and the grammar. A developmental formula is often targetlike, but from the developmental perspective the interest is in the difference

between formulas and grammar, and in the targetlike perspective the focus is on the target and how close learner production comes to it.

Social Formulas: Formulas as Targets, Formulas as Input

Let us now consider formulas as targets. As House (1996) writes,

> From a sociolinguistic point of view, it is important to learn routines at any learning stage because they embody the societal knowledge that members of a given community share …routine formulas are thus essential in the verbal handling of everyday life.   (pp. 227–228)

The issue of what is available as input led Myles et al. (1998) to expand their list of formula identifiers (discussed earlier) from characteristics of the interlanguage (points 1–6, p. 325) to include two external characteristics, situational dependence and community-wide use. They state that situational dependence (instructed versus uninstructed language learning) and community-wide use are different from the other more psycholinguistically oriented characteristics; both relate to input, and are described as learner-external rather than intrinsic properties of interlanguage.[6]

The full set of characteristics is repeated here for the reader's convenience (Myles et al., 1998, p. 325).

- at least two morphemes in length
- phonologically coherent, that is, fluently articulated, nonhesitant
- unrelated to productive patterns in learner's speech
- greater complexity in comparison with the learner's other output
- used repeatedly and always in the same form
- may be inappropriate (syntactically, semantically, or pragmatically) or otherwise idiosyncratic
- situationally dependent
- community-wide in use

In the more sociolinguistic, more target-oriented literature, against the background of community-wide use, formulas are seen to be highly desirable. In the general literature on formulas there are many conjectures as to how much of the knowledge or production of an adult native speaker is formulaic. Peters (1983) estimated that as much as 20% of an adult's production could be formulaic. Others estimate that it is as much as 60%, claiming that adults have tens of thousands of formulas at their disposal and

that learners have only a fraction of the formulas controlled by native speakers. The range of estimates is represented schematically in Figure 1.

20% formulaic use (Peters, 1983)

formulas	production

32% unplanned NS (English) speech (Foster, 2001)

formulas	production

59% spoken English discourse (Erman & Warren, 2000)

formulas	production

Figure 1.   Estimates of formulaic and productive language use.

Many researchers agree that even at the higher levels of proficiency, learners both *have* fewer formulas in their repertoires and *use* fewer formulas than native speakers (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986; Edmondson & House, 1991; House, 1996; Wildner-Bassett, 1984, 1994). This is well documented in the general literature on formulas (Foster, 2001; Howarth, 1998; Oppenheim, 2000) and in pragmatics this observation is made by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986), and especially Edmondson and House (1991).

As can be seen from the titles of their articles, "Too many words" (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986), and "Do learners talk too much?" (Edmondson & House, 1991), learners produce longer responses than native speakers on written production questionnaires, also known as Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs). Edmondson and House acknowledge that on the one hand learner response length may be an effect of the DCT; however, they also report that learners and NS respond to the task differently, suggesting that task effect is not completely responsible. Edmondson and House interpret the longer responses of the learners to be an indication that learners do not use formulas.[7] They suggest that learners are wordy because they are not confident that they are getting their illocutionary point across. Edmondson and House write: "We suggest that learners are, at least in part, 'insecure' because they do not have ready access to, and therefore do not make use of, standardized routines for meeting the social imposition...as native speakers do" (p. 284). Thus, length (or the *waffle* as they call it) is a compensatory strategy.

Although several researchers agree that learners have fewer formulas at their disposal (Foster, 2001; House, 1996; Wildner-Bassett, 1984, 1994), other researchers in general formula research have also suggested that

learners (including advanced learners) use too many formulas (DeCock, 2000). These are not always the same formulas used by native speakers, and they are not always well-formed or well-used, and thus identification may elude analysts who are looking only for targetlike strings.

If the essential question in the developmental orientation to formulas is their relationship to the learner's developing grammar, the essential question in the target-based perspective is first of all whether learners are targetlike, and second, what factors promote the acquisition of target formulas, and by extension how formulas can be encouraged through instruction.[8] This rests on the observation that learners do not use formulas or do not use them correctly, resulting in the claim that formulas are late learned and hard, but necessary for targetlike production. Moreover, studies of targetlike formulas in more advanced learners suggest that formulas emerge in stages.

Form emerges in stages (morphology, syntax, lexicon, suprasegmentals)

Targetlike formulas appear to emerge in stages showing development, just like the grammar at large. This seems to be one difference between acquisitional or developmental formulas and targetlike formulas where one of the claims for developmental formulas is that they appear or emerge "whole." Peters (1983) suggests two sources for formulas: holistic learning and *fusion*, a process by which learners construct formulas from their developing grammar and then store them whole (see also Schmidt, 1992). There is evidence from both the pragmatics literature and the general literature that learners construct the formulas that they use. (With individual variation, the most prudent claim is that at least some learners construct some of the formulas.) Similar findings regarding the general development of formulas are reported from a range of languages including L2 Japanese (Tateyama 2001; Tateyama, Kasper, Mui, Tay, & Thananart, 1997), German (Wildner-Bassett, 1994), and English (Edmondson & House, 1991).

Even simple formulas emerge in stages

As far as I can tell, there are not many longitudinal studies of the emergence of target formulas in adult second language acquisition. One example of an internally simple target formula emerging in stages is the development of *yeah but* in L2 English from a study on turn organization in disagreements (Bardovi-Harlig & Salsbury, 2004). An example of *yeah but* used appropriately to signal a disagreement is given in (9).

(9) Takako, 3–10, month 7
  Takako: You know cows smells so bad!
  Kristen: Not as bad as pigs though
  Takako: *Yeah*, but sometimes cows like more than pigs

The analysis of spontaneous disagreements extracted from conversational interviews in a 1-year longitudinal study suggest that there are four stages in the acquisition of *yeah but* as a marker of disagreement, beginning with the use of bare *but* as in (10).

(10) Eun Hui, month 7, bare *but*, no agreement component
  Samantha: …And I think you're an excellent student…
  Eun Hui: *But,* ah, IEP course, course and ah, actually university lecture's different, right, so maybe, maybe university, this lecture is, I can't understand sometimes.

The next stage seems to be unconventional, creative use of agreement components with *but* as in (11).

(11) Eun Hui, month 10, unconventional agreement component
  Tom: But if you do not take any IEP classes, then you have no connection to the university, cause IU has to accept you first as a student, do you see what I mean?
  Eun Hui: *I know your mean, but I don't think so*
  Tom: No? ok

In the third stage, *yeah but* alternates with other combinations, such as *yeah so* (12) and *yeah no* (13), used for the same function.

(12) Takako, month 9, use of *yeah so* in disagreement
  Tom: Yeah, you're easily influenced
  Takako: *Yeah*, influence, *so*, I'm getting stronger too…

(13) Faisal, month 11, use of *yeah, no*
  Tom: How did you crash into a tree, and not hurt yourself
  Faisal: I put ah, the, the
  Tom: seatbelt?
  Faisal: Yeah, in the ??? before I close my eyes, and boom
  Tom: Oh, man, you're lucky that you didn't die!
  ➔Faisal: *Yeah, no,* I'm not drive speed, like just maybe, like …60 [kilometers?]

Finally, in the last stage, *yeah but* emerges as the preferred disagreement marker as in (14).

(14) Eun Hui, month 11, use of *yeah but*

Tom: It's a cultural difference, do you think…but I know in Asia, you can agree or disagree, it's more of a written culture…

Eun Hui: *Yeah, but, in Korea, in Korea culture,* during our class, we don't say many things, but even though I know about that, just we have to polite attitude during class…

Thus, the acquisitional data show that even a simple formula like *yeah but* (and the concept it expresses) can have multiple stages of development, in this case beginning with the use of bare *but,* then creative expressions of disagreement, alternation with other expressions involving *yeah*, and finally *yeah but.*

Coinage of a routine from the interlanguage

Routines may also reflect the developing interlanguage. This has at least two realizations: L1 influence and interlanguage development. Learners may use formulas based on their L1 equivalents (Edmondson & House, 1991; Wildner-Bassett, 1994; Oppenheim, 2000; DeCock, 2000; Rehbein, 1987). L1 influence can be most easily identified when the resulting formula is not idiomatic in the L2 as shown in (15).

(15) L1-based usage (Scarcella, 1979)

L1 use	IL use	L2 target
¡Silencio!	Silence!	Shut up! Be quiet!
Felicidades	Congratulations	Happy birthday
Pase	Pass	Come (on) in

Other formulas, such as *I very appreciate* (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986), reflect interlanguage development. Such formulas may be used appropriately, even if ill-formed (see also Wildner-Bassett, 1994). Examples are widespread in the general literature on formulas and include such strings as *take advantages of, are to blamed for,* and *a friend of her* (Yorio, 1989). One final example of the emergence of form comes from the learning of Japanese (Tateyama, 2001). Tateyama observes that learners may use what appear to be targetlike formulas to which they add unexpected and untargetlike particles (e.g., *ne*).

Right formula, wrong delivery

Differences in the formal aspects of formulas are not limited to the collocations themselves, but include suprasegmentals of intonation, rhythm, and other aspects called "delivery" in interlanguage pragmatics (House, 1996; Tateyama, 2001). Both House and Tateyama enlisted judges to

evaluate learner production. The judges of German learners of English reported that they often employed a "mechanical" delivery (House, 1996). Similarly, Japanese judges of American learners of Japanese reported that the learners exhibited a number of nontargetlike features (Tateyama, 2001). They found that the learners of Japanese were too smooth where hesitation was required. (Recall that nonhesitant delivery is a feature of unanalyzed formula use; see Myles et al., 1998, above, point 2). Learners who performed apologies were reported to sound abrupt, to not sound apologetic, and to not have the expected intonation.

However, measured disfluency may be important as pragmatics researchers have pointed out. House and Kapser (1981) identified hesitators (deliberate malformulations used to indicate reluctance to perform the ensuing speech act such as stuttering or repetition) as one type of downgrader. Cohen (2005) observed that knowing how to be disfluent is apparently crucial in both apologies and refusals in Japanese, especially when delivering them to people of higher status. As Cohen explains (2005, p. 293), "an example would be the strategy of purposely being hesitant or even disfluent (stammering and leaving utterances incomplete) in the delivery of a refusal in Japanese in order to appear humble in formal settings (Shimura, 1995)." Thus, we see that the nonhesitant production of formulas that results from the retrieval of unanalyzed wholes can work against L2 speakers in cases where hesitation is required.

Form-function associations

Up to now this section has been concerned with pragmalinguistic issues: notably the development of linguistic resources for the expression of pragmatics. Now we consider the sociopragmatics of formulas, focusing on learners' experimentation with the situations in which a formula can felicitously occur. Formula use exhibits both overgeneralization and undergeneralization.

Overgeneralization

Overgeneralized use of formulas results in a loss of original function (Félix-Brasdefer, 2005; Kecskes, 2000, 2003; Tateyama, 2001; Wildner-Bassett, 1994). In (16) the L2 learner uses *und so weiter,* which has the function of continuing a listing act in German, in a more generic function of pause-filling or turn maintaining (Wildner-Bassett, 1994).

(16) NS: Warum bist du weggezog'n aus dem alt'n hat's dir nich mehr gefall'n da
    L: Da + ja es war wirklich sehr schlecht nur ein telephon für einhundertachzisch leute *un so weiter*

NS: Why did you leave the old one? Didn't you like it there anymore?

L: That, yes, it was really very bad, only one telephone for 180 people, and so forth

A different case of overgeneralization is reported by Kecskes (2000). One learner used the same response *Sure, no problem* in requests and offers, as shown in (17). Whereas *Sure, no problem* is a felicitous response to requests (with a potential or real imposition) as in (17a) and (b), it is decidedly odd in response to an offer which has no imposition as in (17c)

(17) a. Can I borrow your pen?
      b. Can I talk to you after class?
      c. Would you like some candy?

Undergeneralization

Undergeneralization is the lack of pragmatic realization in L2 production. In other words, in cases of undergeneralization, learners do not use formulas where they are expected (Edmondson & House, 1991; Kecskes, 2000; Tateyama, 2001; Wildner-Bassett, 1994). Formulas used by learners may have a smaller range of use than the same formula used by native speakers. This impacts the rate of formula use discussed earlier.

Misuse

Whereas undergeneralization typically suggests that the range of use by learners is a subset of the use by native speakers, the designation *misuse* applies when a formula is used with a different meaning in interlanguage than it has in the target language (DeCock, 2000). Borkin and Reinhart (1978) documented this in interlanguage pragmatics, showing how *Excuse me* was used for *I'm sorry* by learners of English.

Typically when researchers discuss the analysis of formulas by learners, they mean the analysis of the grammar of the formula. However, Félix-Brasdefer (personal communication, April 2005) suggests that a learner's experimentation with context and use is another part of the analysis of a formula as a learner separates the formula from the situation in which it was originally encountered and attempts to use it (perhaps incorrectly) in other situations.

Recognition of formulas

Most of the research in interlanguage pragmatics focuses on production, and thus pragmatic research that includes formulas is no exception. For a fuller understanding of formulas in L2 pragmatics, it is also important to investigate the recognition of formulas, but many fewer studies have done

that. Early evidence that learners recognize the illocutionary force of very common formulas was offered by Koike (1989). Native speakers of American English who were enrolled in second-semester college Spanish (beginning level) were asked to identify what speech acts were being performed in three different messages and to indicate what cues guided their decisions. The single most commonly reported cue for identifying the illocutionary force of requests was *por favor* ('please', 35% of the responses) and for apologies, *lo siento* ('I'm sorry,' 45% of the responses). Two recent studies in interlanguage pragmatics have tested learners' recognition of target formulas (Kecskes, 2000; Roever, 2005). These studies include learners at a range of proficiency levels in ESL (host) and EFL (foreign) settings (Roever, 2005) and more advanced learners in the ESL setting (Kecskes, 2000).

Roever identifies the knowledge of formulas as part of pragmalinguistic knowledge, the linguistic resources to express pragmatic functions. (See also Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992.) In order to test learners' recognition of target formulas, Roever employed a multiple-choice identification test consisting of a scenario, a prompt, and four choices, as in (18). The learners choose among the four distracters.

(18) Claudia calls her friend Dennis. Dennis is not home but Claudia would like the person who answered the phone to tell Dennis something.
What would Claudia probably say?
a. Can you write something?
b. Can I give you information?
c. Can you take a note?
d. Can I leave a message?

The test included 12 items which included a range of responses from "hello" to increasingly less common formulas.[9] In spite of the fact that Roever classifies the ability to identify a formula as pragmalinguistic knowledge, in this test, formula recognition takes place in context, which also draws on sociopragmatic knowledge. Moreover, this test is not just a recognition test, because it requires learners to reject the distracters as well as to recognize the correct formula. It seems that some of the items are more difficult than others, not necessarily because of the targeted formulas, but because of the relationship of the targeted formula to the distracters. Items like that in (19), in which the other distractors are likely formulas as well —but not appropriate in the given context— contrast with items like that in (20) in which none of the choices seems especially formulaic (or even conventional). In fact, the most critical comments elicited by Roever from native speakers about the

task centered around alternatives when they preferred an answer other than the ones listed (Roever, 2005, p. 75).

> (19) In a crowded subway, a woman steps on Jake's foot. She says "I'm sorry."
>   *What would Jake probably say?*
>   a. That's okay.
>   b. No bother.
>   c. It's nothing.
>   d. Don't mention it.

> (20) Ted is inviting his friend to a little party he's having at his house tomorrow night.
>   Ted: I'm having a little party tomorrow night at my place.
>   *How would Ted probably go on?*
>   a. How would you like to come in?
>   b. Do you think you could make it?
>   c. How about you're there?
>   d. Why aren't you showing up?

In contrast to Roever's task which asks whether learners recognize pragmatic formulas, Kecskes (2000) asks whether learners know what formulas mean.[10] Kecskes's task included idioms that had both a possible literal and idiomatic reading. Respondents were asked to interpret the response formulas as in (21).

> (21) Items with literal and idiomatic readings
>   a. Bill, I don't think I can agree with you.
>   OK, shoot. (*go ahead*)
>   b. Frank, I think you really deserved that prize.
>   Get out of here. (*don't fool me*)
>   c. Jim, do you think you can repair the coffee machine?
>   Piece of cake. (*easy*)

Kecskes (2000, 2003) reported that nonnative speakers did not recognize the metaphorical use of formulas. Kecskes also reported that nonnative speakers did not use the expressions in the production tasks either. In another task, when asked what TV broadcasters said, native speakers supplied responses such as *Stay tuned, We'll be right back, We'll have to take a break, Don't go away*, and *Stick around* whereas learners whose length of residence was a year or less supplied nonformulaic responses such as *Keep your channel* and *When we come back we will an action*. Learners who had spent more that 2 years in the target language

country responded with appropriate formulas. Kecskes concluded that increased length of residence contributed to the recognition and identification of formulas, but that it did not guarantee targetlike use. Roever found that learners with exposure to English in a host environment scored higher than learners without such exposure, even when proficiency of respondents was kept constant. Even brief exposure of 3 months or less showed a beneficial effect on formula identification.

The effect of instruction on formula use

In instructional studies the input is often manipulated in various ways to include formulas, and thus they provide an opportunity to observe learners in input rich environments. The studies reported by House (1996) and Takahashi (2005) are particularly relevant here. House (1996) introduced a range of formulas to very advanced EFL learners who performed role plays as a post test. One of the raters commented that routines realized in the opening phase of the role plays appeared to be "rattled off very quickly and unfeelingly with the context inorganically linked to it" (p. 239). This is corroborated by comments from learners as in (22) which show that they were not entirely comfortable with using the opening formulas that they had learned.

(22) NNS1: Hi Bettina I mean
　　　 NNS2: Hi Jan how are you doing?
　　　 NNS1: Okay I I am erm erm okay, *yes I have to say I am fine but erm I am not fine*
　　　 NNS2: You are not fine?
　　　 NNS:　Actually no no

Takahashi's (2001, 2005) study reveals important information about what learners notice, and specifically to what extent Japanese EFL learners noticed biclausal complex request forms.[11] Learners in implicit treatment groups compared role plays of requests by native English speakers with the same role plays by Japanese nonnative speakers of English. The targeted biclausal request forms were *I wonder* + VP, *Is it possible* + VP, and *If you could* + VP. Learners wrote down what differed in the NS and NNS role plays, then ranked expressions for whether they noticed or cared about them. Learners tended to attend to other features in the transcripts, and in particular features for which they had no equivalents. Learners noted discourse markers (DMA) and idiomatic expressions (IDE) more often than requests. The frequency with which formulas were noticed can be represented in example (23) (Takahashi, 2005, p. 102).

(23) DMA>IDE>REQ1>REQ2>N-IDE>REQ3

Of the request formulas, *I wonder* + VP (REQ1) was noticed more frequently than *Is it possible* + VP (REQ2). Non-idiomatic expressions followed, and the least noticed was the conditional *If you could* + *VP* (REQ3). Moreover, Takahashi (2005) found that motivation may promote noticing, a finding corroborated in general formula research by Dörnyei, Adolphs, & Zahran, (2004).[12] Takahashi reported that pragmalinguistic awareness is associated with learners' intrinsic motivation (high enjoyment of the language learning endeavor itself), but not with proficiency. As Tateyama's (2001) study shows, supported by Kecskes (2000, 2003) and Roever (2005), recognition of formulas in a multiple choice questionnaire does not necessarily result in targetlike production of those same formulas in oral interaction represented by role plays. The relation of perception and production is another area which merits additional investigation in interlanguage pragmatics (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998; Kasper & Schmidt, 1996).

Variables of proficiency and length of stay

Finally, pragmatics studies report that length of stay in a host environment contributes more to acquisition of target formulas than proficiency (Edmondson & House, 1991; Kecskes, 2003; Roever, 2005). Edmondson and House reported that more proficiency led to more words, whereas longer exposure led to fewer words, but more formulas. Similarly, Roever reported that more host language exposure led to more formula recognition, even when proficiency was held constant. Kecskes also reported the importance of length of stay. Pragmatic transfer appeared to be greater in learners whose length of residence was less than 1 year. When length of stay was greater than 2 years, learners showed greater use of formulas, although their choices were not always targetlike. Kecskes suggested that length of stay is tempered by the distance of L1 and L2 cultures and a learner's familiarity with target discourse patterns. Dörnyei et al. (2004) suggest that social integration (which interacts with language aptitude and motivation) promotes formula learning which further suggests that exposure to the host environment is a complex variable and worthy of further investigation.

Furthering Research

A review of research which includes formulas from the perspective of interlanguage pragmatics suggests that we should take the following into

account when undertaking further research into the role of formulas in the acquisition of L2 pragmatics.

- The interlanguage pragmatics literature has treated two types of formula (developmental and target) in essentially an undifferentiated manner which has led to some lack of clarity.
- There seems to be individual variation in the acquisition and use of developmental and target formulas.
- Formulas show developmental stages in both form and form–meaning–use associations.
- There is less use of *targetlike* formulas by learners than by native speakers, but not necessarily less use of formulas (taking interlanguage formulas into account).
- Proficiency is not implicated to the same extent as exposure is.
- Motivation may promote noticing of formulas in input.

There are also more speculative conclusions that could be tested in future longitudinal studies of interlanguage pragmatics. It appears that developmental and target formulas dominate different stages of acquisition.[13] Developmental formulas emerge early, when learners cannot analyze the components of the recurrent strings, whereas target formulas seem to come into play later when learners may store whole sequences more like native speakers, due to frequency of use, resulting in *unanalyzed*, but not *unanalyzable*, chunks. The studies of interlanguage pragmatics are suggestive in this area, but it could be that the choice of learner populations creates the apparent pattern: Studies of lower level learners investigate developmental formulas whereas studies of advanced learners investigate target formulas.

Tackling the question of the role of formulas in L2 pragmatics will require investigating multiple questions with smaller scope (such as those posed in a study by Bahns, Burmeister, & Vogel, 1986). As I have emphasized throughout this review, understanding the use of developmental and target formulas may require separate inquiries. In addition to new questions of smaller scope, research can also be furthered by careful consideration of design and analysis.

Research design

Investigating the role of formulas in the development L2 pragmatics will necessitate paying special attention to research design. Although many

aspects of design could be examined, I will consider only two major features here: the importance of longitudinal studies and the collection of language samples appropriate to the type of formula investigated. Questions concerning formula development need to be addressed through longitudinal designs with many samples per learner. Since formula use is likely to be idiosyncratic in both child first language acquisition (Peters, 1983) and adult second language acquisition (Bardovi-Harlig, 2002, 2004; Butler, 2003; Dörnyei et al., 2004; Kecskes, 2003; Sawyer, 1992; Schmitt, Dörnyei, Adolphs, & Durow, 2004; Wray, 2002), cross-sectional accounts, which compare different learners at different levels of proficiency, cannot address questions of how formulas develop. Multiple samples, frequently collected and available in longitudinal studies, are necessary to identify formulas (N. C. Ellis, 2002b, Schmidt, 1992). The use of a formula may only be evident when many texts produced by the same learner are compared.

Careful consideration of appropriate elicitation tasks is also in order. The use of formulaic sequences shows task effects (DeCock, 2000; Foster, 2001); for example, native and nonnative speakers used more formulas in speech than writing (DeCock, 2000). If one of the functions of formulas is that they are used to save time and keep a conversation going, then learners should be observed in action in conversation when the communicative pressure is on. Similarly, recognition of formulas should contain an oral component, if conversational formulas are being investigated. Learners may recognize formulas in written form, but not recognize them as they are spoken (and vice versa). Because formula use has been demonstrated to be sensitive to task, formulas should be investigated in the same mode as the targeted language use: Oral features should be studied through oral–aural production and comprehension, and written features should be studied in written production and comprehension. Although this will undoubtedly seem self-evident to some readers, interlanguage pragmatics has been slow to reduce its dependence on written production questionnaires, and thus, this point is worth making explicitly.

Analysis

The issue of analysis is in many ways the most crucial consideration for formula research with learners. Especially in a field such as interlanguage pragmatics where group responses have been emphasized over individual responses, investigations of formulas must emphasize individual responses over group responses for a number of reasons including the individual variation that characterizes formula use, identification of formulas, and issues

of formula storage and retrieval (Bardovi-Harlig, 2002; Butler, 2003; Kecskes, 2003; Sawyer, 1992; Wray, 2002).

Analysis of group responses (illustrated in Figure 2) has its advantages, as demonstrated by studies in interlanguage pragmatics. However, in this case, analysis of individual responses (illustrated in Figure 3) is crucial. It both accommodates the individual variation which has been documented in formula acquisition and use, and aids the identification of idiosyncratic strings or formulas. DeCock (2000) admonishes researchers to look for individual formulas (which she calls *highly recurrent word combinations*, or HRWC), and not just targetlike use. All repeated strings used by learners need to be taken into account. To answer the question, *Does formulaic speech/chunk learning play a role in second language pragmatics?,* we need to take an interlanguage perspective, and not limit ourselves to a target-based analysis.

scenario	learner A	learner B	learner C	NNS
1				
2				
3				
4				

Figure 2.   Analysis in interlanguage pragmatics emphasizes group responses.

scenario	learner A	learner B	learner C
1			
2			
3			
4			

Figure 3.   Analysis emphasizing individual responses.

In addition, the investigation of individual learners facilitates the careful analysis of their production and permits the identification of formula use, whereas group reports will obscure formula use. If storage and retrieval is at

the psycholinguistic heart of a formula (as opposed to the more sociolinguistic interest in conventional form), then formula use belongs to the individual and not the group. This is a matter of individual psycholinguistics. Focus on group responses is part of the sociolinguistic orientation to speech communities, but once we make claims about the mental lexicon, we need to consider individuals.

I hope to have shown that, far from what some of the summary statements about formulas seem to suggest, the role of formulas and the learning of formulaic sequences has only just begun to be described through empirical research for the population of adult learners in the area of second language pragmatics. There are principled ways of going about this investigation. Such research would both enhance our understanding of the development of pragmatics in second language acquisition and contribute to the larger discussions of the role of formulaic sequences in second language acquisition more generally. As the formula researchers note, pragmatics is in a privileged position to do so.

Notes

1   For an overview see Wray (2000), especially Table 2 (for processing) and Table 3 (for social interaction).

2   In interlanguage pragmatics, the terms *formula* and *routine* are not restricted to the uses that I have used in this paper so far. Formula may also refer to semantic formulas (discussed later) and routine may also refer to interactional routines which are sequences of turns (see, e.g., DuFon, 2003; Kanagy, 1999; Ohta, 1999).

3   This use can also be seen in labels like "suggestory formulas" (such as *let's*) used in the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989) and more generally used to refer to conventional language use related to speech act realization.

4   They include two other characteristics of formulas—(7) situationally dependent and (8) community-wide in use (p. 325)—gleaned from the literature which they then exclude as being different from the first six as not properties of the formulas themselves. These are discussed in the next section.

5   Readers may be interested in an extended discussion of this topic. Bohn (1986) argues that sequences that had previously been argued to be formulas in one sampling method and analysis are productive in another.

6   This is discussed at length by Myles, Hopper, and Mitchell (1998, pp. 325–326). The authors relate the first criterion to specifically to classroom input.

7   Like Edmondson and House (1991) Kecskes (2003) found that some learners used too much talk and too few formulas; on the other hand, they also oversimplified, and advanced learners are often too casual (pp. 186–187). Kecskes found both too little talk and too much, both suggesting a lack of use of formulas.

8   For recent studies of the acquisition of formulas outside pragmatics see the studies reported in Schmitt (2004).

9   Readers will find single words (poly- or mono- morphemic) included as formulas by authors investigating the social use of formulas, in contrast to acquisitional studies.

10   Kecskes (2003) uses the term situationally-based utterances.

11   Takahashi did not explicitly identify these as formulas. I call them formulas here consistent with the target-formula studies that have been reviewed. Learners may very well not treat these as unanalyzed wholes. See Bardovi-Harlig (1999a) and Kasper and Rose (2002) for a discussion of grammatical development with respect to pragmatics.

12   But see Schmitt, Dörnyei, Adolphs, and Durow (2004) for a finding that motivation-aptitude-attitude factors did not account for enhanced formula learning.

13   Thus, a question such as "At which point in their L2 development, which is marked by different stages, do learners make use of formulas?" asked by Bahns, Burmeister, and Vogel (1986, p. 698) depends crucially on distinguishing developmental from target formulas.

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Delay as an Interactional Resource in Native Speaker–Nonnative Speaker Academic Interaction

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In conversational interaction, utterances conveying certain speaker (S) actions (e.g., request, invitation, proposal, or assessment/statement regarding something known to the recipient) make relevant in the next turn an indication of some form of acceptance/agreement or rejection/ disagreement by the recipient/hearer (H). In other words, when S produces, say, an assessment of something known to H, because of its sequential position, H's response is generally heard as showing agreement or disagreement. However, rather than a clear agreeing or disagreeing response, H may produce a delay, thus putting off production of a relevant response either within the turn or to a subsequent turn. For instance, certain delaying responses such as minimal vocalizations, pauses, and repetitions[1] return speakership to S, effectively passing up an opportunity to express substantive agreement or disagreement and thus deferring a substantive response. Such H delays have been observed generally to portend a dispreferred response such as disagreement or rejection (Davidson, 1984; Mori, 1999; Pomerantz, 1984a; Sacks, 1987).

In fact, as Davidson (1984) has shown, speakers orient to delays so strongly as precursors of a dispreferred response that they will jump into a lengthening pause or follow up a minimal vocalization or repetition with a subsequent version of the original act. This may manifest itself as an inducement or reason for acceptance. Or, in a more dramatic manifestation of the orientation to a possible rejection, S often revises the original action, offering a subsequent version designed to provide an environment in which the addressee's anticipated refusal or disagreement is structured as a preferred response (e.g., acceptance, agreement), as in excerpt (1).

(1)
```
01 M: well I don't know what's the matter with them
02     because fruitcake is not cheap and that's not
03     an awful lot of fruitcake.
04     (1.0)
05 ➔ course it is a little piece goes a long way.
06 C: well that's right.
```
(taken with minor adaptations from Pomerantz, 1984b, p.160)

C has just explained her decision to cut up the fruitcakes she sells into smaller cakes because people don't want to pay the price of a large cake. M's indirect criticism of people who don't want to pay for a larger cake (lines 1–3) is met with silence (line 4). At this point M reverses the opinion she expressed in lines 01–03, reshaping it into a supportive statement about smaller fruitcakes, backed up by a short aphorism (line 05). This revised assessment is met with the preferred response, C's prompt agreement (line 6). In either case, S treats the recipient's delay as a harbinger of a nonaligning response.

However, as Bilmes (1987) points out, such recipient delays do not necessarily herald rejection or disagreement. They represent more precisely the "relevant absence" of either a preferred or a dispreferred response (e.g., agreement/acceptance or disagreement/rejection); as such, they are constantly open to reassessment and re-evaluation (on line) in light of subsequent developments.

In fact, Pomerantz (1984b) describes a sequence following an assertion by S about something with which H is familiar. Pomerantz focuses on additional ways that S makes sense of H's delay —a process that she refers to as "pursuing a response." Sequences in the interactions analyzed by Pomerantz can be represented as follows.

S Claim	S makes an assertion regarding something about which H is knowledgeable
H Delay	H foregoes the opportunity to immediately deliver an opinion (e.g., *mm hm, well uh*)[2]

S Pursuit of a Response	S a) clarifies an understanding problem
	    b) reviews presumed common knowledge step by step
	    c) changes position

H Resolution	H expresses disagreement with S Claim

Thus, while a delay may indeed augur nonagreement or noncompliance, as Pomerantz indicates, there exist at least two additional possibilities which S can orient to —lack of clarity and lack of relevant background knowledge—

both of which can be addressed by checking H's understanding. While Pomerantz's purpose was to characterize S's pursuit of a response, in this paper we will also be focusing on H's role, particularly in the Resolution of the sequence. We will refer to these sequences as *delay sequences*.

Thus far, most research on delays at places at which agreement or disagreement is conditionally relevant have been based on conversations between native speakers (NS) and have been associated with an eventual expression of disagreement by H. However, delays in interactions with nonnative speakers (NNS) have yet to be investigated to any extent. In fact, in an interview with Wong and Olsher (2000), Schegloff reflected,

> I think it's precisely things like delays..., ones that otherwise might be understood as prefiguring disagreement or misalignment or things of that sort, which can perfectly well be written off by either a native speaker talking to a non-native speaker, or a nonnative speaker talking to another nonnative speaker, as reflecting greater "processing problems," or the like.   (pp. 113–114)

Recently, however, the case has been made that at least some delays in NS–NNS interaction can be accounted for as work by one of the participants that is designed to manage the local conditions of the response. In a paper examining restarts in turn beginnings by novice speakers, Carroll (2004) demonstrates that low-level learners may use pauses purposefully. Relying on videotapes of student interactions, Carroll determined that what initially appeared to be disfluencies in a learner's speech were in some cases actually skilled recyclings of overlapped turn beginnings or phrasal breaks employed to catch the attention of a nongazing recipient.

In addition, several researchers have offered evidence of NNS delay preceding dispreferred responses. Bardovi-Harlig and Salsbury (2004) present instances of NNS use of clarification questions before expressions of disagreement. And Gardner (2004) reports on NNS delays in response to questions from native speakers of English (NSE). These delays were also eventually resolved when the NNS produced a dispreferred response.[3] Gardner contends that the NNSs' lack of comprehension problems during the conversation and the dispreferred nature of their eventual responses suggest that the delays were purposeful.

And indeed unexpected uses of minimal vocalizations which return the floor to S are not unheard of in English NS interactions. In a paper on the deployment of acknowledgement tokens, Jefferson (1984) characterized such delays as "perverse passives," and Houtkoop-Stenstra (1987), writing about delays in response to proposals in Dutch NS interactions, referred to them as "misfitted continuers." These instances of turn-passing *yeah/ja* were

treated as anomalous. They were analyzed as reflecting an unwillingness to speak at a particular moment due to the sequential constraints of the talk (Jefferson) or a desire to solicit an extension or a changed version of an initial proposal more in agreement with what the recipient was willing to accept (Houtkoop-Stenstra).

This paper extends the investigation of delay in native speaker–non-native speaker (NS–NNS) interactions to delays —particularly turn passes accomplished with minimal vocalizations such as *mm*— in interactions between NSs and NNSs of English engaged in an academic opinion-giving task. It looks particularly at the sequences triggered by minimal vocalizations and other potential delaying responses produced in response to an S claim that is not immediately followed by a turn at talk by H and asks these questions.

- How do delay sequences in academic NS-NNS opinion-giving interactions behave? In particular, do they behave in the same way as delay sequences in natural conversation between NSs?
- If differences occur, what kinds of differences are they?
- If differences occur, what kinds of work do they do?

Data

The data that we report on in this paper are part of a larger project involving dyadic interactions between (1) native speakers of English (NSE), (2) native speakers of Japanese (NSJ), and (3) NSE–NSJ dyads speaking English. For this paper we analyzed the discussions of 7 female NSE–NSJ pairs, all speaking English. All of the participants were enrolled in a graduate course in second language acquisition at an American university in Japan. NSE participants in the study had resided in Japan for at least a year. NSJ participants had achieved the TOEFL score of 575 required for admission to the program. The course was one of the last courses taken by students in the graduate program, so participants had already successfully completed most of the courses in the program and had extensive experience reading research.

For the discussion, students had been assigned an article by Bley-Vroman (1987) in which he presents 10 differences between first language (L1) and second language (L2) acquisition. The article was chosen because students found it easy to read (a fact commented on by several of the students during their discussions) and because it had always provoked extensive discussion when it was presented in class. Students were told to

familiarize themselves with the article beforehand and were not permitted to bring it with them to the task. The resulting discussions lasted about 20 minutes.

The task was similar to previous tasks in which the students had participated during the course. Participants were given a task sheet (Appendix B) and instructed to consider each of Bley-Vroman's 10 characteristics and to express their opinion as to whether or not each point was applicable to L1 acquisition, to L2 acquisition, and/or to general skill learning (i.e., 30 potential yes-no type responses). For example, one of the 10 characteristics is "general failure." Students might agree (or disagree) with Bley-Vroman that failure to reach adult NS norms is not characteristic of L1 learners, whereas such failure is characteristic of L2 acquisition and of general skill learning.

The task was set up to promote interactions in which colleagues engaged in an intellectual exercise for which each had prepared and for which each was presumed to have access to the same background information. The article was one on which students knew they would be tested, so there was an inducement to understand Bley-Vroman's points. However, the task was not designed as a contest or a debate, and there were no immediate consequences for "wrong" answers.

Thus, despite the presence of a camera, most interactions were convivial, while at the same time interspersed with earnest attempts by the Ss to understand and clarify the author's claims and to relate their own ideas to these claims. Under these circumstances, both NSs and NNSs seemed to participate more or less equally in terms of opinion contribution, with both producing a number of initial claims/opinions and both providing enthusiastic agreement, as well as various degrees of nonagreement.

On the other hand, while participants were peers, and the interactions that we investigated resemble natural conversation to some extent, the discussions had certain characteristics that set them apart from casual conversations or informal interactions in the workplace. For one thing, participants were engaged in a preassigned task with a fixed topic —the discussion of an article that both had read and were expected to have thought about (and to have formed an opinion on). In addition, the task itself was structured to encourage students to express and, if possible, arrive at agreement on an opinion regarding each of the 30 claims made by the author. Thus, there was an expectation (not always realized) that the participants would share some knowledge of the article, orient to the task as explained on the task sheet, and express opinions on the questions raised.

The pairs were video- and audio-taped, and the tapes were subsequently transcribed and verified by two independent transcribers, in addition to the authors. Although nonverbal behavior was not a primary concern in this study, the videotapes were consulted regularly during the analysis to determine what behaviors accompanied the verbal interaction during the delay sequences.

Analytical Approach

The focus of our inquiry for this paper is the delay sequences that developed with some regularity after the expression of an initial opinion (a claim) by either the NS or NNS. In particular, we noted the existence of stretches of NS talk broken primarily by minimal vocalizations at points at which a responding opinion was relevantly absent.

Tapes and transcripts were analyzed, and initial assertions followed by indications of nonagreement were identified. We then used conversation analytic techniques to identify patterns in sequences following a delaying response. Sequences were analyzed to determine whether the delays and the turns following them behaved similarly to those of the NS–NS interactions in Pomerantz's conversations.

We first identified a position-taking by one of the participants regarding one of the task questions. We refer to this position or statement of opinion as S's Claim. Production of a Claim by S sets up an expectation that the next utterance (or lack thereof) by H can reasonably be taken to indicate H's stance toward S's Claim, as in excerpts (2) and (3) below. Boldfaced terms in the margin indicate the point(s) that an excerpt is illustrating or focusing on.

```
(2)  [EJEF1 3a] Claim
     01 Kay: so: um (.) what's the [differentiation there?
     02 Eri:                        [wha-
     03 Kay: I still think even [in L1=
     04 Eri:                     [mhm?
     05 Kay: =there is a lot of variation in course and
     06      strategy and I: I think it's because of
     07      the differences in personality.
```
Claim is marked at line 05.

```
(3)  [EJEF4 9c] Claim
     01 Ana:  how about general skill learning,
     02 Juko: uh: no.
```
Claim is marked at line 02.

In excerpt (2), Kay states strongly that she thinks that in L1 there is variation in course and strategy, and in excerpt (3), Juko succinctly, if

hesitantly, indicates that she does not believe that negative evidence is necessary for general skill learning.

After identifying S claims, we looked closely at H's response at the first transition relevance place. [4] Clear instances of immediate agreement, disagreement, and partial agreement were set aside, and we focused on delays, particularly those responses that did not signal a stance, that is, neutral delaying responses such as minimal vocalizations, pauses, as well as repetitions, reformulations, or brief expressions of implications of the Claim, as in excerpts (4) and (5), which represent a continuation of excerpts (2) and (3) above.

```
        (4)  [EJEF1 3a] Claim Followed by Delay
             01 Kay: so: um (.) what's the [differentiation there?
             02 Eri:                        [wha-
             03 Kay: I still think even [in L1=
             04 Eri:                     [mhm?
Claim        05 Kay: =there is a lot of variation in course and
             06      strategy and I: I think it's because of
             07      the differences in personality.
Delay        08 Eri: mm,

        (5)  [EJEF4 9c] Claim Followed by Delay
             01 Ana:  how about general skill learning,
Claim        02 Juko: uh: no.
Delay        03 Ana:  °mhm,°
Delay        04       (9.0)
```

In excerpt (4), Kay's hedged claim is followed briefly by her reason, to which Eri responds with a minimal vocalization ("mm"); likewise, Ana greets Juko's brief but unambiguous "no" in excerpt (5) with a minimal vocalization, followed by a nine-second pause. Both of these responses are treated as delays.

Speaker turns following delays were also examined to identify Pursuit of Response (PR), and the entire sequence was tracked until some form of Resolution (Resol) was reached. excerpt (6) provides an instance of one sequence identified in the data.

```
        (6)  [EJEF1 5a] Delay Sequence
             01 Kay: what about L1 acquisition?
Claim        02 Eri: the- the correlation? (.) um w'l I c- well
             03      age doesn'- in L1 acq-acquisition everybody
             04      start when they're like,
             05 Kay: mm mm
(cont.)      06 Eri: when they were born.
Delay        07 Kay: mhm mhm
```

```
PR        08 Eri: so °of course it° (.) it- everybody is the
          09      same they started to learn
Resol     10 Kay: right and- and- and-
(PRcnt)   11 Eri: [when they were born]
(Rcont)   12 Kay: [if they're normal] learners
          13 Eri: right.
          14 Kay: okay, mhm.
```

In this case, Eri gives her opinion (lines 2–6), that everyone starts learning an L1 when s/he is born (so there doesn't seem to be a correlation between age and proficiency). Kay responds in line 07 with a minimal vocalization. Eri pursues a response by starting in lines 08–09 to clarify her claim, at which point Kay jumps in with an indication of agreement ("right and- and- and-"), which she completes in overlap with Eri's clarification. Her completion adds a qualification to Eri's claim and provides a Resolution to the sequence with a weak agreement (usually considered a form of disagreement).

Results

As the above examples reveal, we were able to identify sequences identical to Pomerantz's, with H delay, Pursuit of Response, and Resolution. H Delays that returned speakership to S such as those in excerpts (4) and (5) were followed by Pursuit of a Response by S and in most cases an eventual Resolution, as in excerpt (6). Since Pursuit of a Response and Resolution took a number of forms in our data, and these forms could not always be easily captured by Pomerantz's characterizations, we examined these steps in the sequence more closely. This section discusses Pursuit of a Response and Resolution in our data in more detail.

Pursuit of a response

Excerpts (7)–(10) provide instances of delay sequences with an S Claim followed by H Delay (a minimal vocalization or pause), which S then follows with Pursuit of a Response. The excerpts offer instances of the four different types of Pursuit of a Response (PR) in our data: clarification (excerpt [7]), modification of the claim or the force of the claim (excerpt [8]), support of the claim (excerpt [9]), and elicitation of H's position (excerpt [10]). Either the NS or the NNS can initiate a delay sequence. To illustrate this, we have included instances with NS and NNS in the role of claimant (S).

(7) [EJEF9 4a] PR: Clarification
```
Claim   01 Yoshi: with L1 learning you don't necessarily have
        02        a goal like you just learn to speak your L1
```

```
         03          'cause you grow up (.) listening to it
         04          or speaking it?
Delay    05 Joan:    mm.
Clarif   06 Yoshi:   you don't necessarily have a GOAL
         07          to achieve L1.
```

In excerpt (7)Yoshi notes that L1 learners do not necessarily have a goal (lines 1–4). Joan's response is a neutral minimal vocalization (line 5). Yoshi then pursues a response with a clarification, restating her claim and emphasizing the focus of this segment of the exercise, the goal (lines 6–7).

    (8) [EJEF4 9c] PR: Modification of Force of Claim

```
         01 Ana:   how about general skill learning,
Claim    02 Juko:  uh: no.
Delay    03 Ana:   °mhm,°
Delay    04        (9.0)
Modif    05 Juko:  °I'm not sure,°
```

In excerpt (8) (a continuation of excerpt [5]), Juko makes the claim. Her "no" in line 02 addresses Bley-Vroman's category of negative evidence with regard to general skill learning, indicating that negative evidence is not necessary for general skill learning. Ana's soft responding "*mhm*" (line 3) is followed by a 9-second pause (line 4), at which point Juko softly backs off her initial claim (line 5).

    (9) [EJEF6 5a] PR: Support of Claim

```
         01 Teri: correlation of age and proficiency,
         02 Yuko: uhuh,
         03       (4.0)
Claim    04 Teri: °yeah, no° for L1,
Delay    05       (1.5)
Support  06 Teri: [the younger you are the-] [yeah.]
         07 Yuko: [does it say?]             [uh]
Delay    08       yeah?
Modif    09 Teri: I think [so]
Delay    10 Yuko:         [m] hm
Support  11 Teri: compare a two-year old [with a]
         12 Yuko:                        [two-year age]
         13 Teri: eight-year old with an adult
```

In excerpt (9), Teri claims, softly, that age and proficiency do not correlate in L1 (line 4). Her claim is followed by a 1.5-second pause (line 5). Teri picks up the turn in line 06, offering support in the form of the beginning of an explanation. This is overlapped with Yuko's question, whether Bley-Vroman's article makes this claim, to which Teri responds with an overlapped "yeah," also in line 06. Yuko continues with a request for confirmation ("yeah?" in the clear), and Teri responds with a hedged affirmative ("I think so"), which carries an implicit invitation for Yuko to supply her opinion. Yuko

again delays with a minimal vocalization (line 10). In lines 11–13 Teri provides additional support for her claim with an explanatory example.

```
      (10) [EJEF6 4c] PR: Elicitation of H's Position
          01 Yuko: °general skill learning°
          02 Teri: °general skill learning°
          03 Yuko: but this is the same, [have a goal?
Claim     04 Teri:                       [mhm yeah but
          05        [they're different]
          06 Yuko: [so goal-]
          07 Teri: different people have different goals,
Delay     08 Yuko: mhm? mm.
Elicit    09 Teri: °yeah?°=
HgdAgr    10 Yuko: =you could say that yes,
```

In excerpt (10), Yuko makes an initial pass at a claim as to whether goals are necessary for general skill learning (line 3), expressing (with rising intonation) her opinion that (like L2 learners) learners of a general skill also have a goal. Teri offers a token agreement ("yeah but") and continues with her own claim that, while everyone may have a goal in general skill learning, different people's goals are different (line 4–7). To this Yuko responds with minimal vocalizations (line 8). Teri counters with a soft eliciting tag ("yeah?") in line 09, and Yuko responds with a somewhat hedged agreement (line 10).

Thus, like the NSs of English in Pomerantz's (1984b) study and Japanese in Mori's (1999) study, NSs and NNSs interacting with each other engage in activities such as pursuit of a response after a delay at a point in the interaction at which agreement or disagreement is relevant. As demonstrated in excerpts (7)–(10), pursuit of a response by the original claimant S after H delay took the form of (a) S clarification of potential understanding problems (e.g., restating or rephrasing the claim, defining terms);(b) S modification/change of her position by reversing or downgrading the claim (e.g., hedging, adding a qualifier that reduces the scope of the claim); (c) S support/justification of the position (e.g., providing examples, reasons); and (d) S elicitation of H's position.

As is clear from this list, while S clarification and downgrading of the original claim are similar to Pomerantz's clarification and change in position, two resources used by S in the pursuit of a response were not identified by Pomerantz: support or justification of the initial claim and direct elicitation of H's position. These can be accounted for to a large extent by the nature of the task. Since the task not only lent itself to but required a set of opinions, S elaboration was generally treated by interactants as support of S's claim.[5] Elicitation of an H response also seems more likely in a task that calls for both participants to come up with an opinion.

Resolution of delay sequences

Similarly, the outcomes of our delay sequences varied qualitatively from Pomerantz's. In her studies of sequences involving H delays after S statements or assessments about events or information available to both S and H, Pomerantz (1984a, 1984b) makes the point that these delays usually presage a disagreement by H. On the other hand, our data included instances in which delays led not only to expressions of disagreement but to expressions of agreement, as well as other outcomes that are less easy to characterize. In this section, we will present sequences of NNS delays and NS pursuits of response, with NNS resolutions manifested as disagreement (in the first case) and agreement (in the second).

Disagreement

As expected, many of the delay sequences in our data culminated in disagreement. These sequences could be initiated by either the NS or NNS. excerpt (11) below provides an instance of a NS Claim followed by NNS Delay, NS Pursuit of a Response, and finally a Resolution with NNS expression of disagreement. Candi and Yoko are considering the question of whether age (Appendix B, Task Sheet, #5) affects proficiency in general skill learning (third column on the task sheet).

```
(11) [EJEF7 5c] Delay Sequence Culminating in Disagreement
Claim     01 Candi: okay and for general skill learning,
          02        I think you can learn new skills when
          03        you get old. [don't you think?]
Delay     04 Yoko:             [u::::::h?]=
PR        05 Candi: =you know learn how to knit or n- learn
          06        how to sew, (.) learn how (.) how to make
          07        flower arrange[ments]
Delay     08 Yoko:              [mhm]
PR        09 Candi: you know learn I mean don't isn't that a
          10        big thing here in Japan? lots of people
          11        study flower arrangement and the (.) tea
          12        ceremony when they're older, or yoga, or
Delay     13        (.)
Resol     14 Yoko: °okay, okay,° though that's the point is-
Dis       15        ((laughter)) is that we call i it as a-
          16        like a skill? I I s- if I hear the type
          17        of skill [I ima]gine something like
          18 Candi:          [uhuh]
          19 Yoko: [very grand like piano like sports-
          20 Candi: [oh, o:h
          21 Yoko: like sports, but I eh=
          22 Candi: =hm. well
```

In this excerpt, in response to Candi's claim that new skills can be learned by older people (lines 1–3), Yoko produces a minimal vocalization carrying an intonational implication of disagreement (a rising intonation u:::::h? in line 04). Candi responds by offering support for her claim — elaborating, giving instances of adult general skill learning (lines 5–7), which she indicates are particularly familiar in Japan (lines 9–12). After a brief pause (line 13), Yoko weighs in (lines 14–19), revealing the source of her lack of agreement— a difference in interpretation of the term "general skill." For her, a general skill is "something grand" like playing an instrument or performing well at sports. For these, she implies, age correlates with general skill learning. Thus, NS–NNS interactions produce sequences in which delay portends disagreement by the NNS.

Agreement

However, although a number of the delay sequences in our data eventually reveal some level of disagreement, they are, as Bilmes (1988) points out, played out turn by turn. And while the resulting position eventually taken by H may represent explicit or partial disagreement, it may also convey some form of agreement. In fact our data reveal a number of sequences in which the production of one or a series of H delays at points at which an expression of opinion has been made relevant do not culminate in expressions of disagreement.

Excerpt (12) offers such an instance, one in which a NS pursuit of response involving qualification, explanation, restatement, and ultimately elicitation is resolved with an expression of agreement by the NNS. The discussion centers on whether L1 learners vary in course of acquisition and types of strategies for acquiring the language (Appendix B, Task Sheet, #3, column 1).

(12) [EJEF4 3a] Delay Sequence Culminating in Agreement

```
        01 Ana:  he said that L1 learners don't have
        02       variation in course and strategy,
        03 Juko: mhm,
Claim   04 Ana:  but I- kind of disagree you know?
Delay   05 Juko: hmm,
PR      06 Ana:  um of course it depends on how we define
        07       course and strategy
Delay   08 Juko: mm.
PR      09 Ana:  but I think that uh children pick up
        10       their own language, they all seem to do it
        11       naturally,
Delay   12 Juko: [mhm,]
        13 Ana:  [but] I think they actually have
        14       <different strategies?>
```

```
Delay   15 Juko: mhm,
PR      16 Ana:  >°I was looking at-°< for example I know
        17         some children like a three-year-old or a
        18         [four-year-old? when they start=
        19 Juko: [°mm.°
        20 Ana:  =speaking (.) they speak °all the time
        21         [talk a lot]°
        22 Juko: [mhm]
        23 Ana:  but some children are very quiet,
Delay   24 Juko: mm=
PR      25 Ana:  =YOU KNOW?
Resol   26 Juko: and maybe writing is different,
Agr     27         depends on children.
        28 Ana:  mm: that's right. okay well
```

In excerpt (12) Ana disagrees with Bley-Vroman's claim that L1 learners do not vary in course and strategy (Characteristic 4). Juko's minimal vocalizations (in lines 05, 08, and possibly 12) are met with a qualification (hedge) in lines 06–07 and some background/explanation in lines 09–11, followed by a restatement of the claim in lines 13–14 and, after yet another "*mhm*" from Juko (line 15), an example (lines 16–23). Finally, after Juko's turn pass in line 24, Ana adds the eliciting phrase "you know?" in line 25. At this point, by producing another example of L1 variation (albeit one that displays a certain lack of understanding of Ana's point), Juko demonstrates alignment with Ana's claim (lines 26–27).

These two instances indicate that, whatever else it may be doing, a turn pass by the NNS offers the NS a chance to expand or explain and the NNS an opportunity to better understand the NS's claim. Thus, a plausible account for Juko's delays in excerpt (12) is that she is holding out for as much information as possible before producing a response to the NS's claim. This makes sense in a context in which S has expressed an opinion with which H initially disagrees (excerpt [11]), or which is in some way unexpected (excerpt [12]); (cf. Gardner, 2004).[6]

To summarize, then, analysis of claims followed by delays in the NS–NNS interactions under study yielded delay sequences that can be characterized as follows.

S Claim	S takes a position regarding one of the task questions.
H Delay	H foregoes the opportunity to deliver an agreeing or disagreeing response.
S Pursuit of a Response	S a) clarifies understanding problem (e.g., defines terms, rephrases the claim)
	b) changes/modifies position (e.g., qualifies, hedges, downgrades)

c) S supports Claim (e.g., provides examples, offers reasons)

d) S elicits H position

H Resolution   Sequence resolves into H disagreement, H agreement

Thus, with a few adjustments, the delay sequences we investigated corresponded surprisingly closely to Pomerantz's although, as indicated above, the nature of the Pursuit of a Response and Resolution often differed somewhatfrom those reported by Pomerantz.

Other resolutions of delay sequences

In addition to the sequences discussed above, we identified several delay sequences whose Resolution is less easily characterizable as disagreement or even agreement. Consider excerpts (13) and (14). Excerpt (13) provides a very different type of interaction —an example of turn passes (via silences and minimal vocalizations) by the NNS while the NS makes a series of claims about the correlation of age and proficiency in L1, L2, and general skill learning (#5 on the task sheet).

```
(13) [EJEF 9 5a]
     01 Joann: okay we're in the middle, ((sighs)) (.)
     02        [what do you-]
     03 Yoshi: [correla]tion of <age and proficiency.>
     04        what do you think about this one.
     05 Joann: u::m I thought that was kind of an awkward
     06        ((laughs)) awkward u:h point to have to
     07        line up with these three different
     08        categories, because u::h °I mean,°
     09        y'know even a- a child who is three years
     10        old versus a child that is six years old
```
Claim1 11   there's going to be a correlation,
```
     12        between age and proficiency even
     13        within the L1,
```
Delay   14 Yoshi: [h:m]
```
     15 Joann: [right¿]
```
WkAgr   16 Yoshi: [[mhm.]]
```
     17 Joann: [[and then]] again uh uh some of them
     18        might be considered uh(.)in L2 like
     19        maybe uh an eight-year old versus a
     20        fifteen-year old uh the fifteen-year old
     21        would still probably outdo the- the
     22        eight-year-old in the initial stages
```
Claim2 23   so there's uh, there is a correlation,
Delay   24 Yoshi: [hm,]
```
     25 Joann: [um]
```
Delay   26   (3.0)
```
     27        and then general skill learning uh (.)
     28        it's kinda interesting, with general
```

```
         29           skill learning it (1.5) seems that uh
Claim3   30           maybe the YOUNGer you are u:h the more
         31           of an edge you have u::m
Delay    32           (4.0)
PR       33           and then the edge drops off. ((laughs))
Delay    34 Yoshi: ((laughs))
PR       35 Joann: u:h so for example the- the three-year old
         36           who enters gymnastics compared to the
         37           six-year-old who's who's just starting
         38           gymnastics
Delay    39 Yoshi: mm
PR       40 Joann: um (.) it seems like the three-year-old
         41           might actually be better than
         42           the six-year old in that case uh
Delay    43 Yoshi: mm.
PR       44 Joann: u::m it can be that way depending on
         45 Yoshi: [mm]
         46 Joann: [uh:] how much experience the three-year
         47           old (.) °uh° has versus the six-year
         48           [old]
Wkagr    49 Yoshi: [yeah]
Sdelay   50 Joann: uh
Delay    51 Yoshi: hm
PR       52 Joann: but u:h (.) yeah I- I never quite agree
         53           with the- the s- ever since meeting
         54           ((laughs)) you actually um with the age
         55           limit that [uh]
Delay    56 Yoshi:            [yeah]
         57 Joann: people have set you know, [so]
Resol    58 Yoshi:                           [well] my
         59           argument against the a:ge theory
         60           or the Critical Period Hypothesis is that
         61           IF you: are motivated [to learn something,
         62 Joann:                         [°mhm°
         63           °mhm, mhm°
         64 Yoshi: I think age is- is- is- is- is not
         65           necessarily an obstacle.
```

This interaction has several interesting characteristics. First, it differs from the others examined so far in that initially, when confronted with a delay after expressing her opinion, Joann does not pursue a response, but rather goes on to talk about the next two claims. In fact, she manages to make three claims about the correlation of age and proficiency —for L1 learners (lines 11–13), for L2 learners (line 23), and for general skill learning (lines 30–31) before she begins to pursue a response. Throughout the stretch of talk from lines 11–31, Yoshi has opportunities to express a responding opinion. Although initially the opportunities are brief and overlapped by elicitation and continuation (lines 14 and 16), they become longer as Yoshi's contribution remains minimal (lines 24–26, line 32, line 34), culminating in

Joann's delay in line 50. In each case, Yoshi bypasses the opportunity to articulate a stance with regard to Joann's observations, although she occasionally indicates alignment with Joann with weak agreement (line 16) and laughter (line 34). And in fact, for the first 33 lines, rather than explain her opinion (that there is at least some correlation between age and proficiency for all three areas) at greater length, Joann seems to assume the operation of Bilmes' (1988) Rule U ("only state the unusual"), which is sometimes in conflict with the assumption that minimal or no response signals a dispreferred response (Bilmes' Rule R). An orientation to only stating the unusual could allow Joann to assume that, if Yoshi is not disagreeing, then agreement can be assumed. However, finally, at line 35, Joann begins to offer examples (lines 35–42) and hedges (lines 44–48). But it is not until Joann actively begins to back down, questioning one of the claims that she has just produced, and implying that she might accept that there is no correlation between age and proficiency (lines 52–57), that Yoshi finally comes out with her opinion (lines 58–65) —an opinion that completely contradicts the position that Joann had taken prior to lines 52–57, but agrees with the implications of Joann's backdown.[7]

Excerpt (14) provides another instance of a turn pass after the NS (Kay) has expressed her opinion about variation in course and strategy (Appendix B, Task Sheet, #3). In this case, however, unlike the previous examples, the NNS (Eri) produces only one delaying response. After the first pursuit of response by the NS (which provides no real further clarification or explanation and no real modification of the NS's opinion), the NNS opts to produce a response —her opinion.

(14) [EJEF1 3a/b]
```
01 Eri: and how about the variation in course and
02      strate- strate[gy?
03 Kay:               [hm hm::,
04 Eri: I- °mmm°
05 Kay: in his article he said that [there was=
06 Eri:                              [hm,
07 Kay: =a big difference between
08 Eri: hm?
09 Kay: is a lot of variance,
10 Eri: mhm,
11 Kay: between individual learners,
12 Eri: uhuh,
13 Kay: among the adult population.
14 Eri: uhuh.
15 Kay: but in children he- I can't remember clearly,
16      I don't think he stressed it much because
17      there isn't much variation.
```

```
        18 Eri: mm
        19 Kay: in L1 acquis[::ition.
        20 Eri:           [right.
Claim   21 Kay: but=
        22 Eri: =but I-
cont.   23 Kay: I think,=
        24 Eri: =uhuh
cont.   25 Kay: there is a >little bit more.<
Delay   26 Eri: uhuh
PR      27 Kay: he didn't talk about it much but
Resol   28 Eri: but of course it has I mean in L2 acquisition
        29      of course it has the variation=
        30 Kay: =mm. yeah.=
cont.   31 Eri: =because for the children fo- in L1 that they
        32      it's necessary right?
        33      (.)
cont.   34 Eri: they have to be able to communicate in =
        35 Kay: =mm=
cont.   36 Eri: =in English I [mean in their L1, but for=
        37 Kay:              [mhm,
cont.   38 Eri: =adult learning English, I mean (.) it's
        39      not necessary °right?°
```

This excerpt contrasts interestingly with excerpt (12). Like Ana, Kay begins by providing background on the article before expressing her opinion. She notes that Bley-Vroman claims that while there is a lot of variation in course and strategy with L2 learners, there isn't much of this type of variation among L1 learners (lines 5–19). Kay then states her opinion —that she thinks there is "a little bit more" (i.e., variation among L1 learners); (lines 21–25). In other words, like Ana in excerpt (12), Kay disagrees with Bley-Vroman. And like Juko in excerpt (12), Eri responds to this opinion with a minimal vocalization, a turn pass (line 26). In both excerpts the NS expresses a nonconventional opinion —at least in terms of the task— one for which the justification is not necessarily obvious. Thus, Eri's pause could easily have afforded Kay an opportunity to explain her position (cf. Wong, 2004), as Ana does in excerpt (12). Instead, Kay responds by hedging slightly without expanding on her opinion (line 27). Although she could have produced additional delays in hopes of eliciting more information about Kay's opinion, Eri chooses instead to launch into her opinion (line 28).

What stands out in both these cases is that the NNS's contribution is expressed more as her opinion than as a response to the NS's claim. In particular, Eri's response in excerpt (14) is not presented in terms of Kay's original claim although Eri's resolution is structured rather similarly to Kay's claiming sequence. However, Eri's expression of her opinion shifts the focus

to L2 acquisition, leaving her position on L1 acquisition subordinate to the new claim.

Discussion and Conclusion

The NS–NNS discussions analyzed in this paper have yielded answers to the questions posed at the outset of the study. In response to the first question, delay sequences in the NS–NNS interactions generally followed the same sequential pattern as observed in NS–NS interactions. As discussed earlier, the NS–NNS sequences in excerpts (6)–(14) were structured identically to the basic patterns observed in Pomerantz's NS–NS interactions: When an H delay after an S claim occurred, it was pursued by S and was eventually resolved with H taking a position.

At the same time, in response to the second question, the sequences manifested several qualitative differences in the realization of pursuit of a response and resolution. Both NSs and NNSs employed a slightly different set of resources in pursuing a response from those observed by Pomerantz. These differences seem to reflect the context in which the interactions took place, namely an academic opinion-giving task. Thus, while Ss provided clarification (albeit more often clarifying their claim than a referent) and modification of the force of the claim, in some instances they offered support for their claim in the form of explanation or justification, as would be expected in the academic discourse of budding scholars. They also elicited their partners' opinions, an implied requirement of the task. These characteristics are interesting from the point of view of academic discussions in general, as they reveal how the sequential organization described by Pomerantz may be employed with minor qualitative modifications that tailor the sequences to a very different type of interaction —in this case, an academic task.

When we focus on accounting for the second type of qualitative difference, differences in Resolution, we enter less familiar territory. Although it has never been contended that delay in response to an assessment or opinion necessarily implicates disagreement, previous discussions of delay at places in an interaction at which agreement or disagreement is relevant have focused on this outcome. However, in interactions such as those under discussion, in which learning is taking place in a context of opinion exchange, delay may indicate something other than impending disagreement. A reasonable question then is why were the NNSs delaying? What were they waiting for?

This leads to the response to the third question. Delay sequences in this study yielded not only disagreement (excerpt [11]), but also agreement (excerpt [12]). The NNS's delaying response created an opportunity for further NS clarification or explanation before the NNS produced a response displaying an understanding of and stance toward the NS's point of view. In situations in which additional S explanation or justification was offered (some of which might be characterizable as persuasion), it should not be surprising that delay sequences occasionally led to outcomes other than disagreement.

These excerpts indicate that pursuit of a response can result in either a preferred or dispreferred resolution, particularly (but not exclusively) when the interactants are NSs of different languages. In fact, some of these sequences look suspiciously like a linguistically motivated negotiation of meaning. However, the proficiency of the interactants, the nature of the contributions made by the NNSs (whose comments sometimes revealed a superior understanding of Bley-Vroman's claims), and informal interviews with one of the NNSs, whose interaction was rife with delay sequences,[8] convinced us that if negotiation of meaning was indeed involved, it was generally not motivated by a NNS's lack of ability to understand the meaning of NS utterances.[9]

At the same time, some of the NNS Resolutions, as in excerpts (13) and 14, are not easily characterizable as agreement or disagreement with the NS's Claim. In both these excerpts, when the NNS starts to speak, she does not produce an obvious aligning agreement (e.g., "right," a firm "yeah," or a supportive elaboration of the NS's claim) or a clear marker of disagreement (e.g., "yes but"), although both NNSs do so in other segments of the discussion. Nor does she formulate an easily recognizable disagreement. Rather, in each case, she restates the claim in her own terms. Yoshi's contribution after numerous minimal vocalizations is clearly couched as her position ("well my argument against the a:ge theory or the Critical Period Hypothesis is that IF you: are motivated to learn something, I think age is- is- is- is- is not necessarily an obstacle"). Eri also produces a statement of her own point of view, which requires rather close inspection to determine how she positions herself with respect to Kay's opinion. ("but of course it has I mean in L2 acquisition of course it has the variation because for the children fo- in L1 that they it's necessary right? they have to be able to communicate in in English I mean in their L1, but for adult learning English, I mean (.) it's not necessary °right?°")

In both excerpts (13) and (14), the NNS clearly has a point of view that she is willing to articulate. What stands out, however, is that in neither case does the NNS take the first opportunity to express her opinion. We suggest

that the NNSs in both excerpts (13) and (14) are waiting for a more sequentially favorable slot, one in which the opinion they hold will fit more precisely (and even perhaps more supportively) as a response to a more recent version of the claim expressed by the native speaker. In Yoshi's case, the gamble pays off —at least initially.[10] She is able to position her opinion as an agreement with Joann's implied reversal of her initial claim. However, in Eri's case, she is left with the difficult task of responding to an opinion with which she does not appear to agree, and whose rationale has not been explained by the NS. She opts instead to launch into her own opinion with little of the fine-tuning required for inter-turn coherence.

We should point out that use of delay may have been particularly relevant or appealing to NSs of Japanese, as minimal vocalization is a widely employed resource in Japanese interaction (Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki, & Tao, 1996; LoCastro, 1986; Maynard, 1989). While this may limit the generalizability of claims regarding NNS use of delay, it is still noteworthy that, at least in these data, a group of NNSs appropriated these particular conversational resources to facilitate the smooth sequencing of potentially tricky contributions.[11]

This use of delay at a point at which a response is relevant suggests that the responding slot is in many ways trickier than the initiating slot for claim making. An H responding to an S's opinion is in the position of having to understand the opinion, take a position with respect to the opinion, and express alignment or nonalignment coherently and appropriately in ways that maintain cordial relations. Thus, if H has a viewpoint that she wishes to present, and if this viewpoint does not coincide precisely with the opinion expressed by S, she needs to be able to mold her perspective into a sequentially relevant response, that is, one that both positions her point of view as agreement or some degree of disagreement with S and conveys her opinion.[12] The eventual responses in excerpt (13) and excerpt (14) (both disagreements) would require quite a bit of linguistic work if a speaker wished to express them directly after the NSs' initial claims —especially if Yoshi and Eri hoped to articulate their views in a manner designed to conform to expectations of discourse coherence and to display intersubjectivity, if not alignment.

And, in fact, the situations in which delay occurred in excerpts (13) and (14) seem to correspond to the sequential environments in which similar delays were produced in English and Dutch NS interactions reported by Jefferson (1984) and Houtkoop-Stenstra (1987), discussed earlier. In these cases, the delay was attributed to reluctance to speak due to sequential

constraints (Jefferson) and the desire to solicit an extension or changed version of the initial proposal (Houtkoop-Stenstra).

Thus, the data in this study indicate that advanced NNSs may rely on sequential resources in articulating sequentially relevant, coherent responses, especially when disagreeing with complex NS opinions. Delays in particular can be turned to strategic use, affording occasions for extended clarification, justification, and/or qualification of S's opinion, as well as providing multiple sequential opportunities for H to introduce her response. Indeed, as demonstrated in excerpt (14), when the NNS does not delay, but rather decides to express her own opinion without waiting for a more sequentially favorable opportunity, she risks producing a sequentially incoherent response with no obvious aligning agreement or disagreement. Thus, from an H perspective, in addition to providing further occasions for S explanation, delays in an opinion exchange allow H to put off expressing a nonaligning point of view in anticipation of a more auspicious slot, as well as offering an important resource for achieving discourse coherence.

Notes

1   Repetitions, restatements, and paraphrases of a speaker's prior utterance are often treated as requests for confirmation or clarification.

2   It should also be noted that the delaying resources discussed in this paper commonly occur as repair initiations (see Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks 1977). And in fact Pomerantz's example of clarification in her discussion of pursuit of a response qualifies as a repair.

3   The NSs' questions often focused on characteristics of the NNSs' home countries and their experiences. There was not a lot of shared background between the NSEs and NNSs, so it is not surprising that the questions often missed the mark.

4   Minimal vocalizations that did not take place at a transition relevance place were not considered delays.

5   Speaker elaboration included attempts to confirm common knowledge, an activity that might be considered comparable to Pomerantz's second pursuit of response strategy, providing background knowledge.

6   One reviewer has pointed out that a NNS may hold out for more information in the expectation that the NS may have understood the article better than she did. This is a possibility. However, in excerpt (11), in which the Resolution reveals initial disagreement with the NS's point of view, at least some delay would be expected. When the NNS does start speaking, she is not reluctant to express her interpretation of the concept, questioning the NNS's interpretation of *general skill*. In excerpt (12), which eventually culminates in a form of agreement, the NSs' position is an unexpected one, one for which we as researchers were interested in hearing the justification (and for which the NNS had to scramble to find aligning support).

7   The nature of Joann's backdown reveals the dicey situation in which she finds herself. It becomes clear in lines 53-54 that Joann is aware that Yoshi learned English after the Critical Period and that a strong endorsement of the Critical Period has implications for Yoshi's proficiency.

8   See Houck and Gass (1998) for a discussion of one sequence which might initially have been taken to represent negotiation of a linguistic problem.

9   On the other hand, there were numerous discussions about the precise meaning of Bley-Vroman's terminology, with both NSs and NNSs contributing sometimes rather unorthodox, sometimes creative interpretations.

10 Interestingly, after Yoshi has expressed her point of view, Yoshi's partner Joann goes on to disagree, saying that in actuality she accepts the Critical Period Hypothesis.

11 Gardner's (2004) study, discussed earlier, indicates that both Brazilians and Germans may rely at least to some extent on similar types of delay in conversations

12 Both Gardner (2004) and Porter (1986) have observed that formulating a dispreferred response can be especially challenging for NNSs.

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Appendix A: Transcription conventions

Normal spelling is used for the NNSs and, with a few exceptions, ("y'd" for "you'd;" "c'n" for "can") for the NS; utterances do not begin with capital letters.

The following conventions apply at the end of a word, phrase, or clause.

?	A question mark indicates high rising intonation.
¿	A reverse question mark indicates rising in Intonation, not too high.
.	A period indicates falling intonation.
,	A comma indicates nonfinal intonation —no strong movement in intonation; it is heard as unfinished.
↑↓	Arrows indicate shifts in intonation into especially high or low pitch.

No punctuation at the end of a clause indicates transcriber uncertainty.

LOUD	Capital letters represent increase in volume.
raised pitch	Underlining represents a spike in pitch (sometimes accompanied by increase in volume).
°soft speech°	Degree marks indicate that speech is softer than the surrounding speech.
[ ]	Brackets indicate overlapping speech; a left bracket marks the point at which overlap begins; a right bracket marks the point at which overlap ends.
=	Equal signs indicate no break or gap (latching).
(.)	A dot within parentheses indicates a brief pause.
(1.5)	Numbers within parentheses indicates length of lapsed time in seconds.
(?) or ( )	A question mark or empty set of parentheses indicates an incomprehensible word or phrase.
(all right)	A word or phrase within parentheses indicates transcriber uncertainty about the bracketed word or phrase.
((laugh))	Double parentheses indicate nonlinguistic occurrences such as laughter, sighs, and transcriber comments.
< >	Open angle brackets indicate that the bracketed phrase is spoken at a slower rate.
> <	Closed angle brackets indicate that the bracketed phrase is spoken at a faster rate.
y-	A hyphen indicates a cut-off.

Appendix B: Task sheet — L1=L2 question

(exercise developed by R. Ellis)

This task gives you an opportunity to check Bley-Vroman's claims about the nature of L2 acquisition using your own experience and intuition.

Complete the table below by making notes about whether each characteristic of learning applies to L1 acquisition, foreign language acquisition, and general-skill learning.

characteristic	L1 acquisition	foreign language acquisition	general skill learning
1 general lack of success			
2 general failure			
3 variation in course and strategy			
4 variation in goals			
5 correlation of age and proficiency			
6 fossilization			
7 indeterminate knowledge			
8 importance of instruction			
9 importance of negative			
10 role of affective factors			

What conclusion do you come to regarding the similarity of L1 and L2 acquisition on the basis of this analysis?

Interactional Competence and the Use of Modal Expressions in Decision-Making Activities: CA for Understanding Microgenesis of Pragmatic Competence

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Introduction

Interlanguage pragmatics (Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993) is a research area that is concerned with what second language (L2) learners do with the target language, and how their competence in using the language develops over time. However, until 1996 when Kasper and Schmidt put out agendas for more developmentally oriented investigations, research on interlanguage pragmatics had been predominated by studies focusing on the former, L2 use at a point in time. This research area has matured more by now in the area of developmental interlanguage pragmatics, as reviewed in Kasper and Rose (2002). Along with an increased attention to longitudinal development arose investigation of the role of interaction, as well as the role of instruction, in L2 pragmatic development. Taking Schieffelin and Ochs' (1986) language socialization theory (e.g., DuFon, 1999) and Vygotsky's theory of psychological and language development (e.g., Belz & Kinginger, 2003; Ohta, 2001), researchers have recently began exploring the affordances of social interaction for emergent competence and longitudinal development. In this paper, I will further this line of research with a focus on the examination of microgenesis (Vygotsky, 1979; Wertsch & Stone, 1978) of modal expressions in decision-making activities between a native speaker and an L2 learner of Japanese.

Interlanguage pragmatic research on the use of modal expressions

Modal expressions, such as *may, can, would,* and *it seems* in English, can index the speaker's stance about the factual status of the information he

or she is conveying. In the research on interlanguage pragmatics, these expressions are considered to be important linguistic devices used for producing various illocutionary effects in speech acts, although they are not examined as the focal object of the studies (e.g., Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; House & Kasper, 1981). In recent years, there have been a small number of studies that focus on L2 learners' development in the use of modal expressions in English (e.g., Cho, 2003; Kärkkäinen, 1992; Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig, 2000, 2001) and in Japanese (Fu & Khwanchira, 2002). These studies revealed that, when learners at different proficiency levels are compared, higher proficiency learners can use modal expressions more often and with a wider variety of functions (Cho, 2003; Fu & Khwanchira, 2002). However, although learners with higher L2 proficiency can use a wider variety of modal expressions, such as *would* and *could* in addition to *maybe* and *I think*, they are not necessarily able to use them effectively for various pragmatic functions (Kärkkäinen, 1992; Salsbury & Bardovi-Harlig, 2000, 2001). These findings show developmental patterns in the use of modal expressions, but as Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig demonstrate in their longitudinal study, "linguistic competence does not guarantee that learners will use all their available linguistic resources in the service of pragmatics") although "pragmatic competence is affected by linguistic competence" (2001, p. 148). Kärkkäinen's (1992) study also suggests that even linguistically more competent learners of English in Finland were not able to use modal expressions for a face-saving strategy or a persuasion and manipulation strategy although they were able to use them for a politeness strategy. These findings suggest that it is fruitful to investigate what L2 learners can and cannot do in interaction with and without the use of modal expressions at one point in time and how such competence changes over time.

While these studies of L2 pragmatic development with the use of modal expressions identify pragmatic functions such as mitigating the force of face-threatening acts, softening the assertiveness of a statement, building solidarity, and yielding a turn to other participants, it has to be noted that there is a fundamental difficulty in identifying theose functions due to the indexical nature of modal expressions. Although modal markers are defined in semantic theories as expressions of the speaker's or writer's judgment of possibility and necessity about the proposition of a sentence (Lyons, 1977), the ambiguity of modal meanings has been pointed out by the theorists themselves (e.g., Coates, 1983; Palmer, 1986; Perkins, 1983). The limitation of semantic analyses is that linguists try to identify modal meanings by attending to isolated sentences. If we understand language as representation of the idea a speaker comes up with in his or her mind, it can

be a fruitful approach to analyze meanings of parts of a sentence in the sentence structure in relation to syntax. However, meanings of modal expressions vary depending on the context of the situation, as they emerge through inferences and are eventually grammaticalized only by conventionalization (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994). To borrow Ochs' (1996) formulation of the relationships among indexical meanings of a form, while a modal expression may primarily index the speaker's epistemic stance as well as affective stance, it may secondarily convey other social meanings such as social acts, social activity, and the speaker's and hearer's social identities. These meanings are not in one-to-one relationship with a form, but become relevant in a specific situation of use. Because those meanings indexed with a modal expression are interrelated and overlap, identifying its functions with the use of discrete categories is difficult.

For the aim of identifying meanings of modal expressions used by an L2 speaker of Japanese and her conversation partner, I consider the research domain of grammar and interaction (Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996) to be informative. Speakers of a language need to know the rule or system of language use, not only in terms of sentence grammar but also in terms of "interactional" grammar. For example, one needs to know how to combine contrastive independent clauses with a connective "but," and also how to use "but" in agreeing and disagreeing (e.g., Ford & Mori, 1994). Koshik's (2002) analysis of a writing conference shows how a teacher helps the student reach expected solutions with the use of yes–no questions. In the analysis of interactional grammar or in interactional linguistics (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001), meanings or functions of forms including sentence structures, connectives, and modal expressions, can be examined with regard to what they do in interaction, not what they might mean. Therefore, interactional grammar is an informative way of identifying meanings and functions of linguistic forms in interaction. However, in this study, I will not search for a rule shared by native speakers of a language by examining a large corpus of interactional data as interactional linguists would aim at. Instead, the focus of this paper in interlanguage pragmatics is to show how an L2 speaker of Japanese uses modal expressions as a part of linguistic resources for social interaction. It would be informative if we knew what native speakers of Japanese would do in similar situations, but without a foundational research body in this area, I would not judge the L2 speaker's competence in comparison with native speakers of Japanese at this stage.

Microgenesis of competence in social interaction

The present study focuses on different ways in which a learner of Japanese interacts with a native speaker and how they change during a 10-minute interaction. As introduced at the beginning of this paper, while examinations of individual learners' longitudinal development are important for the understanding of ontogenetic development over an extended period, it is also imperative to investigate the role or affordance of social interaction for the emergence of competence. As Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1978) observed, a child's higher competence emerges through repeated engagement in social interactions during a relatively short period of time. From this perspective, "microgenesis" (Wertsch, 1979; Wertsch & Stone, 1978) of competence, or the processes whereby higher competence emerges through engagement in particular social interactions, becomes an important research topic.

Although a focus on the process of learning during interaction in relation to the product can also be found in the psycholinguistically motivated line of research on the interactional hypothesis (Long, 1996), which has been extensively investigated in the field of second language acquisition, Vygotsky's approach differs from this line of research in several respects. Most importantly, Vygotsky's experiments are themselves activities where a child can demonstrate his or her ability or competence, while experiments for the interactional hypothesis are considered to be the providers of negotiated input and an environment which enhances the learner's noticing of the gap between the target form and his or her interlanguage form. The latter approach examines the interaction between the learner and his or her interlocutor not to examine the learner's emerging competence but to statistically analyze the relationship between the opportunity for learning in the interaction and the development of competence as demonstrated in different tasks. In Vygotsky's theory of learning, competence is considered to emerge first on the social plane (during an interaction with a more capable member of a social group), and later becomes internalized in the individual for future engagement in another occasion. Therefore, observing the ways in which the learner participates in similar interactions gives the analyst an insight into the competence that the learner demonstrates.

Therefore, in the Vygotskian approach, competence can be identified within the interaction, not as self-standing construct but in relation to the interlocutor's way of engaging in the interaction. Such view of competence observed in social interaction is consistent with the concept of "interactional competence" (Hall, 1995; He & Young, 1998; Young, 1999). It is the

competence for sustaining social interaction, and it is both the knowledge of and the ability to use the relevant resources drawn on in "interactive practices" (Hall, 1995), and it is co-constructed (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995). For Vygotsky, the focus is on development in the ways a child accomplishes a task in social interaction, in which language plays an important role as a medium of social interaction. In parallel to this, I will examine an L2 speaker's development of competence for engaging in decision-making activities and the change in which modal expressions are used as the linguistic resources for accomplishing the task.

CA for the examination of L2 interactional competence with the use of modal expressions

In the present study, I will examine the microgenesis of competence with which an L2 learner engages in decision-making activities and uses modal expressions, using conversation analysis (CA; e.g., Heritage, 1984; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). As Heritage (1984, p. 241) states, CA "is concerned with the analysis of the competences which underlie ordinary social activities." Competences are observed in, for example, delaying a disagreement by inserting a pause or by initiating the turn with a partial agreement (Pomerantz, 1984), and treating a silence after a question as an absence of an answer and pursuing an explanation. By way of displaying their understanding of each other's contributions, participants in social interactions are co-constructing meanings on a moment-to-moment basis. With such a view of interactional work, CA enables examination of how the meaning of an indexical expression is co-constructed at a particular moment. In previous studies of L2 learners' use of modal expressions in Japanese, modal expressions that do not correspond to those used by native speakers of Japanese are labeled as "inappropriate use." Because meanings of modal expressions are identified largely based on the researcher's internalized knowledge of those meanings in Japanese, learners' divergent use of those expressions becomes unanalyzable. Meanwhile, CA offers an alternative approach to identifying meanings of modal expressions based on sequential analysis of the participants' turn-by-turn contributions from their perspectives. Using CA, I will be able to examine ways in which the co-participant's response highlights the indexical meaning of a modal expression that the learner used, and thus better understand roles of social interactions for emergence of interactional competence with the use of modal expressions.

Although there are some difficulties in applying CA methodology to talk-in-interaction involving L2 speakers, who may not share "reasoning

procedures and sociolinguistic competencies" with native speakers of the target language, previous research has shown that it is a fruitful enterprise (Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002; Wong & Olsher, 2000). A difficulty in applying this observation to L2 learners may involve a question of whether we can interpret a pause in the same way as we interpret a native speaker's pause. Moreover, if some sequential order, such as partial agreement followed by a disagreement, is not observed in L2 data, should we interpret it as incompetence of the L2 speaker? These problems become obstacles as long as only the regularities of native speaker competences are discovered and if we try to prescribe such regularities for L2 speakers' competences as the norm. As the research is expanded to the analysis of regularities in interactions in different languages and in cross-cultural interactions, without relying exclusively on English native speakers' ordinary conversations, these obstacles will be diminished and changed into an important research object. As Firth and Wagner (1997) argue, in the research program of CA for L2 conversations, the native speaker and L2 speaker categories should not be presumed. Rather, those categories should be discovered as the participants themselves make relevant (Firth, 1996; Hosoda, 2000; Wong, 2000). This suggestion will be followed in the present study.

The Study

The analytical focuses of the present study are (1) ways in which an L2 speaker and a native speaker of Japanese co-construct decision-making activities, (2) ways in which modal expressions are used in the construction of those activities, and (3) changes in the ways the L2 speaker participates in activity-construction with the use or nonuse of modal expressions. In order to understand how an L2 learner's interactional competence with the use of modal expressions emerges in social interaction, it is important to view language as action, rather than as representation of preconceived ideas. Modal expressions are linguistic resources drawn on to construct an activity. Therefore, my analysis will compare similar activities in which modal expressions may or may not be used. When the use of a modal expression is observed, I will focus on how the next-turn response treats the previous utterance, which is how we can identify the meaning of a modal expression as co-constructed by the participants in the social interaction.

The data for the present study, taken from a larger project, is a 10-minute interaction that an L2 speaker of Japanese, Erica, and a native speaker of Japanese, Mariko, engaged in. Erica is an unclassified graduate

student at a university in Hawaiʻi and has lived in Japan for about 3 years. Mariko is an exchange student who came from a university in Japan to the university Erica attends. The interaction between these strangers was set up in a small room on the university campus. I asked them to write two lists of three hotels they would like to recommend to tourists in Hawaiʻi, one for tourists from the U.S. mainland, and the other for tourists from Japan. Before they met in the room, each of them separately prepared her tentative lists for both populations on a sheet of paper. Since they had written different items and reasons for the choice, they had to exchange information and decide on which items to choose for each population. Several decision-making activities were observed in the 10-minute interaction for the task, and several modal expressions were used in these activities.

While the social interaction under investigation is not naturally-occurring talk but a set-up task, it will be analyzed as spontaneous talk-in-interaction that resulted in within the constraints of an institutional setting. As Mori's (2002) analysis of a small group activity in a foreign language classroom reveals, an institutionally arranged pedagogical task may not turn out to produce an activity as designed. Although the task of making two hotel lists in this study was set up by the researcher to elicit many decision-making activities in which the participants reach agreement on items by sharing information and convincing the other, each of the participants may be concerned about other matters such as developing good personal relationships and practicing the target language. Therefore, I will analyze the ways in which the two participants engage in the activity of decision-making without assuming that the objective of the task is shared by both participants at all times.

Findings

Japanese modal expressions observed in the data include markers of the speaker's epistemic stance toward the stated proposition such as *kamo* (perhaps, it might be possible) and *~to omou* (I think that ~). A conjugated form of a verb *-yoo*, which corresponds to 'let's ~' in English, is also used as in ~ *ni shi-yoo* ('let's decide on ~'). Sentence-final particles *ne* and *yo ne*, and a question form of 'it is not' —*ja nai?* ('isn't it?')— are also considered to be modal expressions that are concerned with the delivery of the proposition in relation to the addressee. *Ne* can index the speaker's epistemic stance in relation to his or her judgment of the addressee's knowledge of the conveyed message. For instance, a resident of Honolulu, A, can use *ne* as in "*Saikin yoku ame ga furimasu ne*:" ('It's been raining these days, hasn't it?') to

another resident of Honolulu, B, because A can assume that B also has the information as deeply embedded in his or her knowledge as A has, However, A cannot use *ne* to his or her friend who just came to visit Hawai'i. To a recent visitor, A would explain the situation by saying "*Ima wa uki na n desu yo*" ('It's rainy season now'), using another sentence-final particle *yo*. *Yo*, which is used to emphasize the illocutionary force of an utterance, has the meaning of 'I'm telling you this information as a person who has more knowledge than you' in this case. When the two particles are combined, the expression *yo ne* becomes similar to 'y'know' in English. Although these forms may not be regarded as modal expressions according the truth-conditional definition of modality as proposed for European languages (Onoe, 2001), many Japanese linguists include these forms as modal expressions based on the understanding that they index the speaker's attitude toward the conveyed message in relation to the addressee.

The segments shown below are numbered (1) through (4) in the order of appearance in the interaction. The alphabetical mark "a" or "b" after the number of the segment indicates either the first or the second part of the segment. In the transcripts, only the initials of the names of the participants will be used: E for Erica and M for Mariko. The names of hotels are abbreviated in the transcripts. I will follow the transcription conventions provided in Atkinson and Heritage (1984). English glosses are provided underneath the corresponding Japanese words, and rough translation of each line is provided in the third line.

From *ne*-ending assessment to *jaa*-initiated decision-making move

As I will demonstrate through the analysis of segments (1a), (3a), and (4a), a pattern in which an agreement to a positive comment about a hotel led to a decision-making move was found, but the ways in which Erica, the L2 speaker of Japanese, participated in this activity varied.

The segments shown below are numbered (1) through (4) in the order of appearance in the interaction. The alphabetical mark "a" or "b" after the number of the segment indicates either the first or the second part of the segment. In the transcripts, only the initials of the names of the participants will be used: E for Erica and M for Mariko. The names of hotels are abbreviated in the transcripts. I will follow the transcription conventions provided in Atkinson and Heritage (1984). Underlined text indicates an increase in volume and up and down arrows (↑ ↓) indicate a rise and fall of pitch. Bolded text indicates an example of the point currently under

discussion. English glosses are provided underneath the corresponding Japanese words, and rough translation of each line is provided in the third line.

In segment (1a), Erica's immediate agreement to Mariko's positive assessment of a hotel is followed by Mariko's initiation of decision making.

(1a) (about 3.5 minutes from the beginning) Erica and Mariko are talking about TBH, which was on Erica's list of the hotels to be recommended to Japanese tourists.

```
28 E: keshiki mo (.) un (.) naga[me mo:]
      scenary also   yeah   view    also
    "The scenery and, yeah, the view are also"

29 M:                            [kiree?]
                                  beautiful?
    "beautiful?"

30 E: kiree (0.7)
      beautiful.
    "beautiful."

31 M: ii [ne:,]
      good ne
    "It's good, isn't it,"

32 E:    [(so]o) (.) un: (0.5)
            right    yeah
    "Right. Yeah."

33 M: jaa (.) osusume ni shiyoo.
      then    recommend-let's
    "Then, let's recommend it."
```

This segment begins with co-construction of an assessment, which "displays an analysis of the particulars of what is being talked about" (Goodwin, 1986, p. 210). Before Erica finishes her description of the hotel's scenery in line 28, Mariko joins in by saying *kiree* ('beautiful,' line 29), which is repeated by Erica in line 30. After the co-construction of a positive assessment, Mariko gives another positive assessment *ii* ('good') with a modal expression *ne* ('isn't it?') in line 31. Although Erica produces an agreement token *soo* ('right') immediately after the word *ii*, she adds *un* ('yeah') in response to *ne*. This additional response indicates that *ne* functions here to invite an agreement in a similar way as English tag questions such as "It is good, isn't it?" does. After Erica's immediate agreement to Mariko's positive assessment of the hotel, Mariko begins a turn in line 33 with *jaa* ('then, in that case'), and thus initiates a decision-making move.

A similar sequence of a positive assessment, an agreement to it, and a decision-making move was also observed in segment (4a).

(4a) (about 7 minutes from the beginning) After deciding on other hotels, Erica and Mariko revisited IRH and TBH, which they had discussed individually earlier in the interaction. Both IRH and TBH were on Erica's list of the hotels to be recommended to American tourists. Erica begins explaining IRH by pointing at her note.

```
187 E: kore (0.2) wa: (.) nanka (.) nanka: (0.6)
        this one  TOP      like        like
       "This one is like, like,"
188    satsuei basho de: (0.2) nanka    omoshiroi
       filming place COP-and   somewhat interesting
       "a film location and, it's somewhat interesting"
189    ka na:: tte omot-[(0.4)-ta  kedo:: ]=
       Q  na   QT s thou(ght) PAST but
       "I wondered, but,"
190 M:                  [hun hun hun hun ]=
                         hmm hmm hmm hmm
                        "Hmm, hmm."
191 E: =((pointing to TBH)) kore    wa: (1.0)
                            this one TOP
       "as for this one,"
192    jooba:       toka (.)  gorufu: (.) toka (0.4)
       horse riding and etc.   golf        and etc.
       "horseback riding and golf and"
193    iroiro  ga  atte. (1.7)  moo     hoteru: (.) ni
       various SUB exist-and    already hotel       at
       "there are many kinds and, at the hotel"
194 M: moo     hoteru: (.) ni iru  dake de
       already hotel        at stay only by
       "Just by staying  at the hotel,"
195    tanoshimeru [tte (kan-
       enjoy-can    QT  (feel like so-)
       "you can enjoy it, is it like that?"
196 E:             [un:::::: (0.4)
                    yeah
       "Yeah."
197    soo   soo (0.3)
       right right
       "That's right."
198 M: ii  n   ja nai?  ko- (0.4)
       good NOM it isn't thi-
       "Isn't it good? Thi-"
199    kore    ii  to omou  na=
       this one good QT  think na
       "this is good, I guess."
200 E: =un (0.5)
        yeah
       "Yeah."
```

```
201 M: ja=
          then
        "Then,"
202 E: =so- (0.2) sore     ni shiyoo
         tha-       that one on decide-let's
        "Tha- let's decide on that one."
```

After Erica's description of the activities that TBH can offer, Mariko summarizes the positive feature of the hotel in lines 194 and 195. After Erica approves the summative comment by saying *so so* ('that's right') in line 197, Mariko gives a positive assessment of the hotel *ii* ('good') with a modal expression *ja nai?* ('isn't it?') in line 198. This assessment is not immediately followed by Erica's agreement as we have seen in segment (1a), but this could be due to Mariko's latching continuation of her turn with *ko-* ('this'). Erica's agreement to Mariko's assessment comes immediately after the second time Mariko used *ii* ('good'), this time with a mitigated modal expressions *to omou na* ('I think'). After establishing a common ground with Erica about this hotel, Mariko in line 201 begins a decision-making move with *jaa* ('then, in that case'). However, this time, it was Erica who completes this decision-making move in line 202.

The following segment also shows an instance where Mariko begins a decision-making move with *jaa* after she and Erica has shared their positive comments about a hotel with each other.

(3a) (about 5.5 minutes from the beginning) Erica and Mariko are talking about KMH, which was on Erica's list of hotels to be recommended to Japanese tourists.

```
119 E: nanka (0.3) iruka    toka (0.3) pengin   ga=
          like        dolphins and etc.  penguins SUB
        "Like, dolphins and penguins are"
120 M: =.hh:aa:[:(.)
             ah
        "Ah,"
121 E:        [ite.
               exist and
        "they are there and"
122 M: shitteru:=
        know
        "I know that!"
123 E: =aa so?  .hh [u::::n:]
         oh right      mm[1]
        "Oh, really? Mm."
124 M:            [itta it]ta. (0.3) iruka    mita:.
                  went went         dolphins saw
        "I went there! I saw dolphins."
```

```
125    (0.5)
126 E: aa aa[::  ]
       oh oh
      "Oh."
127 M:     [mita] mita.=
             saw   saw
      "I saw it."
128 E: =[u::n ]
        mm
      "Mm."
129 M: =[de  ko]ko: (.) nihonjin ookatta   yo.
         and here       Japanese many-PAST yo
      "And, I tell you, I saw many Japanese there."
130 E: a  soo?
       oh right
      "Oh, is that right?"
131 M: un:.
       yeah
      "Yeah."
((E and M exchange their ideas that rich people and
celebrities stay there))
149 M: =n- tabun    ne:. asoko ne:. nihon- (.)
           probably ne   there ne   Japan-
      "Probably, there, Japan-"
150   nihonjin ookatta.  itta [yo,(0.7)]
      Japanese many-PAST went  yo
      "I saw many Japanese people. I went there"
151 E:                        [aa::::::]
                               oh
      "Oh."
152 M: tada iruka    mini(0.3)
       just dolphins to see
      "just to see the dolphins."
153 E: aa aa aa aa aa  soo    soo    soo=
       oh oh oh oh oh  right right right
      "Oh, that's right."
154 M: =un
        yeah
      "Yeah."
155 E: haireru    yo ne,
       enter-can  yo ne
      "We can enter there, y'know?"
156 M: soo    soo   [soo.] haireta.=
       right right right  enter-can-PAST
      "That's right. I could enter there."
157 E:             [un  ]
                    yeah
      "Yeah."
158 M: =jaa (.) kimari da  ne,
        then    decided COP ne
      "Then, it's decided, isn't it?"
```

While Mariko had to judge hotels based on Erica's descriptions in many cases as seen in segments (1a) and (4a), she now has some more information to contribute to the discussion of KMH based on her first-hand experience of visiting there. When Erica mentions dolphins and penguins in line 119, Mariko is reminded of the hotel and begins talking about seeing dolphins and seeing many Japanese visitors. Although this information could be taken up as an important reason for recommending the hotel to Japanese tourists, it is about Mariko's own experience, which Erica is simply able to respond to as new information —*aa* ('oh, ah') and *soo*? ('Is that right?')— in lines 126 and 130. Erica's such responses show that she treats this sequence as one about Mariko's experience and not about recommending the hotel or not. However, when Mariko repeats the same information with an additional emphasis on having been there only to see the dolphins in lines 149, 150 and 152, Erica utilizes this information as generalizable one —that any ordinary people, who do not have to be the rich or celebrities, can enter (*haire-ru*) this expensive hotel without staying there (line 155). To this comment about the hotel, Erica adds *yo ne*, which indicates her presupposition that she shares the understanding with Mariko.[2] Erica's *yo ne* is responded immediately by Mariko with a repeated use of an agreement token *soo* ('right'), which is overlapped with Erica's response *un* ('yeah'). Mariko continues with the use of the same lexical item *haire*-(*ru*) ('to be able to enter') in the past tense -*ta*, which legitimizes Erica's generalization with her first-hand evidence.[3] After these several turns of agreements, Mariko goes on to conclude that they have reached a decision. The turn is initiated with *jaa* ('then, in that case').

To summarize the sequential pattern we have observed in segments (1a), (3a), and (4a), when one of the participants describes a good feature of the hotel under discussion, the other person may evaluate the information with an assessment or give a generalizable comment with the use of *ne*, *ja nai?* or *yo ne*. As Erica's additional utterance of *un* ('yeah') after responding to *ii* ('good') with *soo* ('right') in segment (1a) suggests, a comment ending with *ne*, *ja nai?* or *yo ne* invites an agreement token. When an immediate agreement does not follow a *ne*-ending comment, the speaker may pursue an agreement token by repeating *ne* (Tanaka, 2000, p. 1169) or, by using another modal expression that leaves the hearer with more choices of responses, as with the case of *ja nai?* and *to omou na* ('I think'), seen in segment (4a). Although the recipient has a choice of responding with a clear agreement token or without it, when she gives an agreement token to those favorable comments ending with *ne*, *ja nai?* or *yo ne*, it had a significant effect on the subsequent turns in the decision-making activities Mariko and

Erica have constructed. That is, the agreement, which establishes a common ground by "displaying congruent understanding" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, p. 28), was immediately followed by a decision-making move initiated with *jaa* ('then, in that case').

The roles taken by the two participants in this sequencing pattern are worth discussing here. It was always Mariko who initiated the decision-making move with *jaa*, and who gave comments with *ne*, except for segment (3a). Does this indicate that Erica is always a passive participant who only follows Mariko's initiative? Although this could be the case with segment (1a), we should not conflate interactional roles with one's (in)ability to become an active participant. Since Mariko, who had been in Hawai'i only for 3 months in a semester-long exchange program, claims her ignorance about hotels in Hawai'i,[4] Erica's role was constructed as the information provider most of the time and Mariko's role was constructed as the evaluator of the information. These co-constructed interactional roles were not static, however. When Mariko provided her first-hand evidence, claiming her knowledge of the hotel by saying *aa shitteru* ('Oh, I know that!,' line 122) in segment (3a), Erica's interactional role was shifted to be a commentator. Although Erica first responded to Mariko merely with receipt tokens of new information, she later found a way to relate Mariko's personal information to the generalized knowledge and gave a comment using *yo ne*. This instance gave Erica a chance to demonstrate her ability to act as a commentator as well as information provider. Erica was also able to take part in the production of a decision-making move in segment (4a), after Mariko's two uses of *jaa*-initiated decision-making move in 1a and 3a. Using the same structure that Mariko used in segment (1a) —*jaa ~ni shiyoo* ('then, let's decide on ~')—, Erica completed the decision-making move that Mariko initiated with *jaa*. This suggests that Erica, going through the sequence of establishing mutual agreement and hearing *jaa*, did see the prospective trajectory of the activity sequence through repeated participation in similar sequences.

The ways in which Erica and Mariko co-constructed their interactional roles in the segments analyzed above indicate not only their interactional competence but also their abilities to use a variety of modal expressions as linguistic resources for the interaction. In segment (3a), Erica used *ne* in combination with *yo* in giving a positive comment about the hotel whose favorable aspects have been talked about, and elicited Mariko's agreement. In segment (4a), Erica used *~ni shiyoo* ('let's decide on~') to complete a decision-making move that Mariko initiated with *jaa*. What is striking about her use of these modal expressions is that their use resembles the pattern

we were able to observe among segments (1a), (3a), and (4a). We cannot conclude that Erica acquired the use of these expressions during this interaction, but the analysis has shown the change in the way she participates in this part of decision-making activity through her responses to Mariko's use of modal expressions and through her own use of modal expressions. While her ability to use these modal expressions in other activities and her longitudinal development in interactional competence and the use of various linguistic resources should be investigated in future research, the analysis presented in this section has shown microgenesis of competence in decision-making activities.

The consequentiality of agreement tokens

As the previous section has demonstrated, Erica's way of participating in decision-making activities during the 10-minute interaction with Mariko indicated some changes both in terms of interactional roles she takes and in the use of modal expressions. The analyses of segments (1a), (3a), and (4a) also highlighted the roles of *ne*-ending assessments and *jaa*-initiated decision-making moves in moving the interaction more toward the completion of decision-making. Although the ability to produce these turns is an important aspect of interactional competence, competence in responding to them is also a crucial part of interactional competence. In this section, I will examine the significance of responses to those turns and demonstrate Erica's competence as indicated by her responses.

First, a decision-making move is merely a bid but does not lead to an actual decision-making unless the other person approves it. Among the three examples discussed, while *jaa*-initiated decision-making moves in segments (3a) and (4a) lead to actual decisions as will be seen in segments (3b) and (4b), it is not the case with segment (1a). I will analyze the subsequent turns that followed these segments, in order to show the consequentiality of a response to a *jaa*-initiated decision-making move. Segment (4b) shows the continuation of segment (4a).

(4b) (continues from segment [4a]) Erica and Mariko are deciding on TBH as a hotel to be recommended to American tourists, after deciding to include a luxurious hotel, HHV. Much earlier in the conversation, they have also talked about including YMCA especially for young people who may want to keep the cost low (*yasu-i*).

```
200 M: ja=
       then
       "Then,"
```

```
201 E: =so- (0.2) sore    ni sh[iyoo]
         tha-       that one on decide-let's
       "Tha- let's decide on that one."
202 M:                       [shiy]oo.
                              do-let's
       "Let's."
203    e: jaa (.)ikko    o   YMCA yasui no (0.4)
        um then   one item ACC YMCA cheap NOM
       "Uh, then, YMCA, the cheap one"
204    [o  susumeyo  kka.
        ACC recommend-let's Q
       "shall we recommend it?"
205 E: [un
         yeah
       "Yeah."
```

The ending part of the *jaa*-initiated decision-making move, initiated by Mariko in line 200 and completed by Erica in line 201, was overlapped with Mariko's utterance *shiyoo* ('let's') in line 202. This overlapping *shiyoo* aligns structurally with Erica's utterance, and thus accepts the proposal of decision-making that Erica succeeded over Mariko. Another decision-making move about YMCA that Mariko made in lines 203 and 204 and Erica's approval of it in line 205 reflexively indicates that *shiyoo* in line 202 made the completion of a decision on TBH.

As this segment and the next one demonstrate, an acceptance of a decision-making move seems to be necessary to put a decision-making activity to completion. Segment (3b) is the continuation of segment (3a).

(3b) (continues from segment [3a]) Erica and Mariko are deciding on KMH as a hotel to recommend to Japanese tourists. Before the discussion of this hotel, they have already agreed on two other accommodation options, home stay and AMH.

```
158 M: jaa (.) ki[ma]ri da  ne,
         then    decided  COP ne
       "Then, it's decided, isn't it?"
159 E:         [un]
                 yeah
       "Yeah."
160 M: kore ichiban    de: (0.4) ((circles "homestay"))
        this number one COP-and
       "This is Number 1, and"
161 E: aa yokatta:.
        ah good-PAST
       "Ah, I feel relieved."
```

As Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) suggest based on the analysis of a display of agreement to an assessment, "recipients are in fact engaged in

the activity of anticipating future events on the basis of the limited information currently available to them" (p. 30). This is clearly observed in the way Erica, saying *un* (yeah) in line 159, approves the decision-making move that Mariko started in line 158. This overlapping utterance indicates that Erica has anticipated what will come after *jaa*. Even though Erica's utterance *un* is not produced after *kimari da ne* ('It's decided, isn't it?'), Mariko's utterance in line 160 reflexively indicates that this is acknowledged as an agreement to Mariko's decision-making move about KMH and that the decision-making activity is completed in lines 158 and 159. By indicating the closing of this decision-making activity with an expression of relief *aa yokatta* ('Ah, I feel relieved,' line 161), Erica also opens up the relevance of the initiation of a new decision-making activity.

The analysis of segments (3b) and (4b) has shown that a decision-making is made to completion when a *jaa*-initiated decision-making move ending with *~ni shiyoo* ('let's decide on ~') or *~ni kimari* ('it's decided on ~') is accepted with a partial repetition or an agreement token. However, this is not a sentence structure with a syntactic rule, but rather a sequential structure which is "a feature of situated social interaction that participants actively orient to as relevant for the ways they design their actions" (Hutchby & Woofit, 1998, p. 4). Although the participants as well as analysts are rarely aware of it, such structural patterning is illuminated by the way in which participants orient to a deviation. Segment (1b) (continues from segment [1a]) shows that an absence of an immediate verbal agreement to a decision-making move is oriented to by both participants.

(1b) Erica and Mariko are deciding on TBH as a hotel to be recommended to American tourists.

```
33 M: jaa (.) osusume ni shiyoo.(0.7)
       then    recommend-let's
     "Then, let's recommend it."
34     [do:- (0.4) doo ka [na:. (.)
        how       how Q    na
     "I, I wonder."
35 E: [((nod))              [((nod nod))
36 M:    [de ((pointing to E's list))
          and so
     "And so"
37 E:    [↑ta↓bun (0.4) un:  amerika: toka:
            probably    yeah America  and etc.
     "Probably, yeah, for Americans,"
38     (0.3) ((waving a hand)) [n- (.)
39 M:                          [um-hum? (1.6)
                                um-hum
     "Um-hum."
```

```
40 E: nihonjin ni  wa (.) u:n doo ka na:
        Japanese for TOP    mm  how Q  na
      "For Japanese people, mm, I wonder if it's okay,"
41    to  o(h)mou(h) ke(h)d(h)o:. .hhh (0.7)
        QT  think       but
      "I think but"
```

In this segment, Mariko's *jaa*-initiated decision-making move is not overlapped with an agreement token or immediately followed by a repetition or other kinds of agreement. This absence is oriented by Mariko, who in line 34 expresses her uncertainty after a 0.7 second pause, and also by Erica, who from line 37 provides an account that the hotel might be suitable only for Americans. These responses suggest that the 0.7 pause after the decision-making move was a relevant one which suggests Erica's nonagreement to making a decision on TBH at this moment.

To reiterate, while a display of agreement to a *jaa*-initiated decision-making move led to the final decision-making in segment (3b) and 4b, Erica's non-display of a verbal agreement in segment (1b) was followed by further discussion of the hotel, not leading up to an actual decision. Then, if Erica did not want to decide on this hotel, why did she agree to Mariko's *ne*-ending assessment of the hotel in the first place, as we have observed in line 32, segment (1a)? To understand the issue, we have to think of this question from a different angle. We cannot simply make an assumption that Erica did not want to decide on this hotel, since her nonagreement to a decision-making move was locally occasioned only in line 33. I would like to argue that Erica said *un* ('yeah') in response to Mariko's *ii ne* ('It's good, isn't it?') in line 32 simply because she agreed to the assessment of the hotel, without anticipating an upcoming decision-making move as the consequence of her agreement. While Erica and Mariko have agreed on the general features of the hotel, Erica became uneasy about making a decision before discussing its suitability for each of the two populations, tourists from the U.S. mainland and those from Japan, once she heard the decision-making move in line 33.

The instance we have seen in segments (1a) and (1b) can suggest, probably to Erica as well as to the analyst, how significant the consequence of an agreement to a *ne*-ending assessment is in this particular interaction between Erica and Mariko. Shortly after segment (1b), Erica had another chance to agree to Mariko's *ne*-ending assessment, but she did not display agreement, as shown in segment (2a).

(2a) (about 4.5 minutes from the beginning) Erica and Mariko are talking about IRH, which is one of the hotels Erica put on her list for American tourists.

Erica has explained that the hotel is probably popular because it was a film location for a movie.

```
74 E: joshi  saafaa no  eiga (0.3)
       female surfer GEN movie
      "It's a movie about female surfers."
75 M: huu:[:: ]:n ((nodding four times)) (1.3)
       ah
      "Ah."
76 E:     [↑un]((nodding four times))
            yeah
      "Yeah."
77 M: soo   na  n  d[a:. e  sor]e    ii   ne:,
      right COP NOM COP  um that one good ne
      "I see. That one is good, isn't it?"
78 E:               [un::     ] ((nods once))
                      yeah
      "Yeah."
79 E: ((nods))
80 M: so[re   wa] ii   kamo. (0.3)
       that one TOP good perhaps
      "It is perhaps good."
81 E:  [(n::)   ]((nodding))
          um
      "Um."
82    n so- ↑kore    mo: (.)↓nanka rizooto minai
      um tha- this one also  like  resort  it seems
      "Um. That, this one is also like a resort"
```

Mariko acknowledges Erica's explanation of the movie in line 75, which is overlapped by Erica's *un* ('yeah,' line 76). After a 1.3 second pause, Mariko continues her indication of the receipt of the information by saying *soo na n da* ('I see') in line 77. Erica's response is again *un*, which affirms the information. Up to this point, both participants have focused on some features of the hotel under discussion but have not provided any explicit assessment. It was after the information is confirmed in line 77 that Mariko gives an assessment of the hotel ending with *ne* (line 77). However, in line 79, Erica does not provide any verbal agreement token in response to the *ne*-ending assessment although she slightly nods a few times. As we have seen in segments (1a), (3a), and (4a), a display of agreement to a *ne*-ending assessment is likely to lead to a decision-making move in the interaction between Mariko and Erica. Meanwhile, in this segment, where such agreement is absent, the participants do not initiate a decision-making move. Instead, in line 80, Mariko repeated the assessment "*sore wa ii*" ('It's good'), adding a modal expression *kamo* ('perhaps'), which mitigates the force of the assertion. Erica also orients to the absence in line 82 by initiating a

discussion of the hotel in comparison with another resort hotel, TBH, which has been discussed before this segment.

While Erica had to face the need to go against Mariko who tried to decide on TBH in line 33 in segment (1a) and 1b, she successfully prevented an upcoming decision-making move later in segment (2a) by avoiding a display of clear agreement to Mariko's *ne*-ending assessment. As these instances demonstrate, a response to a *ne*-ending assessment is very consequential for the subsequent trajectory of the decision-making activity. Mariko and Erica are creating a sequential structure which they use to understand and interpret what is going on in the interaction. When the speaker describes a hotel as favorable, the recipient may give a positive assessment using *ne* or *ja nai?* When the first speaker agrees to it, she can give a verbal agreement token. However, she may not have to give such a response if she does not want to give a decisive assessment of the hotel in terms of choosing a hotel to recommend to two different groups of tourists. An assessment may appear to be simply about the description of the hotel, but when the two reaches a mutual agreement on the evaluation of the hotel, it could become a good ground for making a decision on it. It is possible that Erica came to realize such consequentiality of a clear agreement to a *ne*-ending assessment in this decision-making activity through the participation in segments (1a) and (1b), and subsequently used the sequential structure to avoid inviting a decision-making move in segment (2a).

The above analyses of segments (1b), (3b), and (4b) have also highlighted the consequentiality of a response to a decision-making move. Although a decision-making activity appears to be completed with a decision-making move —*jaa*, *~ni shiyoo* ('Then, let's decide on~') or *jaa*, *~ni kimari* ('Then, it's decided')—, a participant can legitimately move on to a discussion of another hotel only when such a move is responded with an agreement token (segments (3b) and (4b)). This sequential pattern applies also to another decision-making activity that occurred before segments 1a and 1b, whose transcript cannot be presented here due to the limitation of space. In this activity, after Erica accepted Mariko's decision-making move, Mariko started discussing another hotel. However, in contrast to segments (3b) and 4b, Erica did not align with Mariko who moved onto the next decision-making activity, and instead cut in the middle of Mariko's turn to bring out an issue that had to be solved before completing the present activity. After this instance which highlighted the relevance of an agreement to a decision-making move for the completion of a decision-making activity, Erica seems to be more cautious of expressing clear agreement: In segment (1b), Erica did not show any explicit response to Mariko's decision-making move and later

expressed her concern that had to be addressed before making a decision. This example also shows that Erica became more and more competent in anticipating the trajectory of a decision-making activity by reading the consequentiality of a response.

Conclusion

In order to investigate microgenesis of interactional competence with the use of modal expressions, I have analyzed the ways in which Erica, an L2 speaker of Japanese, participated in decision-making activities and modal expressions she used as linguistic resources for engaging in the activities, and examined how they change during a 10-minute interaction. Using CA as an analytical approach, I tried to examine the functions of modal expressions used by Erica and Mariko in terms of what they do rather than what they represent. As we found through the analysis, modal expressions such as *ne*, *ja nai?,* and *-yoo* are important linguistic resources for making decisions, not only in terms of how an agreement to the utterance using them leads to the next step of a decision-making activity, but also in terms of how a non-display of agreement becomes relevant in the activity. The analysis suggested that Erica, through repeated participation in decision-making activities, came to realize the consequentiality of clear agreement to *ne*-ending assessments and *jaa*-initiated moves, and became more competent in engaging in the interaction with Mariko by anticipating the trajectory of the decision-making sequence. Erica also demonstrated her interactional competence with the use of modal expressions, *ne* and *-yoo*, in turns that help the interaction move toward the completion of a decision-making activity. Based on the observation that her use of these modal expressions resembles Mariko's earlier use of them in similar turns in the decision-making sequence, participation in similar turn sequences is considered to have afforded Erica a glimpse of interactional grammar that is relevant in this particular activity, and enabled her to use it later in the similar activities.

The analysis of a 10-minute interaction I have presented in this paper suggests that CA is useful for understanding the interactional "grammar" of modal expressions in a particular social interaction and microgenesis of interactional competence with the use of such grammar. Such understanding is a necessary step for the investigation of the development of L2 speakers' pragmatic competence. However, CA should be applied carefully when the issue of learning is addressed. First, when some phenomenon, such as the use of a modal expression, is not observed in a particular interaction, it should not be used as the evidence of the L2 speaker's incompetence. (It is

because their interactional roles constrain their language use while participants' use of language also contributes to the co-construction of interactional roles at the same time.) Therefore, analysts should take into consideration the interplay of interactional roles and language use, especially when we analyze an L2 speaker's participation in different activities. Moreover, focus on the production of certain linguistic forms is not enough for understanding one's competence. We can understand much about a learner's competence by the way she or he responds to another person's turn in which modal expressions are used.

A person's competence is locally constructed. Therefore, it is very difficult to compare one's competence demonstrated on different occasions. Nevertheless, we, who are interested in L2 pragmatic development, need to somehow investigate emergent competence and longitudinal changes through the analysis of how a learner participates in activities. I hope this paper has succeeded in suggesting one approach that enables us to tackle this challenging task.

Notes

1   Based on the prosodic feature of *u:::n*: —lengthened and flat—, "mm" was chosen for the English gloss. This is contrasted with a short and articulated *un* ([yeah]), which is a informal version of *hai* ('yes').
2   The modal expression *yo* intensifies the force of a speech act, in this case the assertiveness of the proposition *haire-ru* ('can enter').
3   Although the subject of *haire-ta* ('could enter') is not explicitly stated here, it is clear that Mariko is talking about her own experience. If she were referring to other people's past experiences, she would use some type of an evidential marker.
4   She listed "homestay" and "HWV" for both Japanese and American tourist groups. At the very beginning of the 10-minute conversation, Mariko explicitly stated her limited knowledge about hotels in Hawai'i by saying "*Watashi futatsu shika* ('I could list only two')" and "*Watashi wakaranai kara ichiban me ni hoomu stee o irete* ('Because I don't know, I put homestay first, and')."

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Making Requests in E-mail: Do Cyber-Consultations Entail Directness? Toward Conventions in a New Medium

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Introduction

Over the past decade, student–faculty interactions at the university level have undergone a shift from face-to-face office hour consultations and brief before/after class meetings to more and more "cyber-consultations" between students and faculty. An increasing number of students send e-mail messages to their professors for a variety of purposes (Biesenbach-Lucas, 2005a; Martin, Myers, & Mottet, 1999). Research by Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1990, 1993) on face-to-face academic advising sessions has shown that American students are able to navigate through this speech event more effectively than international students, who often come across as vague, indecisive, and inflexible. Cyber-consultations represent a similar speech event, yet occurring within a different medium. Given the differences between American and international students in face-to-face advising sessions, there is reason to believe that similar differences might also exist in a computer-mediated medium, e-mail, where interlocutors are at both a physical and temporal distance from each other (cf. Biesenbach-Lucas & Weasenforth, 2002, for evidence of such differences with respect to negotiation behavior). However, research on computer-mediated communication has also suggested that, due to the relative newness of the medium, there are as of yet no established conventions for linguistic behavior in e-mail and that native speakers of English are plagued with the same uncertainties in e-mail interaction that have until now been assumed for nonnative speakers in the face-to-face domain (Aitchison, 2001; Baron, 2000, 2002, 2003; Crystal, 2001; Danet, 2001; Gains, 1999). This is especially the case in hierarchical relationships where status congruence is important (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1990).

So far, there is little research on student–faculty e-mail interaction that investigates how students realize communicative intent in this medium. Most analyses of e-mail messages have examined the presence or absence of

greetings and closings (Danet, 2001; Gains, 1999; Rod & Eslami-Rasekh, 2005) and typographical, lexical, and grammatical irregularities (Gao, 2001; Lewin & Donner, 2002; Y. Li, 2000; Yates & Orlikowski, 1993). A fundamental assumption in these investigations has been that e-mail promotes more casual, speech-like, and direct language. Only recently have studies begun to analyze speech acts, particularly requests, in e-mail communication (Biesenbach-Lucas, 2004, 2005b; Bou-Franch & Lorenzo-Dus, 2005; Chen, 2001), and have examined if the pragmatic differences that have been observed for native and nonnative speakers of English —divergences in directness level and amount/type of internal modification— also surface in the e-mail medium, and finally if e-mail conventions are beginning to develop (Biesenbach-Lucas, 2005b). In their analyses of e-mail requests, these studies apply the well-known Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) framework developed by Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989), which has also guided numerous request studies in non-computer-mediated contexts.

The goal of the present study is to examine e-mail messages sent by students (native and nonnative speakers of English) to university faculty and to focus on how students formulate requests in such hierarchical relationships in cyberspace, that is, in a medium where the interlocutors are both physically *and* temporally removed from each other. The following research questions guided the study.

- Do e-mail messages sent from students to faculty show evidence of "directness" or "indirectness"? How is this influenced by specific applications of the CCSARP framework?
- Are request strategies coupled with politeness features in such communication through cyberspace?
- Is there evidence of new conventional request forms in the e-mail messages, new forms that might become the accepted norm in a given e-mail request situation?
- How do NSs and NNSs differ in their e-mail realizations?

The findings of this study may shed light on the effects of naturalistic data on coding frameworks, on development of conventional request forms, and on pragmatic differences between NSs and NNSs in new communication media.

Background

Claims about e-mail communication

Research on the language of e-mail has centered on situating it along the continuum between oral and written language. E-mail language is said to be more like *speech* with respect to *style*, more like *writing* with respect to *social dynamics*, and like *both* with respect to syntax (Baron, 1998, 2003; Yates, 1996). E-mail language is also said to resemble *informal letters* as well as *telephone conversations* (Baron, 1998), resulting in a hybrid communication style, which Crystal (2001) calls "Netspeak" (p. 93). Other research on e-mail language echoes common perceptions many people have about e-mail: It promotes casual language, that is, informal word choice, nonstandard grammar, abbreviations, typographical irregularities (nonstandard spelling, punctuation), and vocalizations (Danet, 2001; Lewin & Donner, 2002; L. Li, 2000; Y. Li, 2000; Yates & Orlikowski, 1993).

A possible explanation for this relaxed character of e-mail is provided by Social Presence Theory (Short, Williams, & Christie, 1976) and Social Context Cues Theory (Sproull & Kiessler, 1986). According to these theories, because of the non-face-to-face context of e-mail communication, e-mail writers have little direct access, or none at all, to social context cues such as age, gender, position, or location, none of which are conveyed directly through textual messages. Therefore, absence of visual cues in e-mail communication leads to inappropriate assessment on part of e-mail writers of their addressees, a temporary "masking of status differences between participants" (Baron, 1984, p. 130), and this in turn might lead to use of language in e-mail messages that is incongruous with the addressee's status. In student–faculty e-mail interaction, this might translate into messages which are at an inappropriate level of directness, or which might not be sufficiently mitigated when request speech acts are involved, particularly for nonnative speakers of English. Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig's (1996) investigation of the effect of student e-mail messages on faculty provides evidence for this assumption.

However, e-mail messages from students to faculty, including those containing requests, in fact show a wide stylistic range, from greatly informal to overly ceremonial, as the following examples from students' requests for professor feedback demonstrate.

(1) Pls advise.
(2) Any comments?

(3) I would appreciate your feedback.

(4) I'd now like to request your approval to do a research paper on fossilization.

Some researchers have also noted few overtly casual forms; in other words, student–faculty e-mail communication shows little nonstandard grammar (other than errors produced by NNSs), few abbreviations, few typographical irregularities (other than honest typos), and virtually no vocalizations (Biesenbach-Lucas, 2005b; Bou-Franch & Lorenzo-Dus, 2005; Chen, 2001; Rod & Eslami-Rasekh, 2005).

A possible explanation for this phenomenon is provided by the Social Identification/Deindividuation Model (Spears & Lea, 1992). This model states that the absence of visual and social context cues makes e-mail interlocutors *more* likely to follow behavioral norms and therefore use language congruent with the addressee's status. Within the context of student–faculty interaction, much e-mail communication occurs between students and professors *whom they know* and in whose classes they are enrolled. As a result, despite temporary suspension of visual cues in cyber-distant interactions, students typically are aware of the social context parameters guiding the interaction and can be expected to be aware of role expectations that also guide student–faculty face-to-face interaction. In the academic domain, where faculty are in a gatekeeping position relative to students, some formality and status-congruent language would thus be expected, even in students' e-mail messages.

Directness in requests

The present study focuses on various requests that students produced in e-mail messages to faculty, and requests have been examined from the point of view of directness. In lay terms, directness has to do with level of formality (Cameron, 2003) and is often associated with being rude, or blunt, and with a lack of politeness. Perceptions of directness, especially in requests, can be exacerbated through linguistic features, such as imperative forms, lack of mitigation, and addition of intensifiers; but they can also be aggravated by what comes across as presumptuousness on part of the requester (cf. Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1996, for aspects which heightened this impression). Some examples from student e-mail messages that fit this definition of directness are the following.

(5) Slash away!

(6) There is no way I can get any tutorials done this semester.

(7) I think you'll have enough here in the Word file to critique for now.

Directness in speech act research has, however, been defined somewhat differently. In speech act studies, directness refers to *sentence meaning* as opposed to *speaker meaning* (Grice, 1975), and to *propositional content* as opposed to *illocutionary force* (Austin, 1962). Directness implies that the interpretation of sentence meaning (or, propositional content) is unambiguous, leading to "*pragmatic clarity*" (Blum-Kulka, 1987, p. 131). As a result, inferential path from request utterance to requestive interpretation is short, or *direct* (Blum-Kulka, 1997). The realization of direct request speech acts is achieved through certain syntactic patterns, such as imperatives, performatives, and want statements (Blum-Kulka, Danet, & Gherson, 1985; Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989).

However, *directness* is not the same as *politeness* —direct speech acts can be polite, and appropriate in given situations, and the linear correlation between directness–indirectness and lack of politeness–politeness is an oversimplification (Mir, 1993; Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999). Consequently, direct requests can be perceived as polite if politeness features are added. Direct requests can also be perceived as polite if they are considered appropriate for a given situation, depending on role expectations as well as rights and obligations of interaction participants, such as a surgeon asking a nurse for a scalpel, or a policeman asking a driver to move his/her car. In the academic domain, role expectations and rights and obligations of students and faculty might thus also make some direct requests more appropriate, and polite, than others.

Research on requests in student-faculty e-mail messages

Research on e-mail use between individual e-mail users has been rare, mainly due to ethical concerns, and most research on computer-mediated communication has concentrated on analyses of public list-servs and discussion boards (Herring, 2002). An early study on one-to-one e-mail interaction within the academic domain is Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig's (1996) investigation into the effect of e-mail requests produced by both NSs and NNSs on two faculty recipients of these messages. The researchers observed pragmatic infelicities in NNSs' messages, caused largely by inappropriate mitigation and lack of status-congruent language use, but also by inappropriate assessment of the imposition of requests and emphasis on personal needs and unreasonable time frames rather than institutional demands. A similar study, with a larger pool of subjects assessing students' e-mail messages, arrived at comparable results: the lowest acceptability ratings were given to e-mail requests in which students made unreasonable

demands on the faculty recipient, inappropriately assessed the level of request imposition, and did not observe status-congruence; conversely, the highest ratings were assigned to e-mails considered polite, even though respondents could not quite put their finger on what specifically contributed to this politeness (Biesenbach-Lucas & Weasenforth, 2001).

Only a few studies have examined students' e-mail requests of faculty from the point of view of directness levels in the CCSARP coding framework. Chen (2001), in a very small data set, examined differences between Taiwanese and American graduate students in their performance of three types of e-mail requests —appointment, recommendation, and special consideration— of faculty whom they either knew or did not know. Chen found that both Taiwanese and American students tended to use query preparatory and want statements to realize their requests, but differed in the amount of internal modification used, with American students using more lexical and syntactic modification.

Research by Biesenbach-Lucas (2001, 2002, 2003, 2004), Biesenbach-Lucas and Weasenforth (2000), and Weasenforth and Biesenbach-Lucas (2001) has studied three main types of student e-mail requests — appointment, feedback, extension of due date— and has examined these not only from the vantage point of NS–NNS differences, but also differences among these three request types in terms of directness level and preferred linguistic realizations. Overall, these studies show that differences between NSs and NNSs are relatively small, that is, both groups preferred similarly direct or indirect strategies for request realization. When requesting appointments, both groups resorted to direct as well as indirect strategies. When requesting feedback, both groups used more direct strategies; and when requesting an extension, both groups preferred conventionally indirect strategies. Differences tended to surface more in the use of modification than in directness level of request strategies: NSs used more syntactic modification than NNSs, particularly for appointment requests, even though this request type does not represent the greatest imposition on the faculty member. In contrast, NNSs used more lexical modification, especially *please*, while NSs preferred subjectivizers (Biesenbach-Lucas, 2004). An examination of supportive moves showed that when requesting an extension, NNSs added more grounders/reasons and apologies than NSs, possibly due to lack of linguistic flexibility that would allow them to craftily select internal modifiers (Weasenforth & Biesenbach-Lucas, 2001).

Methods

Participants, data, and variables

The participants in the present study were native speakers of English, that is, American university students enrolled in graduate level TESOL courses and nonnative speakers of English, international university students, from Asian backgrounds (Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand), also enrolled in graduate level TESOL courses. These international students had had prior instruction in English in their native countries, and some of them additionally in the US. They had been admitted to participation in regular content courses without having to complete supplemental ESL courses. They can therefore be considered as having low-advanced proficiency in English. All students had experience in sending and receiving e-mail messages, although not necessarily to university faculty.
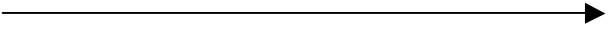
The professor to whom the e-mail messages were sent was a middle-aged female with nearly 20 years of teaching experience (both ESL as well as ESL teacher training). Although the professor was not born in the United States, she had, at the time of the study, lived in the eastern United States for almost 25 years and had achieved nativelike proficiency in English (as a matter of fact, her students —native and non-native alike— typically did not realize she was not born in the US until she told them). She was also very familiar with sending and receiving e-mail messages, as well as other means of computer-mediated communication. Her communication style could be described as largely more on the formal side; she did not encourage her students to call her by her first name as this was common procedure for full-time faculty in her teaching unit.

The data was comprised of naturalistic, student initiated e-mail messages sent to this professor —collected over 6 semesters; 296 messages were sent by the American students, and 117 messages were sent by the international students. These messages represent "data from authentic interactions … available for analysis without the presence of the researcher biasing the data collection process" (Herring, 2002, p. 145; cf. also Beebe & Cummings, 1996, Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992, and Kasper, 1999, for differences between elicited and naturalistic data). Students completed informed consent forms, which explained that their e-mails would be stored for analysis and that no personal information would be revealed. Permission was obtained for quoting messages or parts of messages, and identifying information other than native and nonnative speaker of English status was masked (King, 1996; Sharf, 1999). In

agreement with IRB requirements, messages containing sensitive or confidential information were not used in the analysis (only one such message was sent, cf. Biesenbach-Lucas, 2005a, for similar procedure).

The focus of the present study was on student e-mail messages containing three types of requests made of the recipient faculty member: requests for a nonimmediate appointment, requests for feedback on an attached assignment draft, and requests for extension of due date. Table 1 shows that imposition of these e-mail requests on faculty varies across request types, determined by an anonymous survey among university students.

Table 1.   Data corpus examined in present study

increasing imposition ──────────────────────────────▶		
requests for appointment later in week/next week	requests for feedback on attached work in progress	requests for extension of due date (made before due date)

These request types represent frequent request situations in student-faculty e-mail interaction. In most cases when students request appointments via e-mail, they make this request ahead of time, allowing sufficient time for the faculty recipient to respond. In addition, faculty are expected to hold office hours and meet with students; thus, requests for appointment fall within accepted rights of students, and faculty are expected to honor such requests. As for feedback requests, although it is within students' right to expect feedback on work from faculty, it may not be the norm for faculty in general to accept students' unfinished projects for initial comments, a procedure which is greatly facilitated by e-mail attachments. Therefore, requests for feedback on attachments represent a slightly greater imposition on faculty than requests for appointment. Finally, requests for extension of due dates represent a breaking of class norms, and while students may ask for extensions, faculty are by no means obligated to grant such deferrals of work submission. As a result, requests for extension represent the greatest imposition among the three requests types on the faculty recipient.

The predictor variables guiding the present study were

- the imposition of the request on the faculty member, and
- native/nonnative speaker status.

The criterion variables were

- the directness level of the request strategy chosen in the head act of students' e-mail messages, and
- the use of internal modification (syntactic and lexical) in the head act.

Analysis procedures

The analysis of e-mail requests involved identification of the request head act within each e-mail message, and identification of internal modifiers (lexical and syntactic) within the head act. Analysis of internal modification was limited to a subset of the requests, specifically those that appeared in request realizations used with greatest frequencies. The request head acts were coded according to two versions of the CCSARP framework (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989): While both versions identified direct, conventionally indirect requests, and hints, some request strategies were differentially assigned to these levels of directness.

In the process of coding the requests, coding challenges emerged. First, since this study involved naturalistic e-mail requests (not requests elicited through DCTs), there was a lack of available and comparable coding categories for observed e-mail requests, and it became difficult to fit requests into predetermined CCSARP categories. Second, there were inconsistencies in CCSARP's identification of direct and indirect request strategies across studies; thus, depending on how the framework is interpreted and how requests are assigned to coding categories, the overall result might be different and be interpreted differently.

Coding challenges

For a number of e-mail requests, no clear coding categories exist within the CCSARP framework. A likely reason is that naturalistic data, especially data in a new language medium, give rise to request realizations that do not surface in DCT elicitation; yet, most research on request speech acts has almost exclusively relied on DCT data. Consequently, an e-mail request might fit into more than one category, or new categories might need to be established. Examples of such e-mail requests in limbo are the following, with possible categories preceding each example.

- Imperative or query preparatory?
  (8) Let me know if I can use this text.
- Want statement?
  (9) I was hoping to get some feedback from you.

- Want statements in passive?
  (10) Any comments would be greatly appreciated.
- Formulaic want statement?
  (11) I look forward to your feedback.
- Expectation statement?
  (12) Thanks for taking a look at this.
- Performative or permission request?
  (13) I would like to ask you if I could submit my revised paper on Thursday.
- Direct questions?
  (14) Are you free at 4 tomorrow?
  (15) What do you think?
- Indirect question?
  (16) I really just want to make sure I'm on the right track.
- Statement preparatory?
  (17) I would be able to see you thursday morning.

Other problems in the application of the CCSARP categories are that the framework has not been consistent in assigning request strategies to the same directness level, and that there have been considerable adaptations across studies. The major inconsistencies and adaptations are shown in Table 2.

In the present study, two separate analyses were conducted —one following the original CCSARP coding categories, and another following particularly those adaptations that would have an influence on distribution of direct versus indirect strategies: in one analysis, *want statements* and *need statements* were coded as belonging to the same *direct* request strategy; and in the other analysis, *want statements* were coded as an *indirect strategy*, and *need statements* as hints. Since the other CCSARP adaptations shown in Table 2 do not impact distribution of requests in directness levels, they were not considered in this study.

Table 2.   Inconsistencies in CCSARP categories and directness levels

original CCSARP coding framework	CCSARP adaptations
want statements – direct	•want statements – indirect (including I would like to…) (Iwai & Rinnert, 2001; Kim & Bresnahan, 1994; Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999; Trosborg, 1995)

need statements = want statements – direct	need statements = hints (Iwai & Rinnert, 2001; Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999; Rose, 1996; Weizman, 1993)
query preparatory – including questions and statements	query preparatory questions – separate from statements (Achiba, 2003; Hendriks, 2002; House & Kasper, 1981)
requests include requests proper and permission requests	distinction between requests proper and permission requests (Iwai & Rinnert, 2001; Niki & Tajika, 1994; Rossiter & Kondoh, 2001)
two hint strategies	one hint strategy (most studies conducted after development of CCSARP coding scheme by Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)

Requests strategies identified in the present study

Table 3 shows the request categories that were used in the present study (see Appendix A for specific examples), including additions for request realizations not accounted for in previous CCSARP studies (direct questions, expectation statements), and omitting those from the original CCSARP framework for which no e-mail request was found (suggestory formulae, obligation statements).

Table 3.   Coding categories in present study

	CCSARP directness levels	CCSARP adaptation directness levels
direct	imperatives elliptic constructions performatives direct questions want statements need statements expectation statements	imperatives elliptic constructions performatives direct questions expectation statements
conventionally indirect	query preparatory (ability, willingness, permission)	query preparatory (ability, willingness, permission) want statements
hints	strong hints/mild hints	hints need statements

Table 4 shows the internal modifiers that were examined, syntactic and lexical devices that add to a mitigating effect on the imposition of the request in the head act.

Table 4.   Syntactic and lexical modifiers in present study

syntactic modifiers	past tense progressive aspect embedding
lexical modifiers	*please* downtoners – *possibly, maybe, perhaps* understaters – *just, a little, a minute* subjectivizers – *I was wondering, I think/feel, I wanted to know* consultative devices – *do you think, is there a chance* hedges – *some, any, somehow*

Results and Discussion

Results for CCSARP-coded categories

When requests are coded according to the original CCSARP framework, it looks like cyber-consultations *do* entail directness. Figure 1 shows that NSs used largely *direct* strategies, especially when requesting appointments and feedback on work in progress. Only high imposition requests for extension show a preference for indirect strategies (both conventionally indirect and hints). It is interesting that appointment requests, assumed to be requests of the lowest imposition on the faculty recipient, also promoted NSs' use of conventionally indirect strategies, while it is the mid-level requests for feedback that apparently favored direct strategies.

Also interesting to note is that hints, the most opaque strategy to convey requests, occurred frequently with requests for feedback and requests for extension. Hints may not be surprising for requests of high imposition, where a breaking of course rules is involved as in requests for extension of due dates; due to the high face threat of such requests, students often avoid using more direct strategies and trust that messages such as "I'm having difficulty finishing my paper" are easily interpreted as requests for extension. However, it is surprising that feedback requests promote the most direct *and* most indirect realizations; thus, there was no linear increase or decrease of direct and indirect strategies, respectively, with increasing imposition. Nevertheless, it looks like the degree of imposition does affect the directness level in NSs' e-mail requests in hierarchical communication in cyberspace.
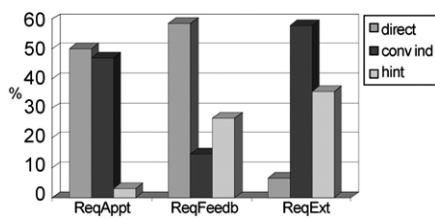
data

	ReqAppt	ReqFeedb	ReqExt
direct	50	58.8	6.5
conv ind	46.9	14.5	58
hint	3.1	26.7	35.5

Figure 1.   Results (CCSARP categories): Directness levels by request type for NSs.
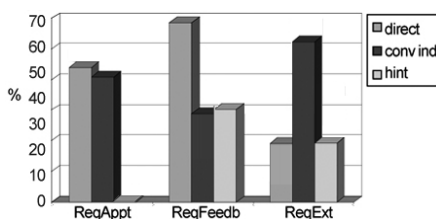
data

	ReqAppt	ReqFeedb	ReqExt
direct	52.4	40.7	19
conv ind	47.6	28.8	62
hint	0	30.5	19

Figure 2.   Results (CCSARP categories): Directness levels by request type for NNSs.

NNSs differ in their e-mail requests from NSs as follows. Again, as Figure 2 shows, there are more *direct* request strategies for the *lower* imposition requests of appointment and feedback, and a decided preference for conventionally indirect strategies for requests for extension. Overall, NNSs tended to use the same *general* strategies as NSs to realize their e-mail requests. The only major difference between NSs and NNSs is that NNSs used far fewer direct requests for requesting feedback than for requesting appointments, and fewer hints for requesting extensions. A possible reason might be that using e-mail for requesting feedback on unfinished work is not something that NNSs consider appropriate (Biesenbach-Lucas, 2005a); and NNSs may not be certain that a hint, such as a statement about having difficulties with a project, can be a sufficiently clear indicator that an extension is requested (cf. Blum-Kulka, 1997, and Weizman, 1989, 1993, for discussion on deniability of requestive force in hints).

To summarize, when using the original CCSARP framework to code the e-mail requests, it can be concluded that cyber-consultations, where students and faculty are physically and temporally at a distance, do entail

directness; that high imposition requests, however, tend to be realized through more indirect strategies; and that overall, NSs' and NNSs' request realizations are quite similar in terms of directness levels.

Results for CCSARP-adaptation categories

When want statements are coded as indirect strategies, and need statements as hints, as in some adaptations of the CCSARP framework (Table 2 above), a dramatic shift in directness levels surfaces, and thus in interpretation of findings, especially for the lower imposition requests for appointment and feedback. According to this adapted framework, it is *conventionally indirect* request strategies that appear to characterize NS student–faculty interaction in cyberspace, as shown in Figure 3. In addition, while direct and conventionally indirect strategies occurred with almost equal frequency for *appointment* requests in the original CCSARP framework, the adaptation of the framework shows such a more equal distribution for *feedback* requests. Furthermore, while the original CCSARP framework depicted requests for extension as promoting increased use of conventionally indirect strategies, the adaptation framework shows requests for appointment as promoting greater indirectness than requests for extension, followed by requests for feedback. This is surprising if appointment requests are considered as representing the lowest imposition of the three request types. A possible explanation might be that appointment requests are the only one of the three request types that require face-to-face follow-up, while the other two requests can be resolved entirely online, at a physical and temporal distance. It is possible that a case of careful, short-term, impression management is at work here —with the expectation of a one-on-one face-to-face meeting being the outcome of their appointment request, students work linguistically to leave a favorable impressions so as not to get on the professor's wrong side before they have even come to discuss their concerns or needs (cf. Walther, 1994, for a discussion of how anticipation of subsequent face-to-face interaction influences e-mail realizations, in what he calls a social information processing perspective).

There is little change in the proportion of hints from CCSARP to its adaptation because none of the request types yielded a large number of need statements, which then would be reassigned to the hint category. Thus, need statements are apparently not a preferred linguistic realization for any request type in student-faculty e-mail interaction.
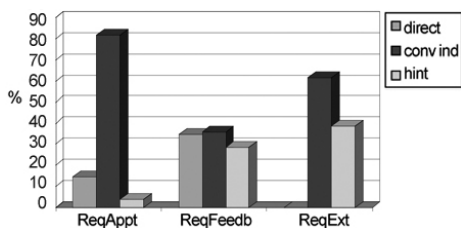
data

	ReqAppt	ReqFeedb	ReqExt
direct	14.5	34.8	0
conv ind	81.7	35.6	61.3
hint	3.8	28.6	38.7

Figure 3. Results (CCSARP adaptations): Directness levels by request type for NSs.
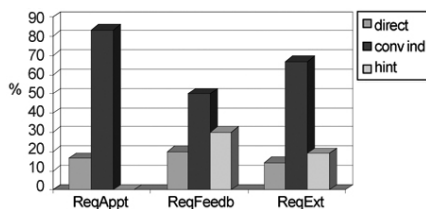
data

	ReqAppt	ReqFeedb	ReqExt
direct	16.7	20	14.3
conv ind	83.3	50	66.7
hint	0	30	19

Figure 4. Results (CCSARP adaptations): Directness levels by request type for NNSs.

Again, as in the above comparison of NSs and NNSs for CCSARP categories, the differences between NSs and NNSs when using CCSARP adaptations are relatively small, and overall their request realizations follow a similar pattern in terms of directness levels (Figure 4). And, as the comparison between CCSARP and its adaptations has shown for NSs, the same dramatic differences in the results of the two coding frameworks emerge. For NNSs, there is a similar preponderance of *conventionally indirect* strategies, very clearly so for all three request types, and with the same ranking from appointment requests to extension requests and then feedback requests. The only difference is that NNSs are shown to use some direct strategies for extension requests, while the adapted CCSARP framework shows NSs using none at all. This shift in coded results indicates that want statements are an important strategy for requesting appointments and feedback on work in progress and are used by both NSs and NNSs, and that this strategy is apparently much less preferred by both groups for the high imposition request of asking for an extension.

To summarize, when using adaptations of the CCSARP framework to code the e-mail requests, most notably when reassigning want statements

from direct to indirect directness level and need statements from direct to hint level, it can be concluded that cyber-consultations do *not* entail directness; on the contrary, they entail greater indirectness predominantly through conventionally indirect forms. And again overall, NSs' and NNSs' request realizations look quite similar in terms of directness levels.

Do e-mail requests entail directness?

This was the question asked at the beginning, in response to some common perceptions that e-mail *does* appear to promote more direct forms, and in response to some conflicting observations that student–faculty e-mails also do exhibit a wide range of forms. The present study appears to confirm this latter observation as each request type was found to promote request realizations at different levels of directness, so this range of forms is linked to differences in communicative goal. Moreover, the examination of students' e-mail requests from the vantage point of two variations of the same well-known coding scheme indicates that an answer to whether or not cyber-consultations, in which interlocutors are physically and temporally distant from each other, entail directness crucially depends on the way coding categories are interpreted and request realizations are assigned to categories and directness levels.

When using the original CCSARP framework, the analysis yielded mostly direct strategies with requests for appointment and feedback, the lower imposition requests, and it yielded conventionally indirect strategies with requests for extension, the greater imposition. In contrast, when using the CCSARP adaptation, that is, when want statements are coded as indirect strategies and need statements as hints, the direct level "loses" a number of tokens, especially with respect to appointment and feedback requests as these were frequently realized by both NSs and NNSs through want statements such as those in (18) and (19).

(18) I would like to talk with you in the next week or so about [my paper] topic.
(19) I would appreciate some feedback in terms of the general content, register, etc.

As a result, the analysis following the CSSARP adaptation indicates mostly *indirect* strategies for *all* request types, regardless of level of imposition; and, the differences between native and nonnative speakers are small. Therefore, given the inconsistency in application of the CCSARP coding framework, it may not be very helpful to look at directness levels because the answer to the above question can be both yes and no.

New conventional request forms?

Consequently, rather than looking at broad directness levels and categories, it might be more constructive to examine specific request realizations to uncover not only aspects of directness, but also of politeness; to uncover if any of the request realizations for the three types of e-mail requests might show indications of becoming conventionalized forms associated with their respective request goal in the academic domain; and to discover if differences between NSs and NNSs surface in a narrower analysis of request realizations.

The best known conventional request forms are conventionally indirect requests, realized as query preparatory forms *Can/could you do X?* These forms are rarely interpreted in their literal meaning questioning ability, but are readily understood as having requestive force. Such request conventions develop, according to Ervin-Tripp (1976), when a certain request form occurs often and "the inferential task [to infer requestive intent] becomes routinized" (p. 51). Specific linguistic patterns become linked with specific pragmatic functions (Blum-Kulka, 1989), such as *can/could you* constructions with requesting. In addition, contextual conventions play a role (Gumperz, 1982); in the case of student–faculty interaction, these are past experiences with such communicative situations and services students tend to request from faculty. Further, situational conventions play a role (Gibbs, 1985), as when a request form recurs in certain communicative situations, echoing Blum-Kulka's (1989) linking of linguistic pattern with pragmatic functions.

As a result, speakers ascribe different obstacles to addressee's compliance in different contexts/situations (Gibbs, 1985), and therefore, different syntactic patterns may develop into conventional request forms with the three different types of request under investigation in the present study. Thus, when requesting appointments, students are asking for a service that faculty is expected to provide. This is certainly a recurring situation in student–faculty interaction and has become greatly facilitated through availability of e-mail (Biesenbach-Lucas, 2002, 2005a). When requesting feedback on a draft or piece of work in progress, students are also asking for a service that faculty is expected to provide; the difference is that not all faculty may be willing or have the time to provide feedback on a *draft in progress,* and thus compliance may not be so easily guaranteed; yet, as with appointment requests, transmitting work in progress for quick evaluation and feedback has also become exceedingly easy due to the attachment function of e-mail. Finally, when requesting extensions on assignments, students can assume that they are asking faculty to break established course rules; thus,

compliance is by no means guaranteed. However, anecdotal evidence indicates that students do ask for extensions, in face-to-face as well as in e-mail situations, despite the fact that stiff penalties are often associated with late submissions.

All three request types investigated here have in common that they are not restricted to e-mail communication and that they will likely have occurred in face-to-face encounters as well; thus, past experience with student-faculty interaction in general and with students and courses in particular allows faculty to interpret students' utterances —and e-mail messages— as requests for the above services, even when the requests are realized as hints (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1976, for a discussion of how easily hints can be disambiguated in predictable, routine situations), as the following examples aptly demonstrate.

(20) How late do you stay on Thursdays? (= appointment request)

(21) Attached is a draft of my materials preparation exercises. (= feedback request)

(22) I have to admit that I cannot complete all the requirements for this class on time. (= extension request)

However, typical of hints is that they rarely are expressed in recurring linguistic forms (Blum-Kulka, 1997). Therefore, an examination of developing conventionalized links between linguistic patterns and requestive force might need to take a look at request realizations at direct and conventionally indirect levels.

Table 5. Most frequent request realizations in students' e-mail messages

	NSs	NNSs
requests for appointment	**[If possible] I would like to meet with you/set up an appointment with you …**	**I'd like to meet [with] you/talk to you/see you/visit your office …**
requests for feedback	**[Please] let me know what you think/if you have any comments/suggestions/if … Attached is…/I've attached …/Here is ….**	Please take a look/send me some feedback/give me comments. I appreciate your comment. Could you look at att *[sic]*/give some/any comment(s)/advice?
requests for extension	Would it be a problem if I turned it [assignment] in on …. I was wondering if it would be possible for me to submit/turn in	[If possible], could you give more time/extend the deadline ….

Since conventionalized forms have to do with frequency of occurrence of syntactic patterns in a particular context, Table 5 shows the actual request realizations students used most frequently in their e-mail messages, regardless of coding categories and directness level. The bolded examples indicate those request realizations which occurred with sufficient frequency over other forms that they might eventually become routinized and conventionalized forms for student-faculty e-mail requests for appointment and feedback.

The case of appointment requests might be the clearest with one particular linguistic realization favored by NSs. The particular linguistic form seems to have been adopted by NNSs as well, albeit with slight deviation, namely the contracted form, which does occur in NSs' e-mails but is clearly dispreferred (cf. Biesenbach-Lucas, 2002, for similar findings of NSs' preference for noncontracted forms, and NNSs' use of contracted forms).

Requests for feedback and extension show a greater variety of syntactic patterns, with several competing. These request types also show greater differences between NSs and NNSs, and these differences did not surface when the requests were examined solely at the level of directness. In fact, for both feedback and extension requests, NNSs resort, among others, to the "standard" textbook polite, and no less, conventionalized, request form *could you,* which is *not* preferred by NSs. On the contrary, for realization of both feedback and extension requests, NSs prefer *embedded* forms, which do *not* occur for NNSs; they typically use simple, nonembedded syntactic patterns.

Interestingly, and contrary to the assumption that hints are open-ended and rarely surface as predictable, recurring syntactic patterns (Rinnert & Kobayashi, 1999; Weizman, 1989, 1993), students' e-mail requests for feedback demonstrate, in addition to *let me know what/if* embedded structures, a clear preference for hints, realized in distinct syntactic patterns: *Attached is…/I've attached …/Here is …*. This may be a case where a hint, here the explicit announcement of an attachment to the e-mail message, easily achieves requestive force, because for what other reason than obtaining feedback would students dare submit unfinished course work? It is a good example of how frequency of occurrence in a given situation, coupled with role expectations for the relationship between students and faculty, make these hints understood as requests for feedback. Thus, hints *can* very well become conventionalized forms. Moreover, attachments are common in business correspondence; in a new medium with no clear-cut rules, it may not be surprising that conventions and conventional wording from traditional letter writing are used as a resource in e-mail communication (Baron, 2002). Similarly, it should not be surprising that such resources from American

business correspondence are more accessible to NSs than NNSs, and as a result, NNSs' requests for feedback take on more awkward realizations in the form of imperatives and textbook *could-you* constructions.

Politeness features in developing conventional requests?

A look back at Table 5 shows that in requests produced by NSs, few internal modifiers are used to make these frequent request patterns more polite and to mitigate requestive force. When internal modifiers are added, they are syntactic rather than lexical, and the greatest imposition, extension requests, is also accompanied by syntactic modification *combinations*. While NNSs' e-mail requests show a similar level of directness as those produced by NSs, they differ in that they are not attuned to developing conventional request forms and appropriate modification for student–faculty interaction via e-mail. Table 6 shows the type of internal modification accompanying NSs' and NNSs' most frequently used request realizations.

Table 6. **Internal modification with most frequently used request realizations**

	NSs	NNSs
requests for appointment	*syntactic*: past tense – *would* *some lexical*: downtoners – *if possible*	*syntactic*: past tense, but couched in contracted form – *'d* *lexical*: rare
requests for feedback	*syntactic*: embedding *some lexical*: politeness marker – *"please"* none in hints – letter conventions borrowed	*syntactic*: past tense – *could* *lexical*: politeness marker – *"please"* with imperative
requests for extension	*syntactic*: past tense – *would;* aspect – *ing;* embedding *lexical*: rare (downtoners – *at all;* understaters – *a few days*)	*syntactic*: past tense – *could* *lexical*: downtoners – *if possible*

NNSs' range of internal modification is restricted to past tense, downtoners, and *please* and does not show NSs' apparent sensitivity, and linguistic flexibility, to use different modification devices for different request types and a *combination* of modifiers for the high imposition extension request. This confirms Chen's (2001) findings, which also indicated greater use of internal modification by the NSs in her study. It is striking though that NSs' request realizations are not overly adorned with internal modification; in fact, the hints used for feedback requests show no internal modification at all. In addition, the syntactic patterns used in appointment and feedback requests are those that have, in the original CCSARP framework, been

associated with direct requests —imperatives (*let me know*) and want statements (*I would like to*). This might be an indication that in the e-mail medium, a minimum amount of internal modification may be considered sufficient for realizing students' requests of faculty, as long as basic politeness features are present. While, with the exception of the hints in feedback requests, some type of syntactic modification appears to be considered necessary —all preferred requests forms show either past tense, embedding, progressive aspect, or more than one of these— lexical modifiers are used more infrequently, perhaps in an attempt at message economy and clarity.

Conclusion

Implications for coding requests and teaching pragmatics

The dual analysis of request speech acts has shown that comparisons across request studies, even when they purport to apply the same coding framework, have to be made very carefully and have to include examination of how requests were coded and to which directness levels request strategies were assigned. Unless coding categories are identical and strategies assigned to the same directness levels, comparison of results across studies will give an erroneous picture of similarities and differences. The present study has also demonstrated that naturalistic data, and e-mail data in particular, yield requests realizations that have not previously been accounted for in the CCSARP framework and thus precipitate a need for revision of the original framework.

Implications for teaching pragmatics have typically concentrated on NNSs only as NSs have been considered experts in speech act performance due to their native speaker status. However, due to the relative newness of e-mail, especially in domains that relied until recently on face-to-face, or telephone, interaction, e-mail pragmatics in hierarchical relationships may be a problem also for NSs of English as the wide range of request realizations from NSs demonstrates. While NSs have the linguistic flexibility to manipulate language in the written medium to mitigate requests, they do not always do so, and run the risk of, unintentionally, conveying status incongruence. NNSs need opportunities to become attuned to developing conventions in student–faculty e-mail interaction as well as accompanying internal modification patterns. NNSs apparently do not realize that informal features such as contractions, which are typical of casual oral interaction, are not the preferred forms in written e-mail interaction in hierarchical relationships. NNSs need to realize that a number of e-mail requests may be

expressed through strategies that NSs borrow from formal written communication.

Performing speech acts in e-mail, particularly as more and more students use e-mail to consult with faculty in cyberspace, needs to be added to ESL syllabi in programs preparing learners for courses at American universities. In addition, for NNSs who are exempt from ESL courses due to their apparent advanced proficiency, as well as for NSs, it might nevertheless be useful to offer workshops on appropriate and effective student-faculty communication in cyberspace.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

The present study is not without limitations. Only messages from graduate TESOL students, and only messages from NNSs from Asian language backgrounds to one faculty recipient were examined. It would be useful to analyze e-mail messages from students from other fields of study, from other language backgrounds, as well as from undergraduate students. Undergraduate students might make for an intriguing subject pool as their relationship and experience with computers and e-mail interaction has most likely begun at a much earlier age than that of the graduate students whose e-mails were analyzed in the present study. It is likely that early online exposure to e-mail and instant messaging might affect a younger generation's e-mail realizations —many middle and high schoolers today e-mail their teachers and most IM each other; in contrast, none of the graduate students involved in the present study indicated that they had used e-mail to contact a teacher until university level or had experience with instant messaging.

Further research on student–faculty e-mail interaction might also investigate e-mails sent to more than one faculty member, and specifically how gender and age of faculty influence the realization of request speech acts and other features. It is reasonable to assume that the language as well as formatting and appearance of e-mail messages to older male faculty differs from that addressed to young female faculty. However, until now, ethical concerns have limited whose e-mail messages to whom can be examined for research purposes (Danet, 2002); that is why the research in the present study had to be limited to one faculty member. Nevertheless, another intriguing aspect to examine would be to trace if and how individual student e-mails to a specific faculty member change over the course of a semester, which was not an objective in the present study. Support for such a line of investigation comes from Walther (1994), who found that people

tend to be influenced by their own expectations of whether online interaction was a "one-shot" occurrence (p. 491) or was likely to extend over a longer period of time.

In addition, analysis of directness in the present study was restricted to request head acts and internal modification, thus giving a limited picture of message directness; in the future, e-mail messages should be examined for supportive moves, including presence/absence of greetings and signatures. Further, it will be useful to adapt the CCSARP framework to accommodate more adequately request realizations found in naturalistic language use, and in naturalistic e-mail communication in particular. This will require coining of new strategy types so that the nature of the discourse of origin is more adequately accounted for.

Finally, the request realizations analyzed here should be examined from the point of view of perception by faculty. A study of acceptability judgments would shed light on those factors of students' e-mail messages that produce positive and negative evaluations by faculty recipients, those request strategies, internal modifiers, and supportive moves that enhance or diminish the effectiveness of messages in hierarchical communication in cyberspace.

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Appendix A: Specific examples of request strategies for each request type

	requests for appointment	requests for feedback	requests for extension
imperatives	Please let me know about a convenient time for you.	Please give me some comments. Please let me know what you think.	Please extend the due date.
elliptic constructions	n/a	Any comments?	n/a
performatives	n/a	n/a	I feel I have to ask for an extension for a week.
direct questions	When would be a good time to meet? When do you have time?	What do you think?	n/a
want statements	I want to set up a meeting with you. I would like to meet with you.	I would like your suggestions. I would appreciate some feedback.	n/a
need statements	I need to schedule a time to discuss my [paper].	I think I am in need of some suggestions.	I will need an extension.
expectation statements	n/a	Thanks for taking a look at this.	I hope you'll give me the weekend to finish typing my work.
query preparatory	Could I meet with you next Tuesday? Would you have time to meet me this week?	Could you please look over the material? Would you mind to take a look and give me some suggestion?	Would it be possible to get this paper to you by Monday? If possible, could you extend the deadline? I was wondering if I could hand my project in after the weekend.
hints	How late do you stay on Thursdays?	Attached is a draft of my grammar lesson plan.	I'm still working on these projects. I'm having a very difficult time in figuring out how to put these lesson materials together.

Teaching Pragmatics in Spanish L2 Courses: What Do Learners Think?

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Introduction

An expanding area of interlanguage pragmatics research concerns the instruction of pragmatics in formal learning contexts (Rose & Kasper, 2001). Many studies use explicit instruction which presents materials that feature a particular speech act or other pragmatic elements with explanations (Billmyer, 1990; Rose & Ng Kwai-fun, 2001; Takahashi, 2001; Tateyama, 2001). Although we have valuable insight into effective teaching techniques to aid learners' acquisition of target language pragmatics, there is little information about how the learners view pragmatics instruction (e.g., Lyster, 1993; Olshtain & Cohen, 1990; Tateyama, 2001). Research on learners' attitudes and motivation indicates that instructional planning should take into account the needs and goals of the learners (Dörnyei, 2001; Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998; Sauvignon & Wang, 2003). As second language classes increasingly incorporate teaching of target language pragmatics, it is important to investigate learners' perspectives about the usefulness and attractiveness of the lesson units that teach pragmatic concepts and strategies. The objective of this investigation is to explore the attitudes of two groups of second language Spanish learners towards pragmatics instruction in the form of speech act lessons in their university level courses.[1] The results of the study may provide guidance for instructors and researchers who would like to create materials to teach target language pragmatics.

Background

Research on second language learners' perceptions has focused mostly on their attitudes and beliefs about language learning in general instead of specific components of instruction (Sauvignon & Wang, 2003). Learners bring their own expectations to language learning and classroom instruction has the potential to change their attitudes (Horwitz, 1988; Kern, 1995). Instructional practices may motivate learners and enhance their learning outcomes. However, differences between the learners' attitudes and goals

and the realities of classroom instruction may also serve to disillusion them and negatively affect the learning process (Horwitz, 1988). With regard to instruction of pragmatics, Kasper and Rose (2001) observe that most research about teaching pragmatics assumes that study participants make "a good faith effort to learn what is being taught" (p. 246). The context of the language learning and the topics presented can influence the attitudes towards classroom practices to teach target language pragmatics. For example, pedagogical units on speech act strategies may be more relevant to the learners' lives and goals, depending on the context of their language learning (e.g., second language vs. foreign language learning). Learners who view the pragmatics instruction as applicable to their needs will likely have more positive attitudes towards such lessons in their classes.

Previous studies have investigated learners' attitudes towards pragmatics instruction in foreign language learning contexts. Olshtain and Cohen (1990) examined the effects of teaching apologies to adult advanced learners of English as a second language. As part of their investigation, the learners evaluated the teaching materials for the usefulness of each activity in the apology lessons. There was higher preference for teacher explanations, followed by information sheets, and role-play activities. The learners gave lower ratings to pair work, listening to dialogues, and classroom discussions. Olshtain and Cohen speculated that the higher ratings for teacher explanations and information worksheets were due to the adult learners' receptivity to explicit techniques instead of experiential learning through the other activities.

Lyster (1993) surveyed learners' attitudes towards instruction of pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of French in Grade 8 immersion classes; specifically, second person pronouns and formality levels in French. The learners completed evaluations of the various units, which asked learners about the difficulty, interest level, amount learned, and applicability of the lessons. The lessons were generally rated as easy or neither easy nor difficult. The most interesting activities were role-play skits, and the least interesting were structural exercises to practice the morphological forms of second person pronouns *tu* and *vous* and class discussions. Although the structural exercises got a low rating for interest, they rated highest for amount learned. The class discussions were deemed as the activity in which the students learned the least. The most applicable activity was reading an excerpt from a novel and discussing the uses of *tu* and *vous* in the text. The least applicable lesson was a historical discussion. Lyster also asked the students open-ended questions about what they had learned, what they had not understood and what they would like to learn in French. He only reports

the data of the material learned saying that there were no discernable patterns for the other questions. The learners' comments indicate that they recognized the lessons' objectives to teach the *tu* and *vous* pronouns and formality levels in French. For affective factors, students commented about their enjoyment of the cooperative activities and the role-play skits.

Tateyama (2001) conducted a study of explicit and implicit teaching of attention getters, expressions of gratitude, and apologies to beginning learners of Japanese. The treatments included authentic video clips featuring the formulas. For the explicit treatment, learners were also provided with metapragmatic information about the pragmatic features. The effects of the treatments were evaluated using multiple-choice and role-play tasks. Learners also completed self-reports to analyze their performance on the two tasks. After each treatment the learners wrote a one-paragraph narrative about what they had learned from the lesson. Learners found the video clips as helpful for understanding how the routine expressions were used in interactions, particularly the relationships between the speakers and the events portrayed. The explicit treatment learners indicated that the metapragmatic explanations were important for comprehending the use of Japanese formulas. Some learners in the implicit treatment class expressed the desire for more explicit explanations in their lessons, however, others preferred the implicit instruction.

The previous research shows that second language learners positively viewed the pragmatics instruction in their courses. Although the instructional components vary between the studies, there are some preferences in common. Adult learners appear to favor explicit techniques, such as explanations from instructors, over implicit instruction. In two studies (Lyster, 1993; Tateyama, 2001), exposure to the pragmatic features in context through video or text was deemed to be helpful. Learners preferred for the opportunity to practice the targeted items in role-play activities. Like the studies reviewed in this section, the present investigation examines pragmatics instruction in a foreign language environment. The lessons designed to teach Spanish pragmatics taken by the participants share some of the same activities as those used in the previous research on learners' attitudes. This study contributes information about the perspectives of learners regarding the teaching of pragmatics in their language courses.

Research Questions

The research questions for the present investigation are as follows.

- Is pragmatics instruction difficult for learners? If so, to what extent?
- Are learners interested in the speech act lesson units presented in their classes? If so, to what extent?
- Is the pragmatics instruction useful for learners in improving their Spanish knowledge and is it applicable to other work in their Spanish courses?
- How can pragmatics instruction be improved to respond to the interests and needs of second language learners?

Methodology

In order to obtain information about second language Spanish learners' attitudes towards instruction of pragmatics, surveys were administered to two groups of students who participated in lessons about Spanish speech acts in their courses at two American universities. After the completion of the lessons, the learners evaluated the instruction by answering a survey questionnaire. The following sections describe the instrument used, the learners, and the speech act lessons.

Survey questionnaire and analysis

The survey questionnaires employed in this investigation were adapted from Lyster (1993; see Appendixes A and B). The instrument had questions about different aspects of the lessons, for example, difficulty of the lessons and tests,[2] interest level, helpfulness with Spanish knowledge and other class work. There were two types of questions: multiple-choice and open-ended formats to solicit feedback from the learners. The questionnaires have slightly different content due to the topics and formats of the speech act lessons. Using Lyster's procedure, the responses in the multiple-choice section were tabulated by number and percentage for the five levels of answers from the learners. For example, for Question #1, which asked learners about the difficulty of the speech act lessons, the option of "Very easy" was assigned a value of 1 and the "Very difficult" option was coded as 5. The answers to the open-ended questions were transcribed and listed in tables to indicate the number of individuals who gave a particular response. The comments made to certain open-ended questions are discussed with

the multiple-choice results. Finally, responses from the other open-ended questions are presented.

Subjects and procedures

The first survey was given to second language learners of Spanish at the second semester level (see Pearson, 2001; in press). The course taken by the learners contained lessons on four Spanish speech acts: expressions of gratitude, apologies, and directives (commands and polite requests). The content of the lessons utilized vocabulary and grammar from the syllabus of the second semester Spanish course. However, the normal syllabus did not feature specific instruction on the four speech acts and therefore, the lessons did not repeat material. The format of each lesson was as follows: learners watched scenes from the pedagogical video series *Destinos* (VanPatten, 1992), identified the targeted speech act, and practiced the speech act in role-plays. A total of 147 students in six course sections participated in the lessons. A background questionnaire was completed by the subjects, which asked the learners about their previous studies in Spanish, their use of Spanish outside of the classroom, and stays in Spanish-speaking countries. The study only included learners whose predominant exposure to Spanish was from formal course work.

The lesson format for three course sections also included "metapragmatic discussions" in which the learners talked about the pragmatic uses of language in the video scenes. Attention was drawn to different linguistic forms in the video scenes, the influence of context and hearer(s) on the speakers' choice of linguistic forms, and other factors (e.g., level of imposition of a request or severity of an offense in apologies). Learners were also asked to think of other strategies to realize a particular speech act in Spanish. The learners in the other sections viewed the video scenes and answered comprehension questions. Instead of participating in the metapragmatic discussions, these learners saw the video scenes an additional time.

The questionnaire used to evaluate the speech act lessons for Survey I (see Appendix A) was completed by 94 learners, including 50 from the metapragmatic discussion sections and 44 from the other sections. The means from the multiple-choice questions were calculated for both groups and compared for statistical significance using a *t*-test. Because no significant differences were found between the groups on any of the questions, the results section presents the combined totals for both groups on each multiple-choice rating question.

The learners who took the second survey (see Appendix B) participated in three speech act lessons on suggestions and suggestion responses during their fourth semester level course (see Koike & Pearson, 2005). Like the Survey I learners, those participating in the second survey were queried about their background to ascertain that they were native speakers of English and did not have extensive contact with Spanish outside of class.

The basic format of the lessons taken by the Survey II learners consisted of a sample dialogue, multiple-choice questions, and identification tasks that directed the learners to find the suggestions and suggestion responses in the conversation and to focus on the directness levels of the speech acts and the pragmatic force. Each dialogue presented a conversation between two friends, one of whom described a problem and another who offered suggestions. After completing the questions and tasks, the learners were asked to make their own suggestions for the situation.

There were four different treatments distinguished by the presence of explicit pre-instruction or no pre-instruction and explicit or implicit feedback (Fukuya & Clark; 2001; Fukuya & Zhang; 2002; Tomlin & Villa, 1994). Explicit pre-instruction provided the learners with a list of Spanish strategies for suggestions and suggestion responses. The explicit feedback provided corrections to wrong answers for the questions and tasks along with explanations about the pragmatic uses of language. The implicit feedback guided learners to the correct responses through the instructors' requests for clarification without any explanation when a wrong answer was produced by the learners. For correct answers, the instructors simply provided a confirmation of the learners' responses. The four treatments were as follows: (a) explicit pre-instruction and explicit feedback, (b) explicit pre-instruction and implicit feedback, (c) no pre-instruction and explicit feedback, and (d) no pre-instruction and implicit feedback. Sixty-eight learners in four sections of the intermediate level course participated in the lessons.[3] Of that total, 65 learners filled out Survey II at the end of all of the lessons. The responses from the survey's multiple-choice questions were calculated and compared using a four-way ANOVA. As with Survey I, there were no significant differences between the responses of the learners who had participated in the different treatments. The results in the tables represent the total responses from learners in the four treatment groups.

Results

Survey I: Lessons on Spanish expressions of gratitude, apologies, and directives

The first multiple-choice question in Survey I queried the learners about the difficulty of the lessons ("How would you rate the lessons using the scenes from *Destinos*?"). Most of the learners (48%; *n* = 45) found the lessons to be "neither easy nor difficult," followed by 28% of the participants (*n* = 26) who rated the lessons as "easy." This result is an indication that the lessons were appropriate for the proficiency levels of the students.

In the open-ended section, Question #8 concerned the components of the lessons that students had problems understanding ("What aspects of the lessons did you have trouble understanding?"). There were 33 answers to this question, listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Lesson components evaluated as difficult to understand by Survey I learners

problem	number of answers *n* = 33
video scenes difficult to understand	12
unfamiliar vocabulary and topics	8
relationships between people in video	4
goals of the lessons	2
needed more time for lessons	2
por and *para* in expressions of gratitude	2
indirect object placement	1
need for different expressions to say the same thing	1
verb conjugation	1

The most common responses (*n* = 12) were addressed to the *Destinos* scenes featuring the Spanish speech acts. Learners evaluated them as difficult to understand because of such factors as the actors' accents, rate of speech, and shortness of the clips. Another issue related to the video scenes was the question of determining the relationships between the speakers. Although the medium of video presents an expanded context as compared to audio (Lonergan, 1984; Rose, 1997; Swaffar & Vlatten, 1997), the speakers' relationships were not always clear to the learners despite obvious cues of place, such as a conversation in a store between a salesperson and a

customer. It is possible that the lessons required the learners to take note of too many details in a short time.

In their answers to Question #8, eight learners also noted that some of the vocabulary and topics were unfamiliar, even though the lessons had been designed to reflect the topics covered in the learners' courses. The other comments concerned specific linguistic items that were featured in the speech acts, such as the preposition *por* "for" in thanking expressions and indirect object pronouns in polite requests, as well as verb conjugations. One learner reported not understanding the need for using different expressions to formulate the same speech act. Two learners would have liked more time for practice and two others were not clear about the goals of the lessons.

In rating the interest level of the lessons for Question #3 ("In your opinion, did you find the lessons _____?"), it was found that the lessons did not evoke very much interest for the majority of the learners. Only 21% ($n = 20$) of the learners rated the lessons as "interesting" and 46% ($n = 43$) gave the rating of "somewhat interesting." Among the possible explanations for these results is a general antipathy by the learners towards the *Destinos* series that provided the video scenes. This opinion was commonly expressed by many students in lower-division courses at the university where the study was conducted. In the language courses, students had to watch two half-hour episodes per week. The series had been used over several years, and like some curricular materials, *Destinos* may have seemed old in terms of clothing styles and other evidence of its production time. In one student's view, the series was not "up-to-date." The repetition of content and the time requirement for viewing had also made the series unpopular among some learners. Four learners mentioned *Destinos* and its characters in their answers to Question #7 ("What is the least important thing learned in these lessons?").

Another source for the lack of interest expressed by the learners was the lesson topics themselves. In their responses to Question #7, four learners commented that the lessons on thanking and apologizing were not necessary. The results of the pretest, administered before the lessons to test the learners' knowledge of the four speech acts, showed that many learners already knew some Spanish expressions for thanking and apologizing. Therefore, the lessons on the use of these strategies were perhaps considered irrelevant. In contrast, other learners cited these speech acts as the most important thing learned as seen in example (1).

(1) I learned that there are a lot of ways to say "thank you" and "I am sorry."

Two learners were also resentful about the time taken away from regular class material.

For Question #4 ("How much did you learn about using Spanish in various social contexts?"), the learners assessed whether the lessons had achieved the objective of teaching the use of Spanish in different situations and with various types of hearers. The answers were distributed for the mid-range responses "enough," (30%; $n = 28$) "more or less" (26%; $n = 24$), and "a bit" (35%; $n = 33$), suggesting that the lessons had presented information about speaking Spanish in different contexts.

With regard to the learners' perceptions about how the lessons contributed to using Spanish in social situations, it should be noted that, at the beginning of the study, the objectives of the lessons were explained very generally: in effect, to "learn some aspects of Spanish." In their responses to Question #7 ("What is the most important thing that you learned in these lesson?"), 18 learners wrote that the lessons did indeed help them negotiate social situations. For example, their comments concerned various components of the lessons such as developing awareness of formality distinctions, learning ways to be polite in Spanish, and practicing the various speech acts and their use in social contexts. Three learners commented that the lessons taught them how to request things from people and talk in stores. Two learners mentioned specifically the value of the lessons for interacting with different hearers, as revealed in the following response to Question #7.

(2) …the classes taught me to speak in social situations and understand what people are saying.

Question #5 ("In your view, did the lessons help you improve your Spanish?") asked learners to evaluate the lessons' effects on their general Spanish proficiency. Most learners reported that the lessons aided their Spanish to varying degrees, and indicated "perhaps" (34%; $n = 32$) and "probably" (32%; $n = 30$) on the rating scale. Fewer learners showed a positive attitude, choosing "definitely" (13%; $n = 12$) and others felt that the lessons did not improve their Spanish, reporting "probably not" (17%; $n = 16$).

In comments about what they had learned in the lessons (Question #7), some learners addressed other areas of Spanish besides the ability to interact in social situations. Nine learners mentioned improved oral skills or increased speed in reacting to a situation. Six made reference to the lessons' helpfulness in learning grammar and vocabulary. Two students cited an

improvement in listening comprehension from seeing the video scenes and having to identify the Spanish speech acts.

Question #6 ("Did the lessons help you with other class work in SPAN [course number]?") asked the learners to evaluate the lessons' effects in the second semester course. On the rating scale, most learners indicated that the lessons were helpful for other class work, as shown in the rating scale: "probably" (32%; *n* = 30) and "perhaps" (32%; *n* = 30); in particular, the lessons aided their oral, listening, and written tasks in the course.

The second semester course was chosen for the original study primarily because its material contained many of the grammatical and lexical items which could be used for the four Spanish speech acts such as commands, present subjunctive, indirect object pronouns, thanking, and apology expressions. One learner made the following comment in answer to Question #7 ("most important thing learned") showing the usefulness of the speech act lessons for other work in the Spanish course.

(3)   …helped with understanding work in the class.

The discussions of other evaluative questions noted learners' comments about being able to learn the reasons for the speech acts in different contexts. Also, seven learners believed that the lessons aided their knowledge of grammar, although they did not cite specific grammatical items.

We have discussed some of the open-ended questions above in order to provide more information about the rating questions (Questions #1, 3–6). The first open-ended question, Question #7, asked learners about the most important and least important things learned in the speech act lessons. With regard to the most important things learned, it appears that most participants answering this question recognized the objectives of the lesson to teach Spanish pragmatics such as formulating speech acts in different contexts, using Spanish in real or social situations, and expressing formality and politeness. The results are shown in Table 2.

The learners also saw some value of lessons for helping to learn other aspects of the second language, specifically, grammar, expressions, vocabulary, listening comprehension and oral skills. Table 3 presents the least important things learned in the lessons.

Very few learners answered this question. As noted before, the *Destinos* series leads the list of things that were considered unimportant, followed by various speech acts and use of formality.

Table 2. **Most important things learned in the SA lessons as evaluated by Survey I learners**

aspects of Spanish learned	number of answers *n* = 62
using SAs in different contexts	16
using Spanish in real or social situations	9
speaking without preparation	7
expressing formality	6
grammar	5
expressions and vocabulary	5
speaking is more difficult	4
how to be polite	3
listening comprehension skills	2
oral skills	2
command forms	1
need to work on Spanish knowledge	1
other items from course material	1

Table 3. **Least important things learned in the SA Lessons as evaluated by Survey I learners**

aspects of Spanish learned	number of answers *n* = 14
information about *Destinos*	4
expressions of gratitude	3
lessons did not present new material	2
apologies	1
different SA expressions	1
formality	1
how to speak into a microphone	1
situations not relevant	1

Question #10 solicited suggestions for improving the lessons and the responses are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Survey I learners' suggestions for improving SA lessons

suggestions	number of answers *n* = 25
do not use *Destinos*	7
use more role-plays	5
have more variety of topics/expressions	4
provide more time for lessons	3
use familiar vocabulary	3
use real situations	1
make more interesting	1
lessons too long	1

The most common suggestion was not to use *Destinos* as the source for the video scenes (28% of all answers). Another frequent comment concerned the need for more practice in role-plays. This type of activity was also preferred by learners in Olshtain and Cohen (1990) and Lyster (1993). Other responses addressed the lack of variety in the lesson topics and speech act expressions, which was limited by the students' proficiency level and the syllabus of the second semester course. Some students expressed the desire for more time to complete the lessons. In contrast, other students found the lessons to be monotonous and too long.

Table 5. Other aspects of Spanish that Survey I learners want to learn

aspects	number of answers *n* = 39
conversation	12
real life Spanish	7
slang/expressions	4
language for specific purposes (e.g., medical)	3
Spanish history and culture	3
verbs and different tenses	3
dialectal differences	2
vocabulary	2
how to speak fluently	1
pronunciation	1
writing	1

Two other questions did not pertain to the lessons. Question #9 queried learners about other aspects of Spanish that they would like to learn. Question #11 requested other comments from the learners. Listed in Table 5 are those aspects of Spanish about which the learners' desire instruction.

As shown in Table 5, 19 of the learners, the majority that wrote comments, would like to learn to converse using practical, everyday language, which includes knowledge of pragmatic conventions and strategies in order to carry out specific goals and to facilitate cooperation on the part of hearers (Mey, 1993). One student responded,

(4) I want to learn real Spanish, not university Spanish.

Four others referred to different expressions and slang. Five learners mentioned wanting to know more about Hispanic culture, the history of the language and different countries, and dialectal differences in Spanish. The final question of the survey, Question #11, asked the learners for any other comments they had. Only five learners responded. Three expressed dislike of the taping procedure used to collect data on the learners' acquisition of the Spanish speech acts. One learner commented that he or she did not want to participate in the lessons.[4] Another learner wrote that the lessons provided more varied practice in Spanish.

Survey II: Lessons on Spanish suggestions and suggestion responses

For the first question about difficulty of the lessons to teach suggestions and suggestion responses, the answers are similar to those in the Survey I, as most learners found the lessons "easy" (29%; n = 19) or "neither easy nor difficult" (55.5%; n = 36).

By using Question #8, which queried learners about the components of the lessons that they had problems understanding, we can discern the sources of difficulty in the pragmatics instruction. There were 43 answers to this question, listed in Table 6.

The most common response (n = 11) concerned problems understanding vocabulary as demonstrated by a comment from a learner in the following example.

(5) The vocabulary tripped me up.

Table 6.   **Lesson components evaluated as difficult to understand by Survey II learners**

problem	number of answers $n = 51$
vocabulary	11
none	9
reasons for different directness levels	7
conversations	4
suggestion forms	4
goals of the lessons	3
suggestion responses	2
grammar	1
use of suggestions in conversation	1
verb conjugation	1

Unlike the lessons received by the Survey I learners, the suggestion lessons were not tailored to the learners' course. Although some vocabulary items in the conversations were glossed, it was assumed that learners would be able to grasp the overall meaning of the conversations with the suggestions and suggestion responses. Nine learners reported that they had no problems comprehending the content, which is reflected in the rating data from Question #1. Example (6) illustrates the learners' difficulty to appreciate reasons for the different directness levels in various situations.

(6)   Sometimes it was hard to tell how strong to make the suggestions.

Other comments for this question cited problems understanding the suggestion forms, the sample conversations, goals of the lessons, suggestion responses, and linguistic features of grammar and verb conjugations.

The results regarding the interest level of the lessons reflect the data from Survey I. The majority of the learners rated the lessons as "somewhat interesting" (39%; $n = 25$), followed by 26% ($n = 17$) who reported a higher level of interest in the speech act lessons ("interesting"). Because the lesson formats were the same for all three lessons and only two speech acts, suggestions and suggestion responses, were presented, the limitations of format and topics may explain the lower interest levels. Also, some learners commented in their answers to Question #7 ("most and least important things learned") that the lessons repeated material that they had learned in their

previous and current courses, which may have contributed to the lower ratings for interest in the pragmatics instruction.

In response to Question #4 ("How much did you learn about using Spanish in conversations?"), the most common answer was "a bit" (44%; $n = 29$), followed by "enough" (37%; $n = 24$). For the most important thing learned in the lessons (Question #7), the Survey II learners most frequently mentioned directness levels in conversations and making suggestions in general. These comments reflect specific topics of the speech act lessons. Example (7) is a response from one of the learners.

(7)   I learned how to suggest ideas to people in various ways.

Question #5 ("In your view, did the lessons help you to improve your Spanish?") asked learners whether the lessons helped them improve their Spanish. Fifty-two percent ($n = 34$) of the Survey II learners indicated that the lessons had "perhaps" helped them with their Spanish proficiency, followed by 25% ($n = 16$) who reported that the lessons had "probably" helped improve their Spanish. In other comments about what they had learned in the lessons (Question #7), some learners addressed the general topics of verb tenses and vocabulary. One learner also mentioned question formation. The highest score for the lessons' helpfulness for other work in Spanish course was "probably not" at 37% ($n = 24$), followed by "perhaps" at 29% ($n = 19$), and "probably" at 25% ($n = 16$).

Unlike the lessons taken by the Survey I learners, the speech act units on suggestions and suggestion responses were not specially created to incorporate material from the learners' course. Some suggestions in the lessons did use verb forms such as the conditional and subjunctive mood, which were grammatical items presented in the normal syllabus. However, the lessons were not as obviously connected to the course material and this may have contributed to the lower rating for the lessons' helpfulness with other work in the course. The narrow focus in the lessons may have also served to limit the perceived value of the lessons for improving Spanish knowledge.

Tables 7 and 8 present the complete list of responses to Question #7, which have been discussed in relation to the other rating questions.

The majority of the learners answering this question responded that the most important things learned in the lessons are directness levels in conversation and making suggestions, which reflect the goals of the instructional units (see Table 7). Other comments mention conversation in general, verb tenses, vocabulary and other items. Only eight learners

answered the second part of the question about the least important thing learned in the lessons, as displayed in Table 8.

Table 7. **Most important things learned in SA lessons as evaluated by Survey II learners**

aspects of Spanish learned	number of answers $n = 43$
directness levels in conversation	14
making suggestions	9
conversation	7
verb tenses	5
vocabulary	4
need to practice Spanish	1
questions	1
review items from course	1
suggestion responses	1

Table 8. **Least important things learned in the SA Lessons as evaluated by Survey II learners**

aspects of Spanish learned	number of answers $n = 8$
directness levels	3
lessons repeated material from current and previous courses	3
use of suggestions in conversations	1
vocabulary	1

Their comments addressed the directness levels, a repetition of materials from the fourth semester course, use of suggestions in conversations, and vocabulary.

Question #10 requested suggestions for ways to improve the lessons. The learners' recommendations are listed in Table 9. Most of the responses fall into the category of "make more interesting."

Examples 8 and 9 show the most common suggestions by the learners in this category.

(8) Could add more variety in the way they're presented.
(9) More variety of materials —not just suggestions.

Table 9.   Survey II learners' suggestions for improving SA lessons

suggestions	number of answers *n* = 38
make more interesting	14
none	7
more explanations	5
include more conversation/interaction	4
more time for lessons	3
use multiple choice instead of open-ended questions in activities	2
less writing	1
different format	1
include different SAs	1

Five learners also requested more explanations. Four of the learners who made this specific request were in the implicit feedback treatment groups, which meant that their correct answers were simply confirmed. For the incorrect answers, the instructors gave a recast to signal that a reformulation of their response was required (Lyster, 1998). This result concurs with the opinions of some learners in Olshtain and Cohen (1990) and Tateyama (2001) who preferred more explicit explanations in their instruction.

Table 10.   Other aspects of Spanish that Survey II learners want to learn

aspects	number of answers *n* = 47
culture	12
conversation	11
everything	6
grammar and verbs	5
slang	4
vocabulary	4
dialectal differences	2
how to ask and answer questions	1
how to talk to a native Spanish speaker	1
travel Spanish	1

The responses to the final question are Question #9 ("What other aspects of Spanish would you like to learn?") are presented in Table 10.

The number one response was culture and customs followed by conversation. The results are similar to the Survey I learners. In example (10), one learner wrote,

(10) More conversations and vocabulary for everyday situations.

Only two learners answered Question #11, which requested any other comments from the learners, however, the responses did not address the lesson content.

Discussion

By using the responses to the two surveys detailed in the previous sections, we consider the research questions of this investigation. The first question addressed the level of difficulty of the speech act lessons as perceived by the learners. Although both lessons sets appear to be suitable for the learners' levels, there were some points of difficulty. Learners commented about some aspects of the lessons, which were difficult to understand (e.g., pragmatic uses of language or vocabulary). Also, the lesson materials of video-taped and written conversations were challenging to comprehend for some learners, which indicates the need for previewing vocabulary or more time of exposure to the discourse containing the speech act forms. It is interesting to note that the instructors who used the lessons in their classes revealed that there were many comprehension problems during the first lesson of both series because students were not accustomed to the format of the lessons. The subsequent units were more easily understood and the difficulty level subsided as students gained familiarity with the lesson components. Some learners desired additional explanations reflecting the favorable evaluations given to explicit instruction in previous studies (Olshtain & Cohen, 1990; Tateyama, 2001).

The second research question concerned the interest level of the pragmatics instruction. The two sets of lessons evoked moderate interest for the learners. This was due, in part, to a similar format of the lessons, which aided comprehension, but became boring for some learners. The learners suggested adding more variety to the lessons in terms of topics, format, and activities. Both groups of learners requested more interaction in the lessons to practice the targeted forms. In Lyster's (1993) study, learners identified the role-play as the most interesting activity, which allows learners to apply the pragmatic strategies in interactions. For the Survey I learners, the use of

pedagogical video *Destinos* in the lessons appears to be a common source of low interest levels.

Research Question #3 was directed to learners' perception of the usefulness of pragmatics instruction for improving their Spanish knowledge and for other work in the Spanish courses. The learners in both groups recognized the value of the lessons for using Spanish in interactions. Survey I learners saw more relevance of the speech act lessons to their Spanish course probably because the instruction incorporated material in the normal course syllabus (e.g., expressions of gratitude, apology, commands, present subjunctive). In contrast, the Survey II learners viewed the lessons as more limited in helping them to improve their Spanish knowledge and aiding in other work in the course due to the fact that the lessons were not specifically designed for the intermediate course syllabus. The experimental nature of both lesson series was another factor that may have contributed to lower evaluations of the lessons as interesting and/or useful. The learners in Surveys I and II knew that the pragmatics instruction was an extra component of the course. Some students disliked the fact that the lessons used class time normally devoted to other activities. This concern about time was not addressed in the other studies on learners' attitudes towards pragmatics instruction (Lyster, 1993; Olshtain & Cohen, 1990; Tateyama, 2001). Both groups of learners in the present study were taking lower level university language courses, which follow a set syllabus and make it difficult to add new materials and activities.

The fourth research question addressed the issue of how to improve pragmatics instruction to respond to the interest and needs of second language learners. Based on the learners' suggestions and comments and previous research in teaching pragmatics, we can formulate some guidelines for designing instructional practices for teaching target language pragmatics. To appeal to different interests and learning styles, pragmatics instruction, like other pedagogy, should include a variety of activities to motivate learners. Another improvement for teaching pragmatics is directed to the learners' desire to learn "real life" language. Instructional materials on second language pragmatics should incorporate authentic language sources, such as film, television, and first language pragmatics research (Rose, 1993, 1997, 2001; Tateyama, 2001). Although it may be difficult to control for content and language level, these resources can provide the students with the "real stuff" that they desire. By helping them to negotiate authentic language, we can encourage learners to acquire the pragmatic concepts and strategies presented in instruction.

The area of computer-assisted language learning also offers pedagogical techniques to teach pragmatics. Lelouche and Huot (1998) developed a prototype program for teaching how pragmatic variables (e.g., relationship between speaker and hearer, address forms, politeness, and tone) are associated with specific linguistic forms. Levy (1999) created a multimedia CALL program to aid international students at an Australian university with negotiating interactions with native speakers. The topics included opening and closing sequences, directness/indirectness levels, conversation leading, reciprocity and cooperation in conversations, face-saving language and strategies, and cross-cultural differences. The program was composed of video segments and a system of light signals to facilitate noticing of conversational features. Levy's program shows how the multimedia environment can make pragmatic strategies more accessible for the learners using authentic sources in film and video. The use of Internet resources for telecollaboration in language classes can also have positive effects on learners' knowledge of target language pragmatics. For example, two investigations by Belz and Kinginger (2002, 2003) examined learners who interacted with native speakers in e-mail exchanges; these learners were provided guidance and modeling of appropriate pronoun usage and increased their awareness of the sociopragmatic meaning of the formal and familiar second person pronouns in German.

Teaching of pragmatics should also be integrated into the regular material of second language courses as much as possible. This is particularly important for learners who are studying in foreign language contexts because their environment lacks the social immediacy that makes speakers' variation of their language relevant and necessary. Like other pedagogical innovations (e.g., project-based instruction, cultural units, communicative language teaching) that do not follow familiar formats and content (Beckett, 2002; Blyth, 1999; Sauvignon & Wang 2003; Schulz, 1996), teaching pragmatics may contradict learners' expectations for language instruction. However, the pragmatic aspects of language can provide learners with additional contexts to aid their comprehension and acquisition of target language forms presented in classes. Indeed, various grammatical and vocabulary items, such as the subjunctive, intensifiers, and mitigators, derive their meanings from their pragmatic applications.

Finally, as should be done with all instruction, we need to make the case for teaching pragmatics to the learners themselves. As shown by comments of some learners in the surveys, the need to use different speech for specific situations was unclear. Although native speakers are given overt training in their first language to use language appropriately, the awareness of how

language is manipulated according to context and message may fade when learners struggle simply to communicate their ideas in a second language. Rose (1994) details examples of instructional techniques to show learners how pragmatic strategies are used in their first language to conform to variables of speaker, hearer, and context. By informing learners about the relevance of pragmatics to language learning, their interest and receptivity to our instructional practices and materials can be increased.

Conclusion

The analysis of the survey responses by second language learners of Spanish reveals both positive and negative attitudes towards pragmatics instruction. The learners indicated that the lessons aided their understanding about using Spanish speech acts in interactions. The lessons were viewed to have some relevance to learning Spanish and other course work. The negative evaluations concerned the similarity of format and content and the use of non-authentic video and texts as learners expressed their desire to learn "real Spanish."

The current investigation has some limitations due to the various factors. The data for the study were collected from two groups of Spanish second language learners at American universities. Most of the Survey I learners were taking their second semester Spanish course as a requirement. Some of the Survey II learners expected to continue studying Spanish as a major or minor. The evaluations of the pragmatic treatments may have been influenced by existing negative attitudes toward an obligatory course.

Another limitation of the study concerns the survey questionnaire used to solicit learners' feedback, which contains nine questions specifically about the speech act lessons. To obtain more complete information about learners' attitudes towards pragmatics instruction in their courses, the survey questionnaire should be revised to include detailed questions about lesson materials and activities. There are several instruments to collect data about learners' attitudes and beliefs about language learning (Bacon & Finnemann, 1990; Ewald, 2004; Horwitz, 1988; Sakui & Gaies, 1999; Sauvigon & Wang, 2003; Wen & Johnson, 1997). Research on pragmatics instruction can utilize resources from these existing questionnaires to provide a thorough assessment of learners' perspectives about learning pragmatics and the instructional practices used in their classes.

Future studies on the attitudes toward teaching pragmatics should also include participants in target language environments. To date, the only investigations in this area have been conducted in foreign language learning

contexts. Learners in immersion situations have readily available opportunities to use the target language outside of the classroom. Therefore, it is important to examine how pragmatics units are viewed by learners, who feel "a need for the instructional content, and perhaps more importantly, a context in which to apply their knowledge in real communication" (Rose & Kasper, 2001, p. 247).

Notes

1   The surveys about learners' attitudes were given as part of two studies on the effects of pragmatics instruction (Koike & Pearson, 2005; Pearson, 2001, in press). The present study will focus only on the learners' evaluations of treatments used to teach Spanish pragmatics in their courses.

2   Question #2 on the Student Evaluation Forms (See Appendixes A and B) asked learners to assess the difficulty of the tests given to measure the pragmatic competence of both groups of learners. The results of this question will not be discussed in this article.

3   The learners who participated in Survey II were only those taking their courses at Bowling Green State University. The survey questionnaire was given to the learners who were present for the three lessons. For the investigation of the effects of teaching suggestions (Koike & Pearson, 2005), 36 subjects from the Bowling Green State University group were selected based on their completion of all three of the tests to measure their pragmatic competence.

4   The Survey I learners were given detailed explanations both orally and in writing that the class work of their second semester course would include the speech act lessons and testing sessions. By agreeing to participate, learners gave their consent to allow the research to use their responses on the tests. Despite the information provided in the initial recruitment at the beginning of the semester, this learner may have misunderstood about what participation entailed, that is, the test responses could be analyzed for the study.

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Appendix A: Student evaluation form – Survey I

Circle the most appropriate response.

1. How would you rate the lessons using the scenes from *Destinos*?
   very easy   easy   neither easy nor difficult   difficult   very difficult

2. How would you rate the oral tests?
   very easy   easy   neither easy nor difficult   difficult   very difficult

3. In your opinion, did you find the lessons _____ ?

   | very interesting | interesting | somewhat interesting | a little interesting | not at all interesting |

4. How much did you learn about using Spanish in various social contexts?
   very much   enough   more or less   a bit   nothing

5. In your view, did the lessons help you improve your Spanish?
   definitely   probably   perhaps   probably not   not at all

6. Did the lessons help you with other class work in SPAN _____ ?
   definitely   probably   perhaps   probably not   not at all   (course number)

7. What is the most important thing that you learned in these lessons?
   And the least important thing?

8. What aspects of the lessons did you have trouble understanding?

9. What are some other aspects of Spanish that you would like to learn?

10. What suggestions do you have for improving the lessons?

11. Please list any other comments you have below.

Appendix B: Student evaluation form – Survey II

Circle the most appropriate response.

1. How would you rate the lessons about making and responding to suggestions?
   very easy   easy   neither easy nor difficult   difficult   very difficult

2. How would you rate the written tests?
   very easy   easy   neither easy nor difficult   difficult   very difficult

3. In your opinion, did you find the lessons _____?
   very
   interesting   interesting   somewhat
   interesting   a little
   interesting   not at all
   interesting

4. How much did you learn about using Spanish in conversations?
   very much   enough   more or less   a bit   nothing

5. In your view, did the lessons help you improve your Spanish?
   definitely   probably   perhaps   probably not   not at all

6. Did the lessons help you with other class work in SPAN _____?
   definitely   probably   perhaps   probably not   not at all   (course number)

7. What is the most important thing that you learned in these lessons?
   And the least important thing?

8. What aspects of the lessons did you have trouble understanding?

9. What are some other aspects of Spanish that you would like to learn?

10. What suggestions do you have for improving the lessons?

11. Please list any other comments you have on the back of this sheet.

The Development of ESL Learners' Pragmatic Competence: A Longitudinal Investigation of Awareness and Production

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Introduction

Since Interlanguage Pragmatics began to establish itself as an independent discipline in the 1970s, a wide range of studies has been conducted to explore how the language use of learners and native speakers differs (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986; Kasper, 1981). These contrastive studies were very important since they provided valuable insights into the way learners express themselves and the difficulties they may face as a result of applying a new linguistic code. At the same time, however, one area in interlanguage pragmatics has remained a relatively uncharted territory: the development of pragmatic competence. While acquisitional studies have played a major role in other disciplines, such as grammar or vocabulary, the literature available on interlanguage pragmatic development has remained rather limited for many years as has been noted by Bardovi-Harlig (1999a), Kasper and Rose (2002), and Kasper and Schmidt (1996).

Recently, the research focus in the field seems to have shifted somewhat and an increasing number of studies examining learners' pragmatic development have been published, such as Belz and Kinginger (2002, 2003), Achiba (2003), Barron (2003), Matsumura (2003), Warga (2003, 2004), Schauer (2004), and Belz and Vyatkina (2005). These and earlier acquisitional studies have made significant contributions to our understanding of learners' pragmatic development. However, some issues in developmental interlanguage pragmatics are still rather underexplored.

Although a number of studies have examined the development of learners' productive pragmatic competence, such as the majority of developmental studies that were published in recent years, and some studies have explored the development of learners' pragmatic awareness,

there seem to be hardly any investigations which examine the development of pragmatic awareness [1] and productive pragmatic competence of one learner sample. Another issue in interlanguage pragmatics which has received relatively little attention is the pragmatic development of university students in second language environments, which could provide useful insights into the effectiveness of student exchange programs,[2] such as the European Erasmus/Socrates program, on learners' pragmatic development. Although some studies have focused on the development of learners attending higher educational institutions in second language contexts, for example Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993), Barron (2003), and Matsumura (2003), none of the studies in that area seem to have focused on both learners' pragmatic awareness and productive pragmatic competence in typical second language learning contexts.

The present paper attempts to shed some light on the pragmatic development of learners of English in a second language environment who are attending higher educational institutions, henceforth ESL learners, by examining the development of their ability to correctly identify pragmatic violations and to perform requests with the help of Internal and External Modifiers. Data for the examination of learners' pragmatic awareness were elicited with Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) seminal video-and-questionnaire task as well as semi-structured interviews. In keeping with the research design of their original study, this part of my investigation will focus on the ESL learner group and will contrast it with the data of two control groups, learners of English in Germany, henceforth EFL learners, and English native speakers. In contrast, the examination of learners' productive pragmatic development will focus more on the individual ESL learners and individual learner variations. Data for this part of the study were collected with the newly developed Multimedia Elicitation Task, which was specifically designed for the present study.

Background

Two models for interlanguage pragmatic development are generally distinguished. The first model is Schmidt's (1990, 1993) noticing hypothesis, which is an influential cognitive psychological approach regarding the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge. He argues that pragmatic strategies, such as how to end telephone conversations in a second language for example, first have to be noticed by the learner before they can be processed, understood, and finally appropriately implemented. In contrast, Bialystok's (1991, 1993) cognitive-psychological model for linguistic

processing divides the elements that are necessary for the analysis of linguistic systems into three levels of representation: conceptual, formal, and symbolic. Conceptual representation is the first access stage to a new language. Although learners can convey their intentions at this level, they focus on "the intended meaning and not on the forms being selected to express that intention" (Bialystok, 1993, p. 51). Thus, learners do not have the ability to recognize that a specific form is functioning as a request. They are only able to make this connection in the next stage, formal representation. Symbolic representation then entails the learner's ability to identify the formal–functional mapping of linguistic features in a request as well as the illocutionary function of these features.

Similar to the two models of cognitive processes involved in interlanguage pragmatic development, two types of developmental studies are commonly distinguished in interlanguage pragmatics, those that are based on a longitudinal and those that are based on a cross-sectional design. Longitudinal studies follow the progress of a particular group of learners over a certain period of time, while cross-sectional studies compare data collected from two distinct learner groups that differ, for instance, in their proficiency in the target language or length of time spent in the second language environment (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999b; Kasper & Rose, 2002).

Studies focusing on the development of learners' pragmatic awareness

Using a cross-sectional approach, Koike (1996) explored learners' pragmatic awareness of different suggestions in Spanish. Participants in her study were first year, second year, and advanced level (either in their third or fourth year) students of Spanish. The data for her investigation were elicited with a combined video and questionnaire task in which the learners were asked to assess the speakers' mood on a Likert scale that measured different levels of the speaker's characteristics, for example, strength/ weakness, friendly/unfriendliness, and were also asked to formulate an appropriate reply to the speakers' utterance. The statistical comparison of the three learner groups revealed that although the results of the first and second year learners were not significantly different, the advanced group's results were significantly better than those of the two former groups. Based on her findings, Koike (1996) concluded that the comprehension of speech acts, such as suggestions, was difficult for beginner-level language learners, even when they were expressed in a similar way in the L1 and the L2.

Like Koike (1996), Cook and Liddicoat (2002) also employed a cross-sectional design in their study that compared high and low proficiency ESL learners' pragmatic awareness of requests with that of Australian English native speakers. Their instrument was a Multiple Choice Questionnaire focusing on requests. Their results showed significant differences in the correct identification of requests between the two learner groups. The high proficiency learners correctly identified the meaning of conventionally and nonconventionally indirect requests with a significantly higher frequency than the low proficiency learners. Thus, their investigation suggests that increasing proficiency levels may result in a greater ability to correctly interpret request utterances.

Matsumura's (2003) study of Japanese ESL learners' perceptions of appropriateness in advice situations is one of the few longitudinal developmental studies in interlanguage pragmatics that is based on data gathered both before and during exposure to an L2 context. The data for Matsumura's study were gathered at 3-month intervals with the first data collection session taking place before the learners left Japan, and subsequent data collections taking place in Canada. The statistical analysis of her data showed that the amount of exposure to the target language was the single factor in this study that was significant in determining the pragmatic development of the learners, that is, those learners who had more exposure to English displayed a higher level of competence. The data further revealed that even the amount of exposure in the learners' home country influenced their pragmatic development abroad, as those learners who had received a larger amount of exposure in Japan became more pragmatically competence early on in their time in Canada. Concerning the learners' different proficiency levels in listening, grammar, and reading in the L2 as had been tested with the TOEFL test, the study showed that proficiency on its own did not have a significant effect on the learners' pragmatic development. Instead, the data revealed that proficiency had an indirect effect on pragmatic development linked to the degree of exposure.

The results of Koike's (1996) and Matsumura's (2003) studies have shown that two factors play an important role in the development of pragmatic awareness, the length of stay in the L2 context and the overall level of proficiency in the target language, although the latter was only a significant factor when combined with a high level of exposure in Matsumura's study. The proficiency factor appears to provide evidence for Bialystok's (1991, 1993) processing model, while the length of stay in the target environment seems to confirm Schmidt's (1993) noticing hypothesis since a longer exposure to the L2 provides learners with more opportunities

to observe and notice native speakers perform pragmatic acts, such as thanking or requesting. Matsumura's study further supports Schmidt's hypothesis since her participants who had the most frequent exposure to their second language increased their pragmatic awareness more significantly than those who had a lower degree of exposure to their L2.

Studies focusing on the development of learner's productive pragmatic competence

Apart from requests, a number of different speech acts and other phenomena have been investigated in productive studies examining learners' pragmatic development, such as refusals in ESL and EFL contexts (Takahashi & Beebe, 1987), suggestions and rejections in academic advising sessions (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993), the employment of the Japanese sentence-final particle *ne* (Sawyer, 1992), Japanese expressions of acknowledgement and alignment (Ohta, 2001), the use of *t-/V-* address form distinctions in German (Belz & Kinginger, 2002, 2003) and the employment of German modal particles (Belz & Vyatkina, 2005).

One of the earliest developmental studies in interlanguage pragmatics focusing on requests was Scarcella's cross-sectional examination of beginner and advanced level Arabic learners of English. Her findings suggest that some features of politeness such as the use of *Excuse me* or polite address terms such as *Sir* emerge early in the L2 acquisitional process, while others such as the use of the inclusive *we* or ellipsis are indicative of a later stage in the learning process. Although there were marked differences between the requests made by beginner and advanced level learners of English, with the latter displaying more characteristics of nativelike language use, Scarcella (1979) noted that "L2 performers are limited in both their range of politeness features and their capacity to vary their use according to the social context" (p. 286).

Also using a cross-sectional design, but focusing on adult learners in typical EFL contexts, Trosborg (1995) and Hill (1997) examined university students' ability to perform requests in Denmark and Japan, respectively. In both studies three learner groups of different proficiency levels were compared: intermediate, low level advanced, and high level advanced in Trosborg's study, and low, intermediate, and advanced in Hill's investigation. Trosborg and Hill both based their investigations on an established framework for request strategies and modification that had been used in a number of previous investigations, Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper's (1989) Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project.

While Trosborg (1995) found nonlinear development with regard to her learners' use of Internal Modification (the lower proficiency groups employed more Internal Modifiers than the highest proficiency group), Hill, in his study, observed a development away from native speakers' employment of Internal Modifiers with rising proficiency levels. Both studies, however, found that the use of External Modifiers increased relative to the learners' proficiency levels. The same development, that is, rising proficiency levels combined with increasing employment of External Modifiers, was also found in Rose's (2000) cross-sectional investigation of child EFL learners in Hong Kong and Warga's (2003, 2004) cross-sectional study of teenaged learners of French in Austria. The results of these studies therefore seem to suggest a connection between proficiency levels and External Modifier use which appear to support Bialystok's (1991, 1993) processing model.

One of the first longitudinal studies in the field was Schmidt's (1983) examination of a Japanese ESL learner's development over a 3-year period. Although Schmidt does not exclusively concentrate on requests in his investigation, his paper is one of the few studies in the discipline that focuses on an individual learner. The participant in this case study was a male beginner level learner, Wes, whom Schmidt observed in Hawai'i. At the beginning of the observation period, Wes employed short requests mainly relying on the formulaic request forms such as *Can I …?* and *Shall we …?,* although the latter was only used with the verb *go* and thus was not yet employed as a formulaic expression. Similar to Scarcella's (1979) learners, Wes also employed the Politeness Marker *please* at this early stage. By the end of the observation period, Wes used *shall we* and *let's* formulas with a variety of different verbs for a wide range of requests. In addition, his utterances had become more elaborate. Although, as Schmidt noted his ability to vary request forms increased during the 3 years, he did not have complete control over the use of appropriate request forms in different situations and with different interlocutors.

Examining child ESL learners in their longitudinal studies, Ellis (1992) followed the development of two immigrant boys, J, aged 10, and R, aged 11, in a British educational institution over four and six school terms, respectively, while Achiba (2003) investigated the pragmatic development of her daughter Yao in Australia for a period of 17 months. Like the learner(s) in Scarcella's (1979) and Schmidt's (1983) studies, all three children employed the Politeness Marker *please* from a very early stage. However, Ellis' results show that the employment of Internal and External Modifiers differed considerably between the two learners. J only used a total of eight Internal and three External Modifiers during the observation period, whereas R

employed a total of 70 Internal and 11 External Modifiers during the observation period. Since these differences already began to manifest themselves in the second term, they cannot be explained by the longer observation of R, instead they seem to be indicative of individual learner variations. As Achiba seems to have employed Modifier categories that Ellis did not use, the overall numbers cannot easily be compared. However, the fact that Yao used 952 Modifiers overall during the observation period, suggests that individual learner differences,[3] such as the learning context, parents' socioeconomic background as well as a number of other factors, may influence learners' pragmatic development.

Achiba's (2003) results further reveal that the majority of Yao's External Modifiers were acquired later than the Internal Modifiers, which is similar to Modifier use by R, who only began to employ External Modifiers in his third term at school. Based on these findings it seems that Internal Modifiers might be acquired earlier than External Modifiers, which may be explained by the higher cognitive complexity of adding additional supporting statements to a request than a mere Internal Modifier such as *perhaps*, *a bit* or *please*.

In her longitudinal study, Barron (2003) followed the pragmatic development of 33 Irish learners of German in Germany. The learner participants were university students who spent 1 year in a study-abroad program in Germany. The data were gathered at three distinct points, with the first collection taking place in the learners' home country, the second collection occurring after the learners had spent 2 months in the target environment, and the last collection taking place 7 months later at the end of their stay. In addition, data were also collected from English and German native speakers. The elicitation instruments used were production questionnaires and interviews. Barron focused on Internal Modification in her analysis of requests and found no significant development towards the native speaker norm in the case of syntactic Modifiers. However, the results revealed increases of lexical/phrasal Modifiers toward nativelike frequency, although some of this development was non-linear.

The developmental studies focusing on learners' productive pragmatic skills in requests have shown that there are common trends such as the use of the Politeness Marker *please* from an early stage (e.g., Ellis, 1992; Scarcella, 1979) and an increase in External Modifiers relative to learners' proficiency levels in cross-sectional studies (e.g., Hill 1997; Rose, 2000; Trosborg, 1995,). The employment of Internal Modifiers over time as examined in longitudinal studies by Ellis (1992), Achiba (2003), and Barron (2003) suggest that development of these occur in a more curved than linear fashion. Ellis' (1992) and Achiba's (2003) studies further showed that

individual learner differences or variations in the learning context can also influence the development of productive pragmatic competence since not all of their child learners acquired the same Modifiers at the same time.

This discussion has shown that while there are a number of cross-sectional request studies available, only very few researchers have conducted longitudinal investigations of adult learners' productive competence in requests in a second language context. This, and the fact that there do not appear to be any studies that investigate the pragmatic development of ESL learners from two angles —their pragmatic awareness and their productive pragmatic competence— give impetus to the present investigation and its focus on precisely these issues.

Methodology

Participants

Sixteeen German ESL learners provided the developmental data for this investigation into learners' pragmatic awareness. Eight members of this group were female and eight were male. Their average age was 23. None of the ESL learners had lived in an English speaking country prior to taking part in the research; none of them had participated in school exchange programs that lasted several weeks or had worked as an au-pair. Participants in this group had received formal English education in Germany for an average of 8 years. Eight of the students had studied English for their "Leistungskurs" (equivalent to the British A-levels or U.S. American advanced placement courses) at their grammar school, while the other half had attended normal English classes at grammar school level in their last 2 years at school. The ESL learners, who were enrolled at a British University for the duration of 1 academic year, came from various parts of Germany and studied a variety of different subjects ranging from Business Studies to Psychology.

Unfortunately only 9 of the 16 learners in this group could also participate in the investigation of learners' productive pragmatic competence in this study. Since this part of the present investigation focuses on development of the individual learners, the nine ESL learners who provided the productive data are described in more detail in Table 1.

Table 1.   ESL learners in the productive part of the study

	age	formal English education (years)	English 1st foreign language	English honours degree course
Andreas[4]	24	11	yes	yes
Bernd	21	8	yes	yes
Christoph	23	9	yes	no
Daniel	24	9	yes	no
Eva	22	9	yes	yes
Franziska	27	9	yes	no
Greta	22	5	no	no
Hendrik	23	9	yes	no
Iris	20	7	no	yes

In addition to the ESL learners, two control groups comprising a roughly similar number of participants provided data for the investigation of learners'/native speakers' pragmatic awareness. The first control group contained 17 German EFL learners, who were all in their final year of a 3-year translation course in English translation studies at a higher education institution in Germany. Members of this group attended 19 English classes per week that were taught by American, British, and Australian English native speakers, as well as by German instructors. Due to the nature of the institution, the vast majority of students are female, and this is also reflected in the participant sample, which consisted of 1 male and 16 female learners. The average age of this group was 24 years and was therefore similar to that of the Germans in England. None of these students had lived in an English speaking country prior to taking part in the research. Like the German participants in England, they had also learned English for an average of 8 years at German secondary schools. Ten of the students in this group had studied English for their Leistungskurs at school.

The second control group who took part in the awareness investigation comprised 20 British English native speakers who were studying at a British university. To ensure that the native speaker sample reflected the pragmatic assessment of a group of English students who were as diverse as the ESL learners regarding the ESL groups' age range and the different subjects that members of the ESL group were studying, undergraduate students as well as graduate students, studying a variety of different subjects, took part in the study. Four of the students in this sample were male and 16 female. Their average age was 22 years.

Instruments in the awareness investigation

The video-and-questionnaire task eliciting the data concerning the participants' pragmatic and linguistic was developed by Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei (1998; see their paper for a detailed, in-depth discussion of the instrument). The video contained 20 scenarios featuring interactions that students are familiar with and experience on a regular basis in a school context. They showed either Anna, a female student, or Peter, a male student, interacting with fellow students, teachers, or members of staff. All conversations took place with same-sex interlocutors, which eliminated any cross-gender variables. Eight of the scenarios were pragmatically inappropriate but grammatically correct, eight were grammatically incorrect but pragmatically appropriate and four were appropriate and grammatical (controls).

The 20 situations, including apologies, refusals, requests, and suggestions, were based on actual observed interactions or data elicited with Discourse Completion Tasks. The scenarios were randomly arranged in four blocks of five,[5] whereby each block contained two scenarios featuring a pragmatic infelicity, two scenarios containing a grammatical violation and one control scenario. The accompanying questionnaire contained the targeted utterance for each scenario in bold and two questions next to it as Figure 1 illustrates.

Scenario 7	
teacher: Anna, it's your turn to give your talk.	Was the last part appropriate/correct? ☐　　　☐ **yes**　　**no**
student: **! I can't do it today, but I will do it next week.**	If there was a problem, how bad do you think it was? **not bad at all**　:___: :___: :___: :___: :___:　**very bad**

Figure 1.　Questionnaire Scenario 7.

The first question refers to the appropriateness/correctness of the targeted utterance and will be discussed later when analyzing the participants' error recognition. This question was answered by all participants, while the second question was only filled in by those who thought that the key sentence was inappropriate/incorrect. If the participants thought that the utterance was problematic, they rated the severity of the perceived linguistic infelicity on a six-point-scale ranging from "not bad at all" to "very bad." To aid the participants' recollection of the individual scenarios

during the interview, I included the sentence that preceded the targeted utterance in the questionnaire and also indicated who the interlocutor was, for example, a teacher in scenario 7 above. The participants watched each of the scenarios twice before filling in the questionnaire. They were alerted to the targeted utterance by a flashing exclamation mark which preceded it in the video.

After the participants had completed the questionnaire, they took part in a semistructured interview, in which they explained why they had marked an utterance as either right or wrong, which enabled me to determine whether they had indeed detected the planted errors or if they had mistakenly thought that a scenario containing a pragmatic violation included a grammatical error. In addition, the ESL learners were also encouraged to talk about any issues related to their stay in the target context and their language use/ development.

Instruments in the productive investigation

Data for the investigation into the learners' productive pragmatic competence were collected with the Multimedia Elicitation Task (MET) that I had developed for this study. The MET is a 16-scenario multimedia production questionnaire focusing on requests. It is computer-based and thus addresses one of the disadvantages of role-plays: the issue of standardization. The degree of standardization can constitute a problem in pragmatics research since the participants' actions and reactions, and therefore their choice of words and strategies, depend to a large extent on their perception and assessment of the situational context. It is therefore an important challenge for researchers who employ role-plays to ensure that all of their data have indeed been collected under comparable circumstances without any interference of factors such as the professional interlocutor's mood or tone. The MET attempts to control for these factors by regulating the timing and the nature of the audio and visual input through a computerized presentation format. Thus, it is designed to ensure equal conditions for every participant, while providing rich audiovisual contextual information. Furthermore, the instrument elicits oral rather than written data, which, according to Rintell and Mitchell (1989) and Yuan (2001), display more features of naturally occurring talk than written production questionnaires.

Participants are asked to sit down in front of a computer, watch a series of slides, listen to instructions and record specifically elicited sentences. Each MET scenario is preceded by an introductory slide (see Figure 2) that

briefly tells the learners what to expect in the actual scenario (e.g., "Asking a professor for directions to the Trent Building"). After 10 seconds, the introductory slide switches to the actual scenario slide (Figure 3), which provides the participants with audiovisual information in the form of a photographic image depicting the situation as well as an audio description of the scenario.

Scenario 1	
visual input	**audio input**
asking a professor for directions to the Trent Building	

Figure 2. Introductory slide for Scenario 1.
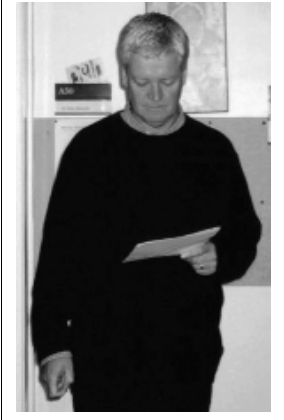
Scenario 1	
visual input	**audio input**
	You are in the corridor of your department. Your next seminar is taking place in the Trent Building, but you don't know where the Trent Building is. One of your professors, Professor Jones, is walking down the corridor towards you. You ask him for directions to the Trent Building. You say...

Figure 3. Actual scenario slide for Scenario 1.

The introductory slides were included in the MET because I felt, as Harada (1996) also noted, that it was important to allow the participants "to think about what they were going to say before the performance, since it would be common in a real life situation" (p. 50), especially since requests are deliberate acts and not reactive utterances towards an interlocutor's preceding turn that have to be produced without previous planning. To provide the ESL learners and native speakers with an accessible context in the MET scenarios that was familiar to them, all pictures were taken with the

help of staff and students of the university the learners and native speakers attended in numerous campus locations in the summer of 2002. In order to ensure that the audio input would be easily understood by the participants, the recordings were done by an experienced English native speaker who had worked on a similar linguistic project before.

Procedure

Data for the combined video-and-questionnaire task and interview were elicited from the ESL learners in two sessions in the academic years 2001/2 and 2002/3. The data of both years were subsequently merged. The first session took place about 1 month after they had arrived in Britain, in late October and early November, and the second session occurred shortly before they left in May. The data of the German students in Germany for this part of the study were gathered in January 2002 and the data of the English native speakers were collected either in 2002 or 2003.

In contrast to the combined video-and-questionnaire task and interviews, the data for the MET were elicited at three distinct points of the ESL learners' sojourn in the target environment: shortly after their arrival in England in late October and early November 2002, in the middle of their stay in February 2003, and shortly before their return to Germany in May 2003. Thus, the intervals between the sessions were roughly 3 months. Since the learners were asked to actively produce utterances based on situations that they were likely to experience in their everyday life at an English university, I had decided on this more frequent elicitation as it would allow me to better detect when certain linguistic features first occurred and thus help to determine the salient periods for these linguistic features.

Discussion and Results

The development of learners' pragmatic awareness

Two different kinds of statistical analysis were conducted in the investigation of learners' pragmatic awareness: (a) paired sample *t*-tests to examine whether the ESL learners increased their pragmatic awareness during their stay in the target environment (i.e., whether they detected more pragmatic violations at the end of their sojourn than at the beginning) and (b) one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) to investigate whether the ESL learners' results differed from or were similar to the results of the two control groups. The following analyses refers to the question of whether the individual scenario contained an error or not; 1 is the good answer, therefore

values close to 1 show that a high number of participants detected the correct error type in scenarios containing an error or, in the case of the 4 correct scenarios, detected that it did not contain an error. If learners thought that a pragmatic scenario contained a grammatical error or no error, they were assigned a 0. Thus group scores close to 0 indicate that the particular error type, that is, pragmatic or grammatical, had only been correctly identified by a small number of group members. Table 2 presents the results of the statistical analyses.

Table 2. Learners' and native speakers' error recognition

scenarios	M				t^1	F		post-hoc[2]	
	GE1	GE2	G	E	GE1,GE2	GE1,G,E	GE2,G,E	GE1,G,E	GE2,G,E
pragmatic	.84	.95	.61	.95	−1.952*	15.256***	23.812***	G/GE1,E	G/E,GE2
grammatical	.69	.89	.96	.96	−2.668**	8.704**	1.611	GE1/E,G	
control	.67	.73	.45	.80	−.899	9.508***	12.879***	G/GE1,E	G/GE2,E

groups: GE1: Germans in England session 1
 GE2: Germans in England session 2
 G: Germans in Germany
 E: English native speakers s
[1] *t*-test is one-tailed
[2] The post-hoc test Gabriel was used, "/" indicates significant differences between the groups
* *p*< .05, ** *p*< .01, *** *p*< .001

The results of the paired-sample *t*-test comparing the ESL learners' ability to detect pragmatic violations after about 1 month in the target environment and at the end of their 9-month stay in England, show that the ESL learners identified significantly more pragmatic violations at the end than at the beginning of their sojourn. This suggests that a sustained sojourn

in the second language context positively influences the development of learners' pragmatic awareness. The findings of the one-way analysis of variance further reveal that even after about 1 month in England, the ESL learners already recognized significantly more pragmatic violations than the EFL learners. This might seem rather puzzling, since all of the EFL learners were planning to devote their professional lives to enabling others to communicate through them as translators, while only six of the ESL learners had been studying a subject related to the English language at their home universities.

A possible reason for this result might be an initial leap in the ESL learners' pragmatic awareness triggered by very frequent contact with native speakers in the initial weeks of the ESL learners' sojourn (the students had to organize their accommodation, finances and university courses), resulting in ample opportunity to notice pragmatic issues and thus to become more aware of them, which would support Schmidt's (1990, 1993) noticing hypothesis. Since an increase in ESL students' pragmatic awareness in the initial weeks of their sojourn in an L2 environment was also observed by Matsumura (2003), it seems that this possibility cannot be disregarded. However, as it was not possible to elicit data from the ESL learners prior to their departure to England, the present study cannot provide any statistical evidence for the initial pragmatic leap. Further studies that collect data from learners before they leave for their target L2 environment are necessary to investigate whether a high level of initial exposure to the L2 facilitates rapid gains in pragmatic development.

The comparison of the ESL learners' results with those of the two control groups further reveals that the ESL learners achieved the same pragmatic error recognition score at the end of their sojourn as the native speakers, namely 0.95. This suggests that after 9 months in the target context, the ESL learners are now as pragmatically aware of the simple pragmatic violations tested by the video-and-questionnaire task as the native speaker participants. In addition, the results of the investigation of the ESL learners' grammatical error recognition scores also show that the ESL learners significantly increased this part of their linguistic competence since (a) they detected more grammatical errors at the end of their stay than at the beginning and (b) at the end of their stay, their grammatical error recognition scores were no longer significantly worse than the EFL learners' and native speakers' scores. Thus, the findings of the ESL learners' awareness investigation have shown that the ESL learners significantly increased both their pragmatic and grammatical awareness as a result of their 9-month stay in England. This suggests that academic exchange programs which allow

students to study in their second language country for the duration of 1 academic year positively influence the development of learners' pragmatic and grammatical awareness. Whether they also facilitate an increase in learners' productive pragmatic repertoire will be examined in the following section.

The development of learners' productive pragmatic competence

In the following, the productive development of nine of the 16 ESL learners will be analyzed according to the External and Internal Request Modification frameworks developed by House and Kasper (1987), Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), and Trosborg (1995). External Modifiers are supporting statements that are used by the requesters to persuade the hearer to carry out the desired act, while Internal Downgraders are lexical and syntactic devices that are employed by the speakers to downtone their request utterance (Trosborg, 1995). To better represent my data, I added three categories to the ones established by the designers of the aforementioned frameworks, namely the External Modifiers Appreciator, Considerator, and Smalltalk. Definitions and examples of the various Modifier types can be found in the Appendix. Figure 4 and Table 3 show the first occurrence of the Internal Downgraders by the ESL learners.
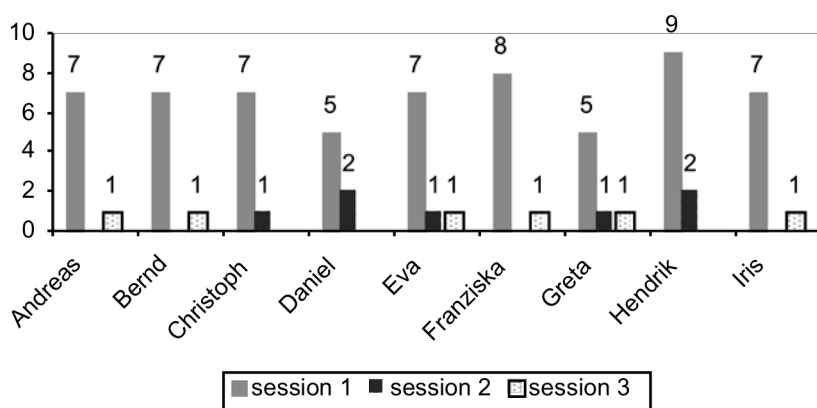
Figure 4.   First occurrence of internal downgraders used by the ESL learners.

Table 3.   First occurrence of external modifiers used by the ESL learners

	Andreas	Bernd	Christoph	Daniel	Eva	Franziska	Greta	Hendrik	Iris
consultative device	1	1	1		1	1	1	2	1
politeness marker	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
downtoner	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
understater	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1
marked modality	1	3	1	1	3				
aspect								2	
hedge								1	
impersonalizer	1	1	1	1	2	1		1	1
past tense modals	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
appreciative embedding	3				1	1	3	1	3
tentative embedding			2	1		3		1	
conditional clause		1	1		1	1	2	1	1

note: The numbers 1,2,3 refer to the data elicitation sessions in which the particular modifiers were first used.

The results suggest that a sustained sojourn in the target language environment seems to have a positive effect on all learners in this group, since every one of them employed at least one Internal Modifier that they had not used in the initial data collection session in subsequent sessions. The data further indicate that all learners already employed at least five Internal Modifiers in the first data collection session. This was expected, as learners who study at foreign universities need to have a proficiency level that at least allows them to follow lectures, write assignments, and engage in some basic oral interactions with fellow students and members of staff. However, the data also revealed some variation in the number of Internal Modifiers used by the learners in the first session, which ranged from nine different Individual Modifiers to five.

Perhaps surprisingly, the highest variety of different Internal Modifiers, was not employed by an English honours student, but instead by the Business studies student Hendrik. It is possible that majoring in Business might have influenced Hendrik's pragmatic choices, since he seemed very at-ease with communicating with interlocutors in a way that was friendly, goal-oriented, and convincing. Unfortunately, no data is available on whether Hendrik attended any courses on business negotiation techniques before taking part in the research. It is, therefore, not possible to determine whether he was taught how to achieve his goals effectively, or whether his confident performance simply reflected his personality. In session 2 Hendrik then used two Internal Modifiers which he had not previously employed —the first occurrence of two Modifiers not previously employed was also found in the data of three other learners

The second highest variety of Internal Downgraders were used in the first session by a female Psychology student, Franziska, who employed eight different Internal Modifiers. Like Hendrik, Franziska also appeared very confident. She had had some contact with American English native speakers prior to coming to England. Other than Hendrik, she only first used one additional Modifier which she had not employed in the first session, in the subsequent sessions.

Interestingly, all English honors students (Andreas, Bernd, Eva, and Iris) employed seven different Internal Downgraders in the first data collection session. Three of them subsequently first employed a new Internal Downgrader in session 3, while one, Eva, used one previously not-used Internal Downgrader in both sessions 2 and 3. Thus, only one of them belonged to the group of four students who first used two Internal Downgraders they had not previously employed in session 1 in subsequent sesssions. This suggests that with respect to the first occurrence of Internal Downgraders during a sojourn in the L2 context in the learner data, English honours students do not appear to make more and faster progress than students of other subjects. However, due to the small sample size, this notion clearly has to be considered tentative.

The highest number of Internal Downgraders that were first used by learners in session 2 or session 3 was two, although none of the four learners, Daniel, Eva, Greta, or Hendrik, who first used two Internal Modifiers in one of the later sessions first employed the same Internal Modifier type at the same time. In addition, the four learners did not seem to share any specific characteristics; Hendrik was the learner who had used the most Internal Modifiers, nine, in the first session, whereas Daniel and Greta employed only fie different Internal Modifiers at that time. Although it is not

unexpected that Hendrik increased his repertoire of Internal Modifiers by only two, since he had already previously used a wide variety of different Internal Modifiers, it does seem somewhat surprising that even those learners who only employed five different Internal Modifiers in the first data collection session did not seem to acquire further ones.

One factor which might have facilitated the pragmatic development of the four learners is the large amount of contact they had with English native speakers. Daniel was enrolled in a Masters program which provided him with frequent contact with fellow native speaker students. Eva had met her English boyfriend before the second data collection session and appeared to spend most of her spare time in his company. Hendrik had joined a sports society to make friends and in addition had to collaborate with several native speakers for projects in his course. Greta spent more time with English native speakers prior to the final data collection session, since her German speaking friends had returned to their home universities after one semester abroad. Thus the large amount of contact of these four learners with native speakers, which would have resulted in an equally large amount of input and therefore opportunities for them to notice Internal Modifiers, appears to support Schmidt's noticing hypothesis.

It has to be pointed out, however, that as the discussion of External Modifiers will show, a higher number of acquired Internal Modifiers does not automatically translate into the acquisition of an equally high number of External Modifiers. Also, not all ESL learners who had frequent contact with English native speakers acquired two Internal Modifiers. (Indeed, Andreas and Bernd, who also had a high degree of exposure to their L2, first used four and three External Modifiers, respectively, that they had not previously employed in later sessions.) Thus, the results seem to support previous research (e.g., Belz & Kinginger, 2002, 2003; Belz & Vyatkina, 2005; Ellis, 1992; Sawyer, 1992) which showed the importance of individual learner variation as a decisive factor in interlanguage pragmatic development. The discussion of learners' productive pragmatic competence has so far concentrated mainly on Internal Downgraders. Figure 5 and Table 4 present the results of the investigation into the first occurrence of learners' External Request Modifiers.
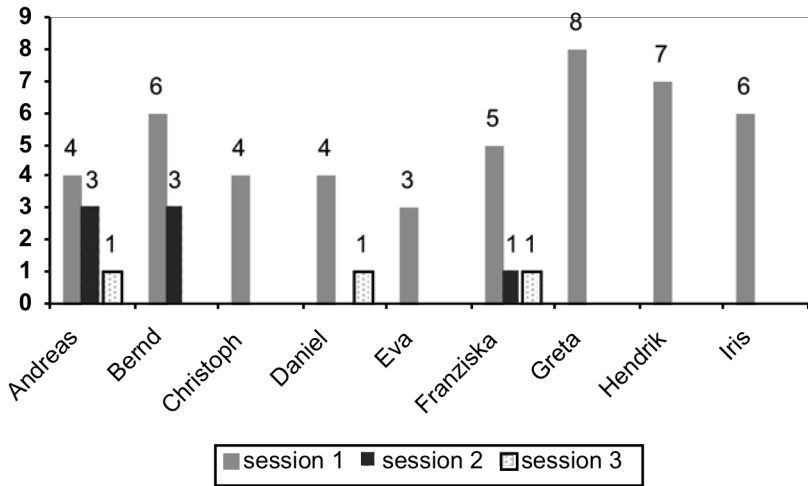
Figure 5.   First occurrence of external modifiers used by the ESL learners.

Table 4.   First occurrence of external modifiers used by the ESL learners

	Andreas	Bernd	Christoph	Daniel	Eva	Franziska	Greta	Hendrik	Iris
alerters	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
preparators	3	1		1		1	1	1	
grounders	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
disarmers	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1
appreciators	2	1				1	1	1	
sweeteners		2				2	1	1	
imposition minimizer	1	1	1	1		3	1	1	1
smalltalk	2	2		3					
considerator	2	2							
promise of reward							1		

The most striking difference between the first occurrence of Internal and External Modifiers in the present data is that while all learners seemed to have increased their repertoire of Internal Downgrader by at at least one

during their sojourn in the target context, only four of the nine learners (Andreas, Bernd, Daniel, and Franziska) employed an External Modifier in session 2 or 3 that they had not previously used in session 1. The highest number of new External Modifiers were used by two English honors students, Andreas and Bernd, in the second data collection session. This finding could suggest that their university studies had primed them, more than non-English honors students, to notice External Modifiers. It should be noted that neither of the other two English majors, Iris and Eva, appeared to have increased their External Modifiers repertoire during their stay. Thus, the data again suggest that prior second language studies at a higher educational level in the foreign language home country do not generally translate into a more rapid increase of Request Modifiers during the stay in the L2 context.

A possible explanation for the large number of new External Modifiers employed by Andreas and Bernd in subsequent sessions could be their very frequent contact with English native speakers. Although Eva had met her English boyfriend during her stay in the L2 context, her exposure to English native speakers seemed to be more limited than that of Andreas, who had an English speaking housemate and also often interacted with other native speakers, or Bernd, who stated in the interview that he had contact with many different native speakers as customers or colleagues as a result of his job in a café on campus.

The question that arises of course is why the other learners who also had a high degree of exposure, such as Hendrik, did not develop in a similar manner. One reason for that might lie in the findings of Hill's (1997), Rose's (2000), and Trosborg's (1995) studies, which indicated increases in External Modifiers relative to learners' proficiency level. Thus, it could be that a combination of several factors are in play, such as a high degree of exposure to various native speakers + a broader general background knowledge in the language through previous university studies + perhaps a higher intrinsic linguistic aptitude that facilitated the pragmatic development of these two learners. Consequently, the interplay of these factors would again point towards the significance of individual learner variation for their pragmatic development.

In addition, the data of the ESL learners show that generally fewer External Modifiers than Internal Modifiers were employed by the learners in the first data collection session. It could therefore be argued that these findings provide evidence for temporal patterning in that the learners tended to already have a broader repertoire of Internal Modifiers in the first data collection, which they then subsequently were all able to increase during

their sojourn, while their repertoire of External Modifiers was more limited and also only saw gains in the case of four learners.

Limitations

Prior to concluding, it is necessary to briefly address the limitations of the present study. The first limitation concerns the participant sample. German learners of English were selected so that the qualitative interviews could be conducted in the learners' mother tongue, which was intended to make it easier for them to express their opinions clearly and honestly. However, as the results of this investigation are only based on native speakers of one particular language and a rather limited number of learners, the present findings could only be characteristic of the particular L1 group.

A further limitation concerns the available background information of the ESL and EFL learner participants. Because none of the learners had taken a standardized general language proficiency test such as TOEFL or IELTS, it was not possible to determine whether their productive proficiency levels in grammar, listening, and speaking may have affected their ability to increase their pragmatic competence. Also, since data were collected from two instruments in two of the three data collection sessions in the case of the ESL learners, and the data collection had to be integrated into the rather full schedule of the EFL learners, it was not feasible to conduct long interviews with the learners. Consequently, I was not able to obtain more detailed information on factors that might have influenced their pragmatic progress, such as their interests, their level of motivation, or the frequency of exposure to the target language in various forms (e.g., through direct contact with native speakers, through books, etc.) A larger amount of background information on the individual learners might have helped to determine which factors play a decisive role in the development of learners' pragmatic competence.

Conclusion

This investigation into the development of learners' pragmatic competence during their stay in the L2 target environment has shown that the ESL learners increased both their pragmatic awareness as well as their productive pragmatic competence during their sojourn in England. Based on the results, two factors seem to have influenced learners' interlanguage pragmatic development: the temporal effect of exposure to the L2 and individual learner differences. The importance of the temporal aspect was shown by the examination of the development of the ESL learners' pragmatic

awareness. This investigation revealed that after a 9-month stay in the target environment the ESL learners had significantly increased their ability to notice pragmatic violations and had even managed to achieve the same pragmatic error recognition score as the native speaker control group. This, and the fact that they clearly outperformed the EFL learners, who were all studying to become translators for the English language, suggests that a sojourn in the L2 context facilitates the development of learners' pragmatic awareness.

While the first part of the study thus showed the significance of the temporal element in learners' pragmatic development, the second part of the study, which focused on the first occurrence of Request Modifiers in the data of nine ESL learners, revealed the importance of individual learner differences in learners' pragmatic development. The data showed that although all learners acquired at least one Modifier during their sojourn, there were variations in when, if at all, learners first employed a particular Modifier type. The results further revealed that the ESL learners tended to have a broader repertoire of Internal Modifiers than External Modifiers in the first data collection session. Combined with the fact that only four learners used additional External Modifiers in subsequent sessions, the results of the investigation seem to confirm previous research, which suggested that Internal Modifiers are acquired earlier than External Modifiers. While it is hoped that the present paper has helped to shed some light on interlanguage pragmatic development, much more research is needed to provide us with a clearer, more detailed picture of learners' pragmatic development that also will enable us to determine which combination of contextual, personal and temporal factors lead to considerable gains in learners' pragmatic competence.

There are several areas in particular that would benefit from future investigations. One of them, as mentioned above, concerns the effect of different factors on learners' pragmatic development. To further investigate if and to which degree factors such as learners' motivation, their amount of contact with native speakers, their educational background or their level of proficiency influence learners' development, future studies could use a combination of qualitative methods and quantitative methods, to research this issue.

Eliciting qualitative data in the form of learner diaries in particular might be helpful to examine when learners first notice specific pragmatic norms in their L2 and what they then decide to do with their newly acquired knowledge: Do they decide to try out the new formulae/words/strategies at the next opportunity that presents itself? Do they decide to investigate the

appropriate circumstances in which the formulae/words/strategies occurred more before using them, for example, by observing native speakers in the same context in which they first noticed the new form? Or do they perhaps notice a new formulae/word/strategy but then decide against using it altogether for some reason?

Another interesting area of investigation, in particular for the German context, would be the effect of different school curricula on learners' pragmatic development. Future studies could examine to what extent foreign language curricula differ in the 16 German states, if and how much pragmatic information is included in them and if these differences appear to make an impact on the learners' progress. In a similar vein, it would be interesting to investigate how university courses for foreign languages in the German states differ and whether particular teaching approaches, activities and learning goals facilitate learners' pragmatic development in their L2.

Notes

1   The term "pragmatic awareness" will be used in a rather broad sense in the present study to include issues such as learners' abiltity to identify and interpret the meaning of different utterances, as well as their ability to assess the appropriateness of different utterances. The broad view was taken due to the limited number of studies available in interlanguage pragmatics research that focus on the development of the aforementioned issues. Thus, the term "awareness" was employed to refer to a variety of related issues.

2   The Erasmus ("European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students") exchange program was established in 1987 by the European Commission. In 1995 the Erasmus program was incorporated into the new Socrates program, which has a wider scope as it promotes educational exchange for a variety of groups (e.g., school and university students, teachers, groups involved in lifelong learning). Since Erasmus was founded in 1987, more than one million university students have participated in the Erasmus or Sorcrates exchange programs. In 2004, 31 countries and 2,199 higher educational institutions were participating in the program.

3   For a good recent overview of individual learner differences see Dörnyei (2005).

4   All names of the participants have been changed to ensure their anonymity. Andreas had attended a special primary school in which English was taught. The

remaining eight participants had first received formal English education in their secondary schools.

5   In keeping with Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) study, the first block of scenarios and scenario 20 were excluded from the data analysis in the present paper, the former because it was considered a warm-up phase, the latter because the mistake was not sufficiently unambiguous.

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Appendix: External modifiers and internal downgraders

Overview of external modifiers

name	function	example
Alerter	linguistic device that is used to get the interlocutor's attention; precedes the head	*Er; excuse me; Hello, Peter.*
Preparator	short utterance that intends to prepare the interlocutor for the request; can follow or substitute the alerter	*May I ask you a favour*?
Head	the actual request	*Do you know where the Portland Building is*?
Grounder	provides an explanation for the request	*Erm, unfortunately, I really don't understand this topic here.*
Disarmer	used to pre-empt the interlocutor's potential objections	*I know you are really busy but maybe you've got some minutes for me.*
Imposition minimizer	employed to decrease the imposition of the request	*I will return them immediately, the next day.*
Sweetener	employed to flatter the interlocutor and to put them into a positive mood	*I think you are the perfect person to do it.*
Promise of reward	the requester offers the interlocutor a reward for fulfilling the request	*I would fill in yours [the questionnaire] as well, if you need one, one day.*
Smalltalk	short utterance at the beginning of the request that is intended to establish a positive atmosphere	*Good to see you.*
Appreciator*	usually employed at the end of the request to positively reinforce it	*That would be very nice.*
Considerator**	employed at the end of the request; intends to show consideration towards the interlocutor's situation	*Only if you've got the time of course.*

notes: * This category is quite closely related to the internal modifier Appreciative Embedding, but is used external to the Head Act whereas Appreciative Embedding is used within the Head Act.

 ** This category is similar to Achiba's (2003) Option givers, which is not defined for its location.

Overview of internal downgraders

name	function	example
Downtoner	sentence adverbial that is used to reduce the force of the request	*maybe, perhaps*
Politeness marker	employed by the speakers to bid for their interlocutors' cooperation	*please*
Understater	adverbial modifier that is employed to decrease the imposition of the request by underrepresenting the proposition of the request	*a bit, a little*
Past tense modals	make the request appear more polite	*could, would*
Consultative device	used to consult the interlocutor's opinion on the proposition of the request	*would you mind*
Hedge	adverbial that is used by the requester to make the request more vague	*somehow, somewhat*
Aspect	progressive form of verb that is used deliberately by the speaker	*wondering*
Marked modality	The use of the modals *might* and *may* make the request appear more tentative.	*may*, might
Conditional clause	employed by speakers to distance themselves from the request	*(…) if you could maybe fill in the questionnaire?*
Appreciative embedding	used by the speakers to positively reinforce the request internally by stating their hopes and positive feelings	*It would be really nice (…)*
Tentative embedding	employed by the requester to make the utterance appear less direct and to show hesitation	*I wondered if (…)*
Tag question	used to downtone the impact of the request by appealing to the interlocutor's consent	*(…), could you?*
Negation	employed to downtone the force of the request by indicating their lowered expectations of the request being met	*You couldn't (…)?*

Teaching the Negotiation of Multi-Turn Speech Acts: Using Conversation-Analytic Tools to Teach Pragmatics in the FL Classroom

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Research on instruction in second language (L2) pragmatics has made fundamental contributions to the teaching of pragmatics in an L2 and a foreign language (FL) context and has shown the benefits of instruction versus exposure in various aspects of pragmatics (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005; Kasper & Rose, 2002 [chap. 7]; Koike & Pearson, 2005; Rose, 2005; Rose & Kasper, 2001). One of the goals of the aforementioned research is to inform teachers of various ways of implementing effective teaching materials and strategies to enhance the learners' pragmatic competence, which includes the ability to negotiate speech acts such as requesting or refusing at the discourse level (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 2005; Cohen, 2005; Kasper, this volume). Teaching learners how to negotiate speech acts in an L2 does not mean that they have to become nativelike, but rather that they develop an awareness of the (non)linguistic repertoire associated with a particular speech act and the norms of interaction of the target language that can allow them to make their own choices of what to say and how to say it. However, teaching materials and strategies used to improve learners' pragmatic competence in the classroom do not often address pedagogical considerations for the negotiation of speech acts from a conversation-analytic perspective (Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003; Cohen & Ishihara, 2004; Fujimori & Houck, 2004; C. García, 1996, 2001; Hinkel, 2001; Rose, 1994).

The ability to negotiate speech acts is part of universal pragmatic knowledge which comprises both pragmatic and discourse abilities. This means that adult L2 learners come to the classroom equipped with a knowledge of pragmatics in their first language (L1) that consists of at least the following characteristics mentioned in Kasper and Rose (2002): the ability to produce and comprehend different speech acts, a knowledge of

routine formulae for managing recurrent communicative events, turn-taking and repair mechanisms, a knowledge of the sequential organization of discourse such as openings and closings, an awareness of the level of formality in a conversation, and a knowledge of the rules of politeness and the rules of speaking in their L1 (Hymes, 1972). In light of this, the role of teacher educators is to remind language instructors that their students can take advantage of most of this universal pragmatic knowledge and use it appropriately in an L2, and to provide instructors with effective teaching materials and strategies to teach the negotiation of speech acts at the discourse level.

The objective of this paper is three-fold: (a) to describe analytic tools commonly used in conversation analysis (CA; Pomerantz & Fehr, 1997) and to show how these tools can be applied in teaching the negotiation of speech acts across multiple turns in the FL classroom, (b) to offer pedagogical recommendations that aid teachers in enhancing the teaching of pragmatics at the discourse level, and (c) to present a model for teaching the negotiation of refusals in Spanish as an FL using CA tools. In the current study, we adopt Rose's (1997) conception of pragmatic competence in an L2 which consists of two components: a knowledge of a pragmatic system and a knowledge of its appropriate use. While pragmatic knowledge refers to the range of linguistic options available to users for realizing different speech acts, a knowledge of its appropriate use involves the speaker's ability to select "the appropriate choice given a particular goal in a particular setting" (Rose, p. 271).

Refusals function as a response to an initiating act and are a speech act by which a speaker "denies to engage in an action proposed by the interlocutor" (Chen, Ye, & Zhang, 1995, p. 121). Like other speech acts, refusals are sensitive to social variables such as gender, age, level of education, power, and social distance (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Mills, 2003). Overall, refusals are complex speech acts that require not only negotiation and cooperative achievements, but also "face-saving maneuvers to accommodate the noncompliant nature of the act" (Gass & Houck, 1999, p. 2). In order to expose learners to the pragmatic variation between male and female speech, the refusal data provided in this paper include refusal responses from both male and female native speakers (NSs) of English and Spanish. By emphasizing gender differences in the classroom, teachers may also raise an awareness of cross-cultural differences and sensitize learners with regard to politeness and (in)directness and how these notions may differ among males and females.

This paper is organized as follows: First, an overview of the literature in L2 pragmatics regarding the pragmatic systems of uninstructed and instructed learners is presented, followed by an evaluation of current models that aim at teaching speech acts in the classroom. Then, analytic tools commonly used in CA are described (Pomerantz & Fehr, 1997) and the use of these tools in teaching the negotiation of speech acts is discussed. Finally, in order to bring pragmatics into the classroom, pedagogical recommendations are provided to aid teachers in improving the teaching of pragmatics at the discourse level, and a pedagogical model for teaching the negotiation of refusals across multiple turns in Spanish is presented.

The L2 Pragmatic System of Uninstructed Learners

Research in interlanguage pragmatics has shown that the pragmatic system of uninstructed L2 learners is different from that of NSs and that acquisition of pragmatic competence progresses slowly and is sometimes incomplete (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001). Although learners receive instruction in the classroom, they are not exposed to instruction in pragmatics. For instance, Ellis (1992) examined the opportunities that a classroom setting afforded two ESL boys (ages 10 and 11) for performing requests over a period of 2 years. He found that while the range of the learners' request types was extended slightly over time, direct requests predominated throughout, mostly by means of mood derivable verbs (i.e., imperative verbs), and, most importantly, the majority of these directives contained little use of internal or external modification. The possibility of whether these learners needed more time in the classroom environment to better develop their performance of requests was discarded; instead, it was observed that "[i]t may be necessary to create such a need artificially and perhaps, also, to draw learners' conscious attention to the way in which language is used to encode social meaning" (Ellis, p. 21). Furthermore, due to the narrow range and low frequency of mitigators that have been observed in the speech of uninstructed advanced learners in L2 (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993) and FL (Félix-Brasdefer, 2004a) contexts, it seems that mitigators may need to be explicitly taught so that learners may make the appropriate form-function connections between these frequent elements from the early stages of acquisition. In addition, Bouton (1994) observed that even after 17 months of residing in the US, ESL learners still had difficulty in comprehending certain types of implicatures, leading the author to suggest the need for explicit instruction of pragmatics in the classroom.

Using a cross-sectional design, P. García (2004) examined the comprehension of non-conventional indirectness between low- and high-proficiency ESL learners utilizing a recognition measure to evaluate pragmatic awareness. The results of this study revealed proficiency-related differences in the identification of speech acts, with the high-proficient learners identifying more speech acts than low-proficient learners. The proficiency effects found in P. Garcia's study led the author to suggest that instruction "with concomitant training in pragmatic awareness should increase their listening comprehension" (2004, p. 109). Bardovi-Harlig and Salsbury (2004) analyzed the sequence and structure of turns in disagreements among uninstructed ESL learners during a 1-year longitudinal study. While change was observed in an increase of the amount of talk, delayed postponements, and evidence of a multiple turn structure over time, the authors recommended "the addition of a conversational component to enhance classroom instruction" to assist learners in developing oral expression in pragmatics (p. 223). Similarly, in Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's (1993) 1-year longitudinal observation of suggestions and mitigators among advanced ESL learners, the authors pointed out that "[w]ithout explicit teaching and without necessary input, it is little wonder that NNSs learn to make suggestions before they learn the appropriate linguistic form for those suggestions" (p. 301). Overall, while there seems to be some evidence of improvement among uninstructed learners over time, the consensus among researchers is that an instructional component in pragmatics and relevant pragmatic input is necessary to foster pragmatic competence in both the L2 and FL classrooms.

The L2 Pragmatic System of Instructed Learners in Pragmatics

In general, research in L2 pragmatics has shown that instruction in pragmatics is more effective than exposure for developing pragmatic competence (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Kasper & Rose, 2002 [chap. 7]; Rose, 2005; Rose & Kasper, 2001). Using a pretest/posttest design, Billmyer (1990) compared the complimenting behavior (including compliments and compliment responses) between instructed and uninstructed learners. It was found that the instructed group outperformed the control group in the frequency of compliments, spontaneous compliment use, norm-appropriate compliments, and adjectival repertoire. In another study that featured a pretest/posttest one-group design, Olshtain and Cohen (1990) examined the teaching of apologies to ESL learners. In a 20-minute lesson, the authors

explicitly taught the strategies used to perform an apology, internal modification, and the functions of forms. On the posttest it was found that learners' performance showed improvement in the types of intensification and downgrading employed, subtle differences between speech act strategy realization, and consideration for situational features. At the comprehension level, Bouton (1994) found that learners who had taken 6 hours of instruction spread over 6 weeks behaved similarly to those learners who had spent 17 months in the target culture. At the production level, Félix-Brasdefer (2005b, 2005c) examined the effects of explicit instruction versus exposure in the use of refusal strategies and lexical and syntactic mitigators when refusing in formal and informal situations in open-ended role play interactions. It was found that the experimental group that received explicit instruction and metapragmatic discussion on the appropriateness of refusal strategies and use of mitigators showed improvement as a result of the treatment on both posttest measures and approximated the refusal behavior of NSs of Spanish, whereas the control group, which was not exposed to the instructional treatment, did not improve on the posttest measure.

While both explicit and implicit instruction seem to improve learners' pragmatic competence, explicit teaching is more effective than an inductive approach. Studies of this nature often adopt a pretest/posttest design with two treatment groups (explicit and implicit teaching) along with a control group which does not receive any kind of instruction. While explicit instruction is often provided by means of explicit teaching of the pragmatic feature and metapragmatic discussion about the appropriate use of the target forms, implicit instruction involves a combination of implicit techniques such as input enhancement and implicit awareness-raising tasks (Alcón Soler, 2005), input enhancement and recast activities (Martínez-Flor & Fukuya, 2005), and exposure to pragmatic input and question recasts (Koike & Pearson, 2005). It should be noted that the aforementioned studies examined the production of suggestions and requests as realized in one oral or written turn, and no attention was given to the negotiation of speech acts at the discourse level. In a study of instruction of interactional conversational norms, Liddicoat & Crozet (2001) found that when Australian learners of French as an FL were provided with explicit teaching and metapragmatic discussion of discourse features, they changed their conversational style to conform to French cultural norms in which more negotiation of everyday talk is expected. Overall, a focus on explicit instruction of a particular pragmatic feature and a metapragmatic discussion of the corresponding forms seems to enhance the learner's pragmatic competence including effecting a change in the learner's ability to negotiate meaning across discourse.

Many of the studies described above tested Schmidt's (1990, 1993, 1995, 2001) noticing hypothesis under which "attention is necessary in order to understand virtually every aspect of second language acquisition" (2001, p. 3). According to this hypothesis, attention to input

> …is a necessary condition for any learning at all, and that what must be attended to is not input in general, but whatever features of the input play a role in the system to be learned. For the learning of pragmatics in a second language, attention to linguistic forms, functional meanings, and the relevant contextual features is required. (Schmidt, 1993, p. 35)

Further, noticing refers to the registering of new information in the input and may be facilitated by means of input flood, different instructional techniques, or various types of input enhancement such as underlining, putting words in bold, or color-coding (Félix-Brasdefer, 2005b; Takahashi, 2001; Wishnoff, 2000). According to Sharwood Smith (1993), input enhancement "would simply make more salient certain correct forms in the input" (p. 177). Overall, the role of explicit instruction in the studies above was to direct learners' attention to relevant features of the input and to gain insights into mappings of linguistic form, meaning, and context (Schmidt, 1995, 2001).

In light of the results obtained in L2 pragmatic instruction, the next section evaluates various pedagogical models which attempt to teach pragmatics in the classroom, and examines the extent to which these models provide teachers with the necessary information to teach speech acts in interaction.

Pedagogical Models for Teaching Speech Acts in the Classroom

Guided by previous research in L2 pragmatics instruction, various pedagogical models for teaching speech acts have been proposed. For example, C. García (1996, 2001) adapted Olshtain and Cohen's (1990) five steps in the teaching of Spanish. These steps include: (1) diagnostic assessment; (2) model dialogues; (3) evaluation of a situation; (4) role plays; and, (5) feedback and discussion. C. García (1996) addressed the teaching of refusals to invitations according to Peruvian norms and (2001) the teaching of reprimands according to Venezuelan norms. In addition, she highlighted the importance of developing an understanding of the frames of interaction (e.g., friendly, ironic, deferential) and the rules of politeness in these two societies. The main objective of these studies was to sensitize

learners to cross-cultural differences in the realization of politeness according to these two cultures, however, no attempt was made to develop an awareness of cross-cultural differences between the native and target language. Further, while in C. García's studies pragmatic input is presented by means of complete interactions in Spanish, the activity does not direct the learners' attention to specific features of the input nor does it include an analysis of the sequential organization of discourse in an L2 (Kasper, this volume; Riggenbach, 1999), and gender differences are not considered. Further, Nelson and Hall (1999) examined the formulaic nature of compliments used among male and female speakers of Mexican Spanish. Using Olshtain and Cohen's (1990) five steps in order to teach compliments in L2 Spanish, the authors recommended exposing learners to pragmatic variation in the use of male and female complimenting behavior in the L1 and the target language, but no attention is given to compliments across multiple turns.

Other models for teaching pragmatics in the classroom have adopted a consciousness-raising approach for teaching expressions of advice, compliments, and suggestions in both ESL and EFL contexts. However, regardless of the speech act or the pragmatic feature targeted, interaction and negotiation are not often taught in the classroom. For example, in addition to helping Japanese learners of English develop an awareness of the pragmatics of advice, Fujimori and Houck (2004) provided various activities for reinforcing the teaching of advice: a written identification task, written practice, listening identification, and oral production. In their paper, oral production was realized by observing and interacting in role plays in the classroom; however, learners did not receive instruction on how to analyze speech act sequences in oral discourse. In Rose (1994, 2001) pragmatic input was provided through metapragmatic discussions of descriptive analyses of video segments chosen to present different speech acts. For instance, using video segments from the American comedy show *Seinfeld*, students are asked to discuss the norms of interaction and the use of requests in English. While students are asked to analyze the pragmatics of a video segment, Rose's objective was not to teach the negotiation of speech acts according to the sequential organization of discourse, but rather, to help learners develop an awareness of relevant pragmatic aspects of the target language. Finally, Hinkel (2001) offered various suggestions for teaching culture and for developing a cross-cultural awareness of the norms of politeness in the learner's first and target language. While Hinkel's pedagogical recommendations are informed by general notions of L2 acquisition such as noticing and awareness, the recommended methods for

practicing speech acts in the FL classroom are role plays, short skits, or mini-plays.

Overall, despite the attempts to teach speech acts in the L2 and FL classrooms, in the aforementioned studies speech acts are not taught at the discourse level, and notions such as sequencing, turn-taking, or the way in which speech acts are delivered are not often addressed. As mentioned above, a consciousness-raising approach (Rose, 1994) along with developing an awareness of cross-cultural differences between the learners' first and target language may enhance the learners' acquisition of L2 pragmatics. Most importantly, since it has repeatedly been shown that the L2 pragmatic system of learners who have not received pragmatic instruction differs from that of instructed learners, there is a need for instruction in L2 pragmatics (Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005; Kasper & Rose, 2002 [chap. 7]; Rose, 2005; Rose & Kasper, 2001). Finally, in light of the need to teach speech acts at the discourse level, it may be useful for teachers to center their attention on the negotiation process of speech acts by using conversation analysis (CA) in the classroom as a pedagogical resource.

Conversation Analysis: Analytic Tools for Teaching the Negotiation of Refusals

With its inception in sociological fieldwork, CA is a rigorous empirical approach to the analysis of oral discourse in talk-in-interaction (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Kasper, this volume; Lerner, 2004; Markee, 2000; Sacks, 1995; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Conversation analysis is mainly interested in the organization and structuring of conversation and has three main goals as outlined in Lazaraton (2004): (a) to unfold the systematic properties of the sequential organization of talk, (b) to discover the ways in which utterances are designed to deal with such sequences, and (c) to reveal the social practices that are displayed during talk-in-interaction. To illustrate the sequential organization of turns during the negotiation of speech acts, example (1) displays a complete refusal interaction between two friends, with Tyler declining Ben's invitation to attend his birthday party (unscripted role play interaction). (See Appendix A for the transcription codes based on Jefferson's [2004] transcription symbols.) The reader can access an audio version of the following refusal interaction online at http://www.indiana.edu/~discprag/speechacts/refusals/english.html

(1) Declining an invitation in U.S. English: male-male interaction (college students).

→ An arrow signals the beginning of a sequence.

```
01→Ben:   He::y Tyler, how´s it goin´?=
02  Tyler: =du:de, what´s happening, it´s been forever=
03  Ben:   =oh man, no kiddin´, no kiddin´,
04→        I´m so glad I saw you, man [because]
05  Tyler:                            [yeah]
06  Ben:   check this out, next weekend, on Friday night,
07         8pm my 21st birthday party at my house man
08  Tyler: [oh, no:: way
09  Ben:   [all the old crew´s gonna be there,
10  Tyler: [oh that´s gonna be awesome
11  Ben:   [it's gonna be the bomb man, it's gonna be =
12  Tyler: = oh, that´s gonna be so: cool
13  Ben:   you gotta show up, it´s gonna be cool
14  Tyler: oh, what day is it again?
15  Ben:   on Friday at 8pm
16  Tyler: Friday?
17  Ben:   my house=
18  Tyler: =aw, dude, I´m goin´ outta town this weekend=
19  Ben:   =ah, [ma::n,
20  Tyler:      [yeah
21  Ben:   ya gotta stick around it´s my 21st=
22  Tyler: =I know
23  Ben:   the big day=
24  Tyler: =I know [oh
25  Ben:           [it´s gonna be the best
26  Tyler: man, okay, I just, ya know, I got this great
27         deal on a flight and I´m goin´ outta town=
28  Ben:   = oh, man, I understand
29  Tyler: yeah
30  Ben:   I understand
31→Tyler: yeah, but, maybe let´s make some plans,
32         let´s let´s [get together
33  Ben:               [alright
34  Tyler: I´ll take you out for a drink
35  Ben:   okay
36→Tyler: al[right
37  Ben:     [cool.
```

The interaction in (1) shows the negotiation of a refusal to an invitation which is realized across multiple turns, constant overlaps, and various sequences. The interaction is performed by means of 33 interventions (most being turns and a few collaborative acknowledgments to show agreement, interest, or support to the interlocutor) organized in four sequences: an opening greeting sequence (lines 1–3), the invitation–refusal sequence (lines 4–30), a sequence to make plans to compromise on the part of the person

declining the invitation (lines 31–35), and the closing sequence (lines 36–37). The invitation is presented across various turns (lines 4–13) along with four interventions on the part of the interlocutor to signal cooperation during the invitation sequence (lines 5, 8, 10, 12). Notice that the refusal response is introduced by means of a prerefusal asking for additional information in one turn (line 14) and a clarification request in a different turn (line 16), and the main refusal sequence is delayed and presented indirectly, justifying the speaker's inability to attend the party (line 18). This dispreferred response is followed by an insistence which is realized in subsequent turns (lines 19, 21), followed by a postponed second indirect refusal (lines 26–27). After the second refusal, the person declining the invitation opens a new sequence and offers an alternative to compromise; this sequence is accomplished successfully in various turns (lines 31–35). The closing sequence is realized in the last two turns (lines 36–37).

In a practical article on the topic of CA, Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) provided five tools for developing conversation-analytic skills. These tools have been adopted here to examine the negotiation of refusals and to provide teachers with pedagogical recommendations for teaching pragmatics at the discourse level. These CA tools include: (a) selection of a sequence by looking at identifiable boundaries, (b) characterization of the actions in each sequence, (c) packaging and delivery of the actions, (d) organization of turns, and (e) accomplishment of the actions and the construction of roles and identities. These tools are described below in light of the refusal interaction in (1).

> *Selection of a sequence by looking at identifiable boundaries.* In order to identify sequences, identifiable boundaries need to be determined at the beginning and end of a sequence. Sequences may be realized in a series of turns, as in the invitation-refusal sequence in the interaction in (1, lines 04–30).
>
> *Characterization of the actions in each sequence.* What are the participants doing in each turn? For each sequence, it is possible to identify the actions across turns, as in the invitation-refusal sequence in the interaction in (1) which includes an invitation and a refusal (lines 4–30).
>
> *Packing and delivery of the actions.* The way in which actions are constructed and delivered provides for certain understandings. In the interaction in (1) the invitation-refusal exchange (lines 4–30) is carried out in a friendly tone and conveys solidarity between the interlocutors

(e.g., dude, cool, all the crew is going to be there – oh that's gonna be awesome…).

Organization of turns. For each turn in a sequence, it should be determined how each speaker obtained the turn, the timing of the initiation of the turn, and the termination of the turn, as in the invitation-refusal response in (1, lines 04–30).

Accomplishment of the actions and the construction of roles and identities. Through the way in which actions are expressed and the way in which turns are taken, participants make certain inferences with regard to the interlocutor's identity, intentions, role, or social status. Based on the interaction in (1), it can be inferred that the relationship between the interlocutors is close, of equal status, and informal.

These tools are explained and utilized to teach the negotiation of refusals in the FL classroom below. In the next section, I provide pedagogical recommendations oriented to teachers that aim at maximizing the teaching of pragmatics in the classroom at the discourse level. Finally, I present an online pedagogical model for teaching refusals at the discourse level using CA tools.

Bringing Pragmatics into the Classroom

Teachers are constantly looking for various ways to implement effective teaching techniques and strategies to improve learners' pragmatic competence. Recently, there have been various resources developed for teaching pragmatics such as the online lesson plans in Bardovi-Harlig and Mahan-Taylor (2003) which focus on EFL and ESL learners (http://exchanges.state.gov/education/engteaching/pragmatics.htm). A second resource for teaching pragmatics in the FL classroom was developed by Cohen and Ishihara (2004) and includes self-access, Web-based materials such as strategies for learning speech acts in Japanese (http://www.iles.umn.edu/IntrotoSpeechActs). In an effort to provide learners with strategies for learning pragmatics, Cohen (2005) proposed a three-part taxonomy of learner strategies: (a) speech act learning strategies, (b) speech act use strategies, and (c) metapragmatic considerations with regard to the appropriateness of these strategies. Because these strategies are aimed at learners of different languages, the role of teachers is to customize the speech act learning strategies to specific languages and student populations.

Since it has been shown that the classroom environment and textbooks do not provide learners with sufficient pragmatically appropriate input

(Bardovi-Harlig, 1996; Rose, 1994, 1997), the following pedagogical recommendations are provided in order to enhance the teaching of pragmatics at the discourse level. One way for teacher educators to incorporate pragmatics in the classroom is to expose language instructors to both oral and written pragmatic input. Oral input is characterized by the following features commonly found in spoken discourse: the negotiation of meaning, face-to-face interaction, spontaneity, repetition, clarification, turn-taking, overlap, delay, and repair in conversation (Félix-Brasdefer, 2003a; Kasper, 2000). It may be useful for teacher educators to expose language instructors to selected conversational sequences taken from television shows, film, or debates on the radio, focusing attention on the dynamic aspects of the interaction. Preferably, oral input should be drawn from natural conversation, but teachers may also benefit from the use of role plays in the classroom to elicit interactional data (Cohen, 2004; Hinkel, 2001). Teachers can access the Website, http://www.indiana.edu/~discprag, which includes audio examples and transcripts of different speech acts in English and Spanish with both natural and role-play data (see Speech Acts in English and Spanish). Overall, teachers should focus on the interactive nature of speech acts and how they are realized across various turns in conversation.

With respect to written input, it may be useful for teacher educators to expose language instructors to the pragmalinguistic information necessary to produce speech acts and to recognize the pragmatic functions of certain forms such as the conditional or the imperfect to convey politeness. Language instructors may benefit from different types of written input such as scripted dialogs featuring NS conversations, short stories, magazines, or newspapers. Teachers can access the Indiana University Website which includes exercises on the identification of speech acts and conversation analysis (see Exercises in Pragmatics). In addition to exposing learners to oral and written input, it may be beneficial for teacher educators to raise awareness among language instructors as to how speech acts are realized among males and females and to how the notions of politeness and directness may influence the realization of speech acts in the target language.

Pragmatically appropriate input, such as conversations featuring various speech acts, should not be presented as a whole and as unanalyzed material, but rather, teacher educators should direct language instructors' attention to relevant features of the interaction such as openings and closings, the organization of turns, repairs, delays, restarts, and how speech acts are realized across turns. With speech acts containing various degrees

of mitigation such as requests or refusals, teacher educators should inform language instructors of different ways to make pragmatic input salient. In order to facilitate the recognition of relevant pragmatic features teachers may underline, color-code, italicize, or bold specific forms of the input including those used to soften a request (e.g., I *was wondering* whether it *would be* possible to ….) or a refusal (e.g., I *think* I *might* be able to attend the party, but…). For an example of how turns are organized in L2 discourse, teachers are referred to Bardovi-Harlig and Salsbury's (2004) study on disagreements and turn-taking in conversation. The following sources on mitigation can be useful to teachers and can be employed to present pragmatically appropriate input with mitigation, should it be needed: Caffi (1999), Coates (1987), Félix-Brasdefer (2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005c), and Fraser (1980).

Another way for teacher educators to enhance pragmatic competence in the classroom is to help language instructors develop an awareness of and sensitivity to cross-cultural differences and speech act variation. One way to accomplish this is to encourage language instructors to pay attention to how NSs negotiate various speech acts in conversation and how speech acts may differ between the L1 and target cultures. Further, it may be beneficial for teacher educators to direct the attention of instructors to the social parameters of a situation such as power and distance in both the first and target language, and emphasize cross-cultural differences on the perceptions of these variables in both cultures. Those instructors who teach in an FL context should also be exposed to film (Rose, 1994; Tatsuki & Nishizawa, 2005) featuring specific pragmatic learning targets and the realization of speech acts as performed by males and females in various situations should be discussed. Overall, a consciousness-raising approach may be instrumental to sensitize language instructors to the use of formal and informal forms of address or conversational openings and closings which may be realized differently in the L1 and target cultures. For example, teacher educators can show two speech act interactions in the target language, one between males and one between females, and have the instructors analyze and discuss how males and females of the target language perform speech acts differently across the interaction.

Finally, another way of maximizing the teaching of pragmatics in the classroom is for teacher educators to provide language instructors with various opportunities to use speech acts at the discourse level and in various contexts. It has been shown that unscripted role plays can be an effective instrument for enhancing pragmatic competence (Cohen, 2004; Hinkel, 2001). Role plays are commonly employed in L2 pragmatics research to enhance oral pragmatic ability and to foster interactional skills, followed by

explicit feedback which provides learners with the appropriate linguistic information as well as the sociocultural norms of the target culture (Koike & Pearson, 2005). The role play situations should be carefully designed and need to reflect a variety of formal and informal settings in which instructors can initiate and respond to various speech acts. According to previous research (Cohen, 2004), role play descriptions should include sufficient information regarding the contextual parameters of the situation (e.g., description of the setting, purpose, age and gender of participants). In an effort to familiarize language instructors on ways to develop their own teaching materials, formal and informal role plays of various speech acts are available on the Indiana University Website (see Teaching Pragmatics) and can be used as a model to engage learners in social interaction.

In light of the previous recommendations grounded in research on L2 pragmatic instruction, I will present an example of how CA tools can be used to teach the negotiation of refusals across multiple turns in the Spanish as an FL classroom.

Teaching the Negotiation of Refusals in Spanish as a Foreign Language

The pedagogical model presented below is motivated by the results of an empirical investigation which examined the effectiveness of explicit instruction in the pragmatic development of learners of Spanish as an FL when refusing a person of equal and higher status in role-play interactions (Félix-Brasdefer, 2005b). That study showed positive results for pedagogical intervention, in particular, it was found that the experimental group that was exposed to explicit instruction and metapragmatic information showed a decrease in the number of direct refusals on both posttests, and an increase in and a wider variety of indirect strategies across turns, which approximated NS Spanish interactional norms. Unlike the learners in the experimental group, those in the control group, who did not receive pragmatic instruction in refusals, did not show a significant change in their refusals on the posttest measure. Thus, as a result of the positive effects of instruction, the components of the treatment used in that study have been adopted in this paper to teach the negotiation of refusals across turns.

The objective of this pedagogical model is to show language instructors how to teach the negotiation of multiturn speech acts in the classroom, and the speech act of refusals will be used to illustrate this. This model was piloted at Indiana University in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese in fifth-semester Spanish classes and has been adopted as part of the

curriculum in intermediate Spanish. It targets intermediate-level learners of Spanish as an FL and is designed to be presented during one class session, followed by an additional class dedicated to practice various speech acts in interaction. While refusals have been taught in both formal and informal situations at this institution, the focus of the teaching model presented here will be on one informal situation featuring a –Power and –Distant relationship when declining an invitation from a friend.

Language instructors can access the components of this model directly from the Indiana University Website (http://www.indiana.edu/~discprag). In this Website, the component "Teaching Pragmatics" is comprised of oral and written input in pragmatics and contains both a Teacher's Resource Manual (TRM) and student's handout with online activities, exercises, and conversational input to teach refusals across multiple turns. This model consists of three pedagogical units: (a) communicative actions and cross-cultural awareness; (b) doing conversation analysis in the classroom following the five CA tools described above; and, (c) communicative practice and feedback.

Section A:
Communicative Actions and Cross-Cultural Awareness

Identification of communicative actions

Instead of using the technical concept *speech acts*, the lay term *actions* should be used to refer to the different communicative actions that people engage in during everyday interaction. This section consists of two activities.

1. In order to gain an understanding of the concept of actions, students are provided with short samples of speech acts in both English and Spanish in which they are asked to identify various communicative actions. Language instructors should emphasize that actions refer to the speaker's intention and that the realization of actions may be accomplished differently in formal and informal situations. Different degrees of politeness and (in)directness may be used according to the situation and the culture. Some of the actions may include apologies, compliments, complaints, refusals or suggestions. Additional examples in Spanish and English are provided on the Website cited above.

a. E-mail message sent to a female professor by a male American
    student:

    Prof "X": Here is today's homework. Thank you very much for allowing
              me to do this. Also, I was wondering if it would be possible for
              you to tell me how many absences I have this semester. Thank
              you again.

    Identification of speech act: Expression of gratitude, request

b. A female American issuing an invitation to another female:

    Susan: I don't know if you remember or if you know Friday's my
            birthday and since um it's a special occasion a bunch of
            friends are coming over to my house on Friday night and we're
            gonna to have a small party, get together, you know, hang out
            a while, so I wanted to see if you'd be able to make it.

    Identification of speech act: Invitation

    Tina: Oh, I'd love to, but I have plans on Friday evening, so I can't
            make it, but thank you so much for inviting me.

    Identification of speech act: Declining an invitation

c. A Mexican male student to a male friend:

    *!Qué carraso! Es nuevo el carro ¿verdad? ¡Está padrísimo! Es
    una joyita.*
    ('What a car! That car's new, isn't it? It's totally cool. It's a real
    beauty').

    Identification of speech act: Compliment

2. Once an understanding of the notion of communicative actions has been
    established among students, the instructor introduces the action of refusing.
    The instructor explains that there are different ways to say "no" in Spanish
    and English, ranging from being direct to indirect or vague. Since a refusal is
    often not the expected response, speakers need to be careful to refuse
    politely and to include the appropriate information necessary to negotiate a
    successful refusal. The instructor should emphasize that refusals may differ
    according to the level of social status and that it may take a series of
    exchanges or turns to accomplish a successful refusal. The following
    references are suggested to teachers so that they become familiar with the
    notions of politeness and (in)directness in various varieties of Spanish and
    English, and with the structure of refusals: Bravo & Briz, 2004; Félix-

Brasdefer, 2003b, 2004a, 2005a; C. García, 1992, 1999, 2004; Gass & Houck, 1999; Márquez-Reiter, 2002; Márquez-Reiter & Placencia, 2004.

Developing a cross-cultural awareness of refusing in Spanish and English

This section is divided into two activities.

1. Cross-cultural perceptions of refusals in Spanish and English: The same or different? The purpose of this activity is to develop an awareness of cross-cultural differences between Spanish and English in one situation of informal status: declining an invitation from a friend. Students are asked to read the role play situation below and to share their responses in English and Spanish with another classmate.

> **Situation:** Declining an invitation in Spanish
> Imagine that you are in (Spanish-speaking country of your preference). You are walking across campus when you run into a good friend of yours whom you haven't seen for about a month. You and s/he have been studying in the same program at the University for 3 years, and have studied and written papers together in the past, but you don't have any classes together this semester since you have been doing an internship off-campus. S/he invites you to his/her 21st birthday party at his/her house next Friday night at 8:00 p.m. S/he tells you that a group of mutual friends that you both used to hang out with and whom you haven't seen since the semester started will also be there. You know that this would be a good opportunity to see everyone again and to celebrate this special occasion with him/her. Unfortunately you cannot make it.

2. Listening comprehension: Students will listen to two role play refusal interactions which include a refusal to an invitation between NSs of English and another between NSs of Spanish.

Pre-listening

Before students listen to the role play interactions, they read the following questions to orient their listening:

- How do speakers express politeness?
- How polite are the speakers when refusing in Spanish and English?

- What expressions do speakers use when refusing in Spanish and English?
- What differences do you observe at the end of each the refusal?

Listening

Instructors can access both role play situations directly from the Website (see Speech Acts in English and Spanish, Refusals). The refusal interaction in English is presented in example (1) above and the refusal in Spanish is shown in Appendix B.

Post-listening

After students have listened to the role play interactions, they discuss the questions in the pre-listening activity. The instructor should raise students' awareness of cross-cultural differences when refusing in Spanish and English. For example, instructors should draw the students' attention to the realization of the insistence and the degree of politeness and (in)directness noted in both interactions.

Pragmatic input: Refusal responses in English and Spanish

Specific expressions in the refusal responses below are highlighted in bold in order to direct students' attention to relevant features of refusals. Instructors should be familiar with the classification of refusals. This classification comprises various strategies including direct and indirect refusals, and strategies which may be used to reinforce the interlocutor's positive face (expressions of empathy, positive opinion, or agreement). A classification of refusal strategies and examples of these strategies can be found on the Website (see Speech Acts in English and Spanish, Refusals). This section is divided into two activities.

Activity 1

Students read different male and female refusal responses in English and Spanish. Working with a classmate, students compare refusal responses in English and Spanish when refusing a friend's invitation to a birthday party. The English responses come from NSs of American English and the refusals in Spanish come from NSs from various Spanish-speaking countries, but mostly Mexico. Male students should read the male refusals and females should read the female refusals in both languages. The refusals below include responses as realized in one complete turn. Additional examples in Spanish and English are provided on the Website cited above. Each response contains a refusal head act which may be preceded or followed by additional information as part of a complete refusal response. It is recommended that instructors direct students'

attention to the refusal response in one turn first, and then build from one turn responses to the negotiation of refusals across multiple turns. The negotiation of refusals across turns is explained in section B. Refusing an invitation to a friend's birthday party: Equal status (Friends).

Refusal responses by U.S. male college

> **I can't, man**. I got somethin' else going on.

> Ah, **dude**, I'm goin' outta town this weekend.

> No, **darn it.** I can't**, I'm sorry,** I wish I could.

> **Yeah, but**, ya know **maybe** let's make some plans, **let's get together.**

> **Oh,** what day is it again**?**

> **Oh, well,** maybe after work, but it doesn't look good since I do work at night.

Refusal responses by Spanish-Speaking male college students

> **Uy,** viernes a las 8? ¡**Qué problema!**, es que salgo de trabajar hasta ocho y media, como trabajo en las tardes. (Mexico)
> ('Oooh, Friday at 8? ! That's gonna be rough!, The thing is that I don't get off work until 8:30 since I work in the afternoons')

> **Pues haré lo que pueda por venir,** pero, pues no te aseguro nada, **¿no?,** si puedo, ahí te caigo, ¿no? (Mexico)
> ('Well I'll do what I can to be there, but I can't promise anything, okay?, if I can, I'll show up, alright?')

> Pues tengo un compromiso **y no se puede, de veras** que no se puede. (Mexico)
> ('Well, I already have a commitment and it's just not gonna be possible, really it's just not gonna be possible')

> **Pues mira, es posible**, nada más que el viernes es, este, es un día muy complicado para mí porque…(Mexico)
> ('Listen, maybe, it's just that Friday's going to be tough for me because …')

> **Me da pena contigo, me gustaría ir,** pero… (Venezuela)
> ('I really feel bad, I'd like to go but…')

Refusal responses by U.S. female college students

> **Oh, you know what?** I wish I could but I have to work.

> **Oh, I'd love to, but** I have plans on Friday evening so I can't make it, but thank you so much for inviting me.
>
> **Yeah, I really can't,** but I'd really love to.
>
> **I'm sorry I can't** make it, but…
>
> **Ooh, Friday? no**, I would love to, but I can't.
>
> **Oh, I'm so sorry.**

Refusal responses by Spanish-speaking female college students

> **Lo que pasa es que** ese día es cumpleaños de la mamá de mi novio, yo me voy a ir temprano a cocinar algo...... (Peru)
>
> ('The thing is that that day is the birthday of my boyfriend's mother and I am leaving early to make something special ….')
>
> **Ay ¿sabes qué?** que no puedo, me hubieras avisado antes porque tengo que trabajar ese día. (Mexico)
>
> ('Oh, you know what? I can't, you should have told me sooner because I have to work that day')
>
> **No::, de veras discúlpame, discúlpame, pero** no, en lo que quieras te ayudo, es más, te puedo ir a ayudar en la mañana a colgar lo que quieras. (Mexico)
>
> ('No::, I'm really very sorry, but I will help you with whatever I can, in fact, I can come by in the morning to help you hang up whatever you'd like')
>
> **Pues ¿sabes qué pasa?** El viernes yo no voy a poder, pues es que el sábado por la mañana tengo un examen de inglés, en el Instituto Colombo Americano, y entonces si me trasnocho, va a ser un día tenasísimo (Colombia)
>
> ('Well, you know what? Friday I'm not going to be able to because Saturday morning I have my English exam at the Colombian American Institute, and if I stay up really late, it's going to be a really rough day')

Activity 2

After the cross-cultural segment comparison is presented, the instructor introduces the following questions in order to further raise students' awareness of cross-cultural differences between Spanish and English. Students discuss the questions in pairs. Questions can be accessed directly from the Website, http://www.indiana.edu/~discprag

- Do you notice differences in the refusal responses of each group? For example, who uses more (and detailed) reasons/explanations, alternatives, or vague expressions (e.g., 'I don't know,' 'I'll think about it,' 'I'm not sure'), Americans or Spanish speakers?

- Among Americans and Spanish speakers, is there a preference for direct or indirect responses? Mention some indirect refusals that are commonly used in Spanish.

- What kind of expressions do Spanish-speakers use to express positive support to the interlocutor?

Section B:
Doing Conversation Analysis in the Classroom

In this section students and the instructor undertake a conversation analysis in the classroom and will analyze the sequential organization of refusals across multiple turns. The instructor explains that conversations consist of sequences, actions, linguistic and non-verbal expressions used to realize those actions, multiple turns across the interaction, and actions accomplished that express the interlocutors' identities and roles. Using the information below, the instructor explains each of the following CA tools in lay terms by employing the transcript of a complete refusal interaction in Spanish (see Appendix B; or the interaction in English shown in [1] for ESL students). Refusal interactions can also be accessed directly from the Website. Alternatively, instructors can show the refusal interaction on a transparency.

Selection of a sequence by looking at identifiable boundaries

The teacher explains that conversations consist of sequences and are realized in at least two turns. Sequences have boundaries, that is, they have a beginning and an end. For example, sequences may signal openings and closings, an invitation and a response to that invitation, an insistence and a response to that insistence, and these sequences may be realized across multiple turns. Using the transcript of the refusal interaction in Spanish (Appendix B), students should identify the opening sequence (lines 1–5), the three refusal responses (lines 11–13, 17–20, 30–32), and the closing sequence (lines 33–34). Instructors should direct students' attention to the turn that opens each sequence and to the turn that closes the same sequence. Students should identify each sequence using the line numbers on the left hand side of the refusal transcript.

Characterization of the actions in each sequence

The main question to answer is: What are the speakers doing in each sequence?

Instructors should direct students' attention to the invitation–refusal sequence (lines 6–32) and ask them to identify the actions performed in each turn throughout the sequence. Actions may include an invitation, a refusal, a complaint, or a compliment. Instructors should emphasize that refusals may be realized across multiple turns, as observed in lines 11–13, 17–20, 30–32. Focusing on the invitation–refusal sequence, students discuss the following questions in pairs.

- What are the participants doing in each turn? For example, is the participant's first turn a greeting, an invitation, a request, a refusal, a complaint, or a suggestion?
- In how many turns is the refusal sequence realized?
- What is the participant doing in the last turn of the refusal sequence? (lines 30–32).

Packaging and delivery of the actions

A refusal sequence may be realized and delivered by means of direct (e.g., 'I can't') or indirect responses which may include reasons (e.g., 'I already made plans for that day'), vague responses, alternatives, indefinite replies, mitigated refusals, requests for clarification or requests for additional information, and expressions that postpone the invitation; these strategies are commonly used across various turns in the interaction. A refusal response may also be delivered by means of a friendly, polite, distant, or sarcastic tone. It may be useful for instructors to direct the students' attention to the way in which a refusal is delivered by a speaker and how a refusal is perceived by an interlocutor. A list of the most common refusal strategies and examples of these strategies is available for language instructors and can be accessed in the classroom directly from the Website (see Speech Acts in English and Spanish, Refusals). Further, it is helpful for instructors to direct students' attention to the refusal sequence in lines 11–32 and examine how the three refusal responses are realized across turns (lines 11–13, 17–20, 30–32). Focusing on the refusal sequence (lines 11–32), students discuss the following questions in pairs:

- Was the refusal sequence realized directly or indirectly?
- What linguistic expressions did the participant use to convey the refusal?

- Does the speaker's refusal response reflect a friendly, polite, or distant relationship between the participants?
- How do the participants end the refusal interaction?
- What expressions are used to close the refusal sequence?

Organization of turns

Instructors direct students' attention to the invitation–refusal response (lines 6–32) and analyze the timing and the taking of turns across the sequence. For each turn in the sequence, learners should describe how each speaker obtained the turn, the timing of the initiation of the turn, and the termination of the turn. Focusing on the invitation–refusal sequence, students discuss the following questions with a partner:

- Who took the first turn to initiate the sequence?
- How do turns evolve across the sequence?
- Did the speakers complete the turn or is this turn continued later in the sequence?
- Did the speakers wait for a possible completion or start prior to a possible completion point?
- Who ended the sequence with the last turn?
- Did the speakers continue to speak until they were finished? Possibly finished? Not finished?

Accomplishment of the actions and the construction of roles and identities

By observing the way in which the invitation–refusal sequence is realized across turns (lines 6–32), it is useful for instructors to ask students to make inferences about the relationship between the interlocutors. The following questions may help students draw inferences with regard to the interlocutor's social status, gender, identity, and the notion of the insistence which represents a sociocultural expectation in different varieties of Spanish (Félix-Brasdefer, 2003b; C. García, 1992, 1999), whereas an insistence does not seem to be the expected behavior in the U.S. culture (Félix-Brasdefer, 2003b).

- Based on the way in which the invitation-refusal sequence is realized (lines 6–32), how would you characterize the relationship between the participants? Close, distant, formal or informal?

- In addition to the first invitation (lines 6–10), there are two additional insistences asking the interlocutor to come to the party. Analyze both insistence–refusal sequences (lines 14–20, 11–32) and explain how the insistence is viewed by the interlocutor. Does the insistence make the person refusing the invitation feel (un)comfortable? In your culture, is it a sociocultural expectation to insist? Explain.
- Examine the way in which the interlocutor ends the refusal sequence in Spanish (lines 30–32). Then, comment on whether this is an appropriate or inappropriate way to end an invitation in English.

Section C:
Communicative Practice and Feedback

The following class session should be devoted to communicative practice of refusals. Taking into account the information in sections A and B, students role play the situation (declining an invitation) with a classmate: One person issues the invitation and the other declines. Then, one group will be asked to role play the situation in front of the class and the rest of the students provide feedback regarding the linguistic information used during the interaction, the appropriateness of the refusal response, the distribution of sequences, and the organization of turns across the interaction. Refusals should be practiced in a variety of contexts. To this end, two additional role play situations are provided in Appendix C, and more situations can be accessed on the Website (see Teaching Pragmatics).

The pedagogical model presented above, motivated by current research in L2 pragmatics instruction, was used to illustrate how to teach the negotiation of multiturn speech acts, such as refusals, in the classroom using the five steps in CA proposed by Pomerantz & Fehr (1997): (a) selection of a sequence by looking at identifiable boundaries, (b) characterization of the actions in each sequence, (c) packaging and delivery of the actions, (d) organization of turns, and (e) accomplishment of the actions and the construction of roles and identities. These CA-tools can be applied to other target languages for developing CA-skills in the classroom. For instance, following the steps described and the pragmatic input and activities provided on the Website, teacher educators can adopt this model and use the English refusal interaction in (1) to teach the negotiation of refusals to ESL instructors. The information presented on the Website to teach pragmatics in the classroom represents a preliminary effort to develop teaching materials and strategies for teacher educators and researchers whose primary interest lies in the teaching of pragmatics.

Conclusion

After a review of what is known about the pragmatic systems of uninstructed and instructed L2 learners and an evaluation of current teaching models of pragmatics, this paper introduced pedagogical recommendations for the teaching of speech acts from a conversation-analytic (CA) perspective and presented a model for teaching the negotiation of multiturn speech acts which can be used in both L2 and FL classrooms. Since FL learners are not exposed to the same natural input as those in an L2 context, an effort was made in the current study to provide a model for teaching pragmatics in the FL classroom by means of developing an awareness of cross-cultural differences in both the native and target language and drawing learners' attention to discourse features of speech acts in interaction. Further, a consciousness-raising approach was adopted to foster metapragmatic discussion of the notions of politeness and (in)directness. It has also been shown that variation can be accommodated when teaching speech acts in the classroom and teacher educators should make an attempt to expose language instructors to commonalities and differences in speech acts by emphasizing gender differences and degrees of (im)politeness or (in)directness among different varieties of one language. Finally, in order to make informed decisions for teaching pragmatics in the classroom, teacher educators need to be aware of recent developments in L2 pragmatic instruction and to equip language instructors with innovative pedagogical tools that have been empirically tested in order to improve learners' pragmatic competence at the discourse level.

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Appendix A: Transcription notations

According to Jefferson (2004), the following transcription notations were used.

Contiguous utterances

=   Equal signs indicate no break up or gap. They are placed when there is no interval between adjacent utterances and the second utterance is linked immediately to the first.

Overlaps

[A left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset.

]   A right bracket indicates the point at which two overlapping utterances end, if they end simultaneously, or the point at which one of them ends in the course of the other. It is also used to parse out segments of overlapping utterances.

Intervals

( )   Parentheses indicate the time in seconds and placed within an utterance mark intervals or pauses in the stream of talk.

–   A dash marks a short untimed pause within an utterance.

Characteristics of speech delivery

:   A colon marks a lengthened syllable or an extension of the sound.

:::   More colons prolong the sound or syllable.

.   A period marks fall in tone.

,   A comma marks continuing intonation.

?   A question mark signals rising intonation.

Appendix B: Declining an invitation in Mexican Spanish

Jorge is issuing the invitation; Manuel is declining.

→   Arrow signals the beginning of a sequence

```
01→Jorge:  Quiúbole, cómo estás?
01→        how's it goin', how are ya?
02  Manuel: bien, bien, bien=
02         fine, fine, fine=
03  Jorge:  =qué milagro! mira, ya tiene tiempo
04          que no te veía
03          =what a surprise! hey, it's been a long time
04          since I've seen you
05  Manuel: igual
05          same here
06→Jorge:  oye, fíjate que el próximo viernes es mi
07          cumpleaños, voy a cumplir 21 y pues ya sabes
08          voy a hacer una fiesta en mi casa, a las 8pm
09          pues, estás invitado, como ya sabes,
10          no puedes faltar, tienes que ir
06→        hey, listen next Friday is my
07          birthday, I'm turning 21 and well, you know
08          I'm gonna throw a party at my house, at 8pm
09          well, you're invited, as you know,
10          you can't miss it, you gotta come
11  Manuel: u:: yu yuy, viernes a las 8, qué: problema,
12          salgo de trabajar hasta ocho y media,
13          como trabajo en las tardes =
11          aw man, Friday at 8, what a drag,
12          I don't get off work until eight thirty,
13          since I work in the afternoons =
14  Jorge:  = ah, no te preocupes, te espero 8:30
15          pues, es fin de semana, llegas a la fiesta,
16          te quedas en mi casa, ¿cómo ves?
14          = oh, don't worry, I'll look for you at 8:30
15          it's a weekend, you come to the party,
16          you stay at my house, whadaya think?
17  Manuel: y venir hasta acá, he aquí el problema
18          bueno, si consigo en qué venir o
19          si consigo quién me financíe
20          para poder venir pues=
17          I have to get here, that's the problem
18          well, if I can find a way to get there or
19          find someone to lend me the money
20          [to get over there then=
21  Jorge:  [sí, sí, sí],
22          ves que termina hasta las 9pm el transporte,
23          te espero, 8:30pm que salgas,
24          tomas el transporte y te espero en mi casa,
25          pues, a las ocho va a empezar,
26          bueno, a las ocho los cité,
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27          pues que empiece como a las 9pm,
28          pues entonces te espero, no?
29          cómo ves?
21          [yeah, yeah, yeah]
22          you know that the bus runs 'til 9pm,
23          I'll be expecting you, 8:30 you get off
24          you take the bus and I'll be at my house,
25          since it's gonna start at eight,
26          well, I told everybody eight,
27          but I'm sure it won't be until around 9pm,
28          so I'll be expecting you then, right?
29          whadaya think?
30  Manuel: pues, haré lo que pueda por venir,
31          pero, pues no te aseguro nada, no?,
32          si puedo, ahí te caigo, no?
30          well, I'll do my best to come,
31          but, well I can't promise anything, okay?
32          if I can, I'll show up then, alright?
33→Jorge:   órale, pues
33→         okay, then
34  Manuel: sale
34          okay.
```

Appendix C: Additional role play situations

Refusing a friend's suggestion to skip class and go to the movies

Imagine that you are in (Spanish-speaking country of your preference). You are having lunch at the University cafeteria about half an hour before your Spanish class. While eating, another student from the class that you get along well with comes to join you at your table. You have worked on projects in class and have gone out together occasionally, and have become close friends recently during this semester. Over lunch you begin to discuss different types of movies and you realize that you have similar taste. After about 20 minutes, you finish eating and are both getting your books together to walk over to the class, when s/he suggests skipping Spanish class, and going to the movie theater down the street to catch the matinee, but you don't want to go.

Refusing a classmate's request to borrow notes

Imagine that you are in (Spanish-speaking country of your preference). You are taking a course in Latin American literature this semester. You haven't missed this class once this semester and consider yourself a diligent student. So far you have a good average in the class, not because it is easy for you, but because you have worked very hard. Among your classmates, you have a reputation for taking very good notes. The professor has just announced that the midterm exam is next week. One of your classmates, who is taking a class with you for the first time this semester and who has frequently missed the class, asks you for your notes. You haven't interacted with him outside the class, but have occasionally done small group work together in class. When the class ends, he approaches you for your notes, but you don't want to lend them to him/her.

The Effectiveness of Explicit and Implicit Treatments on EFL Learners' Confidence in Recognizing Appropriate Suggestions

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Introduction

The language system developed by learners on their way to acquiring the target language has been defined as interlanguage, which entails knowledge of language that is different from both the learners' mother tongue and the target language they are trying to attain (Ellis, 1985). The development of this system is essential for learners in order to become communicatively competent in the target language and, consequently, it involves the knowledge of semantic, syntactic, morphological, phonological and pragmatic rules. The focus on the last of these aspects has been the origin of the field known as interlanguage pragmatics (ILP), which as claimed by Kasper (1998) seeks to describe and explain learners' development and use of pragmatic knowledge. However, most of the research conducted in this field has been comparative rather than developmental since it focuses on comparing learners' speech act realisations with native-speakers' performance. For this reason, it has been argued that there is a need to bring ILP more directly into second language acquisition (SLA) research by carrying out more acquisition-oriented studies that analyse developmental perspectives of the ILP systems (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999, 2002; Kasper & Rose, 1999, 2002). This need is also based on research which has shown that even proficient learners of a second or foreign language may fail in their pragmatic appropriateness (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999, 2001). In fact, according to Bardovi-Harlig, having a high level of grammatical competence does not necessarily correlate with a high level of pragmatic competence.[1] Therefore, there has been increasing interest in ILP as a means of examining the possible factors that affect learners' acquisition of pragmatic competence and whether being engaged in an instructional period may make this process easier.

Background

With regard to the second of these topics, that is analysing the effects of instruction to develop pragmatic competence, a lot of attention has recently been paid to the effectiveness of integrating pragmatics in language teaching (Alcón & Martínez-Flor, 2005; Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003; Martínez-Flor, Usó-Juan, & Fernández-Guerra, 2003; Rose & Kasper, 2001). More specifically, teaching learners' pragmatic ability seems to be necessary in the foreign language context where learners, in contrast to those who are immersed in the second language community, lack the chances to be exposed to authentic situations and to use the target language for real-life purposes. Thus, in order to address pragmatics in foreign language instruction, different types of instructional treatments from the field of SLA may be adopted, such as explicit and implicit teaching (Doughty, 2003). On the one hand, explicit teaching involves directing learners' attention towards the target forms with the aim of discussing those forms. On the other hand, an implicit pedagogical approach aims to attract learners' attention while avoiding any type of metalinguistic explanation, thus minimising the interruption of the communicative situation. Therefore, the main difference between the two types of instruction refers to the provision or absence of rules. As Doughty (p. 265) states, explicit instruction includes all types in which rules are explained to learners, whereas implicit instruction makes no overt reference to rules or forms.

Research examining this distinction at the grammatical and semantic levels (DeKeyser, 1995; Moroishi, 1999; Robinson, 1996), has shown a clear advantage for the explicit over the implicit treatment condition. Similar results have also been obtained in interventional studies focusing on the production or awareness of pragmatic aspects of the language, such as discourse markers, pragmatic fluency, pragmatic routines or different speech acts (House, 1996; House & Kasper, 1981a; Takahashi, 2001; Tateyama, Kasper, Mui, Tay, & Thananart, 1997). House and Kasper's (1981a) study, for instance, involved German university students of EFL and focused on a variety of discourse markers and strategies. The authors designed two versions of the same communication course, one explicit and the other implicit, which provided learners with relevant input and opportunities for conversational practice. Learners in the explicit version of the course received metapragmatic information about the treatment features and participated in discussions related to their performance in the role-plays, whereas learners in the implicit method did not receive any metapragmatic explanation. Results indicated that learners' pragmatic abilities improved in

both approaches, although the explicit group had an advantage over the implicit one. House (1996) also studied the differential effects of explicit and implicit instruction on developing pragmatic fluency with a total of 32 advanced learners of English at a German university and found that the explicit group performed better in employing a high variety of discourse markers and strategies. Focusing on a different pragmatic aspect (i.e., routines), Tateyama et al. (1997) compared the performance of learners of Japanese who were distributed into explicit and implicit treatment groups. Whereas the explicit treatment included explicit discussions of the different functions that appeared in video excerpts from a TV programme together with examples and explanations provided by the teacher, learners in the implicit treatment only saw the video and were asked to pay attention to formulaic expressions. After receiving 50 minutes of instruction, findings revealed that the explicitly taught students outperformed the ones who had been instructed implicitly. Similar results were reported by Takahashi (2001) who, after distributing Japanese EFL learners into four input enhancement conditions (i.e., explicit teaching, form-comparison, form-search, and meaning-focused), found that the explicit group outperformed the other three groups in the use of the four request strategies addressed in the study.

As pointed out by the above mentioned studies, it seems that the explicit instruction, which consisted of the description and explanation of a particular pragmatic feature by making it the object of metapragmatic discussion, proved more effective than the implicit instruction, which involved just the observation of the pragmatic aspect in different contextualised situations plus practice. However, Kasper and Rose (2002) have pointed out that operationalising the implicit treatment by a lack of metapragmatic discussions or just the provision of input and practice alone without incorporating any additional teaching assistance may have been insufficient to demonstrate its effectiveness. Thus, a few studies have attempted to examine how implicit instruction works for pragmatic learning by implementing different implicit techniques, such as interaction enhancement and input enhancement (Alcón, 2005; Fukuya & Clark, 2001; Fukuya, Reeve, Gisi, & Christianson, 1998). On the one hand, Fukuya et al. (1998) implemented a kind of implicit feedback on learners' production of requests by employing an interaction enhancement technique, which consisted in showing a sad face every time a learner made a sociopragmatic error followed by a repetition of the student's inappropriate utterance with a rising intonation. The researchers used this implicit feedback in order to assess its effectiveness in comparison with the explicit explanations that the explicit group received on the sociopragmatic factors that affected the appropriate

choice of the requests in the situations. Results did not support this assumption, since learners were not able to generalise the ways of producing appropriate requests in other situations that were different from those seen in class. On the other hand, learners in Fukuya and Clark's (2001) study were randomly assigned to one of three groups (i.e., focus on forms, focus on form, and a control group) depending on the type of instruction they received. The treatment groups were exposed to two different versions of a videotaped drama in which the characters mitigated requests. The version for the focus on forms group included explicit instruction on the sociopragmatic factors that affected the use of mitigators in requests, the focus on form group watched a different version that contained typographical enhancement of the mitigators, and the control group watched a third videotape that was not concerned with requests. Findings from the three groups' performance on both listening comprehension and pragmatic recognition posttests did not show any significant differences among the three groups in their pragmatic ability. However, results from these two studies proved to be inconclusive due to several reasons, such as brevity of the treatment being potentially insufficient to prove the effectiveness of the implicit feedback in the case of Fukuya et al.'s (1998) study, or the actual operationalisation of the implicit technique employed in Fukuya and Clark's (2001) work. In spite of these limitations, the authors suggested that further research should be conducted in an attempt to provide evidence of the potential of adopting different implicit techniques for the teaching of pragmatics. With that end in mind, Alcón (2005) examined the effectiveness of a combination of two implicit techniques to develop EFL learners' awareness and ability to use request strategies. Learners in Alcón's study were also randomly assigned to three groups (i.e., explicit, implicit, and control) and exposed to excerpts including requests taken from several episodes of a TV series. After watching the episodes, the two treatment groups were provided with the scripts, although the type of instruction they received was different. Whereas the explicit group was given direct awareness-raising tasks and written metapragmatic feedback on the use of appropriate requests, the implicit group was provided with a combination of two implicit techniques: typographical enhancement (i.e., the request strategies appeared in bold and the sociopragmatic factors were written in capital letters) together with provision of corrective feedback by means of written self-correction sheets. Results from this study illustrated that learners' awareness of appropriate requests benefited from both types of instruction, although the explicit group outperformed the implicit one regarding their ability to use request strategies.

Concerning the studies reviewed so far, an important aspect to bear in mind is that all of them have focused either on learners' production (Alcón, 2005; Fukuya et al., 1998; House, 1996; House & Kasper, 1981a; Tateyama et al., 1997; Takahashi, 2001) or awareness (Alcón, 2005; Fukuya & Clark, 2001) of a particular pragmatic feature. However, scant research has been conducted on other pragmatic abilities of learners, such as their level of confidence. In fact, there are only two studies, as far as it has been possible to determine, that have investigated the postinstructional change in learners' levels of confidence (Fukuya & Zhang, 2002; Takahashi, 2001). In Takahashi's (2001) study cited above, she was not only interested in ascertaining the effects of each of the four conditions on learners' success in learning requests, but also in their level of confidence when employing the instructed target forms. Results from a discourse completion test (DCT) distributed after having received instruction showed that the explicit group, together with the meaning-focused group, considerably increased their confidence in the posttest in comparison with the other two teaching conditions. She suggested that the possible explanations for each group's performance may have depended on the type of tasks they were asked to perform. Thus, the learners in the explicit teaching condition may have felt more confident because they received explicit explanations on the appropriate use of requests, whereas learners from the meaning-focused group believed that they had learnt to produce different, although still appropriate, discourse structures when requesting. In contrast, learners from the other two treatment conditions (i.e., form-search and meaning-focused) did not seem to have improved their confidence when requesting. Takahashi argued that, due to the activities learners were involved in, which forced them to analyse native-speakers' use of requests, they may have felt that their performance in the posttest was still not comparable to native-speakers' performance.

In the second study, Fukuya and Zhang (2002) were also interested in examining whether there was an increase in learners' confidence when making requests. The participants consisted of Chinese learners of English who were distributed into treatment and control groups. After receiving the treatment, which was implemented on fourteen role-plays carried out during seven 50-minute sessions, results from a DCT revealed that the instructed group which had received pragmalinguistic recasts outperformed the control group in their use of the target forms addressed in the study. However, both groups gained in confidence in the posttest, which showed that employing recasts did not influence learners' confidence when making requests. The authors claimed that the improvement observed in both groups might have

been due to their performance in the role-plays, in which participants may have built up confidence when interacting with the instructor and other peers.

Since the two previous studies dealt with the speech act of requesting and examined learners' confidence in their production, more research is needed on other pragmatic features. Therefore, based on the fact that teaching pragmatics in the foreign language classroom might develop learners' awareness and production of different pragmatic aspects (House, 1996; Takahashi, 2001; Tateyama et al., 1997), the present study was designed to examine the effect of instruction on learners' degree of confidence when assessing the appropriateness of the speech act of suggesting. Additionally, because most of these studies have revealed a positive role for explicit instruction, whereas the studies examining the effectiveness of different implicit techniques have reported inconclusive results (Fukuya & Clark, 2001; Fukuya et al., 1998; Fukuya & Zhang, 2002) or benefits in only some of learners' pragmatic abilities, such as awareness (Alcón, 2005), this study also aimed to explore the effectiveness of explicit and implicit treatments on this particular ability to develop confidence by operationalising the implicit teaching condition with a combination of input enhancement and recasting techniques. Considering these assumptions, the following two research questions were formulated.

1. Does instruction influence learners' level of confidence when judging the pragmatic appropriateness of suggestions?
2. Are explicit and implicit types of treatment equally effective in developing learners' level of confidence when judging the pragmatic appropriateness of suggestions?

Research Design

Subjects

The study included 81 students, all between 19 and 25 years of age, who were enrolled in computer science degree courses at Universitat Jaume I in Castellón, Spain. The 69 males and 12 females in the study had all learned English in the foreign language classroom, and did not differ with regard to their ethnicity or academic background. According to the Department of English Studies placement test distributed among them prior to the study, they had an intermediate level of English.[2] The subjects comprised three intact classes which consisted of two treatment groups with a specific type of instruction (i.e., explicit [$n = 24$] and implicit [$n = 25$]), and the control group ($n = 32$), which received no instruction on the use of

suggestions. Two nonnative English instructors also participated in the study: One taught the two experimental groups while the other was in charge of the control group. The latter instructor was a colleague from the Department of English Studies who knew all details of the present study, and did not have to cover any aspect dealing with the teaching of pragmatics, in general, or the instruction of suggestions, in particular, in her syllabus.

Instrument

The study followed a pretest and posttest design. The pretest consisted of a rating assessment test used to evaluate learners' ability to assess the appropriateness of suggestions prior to the treatment as well as their degree of confidence when assessing this ability. It was also employed to control for any initial difference in the performance of the experimental and control groups.

The test involved eight different situations that, taking into account the guidelines developed by Hudson, Detmer, and Brown (1995), were set in the university setting as a familiar context to the subjects, since all of them were university students. Moreover, the situations varied according to the sociopragmatic factor of power or status (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Hinkel, 1994, 1997). Thus, two levels of status were considered: equal (i.e., student to student) and higher (i.e., student to professor). Before presenting the rating assessment test to the students, and following Matsumura's (2001, p. 675) suggestions, the students were asked to imagine that they were in an English-speaking country. Then, the students were given the instructions for the rating assessment test in Spanish, since a full and clear understanding of what they had to do was essential in order to perform the task properly. Additionally, gender and age factors were also taken into account. Subjects were told to consider that the characters appearing in the situations were the same gender and the same age as them, whereas the professors would be about 40 years old. After receiving these instructions, the subjects were presented with the rating assessment test.

As can be observed in example (1), the eight situations each presented a dialogue between two interlocutors, with the final response by one of the two being a suggestion. In each situation, subjects had to use a 5-point rating scale (1=inappropriate; 5=appropriate) to assess whether the suggestion was appropriate or not depending on the situation, which varied in terms of the status between the participants. Furthermore, on the basis of previous research (Safont, 2005), if students found the speech act formulation inappropriate to the context, they were also asked to underline

the inappropriate part and provide an alternative suggestion (utterance *a* in example (1). If, in contrast, the suggestion was deemed to be appropriate to the situation, they were to justify their evaluation (utterance *b* in example [1]). Apart from students' reasons and alternative suggestions, the present study also sought to examine their level of confidence when judging the appropriateness of this speech act. Thus, a second 5-point rating scale (1=not confident; 5=confident) was included and students were asked to rate their confidence when judging the appropriateness of each suggestion (Takahashi, 2001).[3]

(1) Situation 5 (from the posttest): You see a new classmate before one of your classes. This classmate approaches you and asks you:

classmate: Excuse me, aren't you in Statistics?
you: Yeah, I thought I recognized you.
classmate: You know…I can't find the textbook for this course at the bookshop. What do you think I should do? We have an assignment for tomorrow, don't we?
→you: Yeah, here…if you want, you can just take my book and copy the pages for tomorrow. After that, you can bring it by my room tonight.

totalmente inapropiada   totalmente apropiada
(completely inappropriate)   *(completely appropriate)*
☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5

a) Si marcas 1 o 2 (inapropiada), subraya la parte que crees que es inapropiada y escribe una expresión que en tu opinión sería más apropiada en esta situación.
(If you rate 1 or 2 (inappropriate), underline the part of that utterance that you think is inappropriate and write down an alternative expression you think would be more appropriate for the situation.)

b) Si marcas 3 (neutra), 4 o 5 (apropiada), indica por qué crees que es neutra o apropiada.
(If you rate 3 (neutral), 4 or 5 (appropriate), write down why you think it is neutral or appropriate.)

no seguro/a   seguro/a
(not confident)   *(confident)*
☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5

After piloting the instrument with a group of students from the same discipline (i.e., computer science), some lexical items were modified, since

they prevented the students from fully understanding several situations and, consequently, the suggestion being made in those situations. The final version was administered to all students as a pretest 2 weeks prior to the start of the study, and a posttest consisting of eight parallel situations was administered 2 weeks after the treatment had finished.

Focus of instruction

The pragmatic feature addressed in this study was that of suggestions, a directive speech act which involves an utterance in which the speaker asks the hearer to do something that will benefit the hearer (Rintell, 1979; Searle, 1976). Among the different pragmalinguistic forms that may be employed to perform this speech act, 12 head acts were chosen on the basis of previous research supporting the fact that specific selected items are particularly effective in instruction (Doughty & Williams, 1998). In order to do this, Kasper and Schmidt's (1996) claims about the universal pragmatic strategies for speech acts, the politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson (1987), previous studies in the field of ILP focusing on suggestions (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1996; Hinkel, 1994, 1997; Koike, 1994, 1996; Matsumura, 2001, 2003), and native speakers' oral and written production data were taken into account. Moreover, given the importance of softening the face-threatening nature of this directive speech act, seven downgraders were also selected among the different modality markers proposed by House and Kasper (1981b). The choice of these seven downgraders in particular was also made because they were the forms that were most frequently employed by native speakers in the videotaped situations used as the instructional material. The selected instructional forms for both head acts and downgraders were distributed into two groups according to the sociopragmatic factor of status: [4]

Equal status
Why don't you …?
Have you tried …?
You can *just* …
You might want to …
Perhaps you should …
I think you need …

Higher status
I would *probably* suggest that …
Personally, I would recommend that …
Maybe you could …

It would be helpful if you …
I think it might be better to …
I'm not sure, but I think a good idea would be …

Instructional procedure

The instructional period lasted for the duration of a 16-week semester and consisted of six 2-hour sessions. During the semester, the two experimental groups received two different types of instructional treatment (i.e., explicit and implicit) accompanied by specific material and activities elaborated for each type of instruction. The aim of both types of treatment was to make students aware and increase their confidence when assessing the appropriate use of suggestions in a variety of situations.

As illustrated in Table 1, the type of instruction designed for the explicit teaching condition followed a sequential method. This consisted in the presentation of videotaped situations that involved American native-speakers interacting in different computer-related situations, the video scripts from these situations, and a sequence of activities ranging from awareness-raising activities to production activities (see Appendix A for an example of these activities). This type of treatment included the instructor's explanations regarding the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic factors that affected the appropriate use of the selected instructional forms to make suggestions.

Table 1.   Instructional treatments adopted in this study

explicit treatment	implicit treatment
sequential method:	parallel method:
video presentation	video presentation
from awareness-raising activities	input enhancement
↓	+
to production activities	recasts

In contrast, the implicit treatment adopted a parallel method which included a combination of two implicit techniques: (a) input enhancement through the video presentation and video scripts, and (b) recasts during the role-play activities (see Table 1). This systematic combination of both techniques was employed on the assumption that the combination has more instructional efficacy than a single technique (Doughty & Williams, 1998; Izumi, 2002). The same videotaped situations that were presented in the explicit treatment were also employed for the implicit teaching condition, although this version included captions in bold-face that addressed both the instructional forms for making suggestions (pragmalinguistic aspects) and

the sociopragmatic factors involved in each situation (sociopragmatic aspects). Similarly, the same instructional forms also appeared in bold on the video scripts prepared for the implicit type of instruction. Regarding the activities (see Appendix B), a set of listening and reading activities were elaborated that focused on the content of the videotaped situations. In addition, role-play activities were implemented with the implicit treatment during all the instructional sessions in order to be able to recast students' inappropriate or inaccurate use of suggestions. When this happened, the instructor recast students' utterances by using one of the twelve selected instructional forms, depending on the status involved in the situation. In order to ensure that all students had the opportunity to be exposed to a maximum number of recasts and benefit from them, all the role-plays were performed in front of the class. In the case of role-plays of equal status, the students performed them with other students while the instructor provided recasts, and in the case of role-plays of higher status, the students always performed them with the instructor, who also recast their utterances. Additionally, a sheet was prepared on which the instructor marked each target form that was used when recasting so that the number of target forms employed could be controlled and equalized. Example (2) shows one of the recasts made in a role-play situation with an equal status interlocutor, and how the student reacted to the instructor's recast.

(2) Sample recast from role-play

student 1: … uh … what laptop do you recommend me?

student 2: I recommend you have buying a Power Book G4 … it has eight hundred megahertz

instructor: I recommend you have buying ↗ You said? ↗ you might want to buy a Power Book laptop. OK?↗

student 2: …uh … OK … and it have five hundred twelve megas of memory … this computer is faster …and it have better result …

As can be observed, Student 2 paused after the recast had been made and then went on with the interaction. Therefore, it can be claimed that the implementation of the recast was appropriate since, although the learner's pause may be regarded as a short interruption, its purpose was to implicitly draw the student's attention to a more appropriate and accurate target form while being engaged in meaning.

Data analysis

In order to analyse the data obtained from the rating assessment test elaborated for this study, the subjects' performance on two rating scales was considered. On the first, they had to rate the appropriateness of the suggestions employed in the different situations according to the 5-point scale (1=inappropriate; 5=appropriate). The tests were created in such a way as to offer four appropriate situations and four inappropriate situations, so the rating that was expected to be accurate in the first awareness rating scale was 5 for the appropriate situations, and 1 for the inappropriate situations. On the second one, which relates to the purpose of the present study, the subjects' level of confidence when judging the appropriateness of suggestions in different situations was measured following another 5-point scale (1=confident; 5=not confident). The analysis of subjects' ratings on this scale depended on their performance on the first scale, that is, only when students' performance was accurate in the awareness scale was attention paid to their degree of confidence. In order to do so, a similar analysis to that followed for the awareness rating scale was considered; that is to say, a value of 5 was assigned for those situations in which students were confident about their awareness rating and 1 was given for those situations in which they were not confident.

Results and Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the effects of instruction on students' level of confidence when assessing the appropriateness of suggestions in different situations, on the one hand, and the effectiveness of two treatment conditions to develop this ability, on the other. Thus, two research questions were posed to explore these two aspects. The first research question was concerned with the effects of instruction on developing learners' confidence in assessing the pragmatic appropriateness of suggestions. As illustrated in Figure 1, it appears that students from both the explicit and the implicit treatment conditions improved their level of confidence in the posttest over the pretest when judging the suggestions in terms of their appropriateness in the different situations. However, a decrease in the level of confidence was observed in the control group.

In order to determine the significance of the differences observed in Figure 1 and to ascertain whether instruction had been effective, a Wilcoxon test was used to compare the rates of each treatment condition in two different moments, that is, before and after the instruction was implemented.[5]

The results obtained from applying this statistical procedure are shown in Table 2 and indicate a level of significance of $p<0.01$ for both the explicit and implicit types of instruction. Moreover, when looking at the median scores, it can be seen that learners from both treatment conditions improved their confidence level when judging the appropriateness of suggestions after receiving instruction. In contrast, no statistically significant differences were reported for the control group as far as their performance in the pretest and the posttest is concerned
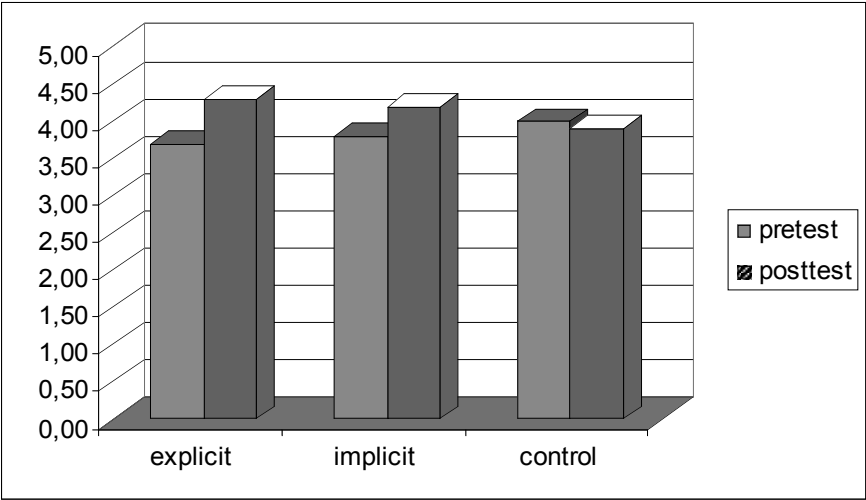
Figure 1.   Confidence level when judging the appropriateness of suggestions in the pretest and posttest within each of the three treatment conditions.

Table 2. Differences in the confidence level when judging the appropriateness of suggestions in the pretest and posttest within the three treatment conditions

group	time	*n*	mean rank	mean	median	sig.
explicit	pretest	24	12.88	3.72	3.75	.000*
	posttest		6.17	4.27	4.19	
implicit	pretest	25	14.94	3.84	3.88	.004*
	posttest		8.00	4.24	4.25	
control	pretest	32	13.12	4.03	4.13	.655
	posttest		14.82	3.97	4.13	

note: * significant at $p<0.01$ level

The findings related to the first research question seem to confirm previous research on the positive effect of instruction on learners' development of pragmatics (Kasper & Rose, 2002; Rose & Kasper, 2001). In particular, the data show that students from both treatment conditions significantly improved their level of confidence when evaluating the appropriateness of suggestions in the posttest over the pretest, whereas no improvement was observed in the control group. Nevertheless, it may be claimed that although the results proved to be statistically significant, thus supporting the benefit of pragmatic instruction, the level of confidence from the control group did not vary considerably from the pretest to the posttest. Considering this, it is interesting to mention that the qualitative analysis conducted to examine students' justifications when assessing the appropriate suggestions (that is, students' performance on the first 5-point rating scale) revealed differences in the way learners from the two instructional treatments and the control group justified their choices. On the one hand, learners from both treatment conditions seemed to understand the task they were performing when assessing appropriateness, since they provided reasons related to the sociopragmatic factor involved in each situation. Thus, the level of confidence could be related to their actual understanding of what appropriateness meant. On the other hand, learners from the control group based their reasons on the content implied in the suggestion rather than on politeness issues that may affect the appropriateness of those suggestions. This fact, then, might explain their level of confidence rates in the posttest, since they thought that the suggestions made in each situation presented good ideas and solutions for that particular situation and, consequently, felt confident in their rating. The following example illustrates students' reasons in the explicit, implicit and control teaching conditions after having rated the suggestion provided in the situation as appropriate.

(3) Situation 8 (from the posttest): You meet one of your favourite professors at the Computer Science Department office. The professor tells you that the department is organising a videoconference with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). This morning, the MIT Director called your professor.

professor: I've been talking with the MIT Director this morning and we are thinking about two possible topics for the videoconference: either discussing about new Anti-virus protection programs or developing a new system of Net meetings among students from different countries. We would like to ask students their opinion

about which topic would be better for this first videoconference. What do you think?

→you: Well, I think it might be better to deal with developing a new system of Net meetings.

Student's reason from the explicit treatment condition:
This is appropriate because the professor is a higher status than me.

Student's reason from the implicit treatment condition:
This is a formal situation with a professor, so it is appropriate because you use formal language.

Student's reason from the control group:
Because the idea of developing a system of Net meetings and contact with other students is more interesting than the Anti-virus.

The above examples collected after the instructional period show that students from both treatment conditions provided reasons justifying their choices based on the sociopragmatic factor of status (i.e., "the professor is a higher status than me"; "this is a formal situation"). Thus, their level of confidence may have been related to their pragmatic awareness of the appropriate use of the suggestion employed in this situation. In contrast, the student from the control group also claimed to be confident in this particular situation although his reason was only concerned with the content implied in the suggestion rather than the sociopragmatic aspects leading to its pragmatic appropriateness.

It therefore seems that engaging learners in pragmatic instruction is effective for increasing learners' awareness of those sociopragmatic factors that affect the appropriate use of suggestions. Focusing specifically on their level of confidence, the results also support the findings obtained in the study conducted by Takahashi (2001), which demonstrated that the group receiving explicit metapragmatic explanations significantly increased their confidence in formulating their requests in the posttest over the pretest. However, Fukuya and Zhang (2002) did not find any effects for the implicit treatment based on pragmalinguistic recasts adopted in their study, since both the experimental and the control group improved their level of confidence with regard to their ability to produce requests in the posttest. Therefore, it is important to point out that, as with Takahashi's (2001) explicit treatment condition, the explicit group in this study also received metapragmatic explanations about the appropriate use of suggestions, whereas the implicit group was operationalised by employing not only pragmalinguistic recasts (the same technique employed by Fukuya & Zhang

[2002]), but also input enhancement. Thus, following Izumi's (2002) suggestion of using a combination of implicit techniques to help learners notice the instructional target features, the use of both input enhancement and recast techniques in the present study may have aided the effects of instruction with the implicit group in order to develop their level of confidence.

This assumption is related to the second research question, which asked about the effectiveness of the two types of instructional treatments employed in the study. In order to deal with this question, the rates students had obtained in the 5-point rating scale for confidence were also taken into consideration and then compared in the explicit and implicit types of instruction. As can be observed in Figure 2, it appears that the performance of students from both treatments was quite similar in the pretest, although the implicit treatment condition seemed to be slightly higher. The opposite pattern is displayed in the posttest, where the confidence rates show that, again, students from both treatments seemed to obtain nearly the same confidence level, although this time the explicit type of instruction appeared to be slightly higher.
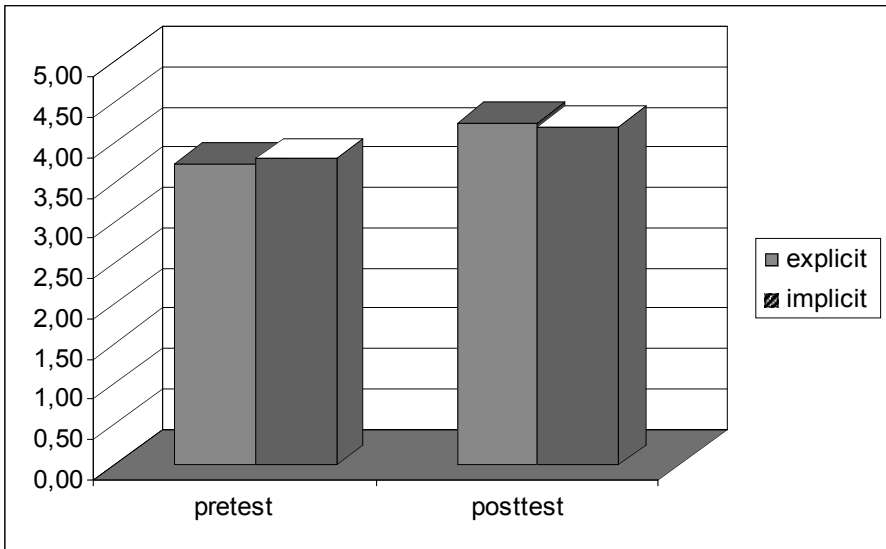
Figure 2. Confidence level when judging the appropriateness of suggestions by the explicit and implicit instructional treatments.

Given the apparent similarities found between the two instructional treatments in the two moments, a statistical analysis was conducted to

determine whether the differences between their confidence levels were significant. To that end, the Mann-Whitney test for independent sample data was employed as a statistical procedure. As shown in Table 3, there were no significant differences between both explicit and implicit types of treatment as regards their confidence level when judging the appropriateness of suggestions in either the pretest or the posttest. A closer examination of the ranks achieved by each group indicated that students from the implicit treatment performed better than those from the explicit teaching condition in the pretest, whereas the opposite pattern occurred in the posttest. However, as reported above, these differences were not statistically significant, which appears to indicate that the two types of treatment proved to be effective in developing learners' level of confidence when judging the pragmatic appropriateness of suggestions.

Table 3. Differences between the explicit and implicit instructional treatments

time	group	*n*	mean rank	mean	median	sig.
pretest	explicit	24	23.60	3.78	3.88	.502
	implicit	25	26.34			
posttest	explicit	24	25.19	4.25	4.25	.928
	implicit	25	24.82			

Findings from the second research question seem to partially corroborate the results obtained in Takahashi's (2001) study, since she found that only two of the four treatment conditions (i.e., the explicit teaching and the meaning-focused conditions) significantly increased their level of confidence when formulating requests in the posttest. In this study, results seem to demonstrate the effectiveness of the two treatment conditions employed to develop learners' level of confidence. In particular, not only the explicit treatment (which is similar to Takahashi's [2001] explicit teaching condition) but also the implicit type of instruction (which was operationalised by employing input enhancement and recasts) proved to be effective. Given the fact that Takahashi (2001) did not employ this second teaching approach, the results obtained from the implicit treatment condition in this study cannot be compared exactly with any of the other three treatments employed in her study. Moreover, it is important to mention that there are other differences between the two studies that make it difficult to compare all the findings obtained. The focus of the two studies and the speech act examined were different, since Takahashi (2001) dealt with learners' confidence about their production ability when requesting, whereas this study paid attention to learners' confidence about their awareness of appropriate

suggestions. It may be assumed that a production task involves a more demanding cognitive process than an awareness task. Consequently, learners' participation in an identification task, in which they were asked to assess different situations, could have been easier than expressing their confidence when formulating the particular speech act in a written production task. Also, the learners' nationality was different (i.e., Japanese in Takahashi's [2001] study and Spanish in the present study), a fact that may have also affected learners' performance in each study.

To sum up the findings related to the second research question, it can be claimed that both treatments seemed to have played a positive role in increasing learners' level of confidence when assessing the appropriateness of suggestions, since they were exposed to the three theoretical conditions for language acquisition, namely those of input, output, and feedback. Additionally, the systematic combination of the two implicit techniques of input enhancement and recasts might have helped students from the implicit treatment condition to notice the target forms. Moreover, although the selected target forms were limited, the implicit group was taught the connections among forms, situation, function (i.e., to suggest), and sociopragmatic variables affecting their use, such as familiarity and status. Finally, the duration of the treatments throughout a whole semester and the content-based teaching approach adopted for the elaboration of the activities may have also contributed to their efficacy.

Conclusion and Pedagogical Implications

The aim of the present study was to provide more insights into the effects of instruction on the acquisition of pragmatic competence in the classroom setting, and specifically in the EFL classroom. In particular, this investigation examined the effects of instruction on learners' pragmatic development regarding their confidence when judging the appropriateness of suggestions in different situations. Results concerned with the first research question illustrated that students' confidence improved significantly after receiving either explicit or implicit instruction. Thus, this study contributes to previous research that has suggested that instruction does make a difference (Doughty, 2003; Norris & Ortega, 2000) and, more specifically, to that research that has focused on the teachability of different pragmatic aspects (Alcón & Martínez-Flor, 2005; Martínez-Flor et al., 2003; Rose & Kasper, 2001). The data also seem to provide evidence supporting Schmidt's (1993, 2001) noticing hypothesis, since learners in the two treatment groups, in contrast to the control group, need to pay attention to

the instructional target forms and the sociopragmatic factors these particular forms involve when suggesting in order to increase their level of confidence when assessing their appropriateness in different situations.

Apart from dealing with instructional effects, the need to investigate various types of instruction in order to ascertain their effectiveness was also investigated (Kasper & Rose, 2002). In this way, two different treatments (i.e., explicit and implicit) that were operationalised by adopting different teaching techniques were analysed. Findings related to the second research question showed the effectiveness of the two treatments implemented, an outcome which differs from previous research finding that the explicit treatment outperformed the implicit one (House, 1996; Takahashi, 2001; House & Kasper, 1981a; Tateyama et al., 1997). Several reasons could account for this difference, since in other studies the conceptualisation of the implicit condition consisted in just excluding the metapragmatic explanations without any additional interventional techniques (House, 1996; House & Kasper, 1981a), making learners simply watch video clips (Tateyama et al., 1997) or making them read transcripts of role-plays between native-speakers and then answer some comprehension questions (Takahashi, 2001). In the present study, however, the operationalisation of the implicit treatment condition with a combination of two implicit techniques (i.e., input enhancement and recasts) appears to have been effective for the implicit group by allowing them to develop their appropriate use of suggestions. First, learners were presented with appropriate input through the use of the videotaped situations that contained suggestions between participants with different status relationships. They were then given opportunities to practise by making them enact role-plays during all the instructional sessions, and these role-plays also facilitated the provision of feedback on learners' inappropriate and inaccurate use of suggestions when necessary. Second, the application of the two techniques, by making input pragmatically salient and providing implicit feedback on learners' output, seemed to help learners notice the instructional forms that was the object of instruction. Thus, it seems that this combination supported Schmidt's (1993, 2001) noticing hypothesis, since learners' attention was drawn to those instructional forms. Third, the importance of making learners pay attention to the object of instruction has also been considered in the two-dimensional model proposed by Bialystok (1993). According to Bialystok, for adult learners to employ pragmatically appropriate forms, they need to control their attention to those forms and the meanings they involve on the basis of contextual and social factors. In this way, having directed learners' attention to the instructional forms for suggestions in contextualised situations may have contributed to

their being able to choose the most appropriate ones with an increasing degree of accuracy.

In the light of these findings, some pedagogical implications may be proposed. First, the role of instruction on the development of pragmatic competence is a beneficial aspect to be implemented in the foreign language classroom. This research has shown that integrating specific instructional treatments may foster learners' pragmatic ability in the target language. This issue is particularly relevant in foreign language contexts, since great emphasis has been devoted to the instruction of linguistic competence rather than teaching pragmatic aspects. This fact has consequently led to pragmatics remaining a marginal component of target language instruction, as demonstrated by its placement in textbooks and course materials (Alcón & Tricker, 1999; Bardovi-Harlig, Hartford, Boxer & Pickering, 1995; Mahan-Taylor, Morgan, & Reynolds, 1991; Mandala, 1999; Meier, 1997; Vellenga, 2004). In fact, it seems inappropriate to address pragmatics as a part of the language system to be dealt with after the lexical and grammatical competencies have been fully formed. For this reason, this study has presented the elaboration and design of lessons which were tailor-made for computer science students in an attempt to integrate pragmatics in a university course. Thus, this study has been set in the university context, but pragmatic aspects should be taught at earlier educational levels, namely primary and secondary education, where the syllabi adopted still follow a sequence of grammatical structures rather than language functions.

A second pedagogical implication is related to the specific techniques and teaching approaches that can be adopted to focus on pragmatic features in the foreign language setting. The present study has described how two different types of instruction (i.e., explicit and implicit) were operationalised and implemented to promote learners' pragmatic competence in the classroom context. Focusing specifically on the implicit teaching method, it seems that the combination of the two implicit techniques, those of input enhancement and recasts, employed to operationalise this treatment proved to be effective. However, a well-developed knowledge of other implicit techniques, such as input flood or negative feedback (Doughty, 2003; Norris & Ortega, 2000) could provide teachers with a variety of resources to help them prepare different classroom practices, exercises and tasks. Similarly, a thorough knowledge of the principles underlying particular approaches to instruction, not only the ones employed in the present study but also others such as deductive and inductive treatments (Decoo, 1996; DeKeyser, 2003), is also advisable and desirable on the part of foreign language teachers. Additionally, another possibility would be the combination of two different

teaching approaches since, as Trosborg (2003) mentions, some learners might need to receive explicit metapragmatic information, whereas others may benefit more from simple consciousness-raising activities via exposure to the target language. Taking these considerations into account, it seems that the effectiveness of a particular treatment, or a combination of different methods, may depend on learners' individual cognitive and strategic learning styles (Cohen, 2003). This is an issue which should be researched further.

Future research should also be conducted to investigate some of the limitations attributed to the present study. On the one hand, given the fact that previous studies on learners' degree of confidence when producing or recognizing a particular pragmatic feature is rather scarce, future studies are needed in order to provide more insights into the effects of instruction on developing this ability in second and foreign language settings. Moreover, it would be desirable to examine learners' confidence by incorporating a self-report method, such as think-aloud protocols, in the research design. By analysing learners' data obtained through this research method, it may be possible to ascertain which aspects (i.e., grammar, content, sociopragmatic variables) they are paying attention to when rating their confidence about their assessment or production of a particular pragmatic feature. On the other hand, in this investigation the operationalisation of explicit and implicit treatments was performed by using metapragmatic explanations and a combination of input enhancement and implicit recast techniques. However, there is a need for more studies that shed light on the effectiveness of other teaching approaches, such as deductive and inductive, to developing learners' confidence about their ability to produce or assess other pragmatic features in different educational contexts. Finally, since the effect of different instructional approaches may vary depending on learners' individual variables, such as age, gender or learning style, further research that examines the extent to which learners' degree of confidence is related to these particular individual variables is desirable.

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Notes

1   See also Chapter 5 in Kasper and Rose's (2002) volume which is specifically devoted to examining the development of pragmatics and grammar.

2   The level placement test was adapted from the intermediate level test employed by the *Departament d'Estudis Anglesos* and the *Servei de Llengües i Terminologia* at the Universitat Jaume I. The test consisted of 50 items covering different grammatical, lexical, and discourse-based aspects. Students' performance in this test showed they had an intermediate level of proficiency in English, which meant that they were some point between beginners, with a very poor command of the language, and advanced students, with a high and effective command of the language. For the purposes of the present study, this group of students were proficient enough to allow them to take part in the different communicative situations and activities designed for the treatment.

3   See Martínez-Flor (2004) for the rest of situations elaborated for both the pre- and posttest.

4   The seven downgraders appear in italics.

5   This nonparametric statistical procedure was chosen after applying a normality test to the data (i.e., the Kolmogorov-Smirnov z) and finding that the data were not normally distributed. This is also the reason why the median has been presented in Tables 2 and 3, since this has been regarded as the most appropriate measure of central tendency when the data are not distributed normally.

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Appendix A: Activities designed for the explicit group

Awareness-raising activities

Example from an activity implemented after watching the videotaped scenes

What is the topic of this conversation?

☐ talking about a new computer subject

☐ helping with a computer problem

☐ asking about a project deadline

☐ asking for some help with an exam

Example from an activity implemented after reading the video scripts

What is Christine saying to Jamie in lines 21, 29–30, 34–35 and 37–38?

☐ She explains to Jamie different nice computing places on campus.

☐ She tells Jamie all the places where to buy a good computer.

☐ She is trying to help Jamie with his computer problem.

☐ She suggests that Jamie go to the best computer shops.

Production activities

Example role-plays

A. You have to present your final project about a topic you have chosen from the syllabus in front of the class next week. You don't want to read it. You would like to make a PowerPoint presentation, but you don't know how to use this software. You decide to ask one of your best friends for help.

B. Your friend wants to make a presentation using PowerPoint in class next week. Your friend does not know how to use it. Your friend asks you for help because you know some good tips when using PowerPoint, such as which the best type of font for the title is, how to use different templates, how to insert graphics or Website links, etc.

Appendix B: Activities designed for the implicit group

Listening and reading activities

Example from an activity implemented after watching the videotaped scenes

Who is Christine looking for?

- ☐ another classmate
- ☐ a professor
- ☐ a computer technician

Example from an activity implemented after reading the video scripts

Which different places does Christine tell Jamie to go to solve his computer problem?

_____

_____

Production activities

Example role-plays

A. You have to present your final project about a topic you have chosen from the syllabus in front of the class next week. You don't want to read it. You would like to make a PowerPoint presentation, but you don't know how to use this software. You decide to ask one of your best friends for help.

B. Your friend wants to make a presentation using PowerPoint in class next week. Your friend does not know how to use it. Your friend asks you for help because you know some good tips when using PowerPoint, such as which the best type of font for the title is, how to use different templates, how to insert graphics or Website links, etc.

Kiswahili Requests: Performance of Native Speakers and Learners

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Introduction

The findings of this study of Kiswahili requests support the position taken by Goddard and Wierzbicka (2004) that "different ways of speaking of different societies are linked with and make sense in terms of different local cultural values" (p. 153). A case in point is the cultural interpretation of the politeness of direct and indirect request strategies. For example, the indirect strategy of *query qreparatory* "Could you please clean the room?" also referred to in the literature as *conventional indirect*, is regarded as a polite way of making requests by speakers of English, German, Argentinian Spanish, and Hebrew (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989) and by speakers of Mexican Spanish (Felix-Brasdefer, 2005). In contrast, direct strategies are regarded as polite by speakers of Persian (Eslami-Rasekh, 1993), speakers of Akan (Obeng, 2003), speakers of Singapore English (Wong, 2004), and speakers of Kiswahili (Yahya-Othman, 1994; Omar, present study). Speakers of Persian, Akan, Singapore English, and Kiswahili use direct strategies that are acceptable according to the cultural norms of their respective societies.

To continue with the example of requests, Eslami-Rasekh (1993) provides a cross-cultural comparison of requests in Persian and American English. In her comparison, she shows that while request strategies are universal, Persian speakers use direct requests 70.00% of the time and query preparatories 25.33%, while American English speakers use direct requests 11.86% of the time and query preparatories 78.85%. To soften the direct nature of requests, Persian speakers employ more mitigating devices like alerters, supporting moves, and internal modifiers resulting in longer request utterances.

The cultural context is also important. Obeng (2003) discusses examples of direct requests in Akan and he stresses that requests are not regarded as impositions in Akan society because the Akan society requires its members

to support one another. He provides an example of an incident when he was in Ghana of someone asking him and his American colleague for a ride using the bare form imperative: *Masta, momfa me nsi Abaam* 'Master/Sir, give me a ride to Abaam.' Obeng regarded this direct request as a culturally acceptable way of making a request while his American colleague interpreted it as imposing and rude. A similar observation is made by Yahya-Othman (1994), in her discussion on politeness among Kiswahili speakers of Zanzibar, who also claims that requests are not an imposition. If a Zanzibari woman is asked to cook for a wedding party, she will happily provide her service for free and will feel proud that her culinary expertise is appreciated.

This paper is divided into two main parts. The first part will discuss the performance of native speakers from Zanzibar and from mainland Tanzania. I show that both groups of Kiswahili native speakers, from Zanzibar (TZZ) and from the mainland part of Tanzania (TZM), prefer direct requests. There is, however, variability between the two groups of native speakers in the type of direct requests preferred and this variability may result in conflicts and misunderstandings. The second part focuses on the performance of learners. The analysis shows that American learners of Kiswahili at all levels of proficiency prefer the use of the indirect query preparatory similar to the use by English speakers reported by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Wong (2004).

Method

Native speaker data were collected by using the discourse completion task (DCT) based on the study by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) in order to establish the kind of request strategies used by Kiswahili speakers and to test the universality of these strategies.[1] The DCT data was supplemented by interactive data obtained from Zanzibar television plays and from observation of everyday interactions in Dar-Es-Salaam and Zanzibar. The DCT was given to 34 undergraduate Tanzanian students at a university in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. Eighteen participants are from Zanzibar and they speak Kiswahili as their native language; and 16 participants are from mainland Tanzania who, in addition to Kiswahili, speak at least one other Tanzanian language natively. Hence, these two groups of speakers come from different language and cultural backgrounds suggesting that they may have different request strategies depending on their local cultural norms. The DCT contained six situations portraying speakers (S) and hearers (H) of varying status and social distance (see Appendix A). For each situation,

participants were asked to fill out the appropriate request in a given blank space that was followed by a responder.

Learner data were obtained from a written questionnaire and from role-plays. For the written questionnaire, the DCT used by the two groups of native speakers was given to 30 learners of Kiswahili at the intermediate and advanced levels from two universities in the United States. Additional learner data were obtained from audio recordings of seven role-plays of different situations (Appendix B) performed by 51 students from a mid-western university at elementary (2nd semester; 25 learners), intermediate (4th semester; 23 learners), and advanced levels (6th semester and beyond with study abroad experience in the target language country; 3 learners). Use of role-plays as an effective tool of data collection that is close to naturally occurring data is discussed in Bardovi-Harlig (1999, p. 245). Learners from these different levels were given a few minutes to prepare the role plays and each role-play was acted out in front of the class and was audio recorded.

Participant responses from the DCT data and the transcribed role-play data were analyzed following the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCARP) coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

Results

Performance of native speakers

DCT data show that Kiswahili speakers from Zanzibar and from mainland Tanzania prefer the use of Direct Requests. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, mainland Tanzania speakers (TZM) use direct requests 90% of the time and Zanzibar speakers (TZZ) use direct requests 87% of the time. *Queries* and *hints* are least preferred. Queries were used 8% of the time by TZM speakers and 9% of the time by TZZ speakers while hints were used 2% and 4% of the time respectively.

Interactive data support findings from the DCT data that Kiswahili speakers prefer direct strategies to indirect ones. Direct strategies show four types: *bare-form imperatives, subjunctive imperatives, beg statements,* and *like/want/need statements*. Indirect strategies show two types: queries (query preparatory and query suggestory), and hints.

Table 1. **Direct and indirect requests by mainland Tanzania speakers**

situations	% direct		% indirect			
			queries		hints	
room (S=H)	69	(11)	19	(3)	13	(2)
notes (S=H)	100	(16)	0	(0)	0	(0)
ride (S<H)	100	(16)	0	(0)	0	(0)
police (S>H)	100	(15)	0	(0)	0	(0)
extension (S<H)	10	(15)	0	(0)	0	(0)
talk (S>H)	69	(11)	31	(5)	0	(0)
average %	90	(84)	8	(8)	2	(2)

notes: S Speaker; H Hearer
= same status; > higher status; < lower status
The number of responses is included in parentheses ( ).

Table 2. **Direct and indirect requests by Zanzibar speakers**

situations	% direct		% indirect			
			queries		hints	
room (S=H)	100	(18)	0	(0)	0	(0)
notes (S=H)	83	(15)	17	(3)	0	(0)
ride (S<H)	78	(14)	17	(3)	6	(1)
police (S>H)	100	(18)	0	(0)	0	(0)
extension (S<H)	78	(14)	6	(1)	17	(3)
talk (S>H)	83	(15)	17	(3)	0	(0)
average %	87	(94)	9	(10)	4	(4)

notes: S Speaker; H Hearer
= same status; > higher status; < lower status
The number of responses is included in parentheses ( ).

In both the DCT data and the interactive data the bare-form imperative is used mainly by a person of higher status towards those of lower status. Example (1) is taken from observation data. The religious leader in this example would like to make an announcement. In order to get the audience to keep quiet she used the bare form imperative *nyamazeni* 'keep quiet.' Since the religious leader is regarded as someone of high status, the audience stopped talking and listened to the announcement without complaining.

(1) At an all women religious gathering in Zanzibar, a group leader wants to make an announcement. *(observation)*
group leader: Nyamazeni!
　　　　　　 Keep quiet!
[everyone stops talking]

In the DCT data, the bare-form imperative was used 100% of the time in situation 4 (Appendix A) where a policeman wanted a driver to remove his bus from a no parking zone. Examples (2) and (3) show that the policeman, like the religious leader uses the bare-form imperative because of his higher status.

(2) Police (DCT; TZM)
policeman:　Toa basi lako hapa haraka! Unasikia?
　　　　　　Remove your bus from here quickly! Do you hear?
driver:　　　Siwezi. Limeharibika.
　　　　　　I can't. It is broken.

(3) Police (DCT; TZZ)
policeman:　Ondosha basi lako hapa.
　　　　　　Remove your bus from here!
driver:　　　Siwezi. Limeharibika.
　　　　　　I can't. It is broken.

The subjunctive imperative form, on the other hand, does not seem to have status attached to it especially in the Zanzibar variety of Kiswahili.[2] In example (4), it is used between participants who are of the same status.

(4) At home in Zanzibar, a man tells his sister-in-law to give him a spoon. *(observation)*
man:　　　　　Hebu nipe kijiko.
　　　　　　　Hebu, give me the spoon.
sister-in-law: Haya.
　　　　　　　Okay.

In examples (5) and (6) the subjunctive imperative is used by participants of different status. In example (5), a child uses it towards an adult, and in example (6) an adult uses it towards a younger person.

(5) At home in Zanzibar, a 5-year-old girl is telling her aunt to open a water bottle for her. *(observation)*
girl:　　　　　Nifungulie.
　　　　　　　Open for me.

aunt: Haya.
        Okay.

(6) At home in Zanzibar, a woman is telling her nephew to go buy a phone card
    for her. *(observation)*
    woman: Nenda hapo kaninunulie kadi ya shilingi elfu mbili.
              Go there and buy me a card of two thousand shillings.
    nephew: Haya.
              Okay.

The mitigating device *hebu* (no English equivalent) in example (4) is used to soften the direct request. Another way of mitigating a direct request is the use of rising intonation. The child made the request in example (5) by using a rising tone on the last syllable.[3]

The third type of direct requests is the beg statement *naomba* 'I beg.' There are different ways of using the beg statement. *Naomba* can be followed by an infinitive form (*kupita* 'to pass') as in example (7), by a noun (*lifti* 'ride') as in example (8), or by a subjunctive form (*ukiweke* 'that you keep') as in example (9).

(7) Street in Dar-Es-Salaam, mainland Tanzania. Man in a hurry wants to pass
    two women who are walking slowly. *(observation)*
    man: Naomba kupita tafadhali.
              I beg to pass please.
    woman: Haya.
              Okay.

(8) Asking for ride (DCT; TZM)
    student: Shikamoo. Naomba lifti.
              Respectful greeting. I beg for a ride.
    neighbor: Haya. Lakini inabidi nipite dukani kwanza.
              Okay. But I'm obliged to pass by the store first.

(9) Dirty room (DCT; TZM)
    Juma: Naomba ukiweke chumba katika hali ya usafi.
              I beg that you keep the room in a clean condition.
    Ali: Sawa. Nitasafisha mara tu nitakapomaliza kuandika insha hii
              Okay. I'll clean soon after I finish writing this essay.

Another way of using the beg statement is inserting an object marker -*ku*- in the verb *nakuomba* 'I beg you' as used in example (10). We will see in the section on variability of requests among native speakers that Tanzanian speakers from Zanzibar use *nakuomba* form in a pleading situation.

(10) Class notes (DCT; TZZ)

  Hadija: Salimu nakuomba uniazime daftari lako.
       Salimu, I beg you to lend me your note book.
  Salimu: Haya. Lakini nirejeshee leo jioni.
       Okay, but return it to me this evening.

Want/like/need statements in examples (11), (12), and (13) were only recorded from DCT data.

(11) Early presentation (DCT; TZZ)

  teacher: Nataka ile kazi uitoe wiki moja kabla ya tarehe tuliyopanga.
       I want you to present that assignment week before the planned date.
  student: Nitajaribu mwalimu.
       I will try, teacher.

(12) Early presentation (DCT; TZM)

  teacher: Ningependa uniletee kazi yako wiki hii badala ya wiki ijayo.
       I would like you bring me your work this week instead of next week.
  student: Nitajaribu mwalimu.
       I will try, teacher.

(13) Early presentation (DCT; TZZ)

  teacher: Nahitaji kupata hiyo kazi wiki moja kabla.
       I need to get that assignment one week before.
  student: Nitajaribu mwalimu.
       I will try, teacher.

All the want/need/like statements were used in situation 6 of the DCT data where someone of higher status, the teacher, asks the lower status student to present his/her work early.

Indirect strategies (queries and hints) are the least preferred request strategies by both groups of Kiswahili speakers. Example (14) is one of the few examples noted in the DCT data. And for interactive data obtained in summer 2004 in mainland Tanzania and in Zanzibar, only one example of query preparatory was noted in mainland Tanzania and one example of query suggestory was observed in Zanzibar as shown in examples (15) and (16) respectively.

(14) Asking for a ride (DCT; TZZ)

  student: Unaweza kunisaidia mpaka pale nyumbani?
       Can you help me until there at home?

neighbor: Haya. Lakini inabidi nipite dukani kwanza.
              Okay. But I'm obliged to pass by the store first.

(15) At the University of Dar Es salaam. One secretary (sec1) is talking to another secretary (sec2). *(observation)*
sec1:   Unaweza kumtafuta Bwana Juma? Kuna barua yake.
              Can you look for Mr. Juma? There is a letter for him.
sec2:   Sawa.
              Okay.

Native speakers of Kiswahili use the query preparatory mainly to check if someone is able to do something. If sec2 in example (15) had responded in the negative, sec1 would not have felt bad about the refusal. In the DCT data, queries were used only 8.2% of the time by mainland Tanzania speakers and 9.23% of the time by Zanzibar speakers.

(16) On the street in Zanzibar, a fish seller wants a woman to buy some fish. *(observation)*
fish seller: Mama, vipi?
              Mother, how (about buying fish)?
              [Woman shakes her head and continues on her way.]

The fish seller in this example did not complete his indirect request but it is understood that he was suggesting to the woman to buy fish from him. The use of *mama* 'mother' in example (16) is a respectful way of addressing a woman that one does not know. The fish seller has a better chance of attracting female customers if he uses the address term *mama*. He could have made the hint without an address term or he could have used the term *bibi* that is ambiguous and could mean either 'Mrs.' or 'grandmother.' Some younger women even if they are not mothers prefer to be addressed as 'mothers' and not as 'grandmothers.'

Hints were least preferred. Example (17) is one of only 6 examples of hints used in the DCT data.

(17) Asking for a ride (DCT; TZZ)
student: Je, mzee unafika nyumbani?
              My elder, are you going home?
neighbor: Haya. Lakini inabidi nipite dukani kwanza.
              Okay. But I'm obliged to pass by the store first.

In the interactive data one example of hint was noted in the TV data.

(18) A visitor gives a hint to the host of the house that he would like to watch TV.
The TV is not on.

visitor:	Vipi…chombo kinafanya kazi
	How…is the vessel (TV) working?
host:	Kinafanya kazi. Nikuashie?
	It's working. Should I switch it on for you?
visitor:	Haya.
	Okay.

Variability in the type of direct requests

As discussed in the previous section, both groups of Kiswahili speakers are direct in their request behavior but they differ in the preferred direct strategy type. According to the results from the DCT data, Tanzanian speakers from the mainland prefer the beg statement *naomba uniazime dafatri lako* 'I beg that you lend me your notebook.' Kiswahili speakers from Zanzibar prefer the subjunctive imperative *niazime daftari lako* 'lend me your book.' The variability in the performance of the two groups of speakers in the use of the beg statement is seen in Table 3 from DCT data. Zanzibar speaker data include instances of *nakuomba* 'I beg you.' It is interesting to note that the beg statement was not used by the policeman in situation 4. The policeman has high status in the society and is not expected to use the beg statement. The teacher in situation 6 who is also someone of high status was portrayed as using the beg statement only once by each group.

Table 3. Variability in the use of the beg statement

situations	% mainland speakers		% Zanzibar speakers	
room (S=H)	6	(1)	17	(3)
notes (S=H)	88	(14)	28	(5)
ride (S<H)	88	(14)	56	(10)
police (S>H)	0	(0)	0	(0)
extension (S<H)	88	(14)	78	(14)
talk (S>H)	6	(1)	6	(1)
average %	46	(44)	30	(33)

notes: S Speaker; H Hearer
= same status; > higher status; < lower status
The number of responses is included in parentheses ( ).

While mainland speakers regard beg statements as a polite way of making requests, speakers from Zanzibar regard the beg statement as

literally begging and children may get reprimanded if they use it. The child in example (19) lives in Dar Es Salaam and is trained to use the beg statement by his teacher at the day care center he attends. He frequently visits his grandmother in Zanzibar and during one of his visits he is reprimanded by his grandmother for using the beg statement.

(19) In Zanzibar, a 5-year old grandson asking for water from his grandmother. *(observation)*
grandson: Bibi naomba maji tafadhali.
              Grandmother, I beg for water please.
grandmother: Mjukuu wangu usiombe. Nambie nikupe, nitakupa.
              My grandchild do not beg.Tell me to give you and I'll give you.

In mainland Tanzania, on the other hand, if one does not use the beg statement he or she maybe regarded as rude as seen in example (20).

(20) At the University of Dar Es Salaam, Daudi (TZM) overhears Amina (TZZ) talking to the campus telephone operator. *(observation)*
Amina: Nipatie nambari 30684. *[to operator]*
           Get me number 30684.
Daudi: Huwezi kupata hiyo simu.
           You won't be able to get that call.
Amina: Kwanini?
           Why?
Daudi: Kwasababu hukusema 'tafadhali' au 'naomba.'
           Because you didn't say 'please' or 'I beg'

In a pleading situation, Zanzibar speakers (TZZ) may use *nakuomba*, the equivalent of 'I beg you' with object marker -*ku*- inserted in the verb. Examples of *nakuomba* were used in the DCT data but no examples were noted in the interactive data. In example (10) cited in the preceding section, speaker Hadija would like to borrow a notebook from her classmate Salimu. She asks Salimu to give her the notebook by saying *nakuomba uniazime daftari lako* 'I beg that you lend me your notebook.' In example (21), the student would like to get an extension for an assignment.

(21) Extension (DCT; TZZ)
student: Mwalimu, ile kazi sijaimaliza. Kwahivyo nakuomba uniongezee muda.
             Teacher, I haven't completed the work. Therefore, I beg that you extend the time for me.

We have seen in this section on native speaker requests, that both groups of speakers from mainland Tanzania and from Zanzibar prefer direct

strategies from indirect ones. We have also seen that there is variability in the type of direct request preferred. While speakers from Zanzibar prefer the subjunctive imperative, mainland speakers prefer the beg statement. Even native speakers of Kiswahili need to be aware of these differences in order to avoid cultural conflicts and misunderstandings.

In the following section, we will discuss the performance of learners at beginning, intermediate, and advanced levels of instruction and we will trace their stages of development in the preferred strategy type of query preparatory.

Performance of Learners

Data from the discourse completion task (DCT) show that American learners are mainly indirect when they request in Kiswahili. As seen in Table 4, Queries were used 56% of the time while direct strategies were used 43% of the time. These direct strategies are mainly like/want/need statements. In two situations learners use direct requests more than 50% of the time. In these situations, situation 1 (dirty room) and situation 4 (Policeman), performance of learners resembles that of native speakers. The policeman in situation 4 uses direct requests 93% of the time, and the roommate in situation 1 uses direct requests 61% of the time. In the following sections I will discuss performance of learners across proficiency levels using role-play data.

Table 4.   Direct and indirect requests by learners

situations	% direct		% indirect			
			queries		hints	
room (S=H)	61	(17)	39	(11)	0	(0)
notes (S=H)	30	(9)	70	(21)	0	(0)
ride (S<H)	23	(7)	77	(23)	0	(0)
police (S>H)	93	(28)	7	(2)	0	(0)
extension (S<H)	15	(4)	77	(20)	8	(2)
talk (S>H)	35	(9)	65	(17)	0	(0)
average %	43	(74)	56	(94)	1	2

notes: S Speaker; H Hearer
= same status; > higher status; < lower status
The number of responses is included in parentheses ( ).

Performance of beginning and intermediate learners

In the role-play data, lower level learners both beginning and intermediate produced examples of direct strategies. We also see that they use question intonation with some of these direct requests in order to achieve the preferred query effect. Examples (22) and (23) from role-play situations show the use of the bare form imperative in the dirty room situation (Situation 1) where speaker (S) and hearer (H) are of equal status (room mates). (B = Beginning; I – Intermediate; f = female; m = male)[4]

(22) Situation 1: Dirty room (S=H, role-play, beginning learners) Bare form imperative

B3f: Chumba ni kichafu. Safisha chumba.
The room is dirty. Clean the room.

B4f: Hivi si vyangu.
These are not mine.

B3f: Hivi ni vitabu vyangu (vyako) na nguo zangu (zako).
These are your books and your clothes.

B4f: Rafiki yangu alitupa vitu chumbani.
My friend threw things in the room.

B3f: Nitakusaidia kusafisha chumbani.
I will help you to clean the room.

(23) Situation 1: Dirty room (S=H, role-play, intermediate learners) Bare form imperative

IN20: Rafiki, nina hasira. Chumba kili si safi. Tafadhali safisha chumba. Una vitabu na nguo na lazima safisha.
Friend. I am angry. The room is not clean. Please clean the room. You have books and clothes and you must clean.

IN21: Samahani lakini vitu vingi ni za wewe.
I'm sorry but many things are yours.

IN20: Hapana. Ni za wewe tu.
No. They are yours only.

In addition to the bare form imperative lower level learners also used want/need statements as seen in example (24), *ninahitaji msaada kwa kwenda kwa nyumbani yangu* 'I need help to go to my home.'

(24) Situation 3: Ride (S=H, role-play, beginning learners) Need statement

B12m: Hujambo?
How are you?

B13m: Sijambo.
I am fine.

B12m: Habari za leo?
News of today?
B13m: Nzuri. Na wewe je?
Good. And how about you?
B12m: Nzuri lakini ninahitaji msaada kwa kwenda kwa nyumbani yangu.
Good. But I need help to go to my home.

It is interesting to note that the want statement in example (25) is produced using question intonation: *Ninataka kuangalia TV tafadhali?* 'I want to watch TV please?'

(25) Situation 6: Television (S=H, role-play) (intermediate learners) Want statement
IN3f: Ninataka kuangalia TV tafadhali?
I want to watch TV please?
IN4f: Nitakusaidia. Ninataka kuangalia TV pia.
I will help you. I want to watch TV also.

Question intonation is also used with bare form imperative, subjunctive imperative, and statements as seen in the following examples. In example (26), B5m uses the bare form imperative with a question intonation. B5m is probably aware that he is using the bare form imperative to a person of higher status, an adult and friend of her parents. So to mitigate the bare form request he produces it in question form *Chukua kwa gari lako?* 'Take by your car?' confirming his preference for queries. At this stage, B5m has not mastered the structure of the preferred query preparatory which in this case would be *Unaweza kunichukua kwa gari lako?* 'Can you take me by your car?'

(26) Situation 3: Ride (S < H, role-play, beginning learners)
B5m: Hujambo?
How are you?
B6f: Sijambo.
I'm fine.
B5m: Habari gani?
What news?
B6f: Nzuri. Na wewe?
Good. And you?
B5m: Nzuri lakini ninataka kwenda nyumbani. Chukua kwa gari lako?
Good but I want to go home. Take by your car?
B6f: Ndiyo. Wapi?
Yes. Where?

Another way of producing this request would be the use the subjunctive form *Nichukue kwa gari lako* 'Take me by your car.' B5m has also not yet acquired the subjunctive form.

Lower level learners can produce the subjunctive form as part of rote memorization. For example, the equivalent of 'give me' *nipe* can only be produced in the subjunctive imperative form and so it is memorized as a formula as seen in example (27).[5] B22f produces the subjunctive imperative form *Tafadahali nipe daftari lako?* ,Please give me your note book?, in question intonation confirming that B22f, as B5m in example (26), prefers queries but she has not mastered the complex structure of the query preparatory. It is interesting to note that when B22f is asked by B23f what book she wants, she responds using the subjunctive imperative without the question intonation *Nipe daftari lako la Kiswahili* 'Give me your Kiswahili notebook.' And B23f when she wants to request that B22f returns the notebook the next day, B23f uses the subjunctive imperative in a query form: *Nipe daftari kesho?* 'Give me the notebook tomorrow?' In a similar context, speakers of Kiswahili who prefer the subjunctive imperative (Tanzania speakers from Zanzibar) would use it without the question intonation.

(27) Situation 2: Notebook (S=H, role play, beginning learners)
  B22f: Hujambo?
      How are you?
  B23f: Sijambo.
      I'm fine.
  B22f: Habari yako?
      Your news?
  B23f: Nzuri. Na wewe?
      Good. And you?
  B22f: Nzuri. Sikwenda darasani jana. Tafadhali nipe daftari lako?
      Good. I didn't go to class yesterday. Please give me your notebook?
  B23f: Ndiyo lakini daftari lipi?
      Yes, but which notebook?
  B22f: Nipe daftari lako la Kiswahili.
      Give me your Kiswahili notebook.
  B23f: Ndiyo. Nipe daftari kesho?
      Yes. Give me the notebook tomorrow?
  B22f: Ndiyo. Asante sana
      Yes. Thanks a lot.

In Kiswahili, statements and questions take the same word order of subject–verb or subject–verb–object as illustrated in example (28). Questions

are accompanied by question intonation. The question tag *je* is optionally used in yes/no questions.

(28) Word order between statements and questions
Juma amelala
Juma is sleeping.
(Je,) Juma amelala?
Is Juma sleeping?
Juma anasoma kitabu.
Juma is reading a book.
(Je,) Juma anasoma kitabu?
Is Juma reading a book?
Nani anasoma kitabu?
Who is reading a book?

It is possible that lower level learners of Kiswahili use their knowledge of this similar word order to make requests using question intonation. B7f, in example (29), requests a notebook by using a statement in query form. *ninachukua?* 'I take?' does not convey a request but the subjunctive imperative form in question intonation would: *nichukue?* '(should) I take?'

(29) Situation 2: Notebook (S=H, role-play, beginning learners)
B7f: Ninaazima daftari lako. Ninaandika…ninaandika notsi nzuri. Ninachukua?
I borrow your book. I write …I write good notes. I take?
B8f: Hii hapa daftari yangu.
Here is my notebook.
B7f: Asante.
Thanks.

We see a similar strategy of using a statement in query form in examples (30) and (31). B10f in example (30) would like to watch television and she makes the request by saying *Ninaangalia televisheni?* 'I am watching television?' IN5m in example (31) asks for salt by saying *Unanipatia chumvi?* 'You are getting me salt?'

(30) situation 6: Television (role-play, beginning learners)
B9m: Hodi.
Knock knock
B10f*:*   Karibuni.
Welcome (pl)
B9m*:*   Habari *gani?*
How are you?

B10f: Nzuri sana. Habari gani?
       Very good. How are you?
B9m: Nzuri.
       Good.
B10f: Unafanya nini?
       What are you doing?
B9m: Ninasoma.
       I'm studying.
B10f: Ninaangalia televisheni?
       I am watching television?
B9m: Ndiyo.
       Yes.

(31) Salt (role-play, intermediate learners)
     IN5m: Samahani. Unanipatia chumvi?
            Excuse me. You are getting me salt?
     IN6f: Ndiyo. Hapa.
            Yes. Here.

In example (30), the query preparatory *Ninaweza kuangalia televisheni?* 'Can I watch television?' would be appropriate. And also the subjunctive imperative form in question intonation *Niangalie televisheni?* would convey the same meaning as the query preparatory. In example (31), the subjunctive imperative-form without question intonation could be an option: *nipatie chumvi* '(that you) give me salt' or the beg statement *naomba unipatie chumvi* 'I beg that you give me salt.'

Sometimes learners use the question tag 'je' out of context as in example (32).

(32) Situation 4: Extension (role-play) Like statement with question tag 'je'(intermediate learners)
     IN10f: Mwalimu, je, ninapenda kuandika essay wangu baadaye kwa sababu ninaumwa na kichwa.
             Teacher (question tag) I like to write my essay later because I have a headache.
     IN11f: Hapana.
             No.
     IN10f: Ninaumwa na kichwa lakini nina hapa.
             I have a headache, but I am here.

IN10f produces a "like statement" to request for an extension. She inserts the question tag *je* hoping that she will get the effect of a query.

Some intermediate learners were able to produce well-structured queries. IN22 in example (33) asks for a ride by saying *Utaniendesha nyumbani tafadhali?* 'Will you drive me home please?' The structure of the request is grammatically acceptable. Pragmatically, the choice of lexical item *endesha* 'drive' may be questioned. An older person or someone of higher status may use it towards a younger person or some one of lower status but not the other way round. In the native speaker DCT data in a similar ride situation *endesha* was not used.

(33) Situation 3: Ride (role-play, intermediate learners)
 IN22f: Shikamoo.
    [respectful greeting]
 IN23f: Marahaba.
    [response to respectful greeting]
 IN22f: Utaniendesha nyumbani tafadhali?
    Will you drive me home?
 IN23f: Ndiyo. Hamna taabu.
    Yes. No problem.

In example (34) we see successful use of the query preparatory by an intermediate learner. IN14m would like to watch television. He produces the query preparatory with the optional question tag *je*.

(34) Situation 6: Television (role-play, intermediate learners)
 IN14m: Je, ninaweza kuangalia onyesho la TV?
    Can I watch a TV program?
 IN15f: Ndiyo unaweza kuangalia onyesho lako. Umewasha TV.
    Yes you can watch your program. Swich it on.
 IN14m: Sawa sawa. Asante
    Okay. Okay. Thanks.

Performance of advanced learners

Unlike lower level learners (beginning and intermediate), advanced learners avoid using the bare form imperative. For example, in the dirty room situation, example (35), Lora uses the want statement *Ninataka kuuliza labda kama utaweza kusafisha* 'I want to ask maybe if you can clean' preceded by a hint *Hebu, naona leo, chumba chako kidogo chafu* 'Hebu, I see today, your room is a little bit dirty.'

(35) Situation 1: Dirty room (S=H, role-play, advanced learners) Hint and want statement
 Lora: Amy habari yako?
    Amy, your news?

Amy: Nzuri kabisa. Habari yako Lora?
Completely good. Your news Lora?

Lora: Safi. Hebu, naona leo, chumba chako kidogo chafu.
Good. Hebu, I see today, your room is a little bit dirty.

Amy: Kweli? Wapi?
Really? Where?

Lora: Naona nguo zako kama uliovaa jana ziko kitini.
I see your clothes that you wore yesterday are on the chair.

Amy: Nitasafisha nguo kesho…kesho.
I will clean tomorrow…tomorrow.

Lora: Na kidogo vumbi juu ya meza yako kila mahali. Ninataka kuuliza labda kama utaweza kusafisha.
And a litte dust on your table everywhere. I want to ask maybe if you can clean.

Amy: Kwanini sina…si chafu sana.
Why I don't have…not very dirty.

Another type of direct requests used by advanced learners is the beg statement. Amy, in example (36), lived in the target language country for a year and had stayed with a host family. She lived in a region where the beg statement is regarded as the polite way of making requests.

(36) Situation 7: Salt (S=H, role-play, advanced learners) Beg statement
Lora: Chakula si tamu leo..
The food is not delicious today.

Amy: Labda…naomba naomba chumvi.
Maybe…I beg I beg for salt.

Lora: Chumvi inasaidia.
Salt helps.

In this region of Tanzania where Amy lived, it is common to hear reprimands being made if the beg statement is not used. Example (37), from observation, illustrates this point. Jane, learner of Kiswahili who had just completed four semesters of Kiswahili language study in the United States was participating in a Study Abroad program for advanced Kiswahili studies in the region where Amy lived. Jane was in a dining hall with other students and their instructors. She wanted one of the instructors to pass her the salt and she used the subjunctive imperative *Nipe chumvi* 'Give me salt.' The instructor Hamisi reprimanded her by saying *Usiseme hivyo* 'Don't say that' and he provides the preferred norm *Naomba chumvi* 'I beg (for) salt.'

(37) Requesting salt: Jane is a study abroad student and Hamisi is a male instructor. *(reconstructed from observation, summer 2003)*

Jane: Nipe chumvi.
  Give me salt.

Hamisi: Usiseme hivyo.
  Don't say like that.

Jane: Kwanini?
  Why?

Hamisi: Kwasababu si adabu nzuri. Sema 'Naomba chumvi.'
  Because it is not good manners. Say 'I beg (for) salt.'

Jane: Sawa. Naomba chumvi.
  Okay. I beg (for) salt.

The reprimand in example (37) can be linked to reprimands/warnings illustrated in the section on variability in requests among native speakers of Kiswahili. It is not only learners that get reprimanded. Native speakers, children and even adults get reprimanded as well.

Advanced learners in examples (38) and (39) make their requests by using the query preparatory. Lora in example (38) would like to get an extension and she makes the requests by saying *Itawezekana kupata siku moja ili kumaliza muhtasari wangu?* 'Is it possible to get one day to complete my summary?' And in example (39), Amy produces the query preparatory *Naweza ku kuona maandisho yake? Yako?* 'Can I see his/her writings? Your?' It is interesting to note that both Lora and Amy began their requests with a want statement and then switched to the query preparatory.

(38) Situation 4: Extension (role-play, advanced learners)

Lora: Habari yako mwalimu?
  Your news teacher?

Amy: Nzuri sana. Habari yako?
  Very good. Your news?

Lora: Salama. Nilitaka kukuuliza kama… Itawezekana kupata siku moja ili kumaliza muhtasari wangu?
  Peaceful. I wanted to ask you if… Is it possible to get one day to complete my summary?

Amy: Kwanini?
  Why?

Lora: Kwasababu niliumwa wiki iliyopita.
  Because I was sick last week.

(39) Situation 2: Notebook (role-play, advanced learners)

    Amy: Sikuwepo darasani jana. Nataka…nataka ku kujua kuhusu tuli tulizungumza…Naweza ku kuona maandisho yake? Yako?

               I was not in class yesterday I want…I want to to know about we talked…Can I see his/her writings? Your?

    Malik: Sababu gani uli…hatukukuona jana?

               For what reason you…we did not see you yesterday?

    Amy: Nilikuwa ..nilikuwa mgonjwa na nahitaji ku kujaribu ku kujifunza.

               I was I was sick and I need to to try to to learn.

Acquisition sequence

The findings from the role-play cross-sectional data confirm the results obtained from the DCT data. Learners across proficiency levels prefer the use of the query preparatory. The stages of acquisition development for the production of the query preparatory across proficiency levels seem to coincide with the first three stages discussed by Kasper and Rose (2002, p.140) based on longitudinal studies done by Achiba (2003) and Ellis (1992).

stage 1 *pre-basic* (highly context dependent, no syntax, no relational goals)

stage 2 *formulaic* (reliance on unanalyzed formulas and imperatives), and

stage 3 *unpacking* (formulas incorporated into productive language use, shift to conventional indirectness)

These three stages are modified in this study to fit learners' performance of Kiswahili requests as illustrated in Table 5. Beginning learners are in both stages 1 and 2. In stage 1, they produce the bare form imperative. In stage 2 they rely on their rote memorization of subjunctive form imperative and they produce it with a question intonation. They also use their knowledge of parallel word order between statement and questions to produce requests. Intermediate learners are in stages 2 and 3. In stage 2, like beginning learners, they use their knowledge of parallel word order between questions and statements to make requests. Some times they use the question tag *je* out of context. But we see in stage 3 that they are successful in producing the QP like the advanced learners.

We have seen in this section on the performance of learners that the query preparatory is the preferred request strategy across all levels of proficiency. Lower level learners, however, produce examples of imperative forms in the early stages of development. They are more like native speakers (from Zanzibar) at this stage than higher-level learners. This seems

to coincide with the hypothesis discussed in Takahashi and Beebe (1987) that says that lower level learners display less transfer from their first language because they do not have the resources to do so. It was also shown in Omar (1991) that learners at early stages of learning are more native like in the length of greeting turns that they produced in role-play interactions than advanced learners. Scarcella (1979) made a similar observation in her study of Spanish speaking learners of English. This suggests that, as Kasper and Rose (2002) suggest, there may be a formulaic stage in which production is not analyzed by learners.

Table 5. **Stages of development for the acquisition of the query preparatory**

stages of development	examples	learner levels
pre-basic use of bare form imperative with question intonation	Chukua kwa gari lako? *Take by your car?*	beginning
formulaic use of subjunctive imperative with question intonation	Nipe daftari lako? *Give me your notebook?*	beginning
use of statements with question intonation	Ninachukua daftari lako? *Am I taking your notebook?* Unanipatia chumvi? *Are you getting me salt?*	beginning & intermediate
use of question tag *je* with statements	Je, ninapenda kuandika essay wangu baadaye kwa sababu ninaumwa na kichwa. *(question tag), I would like to write my essay later because I have a headache.*	intermediate
unpacking use of QP	Itawezekana kupata siku moja ili kumaliza muhtasari wangu? *Is it possible to get one day to complete my summary?*	intermediate & advanced

Conclusion

In this study of Kiswahili requests, we showed that both groups of Kiswahili native speakers, from Zanzibar and from the mainland part of Tanzania prefer direct requests. There is, however, variability in the type of direct request preferred and this variability may result in conflict and

misunderstanding. Cross-cultural conflicts were also discussed in Wong (2004) in his comparison of Anglo English and Singapore English requests in Singapore. Wong points out that "a speech pattern that is highly valued in one culture could turn out to be a socially destructive instrument in another, even if people in the two cultures are said to speak the same language" (p. 245). We have also seen in the cross sectional survey of learners that learners of Kiswahili at all levels prefer the use of indirect strategies. This could be the result of pragmatic transfer as in studies discussed by Kasper (1992). Learners of Kiswahili who participated in this study are native speakers of English who, as pointed out earlier, link the query preparatory with politeness.

Several points were raised that need further investigation. We were not able to investigate the kind of mitigating devices used by native speakers of Kiswahili to soften the directness of their requests. Mitigating devices including the use of address terms and intonation could be an area to be pursued for future research. Another aspect that needs further investigation is the native speaker variation in Kiswahili requests as well as other speech acts and the impact of this variation on second language learning. The questions to ask for further investigation on variation are: How does variation affect acquisition of Kiswahili requests? How can teachers of Kiswahili expose learners to these differences so that when they go to a particular region in the target language country, they are able to perform according to societal norms of that region? These questions are worth pursuing for both acquisition research and pedagogical purposes.

Notes

1   This paper is based on a paper presented at Pragmatics and Language Learning Conference (April 2005). Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Annual Conference in African Linguistics (March 2004), African Language Teachers' Association Conference (April 2004).
2   The subjunctive imperative form is characterized by the suffix -e.
3   The role of mitigating devices including that of intonation was not conducted in the present paper and could be a topic for another study.
4   Learner data is presented as produced without editing grammatical errors.
5   Bardovi-Harlig (this volume) provides a detailed analysis of the use of formulas by learners of English as a second language

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Appendix A:
Situations used in the discourse completion task

S=H (Speaker is of same status as Hearer)
S>H (Speaker is of higher status than Hearer)
S<H (Speaker is of lower status than Hearer)

1. **Dorm room** (S=H): Juma is asking Ali, his roommate at a university dormitory, to clean up. Ali's clothes and books are everywhere.

   Juma: _____

   Ali: Sawa. Nitasafisha mara tu nitakapomaliza (Okay. I'll clean once I'm done [with studying].)

2. **Class notes** (S=H): Hadija is asking Salimu to lend her his notebook so that she can copy the notes of a class she missed.

   Hadija: _____

   Salimu: Haya. Lakini nirejeshee leo jioni kwasababu nataka kufanya marudio. (Okay. But return it to me this evening because I want to review.)

3. **Ride** (S<H): A student asks someone who lives on the same street for a ride home.

   Mwanafunzi (student): _____

   Mwenye gari (driver): Haya. Lakini inanibidi nipite dukani kwanza. (Okay. But I need to go to the store first.)

4. **Police** (S>H): A policeman asks a bus driver to move his bus.

   Polisi (Policeman): _____

   Dereva (driver): Siwezi. Limeharibika basi. (I can not. The bus has broken down.)

5. **Extension of paper** (S<H): A student asks a teacher for extension of a term paper

   Mwanafunzi (student): _____

   Mwalimu (teacher): Haya. Unaweza kuileta kesho. (Okay. You can bring it tomorrow.)

6. **Talk** (S>H): A university professor asks his student to present his work a week earlier than scheduled.

   Mwalimu: _____

   Mwanafunzi: Nitajaribu mwalimu. (I'll try, teacher.)

Appendix B:
Situations used in the role-plays

S=H (Speaker is of same status as Hearer)
S>H (Speaker is of higher status than Hearer)
S<H (Speaker is of lower status than Hearer)

1. **Dirty room** (S=H): A student asks a roommate in a university dormitory to clean up. The roommate's clothes and books are everywhere.

2. **Notebook** (S=H): A student asks another student for a notebook to copy notes from a missed class.

3. **Ride** (S<H): A student asks his/her parents' friend who lives on the same street for a ride home.

4. **Extension** (S<H): A student asks a teacher for extension of a term paper.

5. **Presentation** (S>H): A university professor asks a student to do a presentation a week earlier.

6. **Television** (S=H): A visitor would like to watch a program on television but the television is not on.

7. **Salt** (S=H): At the university cafeteria, students are having their dinner. One student would like another student to pass the salt.

Interlanguage Pragmatics and the Effects of Setting

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The setting of a speech event has a significant role in language use (Douglas, 2000; Hymes, 1974a; Kramsch, 1993). In interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) studies, the investigation of learners' use of language is frequently carried out through analysis of elicited data (Cohen, 2004; Kasper & Dahl, 1991; Kasper & Rose, 1999; Kasper & Schmidt, 1996). Regardless of the means of data collection (e.g., written questionnaires or role plays), decisions are made about the inclusion of sociolinguistic variables such as social status, distance, or degree of imposition. However, despite the variable(s) focused on in any study, every elicitation task is situated within a social setting. Most importantly, even though setting has been recognized as an important variable in communication and in the field of sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1974; Halliday, 1974; Hymes, 1974a) and in the study of ILP production (Cohen, 2004; Douglas, 2000, 2004), it has not been the focus of empirical research that investigates setting as an independent variable. In light of this, the objective of the present study is to utilize existing research designs based on elicited data in order to seek evidence, through the manipulation of contextual variables, which would describe the effects of setting on learners' production.

In order to frame this investigation, the paper first presents how the relevant literature has defined setting and noted any effects of the same. Next, setting is formally defined. Then, the process of constructing a photo-enhanced oral production task is described, and its use in a study focusing on the effects of setting on ILP requests is presented. Finally, the findings are discussed with an emphasis on their implications for research and teaching.

Setting in the ILP Literature

The importance of setting is widely acknowledged and accounted for in pragmatics studies. Setting is discussed in studies on instructional learning settings (Andrews, 2001; Raschio, 1990), language settings (Garcia-Mayo &

Pica, 2000; Legenhausen, 2001; Opitz, 2004), institutional talk (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1996, 2005; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2003), and assessment (Brown, 2004; Cohen, 2004; Roever, 2004). What makes this contribution different is its explicit manipulation of variables (setting, participants, social status, and degree of imposition) for the purpose of ascertaining the degree and manner in which setting affects language production.

Investigations of ILP production have often been based on data obtained from controlled tasks. Methods in these studies include multiple-choice questionnaires, a variety of discourse completion tasks (DCTs), and role-plays. Overall, these methods frame the speech act(s) to be elicited through vignettes which portray situations wherein the speech act under study is likely to be produced. This approach is thought to contextualize the speech event, while at the same time isolating the speech act, as in (1).

(1) *At the university*
Ann missed a lecture yesterday and would like to borrow Judith's notes.
Ann: _____
Judith: Sure, but let me have them back before the lecture next week.

(Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989a, p. 14)

The advantages and disadvantages of such methods are well documented in the literature (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993, 2005; Beebe & Cummings, 1996; Billmyer & Varghese, 2000; Brown, 2001; Cohen, 2004; Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Johnston, Kasper, & Ross, 1998; Rintell & Mitchell, 1989; Roever, 2004; Rose, 1994; Yuan, 2001), and these methods continue be used, both in exploratory and larger scale studies (Al-Issa, 2003; Byon, 2004; Garton, 2000; Hudson, 2001; Jung, 2004; Kwon, 2004; Lorenzo-Dus & Meara, 2004; Rodriguez, 2001; Rose, 2000; Trosborg, 1995).

In the literature, various terms are used to refer to the vignettes employed. Among these terms, 'setting' and 'scenario' predominate, but terms like 'location,' 'situation,' 'context,' or simply 'items' are also used to describe the vignettes themselves or different aspects within them. For instance, Rintell (1981) uses the term 'situation' to describe the vignettes in her role-plays, while Rose (2000) uses the term 'scenario' in his oral DCT. In the seminal work of Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper (1989a), the authors describe the vignettes as 'situations' wherein the 'setting' is specified (e.g., 'at the university' in [1]). While these settings serve to contextualize the speech event in these studies, they do not lend themselves for comparing learners' production in different social situations – irreprehensible, in light of

the fact that such comparison was not within the research objectives. However, when peculiarities arise from the data, researchers are forced to identify and isolate the vignette(s) responsible for eliciting said peculiarities. After further analysis, researchers then interpret the results also considering variables not controlled for, but present in the vignettes. Further investigation of such scenarios is often recommended.

One such example is found in Rodriguez (2001). Rodriguez suggests that one reason why Spanish learners at home were not different from learners abroad might be due to the fact that all the scenarios in her judgment task were located in an academic setting. She reasoned that both groups of learners (study-abroad and at-home) possessed equal experience with the academic setting, in contrast to a non-academic environment which might have favored the study-abroad group. She concludes, "future interlanguage pragmatics research will have to include scenarios that are only available in the target language and that are culturally appropriate, rather than common scenarios such as the academic setting used in this study" (p. 191). This is the central question addressed by the current study.

At this point, it is essential to the present study to define 'setting' and 'scenario.' *Setting*, as I intend the term here, designates the social milieu of the interaction. This use stems from the theoretical framework of Hymes' (1974a) for analyzing a communicative event. In his framework, Hymes lists seven components for any speech event which include participants, channels and their modes of use, codes shared by various participants, setting ("in which communication is permitted, enjoyed, encouraged, abridged" [p. 10]), forms of message and their genres, attitudes and contents of a message, and "events themselves, their kinds and characters as wholes" (p. 10). These components are said to relate to one another, and Hymes (1974b) offers the following regarding setting:

> The Setting factor is fundamental and difficult. It underlies much of the rest and yet its constituency is not easily determined. We accept as meaningful such terms as "context of situation" and "definition of the situation" but seldom ask ethnographically what the criteria for being a "situation" might be, what kinds of situations there are, how many, and the like. Native terms are one guide […] to determine *behavior settings* and to segment the continuum of behavior. (p. 201)

In the present work, I follow Hymes' reading of 'setting' and 'event' (compatible with their general use in the literature), and introduce the term *social location*, as follows: *Social location* refers to a collection of social spaces and their settings as defined institutionally (i.e., the social milieu of

the interaction), for example, the academic setting, the family setting, and so forth. These social locations help not only describe where speech events take place, but also to establish participants' roles and relations to them. For instance, the academic setting interactions of a secretary would be work related, but school related for a student. Social locations overlap as physical spaces share various functions. This would be the case for many graduate students for whom the academic setting embodies both work and school social locations. This, however, is not a limitation of the definition as it highlights the variable condition of graduate students.

Setting denotes the contextualized place of a situation within a social location, for example, at a teacher's office. Finally, *scenario* is then used to refer to the speech events within a setting, for example, asking a teacher for an extension. In other words, scenarios within the academic setting would include the kinds of interactions or situations that are encountered due to the nature or the practices within that social location. For instance, while 'having lunch' could occur within any setting, a 'faculty lunch' would be within the social location of the academic setting. Briefly put, social locations contain different settings, and settings occasion different scenarios.

Given these definitions, I now turn to the investigation of the effects of settings on learners' production of requests. The investigation of the effects of setting is limited here to the study of requests for three reasons. Requests require a relative degree of linguistic expertise in their performance, they are realized through identifiable formulas, and they occur with relatively high frequency in daily interaction (Ellis, 1992, p. 4). Motivated by Rodriguez's (2001) discussion, the present study addresses the following research questions: Does the setting (identified by its social location) influence learners' realizations of requests? Does the setting influence learners' realizations of requests at different stages of development? If the latter holds true, are the patterns of development similar in academic and non-academic settings?

Method

Developing the scenarios for the oral production task

Scenarios for an oral production task were developed by determining situations that learners were likely to experience (cf. Rose & Ono, 1995). There were three reasons why it was deemed undesirable to include scenarios that learners would avoid (a) learners might not respond to the item (Garton, 2000), (b) learners who have not experienced interactions in scenarios presented in experimental tasks are more likely to guess at a

response rather than to produce one based on other experience which might be relevant (cf. Garton, 2000; MacIntyre, Dornyei, Clement, & Noels, 1998; Rodriguez, 2001;), and (c) attempting to gather data on interactions that learners do not need to master seemed a fruitless endeavor.

Thirteen learners from levels 3–7 in the Intensive English Program (IEP) at Indiana University (3 male and 10 female) responded to a list of 55 situations. The list was compiled from the field notes of three instructors and one former student of the program. Each situation was followed by three questions regarding familiarity, degree of imposition, and social status. The first question, 'Has this happened to you?,' was followed by multiple-choice responses: (a) 'Yes,' (b) 'No, but this could *probably* happen to me,' (c) 'No, and *I don't know* if this could happen to me,' and (d) 'No, and this would *probably not* happen to me.' The second and third questions were informed by Garton's (2000) use of a Likert scale-type item from which he derived information regarding learners' judgments of the degree of imposition of the request. The scale asked learners to rank scenarios from comfortable to uncomfortable. The third question, regarding social status, asked learners to rank scenarios from more to less polite.

Only items to which at least 10 of the learners (77%) responded 'yes' or 'this could *probably* happen to me' in the first question were considered as possible items for the oral production task. Next, the situations were considered for the degree of imposition and the status of the hearer relative to the learner. Degree of imposition refers to "the expenditure of goods, services or energy required by hearer to carry out the request" (Hudson, Detmer, & Brown, 1995, p. 5). The degree of imposition of each scenario was determined by the mean scores of learners' ranking, where 'comfortable' = 1 and 'uncomfortable' = 5. Then, the mean scores were grouped into requests of relatively low imposition, with mean scores (M) between 1 and 2.33, medium imposition M = 2.34–3.66, and relatively high imposition M = 3.67–5.

The status of the hearer in each scenario was determined through the same procedure used with the degree of imposition. Social status (or dominance) refers to "the status relationship between the participants, which was specified either by the authority of one interactant over the other, or by the lack of authority in the case of persons of equal status" (Trosborg, 1995, p. 148). In the case of hearer status, 'more polite' = 5 and 'less polite' = 1. Mean scores were grouped similarly into hearers of relatively lower, equal, and higher status.

Finally, following the definition of 'setting' offered at the outset, the scenarios were classified as occurring within the academic setting or not

(labeled non-academic setting).[1] This yielded 29 possible scenarios. The analysis of the degree of imposition yielded 12 scenarios of low imposition, 15 of medium imposition, and two of high imposition. The analysis of the status of the hearer resulted in eight scenarios with an equal status hearer, and 21 with a higher status hearer. Items in each setting with the highest scores were selected for the task. This categorization resulted in the selection of 12 scenarios, given in Appendix A. These scenarios are used in the study that follows, where the objective of the present study (describing the effects of setting on learners' realizations of requests), is addressed.

Participants

A total of 34 learners from the IEP at Indiana University participated in this study. Learners were grouped based on their scores on the listening portion of the IEP's placement exam. The program's placement exam is a TOEFL-like test that every student in the program has to take at the end of every session, and new students take before they begin the program. Listening scores were chosen because it consists of short and long conversations, which assessed comprehension of pragmatic aspects, like implicatures and idiomatic expressions. As a result of their listening scores, learners in the study were assigned to three groups: beginners ($n = 14$), intermediate ($n = 10$), and advanced ($n = 10$).

The beginner group consisted of eight male and six female learners, with a mean age of 26.86. Learners reported having been in the United States between 2 weeks and 7 months, with the exception of one learner who reported 5 years (M=6.33). First languages among the group were varied; there were three Japanese speakers, three Korean speakers, two Portuguese speakers, and the remaining learners spoke French, Albanian, Spanish, Arabic, Turkish, and Mongolian. The intermediate group included four male and six female learners with a mean age of 24.8. Their length of stay in the United States ranged from half a week to 7 months ($M = 3.07$). First languages were also varied; there were four Korean speakers, two Japanese speakers, and the remaining learners spoke Creole, Spanish, Tibetan, and Mandarin. Like the intermediate group, the advanced group included four male and six female learners, with a mean age of 23.4. Learners reported having been the United States between 3 weeks and 7 months ($M = 12.28$), with the exception of one learner who reported 7 years. Similar to the other groups, most of the learners with the same language spoke Korean ($n = 4$), there was a Spanish-Chinese bilingual, and the

remaining learners spoke Japanese, Thai, Mongolian, Spanish, and Chinese.

Instrument

After the background information questionnaire, learners completed a photo-enhanced oral production task, where they were prompted orally and responded orally. In the photo-enhanced oral production task, a main character named J.K. (a young adult in his mid 20s, much like the learners who participated in this study) is seen in the six scenarios within the academic setting and the six scenarios outside the academic setting that were selected above. J.K. was described to learners as a fellow student in the IEP, and as such he was seen in different situations, much like some they may have experienced.

The scenarios included a photograph with a brief descriptive caption. Photographs were used in order to include as much detail of the scenarios and social locations as possible, so that learners would recognize them as real scenarios and social locations in their everyday lives. Photos of the academic setting were taken on campus, in the IEP's classrooms and offices, and included actual instructors and office personnel playing their own role in the photos. Photos of the non-academic setting were taken, for instance, at the local mall. All photos were taken on-site, in places located within the environment of the learners participating in this study (see Appendix B for examples of the photo-enhanced oral production task). All instructions and scenario descriptions were written and read in English.

The visual aspect of the photo-enhanced oral production task was informed by Rose's (2000) use of cartoons to portray the scenarios in his study, and Rodriguez's (2001) use of magazine cutouts.[2] Furthermore, the use of an oral production task was justified by Brown's (2001) study. When comparing different elicitation methods in foreign versus second language settings, Brown showed that the oral discourse completion task (similar to the photo-enhanced oral production task) ranked as both highly valid and reliable when compared to five other elicitation methods. Moreover, he demonstrated that, overall, the oral discourse completion task ranked as the best elicitation method to use in a second language setting (pp. 323–324). Given the exploratory nature of the present study, and the fact that only one class period was allowed for data collection, the photo-enhanced oral production task permitted a greater number of participants to take part in the study.

Procedures

Learners were taken in groups to a language laboratory and were each seated in a booth equipped with a headset (earphones and microphone) and tape deck. Each learner had a handout with the consent form, background questionnaire, and photo-enhanced oral production task. The researcher gave the directions (with a sample item that showed how to opt out) by following a script in English so that all learners would receive the same input. Each item was read aloud, and the learners listened through their headsets. The researcher read the items while presenting the task on an overhead projector. The master controls were set so that learners could not hear each other's responses, but could all hear the researcher. Since the researcher could hear every learner, the response time was not pre-determined, as the researcher was able to wait for learners to finish speaking before continuing with the next scenario. This was done in order to reduce the likelihood of learners loosing their place during the photo-enhanced oral production task. The data was collected during a 50-minute class period.

Data Analysis

Learners' responses were first divided into head act and supportive moves. The head act was further analyzed into request strategy (and level of directness), and modifiers (which included downgraders and upgraders, see Appendix C). The request strategies were based on an adaptation of the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Research Project (CCSARP) coding manual (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989b), Ervin-Tripp's (1976) description of American English directives, and Kuriscak's (2005) work on requests and complaints (see Appendix C). Outside the head act, supportive moves were analyzed as aggravators or mitigators. Modifiers occurring within the supportive moves were noted as such (see [2]). Supportive moves were coded following the list in the CCSARP which was expanded to include apologies, thanks, and compliments (see Appendix C).

(2) *Excuse me,*   alerter

would you please turn…   request strategy: embedded imperative

turn down the music little bit?   request modifiers: conditional (*would*), politeness marker (*please*), understater (*little bit*)

Accordingly, while responses could only have one type of request strategy, the number of modifiers and supportive moves varied, and, thus, each occurrence was counted. The data resulting from the coding was then analyzed by way of a repeated measures ANOVA for a doubly multivariate 3

x 3 x 2 x 2 Split-Plot (Between-Within) design. This allowed for analysis of the combination of the three within-subjects factors and one between-subjects factor. The three within-subjects factors were Imposition (High, Mid, and Low), Setting (Academic and Non-Academic), and Hearer Status (Higher and Equal), and the between-subjects factor was group (beginner, intermediate, and advanced).

Results

The photo-enhanced oral production task yielded a total of 380 requests. The non-academic setting rendered 191 requests and the academic setting rendered 189. There were 19 opt-outs and nine of the utterances were non-requests. The results are now reported as they pertain to each of the research questions.

Does the setting influence learners' realizations of requests?

Analysis revealed a main effect of setting within several aspects of learners' realizations of requests. Table 1 presents a summary of these results.

Table 1.   Main effects of setting in learners' requests

measure	*df*	mean square	*F*	*sig.*	valence
head act					
downgraders					
conditional	1.000	0.347	4.329	0.047*	+
"please"	1.000	7.371	32.257	0.000*	+
understater	1.000	0.097	6.737	0.015*	+
appealer	1.000	0.119	3.449	0.074**	–
upgraders					
intensifier	1.000	0.891	12.098	0.002*	+
supportive moves					
type of supportive move					
mitigator: groundert	1.000	0.759	4.200	0.050*	–
aggravator: complaint	1.000	14.146	88.873	0.000*	+
downgrader					
subjectivizer	1.000	0.261	5.339	0.028*	+
upgrader					
intensifier	1.000	1.817	12.272	0.002*	+

+ increased use in non-academic settings
– decreased use in non-academic settings
* p≤0.05.
** 0.05>*p*< 0.10

Table 2. First and second order interaction effects of setting in the head act

measure	df	mean square	F	sig.
request strategy				
setting x status				
directness	1.000	28.941	8.860	0.007*
downgrader				
setting x status				
conditional	1.000	1.242	6.269	0.018*
"please"	1.000	3.750	13.602	0.001*
subjectivizer	1.000	0.042	4.336	0.047*
hedge	1.000	0.533	10.318	0.003*
appealer	1.000	0.126	3.249	0.082**
downtoner	1.000	0.046	2.962	0.096**
setting x imposition				
appealer	1.565	0.122	4.266	0.028*
subjectivizer	1.445	0.047	3.452	0.055**
setting x status x imposition				
hedge	1.098	0.789	11.967	0.001*
downtoner	1.528	0.026	2.695	0.092**
upgrader				
setting x status				
intensifier	1.000	0.837	28.372	0.000*
setting x imposition				
intensifier	1.658	1.026	11.582	0.000*
setting x status x group				
intensifier	2.000	0.152	5.142	0.013*
repetition of request	2.000	0.239	3.186	0. 057**
setting x status x imposition				
intensifier	1.717	1.028	12.329	0.000*

* p≤0.05.
** 0.05>p< 0.10

The request setting significantly influenced the use of conditionals. Learners showed greater use of head act conditionals in non-academic settings. Likewise is the case with the use of 'please,' understaters, and intensifiers. The exception is the use of head act appealers which decrease in the non-academic setting relative to the academic setting. Example (3) shows a beginners' realization of a high imposition request addressed to a higher status hearer.

(3) C…Excuse me, c…could you…you're so loud…could you turn down the volume…*I should have test tomorrow* (NEIGHBOR)

Setting also produces an effect on the use of supportive moves. Relative to the academic setting, grounders decrease in the non-academic setting. Complaints, conversely, increase as does the use of subjectivizers and intensifiers in supportive moves.

Further, the analysis finds setting to interact with other factors in learners' realization of requests. Table 2 summarizes head act internal setting interactions.

Setting and status of the hearer interacted with the level of directness of the request strategy employed. Within the non-academic setting the tendency is toward greater directness as hearers increase in relative status to the speaker, whereas the opposite trend manifests itself in the academic setting. Higher status hearers will receive greater directness in the non-academic setting compared with the academic setting, whereas the opposite holds for equal status hearers. Examples (4) and (5) are responses to the scenarios CALLING CARD (non-academic setting) and PHONE CLASSMATE (academic setting), respectively, and are both low imposition requests with equal status hearers. However, (4) is an Embedded Imperative, while (5) is a Need/Want Statement.

(4) If you can help me, eh…to call a phone number in my country. (CALLING CARD)

(5) I want to know what the homework is. (PHONE CLASSMATE)

Setting and hearer status also had significant effects in the use of head act downgraders (conditional, 'please,' subjectivizer, hedge, appealer, and downtoner) and one upgrader (intensifier). The use of conditionals, 'please,' subjectivizers, downtoners, and intensifiers all mirror the pattern in directness levels noted above. That is, there is a positive covariance with hearer status in the non-academic setting and a negative covariance in the academic setting. Effects of setting invert with respect to hedges and appealers. Specifically, higher status targets will hear fewer hedges in the non-academic setting than in the academic setting, whereas the opposite holds for equal status hearers. Valence of the association between status and use of hedges crosses across levels of setting (i.e., academic and non-academic settings).

Setting also interacts with degree of imposition in the use of appealers, subjectivizers, and intensifiers. In the academic setting, absent from medium imposition requests, appealers associate with low and high imposition requests. Conversely, in the non-academic setting, appealers disappear among low imposition requests, but are used equally in requests of medium and high imposition. Though less frequent than appealers, subjectivizers and intensifiers expressed setting preferences. Subjectivizers appear only in the

non-academic setting in conjunction with requests of medium imposition and in the academic setting with high impositions. Intensifiers were most frequent in medium impositions in the non-academic setting and seldom used in the academic setting.

Second order interaction effects were also observed. Setting, status, and imposition were found to interact in the use of head act internal hedges, downtoners, and intensifiers. Regarding hedges, the significant effect is found within high imposition requests. Hedges are not used in requests of high imposition addressed to higher status hearers in the non-academic setting but find extensive use in the academic setting, as example (6) demonstrates.

(6) Would you please give me a chance to do it *some day… some other day*? (LATE TEST)

The opposite holds for high imposition requests of equal status hearers: while not used in the academic setting, hedges abound in the non-academic setting. Intensifiers accompanying high impositions follow a similar pattern, which is the inverse of downtoner usage. Further, interactions of setting with hearer status and learner group are described below, as they address the second and third research questions.

Analysis of the supportive moves also revealed setting effects, across several types (grounder, politeness marker, disarmer, and complaint). The results are shown in Table 3.

Among grounders, politeness markers, and disarmers, use decreases in addressing higher status hearers in the academic setting relative to the non-academic setting. The inverse holds for requests of equal status hearers: frequency increases as speakers move from the non-academic to the academic setting. Complaints tended toward conditions of status equality in the non-academic setting, disappearing in the academic setting.

Setting and imposition interacted in supportive move usage (grounder, disarmer, imposition minimizer, compliment, and complaint) and in the use of modifiers within supportive moves (conditional, subjectivizer, and intensifier). Grounders and imposition minimizers revealed the same interaction between medium and low imposition requests: A shift from the non-academic to theacademic setting associated positively with use of grounders and imposition minimizers in making medium imposition requests and negatively

Table 3.   First and second order interaction effects of setting in the supportive moves

measure	df	mean square	F	sig.
type of supportive move				
setting x status				
mitigator: grounder	1.000	1.177	7.684	0.010*
mitigator: politeness marker	1.000	0.526	6.891	0.014*
mitigator: disarmer	1.000	0.137	4.212	0.050*
aggravator: complaint	1.000	1.014	8.938	0.006*
setting x imposition				
mitigator: grounder	1.936	4.182	19.587	0.000*
mitigator: disarmer	1.555	0.220	6.602	0.006*
mitigator: imposition minimizer	1.528	0.026	2.695	0.092**
mitigator: compliment	1.547	0.058	2.947	0.075**
aggravator: complaint	1.864	3.818	32.690	0.000*
setting x group				
mitigator: preparator	2.000	0.120	2.766	0.080**
mitigator: imposition minimizer	2.000	0.019	2.619	0.091**
setting x status x group				
mitigator: apology	2.000	0.164	5.562	0.009*
setting x imposition x group				
mitigator: apology	4.000	0.176	3.030	0.025*
mitigator: disarmer	4.000	0.055	2.127	0.089**
setting x status x imposition				
mitigator: grounder	1.861	2.982	10.716	0.000*
mitigator: compliment	1.654	0.040	3.144	0.061**
aggravator: complaint	1.496	1.740	9.900	0.001*
downgrader				
setting x imposition				
conditional	1.879	0.110	4.331	0.020*
subjectivizer	1.128	0.800	8.743	0.005*
setting x status x group				
cajoler	2.000	0.057	2.877	0.073**
upgrader				
setting x imposition				
intensifier	1.888	1.160	7.064	0.000*

* $p \leq 0.05$.
** $0.05 > p < 0.10$

for low imposition requests. Compliments, complaints, and subjectivizers behaved in similar fashion.

Relative to the non-academic setting, learners decreased intensifier use in the academic setting when making high imposition requests, as they did with conditionals in equal fashion for those of medium and high imposition. Low imposition requests were absent of conditionals in the non-academic setting. Three-way interactions of setting, status, and imposition appear in the use of supportive moves (grounders, compliments, and complaints). Requests of low imposition in the non-academic setting found learners addressing equals with more grounders than superiors, yet relatively fewer in the academic setting. When imposition was high, use of grounders increased as the request target increased in status in the non-academic setting, and only decreased slightly when setting changed. Grounding of medium impositions increased with status equality, but used similarly in both settings.

The interaction of setting, status, and imposition also significantly affected use of compliments as a supportive move. In the academic setting, only low imposition requests to higher status hearers and high imposition requests to equal status hearers included compliments. In the non-academic setting, only those of medium imposition directed at a higher status included compliments. Complaint usage was equally selective, exclusive to the non-academic setting and negatively associated with medium impositions of higher status hearers while invariant across status conditions in requests of high imposition in the non-academic setting.

Does the setting influence learners' realizations of requests at different stages of development? Are the patterns of development similar in academic and non-academic settings?

As summarized by Table 2, analysis revealed interaction of group and setting with status within the head act (intensifier and repetition of request). The use of supportive moves (see Table 3) revealed sensitivity to group and setting interactions (preparator and imposition minimizer), as well as to setting, status, and group (apology and cajoler), and setting, group, and imposition (apology and disarmer).

In examining the interactive nature of setting and group factors, development patterns are found to vary across settings. Three-way interaction of setting, status, and group on use of head act internal intensifiers presents two different pictures of development. With respect to the use of intensifiers with equal status hearers, significant differences

emerge between beginner and advanced groups. Beginners use intensifiers in academic, but not non-academic, settings. Advanced learners behave in opposite fashion, reserving intensifiers for the non-academic setting. If examined narrowly within the academic setting, data would suggest learners' use of intensifiers in conditions of equal status decreases with proficiency. Conversely, if observation were confined to the non-academic setting, data would suggest a development curve trending in the opposite direction. This contrast is particularly marked in requests of higher status hearers. Examples (7) and (8) show how learners in the three groups generally avoid intensifiers when addressing a higher status hearer in the academic setting, but use them extensively in the non-academic setting.

(7) Could… could you please turn… could you turn the volume down *more*? (NEIGHBOR)

(8) I would like take a test. (LATE TEST)

Repetition of requests also differed per levels of group, setting, and status. In directing to a higher status, repetition of requests suggests U-curvilinear development in both settings. Example (9) from a beginner and (10) from an advanced learner, exemplify use of repetition when responding to the CALLING CARD scenario. Intermediate and advanced learners increase frequency of use in the non-academic setting while beginners' usage is essentially invariant to setting.

(9) Excuse me, if you can help me, eh… to call a phone number in my country, but I can't use this calling card, can you help me, please? (beginning group)

(10) Excuse me, ahm… can you show me how can I call? How can I use the distance telephone call? Thank you. (advanced group)

While this pattern is also apparent in the academic setting where statuses equate, in the non-academic setting there is a marked decrease in usage as learners advance from beginner to intermediate and a plateau bridging the intermediate to advanced learners.

Setting and group interactions influence supportive move use as well. Preparator usage reveals development patterns particular to settings. While characterized by a bell-curve in the academic setting, the non-academic setting suggests a steady decrease of usage with higher proficiency. The use of imposition minimizer is similar to that of preparators in the academic setting. However, a look at the non-academic setting would indicate that only advanced learners demonstrate productive use of imposition minimizers.

Setting, status, and group significantly interact in the use of an apology as a supportive move. While stable in frequency across groups in conditions

of status equality, addressing a higher status in the academic setting would elicit an observation of negative association between use and proficiency, and yet a bell-shaped curve in the non-academic setting is observed. Apologies were not to be found with beginners in the non-academic setting, but do so freely in the academic setting, exactly where advanced learners' usage disappears.

Also sensitive to the effects of setting, status, and group interactions is the use of cajolers within supportive moves. In addressing hearers of equal status in the academic setting, only advanced learners used cajolers. However, in the non-academic setting, beginners and intermediate learners show productive usage, as shown in example (11), while advanced learners did not. Only beginners used cajolers with higher status hearers, and did so only in the non-academic setting.

(11) Tell me how to use this, *man* (CALLING CARD)

The use of apology varied with respect to combinations of setting, imposition, and group levels. Requests of low imposition found only advanced learners using Apologies, and only in the academic setting. Apologies accompanied medium impositions only in beginners' requests, and only in the non-academic setting. Use of Apologies in high imposition requests varied markedly in each setting; in the academic realm, use decreased with proficiency, whereas the non-academic context produced a bell-shaped curve.

Use of disarmers as supportive moves was similarly influenced by the interaction of setting, group, and imposition. However, unlike the previous interactions, suggesting different development patterns across settings, the significant effects in disarmer use pertain only to the estimated mean differences in each setting. In producing low imposition requests, there is a bell-shape curve in both settings, but use is significantly higher in the academic setting than in the non-academic setting. In producing high imposition requests, there is a *U*-curve in both settings, but use among advanced learners was significantly higher than among beginners. Intermediate learners omitted disarmers in high imposition requests altogether. No disarmers appeared in medium imposition requests.

In sum, setting is found to have statistically significant effects on learners' productions of requests. The effects were evidenced in learners' level of directness (as reflected by their choice of request strategies), in their choice of supportive moves, and in their choice of modifiers (both inside and out of the head act). That all these choices were conditioned by the setting in which the request is uttered clearly shows the manner and extent of setting's

effect upon learners' production. In light of these results, I now turn to a discussion of their relevance and their implication for research and teaching.

Discussion and Implications

The findings of the study presented are relevant for ILP research as well as for teaching. The development of the scenarios suggests that learner judgments of the degree of imposition of a request and the status of the hearer may differ from native speakers' judgments. The measures used in the selection of the scenarios were adopted in order to include learners' evaluations of the degree of imposition, the status of the hearer, and the likelihood of encountering any given request. However, this produced some evaluations that may seem counterintuitive to a native speaker of English (e.g., the hairdresser in the HAIRCUT scenario was considered to be of a higher status). Thus, this finding suggests that learners' evaluations of these variables may not be native-like. As such, this presents an area of interlanguage development prime for future study. It may be the case that findings in the literature reporting that learners do not seem to display much sensitivity to the status of the addressee might not be solely due to a lack of proficiency in the use of request strategies, or modifiers (pragmalinguistic proficiency; Ellis, 1992; Rose, 2000; Scarcella, 1979). Instead, it may be the case that learners do not perceive status and imposition in the same manner as native speakers do (an aspect of sociopragmatic proficiency).

Rose (2000) revealed the same finding, even if in his conclusion there is an assumption that learners perceived these variables in the same way. He states "the data revealed little evidence of situational variation [hearer status and degree of imposition] for any of the speech acts, which may indicate the precedence of pragmalinguistics over sociopragmatics in the early stages of pragmatic development in a second language" (p. 55). Studying the perceptions of these sociopragmatic variables could help explain why, for instance, even though learners at all levels of proficiency make use of all levels of directness, there are still differences in the ways levels of directness are used in different scenarios. Furthermore, in terms of teaching practices, if learners' perceptions of these variables are indeed different from native speakers,' then language teachers may find it beneficial to assist learners in making more culturally appropriate judgments of these variables.

The findings regarding the effects of settings confirm some speculations made in the literature. For instance, Ellis (1992) attributes the cause of his subjects' developmental limitations to the nature of the communicative setting. The results from this study provide evidence to substantiate his

conclusion as it was in the non-academic setting that extensive use of request modifiers was observed. This provides a possible explanation as to why further development of the two boys was not observed in the classroom.

Furthermore, these findings underscore the significance of including a variety of settings when investigating ILP development. As was demonstrated, including only the academic setting in a study could risk making partial observations of development and, by extension, arriving at imprecise generalizations about the process of ILP development. For instance, one might think to conclude that cajolers are not easily acquired because, in the academic setting, they only emerge in advanced learners' productions. However, as noted in the non-academic setting, beginners can also use cajolers to downgrade their requests. This finding elucidates the performance of the learners in Scarcella's (1979) study, which reported that the lower level group did not use slang (including cajolers). However, it may be the case that linguistic behavior of the low level learners in Scarcellas' study and the beginners in this study was similar due to the nature of the work and academic settings. That is, the social location may have precluded use of cajolers.

Another example comes from the development of request strategies and levels of directness. Had one set out to describe learners' use of directness and only included the academic setting, a potential risk is run of concluding that directness tends toward status equality. However, these results suggest greater nuance; associative valence may invert if setting is moved outside the academic environs. The relevance of these findings is further underscored by the experimental design of this study. It is the same learners who eschewed preparators in the academic setting that demonstrated highly productive use in the non-academic setting. Simply, the setting affects ILP production.

The findings from this study are quite telling, but, like any study, carry limitations. The number of learners participating in the study was relatively small, only producing a total of 380 requests, resulting in small cell counts. The technique and power of a repeated measure analysis, however, is well suited to such conditions and these findings should warrant consideration as an exploratory study of the effects of setting in learners' realization of requests. It is also worth noting that other variables, like social distance, while of interest could not be included in the task due to the time limitation of a single class period for data collection.

The implications of this study seem noteworthy. If pragmatic competence encompasses both sociopragmatics and pragmalinguistics, then when examining interlanguage pragmatics we need to give learners a wider range

of opportunities (in the way of different social locations) to demonstrate what they can do, pragmatically, with the target language. Thus, the present study echoes researchers' comments on the importance of setting and context (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1996, 2005; Bergman & Kasper, 1993; Cohen, 2004; Douglas, 2000, 2004; Garton, 2000; Rodriguez, 2001) through evidence of the effects of social locations.

Conclusion

It would seem logical that if a learner demonstrates productive knowledge of, say, conditionals, s/he should be able to apply that same knowledge regardless of the setting.

However, this would almost necessarily require disregarding basic understandings of social structure, particularly for adults. Would the reader ask for dinner at the counter of McDonalds in the same way s/he might at a table in a conference banquet, sitting amidst colleagues in the field? If not, what sense does it make to generalize what learners can do with a target language from observations drawn from a particular social location? The conclusion I would draw is simple: The social location matters in learners' realizations of requests. Therefore, it should be accounted for when developing instruments (of research or instruction) that assess learners' development of pragmatic competence.

Notes

1   Specifically, scenarios were classified as academic or non-academic based on their function within the social-institutional location, the quality of interaction (e.g., topics), and the relational basis of the participants.

2   Rose's (2000) cartoons consisted of a main character (Siu Keung) who resembled a child around the age of the learners in his study. Each scenario depicted events through a single-frame cartoon often without additional details of the setting. Alternatively, Rodriguez's (2001) magazines cutouts were cropped so that only the faces of the female addressees could be seen. The purpose was to provide all participants with the same visual input in order to rate requests addressed to the women in the pictures. However, no context was included

visually. For other adaptations of visual means in elicitation tasks see Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei (1998) and Rose (1997).

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Appendix A: Scenarios selected

The following symbols are used.

    H   = high imposition
    M   = medium imposition
    L   = low imposition
    HS = higher status hearer
    ES = equal status hearer

Non-academic setting

NEIGHBOR: Your neighbor is playing very loud music. You can't concentrate and you have a test tomorrow. You go to his apartment to talk to him about turning the volume down. (HS, H)

HAIRCUT: You're getting a haircut. You notice that the stylist looks like she is finished, but you want your hair shorter. (HS, M)

POLICE: You are walking down 3rd Street and the only person around is a police officer. You need to know how to get to the post office. You talk to her about it. (HS, L)

BAR: You are at a bar and you have been waiting for 30 minutes for the bartender to bring you something to drink. You want a drink. (ES, H)

WAITRESS: You go to a restaurant to have dinner with a friend. While your friend is in the bathroom, the waitress brings you a fish sandwich. You had ordered a steak sandwich because you don't like fish. You want a different sandwich. (ES, M)

CALLING CARD: You bought a "calling card" (a card to make long-distance telephone calls), but you don't know how to use it. You ask your roommate about it. (ES, L)

Academic setting

LATE TEST: There was a test yesterday. Yesterday you were very sick and had to miss classes. Before class starts you talk to your teacher about taking the test. (HS, H)

BOOK EXCHANGE: The first day of IEP classes is over, and your teacher told you that you have the wrong textbook. You go back to T.I.S. and talk to a clerk about exchanging it for the correct textbook. (HS, M)

REGISTRATION: It is registration day and you need to pay for classes. You only have checks. You talk to Janet (the secretary) about it. (HS, L)

RIDE HOME: After your last class was over, you stayed and talked to your teacher about some grammar exercises you did not understand. When you finished you noticed that you had missed your bus. Outside of the classroom you see one of your classmates ready to leave, and you talk to her about giving you a ride. (ES, H)

CORRECT EXERCISE: Last night you were working very hard on your homework. You are not sure if you did the correct exercise, so you ask one of your classmates. (ES, M)

PHONE CLASSMATE: You were absent from classes today. You call your classmate to get the homework for tomorrow. (ES, L)

Appendix B: Photo-enhanced oral production task

HAIRCUT scenario (non-academic setting)

You're getting a haircut. You notice that the stylist looks like she is finished, but you want your hair shorter.

🗣 You say or do:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

REGISTRATION scenario (academic setting)

It is registration day and you need to pay for classes. You only have checks. You talk to Janet (the secretary) about it.

🎤 You say or do:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix C: Coding list

Request strategies and examples

mood derivable
Let me see your answer.

need/want statement
I want to test. Is it possible?

need/want statement with a conditional
I would like take a test.

locution derivable questions
What is the homework for tomorrow?

embedded imperatives
Can you pick me up to my home?

permission directives
Can I take the test today or tomorrow?

embedded locution derivable questions:
Would you please tell me what was the homework for tomorrow?

hint statement
I was sick yesterday, so ah… that's why I missed class yesterday.

hint question
Do I have the correct textbook?; Did you…did you exercise last night?

hint request/complaint
When can I…when can I get my drink?; Do you remember my order?

Request modifiers

downgraders
conditional mood, politeness markers, subjectivizer, hedge, understater, appealer, cajoler, downtoner, embedded if-clause, negation, aspect

upgraders
intensifier, repetition of request, lexical uptoner, pejorative, determiner, commitment indicator, expletive, emphatic addition

Supportive moves

mitigators
> grounder, preparator, getting a precommitment, politeness strategy, imposition minimizer, promise of reward, disarmer, apology, compliment

aggravators
> complaint, threat, moralizing

Speech Acts in Interaction: Towards Discursive Pragmatics

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Introduction

Although the exact definition and scope of pragmatics may be a contentious issue, it is beyond dispute that speech acts have a central place in the field. Speech acts are the most widely examined object in interlanguage pragmatics, where they have been studied from a wide array of theoretical perspectives and research methodologies. Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's (1990, 1993, 1996) work on suggestions and rejections in academic advising sessions represents an early example of interlanguage pragmatic research on speech act development in institutional interaction, and their recent book on the topic (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 2005) gives renewed impetus to this fertile line of study. Gass and Houck's (1999) book on interlanguage refusals examines the sequential organization of refusal interaction and highlights in particular the roles of nonvocal conduct and listener behavior. As such, their book offers important new directions for the analysis of speech acts in interaction. But a much larger share of the empirical speech act literature examines its focal object in isolation from situated interaction, often without considering the theoretical premises and ramifications of such a reductive strategy. This approach to speech acts pursues an empirical extension of speech act theory, especially that of John Searle. It is the aim of this paper to provide a critical appraisal of the speech act theory-based version of speech act research, referred to "speech act research" for short.[1]

Discontent with speech act research is no news to the readers of *Pragmatics & Language Learning*. In particular, methods of data collection have been a longstanding cause for concern (Kasper & Rose, in press), but weaknesses in the coding systems have also been identified, for instance in Meier's (1998) critique of apology research. While the critiques and constructive remedial action have been helpful, I have come to think that they have not usually reached far enough to get at the more fundamental difficulties with speech act research. This is because for the most part, the

critiques have been methodological rather than theoretical, without scrutinizing the theories behind the methods. On the other hand, critiques of speech act *theory*, of which there are many, have often taken issue with the theory's philosophical and theoretical-linguistic foundations rather than its empirical grounding. Prominent examples are the acrimonious debate between Searle (1977) and Derrida (1977) and the collection *(On) Searle on Conversation* (1992). My point is that speech act research needs to examine its theoretical premises, and I will venture such an examination from a perspective that contrasts in important respects with the (meta)theoretical stances that underlie much of speech act research, even though such stances are often not explicitly acknowledged.

To clarify my position up front, I will argue for a discursive approach to speech act pragmatics, specifically, for applying conversation analysis (CA) to speech act research. So I will not just advocate studying speech acts *in* discourse, or *in* interaction. There are many studies of speech acts in interaction and for the most part, they do not fall under the rubric of discursive pragmatics. Interactional data are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for discursive pragmatics. The sufficient condition has to do with the way in which speech acts in interaction are theorized and with specific analytical principles and practices. My argument for discursive pragmatics is strongly indebted to antecedent proposals for a discursive sociology (Bilmes, 1986) and discursive psychology (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992), and to other theories that view meaning and action as constituted not only *in* but *through* social interaction, specifically Jacoby and Ochs's theory of co-construction (1995) and Arundale's co-constituting theory (1999, 2005).

Notably, for the past 30 years, conversation analysts have been vocal critics of speech act theory though less of data-based speech act research (e.g., Bilmes, 1986; Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 1978, 1980' 1988' 1992; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Streeck, 1980; Turner, 1976). On occasion, these critiques have prompted rebuttals by speech act researchers. For instance, Schegloff's (1988) demonstration that speech act theory cannot handle sequential organization and in particular pre-sequences has been countered by invoking a distinction between communicative and interactional acts (Van Rees, 1992, drawing on Edmondson, 1981) and the analysis of indirect speech acts as questions about preparatory conditions (Cooren, 2005). Objections to applying classical speech act theory to the analysis of interaction have been raised from diverse theoretical perspectives, and approaches that extend speech act theory so as to accommodate interaction have been proposed (e.g., Geiss, 1995; Thomas, 1995, and several contributors to Vanderveken & Kubo, 2002). Searle (1992) himself has taken

a skeptical position on such a project, as he contends —in direct opposition to CA— that conversation is void of constitutive rules and uptake not constitutive of illocutions. Of the different proposals for the analysis of speech acts in interaction, conversation analysis (CA) has accrued by far the largest and most coherent cumulative body of research, lending high credibility to its theoretical foundations and methodology. CA therefore recommends itself not only as a lens for critical scrutiny of speech act research but provides a well documented alternative.

The problems I want to discuss are present in any kind of research on speech acts and therefore extend to crosscultural and interlanguage pragmatics as well as to the study of speech acts in interaction between competent speakers of the same language or language variety. My discussion will be organized around three central concepts: action, meaning, and context. I will examine how these concepts are typically handled in speech act research and conversation analysis, and hope to show that the theoretical stance on these concepts has direct consequences for the methodology of speech act research.

Action

In the theories that speech act research most strongly draws on, speech acts are conceptualized as rational action.[2] In the sense relevant for this discussion, rationality is defined as a goal-directed means-ends relationship (e.g., Bilmes, 1986, for detailed discussion). A rational actor is one who chooses her means so that they meet the actor's intended goals, whereby the goal-directed choices maximize benefits and minimize costs to the actor. Under this view, social action is a matter of rational choice. The rational action model has its antecedents in utilitarian social philosophies and underpins classical sociology and economics, notably that of Max Weber (1922). Weber held the influential view that a theory of social action has to concern itself primarily with individual actor's motives and intentions, which are seen as causally related to purposeful action. The reduction of social action to individual actors' psychological states, and thereby of sociology to psychology, is ultimately rooted in Cartesian philosophy and has played an enduring role in Western intellectual history.

The rational actor model maps directly onto the two most influential theories in speech act research, Searle's theory of speech acts (e.g., 1969, 1975, 1976, 1979) and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987)[3]. Although problems with both theories are widely acknowledged, they enjoy continued prominence, as evident, for instance, in Holtgraves' recent book

on *Language as Social Action* (2002). In Searle's (1969) speech act theory, illocutionary acts, the core objects of his theory, are defined as a category of speaker's intentions expressed by means of linguistic resources. Given certain conditions, an utterance "achiev[es] the intention to produce a certain illocutionary effect in the hearer. (...) The hearer's understanding the utterance will simply consist of those intentions being achieved" (1969, p. 48). Building on and modifying Grice's intention-based account of meaning (1957),[4] Searle elaborates the notion of "reflexive intention" that is so central to both Grice's and Searle's theories: "the speaker S intends to produce an illocutionary effect IE in the hearer by means of getting H to recognize S's intention to produce IE" (1969, p. 47).[5] Performing speech acts is thus theorized as a means-end relationship where speakers convey their propositional and illocutionary goals by means of linguistic expressions.[6] Importantly, for most classes of speech acts, the actual uptake by the hearer, or perlocutionary effect, is not encompassed by reflexive intention and the achievement of an illocutionary point.

From Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, speech act researchers have widely adopted the notions of face,[7] the strategies for doing face-threatening acts, and especially the context factors power (P), social distance (D) and ranking of impositions (R; e.g., Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989). However, with few exceptions (Arundale, 1999, 2005; Kopytko, 1995), little attention has been paid to the theory's rationalist foundation. Drawing directly from Weber's notion of rational social action, Brown and Levinson engage, as a Weberian ideal type, a "Model Person," the pragmatic sibling to the Chomskyan idealized native speaker. The Model Person is endowed with rationality and face. As a rational agent, the Model Person possesses "a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends" (1987, p. 58). In order to achieve the goal of carrying out face-threatening acts while maintaining face, the Model Person chooses from a finite set of strategies as means to such ends (p. 58). An added property of rational action in the proposed sense is the "ability to weigh up different means to an end, and choose the one that most satisfies the desired goals" (p. 65). Such reckoning requires an assessment of minimum costs ("maximization") (p. 65) in the selection of means towards a goal —a feature of the theory paralleled by Leech's (1983) politeness maxims. Also factoring into the assessment face threat are the context variables P, D, and R, which enable actors to compute the "weightiness" of a face-threatening act and choose a strategy accordingly[8]— about which more when we get to "context."

The rational actor model as applied to speech acts and politeness derives its intellectual attraction from two main sources. First, it is consistent with commonsense thinking, at least in those societies that have produced, and continue to produce, scientific theories of rational action.[9] As ordinary social actors, we constantly attribute internal states —motives, intentions, beliefs, affect— to each other and we appeal to these internal states as explanatory resources for the behavior we observe, including our own.[10] A theory of speech acts or politeness that is consonant with members' ordinary thinking has intuitive appeal and persuasion.

Secondly, the rational actor model is the standard model of classical sociology, economics, social psychology, and sociolinguistics (Coupland, 2001). For instance, as a social psychological theory of intergroup communication, accommodation theory (e.g., Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991) holds that linguistic convergence or divergence are motivated by actors' desire for more effective communication, affiliation, or distance. In fact, Meyerhoff (2001) categorizes a range of social psychological approaches to language variation as exponents of the "motivational paradigm." In Myers-Scotton's (1993) markedness model of codeswitching, speakers make rational code choices based on an assessment of their rights and obligations during a speech event. In second language acquisition, there is a straight line from the commonsense belief that students need to be "motivated" to learn second languages to the voluminous research literature on the relationship between motivation and L2 learning. The "learner strategy" literature is predicated on a means–ends relationship, where the "good language learner" (another Weberian ideal type?) employs particular kinds of premeditated goal-related behavior that are believed to advance L2 learning. The rational actor model thus maps squarely onto prominent theories in applied linguistics and second language studies, and despite other differences, these theories are compatible with rationalist pragmatic theories such as Grice's theory of conversational implicature, Searle's speech act theory, and Brown & Levinson's politeness theory. Here and further down, I draw these lines to different research domains in applied linguistics and other social sciences in order to emphasize that pragmatics does not live an insular existence but is an integral part of social science discourse. In pragmatics as in other fields, extensions of common sense into scientific discourse have the virtue of instant plausibility or face validity, and using as explanations of social actions the same resources as ordinary social members —that is, such internal states as actors' intentions and motives— is a historically developed, naturalized practice throughout the social sciences.

That being the case, why might it be problematic? As rationalist analysis is standard in speech act research, let's see how it works when applied to data. Extract (1) is a segment of authentic conversation from Achiba's (2003) longitudinal case study on request development. In introducing the segment, Achiba notes that "a peer and Yao were making things out of plasticine. Yao was encouraging a peer who had almost given up making a rabbit" (p. 34). From this description, it may be inferred that Yao's friend had made one or more futile attempts at sculpting a rabbit.

(1) Making animals (Achiba, 2003, p. 34–35, line numbers added)
```
01 PC: no I can't make it
02 Y:  you can make it if you try
03 PC: I did
04 Y:  you don't have to make uh like mine
05 PC: it looked like a frog / it did
06 Y:  make it again
07 PC: it had these big ears a big body and small
08     legs and uh
09 Y:  make it again then
10 PC: no
11 Y:  well what will you make – if you don't like
12     that if you don't like it then make other animal
13 PC: then I'll show you how it looked / I swear
14     it looked like a frog / no I can't make it
15     / just squashed it
16 Y:  oh!
```

Achiba coded the four underlined utterances as four different requests, although she notes that the utterance in line 02 "could have been taken as a suggestion." Her rationale for analyzing the utterance as request is that "Yao wanted both (girls, GK) to be happily involved in making animals and this is the reason why she wanted her peer not to give up. Because she did not want her peer to give up, we have coded the utterance as a request not to give up" (Achiba, 2003, p. 34).

It is very helpful that Achiba explains the logic of the coding decision to us because it brings out succinctly some of the difficulties with the rationalist approach. In order to determine the illocutionary force of the utterance in line 02, the analyst must make assumptions about the speaker's intentions. But the intentions reside in the speaker's head and are thus hidden from sight. The utterance alone does not give its "speaker meaning" away. So the analyst's method here is to step up to the level of the activity, although not by analyzing how the participants accomplish the activity but rather by invoking one of the assumed conditions underlying the activity: "It seems to be often the case in children's play that the play is not fun unless both of the

participants are happily involved in doing things" (Achiba, 2003, p. 34). The assumed condition for a successful play activity is then turned into a resource for imputing intention to Yao's utterance in line 02 (i.e., Yao's wanting PC "not to give up"), which in turn serves as a resource to identify the force of line 02 as a request. However, several speech acts could be compatible with the speaker's imputed overall intent, viz. that PC continue the activity. In addition, if the turns in lines 02, 06, 09, and 11/12 are all requests serving to implement the same intention, in the same ongoing activity, involving the same participants, why do they all look different? In keeping with the rational actor model, Achiba argues that the utterances serve as different "attempts to be persuasive," where after the initial unsuccessful try, "the utterances are getting longer as Yao tries to achieve compliance" (p. 70). But that still does not explain why these four actions turn up where they turn up, or why the utterance in line 04 is not coded as a request when the utterance in line 02 is.

An alternative analysis of extract (1) could run as follows (for readability, the relevant segments are reproduced below).

```
01 PC: no I can't make it
02 Y:  you can make it if you try
03 PC: I did
04 Y:  you don't have to make uh like mine
```

Yao's turn in line 02 is a response to PC's claim to failure at sculpting a rabbit (the referent of the exophoric "it"). As PC produces her sequence-initial utterance well into the activity, it can be heard as the upshot of one or more unsuccessful trials. Yao contradicts PC by implying that PC did *not* try, which PC counters with an assertion to the contrary ("I did") and thereby upholds her initial claim. In her response to PC's claim to failure ("I can't make it"), Yao produces not only a counter-claim ("you can make it") but adds a condition under which her counter-claim obtains ("if you try"). By implication, Yao can be heard as charging PC with "not having tried" – and this is how PC demonstrably understands Yao's action, as PC's "I did" rebuts Yao's implicit criticism that PC "did not try." By asserting that she did "try," PC maintains her initial claim to failure with the added component that she failed at the task despite her effort. In her next turn, Yao orients to PC's re-asserted claim to failure by modifying the task. "You don't have to make uh like mine" proposes that making rabbits is still on the joined agenda, but now Yao makes the task more doable for PC by allowing rabbits of diverse shapes.

```
05 PC: it looked like a frog / it did
06 Y:  make it again
07 PC: it had these big ears a big body and small
```

```
08      legs and uh
09 Y:   make it again then
10 PC: no
```

In line 05, PC provides an account for her initial abstract claim to failure by describing the shape of the animal she produced ("it looked like a frog") with a category term and added emphasis ("it did"). By requesting that PC "make it again," Yao accepts PC's account of her unsuccessful prior trial though not of PC's failure at the entire task of sculpting animals. But rather than responding to Yao's request, PC elaborates her account ("it had these big ears a big body and small legs and uh") by pointing out her animal's froggish attributes. In response, Yao repeats her previous request with an inferential "then'" added in turn-final position, by virtue of which Yao implicitly acknowledges PC's elaborated account ("make it again then"). In response to Yao's insistence that PC have another shot at making a rabbit, PC now produces a "bald on record" refusal (line 10).

```
11 Y:   well what will you make – if you don't like
12      that if you don't like it then make other animal
13 PC: then I'll show you how it looked / I swear
14      it looked like a frog / no I can't make it
15      / just squashed it
16 Y:   oh!
```

Yao orients to PC's refusal by soliciting a proposal from PC of an alternative object to produce, followed by a request that PC make an animal of her own choice. In so doing, Yao concedes that PC has dropped the project of making rabbits. Her redefinition of PC's task prompts PC to demonstrate the object she made earlier ("then I'll show you how it looked"), and during which she repeats two of her previous actions in reverse order. Presumably, while saying "I swear it looked like a frog," PC is trying to recreate the object she produced before. But the repeated effort appears to fail. By pronouncing the attempt unsuccessful ("no I can't make it") in exactly the same format as in her sequence-initial turn (line 01), PC not only proclaims the immediately preceding attempt as failed but fuels her initial claim to failure with new evidence: "just squashed it."

The analysis as proposed here supports Achiba's contention that Yao makes an effort to keep PC engaged in the joint activity. But it also shows that Yao's actions specifically respond to PC's preceding turns. Yao changes not only the formats of her actions but moves their target by offering PC increasingly more options within the boundaries of the activity. The method of analyzing the participant's turns-at-talk *in their sequential location* enables the analyst to examine what actions the participants accomplish jointly, and

how such actions reflexively define the activity, without making assumptions about the actions-as-intended.

According to this analytical policy, such notions as "illocutionary ambiguity" may turn out to be a problem created by the rationalist pragmatician rather than a problem for the participants.[11] Extract (2) is another case in point. Shelly has cancelled her participation in a trip with Debbie and some other friends.

(2) Blow off (Koshik, 2003, p. 52)
```
Debbie: =I do'know, jus don't blow off your girlfriends for
        guy:s, Shel.
Shelly: De:b. I'm not. h[ow man-]e- when have I.=beside ya
Debbie:               [oka:y ]
```

On a rationalist analysis, Debbie's utterance "jus don't blow off your girlfriends for guy:s, Shel." would be ambiguous in illocutionary force. It could be understood, for instance, as an admonition, a request, suggestion, or complaint. Any and all of these actions could be motivated by Debbie's attitudinal stance, namely, her being critical of Shelly's cancellation. According to its linguistic form, the utterance could be categorized as a direct (*mood derivable*) request strategy. But Shelly's response bears no traces of having to deal with illocutionary ambiguity. It displays an unambiguous understanding of Debbie's action as an accusation that Shelly "blows off her girlfriends for guys." Now Debbie did not actually say "you blow off your girlfriends for guys," but Shelly responds to the implication. Her response is composed of two actions. First, "I'm not." denies the grounds for the complaint with reference to the particular instance, the planned trip. This is followed by an aborted and a completed wh-question, "how man-" and "when have I.," both of which challenge Debbie's implied assertion that Shelly repeatedly has "blown off her girlfriends."[12] On Dersley and Wootton's (2000) analysis of complaint responses, Shelly's response is a "didn't do" denial, one that "denies any involvement in the complained-of action" (p. 387) and that thereby orients to Shelly's action as a complaint (or accusation, in Koshik's terms).

The analyses of extracts (1) and (2) serve to highlight some critical differences between a rationalist and a discursive approach to speech acts in interaction. As Bilmes (1986) puts it,

> In very broad terms, speech act pragmatics explains how an utterance was responded to according to what the utterance meant. Conversation analysis explains what the utterance meant according to how it was responded to.
>
> (modified from Bilmes, 1986, p. 132)

My point so far is that analysts do not need to invoke motivations, intentions and other mental events for the analysis of speech acts in interaction. Instead, the advocated analytical policy is to pay close attention to (a) where an action is placed in the sequential structure and (b) how the turn that houses the action and its immediately preceding and following turns are composed. So if participants' internal states are off limits as an analytical resource, is the analyst then prevented from referring to intentions under any circumstances? No. In fact, analysts may have to say a lot about intentions – for instance, if the participants themselves treat their talk as "intention-implicative" (Edwards, 1997, p. 94) or if they make intentions the topic of their talk, as they do in extract (3). Nicole, John, and Ray are sitting in a bar and John has spilt beer on the table.

```
(3)  Spilling the beer (from Gibbs, 1999, p. 61. Line numbers added.)
     01 John:    I wonder if there is a towel behind the bar.
     02 Nicole:  (goes over to the bar and grabs a towel):
     03          Here you go.
     04 John:    Oh thanks! I wasn't actually asking you to get a
     05          towel for me. I was just thinking aloud about
     06          whether there might be a towel that I could get
     07          from the bartender. But thanks.
```

On Gibbs' analysis, the segment illustrates an instance of "altering intentions in midstream" (p. 60). As Gibbs explains, "John initially intends his utterance to be taken as meaning one thing, but changes his mind and accept [sic] Nicole's misinterpretation of what he said" (p. 61). Unfortunately, Gibbs does not elaborate what the "one thing" that John first intends might be. In fact, a rationalist speech act analysis allows several interpretations.

(1) John intends his utterance in line 01 to mean what he says in lines 05–07, that is, as a think-aloud with no requestive force.

(2) John intends his utterance in line 01 as a request addressed to both of his friends. When Nicole acts on the request, he denies that he was issuing a request specifically to her, perhaps because such a request to the woman in the party could be construed as sexist.

(3) John intends his utterance in line 01 as a request addressed to Nicole. After performing it, he has second thoughts about the appropriateness of the request. So when Nicole acts on what she understood to be a request, John denies that he was issuing a request.

How are we going to choose between the alternative analyses? They may not be equally plausible but they are all possible. As I mentioned,

speech act pragmaticians recognize illocutionary ambiguity as a built-in feature of speech acts. Weizman (1989), for instance, addresses the "deniability potential" of indirect speech acts and argues that it is because of this property that indirect speech acts are so pervasive in politicians' discourse.[13] This is a convincing analysis, but it does not require a rationalist view of speech acts. So let's try a CA type analysis on the segment. Here it is again.

> (3) Spilling the beer (from Gibbs, 1999, p. 61. Line numbers added)
> ```
> 01 John:  I wonder if there is a towel behind the bar.
> 02 Nicole (goes over to the bar and grabs a towel):
> 03        Here you go.
> 04 John:  Oh thanks! I wasn't actually asking you to get a
> 05        towel for me. I was just thinking aloud about
> 06        whether there might be a towel that I could get
> 07        from the bartender. But thanks.
> ```

Through her nonverbal and verbal action in Turn 2, Nicole displays her understanding of John's action in Turn 1 as a request for a towel. In Turn 3, John first orients to Nicole's action as an act that is not only beneficial to him, as conveyed through the thanking token, but also one that is unexpected, as indexed by the "change of state" token "oh" (Heritage, 1984). His next action is what conversation analysts call a third position repair (Schegloff, 1992). Third position repairs are an interactional resource that speakers can draw on to repair what is commonly called a "misunderstanding." This is possible because a second position in a turn structure displays how the speaker B of that position understands speaker A's action in first position. In the third position, A then has the opportunity to either accept B's understanding of A's action in first position or not to accept it. Nonacceptances are done as claims to a discrepancy between what A meant and how B understood it, often with a claim as to what A "really" meant or means. So an informal gloss for third position repairs is "that's not what I meant." In John's third position repair, he makes a claim to what he did not mean —but what Nicole understood him to mean— and what he meant instead.

What is the difference between this analysis and a rationalist version? Note that I did not suggest that John "means" or "meant" or "wanted" or "intended" but rather that John makes *claims* to his intention. For the *participants*, these claims may *count as* evidence of John's intentions. Participants behave like rationalist pragmaticians, or perhaps it is the other way around? By contrast, the discursive pragmatician treats participants' intentions as a *topic*, not a *resource* for analysis. This analytical policy enables the analyst to stay clear of otherwise irresolvable impasses that can

arise from possible "hearings" and their treatments by participants. As Bilmes (1992) observes

> An accurate hearing may be rejected because the speaker has changed his mind about what he wants to be heard. An inaccurate hearing may be accepted because the speaker is satisfied to be understood in that way. Or a hearing may elaborate or specify a speaker's meaning in a way that the speaker never thought about, in a way such that the speaker cannot 'simply know' whether or not that meaning was what he had in mind. ... We may even experience our recipient's hearing as a revelation of what, after all, we had in mind in the first place. (Bilmes, 1992, p. 95f)

Meaning

Pragmatics is commonly defined as the study of particular kinds of meaning, such as "speaker meaning," "contextual meaning" (Yule, 1996, p. 3), "meaning in use," and "meaning in context" (Thomas, 1995, p. 1f), while the notion of meaning itself remains unexplicated.[14] Bilmes (1986) distinguishes four approaches to a theory of meaning: meaning as speaker's intention, convention, use, and response, where the first two notions of meaning combine in the commonsense understanding of meaning.

> The intentional theory has it that verbal expressions serve a vehicles for what the speaker intends, what he "really means." In the conventional theory, words have meanings that are laid down by convention. In the use theory, the meaning of an expression depends on how it is used and in what context, whereas the response approach holds that the meaning of an expression is the response that it elicits. The commonsense notion of meaning combines the conventional and intentional approaches to meaning. (Bilmes, 1986, p. 108)

Again, we see the commonsense understanding taken up in social science accounts. For example, Raymond Gibbs, in his book *Intentions in the Experience of Meaning* (1999), adopts precisely the intentional and conventional perspective (p. 43f).[15]

The view of meaning as intention, or more precisely, as speaker's intention, the expression of which is designed so that the hearer is enabled to recognize the intention, presupposes an (implicit) theory of communication variably referred to as the conduit metaphor (Reddy, 1979), the encoding/decoding model (Arundale, 1999), or *telementation* (Harris, 1996, following Locke, 1689/1975). The familiar idea is that a speaker generates an intended meaning through intrapsychological cognitive processes,

encodes the intention by means of a repertoire of conventionalized form-meaning associations (a linguistic code), and transmits the encoded information as a signal sequence. At the receiving end, the hearer reverses the process, decoding the signals by applying the same linguistic code as the speaker deployed for encoding and thereby recovering the speaker's intended meanings. The telementation model is the default model of pragmatics. It informs Grice's theory of meaning and consequently pragmatic theories building on Grice, notably (but not exclusively) Searle's speech act theory and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory.[16] Other difficulties aside, the telementation model's individualistic bias renders it deeply problematic for the analysis of speech acts in interaction. As Arundale (2005) notes with a view to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory,

> …an explanation of language use that is framed in terms of one individual's cognitive processing during producing and interpreting utterances can explain a talk exchange only as a matter of output from and input to a pair of separate one-person systems. Such monologic accounts treat talk between two people entirely as a summative phenomenon. If one chooses to treat talk-in-interaction as a dyadic activity, however, one examines talk exchanges as the joint product of a single two-person system, recognizing that such systems exhibit nonsummative or emergent properties.   (p. 51)

With their foundations in Aristotelian and Cartesian philosophy, the telementation model and its derivative, the intention-cum-convention view of meaning, are particularly tenacious language ideologies (Arundale, 1999), and their current impact is by no means confined to pragmatics. For example, Levelt's (1989) theory of speech production, arguably the most influential of its kind in psycholinguistics and second language acquisition, is published under the title *Speaking: From Intention to Articulation*. According to Levelt's "blueprint" for speech production, a speaker first generates a nonverbal message in the "conceptualizer," and the message is then successively transformed into a linguistic and acoustic format by the "formulator" and "articulator," respectively. While the details of the model are technical, the overall idea fits comfortably with the commonsense notion that first we have intentions in our heads and then we express these intentions by means of linguistic material.

The intention-plus-convention model is fully compatible with standard speech act research. In fact, the notion of speech act *realization*, the object of the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP, Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989), suggests the view that a speaker first decides what speech act to carry out and then assembles the resources to express or

"realize" it. More specifically, speakers first determine the illocutionary force, propositional content, and politeness they intend to convey and then proceed to "realize" these pragmatic intentions by selecting appropriate "conventions of means" and "conventions of form" (Clark, 1979; Blum-Kulka, 1989, for a detailed treatment of conventionality in speech act realization). This theoretical stance translates seamlessly into research method and is the backdrop to such elicitation devices as Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT), Multiple Choice, and rating scales. DCTs, for instance, purport to plant a prespecified "pragmatic intention" in the respondent's mind and record how that intention is mapped onto a particular linguistic format.

The view of meaning as "speaker meaning" or intention confronts us with the same theoretical and analytical problems as intention-based accounts of action. By adopting a discursive approach, we can instead treat meaning as the understandings that participants display to each other in the sequential organization of their talk. That is, a second speaker displays through her response how she understood the action or actions in the first speaker's turn, and the second speaker's turn provides an occasion for the first speaker to ratify or repair that understanding, as we have seen in extracts (1) – (3). In this way, meaning is conceived not only as "social" rather than individual or as loosely "collaboratively constructed" but instead as accountably achieved intersubjectivity.

Turning to the second approach to meaning, in speech act research, the convention view of meaning is crystallized in the notion of semantic formulae, or speech act realization strategies. Semantic formulae combine to speech act sets, the collection of semantic structures by which a particular speech act can be performed (e.g., Olshtain & Cohen, 1983). Speech act sets have been proposed, among others, for apologies (Meier, 1998, for review), complaints (Olshtain & Weinbach, 1987), refusals (Beebe & Cummings, 1985/1996; Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990), requests (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989), and thanking (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986), although not necessarily under the label of "speech act set".

Meier's (1998) critical review of apology taxonomies is not reassuring. As she shows, categories in different taxonomies vary between three and seventeen and are usually not derived from an explicit theory. In some taxonomies, subcategories are semantically incoherent with the superordinate categories For instance, the CCSARP taxonomy for apologies includes under the main strategy "Taking on responsibility" not only such substrategies which do just that but also strategies that in fact reject responsibility, such as the substrategy "Admission of fact but not of responsibility" (p. 221).

But difficulties with taxonomies —and other aspects of apology research addressed in Meier's article— are not a unique calamity of apology research, or even of speech act research. We encounter the same types of problem throughout the social sciences, wherever researchers adopt a coding & counting approach to discourse, whether to written text or talk-in-interaction or any hybrid form. In a seminal study on the topic, Garfinkel (1967) observed systemic problems with coding & counting as a method of organizing the content of medical records in an outpatient clinic. Closer to home, SLA researchers are familiar with the inflation of taxonomies in research on communication and learner strategies (Chaudron, 2003, for review). It is sometimes argued that the taxonomy and category proliferation is evidence of lack of theory, but (a) just as categories always underspecify discursive data, so theory always underspecifies categories, and (b) the appeal to theory simply shifts the problem one level up, from the taxonomies to theory. It is indeed a minimum requirement for social scientists to be explicit about their theories, but honoring this requirement does not necessarily solve the problems of inconsistencies within and between taxonomies. Theories may not be strictly comparable because theories do not simply account for an object that is "out there" but carve out their object in the first place, something that is particularly apparent in (though not limited to) the case of so-called "hypothetical constructs." The different definitions of apology cited by Meier (1998, p. 221) are a piece of evidence for this difficulty. Hauser (2005) takes up the issue of coding & counting in Second Language Acquisition in a critical examination of research on recasts. It could be insightful (and sobering) to conduct parallel studies of the coding of speech acts in interaction.

In CA, the issue of conventionality is rarely discussed explicitly. But from CA's interest in the relationship between interaction and grammar, and in the work that particular linguistic resources regularly do in interaction, it is quite apparent that CA recognizes conventional associations of linguistic forms and social actions and practices. However, there are fundamental differences between speech act researchers' treatment of linguistic convention and that in CA. In speech act research, the association between a particular speech act and the "speech act set" is a stable, fixed association. The semantic formulae are "conventions of means" that "realize" the speech act, and these abstract semantic structures in turn are "realized" by "conventions of form" (Clark, 1979). In this way, the indexical properties of language use in situated action are converted to reified taxonomic inventories.

CA recognizes that linguistic resources are transportable and that particular actions can regularly be heard to undertake particular other actions. But CA emphatically maintains the analytic policy of treating all interactional conduct as indexical, that is, of examining what a particular bit of conduct, whether linguistic, non-linguistic but vocal, or nonvocal, accomplishes at the moment it is produced. Participants in interactions confront the problem of "why that now" —why does a particular segment of conduct occur where it does in the sequential structure and what interactional import can be derived from the placement of that material (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). By the same token, analysts adopt the "why that now" question as a guiding principle for analysis (Bilmes, 1985, for discussion).

The "why that now" principle can be observed in action in extract (4), taken from J. Robinson's (2004) recent study on apologies.

(4) Doc is late (Robinson, 2004, p. 309)
```
01 Doc: Hello: s[orry I'm running] late
02 Pat:         [Hi: ]
03      (.)
04 Doc: 'T's a typical monday.
05 Pat: Oh you're not running (late)=
06 Doc: =(N)ot doin' too ba:d.
07 Pat: No:::
```

On Robinson's analysis, when apologies appear as first pair parts in an adjacency pair sequence, they project an apology-relevant response in the immediately subsequent turn. But in extract (4), the physician's apology in line 01 does not generate a response from the patient. After a micropause (line 03), the physician produces an account for the claimed offense —Robinson calls this action an "offense excuse"— and in so doing pursues an apology-relevant response (Davidson, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984b on response pursuits). And the response pursuit is successful: the patient now does respond, and not to the offense excuse as such, but to the apology. The response is done as an *oh*-prefaced disagreement with the physician's offense claim, that is, as a counterclaim to the physician's assertion that he is running late. This response type is one of several "preferred" responses to apologies in the sense that it is produced without delay and contradicts the apologizer's claim that an offense had been committed in the first place. The crucial point with regard to the why-that-now principle is that the physician offers the offense excuse, or account, only *after* his apology did not get a response. In none of the apology sequences cited in Robinson's paper does an offense excuse appear in the same turn as an "explicit" apology, or what

is called in speech act analysis an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID). Offense excuses become relevant only when the apology sequence is structurally incomplete, that is, a response is noticeably absent. The apologizer orients to such noticeable absence, and thereby to the normative character of the apology as the first pair part of an adjacency pair, by pursuing a response by virtue of an offense excuse. Now, this is not to say that offense excuses *can*not occur in the same turn as explicit apologizies —but they don't, in Robinson's varied material, and there appear to be good organizational reasons for the ordering that we see. Compared to the CA treatment of apology-relevant action in its sequential environment, the approach to apology realization as a set of semantic formulae underanalyzes how apologies are accomplished as social action. A compromising analytical limitation is the focus on speaker meaning, because it is only by including the coparticipant in the analytical equation that the presence and absence of apology-relevant actions can be accounted for.

So far I have argued that the approach to speech act meaning as convention is problematic because it disregards the indexical character of situated action and especially its sequential organization. There is yet another shortcoming to the conventionality approach, and that is that it disregards the temporal structure of actions in turns.[17] In fact, the exclusive concern with semantic formulae obstructs the view on how speech acts in interaction are produced online. By contrast, the conversation analytic literature strongly supports the view that such temporal features as pauses, delays, perturbations, and overlaps are as important as interactional resources as linguistic material. Here I will highlight one particular feature of temporal structuring that is critical to the analysis of speech acts in interaction and systematically overlooked by speech act research, and that is the role of delay in preference organization.

Preference organization is a fundamental principle of talk-in-interaction that was first observed by Sacks in his lectures, held between 1964–1972 and published posthumously (1992; also Sacks, 1987). The notion has since been elaborated in many and not always compatible ways, especially by Heritage (1984), Pomerantz (1978, 1984a, 1984b), Levinson (1983), and Bilmes (1988). An excellent recent discussion that teases out the various aspects of preference is Boyle (2000). While there is some dissent among conversation analysts about what preference *is*, they agree on what it is *not* —and that is an affective state. Preference is not a psychological construct but an interactional principle, and one that we have already seen at work. In the two complaint sequences we inspected earlier (extracts [1] and [2]), the responses by PC and Shelley are done as preferred responses: They follow

immediately after turn transition, they are "bald on record," that is, unmitigated and unaccounted —in Garfinkel´s words "seen but unnoticed" (1967, p. 44, quoted by Boyle, 2000, p. 589). By contrast, the apology sequence in extract (4) illustrates a dispreferred response.

(4) Doc is late (Robinson, 2004, p. 309)
```
01 Doc: Hello: s[orry I'm running] late
02 Pat:        [Hi: ]
03      (.)
04 Doc: 'T's a typical monday.
05 Pat: Oh you're not running (late)=
06 Doc: =(N)ot doin' too ba:d.
07 Pat: No:::
```

The gap of silence in line 03 can be analyzed as a dispreferred response. As noted before, when apologies appear as first pair parts in an adjacency pair sequence, they make relevant a response in the immediately subsequent turn. "Relevance" does not refer to statistical regularity but to participants' normative orientations engendered by the first pair part, in other words, what action(s) may be expected to be done next. Orienting to a normative constraint on responses does not mean that participants always or even most of the time respond in a particular way. Rather, it implies that if their response falls outside of the normative response trajectory, the response is oriented-to as such. Then it becomes noticeable and an object for special treatment, as it were —a dispreferred response. Apologies can have different sorts of dispreferred responses and the noticeable absence of a response is one of them. The physician's action in line 04 orients to the gap of silence following his apology as a response delay that makes relevant the pursuit of an apology-relevant response. He thereby treats the gap of silence as dispreferred. Davidson (1984) has shown that gaps of silence following invitations, offers, requests, and proposals are regularly taken by the issuers of these actions as rejections or possible rejections that engender "subsequent versions" of the initial action in pursuit of a response. So one type of delay that is consequential for speech act analysis is gaps of silence in response turns.

An action can also be delayed within a turn, and such delays can be heard as dispreference-implicative. Pomerantz (1984a) shows that agreements and disagreements with assessments are not only recognizable as such by their propositional content and/or linguistic forms but also by the temporal structuring of the turn. According to her summary,

In general, agreements are performed with a minimum of gap between the prior turn's completion and the agreement turn's initiation; disagreement

components are frequently delayed within a turn or over a series of turns.

(Pomerantz, 1984a, p. 65)

Extract (5) illustrates various forms of delay in disagreement turns.

(5) Things (Pomerantz, 1984a, p. 99)
```
A: ...cause those things take working at,
   (2.)
B: (hhhh), well, they do, but-
```

In this brief segment, B's upcoming disagreement is delayed by four practices: (a) a gap of silence prior to B's production of her response, (b) a turn-initial in-breath, (c), a *well* preface, and (d) a weakly stated agreement. Extending her analysis to preference structure across different action sequences, Pomerantz contends that

> These two features —delaying the stated components of an action being performed, and/or producing weakly stated components of that action— are partially constitutive of turn/sequence organizations associated with dispreferred actions. (Pomerantz, 1984a, p. 75)

My discussion of preference organization has necessarily been brief, but I hope to have provided at least a glimpse of why it is so important for the analysis of speech acts. While the semantic and grammatical formats of speech acts clearly contribute to their pragmatic meanings and are strongly implicated in preference organization, the sequential and temporal organization of turns, especially various forms of delay, are critical and methodically deployed resources for participants and therefore must be included in the analysis of speech acts in interaction.

Context

Context is a critical issue for speech act research because variability in speech act "strategies" or "semantic formulae" is regularly explained by appeals to "context." How to theorize context and how to treat context in analysis is perhaps one of the most enduring controversies in pragmatics, discourse analysis, and sociolinguistics. Duranti and Goodwin's (1992) edited collection and their introduction to the volume represent classic texts on the topic.[18] Here I want to paint approaches to context with a very broad brush, but one that allows me to answer the question "where is context." On a rough-and-ready account, context is in three places.

First, context is seen as objective social structure that is "out there," both external to interaction and preexisting it, a view that is vaguely linked to Talcott Parson's (1952) structural-functional social theory (Coupland, 2001).

Here context is inscribed in actors' memberships in social categories such as socioeconomic class, age, and gender, and some dimensions of situation, such as "formality." These context factors are seen as systematically related to certain features of language use. The prime example of the view of context as exogenous social structure is variationist sociolinguistics, where demographic and situational variables are shown to correlate with particular linguistic features to form "sociolinguistic patterns" (e.g., Labov, 1972). Although the relationship between context factors as independent variables and linguistic forms as dependent variables is correlational, the sociostructural factors are often taken to explain the linguistic behavior, that is, they are treated as causal variables.[19] If social context is understood to determine linguistic behavior, social actors are left without agency of their own. This is the portrait of the social actor as "judgmental dope" that Garfinkel (1967) complained about.

The deterministic view of context as external to the actor and the interaction, the "bucket view" of context (Heritage, 1997), is predominant in speech act research. For example, the overarching objectives of the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project were

1. To investigate the similarities and differences in the realization patterns of given speech acts across different languages, relative to the same social constraints (cross-cultural variation).

2. To investigate the effect of social variables on the realization patterns of given speech acts within specific speech communities (sociopragmatic variation).   (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989, p. 12)

It is noticeable that the first goal is formulated in correlational terms and the second one in terms of a causal model. Both goal formulations are paradigmatic for much of speech act research.

A second perspective on context engages a rationalist theory of social action and is well illustrated by Brown and Levinson's (1987) treatment of context. Brown and Levinson succinctly point out the difference between the sociostructural view of context and their own.

We are interested in D, P, and R only to the extent that the *actors* think it is mutual knowledge between them that these variables have some particular values. Thus these are *not* intended as *sociologists' ratings* of actual power, distance, etc., but only as *actors' assumptions* of such ratings, assumed to be mutually assumed, at least within certain limits.

(Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 75f, my emphasis)

Furthermore, they posit that

> …our (weightiness, GK) formula must be at least a partially accurate representation of cognitive processes. Parameters like P, D, R must have some cognitive validity, since they are the basis of a wide range of "exploitations." (p. 81)

So when confronting the goal of performing a face-threatening act (FTA), the rational actor computes the "weightiness" of the FTA as the summed values of P, D, and R and makes her choice of politeness strategy accordingly. Some speech act studies in the rationalist tradition follow Brown and Levinson by treating context factors as *subjective* actors' knowledge. These studies examine context as surrogate actors' estimations of social and situational variables, sometimes referred to as sociopragmatic assessments (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Kasper & Rose, in press). Sociopragmatic assessments are typically solicited as self-reports via rating scales. In the process of developing DCTs and Multiple Choice instruments, for example, some researchers investigate in preliminary studies how members of the same population as the participants in the main study assess a number of context factors. The results from the assessment studies then enable the researcher to design the questionnaire items for the main study in accordance with the self-reported estimations of social members rather than the researchers' assumptions (e.g., Fukushima, 2000; Takahashi, 1998).[20]

But for the most part, despite their appeal to Brown and Levinson, speech act researchers interested in the relationship between social context and speech act "realization" use their own intuition of context variables. This was certainly the case in CCSARP, where we designed DCT items to elicit requests and apologies around different values of power and social distance. Several of the CCSARP studies added sociopragmatic assessments to the DCT data and deployed them as a resource to explain the speech act realization patterns (Blum-Kulka & House, 1989; House, 1989; Olshtain, 1989; Vollmer & Olshtain, 1989). One outcome of the sociopragmatic assessments was that raters assessed the participant variables P and D relative to the specific situation. This is entirely in accordance with Brown and Levinson[21] but at odds with the treatment of P and D in much of the speech act research, where P and D are treated as situation *in*dependent. Table 1 provides an example from the CCSARP request items.

Table 1. **Power in CCSARP DCT and ratings** (Blum-Kulka & House, 1989, p. 141; House, 1989, p. 106)

	DCT	Argentinean	German	Israeli
kitchen	S=H	1.91	2.25	1.92
presentation	S>H	2.5	1.92	2.22

3 point scale, 1 = low, 3 = high

According to the CCSARP DCT, a situation where a student asks his roommate to clean up the kitchen that same roommate has left in a mess was designed as an exponent of an equal power relationship, whereas in a situation where a professor asks a student to do a presentation earlier than scheduled, the professor was seen as more powerful than the student. Israeli and Argentinean raters came close to the values as designed, but the German raters rated the complaining student vis-à-vis the roommate as *more* powerful than the professor vis-à-vis the student. This result confirms Brown and Levinson's contention that participant relationships are situationally constructed rather than firmly tied to situation-external social categories, but it does not sit well with the situation-*in*dependent view of participant factors that speech act studies most often adopt.

Including actors' subjective assessment of context variables is consistent with the rationalist model. But there is another aspect to Brown and Levinson's theory of context that regularly falls by the wayside in speech act studies, regardless of whether they conceive context in objective or subjective terms. This is the possible redefinition of P, D, and R *through* the chosen politeness strategies, which Brown and Levinson discuss as "exploitations of strategies" (p. 228f). There is a distinctly constructionist[22] element here that fits uneasily with the view of P, D, and R as independent variables but which provides us with a link —a rhetorical link, at least— to the third view of context.

On the third view, context is located neither in "objective" discourse-external social structure nor in actors' subjective estimations of context variables. Instead, context is endogenous to the interaction. This is the view held in conversation analysis. It implies among other things that membership in social categories is *not* omnirelevant across activities. Researchers may have a legitimate professional interest in the ways that members of certain social categories (e.g., native and nonnative speakers, members of different cultural and/or linguistic groups) conduct their talk exchanges, and they may select their data accordingly. But from a discursive perspective, it needs to be demonstrated where in the interaction such memberships in transportable identities (Zimmerman, 1998) become a *participants*' concern. The

participants display through their interactional conduct, moment-by-moment, when and how social categories and other interaction-external context become relevant for them (Schegloff, 1991). The analyst takes the participants' lead and follows very closely in their footsteps. This requires the analytical practice of paying attention to where speech acts are located in the turn structure and how exactly they are formatted, as we have already seen. CA thus respecifies the notion of context in two ways: as sequential environment (as opposed to interaction-external social structure) and as publicly displayed orientations to social structure (as opposed to researchers' assumptions of objective socio-structural factors or the perceptions of social factors located in actors' minds). With reference to context as sequential environment, Heritage (e.g., 1997) made the point that interaction is "doubly contextual" in that turns are both context-shaped and context-creating, that is, a current turn is shaped by the previous turn and at the same time projects the shape of the subsequent turn. With respect to context as oriented-to social structure, Schegloff (e.g., 1991) insists that the *relevance* of macrostructures and social categories to participants at the moment under analysis and their "procedural consequentiality" must be shown in the details of interactional conduct. In either case, it is incumbent on the analyst not to postulate but to demonstrate how the participants accomplish context in the interaction.

From a CA perspective, context in politeness theory, and particular in its adaptations to speech act research, is both overrated and underspecified. Context is overrated in that interaction-external social variables are assumed to determine the shape of the FTA at all times. For context as underspecified, classroom interaction can serve as an example. I am not referring to any interaction taking place in classrooms but to activities that constitute or enable institutionalized teaching and learning. In such activities, participants orient not to such abstract relational variables as +D, +P (T, S) but rather to the specific situated identities (Zimmerman, 1998) of teacher and students, and perhaps others, as they are accomplished in such category-bound actions [23] as display questions, giving and checking homework, opening and closing the official class business, and so forth. The analysis of a role call from an early paper by Streeck (1980) can serve as an example.

(6) Roll call (based on Streeck, 1980, p. 142)

(6a) teacher: Lydia?   (6b) teacher: Lydia?
       Lydia: Yes   other student: She's sick.

On Streeck's analysis, roll calls can be responded to in two ways. If the referent is present (6a), she confirms her presence by saying "yes" or "here" or the like. In so doing, the response speaker treats the action in the first turn as a summons. If the referent is absent (6b), a self-selected participant replies, for instance with an account of the referent's absence. The response speaker thereby treats the preceding action as an information question. Role calls thus have "mutually exclusive addressees" and project a "disjunction of illocutionary forces" (Streeck, 1980, p. 142f). They exemplify with particular clarity that the kind of action done, its illocutionary meaning, does not rest in the semantic structure of the utterance but is assigned to the utterance through the response. More pertinent to the treatment of context, the examples show how configurations of participant structure are achieved through coordinated action sequences. In the case of the roll call, the teacher's doing of the first pair part of an adjacency pair —the calling of a student's name— is a category-bound action, and so is the responding student's second pair part. In other words, it is through their ordered actions that the participants in the exchange orient to and indeed accomplish their situated institutional identities of teacher and student. As Streeck summarizes,

> …speech acts create and at the same time presuppose relational and other aspects of context. There is no unilateral relation of causation nor a one-to-one correspondence between acts and contexts but rather a flexible relation of mutual elaboration. (Streeck, 1980, p. 151)

To go back to my initial question, "where is context?" in a CA perspective, context is neither "out there" in "objective" social structure, nor "in here" in participants' subjective perceptions. First and foremost, context is interaction-internal context, that is, the sequential structure in which a particular action is located, in particular the turns immediately preceding and following an action. Secondly, whether, when and in what ways interaction-external social structure is relevant for the interaction is the participants' call not the analyst's. By examining in detail the sequenced and coordinated actions that participants do, analysts can learn, for example, how institutional "contexts" such as language classrooms (Seedhouse, 2004) or software helplines (Baker, Emmison, & Firth, 2001) or presidential press conferences (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) are maintained and transformed, and how the institutional business gets done through specific action sequences.

Conclusion

CA's distinct approach to action, meaning, and context has much to offer to speech act research. It enables value-added analyses of speech acts known to members' metapragmatic consciousness, as shown in CA studies of advice resistance (Waring, 2005), agreement and disagreements (Mori, 1999; Pomerantz, 1984a), apologies (Robinson, 2004), complaints (Dersley & Wootton, 2000), compliments and compliments responses (Golato, 2005; Pomerantz, 1978), invitation-refusal sequences (Szatrowski 2004), questions (Heritage & Roth, 1995; Koshik, 2005; Schegloff 1980), and requests (Kasper, 2004; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006).

CA also purchases us something that is in short supply in rationalist and convention-based speech act research, and that is the discovery of actions that are part of members' interactional competence but not of their metapragmatic awareness, especially when such actions are not lexicalized by illocutionary verbs. One example is the action of "confirming allusions" reported by Schegloff (1996).[24] Social members do more than they can tell and what they tell may differ from what they do, as evident from Golato's (2005) and Pomerantz's (1978) studies of compliment responses. Although social actors are attuned to the fine temporal and sequential details of interactional conduct, such details are not amenable to self-report or ethnographic field notes but require electronic recording and finegrained transcription. Analytic attention has to be directed to the sequential and temporal organization of interaction in order to enable the study of speech acts as situated and coordinated social actions-in-interaction. Once the monologic bias inherent in monadic, intention-based views of meaning has been retired and replaced by the analysis of pragmatic meaning as participants' contingent, emergent, joint accomplishment, discursive pragmatics will be well on its way.

Notes

1 My thanks to Jack Bilmes for his comments on an earlier version of this paper, and to him and my classmates in ANTH 605 for helping me rethink speech acts from the perspective of discursive practices. I am also grateful to an anonymous reviewer for helpful suggestions and to the editors for their careful editing of the manuscript.

2 Kopytko's (1995) critique of rationalist pragmatics addresses some of the same issues as this paper from a different theoretical position. His counter proposal, informed by Popperian philosophy of science, advocates an "empirical pragmatics," described as non-modular, non-essentialist, non-categorical, non-

deterministic, contextual, and non-reductionist (p. 489). However, no application of the theory to data is provided.

3   Apart from being the most influential theory of politeness in speech act research, Brown and Levinson's theory is a prime candidate for the present critique because it articulates its rationalist foundation most explicitly. However, it shares its rationalist assumptions with other theories and concepts of politeness, such as Fraser and Nolen (1981), Gu (1990), R. Lakoff (1973), and Leech (1983).

4   Arundale (2005) offers insightful commentary on Grice's theories of meaning and implicature and their connections to Searle's speech act theory and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory.

5   Interestingly, Searle (1969) occasionally distinguishes between intentions and other psychological states assumed to be present in the speaker and speaker's claims to such states. For instance, on the sincerity condition, one of the conditions that must be fulfilled for an utterance to "count as" a particular illocutionary act, he remarks: "Wherever there is a psychological state specified in the sincerity condition, the performance of the act counts as an *expression* of that psychological state. This law holds whether the act is sincere or insincere, that is whether the speaker actually has the specified psychological state or not" (p. 65).

6   Speech act researchers have drawn far more on Searle and Grice than on the later Wittgenstein (1953), whose pragmatic theory is distinctly non-rationalist, and Austin's (1962) earlier version of speech act theory, which is considerably less rationalist than the one of his student Searle. In particular, Austin's notion of perlocution did not receive any uptake in Searle's version of speech act theory. In his strong emphasis on intention, Searle was clearly far more influenced by Grice than Austin.

7   The notion of face is not at issue in this article. However, it bears pointing out that the construct as developed by Brown and Levinson goes back to two sociological sources: Goffman's (1967) notion of face, which is widely acknowledged in the literature, and Durkheim's (1915) distinction between positive (approach) and negative (avoidance) rites, which is mostly overlooked (but see Holtgraves, 2002, who draws attention to the link to Goffman and Durkheim though not to Weber). Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is thus firmly rooted in the traditions of classical and interactional sociology.

8   Some well-known objections to the theory home in on the crosscultural validity of the notion of face, in particular its applicability to different Asian cultures (Gu, 1990; Ide, 1989; Lee-Wong, 1999; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1988, 1989; Usami, 2002). However none of these critiques takes issue with the theory's rationalist foundation.

9   Anthropological evidence suggests that the attribution of intentionality is not universal; cf. Gibbs (1999) for a recent discussion.

10 "The commonsense interpretation of our own and other's behavior consists largely of the attribution of intentions, motives, emotions, beliefs, and decision-making mechanism; and discourse, shaped by and interpreted through the assumption of rationality, is laden with formulations and evidences of these attributions" (Bilmes, 1986, p. 99f).

11 Illocutionary ambiguity can be a participant category, such as in the formulaic repartee "Is this a promise or a threat?"

12 On Koshik's analysis, the fragment projects something like "how many times have I done that" and both questions imply the answer "never." They are thus "rhetorical" questions which do not project an answer but are treated in the subsequent interaction as negative assertions that challenge Debbie's complaint (Koshik, 2003, 54f).

13 From a CA perspective, Turner (1976) remarks on the "double duty" that utterances in certain environments may be doing and which enables them to function as "hints."

14 Apparently, in pragmatics the meaning of 'meaning' is so well understood —or perhaps so taken-for-granted— that the term did not even receive its own entry in the *Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics* (Mey, 1998).

15 Gibbs (1999, p. 43) distinguishes three different notions of meaning:
    (1) the point, purpose, or justification of an utterance
    (2) the intention that a speaker wishes to communicate
    (3) the meaning of the linguistic elements the utterance.
    (1) and (2) correspond to Bilmes' "meaning as intention" and (3) corresponds to Bilmes' "meaning as convention."

16 Two caveats are in order. First, as Arundale (2005) discusses in detail, Brown and Levinson (1987) concede that their theory is grounded in individual cognition and thus not equipped to account for meaning as emergent in social interaction. Arundale's own proposal, co-constituting theory (1999, 2005), is designed to offer such a theory. Secondly, Searle (1990, 1992, 2001) has supplemented his theory of individual intentions and actions with an account of collective intentional behavior. However, compared to his well elaborated monologic theories of speech acts, intentionality, and rationality, the collective counterpart is yet underexplicated. For example, the crucial problem of how collective intentionality evolves during joint activities and how such activities are coordinated remains to be addressed.

17 Another form of conduct that a convention-based view on meaning does not consider is nonvocal action. Studies examining nonvocal conduct in second language interactions include Gass and Houck (1999), Olsher (2004), and Mori and Hayashi (in press).

18 For recent developments in approaches to "context," see the contributions to Fetzer and Akman (2002).

19 Cameron (1990) notes the "correlational fallacy" of classical variationist sociolinguistics. Eckert (1989) points out that sociolinguists' demographic categories cannot stand in for social meaning.

20 Other studies add participants' assessments of context variables as a post-hoc check, following instrument development on the basis of the researcher's estimation of the context variables (e.g., Bergman & Kasper, 1993; Blum-Kulka & House, 1989; House, 1989; Maeshiba et al., 1996; Olshtain, 1989; Vollmer & Olshtain, 1989). Occasionally, context assessments are conducted both as a step in instrument development and as a post-hoc check (e.g., Fukushima, 2000; Harada, 1996; Ikoma, 1993; Shimamura, 1993). Yet other studies examine the subjective perception of context variables as a research issue in its own right,

without relating it to speech act performance (e.g., Allwin, 1991; Hazleton, Cupach, & Canary, 1987; Kuha, 1999; Mir, 1995; Spencer-Oatey, 1993, 1996).

21 "(S)ituational factors enter into the values for P, D, and R, so that the values assessed hold only for S and H in a particular context, and for a particular FTA" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 79).

22 Within an extended speech-act theoretical framework, Sbisà (2002) emphasizes the context-producing potential of speech acts. Her conceptualization of context as "constructed" and "limited" fits well with Brown and Levinson's view. But Sbisà also defines context as "objective" rather than "cognitive," in direct contrast to Brown and Levinson.

23 In membership categorization analysis, an ethnomethodological approach to social categorization, certain types of action are 'tied to' particular social categories so that upon an actor's doing of that action, his or her category membership is invoked (Sacks, 1992).

24 As Schegloff (1996) notes, he discovered the action of confirming allusions through CA's analytical practice of "unmotivated looking."

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A Learner Corpus-Driven Intervention for the Development of L2 Pragmatic Competence

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Introduction

Kasper and Rose (2001, p. 2) define interlanguage or second language (L2) pragmatics as "the way [non-native] speakers and writers accomplish goals as social actors who do not need to just get things done but must attend to their interpersonal relationships with other participants at the same time." Within this field, two aspects in particular require increased attention: (a) the development of L2 pragmatic competence over time in classroom-based language learning; and (b) the systematic relationship of such development to learners' instructional experiences. For some time, researchers in this area have observed that studies of L2 pragmatic competence generally lack a developmental scope. For example, Bardovi-Harlig (1999, p. 679) points out that L2 pragmatics is "fundamentally not acquisitional" in a review article on the state of L2 pragmatic research (see also Alcón Soler & Martínez-Flor, 2005a; Kasper, 1996, 2001; Kasper & Schmidt, 1996). In the same article, Bardovi-Harlig (p. 682) suggests that increased attention to the measurement of change in L2 pragmatic systems is a "necessary stage in the maturing of the field of [L2] pragmatics research."

Nevertheless, relatively few studies have been published to date in which changes in learners' L2 pragmatic competence have been documented closely over time in either tutored or untutored settings (e.g., Achiba, 2002; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Barron, 2003; R. Ellis, 1992; Ohta, 2001; Rost-Roth, 1999; Schmidt, 1983; Siegal, 1996). Some of the studies in more recent collections of work on L2 pragmatics in instructed settings (e.g., Alcón Soler & Martínez-Flor, 2005b; Rose & Kasper, 2001) have begun to take on a developmental feel in that the temporal scope of the experimental treatments spans a period of several weeks (e.g., Alcón Soler, 2005; Koike & Pearson, 2005; Liddicoat & Crozet, 2001; Martínez-Flor &

Fukuya, 2005; Rose & Ng, 2001). The majority of these studies, however, takes the shape of cross-sectional analyses (Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005, p. 26) in which learners' awareness and performance data are elicited at two or three points during the period in question, usually in a pretest prior to the treatment and in one or two posttests following the treatment. As a result, the analyst's knowledge of developmental events located between data elicitation points is limited and this limitation may bias the interpretation of pragmatic development in favor of linear and incremental models of change over time (see, however, Belz & Kinginger, 2003; Belz & Vyatkina, 2005; Kinginger & Belz, 2005).

There is also an underexploration of the ways in which changes in learners' L2 pragmatic competence relate to particular types of instructional activities within L2 pragmatics research. For instance, Kasper and Rose (2001, p. 4) explain that "most of the interlanguage pragmatics research informs about learners' pragmatic ability at a particular point in time without relating it systematically to their learning experience in language classrooms." Elsewhere, Kasper (1996, p. 145) points out another but related lacuna in the research on instructed L2 pragmatics when she notes that she is "not aware of any teaching proposals based on developmental studies of pragmatic competence."

The purpose of this article is to respond to calls for the inter-illumination of interventional and longitudinal research in second language acquisition (SLA) in general (e.g., Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005) and in interlanguage pragmatics in particular (e.g., Kasper & Rose, 2002). In order to effect this integration, we employ the twin research methodologies of contrastive learner corpus analysis (e.g., Granger, 1998; Granger, Hung, & Petch-Tyson, 2002; Granger & Tribble, 1998) and microgenesis (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985) in the context of "telecollaborative" language and culture learning partnerships. We examine the emergence of a critical feature of pragmatic competence in German —the comprehension and use of modal particles (MPs) by college-level American learners of German as a foreign language.

The teaching and learning of the modal particles in German

The MPs or "smallwords" (Hasselgren, 2002, p. 150) in German are important markers of interpersonal meaning because they index the speaker's attitude toward particular propositions or interlocutors. They are notoriously difficult for English-speaking learners of German to master for a variety of reasons. First, English does not possess a similar set of

corresponding particles. Second, the MPs typically are not treated adequately in commonly available teaching materials (Götze, 1993; Kotthoff & Cole, 1985; Rösler, 1983) but rather in "stepmother-like" fashion (Weydt, 1981, p. 164). Third, it is often difficult for learners as well as teachers to disentangle the various meanings of the MPs because they are rampantly polysemous (e.g., *ja* is an MP but also an answering particle). Finally, learners and teachers may not have access to authentic materials in which the MPs occur because they are generally found in more casual spoken interaction as opposed to written texts (see, however, Möllering, 2001, 2004). Very little is known about the effect of instruction on the appropriate use of MPs by learners (e.g., Cheon-Kostrzewa & Kostrzewa, 1997) and even less is known about the ways in which tutored learners develop competence in their use over time. Nevertheless, research has indicated that instruction is facilitative of learner development in this area of L2 competence (Möllering, 2004; Möllering & Nunan, 1995; Weydt, 1981, 2002).

But the available research on the teaching and learning of the MPs in German mirrors the general situation in L2 pragmatics discussed above: A number of studies are developmental and others are interventional but there are very few studies in which both perspectives are combined (e.g., Belz & Vyatkina, 2005). All developmental studies on the MPs are situated in an L2 environment. Rost-Roth (1999), for instance, provides a robust report on a longitudinal case study of untutored MP development by an Italian learner, in which the data were collected at regular intervals approximately 1 month in length over a 3-year period and supplemented with a number of data collection points from the learner's 5th and 6th years of German study (p. 169). Rost-Roth (1999, p. 174) found that the first unambiguous MP use (*mal*) by the learner appeared in her 18th month of study, and her second MP (*ja*) was used for the first time during the 31st month of study. The author concludes that the development of MP use was uneven, for example, some MPs were not used at all while others were overused and overgeneralized as politeness markers even at an advanced stage of proficiency (see Belz, 2005a, for a similar pattern of use for pronominal *da*-compounds among English-speaking learners of German). Rost-Roth's (1999) finding is corroborated by Barron (2003) who found that lexical politeness markers are overgeneralized by learners in a study abroad context. Barron argues in favor of tutored instruction in pragmatics for prospective study abroad students, which is in line with Weydt's (1981, p. 166) claim that the MPs must be taught to learners before they engage in residence abroad.

One of the few interventional studies on the teaching of the MPs is Möllering and Nunan (1995). This study explores the influence of instruction

on the development of both pragmatic awareness of the MPs and MP use by intermediate undergraduate students of German as a foreign language in Australia. Learners experienced a three-part instructional unit for one MP (*doch*) over a 5-week period. In order to produce instructional materials for this unit, the authors used authentic oral texts taken from "taped interviews and conversations of the debate style" (Möllering & Nunan, 1995, p. 60). The learners in question were already familiar with these texts because they had been used previously in the same course in the context of another classroom activity. The examples containing the MP *doch* were accompanied by detailed explanations of its functions in different contexts (p. 50). At the posttest, the researchers found that the overall suppliance rate of *doch* rose from 4.5 to 10.5 in written cloze text exercises; however, the inappropriate suppliance rate also rose from 3.9 to 4.5 (p. 57). Nearly half of the students demonstrated increased metapragmatic awareness with respect to the MP *doch*.

A number of limitations apply to the assessment measures employed in this study. First, the main data elicitation instrument, the discourse completion test, was administered in written format, whereas the instructional materials were based on an oral native speaker (NS) corpus. Additionally, the contexts for the individual test items were not well defined; this contextual vagueness may account for the increase in inappropriate uses (p. 59). Nevertheless, Möllering and Nunan (1995) make a valuable contribution to interventional research because their study is the first one of which we are aware to employ a NS corpus in the production of pedagogical materials for the teaching of the MPs; they thereby anticipate Bardovi-Harlig's (1996) call for the use of NS corpora as a source of authentic materials for the classroom-based instruction of L2 pragmatics. In later work, Möllering (2001, 2004) suggests the data-driven teaching of MPs in the classroom via handouts containing authentic NS data from oral corpora. To the best of our knowledge, the author has not reported on the application or potential influence of these handouts on learner development in classroom-based language instruction. In the next section, we briefly outline the rapidly expanding body of research on contrastive learner corpus analysis and the synergy of this analytical approach and particular aspects of telecollaborative pedagogy for the instruction of L2 pragmatic competence (see Belz, 2006, p. 208).

Telecollaborative discourse and contrastive learner corpus analysis

Recent technological advances in the area of Internet communication tools and corpus linguistics have afforded particular learning configurations and methods of analysis that lessen considerably some of the difficulties previously associated with teaching L2 pragmatics. For example, the ever increasing ubiquity of electronic forms of communication has enabled the regular establishment of Internet-mediated intercultural partnerships in which language learners at one location collaborate (Belz, 2005c) with NS keypals at another location for the purposes of social interaction and L2 language and culture learning (e.g., Belz, 2005; Belz & Thorne, 2006; Furstenberg, Levet, English, and Mallet, 2001; Kinginger, Gouvrès-Hayward, & Simpson, 1999; Warschauer, 1996). Such "telecollaborative" partnerships are well suited to developmental examinations of L2 pragmatic competence for a number of reasons. First, they have been shown to be rich in learning opportunities (see Allwright, 2005) with respect to typical aspects of pragmatic competence such as requests, apologies, agreement, disagreement, and modality as well as personal relationship building and even flirting (Belz, 2006) because they involve authentic project-based collaboration between learners and NSs. Second, such partnerships typically span several months and therefore provide developmental, intercultural data for each learner engaged in the partnership. Finally, telecollaborative data are electronic by nature, which means that researchers have access to the complete and unabridged records of learners' L2 productions for the duration of their intercultural exchanges. In other words, data collection is not limited to several points along a continuum of learner productions (cross-sectional analysis), but includes all points in between as well. This fact is in line with Vygotsky's (1978, p. 65) explanation that microgenetic analysis is predicated on density of observation in order to capture development in progress.

In a series of recent articles, Belz (2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006), Belz, Reinhardt, and Rine (2005), Belz, Vyatkina, and Hundley (2005), Belz and Vyatkina (2005), and Kinginger and Belz (2005) have illustrated how the longitudinal scope and electronic nature of telecollaborative data can be used in conjunction with learner corpus analysis in order to provide microgenetic analyses of the development of learners' L2 pragmatic competence in interaction with NSs. Lantolf and Thorne (2006) define microgenesis as "the development of a specific process during ontogenesis" where ontogenesis is "the development of an individual." Belz and Kinginger (2003) further characterize microgenetic analysis as "the observation of skill

acquisition during a learning event" (p. 594), including the examination of "the precise, concrete social practices leading to change in learner language over time" (p. 601). In an analytical method known as *contrastive learner corpus analysis* (Granger, 1998; Granger, Hung, & Petch-Tyson, 2002), teachers and researchers compare the productions of NSs as archived in a NS corpus with those of learners as archived in a learner corpus in order to discover differences and similarities in the language use of these two populations. Based on such comparisons, teachers and researchers can draw conclusions about those areas of the L2 where the learners might be having difficulties and therefore require focused instruction. Nesselhauf (2004) notes in her survey of learner corpus research that learner corpora are relative newcomers on the linguistic scene as scholars first began to collect them in the 1990s (see also Meunier, 2002; Pravec, 2002). Because the great majority of learner corpora are monolingual in nature, researchers require an *external* NS control corpus in order to conduct contrastive learner corpus analyses. This procedure is problematic, however, because it means that the data to which the learner productions are compared were produced at a different point in time, under different circumstances, and in different contexts (Cobb, 2003; Granger, 1998; Granger & Tribble, 1998). The contextual disparity between a learner corpus and an external NS control corpus is especially prejudicial with regard to pragmatic competence because such competence generally is defined as language use in social context where context shapes use. As Kasper and Rose (2002) note,

> [d]etermining such a [baseline] norm is difficult because of the sociolinguistic variability in the language use of native speakers. Selecting the variety or varieties most relevant for a particular learner population in a principled manner is not a straightforward task for any target language. (p. 272

In this paper, we demonstrate the use of an *integrated* learner corpus and the methods of microgenetic analysis and contrastive learner corpus analysis with respect to the classroom teaching of German modal particles.

The Current Study

Data

The data examined in this study were drawn from a new bilingual learner corpus, *The Telecollaborative Learner Corpus of English and German* or *Telekorp* (see Belz, 2005b, p. 48).[1] *Telekorp* contains the complete records of the bilingual intercultural exchanges of about 200 learners who participated in German–American telecollaborative partnerships over a

6-year period (2000–2005). These exchanges have been stored in a series of relational tables in association with a wide array of learner and task variables as well as ethnographic information (see Belz, Reinhardt, & Rine, 2005). *Telekorp* is an integrated learner corpus because it contains L1/L2 German and L1/L2 English data produced by learners and native speakers *in the very same interactions* in the course of their telecollaborative exchanges. Accordingly, the L1 English subcorpus can serve as a NS comparison corpus for the L2 English productions, while the L1 German subcorpus can serve as a comparison corpus for the L2 German productions, thereby obviating the need to consult an *external* NS control corpus and simultaneously ensuring a high degree of data comparability. The bilingual nature of *Telekorp* is a consequence of telecollaborative pedagogy which requires that participants correspond half of the time in their L1 in order to provide their Internet partners with authentic models of the language that the partners are learning and half of the time in the learners' L2 in order to practice the language that they are learning (and which their netpals speak natively). At present, *Telekorp* contains over one million tokens of NS–NNS interactions putting it on a par with some of the more major noncommercial learner corpora such as the *Chinese Learner English Corpus* (1.2 million words) and the *Uppsala Student English Project* (1 million words) cited in Nesselhauf's (2004, p. 129) review of the state of the art of learner corpora (see also Granger, in press).

Participants

The focal learners in this study were 16 American students of German (9 female, 7 male) enrolled in a fourth-semester, telecollaborative German language and culture course at a major public university in the United States and their 23 German keypals (22 female, 1 male) enrolled in an English teacher education seminar at teachers' college in Germany. These students represent the entire participant cohort in the fifth data collection cycle (2004) for *Telekorp.* This cohort was chosen for analysis because available resources in 2004 enabled the daily entry of all learner productions into the corpus, which, in turn, facilitated the pedagogical intervention described below. The German language and culture course on the US side represented the first foreign language elective beyond the three-semester foreign language requirement at the US institution. Fifteen of the students on the US side were monolingual native speakers of English, while one student (Stephanie[2]) was a bilingual speaker of English and Russian. All students on the German side of the exchange were monolingual NSs of German, although many of them had learned additional foreign languages in the

course of their studies (e.g., French, Spanish, and Latin). All German students were studying to become teachers of English at the primary or secondary level in the German educational system, while the US students were pursuing a variety of undergraduate degrees. In general, the German students were more proficient in their targeted L2 (English) than were the U.S. students in their targeted L2 (German). Such discrepancies typically are related to the varying opportunities for foreign language instruction at the primary and secondary levels in the respective countries. Finally, the U.S. students ranged in age from 18–24, while the German students were 20–30. The transatlantic partner groups (see Tables 5–8 in the Appendix) were formed on the basis of mutual interests as ascertained by the Germans via perusal of the Americans' Web-biographies prior to the beginning of the correspondence.

Research design

With respect to data elicitation and pedagogical intervention, we adopt a combined longitudinal and cross-sectional design, an approach advocated by Kasper and Rose in order to "inform issues related to L2 pragmatic *development*" (2002, p. 75, emphasis in original). Longitudinal designs allow for the direct observation of developmental patterns of the same participants over an extended period of time, whereas cross-sectional designs provide the researcher with a number of snapshots of participants' performance at particular points in time (Kasper & Rose, 2002). The current study adopts multiple research designs and a mixed methods approach (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) in order to provide a variety of interpretive resources with respect to the given data set.

The longitudinal multiple observations design was utilized for the collection of quantitative performance data. Telecollaborative NS–NNS correspondence lasted for 9 weeks during the second half of the US language course. Aggregate MP uses were ascertained for NSs and NNSs for each of these 9 weeks. Participants' MP frequencies during the pre-intervention stage served as a control baseline relative to their postintervention production. In this fashion, the participants under study acted as controls for their own future productions. The NS frequencies during the same period in the same interactions served as a comparative baseline for the learner productions. Pre- and postinstruction relative frequencies were used in order to assess the potential influence of instruction at each stage of the pedagogical intervention.

The intervention for the tutored instruction of the MPs followed the general procedures employed by Möllering and Nunan (1995) and included awareness-raising, explanation, and practice. However, we elaborated on their design in the form of modular, form-focused instruction that progressed from enhanced condition to explicit condition (Robinson, 1997, p. 224) to fine-tuned condition. Additionally, we focused on four MPs (*ja, doch, mal*, and *denn*); these were the MPs that were used most frequently by the NSs in their telecollaborative discourse during the pre-intervention phase of the interaction.

The cross-sectional design was used for the collection of metapragmatic awareness data by means of pretest questionnaires and posttest self-reported narratives (Barron, 2003, p. 107; Kasper & Rose, 2002, pp. 103–104; see also Belz & Vyatkina, 2005, pp. 35–39).

The *microgenetic* design was employed for analyzing the learners' production data qualitatively. According to Kasper and Rose (2002, p. 272), the combination of the theoretical framework of microgenesis (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986) and the analytical approach of microanalysis is best suited for tracking L2 development "[i]f conducted over a sufficiently extensive observational period" because "microanalyzed data of learner interactions make visible developmental patterns of discourse-pragmatic ability" (p. 59). Thus, each learner's (emerging) use of a focal feature was tracked electronically using *Telekorp* and linked to the date, time, context, and medium in which it was used. These uses were then examined with respect to the NSs' uses of the focal features in interaction with the learners and relative to each stage of the intervention and thus the specific instructional type. In addition, learners' MP uses were related to particular learning events and opportunities in the form of longitudinal classroom observation data based on participant observation on the part of the researchers and biographic survey and interview data, including individual language and culture learning histories.

Procedure

At the end of each instructional period, the telecollaborative data produced during that period were entered into *Telekorp* and assigned to metadata categories such as name of participant who produced the data, age, gender, proficiency level, date of production, time of production, medium of production (chat or e-mail), and language of production (English or German; see Belz, Reinhardt, & Rine, 2005, for more details on the design of *Telekorp*). Next, relevant text files (e.g., all NS e-mail data, all NNS

e-mail data) were exported for corpus analysis in *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2001), a commercially available software package which can perform a variety of corpus analytic procedures, including concordancing, frequency counts, and cluster analyses. Pre-intervention NS and NNS productions were analyzed for each of the four focal MPs and contrastive learner corpus analysis was performed in order to establish a comparative baseline of MP use for the NSs and a control baseline for the NNSs to be used against future postintervention performances. Based on this analysis, we established that the learners of German significantly underused the focal MPs with respect to NS uses of the same MPs in the very same interactions in the pre-intervention stage of the interactions. Thus, the results of the initial contrastive learner corpus analysis provided numerical justification for our decision to conduct a pedagogical intervention for MP use with this particular group of US learners. NS uses of the MPs in the pre-intervention phase were used in order to construct the materials used in stage 1 of the three-part intervention. Following each interventional stage, we again used *Telekorp* to retrieve any uses of the focal features by either the NSs or the NNSs and we again performed contrastive learner corpus analysis to ascertain NNS performance relative to NS performance. New performances of the MPs by either the NSs or the NNSs were incorporated into the materials used in subsequent stages of the intervention. Thus, in contradistinction to Möllering and Nunan (1995) and Möllering (2001), learners in our study were always working with materials containing examples that had been produced either by their own partners (as identified by name) or by themselves in previous correspondence. As a result, *Telekorp* facilitated retrieval of the MP uses without subjecting the participants to external tests whose appropriateness for eliciting pragmatic data has been repeatedly problematized (e.g., Brown, 2001; Rose & Kasper, 2001).

Intervention

The pre-intervention stage (see Table 1)[3] lasted for 5 weeks during which the NSs and NNSs communicated with one another using e-mail and chat. During this period, a single learner used two different MPs (*mal* and *ja*) a total of four times, while the NSs used these same MPs and two others (*doch* and *denn*) 158 times. No other learners used any MPs in the pre-intervention phase of the partnership. In light of this *in vivo* finding, we devised and administered a three-part form-focused pedagogical intervention in which we used the NS keypals' and the learners' own previously produced interactions as illustrative examples.

Instruction module 1 was administered during the first day of the sixth week of the exchange (23 November 2004). Learners were shown five excerpts from their keypals' correspondence each of which contained a focal MP. Each excerpt was projected on a large screen at the front of the classroom. The authors of each excerpt were identified by name so that learners could place them within a communicative context with which they were familiar or in which they themselves had participated. Learners were then asked to rate the expressive/emotive force of each excerpt on a scale of 1 to 6 with respect to a variety of attributes such as "friendly," "wooden," or "rude" (Möllering & Nunan, 1995; Weydt, Harden, Hentschel, & Rösler, 1983). Next, learners were asked to assign the expressive/emotive force of each excerpt to particular words or phrases in that excerpt. No learners were able to uniquely assign the expressive force of the excerpt to an MP. Finally, learners were shown the excerpts again, but this time the MPs were bolded. They were told that the bolded words carried the expressive force of the excerpts. Following instruction module 1 of the intervention, the learners corresponded with their partners for 1 more week.

Instruction module 2 of the intervention was administered during the 1st day of the 7th week of the partnership (30 November 2004). Learners received handouts on which the four focal MPs were listed along with information concerning their general meanings, syntactic restrictions, and homonyms. Then the learners were shown additional examples of NSs' uses of the MPs and homonyms again taken from *Telekorp.* Finally, certain peculiarities of the use of the MPs in context were discussed. Following instruction module 2, the learners corresponded with their NS netpals for 1 more week. During this week, the learners' use of the MPs exhibited a veritable explosion with respect to quantity (see Figure 1 in Discussion).

Instruction module 3 of the intervention was administered during the first day of the eighth week of the partnership (07 December 2004). The primary purpose of this module was to offer the learners fine-tuned instruction with respect to the meanings and syntactic restrictions on the use of the MPs. Learners were shown excerpts from *Telekorp* produced between instruction modules 2 and 3 which contained examples of their own emerging use of the MPs. Learners' names were associated with the examples so that they could recognize their own productions, where applicable. Appropriate and inappropriate uses were pointed out and explanations as well as recommendations for further use were given. After this stage, the telecollaborative exchange continued for 1 more week until the close of the American semester.

Table 1.   Timeline of the pedagogical intervention

stage	calendar date	semester week	TC* week	instruments	data type
pre-intervention	Oct. 20	8–12	1–5	telecollaborative correspondence	performance
intervention stage 1	Nov. 23	13	6	questionnaire 1; handouts; telecollaborative correspondence	meta-pragmatic awareness; performance
intervention stage 2	Nov. 30	14	7	questionnaire 2; handouts; telecollaborative correspondence	meta-linguistic awareness; performance
intervention stage 3	Dec. 7	15	8	handouts; telecollaborative correspondence	performance
post-semester	Dec. 10–17	post-semester	post-semester	cumulative course portfolios; focus group interviews	meta-pragmatic awareness

note: * TC= telecollaborative

Data Presentation and Analysis[4]

Quantitative analysis: Performance

Simple counting of the MPs showed that telecollaborative discourse was replete with opportunities for learners to observe NS uses of MPs throughout both the pre-intervention and post-intervention stages. This leads us to conclude that MPs, a recognized feature of the spoken mode (Möllering, 2001, 2004), are also characteristic of computer-mediated communication (CMC). This finding contributes to research on the linguistic features of computer-mediated registers and lends support to claims about the hybrid written–spoken nature of CMC (Hewings & Coffin, 2004; Kern, 2000; Crystal, 2001; McCarthy, 1993; Herring, 1999).

Despite ample exposure to MPs in the NS discourse, only one learner (Carolyn) used one MP (*ja*) three times and another MP (*mal*) once during the 5 weeks of telecollaborative interaction prior to the pedagogical intervention. In sum, roughly 98% of the 162 MPs used in the first phase were produced by NSs. This absence of the focal feature in the participant pre-intervention data is precisely what Mellow, Reeder, and Forster (1996, p. 333) call a "flat, stable trend" that builds a baseline for a subsequent

experiment. The total number of MPs produced by all partners on both sides of the Atlantic after the first focused instruction session until the end of the correspondence (approximately a 3-week period) was almost precisely the same: 163. However, the use of the MPs by the learners demonstrates a sharp spike. Their uses account for 54.6% of the total post-intervention uses (see Table 2).

Table 2.   Aggregate modal particle (MP) use by NSs and learners

stage	pre-instruction		post-instruction	
	162 MPs		163 MPs	
MPs	**NS**	**learner**	**NS**	**learner**
ja	56	3	32	43
mal	35	1	16	19
denn	33	0	15	17
doch	34	0	11	10
total	**158**	**4**	**73**	**89**
%	97.5%	2.5%	45.4%	54.6%
MPs/participant	6.87	.25	3.22	5.56

The first intervention session was designed as an enhanced instruction condition (Robinson, 1997, p. 224) where the attention of learners was directed to the focal features in their partners' uses, but no metalinguistic explanations were given. Following the first intervention session after semester week 12, two students used four MPs, three of which were inaccurate (see Table 3). The rapid increase in both frequency and accuracy takes place in stage 2, the explicit instruction module (Robinson, 1997, p. 224), where the learners were presented not only with excerpts from *Telekorp* but also with explanations of MP syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. In the week following the second stage of the intervention, 12 of the total 16 learners used 41 MPs with an accuracy of approximately 80%. In the week after the third and final stage of the intervention (the fine-tuned explanations sensitive to demonstrated learner use), 10 learners used 43 MPs, and the accuracy of their usage increased to more than 90%. Thus, it appears that the focused instruction designed according to the explicit condition positively influenced the learners' use of the MPs with regard to both frequency and accuracy.

Table 3.   Aggregate modal particle use by learners during the intervention

stages	weeks	no. of learners who used MPs		total MPs	accurate		inaccurate	
pre-intervention	1–5	1	(6.25%)	4	4	(100.00%)	0	
module 1	6	2	(12.50%)	4	1	(25.00%)	3	(75.00%)
module 2	7	12	(75.00%)	41	33	(80.50%)	8	(19.50%)
module 3	8	10	(62.50%)	43	39	(90.70%)	4	(9.30%)
post-intervention	9	1	(6.25%)	1	1		0	
total	**9**	**14**	**(87.50%)**	**93 (100%)**	**78**	**(84.00%)**	**15**	**(16.00%)**

Table 4.   Modal particle use by individual learners during/after the intervention

Michael	17	Angela	5
Carolyn	14	Brian	3
Amy	9	Clarissa	2
Kate	9	Kelly	2
Stephanie	8	Kurt	1
Kim	7	Judy	0
Timothy	6	Angus	0
Russell	6	Jim	0

According to the total post-intervention MP frequencies, the learners can be grouped in the following way (see Table 4). Michael and Carolyn used the highest number of the MPs, therefore demonstrating the highest pragmatic performance development among the learners. The performance of Amy, Kate, Stephanie, Kim, Timothy, Russell, and Angela included 5–9 uses that could be evidence of intermediate development. Brian, Kelly, Clarissa, and Kurt attempted MP use only 1–3 times, which suggests little development of their productive ability. Finally, Judy, Angus, and Jim show no development at all.

However, drawing conclusions based on simple counting would lead to oversimplification of the results because these numbers are too low to be revealing with respect to development. We argue that a more revealing approach involves the use of the aggregate frequency patterns as a point of departure for microgenetic analysis. The frequencies for each MP used by

each NS and learner are presented chronologically in Tables 5–8 (see Appendix) with regard to semester week, communication modality (e-mail, communication modality (e-mail or chat), and accuracy. The next section reports on a microgenetic analysis of these MP uses tied to metapragmatic awareness data that help "triangulate the researcher's interpretation of authentic discourse data" (Kasper & Rose, 2002, p. 105).

Qualitative analysis: Performance and awareness

This section is organized according to the division of the learners into eight partner groups in order to account for not only individual but also intra-group developmental dynamics.

Group 1: Carolyn and Michael[5]

Carolyn and Michael were the only learners who began using the MPs following stage 1 of the intervention, and namely in a chat that occurred in the remaining 45 minutes of the classroom period in which instruction module 1 was delivered (in this module the learners' attention was focused on the MPs without an accompanying explanation of their functions). Carolyn uses *mal* twice and *denn once*, while Michael uses *mal* once. These three uses of *mal* are inaccurate, however. In the chat session immediately following instruction module 2, Carolyn uses the MPs *ja*, *doch*, and *mal* two times each, and, crucially, each use is accurate. Michael also exhibits marked development. He accurately uses the MPs *ja* and *doch* two times each after instruction module 2. His single use of *mal*, however, is still inaccurate as in the previous week. Michael uses all four focal MPs in the last chat session on December 7, 2004: 4 *ja*, 3 *doch*, 1 *denn*, and 1 *mal*. While his uses of *doch* were already accurate in the preceding stage, he uses the MP *mal* appropriately for the first time during this stage. Moreover, Michael uses *ja* and *denn* for the first time during this stage, and all these uses are appropriate. Carolyn's uses of the MPs in stages 2 and 3 are accurate.

Both Michael and Carolyn provided rich awareness data in their final course portfolios. Michael indicated that his understanding of the MPs developed considerably after the intervention, although he had been familiar with the MPs before the intervention. For example, he reports that he tended to overuse the MP *doch* in his speech and "did not really know why" he used the MPs. Carolyn demonstrates strong awareness of the relationship between MP use and communicative modality. To illustrate, she provides a rationale in example (1) for why she and her partners did *not* use the MPs in

the final essay that she and Michael wrote together with their German keypals.[6]

(1)

Here I didn't use any modal particles at all, although we talked about them a lot. There is a reason for that. As far as I understand, modal particles make the sentence friendly and informal. We didn't want to do that for this Website and my [German] partners also didn't use any modal particles. I am happy to understand these modal particles better and hopefully I was correct here [in what I said].   (Carolyn, final portfolio, December 2004)

Group 2: Russell and Kelly

The first MP use by Russell is the formulaic combination *ja mal* presented to the learners during instruction module 2. Russell used this combination in the chat immediately following the instruction (2) and in an e-mail written later on the same day (3).

(2)

Russell: Hast du das Film Home Alone 2: verloren in New York City **ja mal** gesehen?

*Have you **ja mal** seen the movie Home Alone 2: lost in New York City?*

                                    (Russell, Kelly, Sibylle, Dorothee; chat; 30 November 2004)

(3)

Hey Doro,

Wie geht's? Mein Thanksgiving Urlaub war **ja mal** zu kurz. Es gibt eigentlich nicht genug Zeit in der Woche.

*How are you? My Thanksgiving break was **ja mal** too short. There is actually not enough time in the week.*

                                    (Russell to Dorothee; e-mail; 30 November 2004)

Both of Russell's uses of this MP combination are inaccurate in the given context because the MP *ja* cannot be used in questions as it is in example (2) and *mal* cannot be used in assertive statements as it is in example (3). Both conditions were explained during instructional module 2 of the intervention but obviously were not internalized by Russell at that stage. Russell's inappropriate uses were discussed in instructional module 3, the main purpose of which was fine-tuning of the use of these MPs. In a chat immediately following module 3, both Russell and his US partner Kelly appropriately use *ja* (4).

(4)

Sibylle: How are ya today?

Kelly: Ich bin **ja** gut[...]
          *I'm **ja** good*

Kelly: Ja ich muss **ja** gehen[...]
          *Yes I have **ja** to go*

Russell: Die Zeit is **ja** um.
          *The time is **ja** up.*

Sibylle: See ya.

(Russell, Kelly, Sibylle; chat; 07 December 2004)

No post-intervention awareness data are available for Russell and Kelly because they did not reflect on the MPs in their final course portfolios.

Group 3: Amy and Brian

There is evidence of the development of competence in both performance and awareness by Amy and Brian. Amy's first attempt to use the MPs *ja* and *mal* was made after instructional module 2. She uses *mal* inaccurately in an assertive statement in (5). In contrast, Amy accurately uses the MPs *ja* in a number of functions, 3 times in stage 2 and one time in stage 3. For example, she appropriately uses *ja* in an apology in (5) as an intensifier of shared knowledge (she assumes that her partner understands that she did not respond earlier because she was busy). The position of *ja* is also syntactically accurate.

(5)

Wie waren deine Woche? Ich habe nicht mit dir gesprochen. Es tut mir sehr leid, ich habe **ja mal** so viel letzte Woche gemacht.
*How was your week? I did not talk to you. I am very sorry, I had **ja mal** so much to do last week.*

(Amy to Lea; e-mail; 01 December 2004)

Additionally, Amy uses *denn* inaccurately for the first time, but her three subsequent uses are correct. In her portfolio, Amy not only cites examples with *ja* and *denn* from her e-mail correspondence, but she also uses *ja* in her meta-commentary on the MPs (6).

(6)

There are **ja** so many particles that I didn't know.

(Amy; portfolio; December 2004, emphasis added)

Furthermore, Amy included an example of "concrete poetry" in her portfolio in which she arranged the MPs examined during the intervention in

a playful design. This approach may have mediated her development with respect to the use of the particles. She concludes her entry with a resolution to use more MPs in her future writing and she remarks that the MPs should be taught earlier to learners of German.

Brian produces only three MPs (in comparison to Amy's nine uses), two times *ja* and one time *mal*. Despite this sparse performance, his uses are accurate. Additionally, Brian's awareness data suggest the potential for further development with respect to the range of MP use (7).

(7)
In my e-mail, I often use *ja*. However, I understand that *denn* makes a question a little lighter.

(Brian; portfolio; December 2004)

This admittedly short entry contains rich data on Brian's awareness of his own MP use. First, he reflects on his performance ("I often use") and cites relevant examples for the MP *ja* from his telecollaborative interaction. Then, he contrasts the phrase "I often use" with the phrase "I understand" by means of the adversative conjunction "however" to index the difference between his performance and his awareness of diverse MPs. He states that he actually *used* the MP *ja*, but not *denn* although he *understands how to use* it. To reinforce this final statement, Brian copies excerpts from some of his pre-intervention e-mails, pastes them into his portfolio, and manually inserts the MP *denn* into three of his previously asked questions, for example,

(8)
Jetz mussen wir ueber die Themen von "Ben liebt Anna" behandeln. Was denkst Du **[denn]** ueber Auslaender in Deutschland und die Auslaenderpoilik in Deutschland?
Now, we have to [talk] about the topics from "Ben loves Anna." What do you think [denn] about foreigners in Germany and [politics] related to foreigners in Germany?

(Brian; portfolio; December 2004)

These insertions are pragmatically appropriate (*denn* motivates the question in a specific conversation-related situation) and grammatically accurate. Thus, by means of these *postfacto* corrections, Brian actually demonstrates that he *does use* the MP *denn* thereby providing evidence that he *would be able to use* it in his telecollaborative correspondence as well if the exchange had not ended.

Group 4: Angela and Kate

Both Angela and Kate use various MPs after instruction modules 2 and 3 and include detailed entries on them in their portfolios. To illustrate, Angela uses *ja* and *denn* in three e-mails and includes each of these e-mails in her portfolio as examples of her MP performance. She describes her use of *denn* as both an MP and a coordinating conjunction (9). She further reports that she has learned about the multifunctionality of *denn* during the focused instruction. Thus, Angela demonstrated her increased metapragmatic awareness by annotating her own previously produced performance data.

(9)
Hallo alle !

heute Kate und ich haben unsere Projekt an den Internet gestellt. Bitte erzahlen uns was sie haben ueber unsere letzte Projekt gedacht. Was ist **denn** [MP] los in Deutschland? Mit die letzte zwei Wochen des Semesters es gibt nicht viel hier passiert nur Hausafgaben und Prufungen schrieben. [...] Ich freue mich **ja** ueber unsere Weihnachtsferien, **denn** [coordinating conjunction] ich viele mit meine Familie und Freuendin machen koennen.

Hello all!
*today Kate and I have posted our project on the Internet. Please tell us what you thought about our last project. What is **denn** [MP] going on in Germany? With the last two semester weeks there is not much [to happen] only homework and writing tests. […] I look **ja** [forward to] our Christmas break* **because** *[coordinating conjunction] I can do a lot with my family and [friends].*

(Angela; portfolio; December 2004)

Further, Angela crosses out her own inaccurate use of *ja* in a question and substitutes *mal* instead (10).

(10)
Bitte koennen sie ~~ja~~ **[mal]** ein kleines Teil fuer uns ueber diese Thema in Deutschland schrieben?
Please can you ~~ja~~ **[mal]** *write for us a small part about this topic in Germany?*

(Angela; portfolio; December 2004)

Kate uses all four focal MPs in e-mail, chat, and in her portfolio. She also makes a thorough qualitative assessment of her partners' and her own use of the MPs because, as she explains in her portfolio, "it is important to

explain differences." First, she gives annotated examples of her partners' use of the MPs (11).

(11)
Jette: Aus was sind sie **denn**? Holz, Papier oder was?
*What are they made of **denn**? Wood, paper or what?*
"Denn" is used by Jette to ask a question. It makes the sentence nicer.

<div align="right">(Kate; portfolio; December 2004)</div>

Next, Kate illustrates and discusses her own inaccurate use of the MPs.

(12)
Wohnen viele Juden **mal** in Deutschland nun?
*Do many Jews **mal** live in Germany now?*
Here I d[id] not think [enough] and "mal" is inaccurate. "Doch" is better because I asked a question.

<div align="right">(Kate; portfolio; December 2004)</div>

At the close of her reflective portfolio entry on the MPs, Kate summarizes her MP performance in her previously recorded telecollaborative correspondence.

(13)
My common mistakes are that I use *ja* in questions instead of in declarative sentences, that I use *mal* in simple questions as opposed to requests, and that I don't use *denn* in questions. Hopefully I corrected these mistakes.

<div align="right">(Kate; portfolio; December 2004)</div>

This summary demonstrates that Kate became aware of some of the syntactic restrictions on MP use. Although her commentaries also contain some remarks about pragmatic meaning (e.g., the MPs make a sentence friendlier and nicer), she is not yet able to explain fully the finer nuances of MP meaning. For example, the use of *mal* in (12) is inaccurate not because it is used in a question, but because the meaning of this MP entails the aspect of being "incidental" or "momentary." As a result, it cannot be used in connection with the verb "to live." This aspect of the meaning of *mal* was explained during the intervention, but Kate still does not possess control of it at this particular point in her development. Kate's annotations suggest that syntactic restrictions of the MP use are easier to understand for her than fine nuances of pragmatic meaning.

Group 5: Stephanie and Kurt

In contrast to Angela and Kate, Stephanie and Kurt took divergent developmental paths. In stage 2, Stephanie once uses *doch* in a chat and Kurt once uses *mal* in an e-mail. Both uses are accurate. In stage 3, Kurt does not produce any more MPs, but Stephanie, in contrast, accurately uses all four focal MPs in her last chat for a total of seven times.

(14)
Kannst du **denn** nach unsere Website gehen? [...]
Can you **denn** go [to] our Website?
Aber diene text war **ja** sehr schoen [...]
But your text was **ja** very nice
Was war **denn** deine wochenende?[...]
*How was **denn** your weekend?*
Das is **ja** schon[...]
*This is **ja** [excellent]*
Schickst du **mal** mir die bilder auf meinem E-mail[...]
*Send **mal** me the pictures to my e-mail*
Jetzt sollen kurt und ich **mal** mit den Bildren arbeiten[...]
*Now kurt and I have **mal** to work with the pictures*
Was denkst du **denn** ueber die Seite?
*What do you think **denn** about the site?*
　　(Stephanie, Kurt, Bärbel, Danica, Lili, Corinne; chat; 07 December 2004)

In addition to these performance data, Stephanie's cumulative course portfolio provides awareness data with respect to her use of the MPs.

(15)
At first I wasn't sure about their use. I thought that my language without them was bad. However, after I re-read the e-mails from my partners I ascertained that they use the MPs a lot. I began to look for the MPs in the e-mails and try to understand why they were used. I thought that *denn, ja,* and *mal* were used the most. In my last chat I tried to use them and I think that I was successful. 　　　　　　　　　(Stephanie; portfolio; December 2004)

As Stephanie related in both interview and in her portfolio, she did not want to run the risk of damaging the positive interactional rapport that she had worked hard to establish with her German partners throughout the course of the semester by using an inaccurate and potentially offensive MP until the possible consequences of such an interactional misstep had essentially evaporated. After she became confident in her understanding of

the finer nuances of the MP meanings, she used all of them accurately in her last chat.

The awareness data for Kurt stand in sharp contrast to those of Stephanie. Although Kurt gives an accurate example of *mal* taken from his previous telecollaborative correspondence in his short portfolio entry, he refers to the MPs as "modal verbs" and includes a completed grammatical exercise from Dippmann and Watzinger-Tharp (2000) on the modal *verbs* (e.g., can, should, could) in order to demonstrate his development with respect to modal *particle* understanding and use. While Stephanie developed with regard to both performance and awareness of the MPs after the pedagogical intervention, Kurt's meta-pragmatic awareness appears to lag behind his performance.

Group 6: Judy and Kim

In addition to the focused instruction on MP use in the course of the intervention, Judy and Kim experience many examples of MP use in the telecollaborative discourse of their three German netpals, Kristl, Cassandra, and Sigrid. For example, Sigrid uses *ja* three times in one e-mail written in stage 3. Nevertheless, Judy does not use any MPs in her telecollaborative interaction nor does she reflect on them in her portfolio. In contrast, Kim accurately uses *ja* a total of seven times in her e-mails after instruction module 3. For example, the first *ja* in (16) emphasizes mutual consent and the second *ja* reinforces positive appraisal.

(16)
Wir hatten nur genug Zeit ein Rough Draft auf die Web zu stellen. Es kostet **ja** viel Zeit eine Website zu machen, deshalb haben wir keinen Hintergrund. Danke schoen fuer meine Blumen. Sie sieht **ja** sehr schoen aus und es war suess von ihr, zum mir sie zu schicken.

We only had enough time to post a rough draft on the Web. It takes **ja** a lot of time to make a Website, that is why we have no background.
Thanks a lot for my flowers. They look **ja** very pretty and it was very sweet of you to send them to me.   (Kim to Sigrid; e-mail; 08 December 2004)

In her portfolio, Kim relates that she noticed the MPs in e-mails before the pedagogical intervention but that she did not know what they meant. She further explains that she "developed while learning about the modal particles" after the intervention. Kim's awareness is evidenced by a neat and precise comment on the pragmatic meaning of the MPs.

(17)

One writes *ja* in sentences in order to strengthen the sentence and [one] writes *denn* in questions in order to soften the question.

(Kim; portfolio; December 2004)

Although Kim does not reflect on the MPs in her partners' writing, frequent use of *ja* by her NS keypals might have contributed to her noticing of this particular particle and her subsequent development in its use because she accurately uses *ja* in the same functions that her partners use. The concentration of the *ja* uses by members of this partner group in weeks 14 and 15 is made visual in Table 5 (see Appendix).

Group 7: Timothy and Clarissa

Timothy uses the MPs *ja, mal,* and *denn* eight times total in his chats in stages 2 and 3. Five of these uses are accurate. However, he does not provide any metapragmatic reflections on his performance. Clarissa seems to be more cautious in her performance. She accurately using *ja* and *mal* one time each. In contrast, in her portfolio, Clarissa comments on her increased awareness of the MPs after the pedagogical intervention.

(18)

I realized that they really play an important role in softening the language and they make the writing more personal...I think that if I really begin to use more modals in the future, then they will appear more frequently, and I will not have to remember all the time to watch my writing to include some of them. (Clarissa; portfolio; December 2004)

Clarissa's meta-commentary neatly illustrates her awareness of the fact that she does not possess full control of the MPs yet. She expresses her desire to practice them so that she can access them more automatically.

Group 8: Angus and Jim

Angus and Jim did not use any MPs in their telecollaborative correspondence, nor did they mention them in their portfolios.

Qualitative analysis: Awareness (peer assistance)

There are three instances where learners demonstrate their metapragmatic awareness while explicitly mentioning the modal particles to their German partners and/or requesting assistance in their use. All these instances occurred in the chat immediately following instruction module 1.

In (19), Timothy attempts to use the formulaic combination *ja mal* and asks his German partner Cynthia if his use was correct. However, he does not receive any answer.

(19)
Timothy: Wir werden es fertig **ja mal** bis Dienstag machen...
       *We will complete it **ja mal** by Tuesday [...]*
Timothy: Ist das richtig?
       Is that correct?
Timothy: **ja mal**?
Cynthia: Timothy, remember that we also wanted to connect our parts a bit to
       Ben kliebt Anna
Cynthia: Liebt
Timothy: OK [...]
Clarissa: Ich musse **mal** bald gehen, unser Klasse ist schon fast vorbei [...]
       *I have **mal** to go soon, our class is already almost over*
Timothy: Ja, ich muss **mal** gehen
       *Yes, I have **mal** to go*
          (Timothy, Clarissa, Cynthia, Silja; chat; 30 November 2004)

Timothy's use of the combination *ja mal* in (19) after module 2 is appropriate in an expression of intention, although the word order in the sentence is inaccurate. Timothy explicitly asks his partners about the accuracy of his MP use, but they switch instead to a different topic and Timothy does not pursue the question further. Near the end of the chat, Timothy accurately uses *mal* following Clarissa's analogous use of the same particle. A similar lack of feedback from the Germans to the Americans can be seen in two other chat exchanges on the same day where the American partners mentioned the MPs, as illustrated in (20).

(20)
Marina: Hast du zeit oder habt ihr noch presentationen?
       Do you have time or do you still have presentations?
Angus: Wir haben ein presentationen, uber "wuerzwoerter."
       We have a presentation, about „spicy words."
Marina: What's that?
Angus: **Ja, denn, mal, doch**, auch....
Marina: Aha
Marina: Aber wir nennen diese woerter "fuellwoerter" ...hihi
       But we call these words „filling words" ....haha

Marina: Can you write us an e-mail with all the Websites you used for the project
And interesting links we could include in the project?

Angus: Yeah, sure.

(Marina and Angus; chat; 30 November 2004)

In these two examples, learners mention the MPs to their NS partners in the context of a chat; however, the NSs do not appear to pick up on this teaching point for the learners, even though one of the stipulations of the exchange was that partners should provide one another with three pieces of language-related feedback per correspondence. Marina, for instance, suggests an alternative meta-lingual term for the MPs and then adds a laughter token ("hi-hi"), which may function to dismiss the importance of the question. Immediately thereafter, she switches the conversational topic to the joint class project —similar to Cynthia in line four of (19). In yet another chat exchange, the German partner Sibylle asks the learner Russell "what's that" when he mentions the MPs. When he responds with a factual answer, Sibylle seems to indicate that she understands what the MPs are but that she doesn't understand why Russell and his peers are learning about them in their German course.

Finally, there is one case where Norma, a NS, provides feedback on a sentence in an e-mail in which Angela uses an MP.

(21)
Anyway, before this Tuesday's class starts, I will correct your e-mail quickly.
Heute mochte **ja** ich ein bisschen mehr ueber Weihnachten geschrieben. It's: schreibe.
*Today I would like **ja** to [write] a bit more about Christmas.*

(Norma to Angela; e-mail; 07 December 2004)

In this example, Norma corrects Angela's inaccurate verb form, but she does not mention the inaccurate word order with respect to the MP *ja*, which should follow and not precede the subject in the sentence in question. This last example illustrates that Norma did not consider this error to be a candidate for correction at this point in time even when error correction and not the discussion of content was the communicative goal.

Discussion

The results of the contrastive learner corpus analysis showed that only four MPs were used by learners (in fact, one and the same learner) during the 5 weeks of telecollaborative interaction prior to the pedagogical intervention, whereas the NSs used 158 MPs during the same time. After the

first stage of the three-part pedagogical intervention, other learners began using the MPs in their telecollaborative correspondence. This use gradually increased with respect to the number of participants, range, and accuracy of use following the progression of the pedagogical intervention from enhanced to explicit to fine-tuned instruction based, in all cases, on the learners' own previously produced discourse. After instruction module 2, the learners actually *overuse* the MPs in comparison to the NSs. Figure 1 summarizes the relationship of time (measured in semester weeks) and development of MP use by the learners (measured in MP frequencies) in comparison to the NS uses before and during/after the developmental intervention. The data for the beginning (8th) and the final (16th) semester week were dropped because there was limited NS–NNS correspondence during these weeks due to the nature of the assigned tasks.
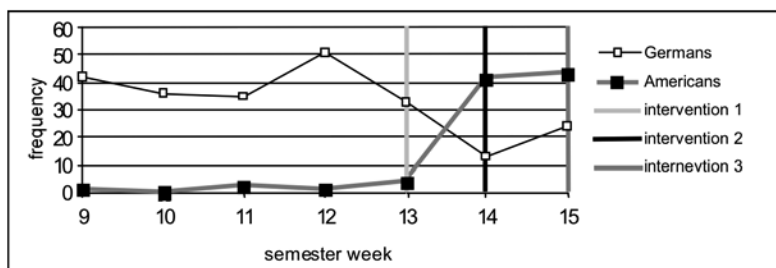
Figure 1.   Developmental course of MP use.

The results of the quantitative analysis clearly suggest that explicit instruction (instruction module 2) had a much stronger impact on the development of performance ability by the learners than the enhanced instruction (instruction module 1). This finding lends support to the argument advanced by various researchers (e.g., Kasper & Rose, 2002; Weydt, 2002) that explicit form-focused instruction is conducive to L2 pragmatic development. Of course, it is also possible that student performance after instruction module 2 is in response, in part, to the combined influence of enhanced instruction and explicit instruction.

Although some general tendencies can be seen in the quantitative analysis, qualitative analysis of both performance and awareness data provides much deeper insight into the developmental patterns followed by these particular learners. First, before instruction, only one learner (Carolyn) exhibited both specific meta-pragmatic awareness of the functions of the MPs and performative ability in using them. Other learners did not use the

MPs, although the correspondence of their German partners was replete with them, nor did they understand their meanings, as evidenced by their pre-instruction questionnaire answers. All learners who chose to reflect on the MPs in their course portfolios evaluated the instruction positively and most of them demonstrated an increase in their meta-pragmatic awareness.

Second, the first MP uses that emerged after instruction module 1 in the learners' discourse appeared to replicate the functions of the uses in the examples from their German partners writing presented to them during the instruction. In particular, the MPs *ja* and *mal* were used by several learners for mitigating the speech act of leave-taking. Additionally, the formulaic use of the MP combination *ja mal* for expressing an intention from the instruction example appeared to have drawn the attention of several learners who imitated its use in their subsequent chats and e-mails. This finding corroborates the hypothesis that formulaic sequences develop before free constructions in foreign language learners (Bardovi-Harlig, 2002; N. Ellis, 1996). However, the use of this formulaic combination as well as some other MPs was often inaccurate due to semantic and syntactic restrictions that did not become immediately apparent to the learners during the first instruction module. The learners' accuracy of performance improved after instruction module 3, the primary goal of which was fine-tuning of the nuances of the MPs' meaning and use. In future research it would be useful for our understanding of L2 development to explore whether the learners replicated the MP uses of their partners by emulation (learner use based on the product of the NSs' interactions), imitation (learner use based on the intentions of the NSs' interactions; see Tomasello, 1999, p. 30), or chance and, in the case of the former two, to examine the relationship of emulative or imitative uses to the conditions of the instructional modules.

Furthermore, the microgenetic analyses for the use of each individual MP retrieved from *Telekorp* in conjunction with the metapragmatic reflections of the learners in their final course portfolios reveal that each learner followed an idiosyncratic developmental path with respect to his or her pragmatic performance, awareness, as well as the relationship of these two aspects of pragmatic competence. For example, Carolyn started at a higher level of proficiency with respect to both performance and awareness than the other learners in the course; nevertheless, she also showed marked development of both of these aspects in the form of range of MP use, frequency of MP use, and accuracy of MP use. Michael benefited from being a legitimate peripheral participant (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in the same group as Carolyn and made considerable progress with regard to the range, frequency, and accuracy of MP use. His developmental path lends support to

the suggestion in Kinginer and Belz (2005, pp. 401–403) and Belz (2006, pp. 235–236) that the performance of more proficient class peers rather than NSs might be more salient to the learners and also foster their own development.

Kate and Angela's developmental paths illustrate the influence of positive rapport in intra-cultural group interactions. Such rapport is demonstrated by the fact that these women composed a great many of their e-mails in collaboration with one another. Their MP use developed noticeably with respect to both frequency and range as well as meta-pragmatic awareness as reflected in their impressive work as learners–researchers (Seidlhofer, 2002).

Microgenetic analysis helps reveal individual differences in the development of learners who produced a similar amount of the focal features. For example, one could falsely conclude that Kim, Kate, and Stephanie developed in a similar fashion because all of them produced 7–9 MPs in the post-intervention stage. However, close chronological tracking of these uses as well as consideration of the awareness data show that Kate's uses were evenly distributed with respect to time and MP range, Stephanie was waiting to use all but one of her MPs in the last chat despite her early developed awareness, and Kim developed with respect to frequency but not range because six of her seven uses were the MP *ja*. Analogously, one would be tempted to term the pragmatic development of Brian, Clarissa, Kelly, and Kurt as equally minimal because they produced only one to three MPs. However, Brian demonstrates a lot of progress in his postcourse portfolio with regard to both awareness and performance, whereas Clarissa only expresses a wish to use more MPs in the future, and Kurt uses an MP correctly but demonstrates lack of development concerning awareness in his metapragmatic narrative where he confuses the MPs with modal verbs.

Finally, the microgenetic analyses showed that there were no moments of peer assistance with respect to MP use. In other words, the German peers provided no feedback on the focal features even when explicitly requested to do so by the learners. This fact may be explained, in part, by the type of topic digression that is common in chat conversation (Herring, 1999). However, this finding is also in line with Barron's (2003, p. 84) remark about the scarcity of NS feedback, or "critical incidents," on learners' misuse or underuse of lexical downgraders (including MPs). NSs might not consider MPs important candidates for error correction in the presence of more salient inaccuracies (e.g., address form use as ascertained by Belz & Kinginer, 2003). This finding gives even more weight to the argument that it is necessary to explicitly teach the German MPs.

Conclusion

According to Kasper and Rose (2002, p. 263), focus-on-form (Long, 1991), or rather focus-on-form-and-function, is justified in teaching pragmatics "[a]s long as the metalinguistic information is embedded in meaningful activities, triggered by an actual learner problem, and teachable at the learners' current stage of interlanguage development." In our study, "the actual learner problem" was a drastic underuse of MPs by learners despite ample exposure to the focal feature in the NS discourse at the pre-intervention stage. The experimental design proved to be conducive to the development of pragmatic competence with respect to performance because the need for the focused instruction arose from a specific learner problem and because the learners could immediately apply the learned features in real-life interaction that is referred to as rare in the research literature by Kasper and Rose (2002; see, however, Billmyer, 1990; Wishnoff, 2000). Our results confirm DeKeyser's (2005) claim that CMC is "a good context for proceduralization" of acquired explicit knowledge, which is "the first step to fluency." In the current study, telecollaborative communication served as meaningful activity for practice.

A final point concerns the developmental nature of the study. We proffer that the current study is developmental not only because it examines diachronic data, but also because the instruction itself was delivered in successive stages and was sensitive to learners' changing use over time as tracked in the integrated corpus. Microgenetic analysis using such a corpus is a very effective means of establishing patterns of difference between NSs' and learners' language use *in the very same interactions.* Because the teacher–researcher does not need to search for or possibly construct an external NS comparison corpus, immediate comparisons of NS and learner productions can be conducted at various points in the context of telecollaborative foreign language education. Such analyses, in turn, enable the corpus-based design and administration of *developmental* pedagogical interventions. Again using the methods of microgenesis and contrastive learner corpus analysis, teachers can track learners' responses to the initial intervention *in vivo* and fine-tune their subsequent instruction in the face of the learners' on-going and/or emerging performance of the focal feature. As a result, teacher-researchers may develop teaching proposals for L2 pragmatic competence (and other components of the grammar) based on developmental studies, an area in both research and practice where Kasper and Rose (2002) notice a serious gap. As the data examined here reveal, learners will have diverse responses to instruction as with most other things

in life. The combination of microgenetic and contrastive corpus analysis allows the teacher-researcher to document precisely on an individual basis what those responses are and to offer, as a consequence, further individualized intervention (Coniam, 2004).

Notes

1   For more information on *Telekorp*, visit
    http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/j/a/jab63/Telekorp.html
2   All participant names given here are pseudonyms.
3   Parts of tables 1–3 have been published previously in Belz & Vyatkina (2005, pp. 26–29).
4   In the current contribution, we provide a comprehensive report on the microgenetic analysis of the performance and awareness data of all 16 learners. In Belz and Vyatkina (2005) and Belz, Vyatkina, and Hundley (in press), we report in more detail on varying aspects of the quantitative analysis as well as on the performance and awareness data for the top two learners in the cohort.
5   The development of Carolyn and Michael, the two most advanced learners in the course, is reported in detail in Belz and Vyatkina (2005).
6   Portfolio entries originally were written in German by the learners. Only the authors' English translations are provided here for space consideration.

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Appendix

In Tables 5 through 8 contained in this appendix, the following notations are used.

SW	semester week
I1	intervention module 1
I2	intervention module 2
I3	intervention module 3
E	e-mail
C	chat
bold names	learners
plain names	native speakers
bold numbers	learners' use of modal particle
plain numbers	native speakers' use of modal particle
underlined numbers	modal particle used in combination with another modal particle
italicized numbers	inaccurate uses
numbers divided by a semicolon	modal particle uses in different e-mails or chats during 1 week
numbers divided by a plus sign	modal particle uses in the same e-mail or chat

Table 5. Chronological use of *ja* by native speakers and learners per transatlantic group

SW	8		9		10		11		12		13 (ı1)		14 (ı2)		15 (ı3)		16	
modality	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C
Group 1																		
Sibylle					1			1	1	1			1					
Annerose					1		1+1			1								
Dorothee								1										
Kelley							1									2		
Russell												1	1	1		1		
Group 2																		
Heidelinde					1	1			1									
Marina										2		1				1		
Angus																		
Jim																		
Group 3																		
Kaethe					1					1+3						1		
Lea					1	2	1	1		2		1						
Petra																		
Brian													1; 1					
Amy													1+1; 1		1			
Group 4																		
Baerbel							2								1			
Danica				1														
Lili							2+1											
Corinne			2				1+1		2		2+3; 1							
Stephanie																2		
Kurt																		

Group 5

Name												
Ramona				1							2	
Emma				1+2					1			
Liane				1			1		1		1	
Carolyn			1		1		**1**	**2**	1		**1**	
Michael			1		1		**2**	**2**	1	**4**		**1**

Group 6

Name												
Jette												
Norma			2	2	1	1+1	1					
Karsten										1		
Angela							1; *1;1*					
Kate							*1+1*	2	1		**2**	

Group 7

Name												
Kristl					1	1	1					1
Cassandra			1	1		2	2		2			
Sigrid			2	1				1	3			
Judy												
Kim						1	1		2+*1;1*			

Group 8

Name												
Cynthia		2										
Silja	1			1	1+1							
Timothy						1	1				1	
Clarissa						1	1					

Table 6. Chronological use of mal by native speakers and learners per transatlantic group

SW / modality	8 E	8 C	9 E	9 C	10 E	10 C	11 E	11 C	12 E	12 C	13 (ı1) E	13 (ı1) C	14 (ı2) E	14 (ı2) C	15 (ı3) E	15 (ı3) C	16 E	16 C
Group 1																		
Sibylle									2	3								
Annerose							1			1								
Dorothee					1						3		1					
Kelly																		
Russell													<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>				
Group 2																		
Heidelinde			1					1			2							
Marina			1;2			1	<u>1</u>											
Angus																		
Jim																		
Group 3																		
Kaethe					1													
Lea							1											
Petra									1									
Brian														1				
Amy													<u>1</u>					
Group 4																		
Baerbel																		
Danica															1			
Lili			2				1				1					1		
Corinne			1								1							
Stephanie													1			2		
Kurt																		

Group 5

Ramona										
Emma										1
Liane										
Carolyn	1				2		2			
Michael				1	1		1		1	1

Group 6

Jette										
Norma	1;2	1		1				1		
Karsten	1									
Angela			1							
Kate						1				

Group 7

Kristl										
Cassandra			1							
Sigrid	1				1			1		
Judy										
Kim										1

Group 8

Cynthia										
Silja	1	1	1							
Timothy					_1_+1				1	
Clarissa					1					

Table 7.   Chronological use of *denn* by native speakers and learners per transatlantic group

SW modality	8 E	8 C	9 E	9 C	10 E	10 C	11 E	11 C	12 E	12 C	13 (ɪ1) E	13 (ɪ1) C	14 (ɪ2) E	14 (ɪ2) C	15 (ɪ3) E	15 (ɪ3) C	16 E	16 C
Group 1																		
Sibylle					2													
Annerose								1		1	1							
Dorothee								1		1								
Kelly																		
Russell																		
Group 2																		
Heidelinde			2			1		1				2						
Marina											1							
Angus																		
Jim																		
Group 3																		
Kaethe																		
Lea				1		3												
Petra																		
Brian																		
Amy															1+2	1		
Group 4																		
Baerbel																		
Danica			1															
Lili																		
Corinne																		
Stephanie																3		
Kurt																		

Group 5

Name						
Ramona						
Emma			1	1		
Liane					1	
Carolyn			1			1;1
Michael			1			1

Group 6

Name						
Jette						3
Norma	2					
Karsten						
Angela				1; 1		
Kate				1+1;1		

Group 7

Name						
Kristl			2			
Cassandra	1		1		1	
Sigrid	1;3;3	2	1	1	1	
Judy						
Kim					1	

Group 8

Name						
Cynthia	1					
Silja						
Timothy						1
Clarissa						

Table 8. Chronological use of *doch* by native speakers and learners per transatlantic group

SW	8		9		10		11		12		13 (ɪ1)		14 (ɪ2)		15 (ɪ3)		16	
modality	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	C	E	E
Group 1																		
Sibylle																		
Annerose										1								
Dorothee										1								
Kelly																		
Russell																		
Group 2																		
Heidelinde																		
Marina			1			1				1		1						
Angus																		
Jim																		
Group 3																		
Kaethe										6						3		
Lea				1	1					1								
Petra							1											
Brian																		
Amy																		
Group 4																		
Baerbel																		
Danica																		
Lili																		
Corinne													1					
Stephanie													**1**					
Kurt																		

Group 5

Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ramona					1	2	
Emma							
Liane						1	
Carolyn						2	1
Michael						2	1+2

Group 6

Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Jette							
Norma			2		2		
Karsten				2			
Angela							
Kate						1	

Group 7

Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kristl	1			1		1	
Cassandra	1			1		1	
Sigrid							
Judy							
Kim							

Group 8

Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cynthia	1					1	
Silja				1			
Timothy							
Clarissa							

Pragmatic Transfer and Iranian EFL Refusals: A Cross-Cultural Perspective of Persian and English

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Introduction

In the field of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP), studies of the speech acts of second language learners have revealed that although learners may come to acquire the grammatical forms of the target language (TL), they do not always understand the sociocultural rules that govern the appropriate use of the target language. Lack of adequate knowledge in this respect may result in a breakdown in communication known as "pragmatic failure" (Thomas, 1983). Unlike grammatical errors that are usually recognized and sometimes even expected of language learners by native speakers, errors in pragmatics are more difficult to detect, and language learners who make such errors may be regarded as rude or impolite by native speakers (Decapua, 1998; Olshtain, 1983).

The effect of first language (L1) pragmatics on second language (L2) performance (pragmatic transfer) has been one of the areas of study in ILP. Because of disagreements in defining the scope of pragmatics, defining pragmatic transfer has not been easy. One of the most widely used definitions of pragmatic transfer, which has been used in this study, is the one provided by Kasper (1992). According to Kasper (1992), pragmatic transfer refers to the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of languages and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production, and learning of L2 pragmatic information. Kasper's definition is comprehensive because it includes "influence" without explicit mention of

types of influence. This definition allows the study of transfer in learning and communication.

In order to investigate whether transfer occurs, ILP researchers usually compare (a) the L1 baseline data from native speakers of the learners' native language, (b) the IL data from the learners, and (c) the target language baseline data from native speakers of the learners' target language (Kasper, 1992). Similarity in terms of response frequencies in L1, IL, and L2 leads us to claim positive transfer, and similar response frequencies in L1 and IL with different response frequencies between L1 and L2 and between IL and L2 is evidence of negative transfer. However, the distinction between positive and negative transfer has been criticized by scholars interested in the underlying processes of L2 learning who claim that at the process level, transfer is just one, not two different types of phenomena (Faerch & Kasper, 1989). What can be called positive or negative is just the outcome of cross-linguistic interference.

Different Factors Influencing Pragmatic Transfer

Occurrences of pragmatic transfer may be influenced by various factors including learners' perception of language distance between their native and target language (e.g., Takahashi, 1996), learning context (e.g., Takahashi & Beebe, 1987), instructional effect (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, 2001; Kasper, 1982), second language proficiency (e.g., Olshtain & Cohen, 1989; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987), and length of residence in the target community (e.g., Félix-Bradsefer, 2004; Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985).

With regard to the learning context, Takahashi and Beebe (1987) found that transfer of Japanese refusal strategies was more prevalent among English as a foreign language (EFL) than English as second language (ESL) learners. In a study of politeness assessments of requests by Japanese EFL and ESL learners, Kitao (1990) reported that the ESL learners' judgments converged more with those of native speakers of English. Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei's (1998) study and Niezgoda and Röver's (2001) study that compared second and foreign learners' pragmalinguistic and grammatical awareness came to partially different conclusions about the effects of learning environments for acquiring L2 pragmatics. The findings of these two studies indicate that there is considerable variation in learning opportunities for pragmatics within foreign language contexts. Not all foreign language environments are the same. The findings of these studies imply that EFL and ESL learners potentially possess different learner characteristics, each one having its own variations, and thus, should be studied separately.

   With regard to learning environment and language proficiency, length of residence in the target community as a factor in pragmatic development has also been studied (Félix-Bradsefer, 2004; Matsumura, 2001; Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985). Although the results have not been conclusive, most of the studies indicate a positive correlation between the length of residence and pragmatic development.

   Research findings on the relationship of pragmatic transfer and development have not led to conclusive results. Takahashi and Beebe (1987) proposed "the positive correlation hypothesis" which predicts that second language proficiency is positively correlated with pragmatic transfer. Lower-proficiency learners, according to this hypothesis, are less likely to display pragmatic transfer in their L2 production than higher–proficiency learners because lower-proficiency learners do not have the necessary linguistic resources to do so. On the other hand, because higher-proficiency learners do have sufficient linguistic means, their L2 production will be likely to reveal more pragmatic transfer. Although Takahashi and Beebe's own study on refusals performed by Japanese EFL and ESL learners did not clearly demonstrate the predicted proficiency effect, some studies (e.g, Blum-Kulka, 1982; Cohen, 1997; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Hill, 1997; Olshtain & Cohen, 1989) have supported Takahashi and Beebe's notion that learners' limited target language knowledge prevents them from transferring native language pragmatic knowledge. For example, Cohen's (1997) account of his experience in a 4-month intensive Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) course indicates that despite his intended desire to violate target language norms and intentionally produce utterances in the L2 that observed pragmatic norms from his L1, he was unable to do so because he lacked sufficient Japanese linguistic resources, and his experience lends support to the positive correlation hypothesis. Hill's (1997) study also appears to support this hypothesis. An examination of sub-strategies for the realization of requestive speech acts and mitigators among EFL students revealed pragmalinguistic features that deviated from the target language norms, and manifested the influence of the first language.

   However, evidence contrary to Takahashi and Beebe's positive correlation hypothesis exists in the literature both on language transfer in general and on pragmatic transfer in particular (e.g., Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, & Ross, 1996; Takahashi & Dufon, 1989). Maeshiba et al.'s (1996) study on transfer of apology strategies involved intermediate and advanced Japanese-speaking ESL learners in Hawai'i. In addition to a production task, the researchers also asked participants to fill out a metapragmatic assessment questionnaire on seven contextual factors (i.e., obligation to

apologize, likelihood of acceptance of the apology, severity of offense, offender's face loss, offended person's face loss, social distance, and social dominance). The authors predicted that similar assessments of contextual variables should lead to positive transfer and different assessment to negative transfer. Their findings mostly confirmed their predictions. An important finding was that the advanced learners performed better than the intermediate group in both types of transfer, showing more positive transfer and less negative transfer. These results do not support the positive correlation hypothesis.

One possible explanation for the different outcomes of different studies could be related to the differences in the operationalization of language proficiency. Different measurement instruments are used to define proficiency levels. The advanced learners in Maeshiba et al.'s study, for example, may not correspond with advanced learners in other studies. Another explanation could be syntactic complexity of different speech acts used in different studies (Kasper & Rose, 2002). As observed by Kasper and Rose (2002), we should continue working with Takahashi and Beebe's hypothesis by looking for explanations for the conflicting findings offered by these studies

Since the study of Takahashi and Beebe (1987) was conducted, not only have there been few interlanguage pragmatic studies with explicit focus on L2 proficiency interacting with transfer, but also the range of languages studied has been narrow. In order to identify which aspects of L2 pragmatic development are due to cross-linguistic influence and which are due to the general process of L2 development, the comparison of data elicited from native speakers and learners at different proficiency levels who are acquiring the same target language is needed. Furthermore, whereas most work on ILP has centered on the speech acts of requests and apologies, more complex speech acts such as refusals have not received much attention. Additionally, as mentioned above, ESL and EFL learners potentially possess different learner characteristics, and they should be studied separately.

Refusals are complex speech acts often involving a long negotiated sequence, and their form and content vary depending on the eliciting speech act. Since failure to refuse appropriately can risk the interpersonal relations of the speakers, refusals usually include various strategies to avoid offending the interlocutor. However, criteria of sociocultural appropriateness of these strategies may vary across languages and cultures (Rubin, 1981). For L2 learners with linguistic limitations and incomplete knowledge of target language sociocultural norms, performing refusals successfully may require a higher level of pragmatic competence than other target language speech

acts. Therefore, pragmatic transfer is likely to occur as learners rely on their "deeply held native values" in carrying out complicated and face threatening speech acts like refusals (Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990, p. 68).

Based on the inconclusive findings on the relationship between pragmatic transfer and language proficiency, and in order to expand ILP studies to EFL contexts and to understudied EFL groups such as Iranians, the present study was carried out. The specific aim of the study is to find out (a) whether pragmatic transfer is displayed in refusals of Iranian EFL learners at different levels of proficiency, and (b) how its occurrence is related to learners' proficiency levels.

Method

Participants

One hundred and eighty-eight participants took part in this study: 40 Iranian native speakers of Persian in Tehran (NSP), 111 Iranian EFL learners in Tehran (EFL), and 37 native speakers of American English in Washington, DC (NSE). Within the Iranian EFL learner group, 22 subjects represented the beginning level (EFLB), 43 the intermediate level (EFLI), and 46 the advanced level (EFLA).

Native speakers of Persian group (NSP)

Forty native speakers of Persian from Medical Faculty of Tehran University took part in the study. They were reported to be monolingual speakers of Persian. There were 19 females and 21 males between 20 and 28 years of age.

American native speakers of English group (NSE)

Forty native speakers of American English took part in this study. Out of the 40 participants, 3 submitted incomplete DCTs; thus their responses were not considered. Of the remaining 37 participants, 12 were males and 25 were females between 18 and 25 years of age. All of them reported being monolingual speakers of English. All were university students studying different majors.

EFL Learners

Iranian EFL learners were recruited from a language institute in Tehran (Kowsar Institute affiliated with Tehran University) which offers beginning, intermediate, and advanced courses for TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language). The TOEFL assesses general English proficiency and is one of the most commonly used English proficiency tests in Iran.

Upon entering the institute, learners take a complete version of TOEFL. Based on their TOEFL scores, they are assigned to the beginning, intermediate, and advanced classes. Scores below 400 are placed in the beginning class, scores from 400 to 530 in the intermediate class, and scores above 530 in the advanced class. At the time of the data collection, 70 learners were enrolled in the beginning, 52 in the intermediate, and 48 in the advanced class. Of these participants, the following learners agreed to participate in this study: 22 learners in the beginning class, 43 in the intermediate class, and 46 in the advanced class. The age of the learners ranged from 19 to 40 (with the majority between 21 to 28). Sixty-four were males and 47 were females. Except for six learners, all of them were university students with various majors.

Data collection procedures

The instrument used in this study to collect the data was the written discourse completion task (DCT) of the dialogue completion type. Rejoinders were provided to assure that refusals would be provided (See Appendix A for the 12 DCT scenarios used in the current study). A DCT was employed because it is a controlled elicitation method which meets the demand for cross-cultural comparability (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; DeCapua, 1998; Rintell & Mitchell, 1989), and it allows researchers to control the variables of the situation (e.g., status of interlocutors) thereby providing a consistent body of data. Also, it is quick and efficient in gathering a large amount of data (Beebe & Cummings, 1996; Beebe et al., 1990; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Wolfson, 1989). Furthermore, as Yuan (2001) submits, "although the written DCT has its limitations, it would still be a preferable choice if the goal of a study is to describe the realization patterns of a particular speech act of a particular language at an initial stage" (p. 289). Moreover, according to Kasper and Rose (2002), in studies of pragmatic transfer where a range of data sets needs to be compared, authentic data may not be an option and elicited data or role plays are appropriate alternatives.

Twelve situations were taken from those used in the refusal studies by Takahashi and Beebe (1987) and Beebe et al. (1990). Some minor modifications were made to make the questionnaire appropriate for Iranian context. For example, in situation 4, "Next Sunday, my wife and I are having a little party ay my house…" was changed to "Next Friday, we are having …" to reflect the Iranian cultural norm that when inviting someone, husband and wife are considered as one unit and therefore the pronoun "we" will be used.

"Sunday" was changed to "Friday" to show the weekends based on Iranian calendar. The situations were categorized into four stimulus types eliciting a refusal: three requests, three invitations, three offers, and three suggestions. Each group required a refusal to a higher status person, one to a lower status person, and one to a status equal.

The native speakers of Persian were given the Persian version of the DCT. The translations were provided by one of the researchers who is a proficient bilingual in Persian and English and were checked by three bilingual faculty members for accuracy and fluency.

Furthermore, to provide more details on cultural values and norms of Persian speakers and the influence of L1 cultural norms on pragmatic transfer, a selected number of EFL learners from each of the three proficiency levels (10 from each level) was interviewed with regard to the perceived differences between their L1 and L2, the most difficult situations to refuse, and the transfer of L1 cultural and linguistic norms to L2 performance. The interviews were semi-structured, and the guiding principles for the interview questions were based on the strategies used to make refusals and the instances of pragmatic transfer in their responses. These interviews, conducted in Persian, elicited useful information on native speakers' views about, *ehteram* ('respect'), politeness, and *ta'arof* ('ritual politeness')*.* The informants were free to add any comments, anecdotes, or information they thought appropriate to the topics under discussion. The interviews started by preplanned questions, but soon the interaction developed into informal conversation about some other related topics. The relevant points in the interviews were recorded by the interviewer. Each interview lasted approximately 10–15 minutes.

Data analysis

Semantic formulas and taxonomy of refusals

Following the data analysis method used by other researchers (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1991; Beebe et al., 1990), the data were analyzed using semantic formulas as units of analysis. A semantic formula refers to "a word, phrase, or sentence that meets a particular semantic criterion or strategy; any one or more of these can be used to perform the act in question" (Cohen, 1996, p. 265). In coding refusals in terms of semantic formulas, the taxonomy of refusals formulated by Beebe et al. (1990) was used (see Appendix C). For example, in the situation where respondents had to refuse lending class notes to a classmate, a response such as "I'm sorry, my notes are not complete. Ahmad's notes are better. Why don't you ask

him?" was analyzed as consisting of three units: [expression of regret][explanation][offer of alternative]. In addition, a few new categories of semantic formula (e.g., use of address forms, statement of relinquishment, asking questions) were identified in the data from the present study (Appendix C).

Frequency of semantic formulas

After the coding was completed, the data were analyzed in terms of the frequency of the semantic formulas. For the purpose of reporting, all the frequencies were converted into percentages. The analysis of the frequency of semantic formulas consisted of three parts. First, the frequency of each semantic formula used by each of the three groups in each situation was compared (e.g., total number of reasons used by the Iranian learners of English in situation 2). For each group, the total number of a given semantic formula in each situation was converted into a percentage using the following calculation.

$$\frac{\text{total number of a given semantic formula used in a given situation} \times 100}{\text{total number of subjects in each group}} = \begin{array}{l}\text{frequency of}\\\text{semantic}\\\text{formula}\end{array}$$

The occurrence of pragmatic transfer was confirmed when the frequency of semantic formulas used by the Iranian EFL learners in their refusals differed from that of the native speakers of English and resembled that of the native speakers of Persian. This approach to transfer is based on Selinker's (1966, 1969) study which compared three linguistic systems of native langauge, interlanguage, and target langauge at the same time. Following Beebe et al. (1990), frequency counts of semantic formulas were considered to provide evidence of pragmatic transfer in situations where the frequency of DCT responses containing a given formula reflects any one of the following patterns:

- The frequency of responses of native speakers of Persian which contain a given semantic formula is the greatest, followed by the Iranian EFL learners' and the native English speakers' responses (i.e., NSP > EFL > NSE).

- The frequency of the native Persian speakers' responses containing a given semantic formula is the lowest, followed by the Iranian EFL learners' and the native English speakers' responses (i.e., NSP < EFL < NSE).

- The frequency of the native Persian speakers' responses containing a given semantic formula is equal to or almost equal to the Iranian EFL

learners' responses containing the formula. However, the frequency of the native English speakers' responses containing the given semantic formula is greater than the native Persian speakers' and Iranian EFL learners' responses (i.e., NSP ≈ EFL < NSE, where "≈" means "almost =").

- The frequency of the native Persian speakers' responses containing a given semantic formula is equal to or almost equal to the Iranian EFL learners' responses containing the formula. However, the frequency of the native English speakers' responses containing the given semantic formula is less than the Persian native speakers' and the Iranian EFL learners' responses (i.e., NSP ≈ EFL > NSE).

- The native Persian speakers and the Iranian EFL learners use a formula that the native English speakers do not.

- The native Persian speakers and the Iranian EFL learners do not use a formula that the native English speakers do.

Secondly, the frequency shift of semantic formulas used by the three groups according to the status of the interlocutors was examined (e.g., Did the high proficiency learners tend to apologize more to a higher status person than to a lower status person, while the native speakers of English tend to apologize with similar frequency regardless of the status of the interlocutor?). Pragmatic transfer was considered present with regard to the frequency shift of the Iranian EFL learners if the native speakers of Persian and the Iranian EFL learners had a similar range of difference in responses to interlocutors of different status, whereas the range of difference given by the native speakers of English in responses to interlocutors of different status was less or greater than that of the native speakers and the Iranian EFL group. The frequency shift of a given semantic formula, then, refers to the range of difference in the frequency of formulas used with the lower and higher status interlocutor by different groups. In order to have rigorous and consistent criteria for the occurrence of transfer, the following criteria were established to determine whether a condition for pragmatic transfer was present.

- Only those semantic formulas which were used toward all three status types by both native speakers of Persian and English were considered in the analysis of the frequency shift.

- A condition for pragmatic transfer was considered present if the difference in the range of the proportion of the native speakers of Persian that used a given semantic formula based on the status of the

interlocutor was 20 percentage points greater than the difference in the range of the proportion of the native speakers of English that used the same formula, or vice versa.

Pragmatic transfer in the content of semantic formulas

The occurrence of pragmatic transfer was confirmed when the content of semantic formulas used by the Iranian EFL learners in each of the 12 DCT situations differed from that of the native speakers of English, and resembled that of the native speakers of Persian, which reflects influence from their native language. The analysis focused on any difference in the type of reasons, adjuncts, and direct formulas used by the three groups. Also, pragmatic transfer was considered to be present if the learners used certain types of reasons, adjuncts, and direct formulas which existed in the native Persian speakers' data, but were nonexistent in the native English speakers' data. The information gained from post-DCT interviews was used to shed more light on the pragmatic transfer in the content of semantic formulas.

Results

In order to detect the occurrences of pragmatic transfer, the frequency of semantic formulas used by native speakers of Persian and English and by the three groups of learners was analyzed. First, the frequency of each semantic formula used by each of the three learner groups in response to situations in each eliciting speech act was compared to those of target and native language groups. Second, in each eliciting act, the frequency shift of semantic formulas used by the three groups according to the status of the interlocutors was examined, and compared to those of target and native language groups. Finally, the pragmatic transfer in the content of semantic formulas was examined.

Pragmatic transfer in the frequency of semantic formulas

The occurrence of pragmatic transfer was confirmed when the frequency of semantic formulas used by the Iranian EFL learners in their refusals differed from that of the native speakers of English, and resembled that of the native speakers of Persian. Any of the patterns mentioned above reflected evidence of pragmatic transfer. Further, conditions for pragmatic transfer were considered present when differences in total frequency count existed between native Persian speakers and American English speakers. However, pragmatic transfer did not actually occur in all cases where condition for pragmatic transfer existed. Pragmatic transfer was observed in

refusals to all four types of initiating speech acts: requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions. The data are presented in Tables 1–4.

Requests

There were 30 instances in the baseline data in which Iranians and Americans differed in the frequency of semantic formulas used in refusing requests, thus providing conditions for pragmatic transfer to occur. Instances of pragmatic transfer occurred for only 12 of these formulas. This is shown in Table 1.

Cross-cultural differences between Persian speakers and American speakers of English were found in the frequency of direct formulas used by each group, providing a possibility for pragmatic transfer. As shown in Table 1, Persian native speakers used direct formulas less frequently than Americans when refusing requests. Following the native language norm, beginning and advanced learners also used direct formulas less frequently than Americans. Further, native speakers of Persian used avoidance strategies such as asking questions (e.g., *hætmæn bayæd ɛmruz tæmumɛš konim*[1]*?* 'Do we absolutely have to finish it today?'), and statement of alternatives (e.g., *æz Mæhin ghærz kon, Jozvash xeli morætæbɛ* 'Get Mahin's notes, her notes are very well organized'), while Americans did not. However, Persian speakers did not use apologies as frequently as Americans in refusing requests. The use of these formulas was transferred into the English language use of learners at different proficiency levels (see Table 1).

The frequencies of occurrence of other indirect refusal strategies such as explanations/reasons and postponement strategies (e.g., *šærmændɛ, mituni yeki do mah sæbr koni oza behtær šɛ*? 'I am ashamed. Can you wait a couple of more months till things get better?') provide additional evidence of pragmatic transfer. Iranians used these indirect refusal strategies much more frequently when refusing requests than Americans. Iranian learners of English, following their L1 norms, also used these formulas more frequently than Americans, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer.

As far as adjuncts are concerned, as seen in Table 1, native speakers of Persian (NSP) stated positive feelings more frequently than Americans. Beginner and intermediate learners' use of this strategy was somewhere between the L1 and L2 groups, while advanced learners showed evidence of transfer by following native language patterns. Pause fillers were also used much more frequently by Iranians than Americans. The advanced learners, similar to native speakers of Persian, used pause fillers much more frequently than beginner or intermediate learners showing a greater degree

Table 1. Frequency of semantic formulas used in refusals of requests among learners and native speakers

situation: request	refuser status	semantic formula	frequency (%) (percentage of each group that used a given formula)					pattern
			NSP (n=40)	EFLB (n=22)	EFLI (n=43)	EFLA (n=46)	NSE (n=37)	
stay late at office	lower	direct formula	8	18*	19*	17*	40	NSP < EFLs < NSE
stay late at office	lower	asking questions	5	0	0	4*	0	NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
stay late at office	lower	pause fillers	20	9*	14*	17*	3	NSP > EFLs > NSE
borrow class notes	equal	reason	88	82*	60	72	70	NSP > EFLB > NSE
borrow class notes	equal	pause fillers	13	9*	5*	17*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
request raise	higher	direct formulas	38	41*	50	40*	49	NSP < EFLB < NSE / NSP < EFLA < NSE
request raise	higher	apology	8	14*	47	30*	46	NSP < EFLB < NSE / NSP < EFLA < NSE
request raise	higher	alternative	10	15*	9*	7*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
request raise	higher	postponement	48	19*	9*	24*	3	NSP > EFLs > NSE
request raise	higher	positive opinion	54	14	26	53*	32	NSP ≈ EFLA > NSE
request raise	higher	empathy	30	15*	19*	28*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
request raise	higher	pause fillers	30	0	7	20*	8	NSP > EFLA > NSE

notes: * indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer
NSP Native Speakers of Persian
EFLB English as a Foreign Language Beginning
EFLI English as a Foreign Language Intermediate
EFLA English as a Foreign Language Advanced
NSE Native Speakers of English

Table 2. Frequency of semantic formulas used in refusals of invitations among learners and native speakers

situation: invitation	refuser status	semantic formula	frequency (%) (percentage of each group that used a given formula)					pattern
			NSP (n=40)	EFLB (n=22)	EFLI (n=43)	EFLA (n=46)	NSE (n=37)	
boss' party	lower	direct formula	38	36*	19	30*	24	NSP > EFLB > NSE NSP > EFLA > NSE
boss' party	lower	excuse	23	0	9	15*	11	NSP > EFLA > NSE
boss' party	lower	apologies	65	23	63*	65*	35	NSP = EFLI > NSE P NSP ≈ EFLA > NSE
boss' party	lower	alternative	13	5*	0	0	0	NSP & EFLB yes vs. NSE no
boss' party	lower	hedging	15	0	5*	9*	0	NSP & EFLI yes vs. NSE no NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
boss' party	lower	pause fillers	18	9	12*	13*	8	NSP > EFLI > NSE NSP > EFLA > NSE
boss' party	lower	postponement	38	0	9*	15*	5	NSP > EFLI > NSE NSP > EFLA > NSE
boss' party	lower	positive opinion	15	14*	21	37	22	NSP < EFLB < NSE
boss' party	lower	gratitute	5	9*	5*	15*	22	NSP < EFLB < NSE NSP ≈ EFLI < NSE NSP < EFLA < NSE

Table 2. Frequency of semantic formulas used in refusals of invitations among learners and native speakers
(cont.)

boss' party	lower	address forms	23	9*	7*	24*	3	NSP > EFLB > NSE NSP > EFLI > NSE NSP ≈ EFLA > NSE
friend's invitation	equal	direct formulas	35	20	32*	33*	27	NSP > EFLI > NSE NSP > EFLA > NSE
friend's invitation	equal	promise of future acceptance	8	0	0	4*	0	NSP& EFLAs yes vs. NSE no
friend's invitation	equal	hedging	20	9*	0	7*	0	NSP & EFLB yes vs. NSE no NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
friend's invitation	equal	positive opinion	3	23	7*	30	11	NSP < EFLI < NSE
friend's invitation	equal	gratitude	5	5*	9*	17*	30	NSP ≈ EFLB < NSE NSP < EFLI < NSE NSP<EFLA<NSE
salesman's invitation	higher	alterenative	13	5*	7*	13*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
salesman's invitation	higher	hedging	10	0	7*	7*	0	NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no NSP & EFLI yes vs. NSE no
salesman's invitation	higher	postponement	15	*9	7*	2	3	NSP > EFLB > NSE NSP > EFLI > NSE

| salesman's invitation | higher | positive opinion | 3 | 9* | 9* | 17 | 11 | NSP < EFLB < NSE
NSP < EFLI <NSE |
| salesman's invitation | higher | pause fillers | 18 | 0 | 2 | 11* | 3 | NSP > EFLA > NSE |

notes: * indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer
NSP   Native Speakers of Persian   EFLI   English as a Foreign Language Intermediate
EFLB English as a Foreign Language Beginning EFLA   English as a Foreign Language Advanced
                                               NSE   Native Speakers of English

Table 3.   Frequency of semantic formulas used in refusals of offers among learners and native speakers

situation: offers	refuser status	semantic formula	frequency (%) (percentage of each group that used a given formula)					pattern
			NSP (n=40)	EFLB (n=22)	EFLI (n=43)	EFLA (n=46)	NSE (n=37)	
promotion and move	lower	direct formulas	62	50*	53*	58*	45	NSP > EFLs> NSE
promotion and move	lower	reason	83	68*	72*	74*	60	NSP > EFLs > NSE
promotion and move	lower	alternative	10	9*	0	0	3	NSP = EFLB > NSE
promotion and move	lower	set conditions for future acceptance	8	0	0	7*	0	NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
promotion and move	lower	postponement	10	9*	16	11*	5	NSP ≈ EFLB > NSE NSP ≈ EFLA > NSE

Table 3.   Frequency of semantic formulas used in refusals of offers among learners and native speakers (*cont.*)

Situation	Level	Formula						Comparison
promotion and move	lower	positive opinion	13	0	0	4*	0	NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
promotion and move	lower	pause fillers	45	27*	19*	24*	3	NSP > EFLs > NSE
promotion and move	lower	gratitude	15	27*	28*	26*	38*	NSP < EFLs < NSE
cake 1st refusal	equal	apologies	3	0	0	4*	0	NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
cake 1st refusal	equal	reason	93	59*	70*	61*	35	NSP > EFLs > NSE
cake 2nd refusal	equal	apologies	10	9*	14*	15*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
cake 2nd refusal	equal	alternatives	5	5*	0	4*	0	NSP & EFLB yes vs. NSE no NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
cake 2nd refusal	equal	criticism	8	5*	7*	4*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
pay for broken vase	higher	alternative	23	0	14*	13*	5	NSP > EFLI > NSE NSP > EFLA > NSE
pay for broken vase	higher	statement of philosophy	15	0	0	11*	0	NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
pay for broken vase	higher	positive opinion	5	9*	5*	11*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
pay for broken vase	higher	pause fillers	13	0	7*	11*	3	NSP > EFLI > NSE NSP > EFLA >NSE

| pay for broken vase | higher | statement of relinquishment | 13 | | 0 | 0 | 7* | 0 | NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no |
| promotion and move | lower | direct formulas | 62 | 50* | 53* | 58* | 45 | NSP > EFLs> NSE |

Table 4. Frequency of semantic formulas used in refusals of suggestions among learners and native speakers

situation: suggestions	refuser status	semantic formula	frequency (%) (percentage of each group that used a given formula)					pattern
			NSP (n=40)	EFLB (n=22)	EFLI (n=43)	EFLA (n=46)	NSE (n=37)	
write notes	lower	apologies	3	5*	16*	11*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
write notes	lower	alternative	15	0	0	11*	3	NSP > EFLA > NSE
write notes	lower	promise of future acceptance	10	0	7*	0	0	NSP & EFLI yes vs. NSE no
write notes	lower	postponement	15	5*	9*	13*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
write notes	lower	joke	0	0*	0*	0*	24	NSP & EFLs no vs. NSE yes
write notes	lower	positive opinion	23	5	12*	20*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
write notes	lower	pause fillers	15	0	2	11*	8	NSP > EFLA > NSE

Table 4. Frequency of semantic formulas used in refusals of suggestions among learners and native speakers *(cont.)*

write notes	lower	gratitude	5	0	14*	22*	32	NSP < EFLI < NSE NSP < EFLA < NSE
try a new diet	equal	apologies	5	5*	5*	4*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
try a new diet	equal	postponement	26	0	12*	18*	0	NSP & EFLI yes vs. NSE no NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
try a new diet	equal	pause fillers	13	5*	9*	17*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
more conversation	higher	positive opinion	35	5*	9*	24*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no
more conversation	higher	gratitude	3	5*	12	11	14	NSP < EFLB < NSE
more conversation	higher	reason	20	0	12	22*	11	NSP = EFLA > NSE
more conversation	higher	request for empathy	13	0	7*	11*	0	NSP & EFLI yes vs. NSE no NSP & EFLA yes vs. NSE no
write notes	lower	apologies	3	5*	16*	11*	0	NSP & EFLs yes vs. NSE no

notes: * indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer
NSP   Native Speakers of Persian
EFLB   English as a Foreign Language Beginning
EFLI   English as a Foreign Language Intermediate
EFLA   English as a Foreign Language Advanced
NSE   Native Speakers of English

of pragmatic transfer. Further, native speakers of Persian showed frequent use of empathy in their refusals to the lower interlocutor requests for a raise while Americans did not use this strategy. Following the native norm, learners used empathy more frequently than native speakers of English, showing evidence of transfer, with advanced learners showing the most resemblance to Persian language use.

As shown in Table 1, native speakers of Persian used many more adjuncts (pause fillers, positive opinion, and empathy) in refusing requests than American speakers of English, and this tendency was transferred in the use of English by Iranian EFL learners at different proficiency levels with the advanced learners showing the most cases of transfer. Therefore, native speakers of Persian not only used fewer direct strategies to refuse a request, but also used more adjuncts. This pattern of language use was transferred to the language use of learners at different proficiency levels. Finally, in refusals to requests there were 9 instances of pragmatic transfer for beginners, 6 for intermediate, and 11 for advanced learners (see Table 1).

Invitations

In refusing invitations, out of 30 cases in the baseline data in which pragmatic transfer could occur, instances of pragmatic transfer were observed only in 20 cases, as shown in Table 2.

In contrast to refusing requests, in refusals to invitations, Iranians used more direct strategies than Americans. Advanced and beginner learners also used direct formulas more frequently than Americans, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer. Intermediate learners used them as frequently as Americans, showing convergence towards target language norms. Moreover, Iranians used alternatives, hedging, and promises in refusing invitations, whereas Americans did not. Learners at intermediate and advanced level transferred these formulas in their L2 refusals. Iranians favored the statement of apology more than Americans and this was transferred to intermediate and advanced learners' use of English language. Persian speakers used postponement strategies (e.g., *mikonæm væ betun xæbær midæm* 'I will talk to my wife and will let you know') much more frequently than Americans. Although intermediate and advanced learners also used postponement strategies more frequently than Americans, they used the formula much less frequently than native Persian speakers, suggesting convergence toward the target language norm.

As far as adjuncts are concerned, Americans expressed gratitude much more frequently than Iranians in refusing a friend's invitation to a dinner party. Iranian learners at different proficiency levels followed their native

language norms and used less gratitude strategies, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer. Also Iranians used address forms in refusing the boss' party much more frequently than Americans (e.g., *aqaye ræ'is* 'Mr. boss'). This pattern was followed by all three groups of learners showing evidence of transfer, while advanced learners used them almost as frequently as native Persian speakers, showing the greatest degree of pragmatic transfer. Following native language norms, intermediate and advanced learners used pause fillers more than Americans. Native Persian speakers stated positive feeling less frequently than Americans. Learners at beginner and intermediate levels followed their L1 norm, showing evidence of transfer. All together, in contrast to refusing requests, Iranians used fewer adjuncts in their refusals of invitations than Americans. This pattern was followed by learners at different proficiency levels.

As shown in Table 2, in refusing invitations there were 10 cases of transfer by beginner, 13 by intermediate, and 15 by advanced learners. Therefore, the advanced learners showed the highest amount of pragmatic transfer. All together, in contrast to refusing requests, Iranians used fewer adjuncts in their refusals of invitations than Americans. This pattern was followed by learners at different proficiency levels.

Offers

In refusing offers there were 43 cases in the baseline data in which native speakers of Persian and American English speakers differed in the frequency of semantic formulas used, thus providing conditions for pragmatic transfer to occur. Instances of pragmatic transfer occurred in only 16 cases, and this is illustrated in Table 3.

As shown in Table 3, similar to refusing invitations and different from refusal of requests, when refusing offers Iranians used direct formulas more frequently than Americans. This pattern was transferred to the refusals of offers made by learners at all proficiency levels. Further, Iranians provided reasons more frequently than Americans. Learners at different proficiency levels also provided reasons more frequently than Americans, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer. Similar patterns and evidence of transfer were used in the use of alternatives by learners at all proficiency levels.

Apologies, criticism, statement of philosophy, and statement of relinquishment (e.g., *hala kɛ kar æz kar gozæštɛ* 'What's happened, has happened.') were additional formulas used by Iranians and Iranian learners of English but not by Americans. Also Iranians set conditions for future acceptance, while Americans did not. Only advanced learners transferred this formula in their use of English language. Iranians also favored the use of

postponement strategies more than Americans and this was transferred to the target language use of the beginning and advance learners.

As far as adjuncts are concerned, Iranians favored the use of positive opinion (e.g., x*odɛt kɛ tori næšodi* 'Nothing happened to you, did it?'), and pause fillers (e.g., x*ob* 'okay,' *valla* 'to God,' *bɛbinæm* 'I shall see') more frequently than Americans and this was transferred to the target language use of the learners at different proficiency levels. However, Iranians expressed gratitude much less frequently than Americans, just as they refused invitations less frequently. Finally, in refusals to offers, there were 11 instances of pragmatic transfer for beginning learners, 9 for intermediate, and 15 for advanced learners. Therefore, the advanced learners showed the highest amount of pragmatic transfer.

Suggestions

There were 45 cases in the baseline data in which Iranians and Americans differed in the frequency of semantic formulas used in refusing suggestions, thus providing conditions for pragmatic transfer to occur. Instances of pragmatic transfer occurred in 15 of these, as shown in the frequency patterns listed in Table 4.

Native speakers of Persian used apology in their refusals while American English speakers did not. Iranian learners followed the norms of their L1 in apologizing, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer. Iranians also used promises and postponement strategies by asking questions (*vaqɛ'æn mo'æsɛrɛ?* 'Does it really work?'), while these formulas were not used by Americans. Both formulas were transferred to the target language use of learners at different proficiency levels. Persian speakers requested empathy by seeking approval (e.g., *ino ke qæbul dari*? 'Wouldn't you agree with me?'), while Americans did not use this strategy. This formula was transferred by intermediate and advanced learners but not by beginning learners. Iranians also favored the use of alternatives more than Americans and this was transferred to the target language use of the advance learners.

Regarding adjuncts, Persian speakers showed positive opinion by initial agreement (e.g., *bæælɛ, væli midunid...* 'Yes, but...'), while Americans did not use this strategy. Learners at different proficiency levels transferred the use of this formula to their English language use. Persian speakers used pause fillers more frequently than Americans. Only advanced learners transferred this strategy to their target language use. Also, as was the case in refusing invitations and offers, Persian speakers expressed gratitude less frequently than Americans. This pattern was transferred to the use of target language by intermediate and advanced learners.

There were 7 cases of transfer by beginners, 11 cases by intermediate, and 13 cases by advanced learners. Therefore, advanced learners showed the strongest tendency to transfer their native language norms into the perfomance of target language refusal strategies.

Frequency shift in semantic formulas based on status

The range of difference in the frequency of semantic formulas used with lower and higher status interlocutors (*frequency shift*) by different groups of participants is another source of evidence for pragmatic transfer. Native speakers of Persian displayed a high level of frequency shift in their use of several semantic formulas based on the status of the interlocutor. However, native speakers of English did not show a high level of frequency shift of the use of formulas based on the interlocutors' status, and therefore, did not seem to be sensitive to a certain status type.

Requests

In refusing requests, cross-cultural differences between native Persian speakers and American English speakers were found in their different frequency use of direct formulas and apologies across the various status types. A condition for pragmatic transfer was considered present in the frequency shift of direct formulas and apologies since only these two semantic formulas met our two established criteria to account for frequency shift.

Table 5. **Percentage of frequency shift of direct formulas when refusing requests among learners and native speakers**

groups	*n*	to a higher status person (%)	to an equal status person (%)	to a lower status person (%)
NSP	40	8	33	38
NSE	37	40	43	49
EFLA	46	17	54	56
EFLI	43	19	44	50
EFLB	22	18	23	41

notes: NSP Native Speakers of Persian
NSE Native Speakers of English
EFLA English as a Foreign Language Advanced
EFLI English as a Foreign Language Intermediate
EFLB English as a Foreign Language Beginning

Persian speakers used direct formulas much less frequently to a higher status than to an equal or a lower status interlocutor, while Americans used

these strategies with similar frequency across the three status types. When refusing a higher status person, Persian speakers' use of direct formulas decreased by 25% over an equal status, and 30% over a lower status interlocutor. For Americans, when refusing a higher status person, the direct formulas used decreased by only 3% over an equal status person, and 9% over a lower status person, as shown in Table 5.

When transferring Persian L1 sensitivity to a higher status person, the learners used direct formulas noticeably less frequently to a higher status person than to other status types. Specifically, beginner learners' use of direct formulas, when refusing a higher status person, decreased by 5% over an equal status person, and 23% over a lower status person. Intermediate learners' use of direct formulas in refusing a higher status person decreased by 25% over an equal status person and 31% over a lower status person. Advanced learners' use of direct formulas in refusing a higher status person decreased by 37% over an equal status person, and 39% over a lower status person. The highest amount of transfer was observed among the advanced learners of English.

Table 6. **Percentage of frequency shift of apology when refusing requests among learners and native speakers**

group	*n*	to a higher status person (%)	to an equal status person (%)	to a lower status person (%)
NSP	40	55	48	15
NSE	37	54	54	46
EFLA	46	72	70	39
EFLI	43	65	58	47
EFLB	22	64	55	14

notes: NSP   Native Speakers of Persian
NSE   Native Speakers of English
EFLA English as a Foreign Language Advanced
EFLI   English as a Foreign Language Intermediate
EFLB English as a Foreign Language Beginning

Cross-cultural differences between Persian speakers and American English speakers in the frequency shift were also found in their use of apology in requests. Both groups apologized more frequently to a higher and equal status person than to a lower status person. However, the range of difference in the frequency of apology used between a higher and a lower status person was much greater for Iranians than Americans, which indicates Persian speakers' high sensitivity to status. Native Persian speakers' use of

apology when refusing a higher status person increased by 7% over an equal status person, and 40% over a lower status person. On the other hand, Americans apologized with the same frequency to a higher and an equal status person, while their apology to a lower status person decreased by only 8%. Following L1 frequency shift pattern of apology, the intermediate learners also showed more noticeable frequency shift, especially between a higher and a lower status person than American English speakers, as illustrated in Table 6.

Beginning learners' use of apology when refusing a higher status person increased by 9% over an equal status person, and 50% over a lower status person. Intermediate learners' use of apology in refusing a higher status person increased by 7% over an equal status person, and 18% over a lower status person. Advanced learners' use of apology in refusing a higher status person also increased by 2% over an equal status person, and 33% over a lower status person.

Finally, in terms of the frequency shift in refusals of requests, there were two instances of pragmatic transfer for beginning learners, two for intermediate learners, and two for advanced learners.

Invitations

In refusing invitations, cross-cultural differences between Persian speakers and Americans in the frequency shift were found in their use of apology and postponement strategies. Persian speakers apologized most frequently to a higher status person, while least frequently to a lower status person. Similarly, Americans also apologized more frequently to a higher and an equal status person than to a lower status person. However, the range of difference in the frequency of apology used between a higher and a lower status person was much greater for Persian speakers than American English speakers, showing evidence of Persian speakers' higher sensitivity to status differences. Persian speakers' use of apology when refusing a higher status person increased by 17% over an equal status person, and 37% over a lower status person. However, Americans' use of apology to a higher and an equal status person increased by only 8% over a lower status person, as shown in Table 7.

According to Table 7, among the learners, only the advanced learners transferred their L1 frequency shift pattern between a higher and a lower status person. Advanced learners' use of apology to a higher status person increased by 5% over an equal status person, and 22% over a lower status person.

Table 7.   Percentage of frequency shift of apology when refusing invitations among learners and native speakers

group	*n*	to a higher status person (%)	to an equal status person (%)	to a lower status person (%)
NSP	40	65	48	28
NSE	37	35	35	27
EFLA	46	65	60	43
EFLI	43	64	72	53
EFLB	22	23	68	55

notes: NSP   Native Speakers of Persian
NSE   Native Speakers of English
EFLA   English as a Foreign Language Advanced
EFLI   English as a Foreign Language Intermediate
EFLB   English as a Foreign Language Beginning

Cross-cultural differences between Persian speakers and English speakers in the frequency shift were also found in their use of postponement strategies in invitations, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8.   Percentage of frequency shift of postponement when refusing invitations among learners and native speakers

group	*n*	to a higher status person (%)	to an equal status person (%)	to a lower status person (%)
NSP	40	38	23	15
NSE	37	5	3	3
EFLA	46	15	4	2
EFLI	43	9	7	7
EFLB	22	0	0	9

notes: NSP   Native Speakers of Persian
NSE   Native Speakers of English
EFLA   English as a Foreign Language Advanced
EFLI   English as a Foreign Language Intermediate
EFLB   English as a Foreign Language Beginning

Both Persian speakers and English speakers used postponement strategies more frequently to a higher status person than to an equal and a lower status person. However, the two language groups differed in that Persian speakers noticeably shifted frequency of postponement between a higher and lower status person, while Americans did not show this degree of status sensitivity. Persian speakers' use of postponement strategies to a higher status person increased by 15% over an equal status person, and

23% over a lower status person. English speakers' use of postponement strategies to a higher status person increased by only 2% over both an equal and lower status person. Among the learners, only advanced learners reflected the frequency shift pattern of their L1 (See Table 8). Advanced learners' use of postponement strategies to a higher status person increased by 11% over an equal status person, and 13% over a lower status person.

Finally, in terms of the frequency shift in refusals of invitations, there were two instances of pragmatic transfer for advanced learners only.

Offers

In refusing offers, cross-cultural differences between Persian speakers and English speakers in the frequency shift were only found in their use of positive statements, and this is displayed in Table 9.

Table 9. **Percentage of frequency shift of positive opinion when refusing offers among learners and native speakers**

group	*n*	to a higher status person (%)	to an equal status person (%)	to a lower status person (%)
NSP	40	0	25	13
NSE	37	3	3	3
EFLA	46	24	4	11
EFLI	43	19	5	7
EFLB	22	27	0	0

notes: NSP   Native Speakers of Persian
NSE   Native Speakers of English
EFLA   English as a Foreign Language Advanced
EFLI   English as a Foreign Language Intermediate
EFLB   English as a Foreign Language Beginning

As shown in Table 9, Persian speakers provided positive statements most frequently to a higher status person and least frequently to a lower status person, while Americans did not show any difference based on the interlocutors' status. Persian speakers' use of this strategy increased when refusing a higher status person by 20% over an equal status person, and 32% over a lower status person. When transferring L1 sensitivity to a higher status person, the learners provided positive statements much more frequently to a higher status person than other status types. More specifically, beginning learners provided positive statements only to a higher status person. Intermediate learners' use of positive statement to a higher status person increased by 14% over an equal status person, and 12% over a lower status person. Advanced learners' use of this formula to a higher

status person increased by 20% over an equal status person, and 13% over a lower status person.

Finally, in terms of frequency shift in refusals to offers, there was one instance of pragmatic transfer for beginners, one for intermediate, and one for advanced learners.

Suggestions

In refusing suggestions, cross-cultural differences between Persian speakers and English speakers in the frequency shift were not found. Four categories of semantic formulas, including direct formulas, reasons, statement of alternative, and gratitude, met the first criterion in that they were used towards all three status types by both native speakers of Persian and English. However, these formulas did not meet the second criterion. That is, the difference in the range of the proportion of native speakers of Persian that used a given semantic formula based on different status was not less than 20 percentage points than the difference in the range of the proportion of native speakers of English that used the same formula, or vise versa. Therefore, a condition for pragmatic transfer in the frequency shift was considered absent in suggestions.

In sum, this section examined cross-cultural differences in the frequency shift of semantic formulas used by native speakers of Persian and English in requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions. Persian speakers and EFL learners of English tended to use highly different frequency of formulas to a higher status person compared to the low status person, suggesting status sensitivity. However, this sensitivity to a certain status was not observed by American speakers of English.

All together, there were five cases in the baseline data in which Persian speakers and English speakers showed differences in the frequency shift, thus providing conditions for pragmatic transfer. In these five cases, there were three instances of pragmatic transfer for beginners, three for intermediate, and five for advanced learners.

Content analysis

Evidence of pragmatic transfer was found in the actual content of semantic formulas including types of reasons, adjuncts, and direct formulas used by Iranian EFL learners at three levels of proficiency. Native Persian speakers and advanced learners used the highest amount of semantic formulas in their refusals. The total number of semantic formulas used by native speakers of Persian was 1,230 ($n = 40$; 30.75%), beginning learners, 461 ($n = 22$, 20.95%); intermediate, 1136 ($n = 43$, 26.41%); advanced

learners, 1558 (*n* = 46, 33.86), and American English speakers, 999 (*n* = 37, 27%). Advanced learners were, in general, more verbose than native speakers of Persian or English. They elaborated and mitigated their refusals by using the preferred semantic formulas of both Persian and English, as shown in example (1).

(1) Advanced learner of English as a Foreign Language (FLA #21)
Thank you for inviting me. It is an honor to be invited by you. But I wish I knew before and not promise someone else, now I will contact them and if possible I will make changes to come to your party.

As shown in the example in (1), in refusing invitations from a higher and an equal status person, advanced learners, not only conveyed a hesitant and regretful tone by using their native language preferred formulas (e.g., hedging, positive opinion formulas, explanation, promise, statement of alternative, statement of acknowledgement), but they also conveyed an appreciative and positive tone by employing target language preferred formulas including gratitude for additional mitigation. Our finding is consistent with Bergman and Kasper's (1993) observation that nonnative speakers tend to do too much of a good thing, a phenomenon labeled "waffling" by (Edmondson & House, 1991) and "gushing" by House (1988).

Of special interest and relevance is the content of reasons, ostensible speech acts, literal versus functional translation, and pragmatic tone. Each one of these will be discussed below.

Content of reasons

Although both Persian and English speakers used reasons in their refusals, the content of reasons given by each group differed, providing the condition for pragmatic transfer. In fact, the learners at all three levels relied on their L1 when offering reasons in English, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer. For example, in refusing requests and invitations from a higher status person, Americans usually referred to plans with their spouses or their children, while Persian speakers typically mentioned dinner with parents, in-laws, or sickness of parents. The learner groups also frequently mentioned plans with parents or sickness of parents in their target refusal, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer at all three proficiency levels.

The frequent use of parents as their reasons for refusing a boss may be explained by Persian speakers' higher sensitivity to a higher status person. In the interviews, the Persian speakers mentioned refusals to higher status person as being the most difficult. The learners mentioned that in English they were not able to express intended respect due to their lack of

proficiency, while in Persian they would be able to use appropriate expressions such as singular and plural pronouns and grammatical ending for verbs. Interviewees frequently mentioned that since refusing a boss could have serious consequences, they had to come up with reasons which involved matters that were absolutely more urgent than accepting the boss' request. For Iranians, mentioning their duty and piety for their parents, which holds a major place in Iranian values, could be considered more important than meeting a boss' request.

Also, similar to Japanese refusals (Beebe et al., 1990), the explanations given by Iranians were, in most cases, less specific as to place, time, and parties involved than American explanations. In refusing a friend's invitation some typical (highly frequent) refusals by Persian speakers included the examples below.

(2) Native speaker of Persian (participant #9)

```
vala    fɛkr konæm kɛ  unšæb      xanumæm goft yɛ
by-God think I-do that that-night wife-my said one

ja'i      ghærar    darim. hala čɛk    mikonæmo bɛtun
somewhere appointment have-we but  check do-I-and to-you

xabær midæm
news  give-I'
```

'Well, I believe my wife told me that we are invited somewhere that night. I'll check with her and let you know.'

(3) Native speaker of Persian (participant #20)

```
bɛbin    ma unšæb     yɛ ja'i     qærar      darim
see-you we that-night one somewhere appointment have-we

yɛ vaqtɛ digɛ ghærar     mizarim šoma biyayn xunɛyɛ ma
one time  other appointment take-we you   come   home  our
```

'Look, we are invited somewhere that night. We'll make plans some other time and you will come over to our place.'

Below are some examples from advanced learners.

(4) Advanced learner of English as a Foreign Language (FLA #10)
'Well, I might have something planned in advance.'

(5) Advanced learner of English as a Foreign Language (FLA #5)
'I'd love to, but I think my wife said we are invited somewhere that night.'

Use of ostensible speech acts[2]

A highly frequent refusal formula used by Persian speakers and learners was the use of speech acts that were issued out of politeness but were not meant to be taken seriously (ostensible). The result of the interviews with

Iranian participants supports the ostensibility of these speech acts. In their refusals, Iranians made promises that were not necessarily meant to be kept, made invitations that were not genuine, and promised future acceptance of offers that were not serious (see example# 6 below). In Iranian culture, compared to most western societies, when it comes to politeness, it is generally more important to appear polite and pleasing than to be sincere (Eslami, 2005). Therefore, ostensible invitations, ostensible refusals, and ostensible promises are frequently made to maintain or enhance interlocutors' face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). According to Beeman (1986), regarding Iranian culture, sincerity seems to be a cross-cultural variable. In many societies sincerity is highly valued for all people at all times and it is expected that affectivity and its outward expression will normally be congruent. In other societies, people expect some discontinuity between emotion and expression and may devote a great deal of social energy to sorting out sincere from insincere.

(6) Native speaker of Persian (participant # 30)

```
xeli mæmnun mæn ziyadi xordæmo   vaghæn siræm
very thank  I    very   ate-I-and really full-I

xeli xošmæzɛ  bud hala bædæn yɛ kæmi
very delicious was now  later a  little

digɛ bærmidaram
more take-I
```

'Thanks a lot. I have really eaten too much. It was very delicious. I'll take some more later.'

In refusing invitations the following were typical refusal responses.

(7) Native speaker of Persian (participant #5)

```
ɛftɛxarɛ kɛ dær  xɛdmætɛtun        bašim xeli mæmnun æz
honor    is that in-service-your be-us very thank   from

lotfɛtun      væli motɛæsɛfanɛ  pɛdæræm halɛš        xub
kindness-your but unfortunately father-my feeling-his good

nisto    bimarɛstan bæstæriyɛ       ghærarɛ     kɛ   mæn
not-is-and hospital  is-hospitalized supposed-is that I

un  šæb pišɛš   bašæm enšaala    bayæd šoma tæšrif
that night with-him be-I God-willing must you  take

biyarin      mænzɛlɛ ma ta   æz  xɛjalætɛtun
presence-you house  our until from embarrassment-your

dær biyaym
out come-we
```

'It is an honor to be at your service. I am really grateful for your kindness but unfortunately, my father is not feeling well and is hospitalized. I am

supposed to stay with him that night. Hopefully you will come over (polite) to our place sometime soon.'

In refusing an invitation from a salesman, for example, a highly frequent formula used by both native Persian speakers and Persian learners of English was the promise to get in touch.

(8) Advanced learner of English as a Foreign Language (FLA #22):
'Well, thank you for the offer, but I'm really busy these days. I'll call you later.'

Finally, during the interviews the participants mentioned that they did not mean their invitations and plans to talk to their wives to be taken seriously and it would be a hint that the response is a refusal.

Literal and functional translation

Some pragmatic transfer occurred in terms of literal word-for-word translation. For example, the beginning learners literally translated the strong Persian apology formula *šærmændɛh* 'I am ashamed.' to show the intensity of their apology when apologizing to a higher status interlocutor (Eslami-Rasekh, 2004), whereas advanced learners showed this L1 cultural norm with a functional equivalent in English and used intensifiers such as 'very,' 'really,' and 'terribly' in their apologies.

Sometimes advanced learners used the equivalents of ritual politeness (*tæ'arof),* which is one of the most highly valued and highly complex concepts in Persian to define. Beeman (1986) refers to *ta'arof* as the language of politeness and praise in Persian. Using perceived equivalents for *ta'arof* had an opposite effect on Persian learners' use of L2. Example (9) shows an instance in refusing a friend's offer for a piece of cake.

(9) Advanced learner of English as a Foreign Language (FLA # 15)
first refusal: 'Seriously, I'll take one later.'
second refusal: 'I said no, and I mean it, but thank you for offering.'

It is highly possible that the use of 'I mean it' and 'seriously' mentioned above, is a transfer of the concept and the perceived lexical equivalent of *tæ'arof* (ritual politeness) which is frequently used in Persian. Whereas in Persian the use of this formula (*Ta'arof nɛmikonæm, jɛdi migæm, xeli mæmnun* 'I am not making *taarof* [ritual politeness], I am serious, thanks a lot') does not have a negative effect, in English it may convey resentment and anger and may be considered inappropriate by native speakers of English. It is possible that the beginner level learners did not have the linguistic resources to transfer this formula, and therefore they used the simple formula of 'no thanks.' In her study of transferability of Japanese

requests to English, Takahashi (1996) reports that literal equivalent pairs were rated higher in terms of equivalence than functional equivalents in all proficiency levels. Similar to this observation, Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) cite learners' literal translations of thanking routines in their expressions of gratitude in English, for example, 'May God increase your bounty,' 'May God grant you a long life,' 'You are a blessing to us from God.' Al-Issa (2003) gives a similar example of the formula *Inšaællah* by Arabic respondents, which found its way into English ('God willing'). Therefore, even during the more advanced stages of interlanguage development, learners can be found to accomplish action in L2 by using L1 routines.

Pragmatic tone

As one learner put it in her interview, Persian is a more "flowery" language than English, which they perceived as "dry." Persian learners of English, especially the advanced learners, complained that they can't express the same sentiments and warmth in their English language use. Evidence for pragmatic transfer in the tone of the semantic formulas was found among the learners at all three levels. However, there was an increase in the amount of pragmatic transfer reflected in the tone with proficiency. The learners' use of statement of empathy was one example. The condition for pragmatic transfer was considered present in the use of statement of empathy because this formula was mostly used by Persian speakers, especially when refusing a request from a lower status person to convey the empathetic and warm tone before refusing as in *xob midunæm chɛ ɛhsasi dari* 'I know very well how you feel.' This formula was transferred mostly by advanced learners as in 'I know well about your hard working.' Proficiency in the target language gave more advanced learners means to transfer while beginning learners, despite their possible desire to keep the L1 norms, could not express the native sentiment as much as they wanted to due to limited proficiency, and this supports research by Takahashi and Beebe (1987) and Cohen (1997).

Further, the transfer of philosophical statements, *ghaza balast* ('Keeps away the evil eye'), as well as the use of ritual, flowery language *fadaye saret* ('a sacrifice for you'), *ma bayad dar xɛedmæetetun bašim* ('We should be at your service'), *ɛftexar mikonim dær xɛdmætɛtun bašim* 'It will be an honor to be at your service,' which were typically found among the refusals of native speakers of Persian, were transferred only by advanced learners. Advanced learners, in refusing the cleaning lady offer to replace the broken vase, used semantic formulas such as 'Human being make mistake,' which most likely is a translation of *ɛnsan jayezolkhæetast,* or 'Your value is more

than this' which most likely is the translation of *ghabɛli nædarɛ*. The transfer of these formulas from Persian to English made the learners, especially the advanced learners' refusals, sound different in tone and flavor than the native English data.

Additionally, the Persian speakers showed more sensitivity to interlocutors of different status by using different types of pronouns to show different levels of formality and deference, different verb endings, and honorific lexical terms. Advanced learners who had enough linguistic ability to transfer some of these resources revealed the deferential tone of their language in their English refusals, as shown in the examples above.

Finally, Persian speakers used formulas that were rarely used by Americans. For example, in refusing a higher status person's invitation, Persian speakers often used the address form *aqaye ræ'is* 'Mr. President of the Company.' The use of this form of address defines the unequal power relationship of the interlocutors and is an indication that Iranians are more rank-conscious than Americans.

Discussion

The findings of the current study lend support to previous studies on second language speech acts (e.g., Scarcella, 1983; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987) which have indicated that even speech acts of language learners with a fairly advanced level of proficiency still contain nonnative pragmatic features arising from pragmatic transfer. Overall, we have shown that the level of directness used and the amount of transfer is related not only to proficiency level but also to other factors such as the eliciting speech act, the importance of L1 cultural values, and the ease of use of the formula in L1 or L2.

Our results revealed that native speakers of Persian and Persian learners of English differ from English speakers in terms of directness level of the refusals they use. However these differences are based on the eliciting speech act. The level of directness of refusals in Persian is higher in refusing invitations and offers compared to requests and suggestions. This could be related to the participants' perception of cost-benefit related to invitations and offers compared to requests and suggestions. In Iranian culture invitations and offers are supposed to benefit the hearer more than the speaker (Eslami, 2005; Koutlaki, 2002; Taleghani- Nikazam, 1998) and therefore they are rejected more easily. Requests are supposed to basically benefit the speaker, and therefore there is more tact in refusing them. This pattern of directness in refusal based on the eliciting speech acts was

transferred to the language use of learners at all proficiency levels. It is possible that some speech act patterns and politeness norms are much more culturally valued than others, and therefore, learners at all proficiency levels prefer to transfer them if they have the linguistic ability to do so. Transferring directness level does not require sophisticated linguistic resources as other semantic formulas and therefore the learners who wish to transfer the cultural norms of their L1 can do so easily. Investigating the syntactic complexity of the speech acts in L1 and L2 and its relationship to pragmatic transfer and pragmatic development would also move the pragmatic transfer studies forward (Kasper & Rose, 2002). As Takahashi (1996) argues, "in addition to product-oriented research on pragmatic transfer, we need to undertake process-oriented studies of pragmatic transferability exploring the conditions under which transfer occurs" (p. 190).

Related to the issue of proficiency effect on pragmatic transfer, our study supports the positive correlation hypothesis suggested by Takahashi and Beebe (1987). Our advanced learners had more instances of pragmatic transfer than beginner or intermediate learners. Interestingly, similar to their native language use, advanced learners showed higher sensitivity to status differences than beginner or intermediate learners, and they also showed more instances of content transfer in their target language pragmatic transfer. It is interesting to see that learners not only transferred the semantic formulas from their L1 to their L2, but also they transferred the style shifting of their first language into their L2 language use.

The result of the interview with selected participants from each proficiency level suggests that lower-proficiency learners are less likely to display pragmatic transfer in their L2 production than higher–proficiency learners because they do not have the necessary linguistic resources to do so.

The findings of our study lend further support to other studies in that learners' limited target language knowledge prevents them from transferring native language pragmatic knowledge (e.g, Blum-Kulka, 1982; Cohen, 1997; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Hill, 1997; Olshtain & Cohen, 1989). However, although advanced learners were grammatically proficient enough to convey their native language sentiments through the target language form, they seemed to be selective about the types of semantic formulas they decided to transfer from their native language to the target language. For example, advanced learners used their native language preferred avoidance formulas much less frequently than native speakers of Persian. This supports the notion of language transfer as one of the cognitive strategies in that L2 learners do not merely carry over previous habits of the native language to

the target language, but they construct and test hypothesis about the target language as they actively make decisions about which forms and functions of the native language to use in the target language (e.g., Corder, 1967; Gass & Selinker, 1983; Kellerman, 1977, 1979).

Another important issue in relation to proficiency level and transfer is the use of literal versus pragmatic translation. Our study showed that beginning learners used literal translations of Persian semantic formulas in certain instances, whereas advanced learners, having more linguistic means and resources, were more able to transfer L1 cultural norms by finding L2 pragmatic equivalence.

This study explicitly examined the relationship between target language proficiency and pragmatic transfer. To enhance our understanding of pragmatic transfer and pragmatic development, future studies should focus on identifying other factors that may influence the occurrences of pragmatic transfer among learners at various developmental stages. As suggested by Kasper and Rose (2002 [chap. 8]) more research is needed to investigate the interaction of individual differences such as age, gender, affiliation with the target community, acculturation, motivation, social identity, and transfer. Social-psychological approaches to identity may prove fruitful in analyzing L2 pragmatic and sociolinguistic use and learning. It is important to investigate how transfer is shaped by learners' social category membership as constructed by members of the target community and by the learners' own agency (Locastro, 2001; Siegal, 1996).

The findings of this study show how a specific speech act is performed in two culturally and linguistically diverse groups (Americans and Iranians) and how these differences affect the language use of learners. This can help predict areas in which communication breakdowns may occur between these two groups. The findings of this study strongly suggest the need to help learners to develop awareness and sensitivity for their own L2 use (Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005; Kasper, 1997; Rose, 1997, among others). Therefore, the responsibility of language educators is to remind learners that in order to communicate effectively and successfully in an L2, as they would in their native language, acquiring grammatical knowledge alone is not sufficient, but learners may also have to acquire and practice different sets of sociolinguistic rules by studying and paying attention to what is considered to be generally appropriate in the target culture.

Notes

1   A modified version of IPA symbols are used for Persian data transcription and translations are the researchers' free translations.
2   Since the function of ostensible speech acts is to maintain or enhance the interlocutors' face, these formulas were coded under the positive opinion adjuncts in the classification system.

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Appendix A: Discourse completion test

Please read the following 12 situations. After each situation you will be asked to write a response in the blank after "you." Please, read each question thoroughly. Respond as if you would talk to "native speaker of English in real life conversation." Please respond as naturally as possible. Do not worry about your grammar! There is no time limit.

1. You are the owner of a bookstore. One of your best workers asks to speak to you in private.

    worker: As you know, I've been here just a little over a year now, and I know you've been pleased with my work. I really enjoy working here, but to be quite honest I really need an increase in pay.

    you: _____

    worker: Well, then I guess I'll have to look for another job.

2. You are a junior in college. You attend classes regularly and take good notes. Your classmate often misses class and asks you for the lecture notes.

    classmate: Oh God! We have an exam tomorrow but I don't have notes from last week. I am sorry to ask you this, but could you please lend me your notes once again?

    you: _____

    classmate: Well…then I guess I'll have to ask someone else.

3   You are the president of a big printing company. A salesman from a printing machine company invites you to one of the most expensive restaurants, Lutece, in New York.

    salesman: We have met several times now, and I'm hoping you will buy my company's printing machine. Would you like to have dinner with me at Lutece to firm up the contract?

    you: _____

    salesman: Well, maybe we can meet another time.

4. You are an executive at a very large software company. One day the boss calls you into his office.

    boss: Next Sunday my wife and I are having a little party at my house. I know it's sudden, but I'm hoping all my executives will be there with their wives/husbands. Will you come to the party?

    you: _____

    boss: Well, that's too bad I was hoping everyone would be there.

5. You are at a friend's house watching TV. Your friend offers you a snack.

    you: Thanks, but no thanks. I've been eating like a pig and I feel just terrible. My clothes don't even fit me.

    friend: Hey, why don't you try this new diet I've been telling you about?

you: _____

friend: Well, you should try it anyway.

6. Your boss just asked you to bring a report to him. You can't find the report on your desk because your desk is very disorganized. Your boss walks over.

boss: You know, maybe you should try to organize yourself better.   I always write things down on a piece of paper so I don't forget them. Why don't you try it?

you: (however, you don't like the boss' suggestion) _____

boss: Well…it was only and idea anyway.

7. You arrive home and notice that your cleaning lady is extremely upset. She comes rushing up to you.

cleaning lady: Oh God, I'm so sorry! I had a terrible accident. While I was cleaning, I bumped into the table and your china vase fell and broke. I feel very bad about it. I'll pay for it.

you: (knowing that the cleaning lady is supporting three children) _____

cleaning lady: No, I'd feel better if I paid for it.

8. You teach English at a university. It is just about the middle of the semester now. One of the students asks to speak to you.

student: Ah, excuse me, some of the students were talking after class yesterday. We kind of feel that the class would be better if you could give us more practice in conversation and less on grammar.

you: _____

student: Well, it was only a suggestion.

9. You are at a friend's house for lunch.

friend: How about another piece of cake?

you: _____

friend: Come on, just a little piece?

you: _____

10. A friend invites you to dinner, but you really don't like this friend's husband/wife.

friend: How about coming to my house Sunday night? We're having a small dinner party.

you: _____

friend: Well…maybe next time.

11. You've been working in an advertising company now for some time. The   boss offers you an increase in salary and a better position, but you have to move to another town. You don't want to go. Today, the boss calls you into his office.

boss: I'd like to offer you an executive position in our new office in Hick town. It's a great town —only three hours from here by airplane! And, your salary will increase with the new position.

you: _____

boss: Well, maybe you should think about it some more before declining.

12. You are at the office in a meeting with your boss. It is getting close to the end of the day and you want to leave the office.

    boss: If it's okay with you, I'd like you to spend an extra hour or two tonight so that we can finish up with this work. Can you stay a little longer at the office?

    you: _____

    boss: Well, that's too bad. I was hoping you could stay.

Appendix B: Classification of refusals

(Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990)

I. Direct
   A. Performative (e.g., 'I refuse')
   B. Nonperformative statement
      1. 'No'
      2. Negative willingness/ability ('I can't.' 'I don't think so.')

II. Indirect
   A. Statement of regret (e.g., 'I'm sorry…' 'I feel terrible…')
   B. Wish (e.g., 'I wish I could help you…')
   C. Excuse, reason, explanation (e.g., 'My children will be home that night;' 'I have a headache.')
   D. Statement of alternative
      1. I can do X instead of Y (e.g., 'I'd rather…' 'I'd prefer…')
      2. Why don't you do X instead of Y (e.g., 'Why don't you ask someone else?')
   E. Set conditions for future or past acceptance (e.g., 'If you had asked me earlier, I would have…')
   F. Promise of future acceptance (e.g., 'I'll do it next time' 'I promise I'll…' or 'Next time I'll…' using 'will' or promise or 'promise')
   G. Statement of principle (e.g., 'I never do business with friends.')
   H. Statement of philosophy (e.g., 'Human beings make mistake.')
   I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor
      1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester (e.g., 'I won't be any fun tonight' to refuse an invitation)
      2. Guilt trip (e.g., waitress to customers who want to sit a while: 'I can't make a living off people who just order coffee.')
      3. Criticize the request/requester, etc. (statement of negative feeling or opinion); insult/attack (e.g., 'Who do you think you are?' 'That's a terrible idea!')
      4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request.
      5. Let interlocutor off the hook (e.g., 'Don't worry about it.' 'That's okay.' 'You don't have to')
      6. Self-defense (e.g., 'I'm trying my best.' 'I'm doing all I can do.')
    *7. Statement of relinquishment (e.g., 'What's happened is happened')

   J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal
- 1. Unspecific or indefinite reply
- 2. Lack of enthusiasm

   K. Avoidance
- 1. Nonverbal
  - a. Silence
  - b. Hesitation
  - c. Do nothing
  - d. Physical departure
- 2. Verbal
  - a. Topic switch
  - b Joke
  - c. Repetition of part of request, (e.g., 'Monday?')
  - *d. Asking questions (e.g., 'Do we have to finish this today?')
  - e. Postponement (e.g., 'I'll think about it.')
  - f. Hedging (e.g., 'Gee, I don't know. I'm not sure.')

   L. Adjuncts to refusals
- 1. Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement (e.g., 'That's a good idea…;' 'I'd love to…')
- 2. Statement of empathy (e.g., 'I realize you are in a difficult situation.')
- 3. Pause fillers (e.g., 'uhh' 'well' 'oh' 'uhm')
- *4. Address forms
- 5. Gratitude/appreciation

* indicates new categories identified in the Persian data

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In recent years the number of schools offering Japanese nationwide has increased dramatically. Because of the tremendous popularity of the Japanese language and the shortage of teachers, quite a few untrained, non-native and native teachers are in the classrooms and are expected to teach several levels of Japanese. These guidelines are intended to assist individual teachers and professional associations throughout the United States in designing Japanese language curricula. They are meant to serve as a framework from which language teaching can be expanded and are intended to allow teachers to enhance and strengthen the quality of Japanese language instruction. 168 pp.

2000   ISBN 0–8248–2350–8 $20.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING & MINORITY LANGUAGE EDUCATION KATHRYN A. DAVIS *(Editor)*	This volume seeks to examine the potential for building relationships among foreign language, bilingual, and ESL programs towards fostering bilingualism. Part I of the volume examines the sociopolitical contexts for language partnerships, including: • obstacles to developing bilingualism • implications of acculturation, identity, and language issues for linguistic minorities • the potential for developing partnerships across primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions Part II of the volume provides research findings on the *Foreign language partnership project* designed to capitalize on the resources of immigrant students to enhance foreign language learning. 152 pp.

1999   ISBN 0–8248–2067–3 $20.

DESIGNING SECOND LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENTS JOHN M. NORRIS, JAMES DEAN BROWN, THOM HUDSON, & JIM YOSHIOKA	This technical report focuses on the decision-making potential provided by second language performance assessments. The authors first situate performance assessment within a broader discussion of alternatives in language assessment and in educational assessment in general. They then discuss issues in performance assessment design, implementation, reliability, and validity. Finally, they present a prototype framework for second language performance assessment based on the integration of theoretical underpinnings and research findings from the task-based language teaching literature, the language testing literature, and the educational measurement literature. The authors outline test and item specifications, and they present numerous examples of prototypical language tasks. They also propose a research agenda focusing on the operationalization of second language performance assessments. 248 pp.

1998, 2000   ISBN 0–8248–2109–2 $20.

SECOND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN WRITING: MEASURES OF FLUENCY, ACCURACY, & COMPLEXITY KATE WOLFE-QUINTERO, SHUNJI INAGAKI, & HAE-YOUNG KIM	In this book, the authors analyze and compare the ways that fluency, accuracy, grammatical complexity, and lexical complexity have been measured in studies of language development in second language writing. More than 100 developmental measures are examined, with detailed comparisons of the results across the studies that have used each measure. The authors discuss the theoretical foundations for each type of developmental measure, and they consider the relationship between developmental measures and various types of proficiency measures. They also examine criteria for determining which developmental measures are the most successful and suggest which measures are the most promising for continuing work on language development. 208 pp.

1998, 2002   ISBN 0–8248–2069–X $20.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LEXICAL TONE PHONOLOGY IN AMERICAN ADULT LEARNERS OF STANDARD MANDARIN CHINESE SYLVIA HENEL SUN	The study reported is based on an assessment of three decades of research on the SLA of Mandarin tone. It investigates whether differences in learners' tone perception and production are related to differences in the effects of certain linguistic, task, and learner factors. The learners of focus are American students of Mandarin in Beijing, China. Their performances on two perception and three production tasks are analyzed through a host of variables and methods of quantification. 328 pp.

1998	ISBN 0–8248–2068–1	$20.

NEW TRENDS & ISSUES IN TEACHING JAPANESE LANGUAGE & CULTURE HARUKO M. COOK, KYOKO HIJIRIDA, & MILDRED TAHARA *(Editors)*	In recent years, Japanese has become the fourth most commonly taught foreign language at the college level in the United States. As the number of students who study Japanese has increased, the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language has been established as an important academic field of study. This technical report includes nine contributions to the advancement of this field, encompassing the following five important issues: • Literature and literature teaching • Technology in the language classroom • Orthography • Testing • Grammatical versus pragmatic approaches to language teaching 164 pp.

1997	ISBN 0–8248–2067–3	$20.

SIX MEASURES OF JSL PRAGMATICS SAYOKO OKADA YAMASHITA	This book investigates differences among tests that can be used to measure the cross-cultural pragmatic ability of English-speaking learners of Japanese. Building on the work of Hudson, Detmer, and Brown (Technical Reports #2 and #7 in this series), the author modified six test types that she used to gather data from North American learners of Japanese. She found numerous problems with the multiple-choice discourse completion test but reported that the other five tests all proved highly reliable and reasonably valid. Practical issues involved in creating and using such language tests are discussed from a variety of perspectives. 213 pp.

1996	ISBN 0–8248–1914–4	$15.

LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES AROUND THE WORLD: CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

REBECCA L. OXFORD
(Editor)

1996, 1997, 2002

Language learning strategies are the specific steps students take to improve their progress in learning a second or foreign language. Optimizing learning strategies improves language performance. This groundbreaking book presents new information about cultural influences on the use of language learning strategies. It also shows innovative ways to assess students' strategy use and remarkable techniques for helping students improve their choice of strategies, with the goal of peak language learning. 166 pp.

ISBN 0–8248–1910–1 $20.

TELECOLLABORATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING: PROCEEDINGS OF THE HAWAIʻI SYMPOSIUM

MARK WARSCHAUER
(Editor)

1996

The Symposium on Local & Global Electronic Networking in Foreign Language Learning & Research, part of the National Foreign Language Resource Center's *1995 Summer Institute on Technology & the Human Factor in Foreign Language Education*, included presentations of papers and hands-on workshops conducted by Symposium participants to facilitate the sharing of resources, ideas, and information about all aspects of electronic networking for foreign language teaching and research, including electronic discussion and conferencing, international cultural exchanges, real-time communication and simulations, research and resource retrieval via the Internet, and research using networks. This collection presents a sampling of those presentations. 252 pp.

ISBN 0–8248–1867–9 $20.

LANGUAGE LEARNING MOTIVATION: PATHWAYS TO THE NEW CENTURY

REBECCA L. OXFORD
(Editor)

1996

This volume chronicles a revolution in our thinking about what makes students want to learn languages and what causes them to persist in that difficult and rewarding adventure. Topics in this book include the internal structures of and external connections with foreign language motivation; exploring adult language learning motivation, self-efficacy, and anxiety; comparing the motivations and learning strategies of students of Japanese and Spanish; and enhancing the theory of language learning motivation from many psychological and social perspectives. 218 pp.

ISBN 0–8248–1849–0 $20.

**LINGUISTICS &
LANGUAGE TEACHING:
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE SIXTH JOINT
LSH-HATESL CONFERENCE**

CYNTHIA REVES,
CAROLINE STEELE,
& CATHY S. P. WONG
(Editors)

Technical Report #10 contains 18 articles revolving around the following three topics:

- Linguistic issues — These six papers discuss various linguistic issues: ideophones, syllabic nasals, linguistic areas, computation, tonal melody classification, and *wh*-words.
- Sociolinguistics — Sociolinguistic phenomena in Swahili, signing, Hawaiian, and Japanese are discussed in four of the papers.
- Language teaching and learning — These eight papers cover prosodic modification, note taking, planning in oral production, oral testing, language policy, L2 essay organization, access to dative alternation rules, and child noun phrase structure development.

364 pp.

1996   ISBN 0–8248–1851–2 $20.

**ATTENTION &
AWARENESS
IN FOREIGN
LANGUAGE
LEARNING**

RICHARD SCHMIDT
(Editor)

Issues related to the role of attention and awareness in learning lie at the heart of many theoretical and practical controversies in the foreign language field. This collection of papers presents research into the learning of Spanish, Japanese, Finnish, Hawaiian, and English as a second language (with additional comments and examples from French, German, and miniature artificial languages) that bear on these crucial questions for foreign language pedagogy.
394 pp.

1996   ISBN 0–8248–1794–X $20.

**VIRTUAL
CONNECTIONS:
ONLINE ACTIVITIES &
PROJECTS
FOR NETWORKING
LANGUAGE LEARNERS**

MARK WARSCHAUER
(Editor)

Computer networking has created dramatic new possibilities for connecting language learners in a single classroom or across the globe. This collection of activities and projects makes use of e-mail, the Internet, computer conferencing, and other forms of computer-mediated communication for the foreign and second language classroom at any level of instruction. Teachers from around the world submitted the activities compiled in this volume — activities that they have used successfully in their own classrooms. 417 pp.

1995, 1996   ISBN 0–8248–1793–1 $30.

**DEVELOPING
PROTOTYPIC
MEASURES
OF CROSS-CULTURAL
PRAGMATICS**

THOM HUDSON
EMILY DETMER
& J. D. BROWN

Although the study of cross-cultural pragmatics has gained importance in applied linguistics, there are no standard forms of assessment that might make research comparable across studies and languages. The present volume describes the process through which six forms of cross-cultural assessment were developed for second language learners of English. The models may be used for second language learners of other languages. The six forms of assessment involve two forms each of indirect discourse completion tests, oral language production, and self-assessment. The procedures involve the assessment of requests, apologies, and refusals. 198 pp.

1995   ISBN 0–8248–1763–X $15.

THE ROLE OF PHONOLOGICAL CODING IN READING *KANJI* SACHIKO MATSUNAGA *1995*	In this technical report, the author reports the results of a study that she conducted on phonological coding in reading *kanji* using an eye-movement monitor and draws some pedagogical implications. In addition, she reviews current literature on the different schools of thought regarding instruction in reading *kanji* and its role in the teaching of non-alphabetic written languages like Japanese. 64 pp. ISBN 0–8248–1734–6 $10.

PRAGMATICS OF CHINESE AS NATIVE & TARGET LANGUAGE GABRIELE KASPER *(Editor)* *1995*	This technical report includes six contributions to the study of the pragmatics of Mandarin Chinese: • A report of an interview study conducted with nonnative speakers of Chinese; and • Five data-based studies on the performance of different speech acts by native speakers of Mandarin — requesting, refusing, complaining, giving bad news, disagreeing, and complimenting. 312 pp. ISBN 0–8248–1733–8 $15.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PEDAGOGY & RESEARCH IN INTERPRETATION & TRANSLATION ETILVIA ARJONA *1993*	This technical report includes four types of bibliographic information on translation and interpretation studies: • Research efforts across disciplinary boundaries — cognitive psychology, neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, computational linguistics, measurement, aptitude testing, language policy, decision-making, theses, dissertations; • Training information covering program design, curriculum studies, instruction, school administration; • Instruction information detailing course syllabi, methodology, models, available textbooks; and • Testing information about aptitude, selection, diagnostic tests. 115 pp. ISBN 0–8248–1572–6 $10.

PRAGMATICS OF JAPANESE AS NATIVE & TARGET LANGUAGE GABRIELE KASPER *(Editor)* *1992, 1996*	This technical report includes three contributions to the study of the pragmatics of Japanese: • A bibliography on speech act performance, discourse management, and other pragmatic and sociolinguistic features of Japanese; • A study on introspective methods in examining Japanese learners' performance of refusals; and • A longitudinal investigation of the acquisition of the particle *ne* by nonnative speakers of Japanese. 125 pp. ISBN 0–8248–1462–2 $10.

A FRAMEWORK FOR TESTING CROSS-CULTURAL PRAGMATICS

THOM HUDSON
EMILY DETMER
& J. D. BROWN

This technical report presents a framework for developing methods that assess cross-cultural pragmatic ability. Although the framework has been designed for Japanese and American cross-cultural contrasts, it can serve as a generic approach that can be applied to other language contrasts. The focus is on the variables of social distance, relative power, and the degree of imposition within the speech acts of requests, refusals, and apologies. Evaluation of performance is based on recognition of the speech act, amount of speech, forms or formulæ used, directness, formality, and politeness. 51 pp.

1992   ISBN 0–8248–1463–0 $10.

RESEARCH METHODS IN INTERLANGUAGE PRAGMATICS

GABRIELE KASPER
& MERETE DAHL

This technical report reviews the methods of data collection employed in 39 studies of interlanguage pragmatics, defined narrowly as the investigation of nonnative speakers' comprehension and production of speech acts, and the acquisition of L2-related speech act knowledge. Data collection instruments are distinguished according to the degree to which they constrain informants' responses, and whether they tap speech act perception/comprehension or production. A main focus of discussion is the validity of different types of data, in particular their adequacy to approximate authentic performance of linguistic action. 51 pp.

1991   ISBN 0–8248–1419–3 $10.

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