THE ROLE OF THE LEARNER SUBJECTIVITY AND PRAGMATIC

TRANSFER IN THE PERFORMANCE OF REQUESTS BY KOREAN ESL

LEARNERS

A Dissertation

by

HEE KYOUNG KIM

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2007

Major Subject: Curriculum and Instruction

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Approved by:

Co-Chairs of Committee,	Zohreh Eslami
	Lynn M. Burlbaw
Committee Members,	Blanca Quiroz
	Robert J. Hall
Head of Department,	Dennie Smith

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ABSTRACT

The Role of the Learner Subjectivity and Pragmatic Transfer in the Performance of

Requests by Korean ESL Learners. (May 2007)

Hee Kyoung Kim, B.A., Sogang University;

M.A., Seoul National University

Co-Chairs of Advisory Committee: Dr. Zohreh Eslami
                                 Dr. Lynn M. Burlbaw

Based on a cross-cultural comparison of requesting behavior between Koreans
and Americans, the study tried to determine the extent of pragmatic transfer and the
impact of individual subjective motives that may influence pragmatic language choice.

Two different groups of subjects participated in this study: 30 Korean
participants for Korean (KK) and also for interlanguage (KE) data who were studying
English as a Second Language (ESL) in a U.S. university, and 30 American college
students (AE). Data were collected by using a questionnaire with a Discourse
Completion Task (DCT). Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with 13
Korean ESL learners who showed the highest and the least amount of pragmatic
transfer.

Findings showed evidence of pragmatic transfer in the request responses given
by Korean ESL learners in the level of directness, perspectives of head acts, and the
frequency of supportive moves and internal modifiers. The requesting behaviors of KE
group were realized through more direct strategies than those of AE group. KE speakers

had a tendency to use hearer-oriented requests more frequently than AE speakers, but slightly less than KK speakers, indicating that L1 transfer is operative. Pragmatic transfer occurred in three supportive moves such as Promise of Reward, Appreciation, and Apology and in three internal modifiers such as play-down, consultative device, and downtoner.

The interviewees in this study were conscious of differing rules for requesting. Learners' judgment of L2 pragmatic norms, the learners' perception of their own language and their attitudes of the learned language have a determining influence on language use. Furthermore, findings showed that purpose of learning the L2, learners' different types of motivation, and the length of residence intention contribute to the extent of pragmatic transfer. Finally, impossibility to acquire native-like proficiency, fear of disloyalty to their own culture, and preference of L1 styles as a marker of cultural identity seemed to be factors that influence learners' pragmatic choices.

Findings of this study offer implications that language educators need to recognize and plan for the different target goals language learners may have and that second/foreign language speakers also possess a desire to express their own identity.

DEDICATION

To My Parents

Bongsan Kim

&

Ildo Chon

To My Husband

Chiok Oh

To My Daughter

Yumin

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As I look back on my academic journey, I realize how fortunate I have been to have had the chance to work with an amazing group of people. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my dissertation committee. I am especially grateful to my advisor, Dr. Zohreh Eslami, who has been a central figure in my development as an educational researcher. I am indebted to her valuable guidance and tremendous support throughout my dissertation research. Dr. Eslami's dedication to her students and commitment to scholarship serve as an inspiring model to emulate. I would also like to thank Dr. Lynn Burlbaw for his inspiration, encouragement, and thoughtful guidance in my work, Dr. Bob Hall for those long hours of insightful discussions that crystallized into my research methodology, and Dr. Blanca Quiroz for her guidance on the pedagogical implications of my research.

This dissertation could not have been possible without the participation of all my participants. I greatly appreciate their generosity with their time and efforts. A special word of thanks also goes to Tsueifen Chen for her friendship and help on the constructive discussions that helped shape this dissertation.

My family deserves my most respect and appreciation for their constant support, especially, my mom who gave me everything that she had and has always been there for me. Last but not least, I thank my husband, Chiok Oh, for his help from the onset to the end of this study. As my motivation and inspiration, to my lovely daughter, Yumin, I would like to express my love and regrets for not spending much time with her when she needed my care and love the most when she was born.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Linguists and second language (L2) researchers have emphasized the role of language as a social phenomenon. Language is used to express emotions, build rapport, and mark social distance. The goal of language learning and instruction is no longer limited to the acquisition of the L2 lexicon, syntax, and phonology, but includes the acquisition of the L2 pragmatics. Pragmatics is concerned with the ability to understand the speakers' intention, to interact and communicate with speakers of other languages through language forms appropriate to specific contexts.

One of the serious outcomes of lack of pragmatic knowledge is miscommunication or communication breakdown. Moreover, pragmatic failure in Thomas' (1983) term leads to negative judgments of learners as having bad manners or bad temperament. In other words, whereas learners who make grammatical errors seem to be seen as a less proficient language user, those who fail to use language in a socially and culturally appropriate way may appear unfriendly, impolite or even rude (Bardovi-Harlig, Hartford, Mahan-Tayor, Morgan, & Reynolds, 1991; Harlow, 1990). Hence in order to become a truly fluent second or foreign language user, it is of primary importance to attain pragmatic competence, in addition to grammatical competence, so that the language user knows "when to speak, when not, and … what to talk about with

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This dissertation follows the style of *TESOL Quarterly*.

whom, when, where, in what manner" (Hymes, 1979, p. 15). Brown and Levinson (1987) made this point clear, suggesting that "the pragmatic purpose of language – the use of signs and symbols for communication – is thus the final and ultimate objective of the second language learner" (p. 202).

In the research in pragmatics, numerous studies have been conducted on a variety of speech acts such as requests, apologies, complaints, refusals, expression of gratitude, and compliments. Among them, requests have received considerable attention both since they are frequently used in everyday communication for gaining information, help, or cooperation from others. They are extremely important to L2 learners in the sense that the majority of their interaction with target language speakers takes place in the form of requests (Fraser, 1980; Fraser, Rintell & Walters, 1980; Koike, 1989).

Over the last few decades, various request speech act studies have been carried out by comparing natives' request performances with those of nonnative's (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989). The body of research on L2 learners' request speech acts has revealed that different cultural values can influence language users' perceptions and may lead to misunderstandings and even pragmatic breakdown in communication. According to Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, and Rose (1996), it is reported that the conditions where requests are called for and the patterns how they are actually realized vary from culture to culture. Moreover, what is considered as a face-threatening request, the polite strategies, and the value of contextual factors such as participants' social status and social distance, and formal or private relationships may vary between different communities (Blum-Kulka, 1982; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986).

The reason for studying requests by Korean learners of English in this study lies in the fact that Korean differs significantly from English both linguistically and culturally. Korean language has a complex and sophisticated system of honorifics to mark deference as well as an independent linguistic system to encode politeness (Hwang, 1990), as compared to English which uses directness level, modals, moods, and a variety of mitigators to express politeness in request realizations. There are also differences in cultural norms involved in social structure, which may affect sociopragmatic perceptions of contextual factors in the performance of requests. Korean society is a "vertical and hierarchical society with great emphasis placed on power" (Shinn, 1990, p. 13), whereas American society is horizontal and highly values individual autonomy and privacy. In light of these linguistic and cultural differences between the two languages, a question arises as to whether Korean learners of English are able to use a request strategy in a pragmatically acceptable way.

With the increasing importance of intercultural communication, many researchers have focused on paying attention to the role of the learner's first language (L1) in second language use. Concerning previous research studies on L1 transfer, Gass and Selinker (1983) claim that transfer plays an important role in forming interlanguage, that is, a language system of a learner. Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990) view pragmatic transfer primarily as the "transfer of L1 sociocultural communicative competence in performing L2 speech acts or any other aspects of L2 conversation, where the speakers are trying to achieve a particular function of language" (Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990, p. 55). Kasper (1992) points out that interlanguage pragmatics is

primarily concerned with the influence of non-native language users' linguistic and cultural background on their performance of linguistic action in a second language.

Given that the pragmatic transfer of communicative strategies and linguistic forms can be determined by a speaker's background knowledge and expectations, we need to investigate the motives behind second language speakers' choices for their pragmatic speech behavior. One possible interpretation for some differences in pragmatic behavior among second language learners may be accounted for by the Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991). This study will attempt to examine learners' speech act performance through the Accommodation framework to gain a better understanding of the development of their pragmatic competence. Speech Accommodation Theory attempts to explain the nature of L2 speakers' linguistic variation (Beebe & Giles, 1984; Beebe & Zuengler, 1983). According to Beebe and Giles (1984), speakers strategically converge to or diverge from their interlocutors. That is, L2 speakers' speech behaviors will not be determined by their linguistic repertoires alone. Rather, L2 speakers' "own subjective attitudes, perceptions of situations, cognitive and affective dispositions, and the like may interact to determine their speech outputs" (Beebe & Giles, 1984, p. 5). L2 speakers may adjust to L2 norms to communicate effectively or attain social approval as a fluent second language speaker. On the other hand, they may diverge from L2 norms to accentuate their linguistic differences. In that case, they seem to have an intention to isolate themselves from the L2 group and maintain their sense of self. Similarly, Blum-Kulka (1991) attempted to explain the motives of pragmatic transfer. She maintains that

transfer from L1 into L2 norms might help non-native speakers to maintain their cultural identity as separate from the target community. Thus, more proficient learners seem to deliberately diverge from the pragmatic speech norms of native English speakers. By separating from native speakers, they mark a unique cultural identity as a second language speaker (Blum-Kulka, 1991).

When we consider that pragmatics deals with a speaker's intention and different cultures constitute different pragmatic norms, then, pragmatics, culture, and subjectivity seem to be closely related in complex and cyclical ways. According to Kim (2000), culture consists of the sum of the consensuses of the individual communication patterns presented by the members of a society. Moreover, the focus of pragmatic ability is the use of language as an instrument through which one communicates and gets access to social networks. Thus we can say that pragmatics plays an important role in the formation of the culture in which the language is spoken. In turn, cultural values that affect one's perception of oneself, one's culture, and one's relationships to others are carried mainly by language (LoCastro, 2003). Language is also a medium of one's subjectivity formation because one's subjectivity is developed and negotiated through interaction with other members in the society (Peirce, 1995). Clearly, there is a definite need for studies examining pragmatics in a wider spectrum of cultures and language learners' subjectivity, if interlanguage pragmatics is to contribute to solving one of the central problems of second language acquisition (SLA) research, namely, how aspects of second language development can be explained by socio-affective factors (Kasper & Rose, 2002).

Statement of the Problem

Interlanguage researchers have examined the various factors to explain pragmatic transfer, including learners' perception of language distance between their native and target language (Takahashi, 1992, 1996), learning context (Takahashi & Beebe, 1987), instructional effect (Kasper, 1982), second language proficiency (Keshavarz, Eslami, & Ghahreman, 2006; Olshtain & Cohen, 1989; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987), and length of time in the target community (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985). Despite numerous studies on the pragmatic transfer in the second language learners' speech act performance, it remains unclear as to what types of learner-internal variables determine the transfer of communicative strategies and linguistic forms (Kasper & Rose, 2002).

Various potential factors motivating pragmatic transfer have received attention. Kasper and Schmidt (1996) acknowledged that learners' willingness to adopt L2 pragmatics may be sensitive to their attitudes towards the L2 target community and their motivation for learning a L2. However, as Kasper and Rose (2002) point out, very few have attempted to explain the relationship between pragmatic transfer, one of aspects of second language development, and socio-affective factors, that is, language learner's subjectivity. There is clearly a need for more research on relationships among attitudes and motivation, and pragmatic development. New findings and insights are gained from the learner-centered research (McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton, 1997; Peirce, 1995), which emphasize that language learners are complex social and cultural beings and learning a language or adapting to a new culture is a process of socialization. Among

those, Norton (1997) stresses that it is important that L2 educators begin to take the relationship of language and identity (the key concept of subjectivity) seriously. According to her, language learners are constantly engaged in identity construction and negotiation when they use a language (Norton, 1997).

When it comes to language learners' subjectivity, Blum-Kulka (1991) points out that learners' L1-based subjectivity can influence interlanguage pragmatic transfer, sometimes driving speakers to avoid native-like use. Basically, the awareness of pragmatic norms and social rules are largely acquired as people are socialized into their first-culture values and behaviors (Di Vito, 1993). The pragmatic awareness, as Di Vito (1993) emphasizes, tends to remain primarily in the first culture, especially when L2 speakers run into the contradictory norms with the first culture in the L2. In using L2, learners may not simply "shake off their own culture and step into another," as their first culture has shaped them as social beings (Byram & Morgan, 1994, p. 43). Interestingly, learners sometimes hold on to their values and resist certain L2 practices, opting to remain foreign (Preston, 1989). Furthermore, as Hinkel (1996) claims, adolescent language learners residing in the target language community were not always motivated to use native-like expressions. He found that assimilative motivation "to become an indistinguishable member of the target speech community" (Hinkel, 1996, p. 76) decreased in strength during adolescence with regard to the development of Welsh-English bilingualism in Wales.

Language learners consciously may resist what they perceived as L2 pragmatic norms in performing speech acts for reasons other than limited proficiency (Ishihara,

2003). This study starts with following questions: how does learners' subjectivity make them pragmatically transfer? Is pragmatic transfer the result from resisting L2 pragmatic norms? This study will draw directly on learners' perspectives. This interpretive study seeks to explain the relationship between learners' subjectivity and their interlanguage pragmatic transfer. The study will illuminate learners' internal negotiation between what they perceived as L2 norms on one hand and their expression of subjectivity on the other. Individual subjectivity is seen more clearly when learners respond to identical tasks in two languages (as employed in this study) but take individual routes to come to their pragmatic choice, whether to transfer L1 norms into L2.

This study is to illustrate how learner subjectivity plays a role on pragmatic transfer in second language sociolinguistic competence. One's subjectivity can be defined as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p. 7). Individuals largely describe themselves through the characteristics of these groups and "derive their identity (their sense of self, their self-concept) in great part from the social categories to which they belong" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p. 9). The notion of subjectivity is largely dependent on that of identity, but can broadly be conceptualized to include individual characteristics because one is formed by both culture/society and personal character. Therefore, for this study the researcher defines subjectivity as one's view and perception of the world, his/her sense of him/herself, the desire to accomplish a goal, and the ways of understanding his/her relation to the world.

Purpose of the Study

The objective of this study is to investigate the pragmatic transfer patterns of L2 language use and impact of learner subjectivity that may influence pragmatic language choice through the analysis of the requestive speech act performance among Korean second language learners of English. By describing and comparing learners' speech behavior to baseline data provided by native speakers of American English and native speakers of Korean, this study attempts to identify pragmatic transfer by Korean learners of English in terms of the communicative strategies and linguistic expressions used in relation to a particular context. The study will examine the differences in communicative behavior among Koreans, Americans, and English language learners, analyze the conditions of pragmatic transfer, and identify the patterns of pragmatic transfer among learners through the analysis of requestive speech act. By including the motivating factors behind the learners' linguistic choices, the goal of this study is to extend the scope of the existing research in understanding the notion of pragmatic transfer, to provide better understanding of how pragmatic competence is developed, and to help language teachers find more effective ways of promoting pragmatic competence among second language learners of English.

Research Questions

This study examines pragmatic transfer patterns of Korean ESL learners through the analysis of request speech act. The study also investigates the impact of learner subjectivity that may influence pragmatic language choice. Based on the above, two broad research questions with sub-questions serve to guide this study:

1. To what extent do Korean ESL learners demonstrate pragmatic transfer in the speech act of requesting in English?

2. What is the role of learner subjectivity in learners' pragmatic choices?

2-1. How does learner' perception toward the languages, English and Korean, and their culture affect pragmatic transfer?

2-2 How does learner' motivation for learning English affect pragmatic transfer?

2-3 How does learners' identity affect pragmatic transfer?

Definition of Terms

Discourse completion task (DCT), originally pioneered by Blum-Kulka (1982) to investigate speech act realization, is a written questionnaire that includes a number of brief situational descriptions, followed by a short dialogue, with an empty slot for the speech act under study.

English as a foreign language (EFL) refers to the learning of English while the learner is residing in his or her own native country, not in that of the target culture.

English as a second language (ESL) refers to the learning of English while the learner is residing in a target culture.

Identity refers to the construction of the self in the target language.

Interlanguage (IL) is an interim series of stages of language learning between the first (L1) and second language (L2) grammars through which all L2 learners must pass on their way to attaining fluency in the target language.

Interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) is defined as the area of examining speech act behaviors of non-native speakers in comparison with those of target language speakers and of explaining the decision-making processes underlying these speech act behaviors.

L1 refers to the language learner's native language.

L2 refers to the language learner's target language.

Motivation refers to the reason for learning a second language.

NS represents a native speaker of a language.

NNS represents a non-native speaker of a language.

Perception refers to the learners' way of feeling and understanding toward a particular target language, its culture, and its speaker.

Pragmalinguistic transfer occurs when learners use L1 language-specific forms or structures for the linguistic realization of a particular speech act in L2 (Kasper, 1992).

Pragmatic competence is the speaker's knowledge of rules of appropriateness and politeness, which dictate the way the speaker will understand and formulate speech acts.

Pragmatic transfer refers to the carry-over influence of the L1 pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic patterns into the interlanguage or L2 of the second language learner. It also refers to the influence of the speakers' pragmatic knowledge of one language and culture on their comprehension and production of the pragmatics of another language (Kasper, 1992).

Request has the intended meaning (i.e., illocutionary force) of affecting a hearer's behavior in such a way that they get the hearer to do something (Blum-Kulka, 1991). House and Kasper (1987) define requests as directives by which "S (speaker) wants H (hearer) to do p (p is at a cost to H)" (p. 1252).

Second language acquisition (SLA) occurs when the target language is mastered either through direct exposure to it or through formal instruction accompanied by frequent interaction with the target language community in the host environment or in a multicultural setting.

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).

Sociopragmatic transfer occurs when learners apply their social knowledge of speech act behavior which is determined entirely by L1 culture-specific norms into L2 speech act realization (Kasper, 1992).

Speech act (SA) is a theoretical concept introduced by philosophers of language (e.g., Austin, 1962; Searle, 1979) that sees language use as the performance of a specific

action or as doing something through words, such as requesting, declining, warning, promising and so forth.

Subjectivity is defined for this study as one's view and perception of the world, his/her sense of him/herself, the desire to accomplish a goal, and the ways of understanding his/her relation to the world.

Assumptions

The following assumptions have been made in planning this study:

1. Participants will write in the DCT what they think they would say in the real situations and be able to express their opinions regarding to individual differences to the researcher in the interview.

2. The use of only undergraduate students will ensure as much homogeneity as possible.

Limitations

Several limitations are seen in this study. First of all, the subjects in each of two groups have been controlled in terms of age, education level, and length of stay. That is, the ESL learners are college students, with ages ranging between the 21 and 29, who have resided less than 1 year in the US. Therefore, the generalizations and conclusions will be applicable only to populations that share similar characteristics. Second, since the

interviews are conducted in Korean, the process of translation may involve some level of subjectivity and interpretation by the translator. It is not always possible, to find the exact expression in English that corresponds to a Korean expressions. As a result, some Korean expressions require an explanation in English to show their nuances of meaning.

Organization of the Dissertation

This study comprises five chapters. In the first chapter, the rationale and purpose of the study are stated as well as the research questions that were investigated. Chapter II introduces the theoretical framework for this study. It reviews relevant literature on Pragmatics, Interlanguage Pragmatics, Pragmatic Transfer Theory, Speech Act Theory, and Speech Accommodation Theory. Chapter III describes the methodology used in this study including the participants' profiles, instruments, data collection procedures, and data analysis. Chapter IV presents both the quantitative and qualitative results and finally Chapter V offers a summary of the main findings and theoretical and educational implications.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This study is grounded in three areas of inquiry: Pragmatics, Speech Act Theory, and Speech Accommodation Theory. The theoretical framework of this study draws from Pragmatics, which focuses on the communication rules of a given language, Speech Act Theory, which provides an analytic lens through which pragmatic competence can be examined, and finally, Speech Accommodation Theory, which offer insights on the motives and reasons behind the pragmatic linguistic choices that speakers make.

Pragmatics

Pragmatics (Greek *pragma*=acting, action, activity) "is the study of acting by means of language, of doing things with words" (e.g., persuading, refusing, apologizing) (Kasper, 1989, p. 39). Pragmatics generally explains how human beings create and understand meanings that can be "derived only by going beyond the literal interpretation of signals" (LoCastro, 2003, p. 4). A definition of "pragmatics" has been attempted by Levinson (1983), Mey (1993), and Crystal (1985) among others. Levinson (1983) provides various perspectives on pragmatics and discusses possible definitions based on context features, aspects of meaning, language understanding in context,

appropriateness/felicity conditions, and language phenomena, such as deixis, implicature, presupposition, speech acts, and aspects of discourse structure. Mey (1993) generally follows Levinson (1983) but stresses the idea of pragmatics as the study of language use for interaction. In other words, pragmatics is concerned with how interlocutors use language to achieve personal goals within a societal framework. Crystal's (1985) definition follows a similar approach, emphasizing that meaning is created in the interaction between speaker and hearer, a dynamic process that is influenced by the linguistic forms and other features of the context. Crystal (1985) defines pragmatics as

> the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication. (p. 240).

As shown above pragmatics has been defined in various ways by different researchers, but its essence remains the same – the study of language use and its appropriateness.

The notion of pragmatic competence dates back to that of communicative competence, which was introduced by Hymes in the mid-1960s as a reaction against the narrow Chomskyan concept of competence. In contrast to Chomsky who considered language to be "a set (finite or infinite sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a set of elements" (1965, p. 13); Searle (1969) conceived of language as a series of acts in the world rather than a collection of sentences. Hymes (1972) pointed out that there is no direct one-to-one relationship between the grammatical form of an utterance

and the speech act it realizes. Depending on the situation, grammatically identical sentences may function as different speech acts, and conversely, the one and the same speech act may be realized in widely different ways. The successful performance of speech acts depends on where the constituent conditions of a particular speech act are fulfilled, and on whether a particular speech act is realized in a contextually appropriate way. Consequently, the accomplishment of speech acts is inextricably related to sociocultural factors. This implies a much more comprehensive concept of competence, which in a sense subsumes Chomsky's notion of competence, as communicative competence embraces rules of form as well as rules of use.

As has been suggested, pragmatic competence is referred to as abstract or decontextualized knowledge of intonation, phonology, syntax, semantics, etc. (Thomas, 1983), or as the decontextualized formal system of language (Leech, 1983). On the other hand, pragmatic competence is the ability to use language effectively in order to achieve a specific purpose and to understand language "in context" (Thomas, 1983). It is also perceived by Leech (1983) as the use of language in a goal-oriented speech situation in which the speaker is using language in order to produce a particular effect in the mind of the hearer.

Speech Act Theory

Speech acts are one of the key areas of linguistic pragmatics. A speech act framework is based on theories of illocutionary acts originally introduced by Austin

(1962) and further developed by Searle (1969, 1975). Austin (1962) attempted to explain how meaning and action are related to language. He was basically concerned with what people do with language and the functions of language. He proposed that in saying something, one is doing something. Communication is a matter of 'doing' (Austin, 1962). Realizing that some utterances both communicate meanings and perform actions, Austin (1962) identified three dimensions of acts related to an utterance: the locutionary act, and the illocutionary act, and the perlocutionary act. The locutionary act corresponds to the propositional meaning of the utterance, that is, what the utterance is about, e.g., "*I am thirsty*," a statement that the speaker is experiencing thirst (Austin, 1962, p. 78). The illocutionary act is the "force" that the speaker gives to the locutionary act. For example, the above utterance, "*I am thirsty*," may simply be a statement about the speaker's physical state, but it may also be intended as a request for something to drink. In saying this, the speaker is performing the illocutionary act (also called illocutionary force). Finally the perlocutionary act is performed with the intention of achieving some kind of effect on the hearer by means of uttering the sentence. In this specific instance, after hearing the above statement, "*I am thirsty*," the hearer might offer the speaker something to drink.

Austin (1962) then proposed a tentative classification of explicit performative verbs. He distinguished five categories based on the notion of illocutionary force (1962, p. 150-163):

(1) Verdictives, which express verdicts or evaluations given by judges. This category includes verbs such as *to condemn, to absolve, to judge, to estimate, to appraise*.

(2) Exercitives, which express the exercising of powers and rights. It includes verbs like *to vote, to appoint, to excommunicate, to order, to warn*.

(3) Commissives, which express commitments or undertakings. Verbs belonging to this category include *to promise, to guarantee, to contract, to commit*.

(4) Behavitives, which have to do with social behavior or reaction to it. This category includes verbs such as *to thank, to refuse, to apologize, to complain*.

(5) Expositives, which are used to explain or clarify reasons, arguments and communications. Verbs belonging to this category include *to reply, to argue, to concede, to assume*.

Influenced by Austin's work, Searle (1975) further refined the notion of speech acts. He pointed out six difficulties with Austin's classification of performative verbs (Searle, 1975), noting that (1) it creates confusion between illocutionary verbs and illocutionary acts, (2) not all the verbs are illocutionary verbs, (3) there is too much overlap of the categories, (4) there is too much heterogeneity within the categories, (5) many of the verbs do not fit the category they are listed under, and (6) there is no consistent principle of classification.

Trying to overcome the difficulties he found in Austin's taxonomy, which was based on performative verbs, Searle (1975) proposed his own classification based on the "illocutionary point," namely the purpose of the act from the speaker's perspective:

(1) Representatives, which include all acts believed by the speaker to be true or false. For example, *to affirm, to deny, to think, to estimate*. This category corresponds to Austin's expositives as well as, in part, to verdictives.

(2) Directives, which include all acts in which the speaker directs the hearer to do something. For example, *to ask, to order, to beg*.

(3) Commissives, which include all acts where the speaker expresses a commitment. For example, *to promise, to guarantee, to pledge*.

(4) Expressives, which include all acts which express the psychological position of the speaker. For example, *to apologize, to congratulate, to complain*.

(5) Declarations, which include all acts which, if successfully performed, bring about correspondence between propositional content and reality. For example, *to fire, to resign, to excommunicate*.

Furthermore, Searle (1975, 1979) showed that any speech act can be performed indirectly. An indirect speech act, he says, is one that is performed "by means of another" (Searle, 1979, p. 60). Taking an example from Searle (1975), if someone says to a friend "Let's go to the movies tonight" and the friend says "I have to study for an exam" (p. 61). The friend is, in fact, performing the speech act of refusing a proposal, even though the statement made seems not related to the proposal and does not contain

an overt rejection. Searle (1975) argues that the hearer's ability to understand such indirect speech acts is based on the "mutually shared factual background information of the speaker and the hearer, together with an ability on the part of the hearer to make inferences" (p. 61).

Searle (1975) further distinguishes indirect speech acts as either conventional or non-conventional. Some forms are conventionalized in the language, and thus easier for the listener to understand. If a person holding a camera approaches you and says "Can you take a picture?" you will immediately understand that the person is making a request and not asking a question about your abilities. According to Morgan (1978), the conventionality of utterances like the one above doesn't have to adopt the meaning itself, and its intended effect can be recognized immediately. The correct processing of these formulaic utterances is easier than that of hints, for instance. However, it still depends on the addressee's ability to recognize them. Some indirect speech acts such as hints are usually non-conventional and their meanings need to be inferred by the hearer. Clark and Schunk (1980) go beyond Morgan's (1978) view, saying that in order to understand how people process indirect speech acts it is necessary to consider not only the conventions of form but also conventions of meanings, politeness, and speakers' goals, etc.

Interlanguage Pragmatics

Interlanguage is "language-learner language" (Ellis, 1985, p. 45). It refers to the language knowledge system which individual learners develop at any given stage of

language learning. As indicated in its name, interlanguage does not belong to either learner's L1 or L2 system. It is an independent language knowledge system (Ellis, 1985). The main aim of interlanguage studies in L2 research is to describe the components of interlanguage system and their developmental features and account for the underlying processes involved in language learning and use by mainly examining learner performance. In the early 1960s, the advent of the Chomskyan linguistics stimulated a number of interlanguage studies with a heavy focus on grammatical aspects of learner language to describe and explain linguistic competence.

However, the concept of Hymes' (1979) communicative competence had a significant effect on second language research in general and interlanguage studies in particular. Above all, this concept brought to the forefront the importance of a sociocultural knowledge in language use and the development of this knowledge in language learning. Proponents of the notion of communicative competence attempted to develop an adequate theoretical framework for this notion as a guiding principle in language teaching and testing. Among others Canale and Swain (1980) attempted to extend the concept of communicative competence to a comprehensive theoretical framework. As a result, L2 researchers' attention was turned to the pragmatics and discourse aspect of language as well as communicative, functional aspects of it beyond grammatical aspects of learner language (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989). This extended area has been known as interlanguage pragmatics and given a variety of definitions from researcher to researcher: (1) "the study of nonnative speakers' use and acquisition of linguistic action patterns in a second language" (Kasper & Blum-Kulka,

1993, p. 3); (2) "nonnative speakers' comprehension and production of speech acts, and how their L2-related speech act knowledge is acquired" (Kasper & Dahl, 1991, p. 216); (3) "the performance and acquisition of speech acts by L2 learners" (Ellis, 1994, p. 159); (4) "the study of nonnative speakers' use and acquisition of L2 pragmatic knowledge" (Kasper, 1995, p. 145); and (5) "the study of the development and use of strategies for linguistic action by nonnative speakers" (Kasper & Schmidt, 1996, p. 150).

Sociolinguistic or pragmatic competence has been one of the primary concerns to interlanguage pragmaticists. They attempted to determine what constitutes such competence, and how it should be developed and put to use in a social setting. These attempts yielded numerous studies of interlanguage speech acts. One of the most frequently addressed questions in these studies is how non-native speakers realize a particular speech act in a given situation and to what extent they differ from native speakers of a target language in performing that speech act (Kasper & Rose, 2002).

Based on the above definitions and concerns established by interlanguage pragmaticists, the present study defines interlanguage pragmatics as the area of examining speech act behaviors of non-native speakers in comparison with those of target language speakers. Moreover, the focus of the present study is on describing transfer of request behaviors of Korean ESL learners from L1 into L2 and investigating the reasons for selection of specific request strategies in a given situation.

Interlanguage Request Studies

Request, the target speech act in the present study, is one of the most frequently used acts in human interactions. Requests have the intended meaning (i.e., illocutionary force) of affecting a hearer's behavior in such a way that they get the hearer to do something (Blum-Kulka, 1991). House and Kasper (1987) define requests as directives by which "S (speaker) wants H (hearer) to do p (p is at a cost to H)" (p. 1252). Sociolinguistically, requests have been viewed as a face-threatening speech act (Brown & Levinson, 1978, 1987). Since they express the speaker's intention to get the hearer to perform some action, they put imposition on the hearer. In Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, when making requests, a speaker threatens a hearer's freedom to act without being interrupted by others (i.e., negative face) and at the same time, runs the risk of losing his/her public self-image or personality (i.e., positive face).

Blum-Kulka's (1982) study is one of the early attempts to examine the interlanguage aspects of requests in a systematic manner. It investigated the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge about indirect speech act performance in a second language. One of the hypotheses made by Blum-Kulka was that learners might fail to realize indirect speech acts by either using forms not conforming to target language patterns, or transferring L1 sociolinguistic norms to L2. Three groups of subjects participated in her study: 44 English-speaking students learning Hebrew who served as experimental group, 32 native speakers of Hebrew as L2 control group and 10 native speakers of English as L1 control group. Data were collected through the use of a discourse completion task (DCT) which included seventeen items.

A comparison of speech act realization patterns used by both native speakers and learners in completing items in the DCT yielded the following results: (1) indirect speech act strategies chosen by learners differed significantly from those by native speakers in any given situation; (2) in general, learners tended to be less direct than native speakers, which was traceable to first language social norms; and (3) the interlanguage of speech act performance interacted with L2 acquisition processes such as transfer of shared strategies, overgeneralization, simplification and transfer of training (Blum-Kulka, 1982).

Blum-Kulka (1982) suggested that interlanguage speech act realization might fail to conform to target language usage on three levels of acceptability: social, linguistic and pragmatic acceptability. Among these levels, she stresses, pragmatic acceptability as the most important. The reason is that it can result in misunderstanding in cross-cultural communications when one violates unintentionally pragmatic acceptability norms in the target language.

Another interesting study highlighting the features of L2 learners' request performance was undertaken by House and Kasper (1987). They investigated the request realizations produced by German learners of English and Danish learners of English with five situations. The data were analyzed in terms of level of directness, internal and external modification. The main results of the study include: (1) in most situations, English native speakers relied heavily on one particular directness level, i.e., preparatory (e.g., 'Can you..?', or 'Could you..?') while German learners and Danish learners of English chose various levels ranging from the most direct (e.g., imperative) to the least

direct (e.g., hints). In some situations, German learners used more direct strategy than Danish learners, which was traceable to first language social norms; (2) the English native speakers used more internal mitigators (e.g., downgraders) than both learner groups; and (3) as compared to Danish learners, German learners used more external mitigators (i.e., supportive moves) than the English native speakers.

Most of all, Cohen and Olshtain's (1993) study is of primary importance to the present study for several reasons. First, it is a pioneer in the sense that it was among the first to investigate L2 learners' decision-making processes involved in speech act production. Second, to this end, unlike other studies, their study collected data from multiple sources, i.e., oral role-plays and retrospective verbalizations. Given the importance of examining learners' decision-making processes involved in speech act production (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993), the present study investigates how Korean ESL learners' subjectivity affects their request realization patterns in L2.

Pragmatic Transfer

The phenomenon of pragmatic transfer in interlanguage pragmatics has received increased attention and has been investigated by a number of applied linguists and ESL/EFL educators. Since researchers disagree about how to define the scope of pragmatics (Kasper, 1992), available definitions of pragmatic transfer therefore vary based on the researchers' stance. For instance, Olshtain (1983) refers to pragmatic transfer as a learner's strategy of incorporating native-language-based elements in target language production. Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990) define pragmatic

transfer as "transfer of the L1 sociocultural competence in performing L2 speech acts or any other aspects of L2 conversation where the speaker is trying to achieve a particular function of language" (p. 56). In this study I will use the definition offered by Kasper (1992). She defines pragmatic transfer as the influence that previous pragmatic knowledge has on the use and acquisition of L2 pragmatic knowledge. According to Kasper (1992),

> pragmatic transfer in interlanguage pragmatics shall refer 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 (p. 207).

Many researchers have shown that second language learners tend to transfer the sociolinguistic norms of their native language when interacting with native speakers of the target language. Thus, studies on second language learners' realization of target language speech acts have supported the idea that pragmatic transfer is an important source of cross-cultural communication breakdown (Thomas, 1983).

Pragmatics studies have identified L1 transfer into the L2 at different linguistic levels. For instance, in Faerch and Kasper (1989), internal request modification by means of lexical mitigating forms in Danish and German learners' of English showed traces of L1. Ebsworth, Bodman, and Carpenter (1996) also found many types of transfer from L1 in the L2 of learners of English. In other words, it was not caused just by word by word translations, for instance, inappropriate use of titles, but also by misunderstandings of cultural norms or the context for language use.

Transfer of L1 speech act knowledge to the L2 is documented in several other studies (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1983; Keshavarz, Eslami, and Ghahreman, 2006; Scarcella, 1979; Schmidt & Richards, 1985). Ebsworth, Bodman, and Carpenter (1996) found many instances of NL influence in NNSs' greetings in English. And Geis and Harlow's (1996) study shows that NSs of French and English tend to "frame requests somewhat differently and that English-speaking learners of French tend to fall somewhat in between, favoring pragmatic strategies in their L1." (p. 35). Some studies have suggested a tendency for learners to produce a mix of L1 transfer and overgeneralization in the use of an L2 form in inappropriate contexts (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Thomas, 1983).

Caused by pragmatically transferring their L1 sociocultural rules to the target language, the inability to understand a speaker's intention is called "pragmatic failure" (Thomas, 1983). Considering the inseparable relationship between language and culture, Kasper (1992) identifies two types of transfer: pragmalinguistic and sociolinguistic transfer of native norms of speaking. Pragmalinguistic transfer deals with illocutionary force and politeness values.

> Therefore 'pragmalinguistic transfer' shall designate the process whereby the illocutionary force or politeness value assigned to particular linguistic material in L1 influences learners' perception and production of form-function mappings in L2 (Kasper, 1992, p. 209).

A good example for this type of transfer is provided by Takahashi and DuFon's (1989) study, which examined nine Japanese ESL learners' use of indirectness in two request

situations. They found that learners at beginning proficiency level were either too direct or too indirect in their choice of indirectness in one of the situations. The reason for being too direct was that they transferred L1 request strategies which were direct, but polite since they contained honorific verbs. However, since the English equivalents to those L1 request strategies do not contain honorific verbs and thus are impolite, the use of L1 request forms resulted in deviation from L2 English. So this case shows not only pragmalinguistic transfer, but also pragmatic failure caused by negative transfer.

As far as sociopragmatic transfer is concerned, Kasper (1992) includes context-external factors and context-internal factors. The former refers to participants' role relationships regardless of a given linguistic action and the latter is intrinsic to a particular speech event. Therefore,

> Sociopragmatic transfer, then is operative when the social perceptions underlying language users' interpretation and performance of linguistic action in L2 are influenced by their assessment of subjectively equivalent L1 contexts (Kasper, 1992, p. 209).

For instance, Robinson (1992) attempted to discover the cognitive processes involved in the production of refusals by female Japanese ESL learners in L2. He found that one subject had difficulty expressing refusals in English since she was taught not to say 'no' in Japanese culture. As a result, when she tried to make refusals, she was confused and hesitant to say no. Robinson suggested that "The memory of this lesson and the social responsibility it conveyed, increased this subject's difficulty in making a refusal in a less

familiar, American cultural context. Sociopragmatic transfer, then, prompted at least part of this subjects' confusion over what to say" (Robinson, 1992, p. 57).

Different manifestations of pragmatic transfer have been identified in the literature as interference or negative transfer and facilitative or positive transfer (Ellis, 1994; James, 1980; Selinker, 1972). The distinction between positive and negative pragmatic transfer dates back to the language transfer literature (Odlin, 1989). Even before the field of second language research emerged during the 1940s and 1950s, linguists studying language transfer distinguished the notions of positive from negative transfer (Selinker, 1972). Negative transfer results in errors, overproduction, underproduction and miscomprehension. It can create a divergence between the behavior of native and non-native speakers of a language. Positive transfer, on the other hand, provides facilitating effects on acquisition due to the influence of cross-linguistic similarities. Thus it results in a convergence of behaviors of native and non-native speakers of a language. Adopting the distinction in the language transfer literature, Kasper (1992) defines two kinds of pragmatic transfer: positive and negative pragmatic transfer. Positive pragmatic transfer occurs when a language learner succeeds in achieving his/her intended message as a result of transferring a language-specific convention of usage shared by L1 and L2 (Kasper, 1992). Negative pragmatic transfer, on the other hand, is the inappropriate transfer of native sociolinguistic norms and conventions of speech into the target language.

Researchers have also suggested a relationship between pragmatic transfer and various other factors such as the learning context, L2 proficiency and length of residence

in the L2 environment. First, regarding L2 learning context, although transfer exists in both the EFL and ESL contexts, in FL contexts learners are more likely to rely on their L1 pragmatic competence when trying to communicate in the L2 (Takahashi & Beebe, 1987). In these contexts most learners do not have the opportunity to observe NSs in real interactions and many times they do not even have a native teacher. Therefore, one would expect that the forms used by the learners will reflect the forms they would use in equivalent situations in their L1. On the other hand, living in the L2 environment, learners are expected to have higher proficiency of the language as well as the opportunity to observe NSs interacting. However, despite these advantages, learners living in the L2 environment also transfer their L1 pragmatic competence into their L2 (Kasper, 1992).

Second, one of the factors for pragmatic transfer is training effect. "Transfers of training are influences on production or comprehension of a second language that are due to the ways learners have been taught (or to ways learners have taught themselves)" (Odlin, 1989, p. 169). Sometimes this happens because of stereotypes. For instance, some of Beebe and Takahashi's (1989) subjects reported that their Japanese teachers of English always emphasized the point that they should 'be direct when using English' (p. 119). Similarly Kasper (1982) noted that her learners avoided a type of transfer that could be positively used in the L2. Her German learners avoided the use of the English gambit 'I mean' in conversations, even though it has a perfect functional equivalent in German (*ich meine*). They explained that their teachers had instructed them not to use this "Germanism" when speaking English. According to Kasper, other examples of

"teaching-induced errors" which may lead to pragmalinguistic failure are inappropriate teaching materials (e.g., wrong use of models) and classroom discourse. For instance, the common classroom practice of giving complete answers may sound inadequate in real life situations, as when answering the question 'Have you brought your coat?' with 'Yes, I have brought my coat!' (Thomas, 1983, p. 102).

Third, the role of proficiency in L1 transfer has been also considered by SLA researchers. Some claim that less proficient learners rely more on their native language than more advanced learners. The errors the latter produce are in general due to the overgeneralization of already acquired L2 rules, and not to transfer from the L1 (Taylor, 1975; Wenk, 1986). Other researchers argue that L1 transfer is more frequent among advanced L2 learners, who, despite of near-native L2 proficiency, still rely on their L1 in some linguistic areas like phonology (Fledge, 1980, 1981; Flege & Hillenbrand, 1984; Kellerman, 1983; Klein, 1986).

Similarly, in pragmatic research there is no agreement on the role of L2 proficiency on L1 pragmatic transfer. Takahashi and Beebe (1987, 1993) say that although transfer exists among both beginners and advanced learners, the latter "display more negative pragmatic transfer because "they have the rope to hang themselves" (Takahashi & Beebe, 1993, p. 154). They suggest that proficiency in the L2 positively correlates with L2 learner's pragmatic transfer from the L1, a view also shared by Blum-Kulka (1982), and Olshtain and Cohen (1989). Similarly, other pragmatic studies have suggested that low-proficiency learners are less likely to transfer L1 pragmatic

knowledge, because they do not have enough L2 proficiency for doing so (Beebe & Takahashi, 1989; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Tanaka, 1988; Trosborg, 1987).

On the other hand, some studies have found a negative correlation between transfer and proficiency. Such is the case in Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, and Rose (1996), Takahashi and DuFon (1989), and Robinson (1992). Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, and Rose (1996), for example, investigated responses to apologies and found an effect of L2 proficiency on transfer. In general more proficient learners were less likely to make use of the L1, whereas in situations not very familiar to them they avoided transfer, supporting Kellerman (1979) regarding language distance and the use of L1 forms and functions. Different from the previous research, Takahashi (1996) showed that both low- and high-proficiency learners relied equally on their L1 request strategies— that is, she did not find any effect of proficiency on transfer.

Fourth, some studies have suggested that the length of stay in the target community influences pragmatic behavior (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1984, 1985). Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) tested NNSs of Hebrew acceptability judgment on requests and apologies and found that the answers of NNSs who had lived longer in Israel were more similar to the native speaker norm. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) observed that after eight years of stay in the L2 environment, learners' acceptability of L2 speech acts approximated native speakers'. And Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986) claimed that the amount of external modification in learners' speech gradually decreased with time in the L2 community and after five years it was similar to native speakers'. In relation to L2

pragmatic competence and pragmatic transfer, length of stay in the L2 environment seems to be a variable that needs close attention from researchers.

Finally, from a different perspective, Blum-Kulka (1991) sees non-native-like pragmatic behavior displayed by highly proficient long-term residents as a symbolic means of disidentification with the target community, in order to maintain their own cultural identity. Divergence from the target "norm" might help non-native speakers to maintain their cultural identity as separate from the community at large. Faerch and Kasper (1987) discuss L1 transfer within socio-psychological criteria, and cite works which show that learners deliberately increase their divergence from NS norms, for several reasons. One of them is the desire to preserve group solidarity, suggested in works such as Beebe and Zuengler (1983). In other cases, although L1 group membership is not the main motivation, learners may want to show their non-membership in the L2 community. One of the reasons for doing this would be to protect learners from the consequences of inappropriate language use (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Harder, 1980; Ryan, 1983). Seen from the perspective of language learners, 'pragmatic transfer' seems to show how learners negotiate their way to a resolution of speech act realization in the target language (Blum-Kulka, 1991). Further, it might be the case that learners somehow try not to lose their native cultural identity for L2 pragmatic norms in the L2 contexts (especially when performing politeness strategies) as will be suggested in some theoretical frameworks of the accommodation theory in next section (e.g., divergence from the target norm helps maintain the NNS cultural identity)

Pragmatic Transferability

Takahashi (1993) examined the transferability from Japanese to English of five conventionally indirect request strategies. Transferability was operationally defined as the transferability rate, obtained by subtracting the acceptability rate of an English request strategy from the acceptability rate of its Japanese equivalent. Native speakers of Japanese provided rating-scale judgments, in English and Japanese, of the pragmatic acceptability of each request strategy in each context. She found that transferability was highly context-dependent. For instance, in contexts where the request was expressed for the first time (for example, asking for a ride to the airport), the 'would you' equivalent was transferable whereas 'I would like' equivalent was not. The opposite happened when the request was performed 'the second time around' (for example, reminding someone to fill in a questionnaire as she had agreed to do). In addition to contextual properties, transferability was influenced by learner factors such as proficiency and familiarity with the situational context.

Takahashi (1996) also discusses the transferability of request strategies from Japanese to English. Here the transferability rate was determined by the summation of the perceived contextual appropriateness of a Japanese request and the perceived similarity in contextual appropriateness between a Japanese request and its English equivalent. In the construction of the transferability judgment questionnaire, three preliminary studies were carried out. Results of the study revealed that, regardless of L2 proficiency, learners were sensitive enough to the varying degrees of imposition in their transferability judgments. In addition, she suggests that learners use simultaneously

more than one knowledge source—L1 transfer, IL (over)generalization, and transfer of training.

In sum, evidence in previous interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) studies consistently reveals that L2 learners rely upon a variety of knowledge sources from L1, IL, general knowledge about the world and conditions including situational factors such as settings (classroom/natural) and contextual factors such as the degree of imposition and relationships of interlocutors and etc. Based on that kind of knowledge, the L2 learners make decision as to which strategy they think is appropriate in a particular circumstance. It seems that their pragmatic transfers which are normally seen as pragmatic failure are not always clearly a result of learning toward acquisition of L2 pragmatics (i.e., to acquire native-like proficiency). Rather it might be a result of their adaptation to L2 strategies, that is, to serve their communicative needs and simultaneously secure their identity. The latter leads to the question whether L2 learners will ever achieve native-like pragmatic performances or whether they want to. For instance, if learners decide to insist on 'disidentification' with the target norms to maintain their cultural identity, native-like proficiency in the target language will not be achieved and it is not their goal of L2 learning, since pragmatic learning, unlike linguistic learning, involves no restricted and specific written rules.

Speech Accommodation Theory

Zuengler (1982) emphasized that there are few integrated theories on speech variation in second language learning. Several studies (Beebe, 1988; Faerch & Kasper, 1987; Zuengler, 1982) offer Speech Accommodation Theory as a major theory to describe different types of speech variation in L2. As Zuengler (1982) suggested, Speech Accommodation Theory was to account for some possible motivations underlying certain speech shifts in speakers' linguistic styles during social encounters. Speech accommodation can function "to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a conversational partner reciprocally and dynamically" (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland 1991, p. 2). The theory attempts to explain the processes by which speakers strategically converge to or diverge from their interlocutors. Convergence is a linguistic variation that speakers make "to become more similar to the speech of their interlocutors" by means of a wider range of linguistic features including speech rates, pause and utterance lengths, pronunciation, gesture, etc (Beebe, 1987, p. 61). On the other hand, divergence refers to an adjustment that speakers make "to become less similar to the speech of their interlocutor" so that speakers accentuate linguistic differences between themselves and others (Beebe, 1987, p. 62). The most basic premises of this theory are summarized as follows by Beebe and Giles (1984, p. 8):

(1) People will attempt to converge linguistically toward the speech patterns believed to be characteristic of their recipients when they (a) desire their social approval and the perceived cost of so acting are proportionally lower

than the rewards anticipated; and/or (b) desire a high level of communicational efficiency, and (c) social norms are not perceived to dictate alternative speech strategies.

(2) The magnitude of such linguistic convergence will be a function of (a) the extent of the speakers' repertoires, and (b) factors (individual difference and environmental) that may increase the need for social approval and/or high communicational efficiency.

(3) People will attempt to maintain their speech patterns or even diverge linguistically away from those believed characteristic of their recipients when they (a) define the encounter in intergroup terms and desire a positive in-group identity or (b) wish to dissociate personally from another in an interindividual encounter.

(4) The magnitude of such divergence will be a function of (a) the extent of speakers' repertoires and (b) individual differences and contextual factors increasing the salience of the cognitive or affective functions in (3).

Convergence and divergence of speech patterns come with both rewards and costs (Beebe, 1987). For example, as Beebe (1987) suggests, in opposition to divergence, some potential benefits of converging may be to gain listeners' approval and cooperativeness or to portray a competent person. However, the potential costs may include loss of personal and social identity. In other words, if one diverges as a form of self-disclosure to indicate that certain knowledge and behavior may not be shared, it can serve to express one's attitude or social identity (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991).

Subjectivity

As previously discussed, Speech Accommodation Theory (Beebe and Giles, 1984; Beebe and Zuengler, 1983) takes both cognitive and affective variables into account in explaining the nature of L2 speakers' linguistic behavior. According to Beebe and Giles (1984), L2 speakers' linguistic repertoires alone will not determine their speech behavior. Rather, L2 speakers' "own subjective attitudes, perceptions of situations, cognitive and affective dispositions, and the like may interact to determine their speech outputs" (p. 5). L2 speakers may adjust to L2 norms to communicate effectively. Or they may diverge from L2 norms to accentuate their linguistic differences with an intention to isolate themselves from the L2 group and to maintain their sense of self. The degree of L2 speakers' convergence and divergence is a function of their linguistic repertoire and subjectivity (Beebe & Giles, 1984). One's social identity (a key component of subjectivity) can be defined as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p. 7). Individuals largely describe themselves through the defining characteristics of these groups and "derive their identity (their sense of self, their self-concept) in great part from the social categories to which they belong" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p. 9). The notion of subjectivity is largely dependent on that of identity, but can broadly be conceptualized to include individual characteristics because one is formed by both culture/society and personal character. In this study, my purpose is to illustrate how learner subjectivity plays a role on pragmatic transfer in second language sociolinguistic competence.

Therefore, as previously mentioned in the introduction, I define subjectivity as one's view and perception of the world, his/her sense of him/herself, and the ways of understanding his/her relation to the world.

The body of learner-centered research has examined the role of the learner subjectivity in second language acquisition. Nevertheless, according to Cohen (1996), it is a fairly recent tendency to view the language learner as a complex social being. McKay and Wong (1996) state that the problem with earlier sociolinguistic SLA research was that the earlier sociolinguistic research only emphasized the learner's need to master and adjust him/herself to the rules of appropriateness in the target language. As a result, a code-based view of second language learning leads to its limited view of the learner's subjectivity. Until recently, the major interest on this topic has been attitudes and motivation among others (e.g., Gardner, 1985; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Krashen, 1981, 1982).

Much early works in the study of language attitudes and motivation trace to the work of Gardner and Lambert (1972). In this framework, attitude has cognitive and affective components. In other words, it involves beliefs, emotional reactions, and behavioral tendencies related to the object of the attitude. Gardner and Lambert (1972) conceptualize attitude and motivation, in broad terms, as an underlying psychological predisposition to act or to be linked to a person's values and beliefs. Accordingly, attitude and motivation promotes or discourages the choices made in all realms of activity, whether academic or informal (Gardner, 1985). In this framework, motivation refers to the combination of desire and effort made to achieve a goal. That is, it links the

individual's reason for "any activity such as language learning with the range of behaviors and degree of effort employed in achieving goals" (McGroarty, 1996, p. 592). According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), motivation is essential for a student to become proficient in a language. They introduced the concept of instrumental and integrative motivation into the field of SLA. In their work, instrumental motivation refers to a language learner's desire to learn a second language for utilitarian purposes, such as getting a job or a driver's license, while integrative motivation refers to a language learner's desire to learn a second language in order to integrate into the target language community (Gardner & Lambert, 1972).

However, Peirce (1995) asserts that such conceptions of motivation do not adequately capture the "complex relationship between power, identity, and language learning" (p. 17). It is because such conceptions of motivation simply presuppose that the language learners are an "essential, unique, fixed and coherent" individual (Peirce, 1995, p. 3). Moreover, the concept may contribute to mislead that "an unsuccessful learner is blamed for not making him/herself more motivated" (McKay & Wong, 1996, p. 578). Peirce (1995), however, views the individual as "diverse, contradictory, and dynamic-multiple rather than unitary and centered" (p. 3). Instead of motivation, she proposes the concept of 'investment', which views the language learner as having a complex social identity with multiple desires. In her opinion, an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space. This means that language is not conceived as a neutral medium of communication. Through it, a person negotiates a sense of self.

Peirce (1995) argues that it is through language that an individual's sense of self and subjectivity is constructed. Subjectivity is socially produced in a whole range of discourse practices, and the meanings of discourse practices are "a constant site of struggle for power" (Peirce, 1995, p. 18). That is, as people discursively interact with each other, they are not only constructing shared understandings of the process of interaction, but also constructing their social identities (Peirce, 1995).

Ochs (1993) also argues that language acquisition is closely tied to social identity. He attempted to understand the complex relationship between language and social identity. Social identity, according to Ochs, is "a range of social personae, including social status, roles, positions, relationships, and institutional and other relevant community identities one may attempt to claim or assign in the course of social life" (p. 288). The social identity of the speaker is established through verbal performance of certain "social acts" and "verbal display of certain stances" (Ochs, 1993, p. 288). Ochs (1993) interchanges the terms of 'social act' with 'speech act', meaning by socially goal-directed behavior such as, requesting, apologizing, refusing, naming, and interrupting someone. A stance means the "display of a socially recognized point of attitude including both epistemic attitudes and affective attitude" (Ochs, 1993, p. 289). Ochs (1993) explains that epistemic attitude is a degree of certainty that a speaker perceives about some proposition. On the other hand, affective attitude is the intensity of emotion that a speaker holds about some referent or proposition. Membership in a social and cultural group means that people share the conventions of these acts and stances. In this sense, social identities are concerned with how the interlocutors understand social acts

and stances. In turn, the interlocutors' understandings of acts and stances are resources for establishing particular social identities. In this social constructivist view, social identity is negotiated at any particular moment of the social encounter rather than being directly encoded in the language (Ochs, 1993). Ochs (1993) argues that "assignment of social identity is a complex inferential social process" (p. 290).

Studies on the Relationship between Subjectivity and Pragmatic Transfer

Our awareness of pragmatic norms and social rules are largely acquired as we are socialized into our first-culture values and behaviors. As Hinkel's (1996) study shows, even proficient L2 speakers who are aware of L2 norms of politeness primarily tend to adhere to their first culture behaviors, especially when first-culture norms contradict those in the second (Di Vito, 1993). Learners are "committed to their culture and to deny any part of it is to deny something within their own being" (Byram & Morgan, 1994, p. 43). What is more complex is that learners acculturate to L2 norms on some occasions, whereas on others they hold on to their values and resist certain L2 practices, choosing to remain an outsider.

Past research shows that learners' subjectivity is often a site of struggle and subject to change dependent on the situation (e.g., McKay & Wong, 1996; Ochs, 1993; Peirce, 1995; Siegal, 1996; Weedon, 1997). Learners have a repertoire of subjectivity which is negotiated and established in context. Furthermore, learner subjectivity and IL use reciprocally contribute to one another (McGroarty, 1996). Learners' subjectivity

makes an impact on the way they choose to present themselves in the L2, while their IL use in turn marks their group memberships and individual characteristics.

Blum-Kulka (1991) offers an explanation for different speech act behaviors of NSs and NNSs which considers the transfer of politeness rules and formulas from L1 to L2. She explains that highly proficient NNSs choose to behave differently than NSs and that NNSs' "intercultural style" of behavior functions as a disidentifier to establish "a role distance between the speaker and his or her native interlocutors". In her view, being different helps to preserve an ethnic and/or cultural identity of the speaker. For adult learners, L2 perceptions are culturally constrained by the observers' L1 system of polite behaviors and their knowledge of the world (Seliger, 1988). Adamson (1988) states that L2 learners may fail to behave according to L2 socio-cultural norms in spite of living in an L2 community for extended periods of time because they "don't desire" to follow its pragmatic behaviors (p. 32).

Clearly, language conveys referential or literal content; however, it also carries out an interpersonal function. Communicating in L2 also implies that the L2 speakers desire to be viewed by interlocutors as competent users of the L2. However, particularly in non-target language community environments, native-like L2 competence may not be viewed as desirable. In fact, maintenance of one's first language identity may be a symbol of efforts to reject the hegemony of English in the world today (Hoffman, 1989). In a much-cited early paper, Thomas (1983) commented that sociopragmatics is closely related to people's cultural and personal beliefs and values. Thus, Thomas (1983) adds,

it seems to be more of a personal value decision whether learners wish to converge to target practices.

Several empirical studies on second-language acquisition take L2 learners' subjectivity into account. In an attempt to predict L2 speakers' language development, Schumann (1978) was perhaps one of the first to point out the role of L2 speakers' socio-affective domain in L2 learning. Investigating a learner's L2 use in a social context, Schumann analyzed the learner' psychological distance as well as his social and cognitive distance from the L2. He attributed the learner's reduced, simplified IL (divergence from L2 norms) partially to his great psychological distance. He also argued that L2 speakers' acculturation was a causal factor in L2 learning. The level of acculturation can shift over time. There may be differential effects of these variables for each individual L2 learner (Schumann, 1978). Furthermore, Rampton (1987) stresses that being a language learner constitutes a particular status, and learners can "strategically deviate from L2 norms to index this unique status, using the L2 in rhetorically and pragmatically effective manners" (p. 49). McKay and Wong (1996) also show how adolescent learners negotiate their dynamic and contradictory multiple identities. Their identities shift and influence the way they invest in L2 learning and affect the way they represent themselves through the L2.

A few studies of learners' ILP use report instances of divergence from L2 pragmatic norms caused by learners' subjectivity. In a case study of female Western learners of Japanese, Siegal (1996) reports that at a certain point in her IL development, a Hungarian learner kept avoiding higher level *keigo* (exalted/humble honorific forms).

She revealed that she could not "stand" the way a Japanese woman spoke and persisted with the polite form instead of adjusting language in a native-like manner. Her pragmatic decision appears to show her negative view of gender expectations in Japanese culture which she chose not to accommodate to. In other words, her resistance to imposed social positioning influenced her ILP use. Siegal (1996) understands learners' to be "active agents whose use … of L2 positions them in a particular place in society" (p. 360).

LoCastro (1998) also reported on her own resistance to pragmatic norms in L2 Japanese. Her self-analysis showed her awareness of the expected use of *keigo*, indicative of the highly hierarchical social structure of the community. Her "own ideological subject position, i.e., based on experience in more egalitarian, less-gendered societal structures, caused dissonance to the extent of causing demotivation to learn the situationally appropriate language beyond minimal attention to formal politeness routines" (LoCastro, 1998, p. 10). Her subjectivity seemed to refuse both to acquire new L2 norms and to use already-acquired pragmatic norms.

In another context, LoCastro (2001) studied Japanese university students' individual differences in attitude, self-identity, and stated willingness to accommodate to pragmatic norms in L2 English. These learners frequently commented that they must adjust to L2 norms. Several stated that the ability to adjust depends on subjectivity (e.g., motivation and self-confidence). A few number of participants expressed resistance to L2 pragmatic norms, desiring to become members of the L2 community without behaving like native speakers. Although LoCastro (2001) did not study their actual language and thus had no evidence of a direct link between learners' resistance and ILP

use, she concluded that individual differences in subjectivity "may influence and constrain the willingness to adopt NS standards for linguistic action" (p. 83).

The bulk of research on this topic, however, is still too small to allow us to affirm anything about when pragmatic transfer occurs and how one's subjectivity interplays with pragmatic transfer. As Faerch and Kasper (1987) point out, researchers will not be able to go very far in examining process-level phenomena, which include transfer, with performance data only. Researchers need to use instruments that can provide information about learners' knowledge and about the activation of this knowledge. And one way to achieve this goal is through introspective and retrospective methods. These issues will be further discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The present study investigates the pragmatic transfer patterns of L2 language use and impact of learner subjectivity that may influence pragmatic language choice among Korean second language learners of English. Canonical design for interlanguage research (Kasper & Dahl, 1991), which involves collection and analysis of comparable sets of IL, L1, and L2, was adopted for use in this study.

The study utilizes both quantitative and qualitative procedures. The quantitative phase of this study provides the basis to generalize and identify significant patterns within the three groups. The quantitative design employed a cross-sectional data collection instrument that elicited request speech act behavior. The qualitative aspect included a semi-structured interview in Korean with a sample of ESL participants selected according to the amount of pragmatic transfer they used.

Discourse Completion Task (DCT)

Participants

To ensure as much equivalence as possible in the subject sample, Korean and American undergraduate students enrolled in a university in the United States were selected as the target population. The fact that these subjects were undergraduate

students makes the sample homogeneous in terms of the members' educational background and assumed literacy level in their native language.

As shown in Table 1, three types of language data were collected from two groups of participants; (1) English spoken by thirty American native speakers (henceforth the AE), (2) English spoken by thirty Korean advanced learners of English (KE), and (3) Korean spoken by thirty Korean native speakers (KK) (Same as participants in the KK group). The AE participants were undergraduate students majoring in education at a university in South Central Texas.

TABLE 1

Participants' Profile

Group	Average Age	Gender	Average formal instruction of English	Average Residence in the US
AE (N=30)	22.8	F = 19 M = 11	(native)	-
KE = KK (N=30)	25.3	F = 22 M = 8	7.8 years	3.8 months

Note. AE = American English spoken by American; KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.

The second group included thirty Korean learners of ESL who responded to both the Korean discourse completion task (DCT) and English DCT. They were undergraduate students attending the English Language Institute (ELI) at a university in the South Central Texas. Upon entering the institute, learners are assigned to the advanced classes according to the English Language Proficiency Exam (ELPE) scores,

which contain six segments: oral skill assessment, writing skills assessment, reading comprehension, grammar, vocabulary, and listening comprehension. The age of this group ranged from 21 to 29.

Instrumentation

To obtain the data on requests, a questionnaire, including the discourse completion task (DCT), was used. An important task in this study was to examine the semantic formulas used in requests of Korean ESL learners as compared to those of native speakers of English and Korean. This requires a controlled procedure by which a substantial amount of data from two different cultural and linguistic groups is collected in the same contexts for comparability. The present study employed DCT as the means of data collection because, as indicated in Beebe and Cumming (1996), it best serves the purpose of the investigation for this study. The aim is not to examine the whole process of interaction and negotiation between the interlocutors, but to examine the knowledge or competence of pragmatic functioning. In other words, it focuses on the ESL learners' pragmatic choice, whether to transfer L1 into L2 norms. Therefore, data obtained from quasi-naturalistic settings that are familiar and realistic to the informants are sufficient for the purposes of this study. Studies have found that language used in quasi-naturalistic settings closely approximates language use in naturalistic settings with the exception of repetitions, hesitations, and fluency errors (Scholfield, 1995).

Within interlanguage speech act research, many studies deal with methodological issues by comparing data collected by different methods. A major concern of these

studies is whether and to what extent different data-gathering methods result in the

differences in the overall findings of research (Houck & Gass, 1996). Among others, the

research methods that have most typically been used in speech act studies are written

discourse completion tests, or "discourse completion tasks" (DCTs), (i.e., a respondent

reads a situation briefly described in writing and provides a written response) (Blum-

Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Maeshiba, Yoshinaga, Kasper, & Rose, 1996). Some

studies have compared DCT data to natural data (e.g., Beebe & Cummings, 1996;

Hartford & Bardivo-Harlig, 1992), to role play data (e.g., Rintell & Mitchell, 1989) or to

both natural and role play data (e.g., Bodman & Eisenstein, 1988).

Beebe and Cummings (1996) compared refusals collected from a DCT with

refusals occurring during telephone conversations. Comparing the refusals from the DCT

with those from telephone conversations, they reported that DCTs are a "highly effective

means of instrumentation" (p. 80). They summarized the effectiveness of DCT as an

elicitation method for the following purposes: (1) gather large amount of data quickly;

(2) create an initial classification of semantic formulas and strategies that will likely

occur in natural speech; (3) study the stereotypical, perceived requirements for socially

appropriate responses; (4) gain insight into social and psychological factors that are

likely to affect speech act performance; (5) ascertain the canonical shape of speech acts

in the minds of speakers of the language; and (6) vary the situational control variables

that may affect speech behavior.

According to Beebe and Cummings (1996), subjects' intuitions about what they

would say correspond closely to what other subjects actually did say in the same

situation, and written responses are valid. Therefore, the DCT responses adequately

capture the core of their oral counterparts. The DCTs enable researchers to elicit the

realization of a given speech act by controlling contextual variability (Olshtain & Blum-

Kulka, 1984). Moreover, since all subjects respond to the same scenarios in the same

written form, data analysis is more consistent and reliable.

After the instrument was prepared in English, the entire instrument was

translated into Korean by the researcher. Then, a proficient Korean-English bilingual did

a back translation of the instrument into English. Finally, a native speaker of English did

a reliability check on the translation by comparing the original English version with the

back-translated English version. To check for the instrument's face validity, two native

speakers of English and two native speakers of Korean were asked to read the scenarios

to make sure that they are clear and natural.

All participants were asked to respond to each situation in discourse completion

task (DCT) questionnaire as if they were communicating authentically. The Korean ESL

group responded to English version of the DCT first, and the Korean version one week

later. The second language (L2) instrument was given first so that transfer from the first

language (L1) into the L2 would not be encouraged by the procedure.

The Discourse Completion Task (DCT) used in this study consisted of six

request scenarios varied on the contextual factors of interlocutor social distance and

social status. According to the definition by Hudson, Detmer, and Brown (1995, p. 4-5),

social distance represents how familiar the two interlocutors are with each other and has

two values, + and -: + social distance is used to mean that interlocutors do not know each

other (e.g., customer to service person or law enforcement officer to citizen), and –

social distance indicates that they know each other (e.g., coworkers or members of a

group or social class). Social status refers to social power of a speaker over a hearer, or

vice-versa, and has three values, +, =, -: + social status is used to mean a situation where

the speaker has higher rank, title, or social position, or is in control of the asset in the

situation (e.g., supervisor, manager, president, customer), and – social status refers to a

situation where the speaker has lower/lesser rank, title, or social position, or is not in

control of the assets in the situation (e.g., worker of lesser status, member of

organization with lesser status, or salesperson serving customer). The social status value

of = is used to represent a situation where the speaker and hearer have similar rank, title,

or social position.

A systematic combination of two values of social distance with three values of

social status yielded six categories, which resulted in six situations: (+ social distance, +

social status), (+social distance, = social status), (+social distance, - social status), (-

social distance, + social status), (- social distance, = social status), (- social distance, -

social status). Regarding the content of the situations, effort was made to develop

scenarios which the subjects of this study (i.e., college students) are familiar with, and

which they might have reacted to before. Among six situations, two were taken from

Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989), two from Hill (1997), and two from Mir-

Fernandez (1994).

In order to obtain content validity, the content of the DCT was checked by a

professor of language education. Further, to refine the DCT, a pilot study was conducted

in which the DCT was administered to two Korean learners of ESL and two native speakers of English and necessary changes were made. The relationships between speakers and hearers in terms of social distance and social status in six situations are given below in Table 2, followed by a summary of each situation (Appendix A for situations):

TABLE 2

Description of DCT Items

Situations	Social Distance	Social Status
1. lab assistant vs. student	- SD	+ SS (S>H)
2. student vs. student (neighbors)	+ SD	= SS (S=H)
3. student vs. professor	- SD	- SS (S<H)
4. library monitor vs. student	+ SD	+ SS (S>H)
5. student vs. student (classmates)	- SD	= SS (S=H)
6. student vs. professor	+ SD	- SS (S<H)

Note. SD=social distance; SS=social status; S=speaker; H=hearer.

Summary of each situation:

S1: A computer assistant asks his/her **classmate** to stop playing games in a computer lab.

S2: A student asks another student in a nearby room whom he/she **does not know** to turn down the music.

S3: A student asks a professor whom he/she **has known for a couple of years** to give him/her extension on the term paper.

S4: A library monitor asks a group of students whom he/she **does not know** to be quiet.

S5: A student asks a **classmate** to lend a notebook.

S6: A student asks a new professor whom he/she **does not know** to lend an article to him/her.

American participants and Korean ESL learners were directed to imagine themselves in the six scenarios situated in the US for English version and for the Korean version, they were asked to imagine to be situated in Korea.

Data Analysis

Coding

The coding scheme developed by Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) in the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP) project was used for the analysis of DCT data. According to the coding scheme in the CCSARP, a request sequence consists of a head act and other parts such as internal and external modifications which are optional and nonessential for realizing a request. A head act is the core of a request sequence since it realizes a request independently of other parts. That is, a head act is a request strategy chosen by a speaker in a specific context to perform a request. So the first step in analyzing DCT data was to identify a head act from a written response to each one of the six situations. Once head acts were identified, they were further analyzed in terms of such dimensions as strategy type, directness level, and perspective. A request sequence, for example, "Hey, Michelle, could I borrow your

notes from the last lecture, please? I'll give them back by tonight!" includes the head act

(*could I borrow your notes from the last lecture?*); external modifiers, that is, two

openers – (*Hey, Michelle*); and one imposition minimizer (*I'll give them back by tonight*)

and one internal modifier, that is, a politeness marker (*please*). In this utterance, the head

act can be identified as preparatory (strategy type), conventionally indirect (directness

level), and speaker-oriented (perspective) head act.

(A) Request strategies and level of directness of head acts

Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) classified head acts (i.e., request

strategies) into nine different types on the basis of a nine-point scale of directness. Table

3 shows definitions and examples of each type of strategy.

TABLE 3

Nine Types of Request Strategies (Based on Nine Directness Levels)

Strategy type	Definition	Examples
Direct		
1. Mood derivable	Utterances in which the grammatical mood of the verb signals illocutionary force	"Stop playing game here"
2. Explicit performative	Utterances in which the illocutionary force is explicitly named	"I came here to *ask* you if I can borrow that article from you"
3. Hedged performative	Utterances in which the naming of the illocutionary force is modified by hedging expressions.	"I *have to ask* you to leave," "I'*d like to ask* you to move to somewhere else you can talk"

TABLE 3--*Continued*.

Strategy type	Definition	Examples
4. Obligation statement	Utterances which state the obligation of the hearer to carry out the act	"You *must* yield your computer to other students"
<u>Conventionally Indirect</u>		
5. Want statement	Utterances which state the speaker's desire that the hearer carry out the act	"*I'd like to* borrow your note for a while"
6. Suggestory formula	Utterances which contain a suggestion to do *X*	"*Why don't you* use a microphone?"
7.Preparatory	Utterances containing reference to preparatory condition for feasibility of the request, typically one of ability, willingness, or possibility, as conventionalized.	"*Would* you give me an extension, please?," "*Could* you please turn down the music?," "*May* I please borrow and photocopy it?"
<u>Nonconventionally Indirect</u>		
8. Strong hint	Utterances containing partial reference to object or element needed for the implementation of the act	Intent: getting a hearer to lend a notebook: "Will you be using your notebook?"
9. Mild hint	Utterances that make no reference to the request proper	Intent: getting a hearer to yield his/her seat in a computer lab: "Do you have another project except for games?"

Note. Definition of each strategy type was taken from Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989). Examples of each type were from data in this study.

The nine different types of request strategies have been shown universally to manifest three main levels of directness (Blum-Kulka, 1989). By directness they mean, "the degree to which the speaker's illocutionary intent is apparent from the locution" (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989, p. 278). These three levels of directness are: 1) the most direct, explicit level realizing requests through the linguistic form of imperatives, that is, 1 (mood derivable) through 4 (obligation statement); 2) conventionally indirect level realizing requests by conventionalized linguistic means known as indirect speech acts, 5 (want statement) through 7 (preparatory); and 3) the least direct (non-conventionally indirect) level realizing requests by hints, 8 (strong hint) and 9 (mild hint). Blum-Kulka (1989) defined the criteria for these three categories as follows:

> The most direct, explicit level is realized by requests syntactically marked as such, for example, mood derivables, or by other verbal means that name the act as a request, such as performatives and hedged performatives. The conventionally indirect level: strategies that realize the act by reference to contextual preconditions necessary for its performance, as conventionalized in a given language. The non-conventional indirect level, i.e., the open-ended group of indirect strategies that realize the request either by partial reference to the object or element needed for the implementation of the act or by reliance on contextual clues (Blum-Kulka, 1989, p. 46-47)

The three categories (direct, conventionally indirect, non-conventionally indirect) were then further subdivided into the nine exclusive request strategies shown in Table 3. The first strategy, the mood derivable, is considered the most direct strategy, in which the requester carries his intention very explicitly. The next category, performative, also

expresses the requester's intention clearly but in a less direct way than the imperative. In the hedged performative, the naming of the illocutionary force is modified by hedging expressions such as *I'd like to-*. An obligation statement utterance states the obligation of the hearer by using a modal verb such as *You have to-*. A want statement conveys the desire of the speaker for the hearer to carry out the act. A suggestory formula contains a suggestion to the requestee, using *Why don't you-* or *How about you?* A preparatory utterance contains a reference to preparatory conditions such as *Can/Could you-?* A strong hint includes an utterance containing partial reference to the object, whereas a mild hint does not include a reference at all.

According to CCSARP, the indirectness of the head act is determined using the indirectness scale. As the scale moves up, the degree of indirectness of an utterance increases (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper, 1989). The scale is composed of nine request strategy types. That is, a number on a nine-point scale was assigned to each strategy: 1 (mood derivable), 2 (explicit performative), 3 (hedged performative), and so on.

Based on Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) data was coded and the choice of request strategies was compared among the three groups. Comparing the overall distribution of the three main request strategies and a detailed analysis of the nine request strategies was expected to show to what extent the KE learners approximate the target language norm.

Request strategies used by the three groups were also coded according to perspective. A request strategy can emphasize the role of a speaker, a hearer, both

interlocutors, or none of them. That is, a request strategy can be speaker-oriented, hearer-oriented, inclusive, or impersonal:

1) Speaker-oriented: (e.g., "Can/Could *I* use your computer tonight?")
2) Hearer-oriented: (e.g., "Can/Could *you* lend your notebook?")
3) Inclusive: (e.g., "Can/Could *we* get together to study?")
4) Impersonal: (e.g., "*It* should be done")

A choice of perspective shows a culture-specific way of making requests (Niki & Tajika, 1994). Each culture has a tendency to choose a specific perspective in using request strategies. So a comparison was made of the choice of perspective made by the three groups to determine the differences among them in selecting perspective in request realizations.

(B) Modifications

As mentioned earlier, a request sequence includes a head act (a request strategy) and other optional parts such as internal and external modifications. The internal modifications elaborate the request by acting on the strategy proper (i.e. head act) and external modifications by being added to the requests as supportive moves. In other words, certain levels of directness interact with these two modification devices to produce varying degree of politeness. After head acts were coded in terms of strategy type, three directness levels, and perspectives, internal and external modifications were coded and classified.

According to Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), supportive moves, that is, external modifications, include preparatory, precommitment, grounder, disarmer, promise of reward, and imposition minimizer. Since Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper's (1989) coding scheme did not cover all supportive moves found in the present study, some subcategories (i.e., concern and appreciation) were taken from Mir-Fernandez (1994). Definition and examples of supportive moves used for classification are given in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Supportive Moves

Types of moves	Definition	Example
Opener	The speaker alerts the hearer's attention to the ensuing speech act by giving the form of "greeting or social formulae."	"*How are you*?" "*Excuse me,*" "*Professor,*" "*Jane*"
Preparator	The speaker prepares his or her hearer for the ensuing request by announcing that he or she will make a request by asking about the potential availability of the hearer for carrying out the request by asking for the hearer's permission to make the request, or by stating a problem or needs leading to a request.	"*I have a favor to ask*. Do you think I could borrow this article?" "*I just wanted to talk to you about the paper that is due tomorrow*. I have had so many problems with it."
Grounder	The speaker gives reasons, explanations, or justifications for his/her request.	"*The book we need for the assignment is checked out*. May I borrow your copy please?" "Could you let other student have a turn *since you are just playing games*?"

TABLE 4—*Continued*.

Types of moves	Definition	Example
Disarmer	The speaker tries to remove any potential objections the hearer might raise upon being confronted with the request	"*You seem to know what's going on in here.* Would you give your computer to others?"
Promise of reward	The speaker gives a reward to increase the likelihood of the hearer's compliance with the request.	"Could you lend me your notebook? *Next time you can copy mine if you need it.*"
Imposition minimizer	The speaker tries to reduce the imposition created by the request.	"Would you mind if I borrow your article*? I'll return it as soon as I can.*"
Concern	The speaker shows concern about the hearer's ability, willingness, or availability to carry out the request.	"*if you don't mind,*" "*if you have time,*" "*if it is ok* to you"
Appreciation	The speaker expresses his/her appreciation for the hearer's compliance with the request before it is performed.	"I *appreciate* you(it)," "*thank you,*" "*thanks*"
Apology	Apology is used as opening or closing.	"I'm *very sorry* to have to ask you this."

Note. Definition of each strategy type was taken from Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) and Mir-Fernandez (1994). Examples of each type were from data in this study.

The last component of DCT data to analyze was the internal modifiers, which modify a request strategy internally. They mitigate "the impositive force of a request through syntactic, lexical or phrasal choices" (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989, p. 281). According to House and Kasper (1981), internal modifiers are "markers which play down the impact X's utterance is likely to have on Y" (p. 166). So they play a significant role in making a given strategy polite, therefore saving the hearer's face. Different degrees of politeness can be achieved according to presence or absence of

internal modifiers and number of internal modifiers present in a strategy (House &

Kasper, 1981). For the classification of internal modifiers in the study, Blum-Kulka,

House, and Kasper's (1989) and Mir-Fernandez's (1994) coding schemes were used.

Table 5 shows definition and examples of each category of internal modifiers used for

the analysis:

TABLE 5

Internal Modifiers

Category of internal modifiers	Definition	Example
Politeness marker	An optional element added to an act to show deference to the hearer and to bid for cooperative behavior	Please, do you think "*Please* wrap it up now", "Go home, *please*"
Play-down	Syntactic devices used to tone down the perlocutionary effect an utterance is likely to have on the hearer	Past tense with present time reference, durative aspect marker, negation "I *wanted* to see if I could maybe turn it in a little late" "I *was wondering* if the music could be turned down"
Consultative device	Optional devices such as routines and ritualized formulas consulting explicitly the hearer's opinion, or by involving the hearer and biding for his/her cooperation	Would you mind if…, would you mind v-ing "*Would you mind if* I borrowed your article?" "*Would you mind keeping* the noise level to a minimum?"
Understater	Adverbial modifiers by means of which the speaker underrepresents the state of affairs denoted in the proposition	A little bit, a second, not very much, just a trifle "Do you think you could turn down your music *a little bit*?"

TABLE 5—*Continued*.

Category of internal modifiers	Definition	Example
Downtoner	Sentence modifiers which are used by the speaker in order to reduce the impositive force of his/her request	Just, possibly, maybe, simply, perhaps, rather "I was *just* wondering if you cared if I used it" "Could you *possibly* turn your music down?"
Subjectivizer	Elements in which the speaker explicitly expresses his/her subjective opinion via-a-vis the state of affairs referred to in the proposition, thus lowering the assertive force of the request	I think, I believe, I suppose, I am afraid, in my opinion "*I think* you should give other students your computer" "*I think* it's too loud to do my stuff"
Agent avoider	Syntactic devices by means of which it is possible for the speaker not to mention either him/herself or the hearer as agents, thus, for instances, avoiding direct attack	Passive, impersonal constructions using people, they, one, you as neutral agents lacking [+definite] and [+specific] reference "*Would it be possible* for you to maybe quiet down a little or talk somewhere else?"

Note. Definition of each strategy type was taken from Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) and Mir-Fernandez's (1994). Examples of each type were from data in this study.

After the coding was completed, the descriptive analytical procedures were undertaken. First, total number of semantic formulas employed by each group was determined by counting the number of semantic formulas used in each DCT situation by each group of participants. Second, frequency of use/percent of responses containing a given semantic formula in each DCT situation was calculated by finding out how many times each semantic formula is used by each group in each situation. In order to find out the similarities and differences in the realization patterns of requests between Korean

ESL learners and American English speakers, the data were subjected to chi-square tests

for comparing frequencies of the total number of uses of semantic formulas across all

situations. The alpha level was set at .05 or less.

Chi-square is "a statistical procedure to determine the degree of relationship

between two or more categorical variables" (Moore and McCabe, 1999, p.152). Chi-

square shows if there is or not an association between the variables. It compares the

actual observed cell frequencies with the expected frequencies and determines if the

variables are independent or associated. For this study, the frequencies (in percents) of

semantic formulas were compared among groups in order to define their main

characteristics and patterns. Chi-square analysis from the data was conducted to observe

how similarly/differently the groups performed requests in given situations. Quantitative

analysis provided us with quantitative differences between the three groups. Qualitative

analysis was also used to provide explanation as to the underlying reasons of the

observed use of language by the ESL learners.

Interview

The second instrument used in the present research is a semi-structured

interview. This procedure has been used by different researchers (e.g., Benander, 1990;

Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986; Robinson, 1992) and has been a very important tool to gain

insights on the use of speech acts in both students' L1 and L2. In addition, as Green

(1994) says, the interview "provides not only unsolicited corroboration for a hypothesis,

but also insights into previously unimagined factors affecting the choice to use some

form" (p. 13). Berg (1995) also maintains that an interview is an effective method of

collecting information for certain types of assumptions, particularly when investigators

are interested in understanding the perceptions of participants and learning how

participants come to attach certain meanings to phenomena or events.

Procedure for Selection of Interviewees

In order to explore the influence of subjectivity on interlanguage pragmatic use,

the Korean ESL participants who showed the most and the least pragmatic transfer were

selected for interview. To find the intended interviewees, the typical patterns of two

native groups (AE, KK) had to be established first. The cross-cultural baseline data

analysis was conducted to set up the typical directness of head acts and frequency of

supportive moves and internal modifiers used in the requests of native speakers of both

Korean and English. The mean directness level of requests, frequency of supportive

moves and internal modifiers used by the two language groups were compared. For

directness, a number on a nine-point scale was assigned to each head act request

strategy: 1 (mood derivable) through 9 (mild hint). The most direct and explicit strategy

used for the realization of a request strategy was considered as the head act (Blum-Kulka,

House, and Kasper 1989). In tallying the total number of uses of each modification in all

of the six situations, all formulas used were counted in each situation. The total

represents how often supportive moves or internal modifiers were used. For each group,

the mean directness level, and frequency of modifications in all situations were

converted by:

Mean of directness level in each group =

$$\frac{\text{Total added number of a weighed head act used by all participants in six situations}}{\text{Total number of participants in each group (30)} \times \text{Total number of situations (6)}}$$

Mean of frequency of supportive moves used in each group =

$$\frac{\text{Total number of supportive moves used by all participants in six situations}}{\text{Total number of participants in each group (30)} \times \text{Total number of situations (6)}}$$

Mean of frequency of internal modifiers made in each group =

$$\frac{\text{Total number of internal modifiers used by all participants in six situations}}{\text{Total number of participants in each group (30)} \times \text{Total number of situations (6)}}$$

Second, the level of directness and frequency of modifications used by each KE

were compared to the cross-cultural baseline data in order to identify the amount of the

occurrences of pragmatic transfer. The mean of the directness of head act used by one

participant per situation was calculated by:

Mean of directness level used by each KE =

$$\frac{\text{Total added number of a weighed head acts used in all six situations}}{6 \ (= \text{six situations})}$$

For each KE participant, the total number of uses of supportive moves and internal

modifiers in the entire 6 situations were converted into a mean as follows respectively:

Mean of frequency of supportive moves made by each KE in each situation =

$$\frac{\text{Total number of uses of supportive moves in the six situations}}{6 \ (= \text{six situations})}$$

Mean of frequency of internal modifiers made by each KE in each situation =

Total number of uses of internal modifiers in the six situations
6 (six situations)

As shown in Figure 1, when the mean of the AE group containing a given variable (i.e., directness level, supportive moves, and internal modifiers) is greater than the KK group (i.e., (a) in the Figure), if a KE's mean of the given variable was greater than AE's mean, 1 was assigned, indicating less transfer, if smaller than that of KK group, 3 (more transfer), and finally 2 in between. When the mean of the AE group containing a given variable (i.e. directness level, supportive moves, and internal modifiers) is smaller than the KK group (i.e., AE < KK), if a KE's mean containing a given variable was smaller than that of the AE group, 1 was assigned (i.e., less transfer), if greater than that of KK group, 3 (more transfer), and finally 2 in between.

FIGURE 1

Procedure of Selecting Participants for Interview

(a) AE group's mean > KK group's mean   (b) KK group's mean > AE group's mean
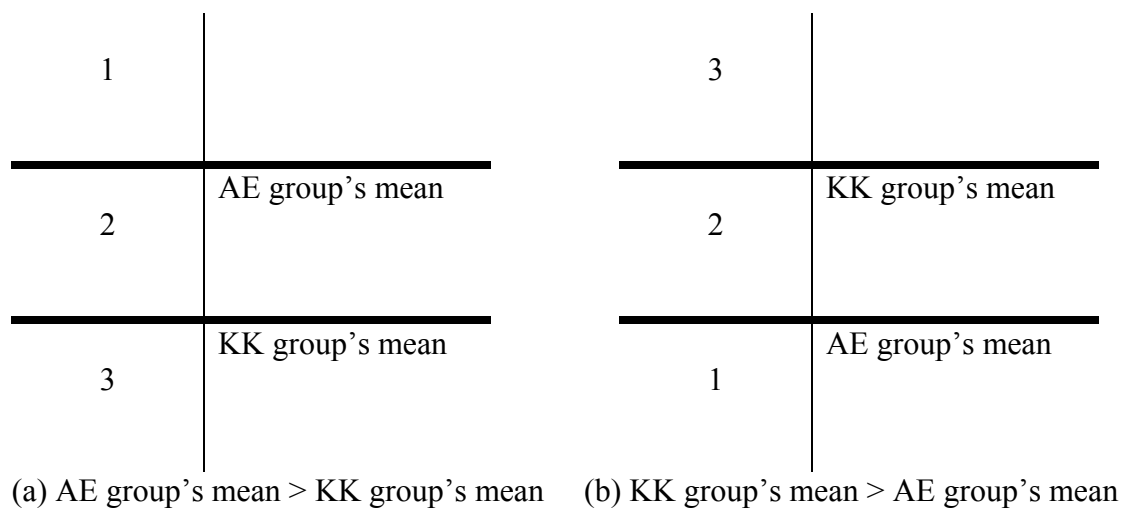
After all three weights from three different factors were assigned and added up, those participants who got 8 or 9 were selected for interview as showing more pragmatic transfer. Those who got 4 or 5 were also selected for interview as showing less pragmatic transfer. (See the table on page 96 for more details about the weight description of KE participants).

Interview Data Collection

The interviews with participants were transcribed and analyzed to identify the reasons for pragmatic transfer from L1 into L2 in an attempt to find examples of learners' convergence to or divergence from L2 norms. Participants' perceptions and understandings regarding their production of the intended speech act were explored through the interviews.

Introspective methods have been used in second language research as a way of eliciting and exploring processes, thoughts, and strategies learners make use of when performing a task in the second language. Researchers basically ask learners to report on their thoughts after having performed a given task. For the analysis of introspective data (interviews), I developed the type of retrospective report referred to in the literature as stimulated recall.

Stimulated recall methodology (Gass & Mackey, 2000) is developed by giving learners cues and aids which provide support for the recall. These aids include the tasks or activities learners had previously engaged in. In other words, learners are given the

instruments of data elicitation (written DCT), and these are used to reconstruct the moment in which they were actively engaging in performing these tasks.

By giving learners a chance to review their L2 linguistic production, the researcher is in fact trying to help learners recreate the moment of production so that they can give more informed explanations about what they were thinking, their communicative intentions and their perceptions of the communicative event. All of these can help the researcher gain access to processes that are not easily observable or identifiable through learners' L2 linguistic production only.

In order to facilitate recall the interviewees were given their DCTs in English and Korean to look at and then they were asked to recall and tell what they were thinking when using a request in each one of the six situations. Participants were also asked to explain the observed similarities or discrepancies by reflecting on their interlanguage pragmatic use. Prompt questions were asked such as "are you aware that your responses in English and Korean are similar or different?", "what made you perform a particular request differently in English and Korean in this situation?", and "on what basis did you use similar or different strategies in two languages in this situation?" The questions required that learners reconstruct the moment they were engaged in the tasks and probed specific intentions, linguistic planning and choices, social evaluation, and cultural perceptions. Thus, the interviews helped me determine and understand their underlying linguistic and cultural knowledge.

Besides the questions on how they performed the requests in the DCT, the interview was designed to answer the researcher's questions regarding the participants'

understanding of the task, beliefs about their speech behavior and the sociocultural assumptions that they bring into speech act performance. The interviewer asked participants' understanding of social norms in their native and target cultures, their beliefs about their speech behavior, their judgment on various contextual factors that affected their speech behavior, and their perceptions of pragmatic appropriateness when speaking in English (See Appendix D for Interview Questions). The questions used in the interview followed the main structure; however, depending on the participants' responses additional questions were posed to clarify and follow up on the participants' answers. The interview data were audio-taped. Since the learners used their native language, audio-taped data were transcribed in Korean, which was later translated into English.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter, the process of conducting this study and the methodological research approaches utilized in collecting and analyzing the data were discussed in detail. This chapter reports the findings gathered from the written discourse completion task (DCT) from the three groups of participants and also from the recorded interviews with Korean ESL learners selected according to the DCT results. American English (AE) speakers' performance and Korean speakers' native language (KK) performance of requests was collected as the baseline data (AE) in order to identify the occurrence of pragmatic transfer. Whenever the request behaviors of the Korean ESL learners deviated from those of the American native speakers, the data from the Korean native language was examined to identify any possible L1 transfer effects.

The first part of this chapter identifies and discusses the study's findings regarding the evidence of pragmatic transfer in the English used by Korean nonnative speakers who are learning English as a second language (ESL) in the US. It examines the presence of pragmatic transfer, i.e., the transfer of the sociocultural norms of the native language (Korean) when performing requests in the target language (English) in terms of the strategy type, levels of directness, perspectives, supportive moves, and internal modifiers. Second part will center on issues of subjectivity and decision-making processes from a selected group of Korean ESL learners. The Korean ESL learners'

reasons for the interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) use were investigated to reveal what led them to converge to or diverge from L2 norms. Their experience, beliefs, and thoughts were examined to explore the complex ways in which individual differences in subjectivity affected their ILP use in each situation.

To achieve the objective of the study, data were evaluated and interpreted on the basis of both statistical and descriptive analyses. Although the linguistic data can be to some extent quantified, many sociocultural phenomena can be revealed only through detailed qualitative analysis. This chapter presents the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analysis of data. The findings are organized according to the topics posed in the research questions.

Evidence of Pragmatic Transfer

Before discussing this section, it is important to recall the working definition of pragmatic transfer. It was mentioned earlier that pragmatic transfer refers to the use of rules of language use from one's native language when using a second or foreign language. To put it in a more operational way, any resemblance between the Korean (KK), L1, and the English (KE), L2, spoken by Korean participants, but different from native speakers of English in their requests, will be considered in this study as evidence of pragmatic transfer.

As discussed earlier, the linguistic encoding of requestive utterances depends on choices made on four factors: that is, (a) levels of directness of head acts, (b)

perspectives, (c) supportive moves (external modifications), and (d) internal modifications (Blum-Kulka, 1991). The directness is certainly one of the important dimensions of requesting behavior which affects politeness. The presence or absence of various mitigating devices such as supportive moves and various kinds of internal modifiers also play a role in producing varying effects of politeness. To achieve requestive goals with maximum effectiveness and politeness, speakers should utilize linguistic repertoire of those four factors available in any given language. The present section describes and compares the requestive repertoires of speakers of American English and Korean in terms of the four factors in linguistic encoding component.

The percentages of responses including a given formula were calculated for all groups and six major patterns were found indicating native language influence. The frequency analysis of semantic formulas was adopted from Takahashi and Beebe (1987) and Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990). Based on the previous studies mentioned above, this study considered it to provide evidence of pragmatic transfer in situations where the frequency of DCT responses containing a given formulas reflects any one of the following patterns:

1. The frequency of the native Korean speakers' (KK) responses containing a given semantic formula is the greatest, followed by the Korean ESL learners' (KE) and the native English speakers' (AE) responses (i.e., KK > KE > AE).

2. The frequency of the native Korean speakers' responses containing a given semantic formula is the lowest, followed by the Korean ESL learners' and the native English speakers' responses (i.e., KK < KE < AE).

3. The frequency of the native Korean speakers' responses containing a given semantic formula is equal to or almost equal to the Korean ESL learners' responses containing the formula. However, the frequency of the native English speakers' responses containing the given semantic formula is greater than the native Korean speakers' and Korean ESL learners' responses (i.e., KK ≈ KE < AE, where ≈ means "almost =").

4. The frequency of the native Korean speakers' responses containing a given semantic formula is equal to or almost equal to the Korean ESL learners' responses containing the formula. However, the frequency of the native English speakers' responses containing the given semantic formula is less than the Korean native speakers' and the Korean ESL learners' responses (i.e., KK ≈ KE > AE).

5. The native Korean speakers and the Korean ESL learners use a formula that the native English speakers do not (i.e., KK & KE yes vs. AE no).

6. The native Korean speakers and the Korean ESL learners do not use a formula that the native English speakers do (i.e., KK & KE no vs. AE yes).

The frequency of semantic formula which reflects any of the abovementioned patterns is marked by †† in the tables included in this chapter.

The condition for the occurrence of pragmatic transfer was considered present with regard to the frequency of semantic formulas if the difference between the two groups of AE and KK was greater than 20% in each case. The difference was calculated by subtracting the larger percentage from the smaller percentage, and dividing by the larger percentage. If the condition for the occurrence of pragmatic transfer was satisfied, it was marked by †. In other words, † indicates the condition for pragmatic transfer and †† the occurrence of pragmatic transfer.

Pragmatic Transfer in the Use of Head Acts

This section focuses on how often a particular head act was used in relation to the total number of head acts used by each group in the 6 DCT situations. This will provide an overall picture of pragmatic transfer displayed in the frequency of strategy types of head acts used in the learners' requests.

The Table 6 depicts the frequency pattern of the head acts used in three language data. The percentages of responses including a given formula were calculated for each group. In all six situations, there were 8 categories out of 9 of semantic formulas in which KKs and AEs satisfied the condition for the occurrence of pragmatic transfer. As mentioned above, the condition was considered present with regard to the frequency of semantic formulas if the difference between the two native language groups (i.e., AEs and KKs) was greater than 20% in each case.

TABLE 6

Percentage Distribution of All Head Acts by Three Groups (All Situations)

Semantic Formulas	AE %(N)	KE %(N)	KK %(N)	Pattern
†Mood Derivable	8.3 (15)	8.9 (16)	24.4 (44)	
†Explicit Performative	1.7 (3)	††2.8 (5)	5.0 (9)	AE < KE < KK
†Hedged Performative	1.1 (2)	††6.1 (11)	8.3 (15)	AE < KE < KK
Obligation Statement	6.7 (12)	5.0 (9)	7.2 (13)	
†Want Statement	10.6 (19)	††15.0 (27)	15.6 (28)	AE < KE < KK
†Suggestory Formula	2.8 (5)	††8.3 (15)	11.7 (21)	AE < KE < KK
†Preparatory	65.6 (118)	††46.1 (83)	25.6 (46)	AE > KE > KK
†Strong Hint	3.3 (6)	4.4 (8)	1.7 (3)	
†Mild Hint	0.0 (0)	3.3 (6)	0.6 (1)	
Total	N= 180	N = 180	N = 180	

Note. AE = American English spoken by American; KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.
† indicates the condition for pragmatic transfer, †† indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer

Among those 9 categories which showed more than 20 % difference between two native languages, Korean participants presented various instances of pragmatic transfer in terms of the total uses of Direct Request (i.e., mood derivable, explicit performative, hedged performative), Conventionally Indirect Request (i.e., want statement, suggestory formula, Preparatory), and Nonconventionally Indirect Request (i.e., strong hint and mild hint). Table 6 shows how much a given semantic formula was used in relation to the total number of semantic formulas used by each group in all 6 situations. In the table,

the condition for pragmatic transfer in a given formula was marked by †, while the occurrence of pragmatic transfer was marked by ††.

In using direct requests (i.e., Mood Derivable, Explicit Performative, Hedged Performative), KK speakers used Explicit Performative (5.0%) (χ^2 = 7.23, df = 1, p<.05) and Hedged Performative (8.3%) (χ^2 = 8.42, df = 1, p<.05) significantly more frequently than AE speakers (1.7%, 1.1%, respectively). Following their native norm, KE speakers (2.8% for EP, 6.1% for HP) (χ^2 = 7.23 = 1, p<.05 for EP, χ^2 = 16.88, df = 1, p<.05) also used direct formulas significantly more frequently than did AE speakers, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer.

In terms of the conventionally indirect requests, KK speakers (15.6%) expressed Want Statement (e.g., "*I'd like to…*", "*I hope…*", "*I want …*") slightly more frequently than AEs (10.6%) (χ^2 = 4.61, df = 1, p<.05). Therefore, it was expected that the KE speakers would also express Want Statement more frequently in the target language requests, following the native usage of Want Statement. This was confirmed in that KE speakers (15.0%) (χ^2 = 34.37, df = 1, p<.05) used Want Statement significantly more frequently than did AE speakers (10.6%). As for Suggestory Formula (e.g., "*Why don't you…*") of conventionally indirect requests, AE speakers (2.8%) hardly used Suggestory Formula, compared to KK speakers (11.7%) (χ^2 = 31.33, df = 1, p<.05). Therefore, it was expected that KE speakers would also use this formula more frequently than did AE speakers, following the native language norm. This was also confirmed in that KE speakers (8.3%) (χ^2 = 14.37, df = 1, p<.05) used this formula with significantly higher frequency than AE. Another conventionally indirect request, Preparatory strategy, was

most favored by AE among all the semantic formulas (65.6%), compared to KK (25.6%) (χ^2 = 31.20, df = 1, p<.05). KE (46.1%) used Preparatory strategy more frequently than KK, and were considered to show evidence of pragmatic transfer. KE still used Preparatory strategy significantly less frequently than did AE (χ^2 = 23.26, df = 1, p<.05), falling between AE and KK in terms of the frequency. As to Strong Hint and Mild Hint, no noticeable pattern was observed in terms of pragmatic transfer. KE used more Strong Hint (4.4%) than KK (1.7%), but less than AE (3.3%). Concerning Mild Hint, although AE used none, KE (3.3%) used it more than KK (0.6%).

Directness level

One of the central concerns in this study is the level of directness used by Korean ESL learners and American native speakers. Directness refers to "the degree to which the speaker's illocutionary intent is apparent from the locution" (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989, p. 278). It is essential to choose a certain level of directness in performing requests. According to Blum-Kulka (1987), three main directness levels have been empirically shown to be valid across languages: direct, conventionally indirect, and nonconventionally indirect. Strategies (head acts) realized at the direct level include mood derivable, explicit performative, hedged performative, and obligation statements. Strategies realized at the conventionally indirect level are want statement, suggestory formula, and preparatory strategy, while strategies realized at the nonconventionally indirect level are strong and mild hints.

TABLE 7

Choice of Directness Levels by Three Groups across Six Situations (%)

Directness	AE	KE	KK	Pattern
†Direct	17.8 (32)	††22.8 (41)	45.0 (81)	AE < KE < KK
†Conventionally Indirect	78.9 (142)	††69.4 (125)	52.8 (95)	AE > KE > KK
†Nonconventionally Indirect	3.3 (6)	7.8 (14)	2.2 (4)	
Total	100	100	100	

Note. AE = American English spoken by American; KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.
† indicates the condition for pragmatic transfer, †† indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer

Table 7, shows the overall directness level used by AE, KE, and KK. All three groups in this study used the conventionally indirect strategies with the highest frequency (AE: 78.9%, KE: 69.4%, KK: 52.8%). Findings regarding the use of the conventionally indirect level give support to Blum-Kulka's (1989) claim. She pointed out that this level appears to be the most common way of making requests across languages. However, the degree of preference was different between two native languages. This level of indirectness is used most often in AE (78.9%), while employed in KK least frequently (52.8%). As shown in Table 7. KE came in between (69.4%), showing evidence of pragmatic transfer from their L1.

Korean speakers tend to choose the direct request strategies more often than the AE. This confirms Rose's (1992) study on the level of directness used by Japanese subjects and American native subjects in their requests. He found that Japanese

linguistically is more direct than American English. This, he says, "directly contradicts the existing studies [which claim] that Japanese interaction is marked by vagueness and indirection". Korean requests were also rather direct compared to American requests, as was the case for Japanese requests.

Concerning the use of directness levels, though KE (22.8%) used the direct requests less often than KK (45.0%), they tended to choose this level much more frequently than AE (17.8%), transferring their L1 norms.

TABLE 8

Mean of Directness Level across Six Situations

	AE	KE	KK	Pattern
Mean[a]	5.97	5.66	4.33	AE > KE > KK
SD	1.4	2.5	2.3	

Note. AE = American English spoken by American; KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.
[a] Mean of directness: a number on a nine-point scale was assigned to each head act request strategy: 1 (mood derivable) through 9 (mild hint), indicating that the bigger number, the less direct.

Table 8 reflects the trend that AE is more indirect in their request behavior than native speakers of Korean. On a scale of nine-point directness, the average level of directness in American English is 5.97, whereas in Korean it is 4.33. Though the level of directness of KE is closer to that of AE, they still used direct formulas slightly more frequently than AE, showing evidence of pragmatic transfer. However, the result does not necessarily imply that American speakers are more polite than Korean speakers. As

demonstrated by Blum-Kulka (1987), directenss and politeness do not necessarily

correlate to each other. Rather, it could be interpreted that the difference in the directness

levels between the two languages is mainly due to the culture specific nature of the

sociolinguistic system of politeness. Korean speakers, as pointed out by Hwang (1990),

are dependent relatively more on the honorific system than on pragmatic devices such as

conventional indirectness through which politeness is mostly realized in English-

speaking cultures (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, choice of directness levels is certainly not

the only means of determining levels of politeness. The frequency of various mitigating

devices also affects levels of politeness. Thus, another possibility which we should test

further is that the relatively higher level of directness may be compensated for by the use

of the other means of mitigation such as supportive moves and internal modifiers

(Eslamirasekh, 1993). In other words, these two factors, i.e., directness levels and

mitigating devices, may interact to produce varying effects of politeness. This topic will

be discussed later.

Perspectives

The head acts of request strategies can be also examined according to perspective.

As pointed out by Blum-Kulka (1989), the choice of perspective presents an important

source of variation in requests. Languages may differ, not only in their general

preferences in the choices of perspectives, but also in the conventionalization of

perspectives within specific strategy types or situations. Since each culture has a

tendency to choose a specific perspective (Niki & Tajika, 1994), comparison of each group can determine whether they are different and to what extent transfer effect happens in selecting perspective in request realizations. Table 9 presents the result of the choice of perspective made by the three groups in six situations.

TABLE 9

Percentage Distribution of Perspectives across Six Situations (%)

Subject	AE	KE	KK	Pattern
†Hearer-oriented	54.4(98)	††72.1(129)	76.7(138)	AE<KE<KK
†Speaker-oriented	40.6(73)	††27.4(49)	18.3(33)	AE>KE>KK
†Inclusive	0.6(1)	0.6(1)	3.9(7)	
†Impersonal	4.4(8)	0(0)	1.1(2)	
Total	N=180	N=179	N=180	

Note. AE = American English spoken by American; KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.
† indicates the condition for pragmatic transfer, †† indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer

According to Table 9, the three groups were in high agreement in their choices of either speaker-oriented, or hearer-oriented perspective throughout the situations. The total percentage of the choice of these two perspectives in each group amounts to over 90% while the three groups showed very low use of inclusive and impersonal perspectives. All of the groups chose hearer-oriented requests as the most frequent choice of perspective. Despite the overall tendency of the three groups to rely on both hearer-oriented and speaker-oriented requests across the situations, three were cross-

linguistic differences among them in preferences for a choice of each one of the four perspectives in situations.

AE (54.4%) tended to choose hearer-oriented requests much less often than the KK (76.7%). Overall, KE (72.1%) had a tendency to use hearer-oriented requests far more frequently than AE but slightly less than KK. That is, KE showed the more frequent use of hearer-oriented requests than AE. Such behaviors of the learners indicate that L1 transfer is operative in their choice of hearer-oriented requests. Concerning the choice of speaker-oriented requests, AE (40.6%) preferred to use them far more often than KK (18.3%). Korean learners' choice of speaker-oriented perspective seemed to be greatly affected by their L1. The tendency of the learners to choose speaker-oriented perspective in KE (27.4%) was similar to that of KK (18.3%), indicating that L1 transfer effects is operative.

In light of Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper's (1989) claim that avoiding mentioning the hearer as an agent of an act being requested reduces the imposition, the result of this study that three groups relied mainly on hearer-oriented requests was somewhat surprising. As a possible explanation, participants in the three groups may not have been interested in using perspective as a face-saving strategy but in performing their requests effectively by explicitly naming the hearer as the agent of the act and thus making the illocutionary intent of requests clear (Mir-Fernandez, 1994). For mitigating the imposition and threat to the hearer, they may have depended on other devices such as politeness markers (i.e., 'please') and downgraders.

Pragmatic Transfer in the Use of Mitigations

The request speech acts can be modified in two ways: either by external modifications that are added to the requests as supportive moves, by internal modifications that act on the strategy proper (i.e., head act), or by both the two procedures together. In other words, certain levels of directness interact with these two modification devices to produce varying degree of politeness.

Supportive moves

Supportive moves are utterances which are used to soften or mitigate the degree of imposition of a request. Such modifications are manifested at the clause or sentence level and can be placed either preceding or following the head act, the minimal unit which can realize a request. An appropriate use of external modifications by non-native speakers (NNSs) can be challenging. If an external modification is not used at all, the utterance can sound blunt and even rude. Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993) showed that even highly advanced NNSs of English had difficulty in mitigating their suggestions in a talk with their academic advisors. On the other hand, overuse of external modifications can result in pragmatic failure by virtue of violating native norms.

In Table 10, the five semantic formulas of Preparator, Promise of Reward, Imposition Minimizer, Appreciation, and Apology were considered as having conditions for pragmatic transfer since the difference in the range of the proportion between AE and KK was 20 percentage points or greater. Among them, pragmatic transfer occurred in three semantic formulas of Promise of Reward, Appreciation, and Apology.

TABLE 10

Percentage Distribution of Supportive Moves across Six Situations (%)[a]

Semantic Formulas	AE %(N)	KE %(N)	KK %(N)	Pattern
Opener	19.2 (66)	20.9 (90)	21.8 (87)	
†Preparator	3.5 (12)	10.2 (44)	6.3(25)	
Grounder	51.3 (176)	44.1 (190)	42.8 (171)	
Disarmer	2.9 (10)	7.0 (30)	2.5 (10)	
†Promise of Reward	0(0)	††3.0 (13)	5.5 (22)	AE no vs. KE & KK yes
†Imposition Minimizer	7.3(25)	4.9(21)	10.8 (43)	
Concern	1.2 (4)	3.2(14)	1.5 (6)	
†Appreciation	14.6 (50)	††2.6 (11)	1.0 (4)	AE > KE > KK
†Apology	0 (0)	††4.2 (18)	7.8 (31)	AE no vs. KE & KK yes
Total	n = 343	n = 431	n = 399	

Note. [a] : To make sure that each individual case contributes toward the total number of each semantic formula, the presence of outliers was investigated. Based on the definition by Moore and McCabe (1999) that an outlier is a point which falls more than 1.5 times the interquartile range above the third quartile or below the first quartile, no outlier was found in the data of this study.
AE = American English spoken by American; KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.
† indicates the condition for pragmatic transfer, †† indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer

KK used formulas that were rarely or never used by AE. For example, KK (5.5%) tended to choose promise of reward, while AE never used it (0%). In spite of no occurrence in AE, KE (3.0%) also provided the interlocutor with Promise of Reward in return of help (lending a notebook). As shown in Table 10, KK (5.5%) tended to choose

promise of reward such as offering something to eat, i.e., buying a meal, (e.g., "I'm sorry, but will you lend me your note? *I will buy a lunch*"). Specifically, in situation 5 (Notebook), Korean ESL learners offered appreciation for lending a notebook, following the Korean custom even when requesting in English (3.0%). The following are more examples:

> "I didn't attend classes because I was sick. I will copy your note and give it back. Please lend it to me. *I will buy a meal for you tomorrow*". (KE #28)
> "I missed classes because of a cold. We have a test next week, and I don't have a good notetaking. Will you lend me a notebook? *I'll buy something delicious for you'*. (KE #19)

Such a tendency of the Korean native speakers to provide the interlocutor with something to eat in return of lending a notebook can be explained by a Korean custom that when a person receives benefits or kindness from another, he/she has to repay it. And it is customary to see a student who owes a debt of gratitude buying food (lunch) for a fellow student in a Korean university campus. It may be the same in other cultures, but maybe this is considered a bigger favor in Korean culture and therefore there is a need for repay, whereas in American culture it is not that much a big favor and therefore there is no need to repay or to mention to repay.

The fact that these similar strategies were found both in KE and KK, but not in AE, seems to indicate that Korean ESL learners were transferring L1 sociocultural values into English interactions. Closer analysis here revealed one of the values Koreans

cherish, *podap*, "payback", which plays a role in Korean society somewhat parallel to that of rights and duties in the more egalitarian societies of the West. Koreans are more conscious of themselves existing in a whole network of relationships with other people. Especially in a situation like Situation #5 (Notebook), Koreans are likely to feel that those being requested should grant assistance to those who depend upon them and need their help; the recipients of this favor, in turn, owe a debt of gratitude, which can be repaid whenever a fitting occasion arises (Kim, 2000). Therefore, the promise of reward strategy by Koreans does not sound strange in a culture where the values of human dependence and community have been appreciated for centuries.

Regarding to Appreciation semantic formula, AE (14.6) often finalized their utterances by saying "*Thank you*" as a closing marker, while KK (1.0%) used them significantly less frequently than AE. KE (2.6%) gave this formula slightly more frequently than KK, but their use still fell between AE and KK in terms of the frequency. This appreciation was identified as a closing marker for English native speakers because it always came at the end of response after the main moves as in, "Could you please keep the music down? I have an exam tomorrow. *Thanks*." (AE: #9). English native speakers were likely to say "thank you" generally in all situations. It is speculated that, anticipating a positive response from the hearer after getting requests, many of the American subjects expressed their appreciation. In this kind of context, showing appreciation after the request seems formulaic and even automatic to English native speakers.

However, this didn't seem to be true to Korean ESL learners. Very few (2.6% in English vs. 1.0% in Korean) employed Appreciation. Instead, when closing their conversation, most of the KK (7.8%) employed Apology as in, "Hello, It is somewhat late. Could you please volume down? I cannot sleep. *I'm sorry,*" while this wasn't found in the AE data (0%). Although KE used Apology less frequently than did KK, they still used it significantly more frequently than AE. This result is due to transfer from their L1 culture because a similar observation was made in the Korean native language data.

According to Moon (1996), it should be also recognized that the fact that apology was one of the major supportive moves for Korean ESL learners both in L1 and L2 can be also attributed to different notions of apology in these two languages. Korean apology strategy may be regarded as a sort of protocol in making requests, whereas that of American English may be considered as a serious plea for redemption of one's fault. The American native speakers' reluctance to use the apology can be explained in terms of the different American value orientation, whereas the Korean ESL learners' greater use of the move even in L2 was attributed to the L1 transfer of the Korean language.

Among the supportive moves, giving reasons, explanations, and justifications for an action was the most frequent supportive move in the DCT data. The use of grounder shows an empathetic attitude on a part of the interlocutors in giving his/her insight into the requester's underlying motive (Faerch & Kasper, 1989). The realization patterns of grounder vary with languages, especially in their position. As we can see in Table 11, AE used 64.8 % of their grounder after the request (i.e., Head Act), whereas 31.6 % of the grounder used by KK preceded the head act. Conversely, KK tended to use a

Grounder (e.g., explanation or justification) first and give a Request later (68.4%)

compared to AE (35.2%) (χ^2 = 43.82, df = 1, p<.05).

TABLE 11

Percentage Distribution of Grounder by Position across Six Situations (%)

Semantic Formulas	AE %(N)	KE %(N)	KK %(N)	Pattern
†Grounder + Request	35.2 (62)	††56.3 (107)	68.4 (117)	AE < KE < KK
†Request + Grounder	64.8 (114)	††43.7 (83)	31.6 (54)	AE > KE > KK
Total	n = 176	n = 190	n = 171	

Note. AE = American English spoken by American; KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.
† indicates the condition for pragmatic transfer, †† indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer

As a result of pragmatic transfer, both the KE (56.3%) and the KK (68.4%) showed an overuse of the G + R formula, when compared to AE (35.2%) (χ^2 = 12.8, df = 1, p<.05). For instance, it was typical for the Americans to say, "Could you keep it down? *You guys are kind of loud.*"(AE#28) The Koreans, however, tended to put a request behind a grounder as in, "*Here is a public area. Noise disturbs other students' studying. Why don't you go to a cafeteria for talk?*"(KK#2).

The difference in the realization order of grounder and request seems to be significantly culture specific. According to Takahashi and Beebe (1987), Japanese speakers of English use basically the same range of semantic formulas as native speakers of English in their refusals, but they frequently differ from native speakers of English in

their order. They claim that this difference would be the result of pragmatic transfer from their own language.

Internal modifications

The devices for internal modifications can be syntactic or lexical/phrasal. The syntactic downgraders can be Play-downs (e.g., *I was wondering if...*), Agent avoider (*Would it be possible...*), and Consultative devices (*Would you mind if...*). Lexical/phrasal downgraders comprise Politeness marker (e.g., *please*), Downtoner (e.g, *perhaps, possibly*), Subjectivizers (e.g., *I wonder, I think*), and Understaters (*a little bit, a second, not very much*).

TABLE 12

Percentage Distribution of Internal Modifiers across Six Situations (%)

Internal modification	AE	KE	KK	Pattern
†Politeness marker	45.8 (65)	46.6 (81)	32.4 (59)	
†Play-down	3.5 (5)	††18.4 (32)	25.8 (47)	AE < KE < KK
†Consultative device	16.2 (23)	††6.3 (11)	0 (0)	AE > KE > KK
†Downtoner	19.0 (27)	††11.5 (20)	11.0 (20)	AE > KE ≈ KK
†Understater	11.3 (16)	11.5 (20)	15.4 (28)	
†Subjectivizer	4.2 (6)	3.4 (6)	1.1 (2)	
†Agent avoider	0 (0)	2.3 (4)	14.3 (26)	
Total	142	174	182	

Note. AE = American English spoken by American; KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.
† indicates the condition for pragmatic transfer, †† indicates the occurrence of pragmatic transfer

As shown in Table 12, all internal modifiers used met the conditions for pragmatic transfer since the difference in the range of the proportion between AE and KK was 20 percentage points or more. Among them, pragmatic transfer occurred in three semantic formulas, play-down, consultative device, and downtoner.

KK and KE outnumbered the AE in the total use of internal modifications across the situations. Korean participants employed a wider range of internal modifications in L1, and preferred to combine one internal modifier with another even in L2. With regard to the frequency of internal modifiers used, KE' falling in between KK and AE show evidence of pragmatic transfer.

In summary, data analysis revealed that the Korean ESL learners deviate from the Americans' speech norms and are influenced by the norms given in their native language. There was evidence of transfer in the request responses given by Korean ESL learners in the level of directness and perspectives of head acts, and the frequency of supportive moves and internal modifiers. As for the strategy types, the observed requesting behaviors of KE group were realized through slightly more direct strategies (5.66)than those of AE group(5.97), reflecting the mean level of directness in Korean (4.33) on a nine-point scale of directness. 78.9% of English requests was realized through conventional indirectness, whereas 45.0% of Korean requests was conventionally indirect. KEs came in between (69.4%), showing evidence of pragmatic transfer from their L1.

With respect to the choice of perspective, 54.4% and 76.7% of requests were phrased as hearer-oriented respectively in English and Korean. There was also the

difference in their second choice of perspective: in English, 40.6% of the requests were

phrased as speaker-oriented, while this was only 18.3% in Korean. KE (72.1%) had a

tendency to use hearer-oriented requests far more frequently than AE, but slightly less

than KK. This is an indication that L1 transfer is operative in KE' choice of perspectives.

As far as supportive moves are concerned, pragmatic transfer occurred in three

semantic formulas of Promise of Reward, Appreciation, and Apology. Among them,

Promise of Reward and Apology strategies were found both in KE and KK, but not in

AE, which could be transfer from their L1 culture. When closing the conversation, many

AE were likely to use Appreciation, whereas KE used it significantly less, following

their L1 norms. In supporting the hypothesis that pragmatic transfer is prevalent in the

speech of language learners, findings of this study indicated that pragmatic transfer is

indeed an existing phenomenon in the English spoken by the Korean ESL learners.

Learner Subjectivity and Pragmatic Transfer

In the previous section, the discussion focused on evidence of pragmatic transfer

in the performance of requests by Korean learners of English as a second language. This

section presents findings and discussion pertaining to factors motivating pragmatic

transfer. In order to understand why Korean learners of English resorted to pragmatic

transfer when performing the speech act of request in English, it is important to

comprehend what motivated their behavior.

Findings presented in this section are based on the data gathered from interviews with thirteen participants who showed the highest and lowest degree of pragmatic transfer out of Korean learners of English who participated in this study (see chapter III).

TABLE 13

Means of Given Factors of Two Native Language Groups

	AE	KK
Indirectness	5.97[a]	4.33
Supportive moves	1.90[b]	2.22
Internal modifiers	0.78[c]	1.02

Note. AE = American English spoken by American; KK = Korean spoken by Korean learners of English.
[a] Mean of indirectness: After a number on a nine-point scale was assigned to each head act request strategy, the mean of directness used by a participant in a given group in all situations was calculated.
[b] Mean of supportive moves: The mean of use of supportive moves used by a participant in a given group in all situations was calculated.
[c] Mean of internal modifiers: The mean of use of internal modifiers used by a participant in a given group in all situations was calculated.

In order to select the intended participants for interview, the difference in the occurrence of pragmatic transfer among the participants was examined in the following way. First, the directness level and the frequency of modifications of two native groups (AE, KK) in all situations were converted into mean. Table 13 shows the means of three factors by two native language groups, AE and KK.

Next, each KE participant's mean of directness level, supportive moves, and internal modifiers from six situations were compared to find out the amount of pragmatic transfer. Table 14 shows the data used for selecting the participants for the interview.

TABLE 14

KE Participants' Means and Weights in Three Factors

KE	Direct-ness	Weight[a]	Supportive moves	Weight[a]	Internal modifiers	Weight[a]	Weight in total[b]
1	4.3	3	2.0	2	1.0	2	7
2	5.5	2	2.3	3	0.8	2	7
3	**4.1**	**3**	**3.0**	**3**	**1.2**	**3**	**9**
4	5.8	2	2.7	3	0.7	1	6
5	**4.3**	**3**	**2.5**	**3**	**0.8**	**2**	**8**
6	**5.4**	**2**	**2.2**	**2**	**0.5**	**1**	**5**
7	5.9	2	3.2	3	1.0	2	7
8	**5.7**	**2**	**1.7**	**1**	**0.8**	**2**	**5**
9	5.1	2	2.5	3	0.5	1	6
10	**6.2**	**1**	**1.8**	**1**	**0.8**	**2**	**4**
11	5.8	2	2.7	3	1.0	2	7
12	4.3	3	2.5	3	0.5	1	7
13	**5.9**	**2**	**2.5**	**3**	**1.2**	**3**	**8**
14	5.7	2	2.0	2	1.3	3	7
15	5.8	2	2.3	3	1.0	2	7
16	6.3	1	3.2	3	1.3	3	7
17	**5.9**	**2**	**1.7**	**1**	**0.3**	**1**	**4**
18	**5.9**	**2**	**2.7**	**3**	**1.3**	**3**	**8**
19	**4.9**	**2**	**3.0**	**3**	**1.2**	**3**	**8**
20	5.7	2	2.0	2	1.2	3	7
21	5.8	2	2.2	2	1.0	2	6
22	6.4	1	2.3	3	1.0	2	6
23	6.3	1	3.0	3	1.2	3	7
24	**4.2**	**3**	**2.2**	**2**	**1.5**	**3**	**8**
25	6.0	1	2.7	3	0.8	2	6
26	**6.2**	**1**	**2.2**	**2**	**0.7**	**1**	**4**
27	**5.9**	**2**	**1.8**	**1**	**0.8**	**2**	**5**
28	**5.8**	**2**	**2.5**	**3**	**1.3**	**3**	**8**
29	6.7	1	2.2	2	1.2	3	6
30	5.9	2	2.8	3	1.0	2	7

Note. KE = English spoken by Korean learners of English.
[a] Weight: 1 indicates the least pragmatic transfer, 3 the most pragmatic transfer, and 2 in between.
[b] Weight in total: Three weights from three factors (indirectness, supportive moves, and internal modifiers) were added up.
Participants who were assigned 8 or 9 (the most pragmatic transfer) and 4 or 5 (the least pragmatic transfer) are indicated in boldface.

Since the mean of the indirectness level used by AE group (5.97) was greater

than that of the KK group (4.33) as shown in Table 13, a KE would get 1 when his or her

indirectness level is greater than 5.97, 3 when smaller than 4.33, and finally 2 in between.

Conversely, the means of supportive moves and internal modifiers by KK group (2.22

and 1.02 respectively) were greater than those of AE group (1.90 and 0.78 respectively)

as shown in Table 13. Therefore, KE who used supportive moves or internal modifiers

more than the means of KK group, that is, 2.22 and 1.02 respectively would get 3, but

those who used modifications less than those of AE group, that is, 1.90 and 0.78

respectively would get 1. Those who fell between the two groups' means would get 2.

Table 14 shows KE participants' means and weights in three factors.

After all three weights from three factors were added up, seven participants (#3,

#5, #13, #18, #19, #24, and #28) who obtained 8 or 9 points were selected as showing

the highest amount of pragmatic transfer and six participants (#6, #8, #10, #17, #26, and

#27) who were assigned 4 or 5 were also chosen as showing the least amount of

pragmatic transfer. In this section those two groups were compared in terms of

subjectivity and pragmatic transfer. For the sake of convenient recognition, those who

showed the most pragmatic transfer, in other words, more divergence from the L2

pragmatic norms, were represented as D #3, D #5, and so on and those who showed the

least pragmatic transfer, that is, more convergence with the L2 pragmatic norms as C #6,

C #8 and so on.

The interview data suggests that pragmatic transfer is a linguistic phenomenon

that comes about as a result of several motivating factors. Based on the interview data,

several important factors seemed to play a role in motivating pragmatic transfer. The purpose of the interview was mainly to find out the answers to the following questions; are learners aware of the pragmatic transfer?; what are their motives for choosing a particular strategy?; what attitude and perception of language and culture affect their pragmatic language behavior?; what motivation makes them pragmatically transfer more or less?; how do their pragmatic mannerisms reflect their cultural identities? (See Appendix D for more interview questions). The interview data indicated that there are subjective motives behind pragmatic transfer. These motives included the students' perception toward the target language and culture. Other factors had to do with the learners' own purpose for learning English. In addition, how they identify themselves within the broader scope of being a Korean was another important factor. Each of these motivating factors is discussed fully below.

Korean ESL Learners' Perception of L2 and Its Speakers

Korean ESL learners' perceptions of the differences between the two languages and cultures seemed to affect their L2 pragmatic behaviors. Only two (C#10 and C#26) out of thirteen interviewees indicated that there are no observable cultural differences in the communicative styles of Americans and Koreans. Interestingly, both of these participants belonged to the convergence group who showed less pragmatic transfer in the performance of requesting. In their opinion, the difference lies in whether or not a situation requires a request rather than how it is performed. Both of them felt that, if any,

the difference can be attributed to individual stylistic variations underlying the dynamics

between two speakers. For example, the interviewee commented:

> In other words, I think there is very little cultural difference between Koreans
> and Americans. It depends on individual differences or the situation. (C#10)

The other mentioned:

> Well, to me it is like this, I don't think there is much difference between English
> and Korean. Of course, because I can speak Korean more fluently I can use more
> sophisticated expressions, when it comes to requesting, the manner or method
> does not differ between the two languages rather the relationship with that person
> or matching the other's style is what makes the difference. It's not a difference
> between the cultures of Koreans and Americans. We're all the same human
> beings. (C#26)

Although these two said that there is no cultural difference, C#26 was aware that the

relationship with the interlocutor can affect the request form in two languages. Moreover,

C#10 also noted the sensitivity to power status during the interview. C#10 expressed this

in the following way:

> They [Koreans] treat people with lower power status than themselves in any
> manner, but are very respectful when they speak to someone with higher power
> status. Americans are very courteous even toward people with lower power status
> than themselves. (C#10)

The comment above shows that this participant implicitly recognized the hierarchical society of Korea vs. more egalitarian society of America but opted to use the target language norms.

Almost all the interviewees commented that the cultural differences could be the source of variations in request patterns. That is, their perceptions of the differences between the ways Americans and Koreans request determine the way of requesting indeed. Interestingly, the interview data showed that recognition of the differences between two languages and cultures could lead to both convergence with and divergence from L2 pragmatic norms among the two groups with the highest and lowest amount of pragmatic transfer.

To begin with, the convergence group compared Korean culture with American culture and applied the differences between the two cultures to request realizations. As C#6 put it:

> In a Korean society requests to friends are usually made straightforwardly. However, I think that American society values individualism, and people don't like to impede other's freedom of act or privacy. So considering this cultural difference, I tried to give a detailed lengthy explanation with my request (C#6).

Two other interviewees (C#8 and C#27) also reported that they applied cross-cultural knowledge they learned during their stay in the US to their request realizations, which is an indication of convergence to target language norms.

In Korea, such a request would be considered quite imposing. But I felt that it would not be that much imposing in America, which I think is kind of cultural knowledge I have learned during the stay here (US). (C#8)

In the library situation, I tried to realize my requests with more polite expressions in English because I've never seen the library monitor use direct, crude language to patents here in the US, as compared to Korea where the monitor is supposed to talk roughly to his/her patents. (C#27)

Even when learners had difficulty in finding out appropriate polite expressions in English, the convergence group did not use their L1 norms. Interviewee C#17 reported that though he could not come up with an appropriate strategy right away, he knew that for a higher status person like a professor there would be differences between the two cultures in expressing politeness. He added that "I wasn't confident of the appropriateness of expressions I used because I didn't know how to introduce myself in courteous words in a manner accepted appropriately in American culture". Nevertheless, he didn't want to apply Korean expressions to the English request in fear of negative transfer.

Generally speaking, interviewees in the convergence group shared concerns that flaws in their pragmatic speech behavior may lead to negative impressions of them. In other words, they felt that being pragmatically appropriate or inappropriate based on target language norms can have an effect on the way they are perceived. In some cases, they were afraid that pragmatic inappropriateness can be misunderstood as an intentional offense or a flaw in character rather than a lack of pragmatic awareness.

I am one of those people who feel that expressions must be used appropriately. I watch Americans ask for help or request on TV and in the real life. When I see other Koreans don't use expressions appropriately when they request, it bothers me. Because those people don't know that they are misusing the expression and when the expression is too aggressive or rude, as a fellow Korean I feel sorry to the person receiving that kind of a request. (C#27)

Almost everyone in the convergence group appeared to feel that they should follow L2 norms in the host culture. Some of them were aware of the expectations from native speakers and tried to meet these expectations by adopting L2 pragmatic norms.

However, contrary to the convergence group, the divergence group's pragmatic assessment from L1 regarding the social relationship and/or social distance between the interlocutors seemed to affect their pragmatic behaviors even in L2. Five out of seven in the divergence group answered that their speech depended on the person with whom they were conversing. Although the idea of always assessing the social relationship between the speakers when speaking was second nature to language speakers, interviewees in the divergence group based their assessment more on their L1 norms. It was difficult for them to disregard their L1 norms even when speaking a foreign language. For example, interviewee D#28 stated that

Because I was educated in Korea, no matter how well I speak English, I automatically think about the status relationship between the other person and myself. So I can't do or say anything that will ignore that relationship. Of course, Americans also take into account the relationship with the other speaker, but not as much. (D#28)

In other words, some Korean ESL learners appeared to transfer their native language when considering the relationship with the interlocutor. Interestingly, more interviewees in the divergence group chose to use the values of their home culture as the basis of their performance in L2. Even though the learners were aware of the differences between the two languages, had dual competence, and could switch from one set of culture values to another, they still tended to interpret American speech behaviors from the Korean frame of reference and seemed to be influenced by L1 sociocultural norms in their production of requests.

For instance, D#18, who had been studying English for three months in the US, was well aware of conventionally indirect ways of speaking in English. Although she considered English indirectness different from Korean, she showed a tendency to use her L1 style. In the DCT, where she, as a computer lab assistant, was to ask a student to let other students waiting use the computer, she used the Suggestory formula (Why don't you…). American English native speakers did not use this formula in this situation even once.

> What are you doing here? Did you finish your work already? Look at the students waiting for their turn. Please you'd better play game in your house. *Why don't you* let other students use your computer? (EK#18)
> Muhani? Tarun hacksangi kidarijana. Tarunsarameke yangpohanunke utta? (뭐하니? 다른학생들이 기다리잖아. 다른사람에게 양보하는게 어때?) (KK#18)
> (What are you doing? Other students are waiting. Why don't you yield your computer to other students?)

When asked to account for this pragmatic transfer caused by using L1 expression, which English native speakers never used in this situation, she stated that even in English she had always tried to be as polite as possible as she would do in Korean. She reported that Korean possesses various speech levels especially in performing requests, so there could be possibly a direct but variously polite request form, different from English. Since politeness can be realized differently in English and Korean, sometimes she got frustrated to perform an appropriate request in a certain situation. Thus, she tried to follow Korean politeness rules and use them in L2 environments simply because she perceived L1 rules to be 'more polite' to express the politeness.

> In Korean, there are far more various ways of speaking to express politeness by using honorific particles, but in English it is not easy to find an equivalent way. Thus, in this situation, I do know that "Could you let other students use it, please?" seems to be polite enough to request in English, but based on my cultural orientation, I feel like adding something more to it not to hurt or embarrass the interlocutor's feeling. So I chose 'why don't you' expression since I thought it would sound more polite to say even in English as in Korean.

Interestingly, the 'why don't you' expression D#18 considered more polite than 'could you' may not be perceived as such by L2 native speakers. By direct transfer from L1, her intentions to convey more polite forms turned out to be actually the opposite, which resulted from her interpretation about American speech behaviors from the Korean frame of reference.

D#3 also illustrated this point that she took into consideration the cultural differences between the two cultures in making requests. When she was told about her use of grounder first and request later strategies, she was aware of that: "In a Korean society, we tend to give explanations or justifications first and give a request later. Conversely, it seems that the American native speakers are prone to make a request before providing a specific reason." In addition, D#3 stated that the Korean native speakers often consider a request without a grounder more or less rude and in Korean society, presenting a blunt request before justifying its cause or need is not courteous. As followed, she performed a request after providing very specific excuse in a situation where she had to ask for an extension on her paper.

Hello, how are you, sir? Could you do me a favor? I need your help. Actually, my mom has been very sick, so she is in hospital right now. I have taken care of her since last week. It was kind of hard for me to focus on the paper. Can I get some extension on my paper? (EK#3 in S3)

Anunghaseyo, kyosoonim. Choisonggajiman, tulilmalsumi issumnita. Cho, emmaka mani apasuyo. Paperul nuke nato tulkkayo? (안녕하세요, 교수님. 죄송하지만 드릴말씀이 있습니다. 저, 엄마가 많이 아파서요. 끝내려면 시간이 더 필요해서요. 기말페이퍼를 조금 늦게 내도 될까요?) (KK#3)

(Hello, Professor. I feel very sorry, but I have something to tell you. Well, my mom has been sick. I need more time to finish my paper. Can I submit the paper a little later?)

D#3 also felt that making a request to a professor is harder because s/he is a person of higher status. She needed something to decrease the likely impact of her

utterance on this particular interlocutor. That is why she tried to give specific and

reasonable explanations before requesting.

> I heard that in terms of written as well as spoken discourse style, English prefers
> deductive method, but Korean inductive. I think it sounds more polite that
> providing explanations before making a specific request rather than spelling out
> an abrupt request before giving reasons even though it might not be the way
> Americans do. Though two cultures are different, I believe that more polite way
> of speaking would also work even in English, saving the interlocutor's face.
> (D#3)

There are other similar comments from other interviewees in the divergence group who

were highly concerned with the effect of their language use on the interlocutors and tried

to employ L1 polite devices to protect their face.

> I tried to use the expressions that would make the interlocutor feel comfortable,
> sometimes by bring Korean expressions even in English. (D#13)
> I thought that the interlocutor's emotion should not be hurt, and more polite
> expressions were employed. And I think Korean has more variety of polite
> expressions than English. (D#28)

They also mentioned that sometimes they simply viewed the L2 pragmatic norms

not polite enough compared to those accepted in L1 communities. For instance, D#5 said

that he used L1 rules in L2 environments because he considered L1 way of speaking to

be 'more polite' and 'more possible for an interlocutor to comply.' In this sense, he was

aware of the transfer and was not willing to follow L2 speech behaviors when speaking in L2. He believed that L1 style is more polite and acted in accordance with this belief.

In summary the Korean ESL learners appeared to be aware of the American norms, but consciously made the pragmatic choice to converge to or diverge from the L2 pragmatic norms. DCT responses and interview data above revealed that the convergence group accommodates to the L2 pragmatic norms, feeling that they should follow L2 norms in the host culture. They were aware of the L2 language norms and tried not to apply L1 rules in fear of being perceived as rude or pragmatically incompetent by transferring their L1 into L2 norms. Conversely, the divergence group seemed to resist L2 norms, producing inappropriate requests in certain situations, despite their knowledge of L2 norms. The interviewees in the divergence group commented frequently, "This is the way an American would do, but that is the way Koreans would do. Nevertheless, I would follow the Korean way even in English." Although Korean learners in the divergence group were aware of the pragmatic difference between two languages, they still tended to interpret American speech behaviors from the Korean frame of reference and seemed to be influenced by L1 sociocultural norms in their production of requests. In other words, those who considered that Korean language is more polite preferred using Korean politeness rules in English when encountering face threatening situations such as requests. They believed that using L1 norms would be more polite and possibly this more polite use of language could lead to better compliance by their interlocutors.

Purpose for Learning English

Another reason for why Korean ESL speakers in this study may have shown the convergence with or divergence from the L2 norms was their purpose for learning English. Many researchers have asserted that the purpose of learning is an important factor in determining the success of a foreign or second language learner (Gardner, 1985, 1988; Beebe, 1987; McGroarty, 1996). Gardner (1985) stated that the incentive to learn a language will be affected by a student's perception of its ultimate utility to him or her.

All the interviewees expressed more or less a desire to improve their English skills. C#6 stressed the importance of verbal communication skills in the interview, "One reason for studying in the United States was to improve my spoken English. I could finish my study in Korea but I wanted to have opportunities to improve verbal communication skills in English." Although all the interviewees stated their desire to improve their English speaking and listening skills, the two groups showed slightly different selective investment in English depending on English skills they needed most. Generally speaking, the convergence group was more interested in engaging in verbal interaction with Americans or internationals who spoke a language other than Korean, whereas the divergence group was more focused to learn English language grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary (linguistic competence).

The convergence group seemed to place more emphasis on the importance of learning the L2 to engage in social interactions with the people of the target language. C#27, who expressed intentions of staying in the States after her studies, maintained that if one's intention was to live in the States one should acculturate into the target culture.

She stated, "While I live in the States, if I can speak English perfectly I would want to sound like Americans do… but I'm not totally used to the American way yet." She realized the importance of English proficiency both for her study and for her future career. She believed that learning English could not be separated from learning American culture. She also claimed that interacting with Americans or other students in English was important to learn American culture and to improve English proficiency. Besides taking English classes at college, she also depended on social interaction in authentic settings for English learning. Her motivation to learn English seemed to be both instrumental and integrative. She said that English proficiency was important because she wanted to get a job in an American company and have social relations with Americans. Her major and future career that required a high level of English proficiency seemed to provide her with strong motivation to improve her English. Her desire to learn English was related to her desire to integrate into American society.

On the other hand, in the interviews with the divergence group, instrumental motivation could be considered as stronger and more prominent. The main reason for learning English was usually to help them achieve higher scores on English proficiency tests and gain employment upon completing their university degrees. English was considered to be an indispensable vehicle for completing their studies and obtaining a degree. None of the interviewees in the divergence group expressed a desire to stay in the United States after completing their studies at the point of data collection. They were sojourners who would stay in the United States to acquire a degree and then return to their home country after completing their academic course. Some of them stated that it is

not always necessary for them to follow the American pragmatic norms as long as it does not obstruct the basic communication of meaning. They were more concerned with linguistic competence such as retrieving vocabulary, selecting language forms to express certain meanings, and determining grammaticality of utterances they made. Four out of seven in the divergence group expressed concerns about grammar during request realizations:

> Whenever I make sentences, I think about grammar. But I am not sure that I have sufficient grammatical knowledge. I really want to speak English without any errors. (D#19)

> I always have had difficulty using articles correctly. Since I sometimes translated words in mind into English directly, I didn't have time to check whether they were put in places where they were supposed to be. (D#24)

> I think that Korean students including me tend to pay lots of attention to grammar when engaging in a conversation with native speakers of English. (D#13)

It was interesting to find that learners in the divergence group generally placed more importance on the acquisition of linguistic competence before pragmatic competence for practical reasons such as the need for basic communication skills. The interviewees in the divergence group expressed their feeling that grammatical mastery was more important than pragmatically appropriate command of English. Although they mentioned their desire to improve overall verbal communication skills in English, they

considered form as more important than function. The priority of the forms was clearly stated by interviewee, D#19,

> I am here to obtain more vocabulary, grammatical knowledge, accurate pronunciation and so on to get a better job in the future. It is meaningless no matter how fluently I speak English if I fail in achieving an academic goal which is gaining a good score on English test.

The main reason for learning English was not to integrate or assimilate into a society of English speakers. They saw English as a stepping stone and the finer points of its usage were not immediately relevant to them. Those in the divergence group seemed not to have strong ambition to become more pragmatically proficient in English. They lacked integrative motivation, and therefore would be more likely to transfer L1 pragmatic norms in the target language.

As some studies have suggested, the length of stay in the target community influences pragmatic behavior (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1984, 1985). Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1985) tested NNSs of Hebrew acceptability judgment on requests and apologies and found that the answers of NNSs who had lived longer in Israel were more similar to the native speaker norm. In this study, the participants in the convergence group had intentions to stay in the target culture after their study and more likely to put more emphasis on learning the L2 culture and interacting with the people in the target community. On the other hand, interviewees in the divergence group were not sure about staying in the United States after completing studies. They were sojourners who would

stay in the United States to acquire a degree, or certificate and then return to their home country within one year. Generally speaking, when asked about their assumptions of what pragmatic appropriateness means to them, they indicated that they were aware of their pragmatic speech behavior, but felt no need to accept the beliefs, values, and practices of a particular culture. Since all interviewees in the divergence group were temporary sojourners in a host community, their relatively short residence in the United States seemed to affect their perceptions of L2 linguistic politeness and willingness to follow L2 community norms. D#28 stated:

> I came here only for a year to improve my English speaking skills such as pronunciation and vocabulary. For a year, I don't think I could master more than that. Besides, because I am not an American, I don't know why I have to follow the rules of polite speech accepted in the U.S. (D#28)

In addition, the interviewees who indicated that they intended to return to Korea reported that not being an American freed them from the obligation to follow the rules of polite speech accepted in the US. Those interviewees in the convergence group with intentions of permanently residing in the US appeared to be more willing to converge to the speech patterns of the target community, whereas those who intend to return to Korea seem to diverge from the speech patterns of the target community in order to maintain their L1 cultural identities. Similarly, Silva (1998), in her study on the transferability of pragmatic competence among native and non-native speakers of Portuguese, found that a speaker's linguistic and cultural identity as well as length of

residence in a second language environment proved to be significant factors that affected the speaker's choices of discourse strategies.

Perceptions of the relationship between language and culture were another contributing factor for convergence. Interviewees mentioned the status of English as a global language as well as a local language carrying a certain culture. On the one hand, C#8 did not feel that language can be totally truncated from culture even if it is English as a global language, which has achieved the status of an international lingua franca. She stated that a language carries "bits and parts of the culture" in it. She expressed the importance of adopting American pragmatic norms as a part of culture as long as she lived in the US. That was why she tried to assimilate to the target culture.

On the other hand, D#13 stated that English is now a necessity and that learning the English language does not mean that one is learning the culture as well. He stated that "I don't think there is any certain kind of pragmatic norms or culture to go along with the English language. Because there is no ethnicity to it, that's what I mean." He saw it as largely a "utilitarian language." He felt that the ownership of the English language does not rest with native speakers of English anymore but with the international English-speaking community. He was clear in his view that having a command of the English language is an advantage. He argued that he was learning the English language with the instrumental motivation, that is, in order to get access to information, technology, etc through the language. He asserted that when one learns a language, one also learns about the culture but it does not mean that one is internalizing their pragmatic norms such as politeness rules. He also stated, "When I say English, I

don't take their values or culture or whatever they do. I just take their language."

Similarly, Kramsch (1993) argues that knowing about a culture (gaining cultural

competence) does not mean that one has an obligation to behave in accordance with its

conventions. Thus, it seems to be one thing to know about different cultural norms and

another to follow them. Kramsch (1993) highlighted that even if culture is embedded in

the language, language learners are able to make choices and reject or assimilate them,

and not just blindly accept the idea. The acquisition of other languages and cultures is

not a sign of surrender but also an instrument of conquest i.e. a means of extending one's

sphere of influence without losing the home language and culture.

In sum, with regards to the motivation to learn English, not all Korean ESL

learners pursue to acquire a native-like proficiency, depending on their goals of learning

English and also on their intended residence length. Generally, those who intended to

stay longer in the target community were willing to follow the L2 norms, showing less

pragmatic transfer in their pragmatic performance. On the other hand, those who showed

more pragmatic transfer had generally instrumental purposes for learning the language.

Communicating without any grammatical errors, achieving academic goals, or widening

their knowledge as a utilitarian tool were their main purposes for learning the English

language. Participants recognized the relationship between language and culture

especially with regard to English as a global language. The interviewees who showed

more convergence to the target norms put more emphasis on the fact that language and

culture cannot be separated even if the language is an international language. Conversely,

the interviewees who showed more divergence from the target norms stressed that

learning English as a utilitarian language doesn't necessarily need to behave in accordance with the target culture.

Identity Presentation

All participants showed both linguistic and cultural awareness of L2 in the interviews as mentioned earlier. As some Korean ESL learners themselves admitted, even though they may be aware of cultural and linguistic differences, this awareness does not always translate into actual linguistic production. The interviewees in the convergence group in general wished to display more target-like forms in their production, whereas those in the divergence group saw this as a threat to their identity and did not wish to incorporate pragmatic features of the L2 in their discourse as a way of maintaining their cultural identity.

Generally, all the interviewees in both groups showed that the degree of sociocultural accommodation to the L2 culture may be a matter of choice as well as of ability. For instance, C#8 who showed less pragmatic transfer was utilizing her dual competence by adjusting to the target culture. She was conscious of her speech behavior according to the language she spoke. In Korean interaction, be it at church or at Korean social gatherings, she was more likely to behave as native Koreans do. However, with Americans, she was able to switch to American norms of requesting behavior. She reported that she tried to "think English" while assuming a "different personality" when using English.

> I try to find either a better way that I can convey my thoughts as Americans would do or I try to stick to a native-like approach so that I don't make [native] people uncomfortable… So I try to interact with them in a way that they want me to interact because that makes things more smooth. (C#8)

She stated that she would choose to compromise her L1 speech style to take up L2 norms rather than creating conflict by resisting them. She claimed that learning the language has "practically created a new person" and a new way to express herself. She frequently accommodated to what she saw as L2 norms. She later elaborated that "it simply makes sense to follow the customs of a host country" while one is in it, even though she is a nonnative and regarded as such.

Some other interviewees in the convergence group also stated that they were well aware of the norms of the target language and chose to meet them by adopting their pragmatic norms. C#17 selected to use conventionally indirect requests even with friends as expected. C#27 was also conscious of the expectations English native people have of her regarding her use of closing marker such as "thank you" and followed the norms rather than using "sorry" as in L1. Perhaps these interviewees conformed to L2 pragmatic norms somewhat feeling pressured by the perception of expectations of the L2 community to follow its norms.

Rather than converging to the norms of the target speech community, learners in the divergence group opted to shift to their own L1 style as a marker of cultural identity. Their pragmatic styles were used to represent their cultural identities serving as a form of cultural boundary maintenance strategy (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). They

believed that there was a definite advantage to show their identity as a language learner in that it can be used as a strategy to foreshadow pragmatic failure they may make in their speech. For example, D#3 mentioned that she used her foreign language identity to her advantage. When needed, she presented herself as a learner of English in order to receive more lenient judgments from the native speaker interlocutors on the language use. D#18 also stated that she presented herself as a second language learner in order to get more generous responses from her interlocutors:

> When the interlocutor recognizes me as an ESL learner, I think it makes me feel more comfortable to know that they wouldn't expect me to be perfect in speaking English. I know that the native speaker would be more generous on my mistakes. (D#3)

> In a situation where I need an extension on the paper as an example, my L1 style speech would give an impression to the professor that I am not a perfect English speaker, so he/she is likely to give me more time to revise my paper. (D#3)

> Sometimes depending on the situation when I want some generosity from my teacher, I want to show that I am a foreigner, that way even if I make a mistake, the teacher will understand. (D#18)

Within the framework of Speech Accommodation Theory, the strategy of being identified as a nonnative speaker is known as "self-handicapping tactic" (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991, p. 131). That is, diverging from the speech patterns of the target language may serve to indicate that the speaker is not a member of the host community and is not familiar with the current situation. This foreshadows that norms

may be broken by mistake, which can create a higher degree of acceptance by the native interlocutor. Therefore, learners think through the consequences of their deliberate choices and make strategic decision by diverging from L2 norms.

Among those who showed more pragmatic transfer, three interviewees reported that not having native-like competence can be a means of establishing friendly relationships with people of different cultures, which is referred to as 'comity' (Aston, 1993). For instance, D#28 commented that not having native-like competence can help establish friendly relationships between people of different cultures. In order to achieve solidarity and support in cross-cultural contexts, D#19 contended that people need to focus on their identities as individuals rather than as pseudo-members in the American culture.

> I have a few Asian friends who came from different countries, for example, Indonesia, Japan, and Taiwan. We have similar experiences, such as living in foreign countries or having kind of multicultural or bilingual backgrounds. I feel more comfortable with them, showing our own cultural characteristics. Among us who came from all different countries, American English norms don't seem to make sense, especially following American's cultural norms such as politeness rule, gesture, and something like you call pragmatic rules. I like my international friends because they show respect to my culture. Also interacting with them gives me a good opportunity to learn different culture and to practice speaking English. (D#19)

Participant D#19 believed that interacting with diverse people has provided her with the chance to accept her Korean identity. She stated that she could develop positive attitudes toward cultural diversity as long as she had positive image of her identity as a Korean in

the social contacts with diverse people. In addition, she found that expressing their own cultural characteristics onto the second language has more potential to build comity in cross-cultural encounters. D#5 also mentioned that he achieved better relationship with his American friend who was very interested in Asian culture by introducing Korean culture and language. He and his friend even enjoyed discussing the sociocultural aspects of American culture that conflicted with Korean beliefs and values. He emphasized that maintaining his L1 identity as a different culture holder helped develop friendly relations with people from other cultures. These comments suggested that the participants saw that there are benefits in not conforming to native speakers' cultural norms.

Finally, there were five interviewees in the divergence group who felt that complete convergence to the L2 norms is considered as a change of identity to them, may be virtually unattainable if the acquisition or learning of the L2 began after the childhood. Furthermore, they were adamant about their views that they would not only maintain their Korean identity, but also express their "Koreanness" even when they speak English. In other words, these five interviewees in the divergence group doubted as to whether the complete acculturation into the target culture would be possible. They felt that attempting to sound or act like Americans was a lost cause since one can never completely obtain native like competence. Many of the participants regarded being pragmatically proficient as throwing their own cultural identity as a Korean out and heading to a new identity in the target language. Since they acknowledged that there is no way they can hide who they are as nonnative users of English language, as a language

learner and sometimes as an outsider, they chose to maintain their L1 identity. For example, when asked about their preference of Korean style, D#24 answered as follows:

> I myself have motivation in learning a language. It's to express "myself", not to become like someone else in another culture. While speaking in English, I know I cannot help showing who I am and where I came from. I don't feel embarrassed at all. In that example, saying "I'm sorry" before or after requesting may sound too humble or strange to English native speakers, but it won't hurt initiating requests, though. It may make my utterance sound a little awkward to the native speakers, but it is me. That's how I do.

The following quotes represent the views of other interviewees.

> I don't think it would be possible for me to speak English like a native speaker. And regarding that I can't speak like Americans, I think I have that right because I will never be completely American. (D#28)

> Because my first culture has shaped me as a social being so far, I cannot simply get out of my own culture and become someone else all of sudden. (D#18)

> As you know, American people respond differently when something happens. It is too much to say everything about differences. Because I was born and lived in Korean for almost 20 years Korean culture is my culture and I felt uncomfortable with a different culture. I haven't changed much since I came here. I don't think I will change even if I live here for the rest of my life. American culture is different but the difference is not attractive to me. I don't think I have to completely give up Korean culture to follow the American way of life. (D#5)

Somehow we may have to change our way of thinking when we speak foreign language and it's necessary. But it doesn't mean that we throw our own identities out, instead, we should keep "ourselves." It's completely impossible to become a perfect native speaker and it's unnatural… One may come to think about one's own identity when speaking the language. (D#3)

From these comments we can see that the interviewees who showed more pragmatic transfer deliberately attempted to stick to their L1 identity. Maintenance of some features of their L1 identity might reflect deep conflicts regarding the uprooting and migration they experienced as a language learner in a foreign country (Peirce, 1995). At the pragmatic level where language behaviors are cultural and socially based, learning a new language does not mean learning just new linguistic forms. As a matter of fact, it is learning to be able to use a new language; to communicate with people in that language community, and satisfying those people's way of speaking. Learning another language is also a psychological process which involves some sensitive matters that L2 learners have to go through. The language learners might have the fear of identity loss or the fear of being condemned by other people for disloyalty for their own culture, suggested in works such as Beebe and Zuengler (1983). As a result, their fear may influence over the choice of their L2 pragmatic behaviors. Therefore, such pragmatic transfer should not be viewed as interference in their L2 learning because their interlanguage pragmatic competence is not absolutely a result of what they do not acquire. It seems, as Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993) noted, that pragmatic transfer may not necessarily reflect lack of competence in the pragmatics of the target community.

Rather, it is also a result of learners' choice making and the compromises necessary for a satisfactory interaction. One can see here the learners' pragmatic choices serving a form of cultural boundary maintenance strategy (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). In other words, interviewees who showed more pragmatic transfer in this study seem to consciously or subconsciously distance themselves from the second or foreign language community for ideological and personal reasons. That is, rather than converging to the norms of the target speech community, ESL learners opted to shift to their L1 style as a marker of cultural identity. The interviewees showed obvious pride in their Korean heritage. Almost all those who were interviewed alluded to the love of their first language and culture as their roots. D#24 said:

> I'm proud that I'm Korean and that would never be changed. Even if I could speak English as fluently as a native speaker, my personality and characteristics of Korean won't change.

As D#3 said:

> I have never thought negatively about my Korean heritage. Korea is an important part of my life because my parents are Korean and I was born and lived there about 20 years. If I hate my Korean heritage, that means I hate myself. Even if I would happen to stay here longer, I want my future children to know that I came from Korea and to be proud of it. I feel that I have to keep Korean culture and to learn more about Korea.

Therefore, it seems that the learners' pragmatic choices were deliberate. Their pragmatic styles were used to represent their subjectivity. ESL learners showed evidence

that they were able to intentionally distance themselves from what they perceived as L2 pragmatic norms in performing speech acts, for reasons other than limited language proficiency. The participants' convergence with or divergence from L2 pragmatic norms often seem to be in flux, largely depending on a complex internal negotiation between pressures from the L2 community on one hand, and participants' expression of subjectivity on the other. They indicated that they chose not to follow the target language pragmatic norms in order to utilize their foreignness in their speech for strategic reasons, to build comity in cross-cultural encounters, or to maintain and express their social and cultural identity

In summary, this section presented findings with regard to factors motivating pragmatic transfer. Based on the data obtained from the interviews, it appears that several factors played a role in pragmatic behaviors of Korean ESL learners. Some of these factors had to do with the learners' perception of their own language, as well as their attitudes of the second language and its native speakers. Furthermore, findings showed that factors such as purpose of learning the L2, learners' different types of motivation, and the length of residence intention contribute to the the extent of pragmatic transfer in the speech of language learners. Finally, impossibility to acquire nativelike proficiency, fear of disloyalty for their own culture, and preference of L1 styles as a marker of cultural identity seemed to be other factors influencing pragmatic transfer.

Generally speaking, the Korean learners of English seemed to be aware of L1 and L2 norms of appropriateness and recognized specific pragmatic behaviors accepted

in the United States. More interviewees in the convergence group felt that they should follow L2 norms in the host culture. Some of them were aware of the expectations from English native speakers and chose to meet these expectations by adopting L2 pragmatic norms. Perhaps these interviewees conformed to certain L2 pragmatic norms, feeling pressured by the L2 community to follow its norms. Besides, their intentions to stay longer in the target community also led them to motivate to acculturate into the target culture.

On the other hand, it appeared that despite their evident recognition of L2 socio-pragmatic norms (or maybe because of it), some learners in the divergence group often viewed them critically, compared to those accepted in L1 community, and therefore, were not always willing to follow L2 speech styles. Learners also seemed aware of their pragmatic speech mannerisms. They contended that although they were concerned about being pragmatically appropriate, feelings of awkwardness in trying to sound "too native-like", lack of motivation to assimilate into American community, and intentions of maintaining the L1 identity prevented them from pursuing target language norms of appropriateness. However, they clearly demonstrated their ability to find alternative strategies that allowed them to accomplish the communicative function within their cultural knowledge.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Summary

This study focused on the speech act of request as a means to investigate pragmatic transfer from Korean to English by advanced Korean learners of English as a second language (ESL). Realizing the interplay between the pragmatic transfer and individual subjectivity, the study also aimed at providing a better understanding of the notion of pragmatic transfer as it occurs within speech act performance. Unlike earlier research which only focused on the existence of pragmatic transfer in the speech of language learners, this study attempted to extend the scope of this research to embrace an investigation of why such transfer is prevalent in the speech of language learners. The extension of the scope proved to be effective in shedding more light on the nature of pragmatic transfer.

To better understand the nature of pragmatic transfer, two major research questions were proposed. The first question asked to what extent pragmatic transfer from Korean to English would be evident in the English used by Korean ESL learners. To investigate evidence of pragmatic transfer, request performance data were obtained using a discourse completion task (DCT) as an elicitation instrument. Data were collected from 60 participants divided into two equal groups, producing two set of native language data (AE and KK) and one set of interlanguage data (KE). KE and KK DCTs were completed

by the Korean participants, which consisted of thirty advanced Korean ESL learners. AE was completed by thirty American native speakers of English. At the time the data were collected, all participants were undergraduate college students. Following researchers such as Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) and Mir-Fernandez (1994), the DCT data elicited from each group of participants were analyzed by using semantic formulas as units of analysis.

The second question asked about the subjective factors that would contribute to the amount of transfer of learners and motivate their pragmatic choices. Using interview data from the learners with the most and the least amount of pragmatic transfer, the reasons behind the pragmatic choice were explored. To reveal what made them to converge to or diverge from L2 norms, their perception, motivation, and identity were examined to explore the individual differences in subjectivity. A summary of the major findings pertaining to each of the research questions proposed by this study is provided below.

Evidence of Pragmatic Transfer

The present study investigated the differences between Korean and American request performance and occurrences of pragmatic transfer by the advanced level Korean ESL learners. Findings of this study indicated that pragmatic transfer is indeed present in the English used by the Korean ESL group. Analysis of the data demonstrated that pragmatic transfer in the request responses given by this group was evident in the level

of directness and perspectives of head acts and the frequency of supportive moves and internal modifiers.

First, in many instances, the learners' request performances differed from the English native speakers' performance and thus, deviated from the L2 norms. In this case, often the learners' request realization patterns resembled those of the Korean native language, which implied the effect of the L1 transfer. For instance, concerning the KEs' use of directness levels, they generally followed the AEs in the use of conventionally indirect level, but still showed much similarity to the KKs in the choice of indirectness level (AE: 78.9%, KE: 69.4%, KK: 52.8%), displaying evidence of pragmatic transfer. Also in selecting perspectives of the head acts, the KE group showed the most preferred choice of hearer-oriented requests (72.1%), being more similar to the KKs (76.7%) than the AEs (54.4%).

Second, supportive moves employed by the KEs differed greatly from those of the AEs. The findings showed that there was a set of supportive moves that occurred only in the request responses given by the Korean ESL group (AE no vs. KE & KK yes). This set included the semantic formulas, *Promise of Reward* and *Apology*. The use of each of these formulas was found to imply and reflect a Korean cultural-specific norm or value (Hwang, 1990). For example, Koreans' custom that when a person receives benefits or kindness from another, he/she has to repay it appeared to be reflected in the employment of the request semantic formula, *Promise of Reward*; Koreans' hierarchical value orientation was expressed by the use of the formula *Apology*, whereas the American native speakers' reluctance to use the apology could be explained in terms of

the highly egalitarian American value orientation. The employment of these formulas appeared to reflect Koreans' cultural specific ways of expressing politeness in face-to-face-interactions. The existence of this set of formulas in the English used by Korean ESL learners, while considered acceptable among Koreans, might well be viewed as pragmatically inappropriate by American English native speakers.

In addition, Korean ESL learners also demonstrated pragmatic transfer in the order of grounders and request (head act). Korean ESL learners were similar to their native language (KK) and different from the English spoken by American (AE) in that they tended to make a grounder (e.g., explanation or justification) first and give a request later (AE: 35.2%, KE: 56.3%, KK: 68.4%); that is, trying to decrease the likely impact of their utterances on the interlocutor. In contrast, American native speakers were prone to make a request before providing a specific grounder. Pragmatic transfer may then occur as a result of the different assumptions about the specific order of a request and a grounder.

These findings are significant for two reasons. First, they provide clear evidence that even learners with an advanced level of linguistic proficiency in the target language rely on their native norms of speech thus risking committing pragmatic failures. Therefore, and based on the findings of this study, it is not necessarily true that linguistic proficiency in the learned language guarantees linguistic appropriateness in the same language. These findings support similar claims made by researchers such as Bodman and Eisenstein (1988) and Bouton (1994). Second, findings regarding the selection in the semantic formulas illustrated that the request responses given by the Korean ESL group

appeared to reflect the characteristics of Koreans' communication styles. Findings in this study were significant from a cross-cultural point of view because they provided strong indications that while the act of requesting is universal, ways of performing it are, in most cases, cultural-specific. (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1986; House and Kasper, 1987; Faerch and Kasper, 1989; Rintell and Mitchell, 1989; Edmondson and House, 1991; Eslamirasekh, 2005; Moon, 1996).

Moreover, participants in this study chose different levels of sensitivity toward the social status and the social distance of their interlocutors based on the way they perceived human social relations in their native cultures (i.e., horizontal or hierarchical). Korean ESL participants in this study were, in most cases, using by their native cultural perceptions of viewing and realizing social relations while performing in English. This conclusion is in line with data reported by Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990) in their investigation of request strategies among Japanese learners of English as a second language (ESL).

Individual Subjectivity and Pragmatic Transfer

One major goal of this study was an attempt to identify factors motivating pragmatic transfer. Findings suggest that pragmatic transfer is a linguistic phenomenon that comes about as a result of several motivating factors. Based on the interview data, several important factors seemed to play a role in motivating pragmatic transfer. These include learners' perception of their native language and the target language and the

learners' own purposes for learning English. In addition, how they identified themselves was another important factor.

As learners expanded their knowledge of American culture, they compared American requesting norms to those of their native language. In some situations, Korean ESL learners perceived different realizations of requesting behavior by American English speakers as too straightforward and less polite. When encountering conflicting face-threatening situations in two different cultures, those Korean ESL learners who were willing to converge to the target community didn't apply Korean expressions to the English request in fear of not being accepted by the target community. Generally, interviewees in the convergence group were concerned that pragmatic inappropriateness can be misunderstood as an intentional offense or a flaw in character. They tried to meet the expectations the native speakers might have from them.

On the other hand, the Korean ESL learners in the divergence group, despite the knowledge of how to perform the request in their L2, appeared to intentionally transfer their native norms of speech into their learned language. Most of the interviewees in this group claimed that they were aware of the fact that they were relying on their native norms of speech when responding to the DCT situations. In other words, their judgment of L2 pragmatic norms may have a determining influence on actual L2 use.

In this sense, the fact that learners did not employ L2 pragmatic forms or demonstrated pragmatic transfer may not necessarily reflect these learners' lack of competence in the pragmatics of the target community. It could be asserted that pragmatic transfer is not to be considered a subconscious process. The data suggested

that Korean learners of English as a second language were aware of differing rules for requesting in English, but they opted to communicate in a style similar to their native culture with strategic purposes. As Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990) indicated, "deeply held cultural values are not easily given up" (p. 68) and language learners are likely to engage in pragmatic transfer in the production of speech acts such as requests. The interlanguage patterns manifested in the speech act of requesting seemed to be parallel to the degree of learners' sociocultural accommodation to or divergence from the L2 culture, which may be as much a matter of choice as of ability.

As the interview data showed, learners had different goals in learning the language. That is, not all learners perceived their ultimate goal of learning to be native-like proficiency and to integrate or assimilate into a society of English speakers. Generally, those who intended to get a job in the L2 community after studying and to stay longer in the target community were willing to follow the L2 norms, showing less pragmatic transfer in their language use. On the other hand, those who showed more pragmatic transfer generally had other instrumental purposes such as achieving academic goals or widening their knowledge for utilitarian purposes. Furthermore, most of the Korean ESL learners' intentions were to return to Korea within one year. Therefore, they saw no need to perfect their English language skills pragmatically as long as it did not obstruct the basic communication of meaning.

Individual views toward the spread of English as an international language seemed to be a justification by whether to acculturate to pragmatic norms of the target language or not. Those who believed that the English language is neutral, that is, unlike

other languages, not connected to one specific culture and transformed into an universal medium of communication, did not admit the existence of specific pragmatic norms along with the language. Therefore, they were only learning the language as a medium of basic communication with instrumental motivation. On the other hand, there were some interviewees in the convergence group who felt that language and culture cannot be separated even if English has become an international language.

The interview data also revealed that interviewees consciously presented their identities in performing requests by manipulating the speech patterns. Generally they desired to maintain and even express their Korean identity even when speaking English. They also wished to present themselves as a second language learner for strategic purposes. That is, they used their foreign language identity in order to receive more generous judgments from their native speaker interlocutors on their language use.

We can better understand the differences in the pragmatic styles shown by the L2 speakers from the perspective of convergence and divergence within the framework of Speech Accommodation Theory. According to Giles, Coupland, and Coupland (1991), accommodative processes can facilitate or impede language learners' proficiency in L2 as well as their acceptance into certain host communities. Similarly, Blum-Kulka (1991) contends that divergence from the target norm might help non-native speakers maintain their cultural identity as separate from the target community. Thus, more proficient learners strategically converge to or diverge from the pragmatic speech norms of native English speakers depending on the consequences of compliance or divergence.

Korean ESL learners in this study showed evidence that they were able to weigh the benefits and costs of their pragmatic choices. Although L2 use of strategies is reported in the previous research to be generally motivated by learners' desire to achieve linguistic competence, interviewees in this study indicated that they diverged from the speech patterns of the target culture as a means of expressing their social and cultural identity. Some interviewees believed in possible impression of diverging from L2 pragmatic norms, thereby they conformed to L2 norms under pressure in the target community. Yet, most interviewees in the divergence group chose to maintain and express their ethnic identity by not accommodating the speech patterns of the target culture; they chose to exhibit foreignness in their speech for strategic purposes, as a cultural boundary maintenance strategy, or to show a pride in their Korean heritage. Although many acknowledged the importance of being pragmatically appropriate, the general consensus was that their first priority was not speaking or acting like English native speakers.

Each of these subjectivity factors was found to be partially responsible for Korean ESL learner's falling back on their native norms of speech when performing requests in English. However, it would be difficult, at this point, to determine which one of these factors contributed the most in motivating pragmatic transfer. Further research and testing of these various factors is needed. Nevertheless, these findings are significant because they highlight the fact that linguistic difficulty is not the only factor motivating pragmatic transfer. The interview with Korean ESL learners provided information regarding the impact of subjective factors on the way second language learners use their

target language. This information can open new avenues to understanding the source of

pragmatic transfer by second language learners. An understanding of these sources may

then encourage second/foreign language theories to focus more closely on the subjective

dimensions of language learning.

Limitations

This study contains a few limitations that should be noted. First in spite of a

rationale for the use of the DCT as an appropriate method for this study, data that is

artificially elicited by a written role-play questionnaire might yield different results from

naturally occurring data. Second, the subjects representing native, learner and target

language groups largely consisted of 18 to 29 year-old college students, thus decreasing

the generalizability of the findings to other age groups. Furthermore, only Korean ESL

learners with an advanced English proficiency level were examined. Future studies could

be constructed to encompass more levels of proficiency (i.e., intermediate and low). This

may result in learning more about the extent to which pragmatic transfer correlates with

different levels of proficiency, that is, whether or not pragmatic transfer increases or

decrease in relation to the level of proficiency. Moreover, with regards to providing

cross-cultural baseline data, native speakers of different regional varieties of American

English and Korean may have different preferences in the speech act behavior of English

and Korean. It should be noted that the particular English variety (i.e., American English

used in the Texas area) provides only one of the various models that exist in the speech

act behavior of English and Korean. Finally, although this study intended to examine the occurrence of pragmatic transfer and the role of subjective factors on pragmatic transfer by learners at advanced stage of second language learning, the design of the study was not longitudinal. Data from longitudinal studies may provide a more dynamic and holistic picture of the ways in which subjective motives interact with the L2 pragmatic behaviors over time.

Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study have several theoretical implications for the field of second language acquisition and interlanguage pragmatics. In general, this study aimed to provide a better understanding of how pragmatic competence interplays with second language learners' subjectivity and also to inform the scope of research that should be pursued by Interlanguage Pragmatics. Unlike grammatical competence where there is a set of prescriptive rules that determine correct and incorrect forms, pragmatic competence involves the expression of communicative intention, which can be realized in many different ways. When one expresses oneself, it depends on not only the cultural norms, but also the subjectivity of the speakers. Therefore, we cannot fully understand what makes language learners pragmatically transfer without including theories that can account for learners' choice of speech behavior or reasons for their choices and its consequences. It is important to understand the subjective processes that have an impact on the development and performance of a learner's second language. Thus, a discussion

of the phenomena of language learners' pragmatic transfer must include the learner's conflicting needs such as the need to be pragmatically appropriate, the need to get things done, the need to maintain face, and the need to show their identities.

The first implication of this study is to include the subjective motives, that is, the socio-affective perspective of language learning in second language acquisition studies. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the pragmatic behaviors employed by language learners, the motives underlying their pragmatic choices should be investigated when language learners perform pragmatic functions, especially requesting. Because pragmatic competence involves the individual expression of one's communicative intention, it should also be examined in relation to a speaker's attitude, perception, motivation, and sense of identity. My research suggests that it is not enough to understand how second language learners become second language users of a language only by observing linguistic knowledge used to perform certain pragmatic behaviors. To better understand why individuals choose to demonstrate certain pragmatic styles, we need to integrate learner subjectivity theories into the investigation of pragmatic competence. My study only touched upon the tip of the iceberg by overlaying the Speech Accommodation framework (Giles and Coupland, 1991) onto the speech performance of the learners. Nevertheless, it emphasized the importance of developing a comprehensive theory of the subjectivity including perception, motivation, and the social identity of second language learners. Hence, a more systematic investigation of how subjective factors govern learners' pragmatic speech act behavior is needed.

This study also recommends a reconsideration of the Interlanguage Transfer Theory in light of pragmatic research. Transfer Theory was originally proposed to account for the linguistic variations in L2 performance. Researchers hypothesized that the closer the structure of the native and target languages, the more likely learners would transfer features of their native language onto their target language communication performance. However, the data from this study suggested that as it comes to pragmatics, this hypothesis is not confirmed. Although English and Korean are typologically very dissimilar languages based in very different cultures, ESL learners transferred cultural assumptions, beliefs, and speech mannerisms from their native language. In order to gain a fuller understanding of pragmatic variation, Interlanguage Transfer theory needs to go beyond accounting for just "what" of variation to explaining "why" certain variation in pragmatic performance occur. By integrating Transfer Theory with subjectivity theories of language use, the complexities involved in why learners choose to retain certain features of their native language may be better explained.

Another theoretical implication comes from the fact that the assumption underlying most interlanguage pragmatic studies is that native-speaker norms are the adequate and ideal target for non-native speakers. In the field of English language teaching, with the increasing rise of World Englishes, the question of whose norms are to be used and taught has often been raised (e.g., LoCastro, 2001). Kasper (1995) also argued that this native-speaker-norm-assumption is questionable in that total convergence to native-speaker norms may not be desirable either from the non-native or native speakers' point of view. Non-native speakers may opt for pragmatic

distinctiveness as a strategy of identity assertion and native speakers may prefer some degree of divergence as a disclaimer to full membership in the target community. Based on the findings of this study, depending on the L2 speakers' surrounding conditions, optimal convergence rather than total convergence may be a more realistic and desirable goal. Therefore, we need to identify the range of acceptability that fosters optimal convergence. Thus, when referring to pragmatic appropriateness, we should consider the notion of relative appropriateness to account for the range of acceptable behavior.

Pedagogical Implications

The goal of teaching of pragmatic practices should not necessarily be to encourage all the language learners to gain native-like proficiency. Rather, the results of this study suggest that native-like speech behavior is not always the primary goal for language learners as has been automatically assumed by teachers, curriculum developers, and researchers. Findings of this study offer implications for the field of second/foreign language education. First of all, language teachers and curriculum developers need to recognize and plan for the different target goals language learners may have. It must be recognized that second/foreign language speakers also possess a desire to express their own identity. For example, some learners mentioned that depending on the situation, they wanted to show their cultural origin, their thinking patterns, ideas, and values. As language educators, our job is not to transform language learners into native-speakers, but to inform language learners of the pragmatic choices and their consequences in a

certain situation. In other words, learners must be given the knowledge to make an informed choice, which allows them the freedom to express their own values and beliefs.

Suggestions for Further Research

To more fully understand the interlanguage features of requesting behavior by second language learners, additional efforts are needed to consider several contextual factors and to incorporate different data collection methods.

First, ESL learners' level of English proficiency might affect the degree of pragmatic transfer. In their study of pragmatic transfer in refusals of Japanese ESL learners, Takahashi and Beebe (1993) argued that transfer was greater among high proficiency ESL learners than in their low-proficiency counterparts at the discourse level. They insisted that the lower-proficiency students do not have the fluency in L2 to give free rein to pragmatic transfer phenomena. Therefore, further investigation of requests should consider interlanguage differences among different levels of ESL proficiency. Moreover, the way the language learners with low language proficiency fashion their pragmatic speech styles to express their attitude, perception, motivation, and sense of identity needs to be investigated as well.

Second, there is a need to improve data collection techniques to capture authentic cultural expressions such as nonverbal responses and prosodic cues in requesting behavior. At the same time, to overcome constraints imposed by the written form of the DCT, incorporating different elicitation techniques (such as role-playing) can reveal

more authentic interactive aspects of pragmatic behaviors. Because these data were obtained from elicited written responses in informal interactions, it would be useful to explore some different settings in future research to ensure that the patterns identified in the corpus are not the artifacts of the methodology.

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APPENDIX A

DCT in English

Please read the description of each situation carefully and write down what you would say in a given situation. Because this is not a test or a measure of your language skills, there is absolutely no correct or wrong answer to each situation. Please write down everything that you would say in the situation. Please imagine yourself in that situation and write down what you would be most likely to say.

Situation 1

As a part-time job, you are working as a computer assistant in a computer lab. It is the end of the semester, and there are many students waiting for their turn to use computers. While consulting one student's problems, you see your **classmate** playing games excitedly. Academic use always precedes nonacademic use in a computer lab. You approach him/her. What would you say?

You: _____

Situation 2

You live in a dormitory. It's about 12 o'clock midnight. You are preparing for a mid-term examination tomorrow. However, you can't concentrate on studying because you have been hearing loud music coming from a nearby room for more than an hour. **You don't know the student who lives there**. You want him/her to turn down the music. You go to his/her room. What would you say?

You: _____

Situation 3

Tomorrow is the due date of a final term paper for one of the courses you take this semester. However, you are not able to turn it on time. You want to talk to the professor, **whom you have known for a couple of years**, and ask him/her to give you an extension on the paper. You go to his/her office and knock on the door. What would you say?

You: _____

Situation 4

As a part-time job, you are working as a library monitor. While checking on each floor in the library, you see a group of students that **you don't know** taking loudly in a non-discussion area. It seems clear that this loud noise disturbs other students' studying. You want those students to be quiet or move to a discussion area. You approach them. What would you say?

You: _____

Situation 5

You are taking a course. Last week you missed a few classes since you had a bad cold. A mid-term exam is scheduled to be held next week. You know that one of **the classmates** attends classes regularly and takes good notes. You want to borrow his/her notebook. You approach him/her. What would you say?

You: _____

Situation 6

You need to read an important article to write a final term paper. Today you have just found that a library does not have the scholarly journal which includes this article. You have heard that a new professor in you department has this article. **Since you haven't had a chance to meet and talk with this professor before, you do not know him/her**. You want to ask him/her to lend the article to you. You go to his/her office, and knock on the door. What would you say?

You: _____

APPENDIX B

DCT in Korean

이 설문지는 당신이 대학이라는 환경 속에서 여러 가지 상황에 처했을때, 상대방에게 어떻게 요구(요청)을 할 것인가를 조사하고자 합니다. 각 상황을 잘 읽으시고 주어진 상황에서 당신은 어떻게 말할지를 적어 주십시오. 이 설문은 당신의 언어 능력을 측정하는 테스트가 아니기 때문에 각 상황에 맞는 절대적 정답은 없습니다. 그러므로 주어진 상황에서 말씀하실 모든 것을 전부 적어 주십시오. 주어진 상황들 중에 직접 접해 본 경험이 없는 상황이 있더라도, 자신이 그 상황 속에 있다고 가정하시고 말씀하실 것을 적어 주십시오.

본 설문지에서 나온 자료는 순수한 연구 목적으로만 사용 될 것입니다. 귀한 시간을 내 주셔서 감사하고 성의껏 응답해 주시면 정말 고맙겠습니다.

상황 1)

당신은 컴퓨터실의 조교입니다. 지금은 학기 말이고 많은 학생들이 컴퓨터 사용을 위해

줄을 서서 기다리고 있습니다. 그런데, 당신의 **과 친구**가 오락(게임)을 하는 것을 보게

되었습니다. 컴퓨터실의 컴퓨터들은 비학습용보다는 학습용의 목적으로 사용되는 것이

원칙입니다. 당신은 과 친구에게 무엇이라고 말하겠습니까?

당신: _____

상황 2)

당신은 지금 여러 과목을 수강하고 있습니다. 당신은 지난 주에 독감에 걸려 수업을 몇

시간 결석하게 되었습니다. 그런데 다음 주에 중간고사가 있습니다. 당신은 수업에 잘

출석하고 노트 필기도 잘한 **과 친구**에게 그의 노트를 빌리고자 합니다. 당신은 과

친구에게 무엇이라고 말하겠습까?

당신: _____

상황 3)

내일은 당신이 수강하고 있는 과목 중에 한 과목에 대해 기말 리포트를 제출하는 날입니다. 그런데 당신은 내일 제출할 수 없을 것 같습니다. 그래서 당신은 **2년 동안 알아 온 이 과목 담당 교수님**을 만나 뵙고 제출 기한을 연장해 달라고 말하려 합니다. 당신은 그 분의 연구실로 가서 무엇이라고 말하겠습니까?

당신: _____

상황 4)

당신은 학교 도서관에서 파트타임 보안 (정숙) 담당 아르바이트생으로 일합니다. 당신이 각종 열람실을 돌고 있는데, **당신이 모르는** 한 집단의 학생들이 조용히 해야 하는 구역에서 시끄럽게 이야기하고 있어 다른 학생들의 공부를 방해하고 있는 것을 봅니다. 당신은 이 학생들이 조용히 해주거나 다른 곳으로 가주기를 바랍니다. 당신은 무엇이라고 말하겠습니까?

당신: _____

상황 5)

당신은 학교 기숙사에서 살고 있습니다. 지금은 자정이고 당신은 내일의 중간고사를 준비하고 있는데 한 시간 넘게 근처 방에서 나오는 시끄러운 음악소리 때문에 공부에 집중할 수가 없습니다. **당신은 누군지 모르는** 이 학생에게 가서 음악을 줄여 주었으면 좋겠다고 말하려고 합니다. 당신은 무엇이라고 말하겠습니까?

당신: _____

상황 6)

당신은 기말 리포트를 쓰는데 중요한 학술지 논문 한 편을 읽어야 합니다. 당신은

도서관에 가서 이 논문이 실린 학술지를 찾았으나 없었습니다. 그런데 당신의 과에 새로

오신 교수님이 이 논문을 가지고 계시다는 것을 들었습니다. **당신은 아직 만나 뵙지도,**

말씀을 나눌 기회도 없었던 이 분께 그 논문을 빌려 달라고 부탁드리려 합니다. 당신은

무엇이라고 말하겠습니까?

당신: _____

APPENDIX C

Background Questionnaire for Korean ESL students

Please circle or write in the blank.

1. Age (American age): _____

2. Sex: Male / Female

3. Major:

4. How long have you been in the U.S.?

_____ years _____ months

5. How long have you taken English language classes in the US?

      1. less than 3 months   2. 3-6 months   3. 7-12 months

APPENDIX D

Interview Protocols – For Koreans

- Do you plan to return to Korea after your studies in the US?
- How would you rate your overall English proficiency on a scale from low to high?

- Have you ever seen an American native speaker of English request? If so, how do you think they do it? In what situations?
- How do Korean native speakers request in Korea?
- What differences, if any, do you think there are in the way Americans and Koreans request?
- Have you requested in English? If so, how did you do it? In what situations?
- Is it different from the way you would request in Korean? If so, how?
- What do you think is the most difficult aspect of requesting in English?

- When speaking in Korean, do contextual factors such as the situation, the age and gender of the person you are talking to, etc. make a difference in the way you request? If so, which factors do you think affect your speech the most?
- When speaking in English do contextual factors such as the situation, the age and gender of the person you are talking to, etc. make a difference in the way you request? If so, which factors do you think affect your speech the most?
- How do you think about the polite speech in the US? Do they speak more politely than people in Korea or not?
- How do you think culture and language are related to each other?
- What do you think about Korean language/culture and American language/culture?

- What are your ultimate goals to learn English?
- How many American friends do you have? How important or unimportant is English for you to make American friends?
- When speaking in English, how important is it for you to speak like American native speakers of English? Why?
- Would you like the opportunity to use more English in your life? Do you think you will lose something if it is too dominant in your life?
- Do you think English has influenced you in your thinking/personality?
- How do you think your culture has influenced you?

VITA

Name: Hee Kyoung Kim

Address: 405 Whispering Ln.

              Seneca, SC 29672

Education: Texas A&M University, 2007 (Ph.D)

              Seoul National University, 2001 (M.A.)

              Sogang University, 1997 (B.A.)