Speech Acts Across Cultures:
Evaluations and Refusals in Korean and Chinese

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Abstract

This thesis investigates speech act performance and the factors affecting the performance across three groups: Korean native speakers (KNS), Chinese native speakers (CNS) and Chinese learners of Korean (CLK). The speech acts investigated are evaluations and refusals. The factors involved in the investigation are perceptions of social power, social distance and the degree of imposition (*P, D, I*) as well as learners' metapragmatic awareness. This thesis discusses if there exists cross-group differences in terms of speech act performance and *P, D, I* perceptions. More importantly, it investigates the influence that the perceptual and metapragmatic factors have on performance.

The data is collected via written questionnaires. The data analysis is carried out within and across different groups. The findings show that KNS, CNS and CLK have different preferences of functional components and semantic strategies in the performance of evaluations and refusals. Different speech acts are affected by different factors. For example, evaluation speech acts are more likely to be influenced by social distance while refusal speech acts are more likely to be influenced by social power. The factors also exert different influence on different groups. For example, the variable of social distance has reversed influence on KNS' and CNS' evaluations. CLK's performance is not only influenced by their perceptions of *P, D, I,* but also has various metapragmatic reasons.

The current findings indicate the importance of having perceptual data for speech act studies. The perceptual data provides more explicit and precise explanations for speech act performance compared to pre-assumed *P, D, I* or the patterns of learners' language use.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Overview of the research

Broadly speaking, this research concerns the use of language by different groups and the factors affecting their language use. More specifically, the groups involved in the current research are Korean native speakers (hereafter KNS), Chinese native speakers (hereafter CNS) and Chinese learners of Korean language (hereafter CLK). Their language use to be investigated here is restricted to evaluations and refusals in Korean and Chinese, in other words, how KNS/CNS/CLK evaluate and refuse in their native or target languages. However, this research does not set out only to answer the question how the language is used, but also to discover why the language is used in such ways, hence the factors that are responsible for language use in such situations.

Again, broadly speaking, cultures, contexts and psychology all have a role playing in people's language use. Different cultures may generate different conventions of language use. For example, When being complimented about their eyes, English people may answer "thank you, I don't think they are any different with others'' while Spanish people answer 'only when they look at you' (Lorenzo-Dus 2001: 115-116). Different contexts entail different language use as well. An easy example is that people talk differently in formal and informal situations. However, towards the end, both cultures and contexts come into play at the level of people's psychology. After all, it is the speaker who evaluates a situation as being formal or informal. It is also the speaker who decides what is appropriate in the culture and whether or not to behave according to his/her perceptions of the culture. From the speaker-central point of view, cultures, contexts and psychology interact with each other.

Therefore, in order to explain the language use of different participant groups, the current research includes the factors which are contextually confined, culturally shaped and, more importantly, perceived by the speakers. The investigations of this research focus on the ways that KNS, CNS and CLK perform evaluations and refusals as well as the influence that the above mentioned factors have on their performance.

In Chapter 1, some widely accepted concepts about Korean and Chinese language and culture will be introduced first. Basic notions used in the study of language use and perceptions will be presented next.

1.2 Introduction to Korean and Chinese languages and cultures

This section provides a brief introduction to Korean and Chinese languages and cultures. It is not possible to convey a full range of discussion on the languages and cultures due to the limited space. Thus, only those relevant and widely accepted concepts are introduced.

First, although 60% of Korean vocabulary originates from Chinese, the two languages belong to different language families and are particularly grammatically distinct. Chinese is known to belong to the Sino-Tibetan language family. Korean, on the other hand, is speculated to belong to the Altaic language family. Korean is agglutinative as "[it] uses certain morphemes[1] as functional markers to indicate the role of a word within the sentence as well as mood, tense, location, and the social relationship between the speaker, listener and the person spoken about" (Grayson 2006:236). On the other hand, Chinese, as a moderately isolating language (Packard 2006: 355), is fairly analytic. An isolating language consists mostly of monomorphemic words. Chinese has many multimorphemic words (e.g. compound words), nevertheless the morphemes in these words are not obligatory bound to each other. Therefore, "if our criterion is how easy the morphemes of a language are to identify and individuate, Chinese scores rather high on the isolating language" scale (Packard 2006:358).

One of the key agglutinative morphemes in the Korean language is its honorifics. Korean has six forms of honorific verbal endings which help to build six levels of speech styles, including the formal, polite, semi-formal, familiar, intimate and plain forms. Korean people choose to use proper honorifics according to their evaluations of the relationship with the hearer and/or the referent of the conversation. The use of honorifics is mostly to show respect to people, either addressee or referent, but it does not equate to the level of politeness. To be specific, the addressee honorifics "are used to express your social relationship with the people you are talking to" while the referent honorifics "mark the relationship with the people you are talking about" (Yeon & Brown 2011:186-187). Korean honorifics occur less at the lexical level and more at the morphemic level. For example, the subject honorific marker '-si-' can be placed in between the verb base and connective suffix or sentence endings. Chinese honorifics, on the other hand, occur mostly at the lexical level and does not have as rigid levels of speech style. Therefore, to the end of displaying respect, Korean and Chinese may have different routes.

Second, Korean and Chinese have some typological differences and parallelisms. In typology, languages are compared in terms of their structural and functional features. For example,

[1] In terms of structural role, a morpheme is the smallest meaningful or grammatical unit participating in word formation operations (Liao 2014)

Korean is a SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) language while Chinese is SVO in terms of word order. The VO order is frequently found with postpositional relative clauses (the modifying clause) as in English (e.g. I have a friend who comes from China). The OV word order is most likely to have prepositional relative clauses as in Korean (e.g. *nanun cungkukeyse onun chinkuka issta. Lit: I China-from come friend have*). Chinese, a very rare case, has the prepositional relative clause with VO order (e.g. *wǒ yǒu yí gè zhōngguó lái de péngyǒu. Lit: I have a China coming friend.*) (Wu 2013:52). Some other typological issues include: (1) Chinese is a rare case in terms of word order between VO and time/locative prepositional phrases. The time/locative prepositional phrases occur mostly with OV order as in Korean; (2) OV structure often has the standard-adjective order in comparison sentences as in Korean while VO has the reversed order as in English (e.g. A is taller than B). Chinese, again, is different compared to most languages, as it has standard-adjective order with its VO structure (Wu 2013).

Dryer (2003) hypothesizes that the uncommon combination of relative clauses/prepositional phrases and VO order in Chinese is due to the influence of Altaic language from North China (cf. Wu 2013:66). The possible areal influence is built on the assumption that there used to be extensive contact between proto-Chinese and proto-Altaic. However, the intensive interaction between Korea and China is not recorded before the Tang dynasty. Due to a lack of earlier historical evidence, the areal influence remains a hypothesis. However, the preposition of standards in Chinese comparison sentences came only into existence in Tang and Song dynasties. Therefore, the possibility of areal influence on Chinese language from Altaic language should not be completely ruled out either (Wu 2013:67).

Besides the linguistic contact between Korean and Chinese, the two cultures have a long history of interaction. The most influential concept over the long historical interaction might be Confucianism. Confucianism was founded in China around the 6th century BC and its first introduction to Korea has not been recorded. The national Confucian Academy in Korea was founded in 372 in Koguryŏ, indicating the history of Confucianism in Korea is longer than 1600 years. Confucianism flourished in the Chosŏn dynasty of Korea (1392-1910) and was quickly developed into a more dogmatic and rigid orthodoxy than it was in China (Oh 1997:80). “Over the centuries, Confucianism has become an inseparable part of East Asian cultural identity” and Asians are scarcely aware of its influence (Oh. 1997: 79). To specify the influence of Confucianism in East Asia, Oh states:

It forms the foundation of ethics and morality in business as well as social and personal life, detailing the attitudes and behaviour appropriate to human relationships, from the top to the bottom of the social order, from intimate family relationships to the most distant associations, and in most areas of daily life.

(Oh 1997: 80)

It is impossible to fully explain such a powerful philosophy in a short section. Instead, some key beliefs in Confucianism are included here for later discussion of its influence on language use. (1) Hierarchical human relationships are defined in Confucian teachings, such as the relationships between father and son, between monarch and subject, between husband and wife, and between elder and younger brother. These teachings have also expanded its use to analogous relationships. For example, age has been proved to be an important factor in Korean culture. The relationship between elder and younger is an analogy to father/son or older/younger brothers. More importantly, defining relationships in such a way is deemed as foundation of building social harmony. In the famous classic of Confucianism, Analects, when the Duke Jing of Qi asked Confucius about government, he answered "there is government, when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister, when the father is father, and the son is son" (Analects XII 11, cf. Waley 2005). Therefore, the Confucianism encourages people to behave in their given roles. (2) The submission and obligations are pre-assumed for the subordinates to the superiors. As much as the relationship is hierarchical, the "superior positions were structured for taking, not for giving" in China and Korea as Oh observes (1997: 82). The unequal relationship of giving and taking can be found in filial piety in Korean and Chinese families as well as communications in their business. (3) In- and out-group relationships distinguish people's behaviour. Nevertheless, Confucianism emphasizes caritas and humaneness, its initial departure is the point of family relationship. Later people develop different family-like relationships through social contacts and inevitably have the division between 'in-family/group' and 'out-family/group'. For example, both Korean and Chinese words, which contain the component of '*tong*' (meaning: same), indicate 'inside, my own people, my family', such as *Tongchang/Tóngxué* (classmates), *Tongryo/Tóngshì* (colleagues), etc. The beliefs of hierarchy, obligation and social membership from Confucianism still function in today's language use, such as the politeness in East Asia discussed in Section 2.2.3.

However, while powerful, Confucianism is by no means the only factor in shaping Korean and Chinese cultures, neither has it remained intact. This study has conducted a survey of 30

Koreans and 38 Chinese. The participants were asked to write down the three characteristics that they think are the most representative of their cultures. Korean natives fed back the most with their ethos, the impatient nature of Korean people, collectivism and the interaction of Confucianism and Buddhism, whereas the Chinese replied mostly with the concerns of economic development and its consequences, the long and profound history, the cultural diversity, and collectivism. Both Koreans and Chinese included the collective nature of their societies, which is reinforced by Confucianism over its long history. Apart from these characteristics, Koreans reflect on their ethnicity and Chinese reflect on the recent economic development, which are not directly related to Confucianism.

1.3 Pragmatics

Among many comparable aspects between Korean and Chinese languages, this research is particularly interested in their use. As mentioned in Section 1.1, language use can be a vehicle of interactions between cultures, contexts and people's psychologies. 'The study of language use' might be the vaguest definition for pragmatics (Verschuren 2011:1). More precise definitions of pragmatics and its key notion of speech acts will be presented in Section 1.3.1. Pragmatics concerning different speech groups, hence cross-cultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics, is introduced in Section 1.3.2. A classification of pragmatics into pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics is provided in Section 1.3.3 along with the notion of pragmatic competence. In the last sub-section 1.3.4, pragmatics will be viewed from the cognitive angle, including metapragmatics and metapragmatic awareness.

1.3.1 Pragmatics and Speech acts

Pragmatics had not been formally discussed as an academic approach to linguistics until the late sixties. Before it came about, language was studied in an isolated manner. Linguistics is divided by a few well-bounded components such as phonology, syntax and semantics (Mey 2001:8). Syntacticians focus only on the logic of sentence structures while leaving the meaning of sentences to semanticists. Their subject matters–syntax and semantic meaning–belong to the language itself, hence being of the 'immanence' of language. Thus they can be studied without much interference from external factors. This kind of isolated study guaranteed linguistics as an independent science from other sciences during its early development. Pragmatics, however, opened this traditional and closed system of linguistics. It introduces 'extralinguistic factors' (e.g. context, Mey 2001: 4) to the pure linguistic field,

and started to look at language in use. From the standpoint of pragmatics, it is important to discuss the language used by its user in the context that the language is used. The meaning of a sentence in context may deviate from the meaning which semantics would assign. For example:

Example (1)

My girlfriend is going to kill me.

Without knowing the background in which the above sentence is used, the meaning of the example sentence is still analysable at the level of semantics. For example, a "girlfriend" refers to a female with whom a man/woman is romantically involved. 'To kill' is to cause someone to die intentionally. These meanings are based on the conventional information that each word / phrase carries on itself. However, what is communicated via this sentence is impossible to be deciphered without the context. In fact, the example sentence is taken from someone who refuses to go for a drink with friends. In this context, the sentence is functioning as a refusal and the use of 'kill' in the sentence only indicates the fear of a bad consequence instead of a real murder. The language user uses this sentence as an indirect 'No' instead of saying 'No' in a direct manner. Furthermore, the choice of this strategy among many other refusal strategies is based on the language user's knowledge of the context and his/her own culture. In other words, the culture and context allow the language user to use the idea of 'being killed' as a refusal. The hearer who has understanding of the culture and context is also expected to extract the meaning of 'refusal' out of the 'killing'. This kind of information is hard to interpret and understand if the language is not placed in its use, or in the domain of pragmatics.

With the above example sentence there seems to be two meanings: the sentence meaning with which semantics are concerned, and, the utterance meaning with which pragmatics are concerned, in other words, the grammatical meaning and meaning in context (Levinson 1983: 18; Chapman 2011: 22). This kind of distinction may appear to be clear at first glance, but the borderline between semantics and pragmatics soon becomes controversial when considering the following questions: (1) In case the information that the speaker intends to communicate is exactly the meaning of the sentence, which domain of semantics and pragmatics should the sentence or utterance be assigned to? (2) The conventional meaning,

as discussed above with the word 'girlfriend', cannot be explained unless we refer to the relationship in real life. In that case would semantics or pragmatics be more appropriate to analyse the conventional meaning? (3) The truth-condition is generally considered to relate to semantics but not to pragmatics. However, the truth value can only be given if "the meaning in language [is] faithful to the facts as we observe them" (Leech 1983:7). In other words, the above example sentence is true only when it is spoken by certain speakers who have girlfriends. Therefore, the question is to what extent the explanation of semantics allows the involvement of context before it merges into one subject with pragmatics. Ambiguity of this kind exists not only between semantics and pragmatics, but also between pragmatics and other disciplines which concern contexts or language users, such as sociology, psychology, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. Mey (2001) also wrote that the role of pragmatics can be found in 'hyphenated areas' (psycho-, socio-, ethno- etc. linguistics) (2001: 5). Consequently, it is argued whether pragmatics should be treated as a separate discipline (or 'component') under linguistics or simply as a different perspective to the current components.

Verschueren (1999) has a perspective-oriented definition for pragmatics: "[pragmatics is] a general cognitive, social and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their use in forms of behaviour". In his opinion, pragmatics can be located at any level of structure or any type of form-meaning relationship. Using the author's example, the phonology[2]can be viewed from a pragmatic eye if considering the different phonological systems are adopted to different hearers in different contexts, such as presenting in the standard phonological system in a conference but phoning a sibling in dialect. This might be true in the broadest sense of pragmatics. However, down to the specific content of pragmatics, perspectivists, who consider the pragmatics merely as a perspective, may find it hard to absorb the pragmatics into other disciplines. For instance, one key notion in pragmatics is the speech act. The speech act connects people's utterances to their performative functions. In other words, people's speech carries their intention and serves their purposes in communication (see Section 2.1.1 for the details of speech acts). For instance, the above example (1) has the speech of killing by the girlfriend linked to the action of refusal. If the action of refusal carried via this speech is explained as a pragmatic perspective of semantics, then the semantic meaning of this speech has to include its interpretations in context. In

[2] Phonology, as a subdiscipline of linguistics, seeks to discover those systematic properties in the domain of sound structure, and find regularities and principles behind it both for individual languages and language in general (Wiese 2006)

other words, attempts of explaining the notion of the speech act with the pragmatic perspective are made at the cost of broadening the domain of semantics to contexts, which eventually turns semantics into pragmatics.

In contrast, Levinson (1983) lists a few possible definitions for pragmatics as a separate component of linguistics.

> (1) Pragmatics is the study of those relations between language and context that are grammaticalized, or encoded in the structure of a language; (1983: 9)
>
> (2) Pragmatics is the study of all those aspects of meanings not captured in a semantic theory; (1983:12)
>
> (3) Pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding; (1983:21)
>
> (4) Pragmatics is the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with the contexts in which they would be appropriate; (1983:24)

Definition (1) restricts pragmatics to pure linguistic matters with the drawback of of excluding those very important principles of language use (e.g. politeness principles, see Section 2.2.2). Definition (2) treats pragmatics as the residue of semantics. As discussed above, there is no clear borderline between these two disciplines and thus how much semantics left to pragmatics is rather undecided. Definition (3) is the most promising, as Levinson admitted. It gives space to most aspects of the principles that account for language use, yet only leaves the notions of context and language understanding loosely defined. Levinson (1983) further explains for these two notions in definition (3). The contextual features selected are “culturally and linguistically relevant to the production and interpretation of utterances” (1983:22). Language understanding, cited from Strawson (1964) by Levinson, is to “decode or calculate all that might reasonably have been meant by the speaker of the utterance” (1983:24). The vagueness of the definition of context makes the definition (3) less precise, but the capacity of such a definition is considerably better than definition (1) which has more clarity. Definition (4) emphasizes on the communicative competence of language users (see Section 1.3.3 for definition of communicative

competence) and neglects the fact that there exists many 'non-conventional' or 'inappropriate' uses of language in real life.

Östman (1988) suggested that the above two views of 'componentialist' and 'perspectivist' should exist side by side to expand our epistemological horizon. As the 'componentialists' deal with technical matters such as presuppositions, implicatures, deixis, etc. and 'perspectivists ' deal with conceptual and reasoning matters such as negotiability, adaptability and variability motivations, effects, etc., the two can be unified under the communicative functions of language and its functioning mechanisms. Mey (2001) supported Östman's suggestion and further explained that these two views are actually to "ask how users 'mean what they say'" and "how they 'say what they mean'" (2001:9). He further had a proposal for the definition of pragmatics:

Pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society.

Mey illustrates that "the users of language, as social beings, communicate and use language on society's premises; society controls their access to the linguistic and communicative means" (2001:6). Despite this being a vague enough definition, it deprives the initiative of language users. In other words, if the language use is determined by the conditions of society, then it should be predictable by controlling society's conditions. In real life, however, people's language use is far more complicated than the extent to which the conditions of society can predict, and '[the] user's point of view' should be the orientation of pragmatic research, as Mey himself admitted (2001:5).

Thus far there is still not a fully satisfactory definition of pragmatics similar to many other disciplines in science and social science. The most widely accepted one is from Crystal (1985) that: "pragmatics is 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" (1985:240).

Comparing Levinson's (1983) definition (3) with Crystal's (1985), one important difference is that Crystal's definition emphasizes 'the point of view of [language] users'. Pragmatics is not purely a study of 'relation between language and context' as in Levinson's definition (3). It is

the language user who builds the relation between language and context, makes the choices of language, encounters the constraints in social interaction, and intends to reach language understanding. The current research uses Crystal's (1985) definition of pragmatics as the working one, although it is questionable if the speakers' perceptions of contextual factors shall be counted as 'constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction'.

Some of the contextual factors, such as social power, have been evidenced as functioning in communications. Researchers have been studying their ways of functioning in different cultures (see Section 2.2.1). However, the contextual factors have rarely been studied at exactly the standpoint of language users, which the pragmatic studies should be based on. In other words, the way that language users perceive these contextual factors has been largely neglected when we consider what affects their language use. In only a few previous studies (see Section 2.5) in addition to the current study, the perceptions of contextual factors are emphasized and evidenced as constraints that language users may encounter in social interactions (see Section 4.2).

1.3.2 Cross-cultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics

Central to the definition of pragmatics, are the language users. When there are two or more groups of users involved who possess different languages and have been linguistically educated in different cultures, the investigation to their language use falls into the scope of cross-cultural pragmatics. Cross-cultural pragmatics, according to House-Edmondson (1982.282, cf. Barron 2003), is "a field of inquiry which compares the ways in which two or more languages are used in communication". This definition remains controversial because it only concerns different languages in communication rather than language users from different backgrounds. A contrastive example would be that multilinguals are able to use different languages to communicate in the same societal and cultural context. Comparing the ways of different language use in this case would hardly be cross-cultural.

Boxer (2002) illustrates that cross-cultural pragmatics is to view "individuals from two societies or communities carry out their interactions (whether spoken or written) according to their own rules or norms". Here, the 'interaction' refers to the communication within a certain speech community[3] to which the language users belong. This definition distinguishes the notion of cross-cultural pragmatics from another notion—intercultural pragmatics. The

[3] According to Hymes (1972), a speech community is a group of people who share conventions of speaking and interpretation of speech performance.

intercultural pragmatics concerns that individuals, who are from different cultures and possess different first languages (hereafter L1), communicate in a common language (Kecskes 2004). In other words, cross-cultural pragmatics is the study of "pragmatic phenomena in different cultures in order to be able to set up comparisons and thus to predict possible misunderstandings", while intercultural pragmatics is the study of "representatives of different groups in the process of interacting with each other to see how differences are negotiated" (Archer, Wichmann and Aijmer 2010).

Another distinction needs to be made between intercultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics. The latter focuses on the acquisition and use of pragmatic norms in a second language (hereafter L2) (Kecskes 2011:373 in Archer and Grundy 2011). It derives from cross-cultural pragmatics but makes comparison between native and non-native language users. The non-native language users are mostly considered as language learners according to the other headstream of interlanguage pragmatics --- Second Language Acquisition research. Interlanguage pragmatics was defined as "the study of non-native speakers' use and acquisition of linguistic action patterns in a second language" (Kasper 1989, Kasper & Blum-Kulka 1993). This definition has since been changed to "the study of non-native speakers' use and acquisition of L2 pragmatics knowledge" (Kasper 1996: 145). To avoid the dispute between the terminologies of non-native speakers, non-native language users and language learners, recent studies tend to retain the core of the definition only, such as that used by Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (2005:7):"interlanguage pragmatics research investigates the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge in second languages".

1.3.3 Pragmatic competence, pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics

The acquisition of pragmatic knowledge leads to another concern– competence in terms of pragmatics. In this section, the communicative competence, to which the pragmatic competence belongs, will be presented first and then several definitions for pragmatic competence are given. Pragmatic competence is divided into pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competence. Their definitions are presented after pragmatic competence. The failure of these two competences was criticised and raised the question of using native speakers (hereafter NS) as the baseline to judge non-native speakers (hereafter NNS). Therefore, a brief summary of the arguments for NS-normativity comes at the end of this section.

In 1966, Hymes proposed the concept of 'communicative competence'. It refers to the knowledge and use of language. It is presented as a contrast to the 'linguistic competence' or 'grammatical competence' emphasized by Chomsky (Lillis 2006). Not aligning with Chomsky's concerns of grammatical correctness, communicative competence eyes the appropriateness of language used in any given context. Hymes' phrase soon leads to a development of communicative language teaching for language learners (Byram 1997:8), although his initiative of communicative competence was to discuss the issue within one speech community. In response to the trend of communicative language teaching, van EK(1975) devised the famous Threshold Level for English in which six competences are listed. They are: linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, sociocultural competence and social competence (pp.39-65). Some definitions of these competences appear to overlap with the interests of pragmatics. For example, the sociolinguistic competence discussed by van EK (1975) concerns the choice of language forms, the effects contextual settings, the relationship of interlocutors and communicative intention have on choice, etc. (cf. Byram 1997:10). Kasper & Rose (2001) remark that pragmatic competence is included under the 'sociolinguistic competence' of van EK's model. By contrast, Bachman (1990) subsumes 'sociolinguistic competence' under pragmatic competence which constitutes the communicative competence with 'organizational competence'.

Defining the notion of pragmatic competence is as difficult as delimitating it from other competences. It is either left aside as the notion can define itself, or carried out by referring to the advantage of having this competence. Thomas (1983) defines the pragmatic competence as "the ability to use language effectively in order to achieve a specific purpose and to understand language in context"(1983:92). Ishihara & Cohen (2010) and Fraser (2010) have an agreement that "having pragmatic ability means being able to go beyond the literal meaning of what is said or written, in order to interpret the intended meanings, assumptions, purposes or goals, and the kinds of actions that are being performed"[4] (Ishihara & Cohen 2010). Pragmatic competence is idealized in these definitions. From this idealized perspective, no one is fully competent pragmatically. Therefore, compared to the pragmatic competence, the failure of being pragmatically competent is more clearly defined. Thomas (1983) considers that pragmatic failure happens when an utterance failed to achieve the

[4] According to Fraser (2010), pragmatic competence is the ability to communicate your intended message with all its nuances in any socio-cultural context and to interpret the message of your interlocutor as it was intended.

speaker's own goal (1983: 94). She then divided the pragmatic failure into two types – pragmalinguistic failure and sociopragmatic failure–according to Leech's (1983) division of pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics.

According to Leech (1983), pragmalinguistics is the linguistic end of pragmatics while sociopragmatics is the sociological interface of pragmatics (1983:10-11). Kasper and Rose (2001) further illustrates that "pragmalinguistics refers to the resources for conveying communicative acts and relational or interpersonal meanings", and "sociopragmatics refers to the social perceptions underlying participants' interpretation and performance of communicative action". Therefore, pragmalinguistic failure occurs "when the pragmatic force mapped by [a speaker] onto a given utterance is systematically different from the force most frequently assigned to it by native speakers of the target language, or when speech act strategies are inappropriately transferred from L1 to L2" (Leech 1983: 99). Sociopragmatic failure, on the other hand, is caused by "cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour" (Thomas 1983:11; cf Leech 1983:99). As in definitions above, pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics are not restricted to the contrast of NS and NNS or cross-cultural differences, but failures of them are closely related to NNS only. Moreover, Leech's definitions of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failures use the NS to judge the NNS. In this sense, his definitions deviated from Thomas' (1983) definition of pragmatic failure, which is failure of "achieving the speaker's own goal" (1983:94).

Using the native speakers as the threshold against which to measure language learners' performance has later been seriously criticized. For example, Cook's series of studies (1999, 2002a, 2002b) views that second language users are speakers in their own right. They are fundamentally different to native speakers who do not have both languages. Cook (2002b) lists the differences that L2 users have with native speakers in their knowledge of both languages, language processing (e.g. code switching) as well as mental processes (e.g. different levels in analogical reasoning) (2002b:191-194). Cook (1999) proposed a multicompetence model to replace the NS model. The multicompetence model "covers the total language knowledge of a person who knows more than one language, including both L1 competence and the L2 interlanguage". However, this model has not been specified for future measurement of learner's competence.

As NS-normativity is fallacious, the pragmatic failure of language learners' judged against it is untenable. It becomes more than necessary to measure the language learner's performance with their own system. However, this is neither to deny the roles that learners'

L1 and L2 have in their language use, nor to deny the comparability of language use by language learners and native speakers. In fact, learners' judgment of the relation between their L1, L2 and their own language could be very important in explaining their performance.

1.3.4 Metapragmatics and Metapragmatic awareness

Studying learners' judgments of the pragmatic relation between their L1, L2 and their own language steps into the area of metapragmatics. According to Caffi (2006), there are at least three interpretations for metapragmatics. The first one refers to "the criteria of pertinence of the [pragmatics as a] discipline" (2006:82), including the assumptions for pragmatics, the objects it studies, the scope it covers and the epistemological foundations. The second kind of metapragmatics refers to "the conditions that make speakers' use of language possible and effective", such as "how to cooperate, be kind, polite, etc" (2006:84). The third kind investigates "the speaker's competence that reflects judgments of appropriateness on one's own and other people's communicative behaviour". The third type of metapragmatics is the concern of this research despite this definition being rather loose. The ability of judging appropriateness of language use, as stated in the third interpretation, often overlaps with another notion—pragmatic awareness. Pragmatic awareness is again interchangeably used with metapragmatic awareness in some studies. For example, Safont Jordà (2003) defined metapragmatic awareness as "the acknowledgement of those contextual features that determine the extent to which a given linguistic routine may be appropriate for a particular situation" (2003:48). This definition is replaced with the notion of 'pragmatic awareness' in her later discussion (2003: 49).

Ifantidou criticized the use of these terms in a manner of "pragmatic competence ≈ pragmatic awareness" and 'pragmatic awareness ≈ metapragmatic awareness'. (2013:112). She intends to reconstruct the pragmatic competence by including three different awareness:

Pragmatic competence: the ability to

(a) Identify relevant linguistic indexes (*linguistic awareness*)

(b) Retrieve relevant pragmatic effects (pragmatic awareness)

(c) Meta-represent, and explicate the link between lexical indexes and pragmatic effects retrieved (meta-pragmatic awareness)

(Ifantidou 2013: 113, Italic in the original version)

Following Ifantidou's categorizations, to assess the pragmatic relation between the use of L1 and L2 by a language learner is actually to compare the links between language use and its pragmatic effects in two languages, hence metapragmatic awareness. For example, in the case that language learners are asked if they perform refusals the same in their L2 as in their L1, their awareness of L1 and L2 similarities/difference in refusals should belong to metapragmatic awareness, just as Barron identified in her book (2003: 109). What actually does not belong to metapragmatic awareness is the 'acknowledgement of the contextual features' as in Safont Jordà's (2003) definition. 'The acknowledgment' is neither the retrieved pragmatic effects (pragmatic awareness) nor the meta-representation of the link between language use and retrieved pragmatic effects (metapragmatic awareness). It may be the factor which affects the language use, but 'the acknowledgment' is better defined as 'perceptions' of the contextual factors, such as status, age, etc.

1.4 Perceptions

Psychologically, perception is the process that people "select, evaluate and organize stimuli from the external environment". It is "the window through which a person experiences the world. They [perceptions] also determine the way in which we behave toward it" (Singer 1998: 10). The experience and evaluation of different interpersonal relationships and contexts, such as the closeness of a relationship, are part of people's perceptions. According to Singer (1998), all the cultural perceptions should be group-taught (1998: 11).

As many cross-group/cross-cultural comparisons have been carried out (see Section 2.3), the perceptions of one certain group seem to be collective enough (or at least to be assumed so) to compare with another group. The next question is whether the collective perceptions are the same with group values / social norms / beliefs. The concept of group in this research is not restricted to culture groups, but rather to speech communities. Here, however, the general differences between perceptions and values/norms/beliefs are discussed on the basis of cultural group for the ease of understanding.

According to Lustig and Koester (2005), beliefs are ideas that people assume to be true about the world, and thus are a set of learned interpretations that form the basis for cultural members to decide what is and what is not logical and correct (2005:87). Perceptions, on the other hand, are not always believed to be true or logical. Taking the perception of social

status as an example, it is better described as a continuum from a high position to a low position, instead of a dichotomy of being true or not.

Values are the *desired* characteristics or goals of a culture, a culture's values do not necessarily describe its *actual* behaviours and characteristics. However, values are often offered as the explanation for the way in which people communicate. (Lustig and Koester 2005:88) **Norms** are the socially shared expectations of appropriate behaviours (Lustig and Koester 2005:91).

Compared to these two notions, perceptions are neither desired nor expected. They are obtained from the experience of the world through selecting, evaluating and organizing external stimuli (Singer 1998:10). The reason that perceptions in certain culture groups can be collective is that they are affected by culture, norms and beliefs (Singer 1998: 29-39). By connecting perceptions to people's language use, we do not only explore the way that perceptions function in language use, but also gain an insight into the culture norms/values/beliefs, which people in certain groups hold as important.

1.5 Purpose of the current research

As stated at the start of this chapter, this research investigates the performance of evaluation and refusal speech acts by KNS, CNS and CLK as well as the influence that certain factors have on their performance. The first set of factors involved in the investigation are the perceptions of social power, distance and imposition (hereafter *P, D, I*). According to Brown & Levinson (1987), the social distance refers to the horizontal relationship between the speaker and hearer while power indicates the vertical gap between the interlocutors in their society. The imposition was originally proposed as 'the degree of imposition', referring to the impingement that a speech act has on one's face (see Section 2.2.1 for Brown and Levinson's theory). These factors' influence on speech act performance has been proven by many previous studies (e.g. Beebe et al 1990, Blackwell 2010, and many more in Sections 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.2.2). However, few studies have investigated the perceptions of *P, D, I* and the influence of their perceptions on speech act performance.

The second set of factors involved in this research is the metapragmatic awareness of the relation between L1, L2 and the learner's own language use. CLK are asked if the L1/L2 native speakers would perform differently compared to them using L2. As Cook (1999, 2002a, 2002b) argued that the learners are fundamentally different to native speakers by knowing

both the L1 and L2, their performance is not merely affected by their perceptions of *P, D, I*, but also by their meta-representations of L1 and L2.

With the above two sets of factors, this research investigates (1) the evaluation and refusal speech act performance by KNS, CNS and CLK; (2) the three groups' perception of *P, D, I;* (3) the influence that the way *P, D, I* tend to be perceived has on the performance of KNS, CNS and CLK; (4) the influence of metapragmatic awareness on learners' performance.

Detailed theoretical backgrounds for this research and referable studies will be reviewed in chapter 2. Chapter 3 specifies the research questions and research methods. Chapter 4 focuses on reporting the analytical results and findings. Chapter 5 further discusses the issue of politeness. Chapter 6 concludes with summaries and limitations of the current research.

Chapter 2 Literature review

In this chapter, previous studies related to the current research will be reviewed. Section 2.1 presents the theoretical framework of speech acts which this research is built on. Next are the politeness theories from which the *P, D, I* model stems[5]. Criticism and alternatives to the two major politeness theories are also discussed. Section 2.3 focuses on previous studies of evaluation and refusal speech acts which are the focus of the present research. Section 2.4 looks at the possible factors influencing the interlanguage development. It aims to lend some supports to explaining the learner's data in this research. Previous studies reviewed in the fourth section are not restricted to pragmatics studies, especially when the relevant pragmatics studies are not available. The last section includes a handful of studies which are concerned with the relation between perceptions and speech act performance.

2.1 Speech Acts

2.1.1 Theoretical background and development of speech acts in cross-cultural pragmatics

Speech act theory was developed by the British philosopher J. Austin during his series of speeches "How to do Things with Words" in the 1950s. His speeches were then published by Oxford University in 1962, and became the most important, fundamental work in speech act theory. As made clear in the title of Austin's (1962) book—*How to do* T*hings with W*ords—the speech act connects people's utterances to their performative functions. In other words, people's speech carries their intention and serves their purposes in communication. To be more specific, "[a speech act] is the vocalization of a certain representation of the world (external or internal) aimed at making official the display of an intention to change a state of things and at changing things by the public display of the intention" (Capone 2006:681). As in the example (1), the speech of 'being killed by the girlfriend' carries the intention of not going for a drink with colleagues and serves the purpose of refusal, hence it is a refusal speech act in the given context.

At the start, Austin made a distinction between performative and constative language use. This was soon modified to the view of all speech acts being performative. Austin divides the speech act into locutionary act, illocutionary act and perlocutionary act, which are the

[5] *P,D,I* model is from the classical *P,D,R* model in Brown and Levinson (1978/1987). The *R* in B&L's original work refers to the ranking of imposition (see Section 2.2.1). In the current study the ranking of certain variables frequently refer to the categorized perceptions of participants (see Section 3.3.6). Therefore, the '*I*', the initial of imposition, is used to replace the '*R*' to prevent any confusions.

utterance, the intention (or the delivery of intention) and the consequence of the utterance correspondingly, as interpreted by Searle (1969).

Studies of speech acts in cross-cultural pragmatics start to draw attention a few years after the speech act theory was created (see Section 1.3.2 for the definition of cross-cultural pragmatics). The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (hereafter CCSARP) starting from early 1980s leads to a blossom of speech act studies across cultures. This project aims to explore the realization pattern of speech acts across different cultures. It was initially carried out in eight languages and produced a number of inspirational works, including Wolfson (1981), Blum-Kulka (1982), House (1982), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986), Blum-Kulka et al (1989) etc. However, most of these studies focus on request and apology speech acts.

Stepping into the 1990s, speech act research expanded into a considerable diverse range of subjects. Speech acts other than request and apology, such as refusal (e.g. Beebe et al 1990, Kwon 2004; Chang 2009), compliment and its response (e.g. Lorenzo-Dus 2001, Rose 2001, Yu 2011), gratitude (e.g. Schauer & Adolphs 2006, Ohashi 2008, Wong 2010), complaint (e.g. Boxer & Pickering 1995), disagreement (e.g. Rees-Miller 2000) etc. began to be noticed. At the same time, cross-cultural comparisons were carried out in languages other than the initial eight of the CCSARP. It is worth mentioning that Asian languages, such as Japanese, Chinese and Korean, were also studied dynamically (e,g, Beebe et al 1990, Liao & Bresnahan 1996, Sasaki 1998, Kwon 2004, Byon 2005, Kim 2008, Taguchi 2008; Su 2010, Liu 2011). However, this is still a small proportion compared to the overall research. Besides, most of the studies have been done in comparison with a western language. The Korean language is given less attention compared to Japanese and Chinese, even among the small number of Asian language studies. These studies will be later revisited in Section 2.3.

2.1.2 Classification of speech acts

With respect to Austin's initial proposal of classification of speech acts, Searle (1975) criticizes his unclear standards for classification. He then categorizes the speech acts into five types: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, declarations, and also explained the standards for this categorization (1975, 1979). His main criteria are followings:

- the illocutionary point

- the direction of fit between words and world
- the expressed psychological state

The illocutionary point is the purpose of the act. It differs from the illocutionary force as it represents the original standpoint of speech acts. Searle (1975) used command and request as examples. Both attempt to get hearers to do something (illocutionary point) but are different in performance (illocutionary force). The direction of fit looks at the consequence of illocutionary act if it gets the world to match the speech or the other way round. Psychological states included the belief, want/desire, intention, pleasure and alike in the performance of speech acts. These three dimensions were considered by Searle (1975, 1979) as the most important criteria on which to build the speech act taxonomy.

Besides the three above, there are nine more sub-criteria. Those that are relevant to the current research will be introduced. Based on the criteria, the five types of speech acts are defined as:

Assertives: (or representatives) The point or purpose of the assertive class is to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition. The direction of fit is words to the world and the psychological state expressed is belief. Typical assertives include descriptions, statements, conclusions etc.

Directives: The illocutionary point of these consists of the fact that they are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. The direction of fit is world to word and the psychological state is want (or wish or desire). Typical directives include commands, requests, orders, etc.

Commissives: The illocutionary point is to commit the speaker to some future course of action. The direction of fit is world to words and the psychological state is intention. Typical commissives include offers, promises, refusals, etc.

Expressives: The illocutionary point of this class is to express the psychological state under the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content. There is no direction of fit, as the expressed proposition is presupposed to be true. The psychological states are various but the propositional content ascribes to the speaker or hearer. Typical expressives include congratulations, apologies, gratitude, etc.

Declarations: successful performance of declarations brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality. The direction of fit is bidirectional between the words and the world. There is not a psychological state, as the successful performance of declarations rely on some extralinguistic institutions. Typical declarations include marrying, nominations, etc.

Searle (1979: 12;15); Huang (2006:660-661)

Searle's categorization of speech acts has been influential to later studies, especially to Leech's initial proposal of politeness principles (See Section 2.2.2). The current research studies evaluation and refusal speech acts. The former belongs to assertives (see Section 2.3.1.1 for the discussion) while the latter belongs to commissives. We wonder if the perceptions of contextual factors play different roles in performing different kinds of speech acts. This question is to be answered in Section 4.2.2.

2.2 Politeness

Politeness is one of the central issues in pragmatics. Among the existing theories Brown & Levinson (1978/1987) (Hereafter B&L) and Leech (1983, 2007) are considered to be the most influential. Their theories attracted many examinations, gaining as much support as criticism. The hot debate around these politeness theories arise from one central question: to what extent a politeness theory can be universally applied to different cultures. One end of the answer is held by absolute universalism while another end is held by absolute relativism. The absolute universalist believes that the concept of politeness is fundamentally shared by all cultures and the proposed politeness theories demonstrated the common grounds underlying different cultures. The absolute relativist, on the other hand, believes that politeness is conceptualized differently in different cultures and there is not any theoretical framework capable of describing the variation of politeness in cultures. Most researchers locate themselves on the continuum of universalist and relativist with bias to one of these ends. Towards the universalism end, some claim that B&L's theory is applicable to different cultures at micro level and the culture-specific expressions of politeness is only complementary to the theory (e.g. Chen, He & Hu 2013). Towards the relativism end of the spectrum, others maintain that politeness, empirically evidenced in some cultures, could not be explained or even conflict with the current theoretical framework (e.g. Wierzbicka 1991, Eelen 2001), and thus the current theories need to be re-constructed partially, if not entirely.

In this section we first introduce the framework from B&L (1987) and Leech (1983), followed by arguments for and against them. These arguments also include some alternatives to these two politeness theories.

2.2.1 B&L's theory and its criticism

B&L has three major theoretical proposals in their explanations of the universal nature of politeness. They are, (1) positive and negative faces: B&L assign the 'face' to individual desire. Positive face concerns with the desire of being approved, agreed, appreciated, while negative face concerns with the desire of personal territory not being intruded (B&L 1987:13). In communication both speakers and hearers negotiate between their face wants to reach a mutually acceptable level of politeness; (2) Face Threatening Act (hereafter FTA); B&L's theory is built heavily on the notion of speech acts, although they prefer not to restrict their examples to a sentence-unit speech act (1987:10). They consider speech acts as threatening the positive and/or negative faces in their nature. For example, a request act may threaten the hearer's negative face as it limits the hearer's freedom of doing a future action. A disagreement may offend the hearer's positive face as the hearer's feeling of being approved / appreciated is not satisfied; (3) the formulation for measuring the seriousness of a FTA: the impositions brought about by a FTA can be redressed or prevented (if not performing FTA) by polite strategies according to B&L (1987). The extent to which the redress is needed can be calculated by adding the social distance and social power between speakers (hereafter S) and hearers (hereafter H) as well as the rank of imposition (same [*I*] as the current research), hence the following formula:

$$Wx = P(H, S) + D(S, H) + R\,x$$

Wx is the weightiness of the risk to both interlocutors' face. According to the formula, when the hearer has power over the speaker, the distance between them and the seriousness of offence of the FTA increase, and the risks to face increase. Consequently, more redressive strategies are needed.

B&L's theory is examined mostly with the above three proposals and criticized mostly on them as well. First, as much as B&L's politeness is built on individual face want, their strategies to redress the face threats are criticized as 'facework' instead of politeness. Second, the individual face want is suspected to come from Western individualism, and thus

not well conforming to Eastern cultures which are more collectivist[6]. For example, Matsumoto (1988) objects B&L's definition of negative face and argues that in-group membership is more emphasized than self-territory in Japanese society. Mao (1994) differentiates Chinese face into two concepts – '*Mianzi*' and '*Lian*'. The former stands for one's prestige or reputation ascribed by other members of the community. The later, completely different compared to B&L's face, refers to the normative function of politeness, hence the moral standards, the internalized sanction, or the integrity of one's moral character. Therefore, *Lian* is often neither negotiable nor affordable to lose in Chinese contexts. Third, the notion of FTA is challenged as being a 'pessimistic view' of human social action (Schmidt 1980). Leech (2007) proposed an opposite notion—the face enhancing act or face maintaining act, which belongs to his pos-politeness (see the forthcoming review of Leech's theory) (2007:190). Fourth, *P, D, I* are criticized as not being the only crucial factors in determining polite strategy use. B&L also admit that a residue of other factors may exist, such as the factor of 'affect' (liking) which shall be separated from social distance (B&L 1987:16). Previous researchers also found some support for that the politeness can be influenced by interlocutors' rights and obligations (Blum-Kulka and House 1989, cf Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010), the request goal (Blum-Kulka et al 1985), formality of the situation (Flix-Brasderfer 2006) etc. However, even within these studies *P, D, I*, as functioning factors in language use, are admitted (e.g. Blum-Kulka and House 1989). Economidou-Kogetsdis (2010) criticizes that "some of these factors can, in fact, be subsumed under Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) *P, D, I* factors".

Another defence for B&L's *P, D, I* is from Chen, He & Hu (2013). They contend that "suspicions of the universality of Brown and Levinson's theory could be in part due to the neglect of their D, P and I" (2013: 145). From the view of B&L (1987) the nature and people's evaluation of these three factors are 'culture-specific' (1987:76) and 'context-dependent' (1987:78). Therefore, any cross-cultural comparison should place the speech in its local context first and then compare the interpretations, gained from local context, cross-culturally. An example from Chen et al (2013) is that the Chinese refusal to a dinner invitation might take a few sequences between refusals and insistences before a 'reluctant' acceptance or a firm refusal. The whole negotiation could be 'impolite' judging from an English speaking culture, as persistent insistence despite refusals is obviously intrusive to the interactant's freedom, viz

[6] The current research adopts Chen, He & Hu's (2013) stance about division of East and West. As they state, the division is not to assume that East or West is a monolithic culture (or group of cultures). Instead, as research in cross-cultural pragmatics has abundantly demonstrated, differences exist among cultures within what is traditionally called East or West (2013:141).

negative face. However, the interpretations of this act in the local context is that the Chinese refuser concerns about burdening the hearer with the preparation of the dinner. In other words, an immediate acceptance of the invitation may leave the speaker the image of being greedy and is thus at a high cost of the speaker's face. On the other hand, the Chinese inviter also makes the same presupposition that the invitee is refusing out of politeness and refusals in this case should not be accounted either as sincere or as offensive. Therefore, the cross-cultural comparison between English and Chinese in this case could be concluded to the different rank of *I*, instead of different perceptions of negative face. The universalism of B&L's theory is then still upheld.

As to the author's knowledge, B&L's theory is the only production model of politeness to date. Being a production model enables examinations in different cultures without many ambiguities. Researchers can also easily find some evidence to support or oppose this theory from their examinations. One of the foundation-shaking criticisms is from Eelen's (2001) articulate distinction between politeness 1 and politeness 2. Politeness 1 refers to spontaneous polite language use or evaluation of certain speech being polite or impolite in real world. Politeness 2, on the other hand, refers to the abstracted notion of 'politeness' and its theoretical framework. Politeness 1 is evaluative in its nature. The evaluation of being polite / impolite is influenced by the culture norms while showing a great level of individual variability. This evaluative nature is removed in politeness 2 by theorists, who prioritize the universal grounds over the individual assessment of politeness. From this distinction, both B&L and Leech's theories are politeness 2, if B&L's theory is not merely treated as facework. However, denying the connection between politeness 1 and politeness 2 is rather to assert that any agreement between individual assessments of politeness (politeness 1) is out of random chance and cannot be theorized under politeness 2. Therefore, we still aim to examine to what extent the existing theories can explain our new data.

2.2.2 Leech's theory and its criticism

Another famous politeness theory is from Leech's (1983) *principles of pragmatics*. Leech (1983) considers that pragmatics is principle-controlled (1983:5). He proposed six maxims under the name of politeness principles (hereafter PP). The maxims apply for different types of speech acts according to Searle's (1969) categorization (see Section 2.1.2). Leech's (1983) maxims of PP are:

Tact Maxim (in impositives and commissives)

(a) minimise cost to others; (b) maximise benefit to others

Generosity Maxim (in impositives and commissives)

(a) minimise benefit to oneself; (b) maximise cost to oneself

Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives)

(a) minimise dispraise of others; (b) maximise praise of others

Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives)

(a) minimise praise of oneself; (b) maximise dispraise of oneself

Agreement Maxim (in assertives)

(a) minimise disagreement between oneself and others; (b) maximise agreement between oneself and others

Sympathy Maxim (in assertives)

(a) minimise antipathy between oneself and others; (b) maximise sympathy between oneself and others

(Leech 1983:132)

The first four maxims can pair up according to the cost-benefit and praise-dispraise scales, although they do not have to work simultaneously.

B&L (1978/1987) and Leech (1983) agree that politeness should be assessed scale-wisely, in other words, what is estimated in communication is not the concept of politeness, but the degree of politeness. To measure the degree of politeness, B&L have a clear formulation of *P, D, I* in contrast with Leech (1983) who vaguely sets several scales such as cost-benefit, optionality, indirectness as well as *D* and *P*.

B&L, in their newly added introduction to the 1987 book, argues the PP as "just such principled reasons for deviations [of rational efficiency of a speech]" in contrast to Grice's cooperative principles which allow "no deviation from rational efficiency without a reason" (1987:5). CP is social neutral and violations of CP are actually the counter-evidence for CP as presumptions for linguistic behaviour. PP, on the other hand, does not enjoy this kind of presumptive nature. The maxims in PP are descriptions of communicated politeness.

Responding to the contrast between PP and CP, Leech (2007) further illustrates his work, with a few amendments. First of all, Leech (2007) proposes a clearer definition for his PP:

The Principle of Politeness – analogous to Grice's [Cooperative Principles]—is a constraint observed in human communicative behaviour, influencing us to avoid communicative discord or offence, and maintain communicative concord.

Leech (2007:173)

Following this definition, Leech (2007) replaces the word of 'maxim' with the 'pragmatic constraint', as the word 'maxims' results in many criticisms of PP when comparing with Grice's cooperative principles. Leech (2007) first subsumes the six 'maxims' to a super-constraint –the Grand Strategy of Politeness (hereafter GSP):

Grand Strategy of Politeness: In order to be polite, S expresses or implies meanings which associate a high value with what pertains to [others] (hereafter O) or associates a low value with what pertains to [speakers].

Leech (2007:181)

The six 'maxims' are accordingly changed to:

Generosity Constraint: place a high value on O's wants;

Tact Constraint: place a low value on S's wants;

Approbation Constraint: place a high value on O's qualities;

Modesty Constraint: place a low value on S's qualities;

Obligation Constraint of S to O: place a high value on S's obligation to O;

Obligation Constraint of O to S: place a low value on O's obligation to S;

Agreement Constraint: place a high value on O's opinions;

Opinion-reticence Constraint: place a low value on S's opinions;

Sympathy Constraint: place a high value on O's feelings;

Feeling-reticence Constraint: place a low value on S's feelings.

Leech (2007:182)

Per se, the obligation constraint is newly added to the previous list. Also the constraints are separated from those scales, such as cost-benefit, praise-dispraise etc. This separation enables Leech (2007) to discuss the following two questions distinctly: (1) what entails the level of politeness in use; (2) under what principles politeness is exhibited in communication. The above quoted 'constraints' are set out to answer the second question, although not entirely. The first question about politeness level is answered by 'other scales of value', including B&L's *P, D, I* and the strength of socially defined rights and obligations as well as the degree of belonging to certain groups. (Leech 2007: 193-194). In this sense, B&L (1987) and Leech (2007) may be complementary. B&L's framework identifies the constitution of contexts in which a certain level of politeness is required, then Leech's (2007) constraints help to explain how the required level of politeness can be actualized.

Therefore, the present research does not exclusively focus on either of the politeness theories. Instead, the investigation is carried out in questioning: (1) based on a speaker-centric evaluation of *P, D, I* (see Section 3.3.6), to what extent B&L's framework can be upheld in pure East Asian contexts; (2) to what extent Leech (2007) can explain the manifest of politeness in pure East Asian contexts. Moreover, in the case that both theories can only

explain a small extent, then (3) if East Asian cultures need a different theory of politeness, or if the previous research on East Asian politeness already provided one.

2.2.3 Politeness in East Asia

As discussed above, the position that this study adopted to discuss politeness is that: there must be some universals of politeness between human beings, but the extent to which the current theories can represent this universality is in question. In other words, there may exist complementary work to the theories of B&L (1987) and Leech (2007), if these two theories are not sufficient to explain the common grounds of politeness in different cultures. This section presents some complementary work of politeness claimed in East Asian cultures, more specifically, in Japanese, Chinese and Korean. These three languages are selected solely because they are the most studied among many East Asian languages. Also, it should be noted that the so claimed complementary works may not undoubtedly be complementary. There are critics as well, presented below, that can be subsumed to the B&L or Leech's frameworks. However, they indeed provide some different interpretations for politeness in East Asian languages.

Starting with Japanese, the most influential notion related to politeness in Japanese is the 'discernment' proposed by Ide (1989), supported by Matsumoto (1989) and Haugh (2005). Ide (1989) considers the proposal of discernment incorporating with B&L's framework (1987). According to Ide (1989), the use of formal forms such as honorifics in Japanese, closely related to politeness in the language, is oriented neither from the interactive intention nor from the face wants. Thus B&L's (1987) politeness is driven from FTA and negative/positive face wants cannot explain the use of formal forms in Japanese. Instead, the use of Japanese formal forms depends on "the speaker's observation of the social conventions of the society of which he or she is a member", hence the discernment. To be more specific, discernment, or *wakimae* in Japanese, refers to 'one's sense of place or role in a given situation according to social conventions' (1989:228). Honorifics, for example, are used according to the role relationship between interlocutors (or interlocutors and referents). The role relationship is conventionally defined in the society. Matsumoto (1989) used a different example to illustrate the discernment. The formulaic expression in Japanese '*Doozo yorosiku onegaisimasu'(I ask you to please treat me well/take care of me)* seemingly offend the hearer's negative face, as it is literally a request. However, instead of imposing on the requestee's territory, it is very polite by humbling oneself to a lower position in the

relationship where s/he needs to be taken care. In other words, by using this expression, the speaker shows his/her acknowledgement of their role or rank difference with the hearer, although there may be a polite exaggeration of it (1989:410).

B&L's aspect of politeness is volitional as it concerns only the speaker's intention and individual's face. Speakers in B&L's theory actively choose verbal strategies based on the negotiation between the negative and/or positive face wants of both interlocutors'. In this sense, Ide (1989) intends to add the conventional/normative politeness to B&L's 'egocentric' framework. In Ide's own quotation of Weber's typology of social actions, B&L's framework (1987) concerns the instrumental rational action, which deals with active choices of appropriate means to attain desired ends, while discernment concerns the traditional/conventional action determined by ingrained habituation (Weber 1972, cf Ide 1989: 243).

Matsumoto and Ide's observation of the conventional aspect of politeness is agreed by Pizziconi (2003). However, Pizziconi (2003) argues for the applicability of B&L's (1987) theory in Japanese from four aspects: (1) the preservation of individual territories exists in Japanese as well, however the scope of the territory and whether the territory is related to individual's negative face may be questionable; (2) there is not always a distinction between conventional and volitional language use in actual utterances. Moreover, the volitional choice of verbal strategies may interweave with consideration of culture norms; (3) after re-analysing the lexical elements from Matsumoto's example '*doozo yorosiku onegaisimasu'*, Pizziconi defines this phase as 'deferential begging' and thus comes to another conclusion that it is better considered as an instance of positive politeness; (4) honorifics cannot be treated differently to other verbal strategies, as their use is after all subject to the social and situational appropriateness. The use of honorifics, especially, is sensitive to social power and distance.

Korean language shares many common points with Japanese in its use of honorifics and formulaic expressions, such as a similar expression 'please take care of me' ('*jal putak tulipnita'* in Korean). A. Kim (2011) discusses the relation between the honorific use and politeness as well as the applicability of B&L's model in Korean language. The use of honorifics is in general related to the deferential attitude of the speaker. Therefore, against the idea that deference and politeness should be treated separately in Korean, A. Kim presents evidence that the two notions are intertwined in actual language use. Further to this observation, the author also attempts to interpret the use of honorifics with the current

politeness framework (mostly that of B&L). For example, A. Kim found that the superior-subordinate relationship is expressed differently with honorifics between in-group members and out-group members. In the same social group, such as teacher-student in the same department, the superior may use honorific-free speech to the subordinate, in contrast to his/her use of honorific speech to a subordinate from outside of the group. The usage of honorifics to out-group members is interpreted as a protective strategy of the speaker, who marks the social distance explicitly in order to avoid possible imposition. The honorific-free speech in group, on the other hand, re-confirms the in-group memberships between the superior and subordinate. It is also an indication of the closeness in terms of social distance. Similar to Matsumoto (1989) and Ide (1989), A. Kim also analysed the similar sentence 'please take care of me'('*jal putak tulipnita'* in Korean). By abandoning the speaker's own power and ensuring the hearer's absolute prestige, this sentence is interpreted as an extreme negative face redress in Korean. According to A. Kim (2011), the concept of politeness in Korean surpasses the use of honorifics. There are examples of polite speech without honorifics, and, more interestingly, there are also examples of impolite speech with honorifics. Leaving special cases such as jokes and sarcasm aside, some Korean sentences using the superior in an agentive role and making the superior in debt are less likely to be judged as being polite, even if they are fully equipped with honorifics. For example, a full honorific sentence like 'the teacher borrowed some money from me (a student)'(*Sensayngnim jeeykeyse tonul pillisyesseyo* in Korean) could be more politely expressed as 'I (humbly) provided the teacher some money' (*jenun sensayngnimkkey tonul malyenhay tulyesseyo*) in Korean. A. Kim refers to the Principle of Labour and the Principle of Benevolence/Grace in this case (2011: 201). However, the latter sentence could be well explained by Leech's (2007) obligation constraints. By placing higher value on the obligation that S has to O, the speaker humbly provides the benefit, while by placing lower value on the obligation that O to S, the debt that the teacher could have is reduced.

Chinese language is different from Korean as described in Section 1.2. Its honorifics/deference are not expressed morphologically, but rather depend on the lexicons. Gu (1990) summarises four key notions for Chinese politeness from an ancient classic *Li Ji* (Book of Rites), despite that the book was prescribed by the ancient government as a political tool 2500 years ago. Gu (1990) maintains that the four essential notions are inherited from the classic to the recent generations. The four notions are: respectfulness, modesty, attitudinal warmth, and refinement. Respectfulness refers to the speaker's appreciation or admiration of others, including other's face, social status, etc. Modesty is related to 'self-

denigration'. Attitudinal warmth is the demonstration of kindness and care. Refinement refers to the normative social behaviour. However, according to Gu (1990), these four notions are not instrumental in demonstrating politeness. Instead they underlie the Chinese concept of politeness. There are politeness principles just as Leech's (1983) which governs the Chinese politeness. These principles include the Self-denigration Maxim, the Address Maxim, the Tact Maxim and the Generosity Maxim. The latter two are originally from Leech (1983). The Self-denigration Maxim requires people to denigrate self and to elevate others. It is underpinned by the notions of respectfulness and modesty. Here, the scopes of 'self' and 'other' are extended to the 'in-group members' and 'out-group members'. For example, someone may denigrate his own son (an in-group member) to others. The Address Maxim requires one to address the hearer appropriately and it is based on the notions of respectfulness and attitudinal warmth. In addition to these four maxims, there are another two principles – the principle of sincerity and the principle of balance—which are beliefs about people's observance of the Politeness Principles. For example, Chinese invitations may take a few sequences of issuing-declining before the final acceptance. In this process, the invitee believes that the inviter sincerely invites, so that his acceptance will increase the cost of the inviter. At the same time, the inviter believes that the invitee sincerely considers accepting the invitation, so that s/he should insist on persuading the invitee. As for the principle of balance, once the invitee accepts the invitation, s/he considers him/herself in debt, before s/he returns the polite invitation with another polite payback to the inviter.

Twelve years later in 2011, Gu's (1990) observations are still well kept in the new 'postmodern' view of Chinese politeness[7]. Kádár and Pan (2011) identify the four "most representative norms of Chinese politeness" (2011:140), namely, addressing properly, attitudinal warmth (including sincerity), denigration/elevation and giving/saving face. The first three 'norms' are identical with Gu's discussion. The last notion–giving and saving face–has an extension from Gu's principle of balance. Kádár and Pan take face as a transactional value. By giving others face the speaker can also gain his/her own face.

Gu's (1990) observations did offer some insights into Chinese politeness, such as the importance of sincerity and balance, the normative aspect of politeness (refinement). However, his Principle Politeness suffers the same kind of criticisms as Leech (1983), though the criticisms of Gu's Principle Politeness may be more serious. First of all, there could be an

[7] Kádár and Pan (2011) maintain that they adopt the postmodern analytic approach to ambiguity, diversity of norms, to socially 'atypical' behaviour and view all generalized theories with sceptical eyes (2011:126)

infinite number of principles based on the observations of every specific case like the use of address terms. Second, the current Principles of Denigration and Addresses may actually be scaffolded by the model of *P, D, I*. For example, people tend to denigrate themselves with superior and with less-acquainted hearers. They also tend to address the hearers of higher status by their titles. In other words, these principles may only function at a superficial level of politeness. Third, the principle of sincerity overlaps with the scope of attitudinal warmth, if the latter refers to the speaker's kindness, consideration, care, etc. For instance, in the same example of sincere invitation, the sequence of inviting-declining can be interpreted as kind considerations about each other's cost/benefit. In sum, Gu's work is not sufficient in characterizing Chinese politeness, but may be taken as an application of Leech's (1983) maxims.

Unlike Gu (1990) that considers Leech's theory as being appropriate to analyse politeness in Chinese, Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003) seek to replace Leech's politeness maxims with sociopragmatic interactional principles (SIPs). They define the SIPs as "socioculturally-based principles, scalar in nature, that guide or influence people's productive and interpretive use of language" (2003:1635). The scalar SIPs allow different cultures to show different preferences of certain SIP, and thus differ with Leech's Maxims, of which one end of the scale is always preferred. Spencer-Oatey & Jiang (2003) obtained five SIPs for request speech acts from Kim (1994) but later empirically identified that three factors could have already predicted the variance of politeness in both English and Chinese. Based on the data collected from questionnaires, Spencer-Oatey & Jiang find that the Chinese participants have noticeable concern for face/rapport, the task and the clarity, whereas the British participants concern more for the right/obligation in building rapport as well as task/clarity as one factor. These factors are weighted differently in different contexts of request speech acts. For example, in some situations of the questionnaire that the requestor is authorised to request (e.g. customers request pre-ordered food), British people concern much less for face/rapport. However, the factor of social power embedded in the questionnaire design does not seem to have any influence on the weight of the SIPs. The findings of Spencer-Oatey & Jiang can be summarized as followings: (1) cross-cultural similarities do exist in the conception of politeness. The evidence is that both British and Chinese participants loaded their concerns on the face/rapport and task/clarity; (2) differences can be found at a more detailed level. In this study, British participants distinguish the concern for rapport according to the right/authorization. Chinese participants, on the other hand, distinguish the task factor from the clarity factor; (3) SIPs are limited in number. The original five SIPs have been narrowed

down to three after empirical examination; (4) SIPs may function at a different level or in a different aspect with the factors of *P, D, I*. Spencer-Oatey & Jiang found that the request type (probably the imposition caused by certain types of requests) and the unequal relationship may have played roles in the situational difference when applying SIPs. However, these differences are not systematic, which may suggest that the SIPs function at a different level with the variables of *P, D, I.*

Spencer-Oatey & Jiang (2003) made a very interesting attempt to verify the pragmatic constraints empirically, although they left some questions to further clarify. First, the SIP--concern for face/rapport--is a very general one. From this SIP, it is impossible to know whether the different groups of participants conceive the face/rapport similarly or differently. We neither know what consisted of the face. Second, the relationship between *P, D, I* factors and SIPs is unclear. The SIPs seem to be independent from the change of social power as examined with the data. However, *P* was the only factor of *P, D, I* involved in their study. Since both *P, D, I* and SIPs have been proven influential in people's language use, further questions may arise as: a) whether the *P, D, I* and SIPs interact with each other; b) whether one of them can absorb another; c) at which level do they interact or function separately. Third, Spencer-Oatey & Jiang only tested the SIPs in request speech acts. To what extent the SIPs here can be generalised to other speech acts, or even to the whole culture, remains unexplored.

In the span of past 25 years since Matsumoto (1989), there certainly have been many other studies examining the peculiarity of politeness in East Asian languages. The above literatures are selected because they had rather comprehensive proposals to politeness theories. To summarize their conclusions:

(1) Discernment: refers to "one's sense of place or role in a given situation according to social conventions" (Ide 1989:228).

(2) Normative politeness: compared to B&L's politeness from the negotiation of individual face wants, politeness may also stem from social conventions, such as the discernment above. Another example is Gu's (1990) statement that Chinese politeness is moral-bound (1990: 240). The moral standards in a society are conventionally set, and sometimes may deviate or even conflict with individual face desires.

(3) Balance in politeness or transactional politeness: refers to the polite exchange in language use, often related to a credit-debt continuum. For example, the speaker's self-

denigration, if seen as giving credit to the other and placing his/herself in potential debt, may lead to a reply by the hearer with denigration in Chinese and Japanese (Gu 1990: 255, Matsumoto 1989:411). Matsumoto (1989) observes that people negotiate their relationship to find a balance in Japanese. The deferential sentence "*please take care of me*" is mostly followed by a deferential answer *"No, No, I should be the one being taken care of"*, when both interlocutors are seeking to re-confirm their position in the relationship. Gu (1990) further extends the pursuit of balance in relationships to the cases involving actual credits and debts, such as an invitation and its payback in Chinese.

(4) Deference and elevation: the concept of denigrating self and elevating others is found in Chinese, Korean and Japanese. The connotation behind this concept is that self-admiration is taken as arrogant and other-denigration is taken as rude in the three languages, excluding special cases like jokes or sarcasms.

(5) The contrast of in-group and out-group: all the above listed literatures have at least one consensus that: Chinese, Korean and Japanese emphasize group-harmony. This is not to deny that people using these three languages have their individual desires, neither to assert that they always sacrifice their individual desires for the group harmony. The concept of group may exist in Western cultures as well, but it manifests differently in Eastern languages. For example, many Korean people in America express that they, as a group, feel embarrassed and an obligation to apologize when they found the Virginia tragedy was caused by a Korean.

Iterating the start of this section, the above findings provide different interpretations of politeness in Eastern contexts, but are not necessarily complementary to the existing politeness theories. From our observation, the findings (1), (3), (4) and (5) above could be interpreted by B&L's *P, D, I* model. Discernment (finding 1) is based on the estimation (or sense) of role-relationship where *P, D, I* are involved. One of the issues discussed in finding (3)—balance in politeness—is that people negotiate their distance and restore their imbalance in power verbally. Deference and elevation in finding (4) are found the most between unequal and distant relationships. The borderline between in- and out-group is undefinable because the social distance is scalar. The difference in politeness expressed in and out of a group is thus hardly to be dichotomized. Lastly, the finding (2)—normative politeness—is a broader notion which may encompass all other four findings. As much as *P, D, I* are related to the other four findings, the normative politeness is in the discussion as well.

However, we do not aim to declare that the model of *P, D, I* is the ultimate explanation for politeness across cultures. In fact, the model itself is not completed, as B&L admit that there may be other factors functioning in politeness. Neither can *P, D, I* convey the full-range findings above. For example, in the balance of politeness (finding 3), *P, D, I* hardly provide any information on people's concept of credit-debt. Also, taking the principle of sincerity (Gu 1990) as another example, it lacks rationales to use *P, D, I* to explain people's sincere beliefs.

To conclude, using the model of *P, D, I* could be the first attempt to explain polite language use across different cultures, especially when we need to discuss the extent to which the existing politeness theories are applicable in East Asian contexts.

2.3 Previous studies on Evaluations and Refusals

In this section, two research objects—evaluation and refusal speech acts—will be defined first in Sections 2.3.1.1 and 2.3.2.1. Previous findings of these two subjects are discussed in Sections 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.2.2. The review of previous studies includes the fundamental works for evaluations and refusals regardless of the languages they surveyed. It is followed by the relevant studies done in Korean and Chinese. The refusal speech act has been studied since the early 90s and has many outcomes. In contrast, the evaluation speech act only has a limited number of references. Therefore, studies of compliments and complaints, as relevant speech acts to evaluations, are consulted as well in Section 2.3.1.2.

2.3.1 Evaluation

2.3.1.1 Evaluation as a speech act

According to H. Y. Lee (2013), the evaluation speech act is to express the positive or negative attitude towards certain targets. The author treats it as a separate category of speech acts from Searle's (1979) classification, although the definition itself overlaps heavily with Searle's expressives. From Searle's criteria for classifying speech acts, it becomes debatable whether the evaluation speech acts belong to the Assertives or the Expressives (See Section 2.1.2 for the definitions of assertives and expressives).

Seemingly, the evaluation speech act, which contains subjective attitude/opinions towards the world, overlaps with—if it is not in fact subordinate to—the expressives. Typical expressives include congratulations, apologies, condolences etc. Some of these include a

positive/negative evaluation. For example, congratulations for a friend's success in his business include the evaluation that the business is successful. But the expressed psychological state of a congratulation is the pleasure of acknowledging the success in business. In this sense, the evaluation itself does not necessarily have this kind of psychological state. For example, *his business is very successful* is a proper evaluation, but the psychological state, whether it is to congratulate or to envy, is not specified in the evaluation speech act. Rather, it is the speaker's belief in that statement. Another difference between expressives and evaluations is that the former is built on the relevant facts to the speaker/hearer while the latter is not. For instance, the congratulation is based on the achievement done by the hearer. To evaluate, however, does not require that achievement to be related to the hearer. The evaluation target could be anyone, such as an unknown comedian on a TV show. Therefore, the evaluation speech act shall not be subsumed to the category of expressives.

It has also been doubted if evaluations fit into the category of assertives. H. Y. Lee (2013) distinguishes these two from the point that assertives can be characterized as 'true' and 'false' in terms of the expressed proposition (Searle 1979:12), The evaluations, however, merely present the speaker's stance, attitude, opinions, etc, which are not necessarily true. To clarify the 'truth-value' in assertives, Mey (2001) states "assertions often, maybe even always, represent a subjective state of mind: the speaker who asserts a proposition as true does so in force of his or her belief" (2001:120). He uses the complaint as an example that the justified belief in the complaint, rather than the fact of the world, decides the 'force' of complaining being true or false. In fact, complaints are the negative kind of evaluations (Boxer and Pickering 1995). Just like the complaints, the truth of evaluation acts are subject to the justification of the so believed opinion/stance in the proposition. Therefore, the current study holds the position that the evaluation speech act belongs to the assertive category. It expresses belief which is subjective and it may also be exaggerated or understated for the interest of the speaker (Searle's condition 6 of speech act taxonomy, 1979: 13).

When the factor of personal interest is involved, there inevitably are some evaluations which satisfy the personal interest instead of telling the actual thought. For example, a positive evaluation '*you look younger than your age*' may frequently be offered in cross-gender communications, even if the speaker does not believe his/her word. This does not mean that the positive evaluation *you look younger than your age* fails to be an evaluation or an assertion. This sentence still serves the purpose of evaluating / asserting, although the

speaker violates the sincerity condition. According to Searle (1969), there is one sincerity condition and one preparatory condition for a felicitous assertion. Tickoo (2010) further adds two more and considers those cases violating any of these conditions as infelicitous assertions.

- The sincerity condition: speaker believes the presupposition, and
- The preparatory condition: speaker has reasons/evidence for the presupposition;
- The volitionality condition: the speaker actively chose the utterance of the presupposition;
- The Speaker-Principle condition: the presupposition must be a reflection of the speaker's own thinking.

Tickoo (2010: 1579-1580)

Tickoo (2010) discusses the relation between the felicity and equity in assertions, and finds that the infelicitous assertions often indicate unequal power between the speaker and the hearer. For example, violation of the Speaker-Principle condition, meaning that the assertion is not out of the speaker's own thought, may result from the speaker's disempowerment (Tickoo 2010: 1581). An example from Tickoo (2010) is that a junior member responds to his senior's complaints with 'I, for one, love complaining at the water cooler', when they both head for the water cooler. Under the influence of unequal power and/or any other contextual variables, the evaluation act, as being member of assertives, may also include cases less felicitous, less sincere, less volitional, or even less believed, such as white lies.

2.3.1.2 Relevant speech acts to the evaluation speech act

Evaluations have been approached from functional linguistics, which studies the evaluative language in lexical units, and discourse analysis, which studies the evaluation language used in conversations (see White 2002 for functional linguistics; see Pomerantz 1984 for discourse analysis). Very few studies have treated the evaluation as a speech act.

The most relevant studies are from Mey (2001) and Blackwell (2010). Mey (2001) identifies 'evaluation' as a 'pragmatic act' (including, but not limited to the speech act). The pragmatic act is not just performing an act through an utterance, but also involves the personal agent in the context (cf. Blackwell 2011:2945). Mey's definition of the pragmatic act emphasizes

the influence of possible negotiation within the context. According to his proposal, the evaluation does not need to have an evaluation speech act, but rather interlocutors negotiate the evaluative implicature in the context by, for example, noticing the other talking about their own experience related to the evaluation target.

Blackwell (2010) adopts Mey's concept and examines the Spanish participants' use of evaluation pragmatic acts in their retelling of the 'pear picking' film. The pear film is a 6-min short film with a sound track but no speech. In the film a male character is picking the pears while a child carries one basket of his pears away (Chafe 1980). The evaluation pragmatic acts include some descriptions of the film scenes, such as 'the man was wearing a big apron with front pockets [when picking the pears]'. This may allude to the evaluation that it is rather inconvenient with front pockets at work. Clear evaluation speech acts have also been recorded, such as "the way that the actor picks the pear is wrong" (direct), "I bet the pear he picked cannot be served as a dessert"/"You need to break the stem to pick the pears" (indirect). The occurrence of evaluation pragmatic act is found to be influenced by the social power and distance. Blackwell (2010) invites 30 participants who have different relationships with the listener who listens to all the story-retellings. The author found that equal and intimate relationships yields more evaluations than unequal and distant relationships. Also the powerful and intimate speakers are more licensed to negatively evaluate. Blackwell's study is built on qualitative analysis and thus not able to decide precisely the roles that *P* and *D* have in the evaluations. However, it at least tells that *P* and *D* are influential factors in Spanish evaluation pragmatic acts.

Since there is not any direct studies of evaluation speech acts, those speech acts, which overlap the illocutionary point with evaluation, provide some references. Boxer and Pickering (1995), for example, take indirect complaint as a type of negative evaluation. They particularly note that the indirect complaints can be rapport-building if it shows mutual sentiment with the hearer (1995:45). It is the same with negative evaluation which shall not be simply treated as offensive. Boxer and Pickering (1995) analyze the indirect complaints in seven textbooks used in Britain and the US. Their findings indicated that the textbook setting was mostly made from the native speaker's intuition which "emphasizes explicit rather than tacit knowledge of how we speak" (1995: 56). Based on the spontaneous data compared to the textbooks, they suggest that the textbooks should include indirect complaints occurring in different relationships, as the social distance affects the responses to the indirect complaints. The social power, however, is not considered. Another shortcoming of Boxer and Pickering (1995) is that they attempted to leave aside the argument that indirect complaints

are a kind of speech act. They argue that "it may be difficult to find a single label to cover what are here referred to as indirect complaints, nevertheless the speech act does have a fairly widespread ethnolinguistic reality" (1995:45), although they did question if the indirect complaint simply became a criticism. Criticism, however, is an evaluation strategy, as found in the current research.

In 1981, House and Kasper set up four criteria to determine the directness of complaints. Two out of the four criteria are related to explicit or implicit negative evaluation. The four criteria are whether (1) the action is mentioned implicitly or explicitly; (2) the speaker's *negative evaluation* of the action is expressed explicitly; (3) the hearer's agentive involvement is implicitly or explicitly expressed, and (4) *the negative evaluation* of both the hearer's action and hearer himself are implicitly or explicitly expressed (author's italics). These criteria support the argument that the complaint is a kind of negative evaluation. Only this time it is direct complaints, by which the speaker expresses annoyance or displeasure towards the hearer or his action. According to Olshtain and Weinbach's (1993) preconditions for complaints, the speaker must expect a favorable event to occur but the hearer performs a socially unacceptable act (SUA) which is consequently perceived by the speaker as offensive to him/herself or even to the general public. Meanwhile, the speaker regards the hearer as responsible for the SUA and decides to express his displeasure or annoyance verbally. This kind of precondition excludes the possibilities of speakers complaining about anything which the hearer does not have a responsibility. For example, one may complain how difficult the homework is with a friend. If this is to be taken as negative evaluation but not a complaint, then the preconditions of negative evaluation must include that the speaker does not necessarily believe that the hearer is taking responsibility for his/her negative opinions.

In contrast to complaints, compliments are a form of positive evaluation. Remarkably, Wolfson's series (1980, 1981, 1983, 1989) of cross-cultural studies found that the compliment expression in American English is highly restricted. Two verbs and five adjectives which carry positive semantic load cover over 80% of the compliments produced in the study. Three simple patterns formulize 85% of the compliments. However, languages differ greatly in their diversity of structure for giving compliments. Arabic, for example, has a richer lexical system for complimenting while Indonesian lacks direct compliments (Wolfson, 1981). Overall, compliments are positive, solidarity-building, and pleasing the hearer. This is not necessarily the case with positive evaluation. A compliment is to conform to the hearer's interest, but a positive evaluation can be the opposite if the hearer perceives the evaluation target negatively. For example, a positive evaluation of a film is not of the hearer's interest

when the hearer considers it as being very boring. Despite these differences, the research of compliments did inspire us to think about the functions of positive evaluation as well as to question if the positive evaluation is also formulaic in strategy use.

The above studies have mostly targeted a Western language (Spanish or English). Direct study of evaluation speech act has only been found once in the Korean language—H. Y. Lee (2013) as reviewed in Section 2.3.1.1. Previous studies on Korean and Chinese complaints and compliments will be discussed below.

Honda & Kim's study (2009) is one of the few studies comparing complaint speech acts in Korean and Japanese. They adopt the coding scheme from Trosborg (1995) who categorized complaining strategies by their level of directness. Honda & Kim dichotomize the value of social distance, power and the severity of the SUA in the manner of [+, -] (see Olshtain and Weinbach 1993 for the definition of SUA). They find some differences in the performance of complaints by Koreans and Japanese and the differences seem to respond to the pre-set *P, D, I*. However, the findings are only discussed in situations individually. The summary of the effects of *P, D, I* in Korean and Japanese complaints has not been presented. Looking closely at Honda & Kim's data, we can at least find that the Japanese speakers reduce their use of complaining strategies in three situations where the hearer is higher in status. Lee (2009) analyzes complaints arising from delayed delivery services. Her data shows that both Korean and Japanese speakers employ explicit complaints, but Koreans require further action, such as requesting double checking, requests for compensation, etc., more frequently than Japanese speakers. In this case, the combination of complaints and directive actions, such as suggestions, becomes common.

Korean compliments are different from Wolfson's findings (1980, 1981, 1983, 1989) in English. Park (2007) finds that that Korean compliments are less verbalized, more indirect and context-specific compared to English. Park attributes the difference to the two cultures which have different motivations for giving compliments. The Korean compliment, unlike the English one, does not only serve the purpose of building interpersonal solidarity, but is more concerned with showing appreciation. As for the responses to compliments, Park (2007) suggests that it is the avoidance of self-praise principle (see Leech's politeness theory in Section 2.2.2) that dominates responses to compliments in Korean society and thus many Koreans tend not to accept compliments.

In Chinese, Du (1995) collected complaints from university students in mainland China regarding a noisy neighbor. The results show that Chinese people tend to avoid open

confrontations and try to complain in a humble and casual manner after considering the hearer's face. Chen et al (2011) use a DCT to collect complaints from Americans and Chinese people in Taiwan. More similarities than differences have been found in complaining strategy use and the combinations of strategies used between Chinese and Americans. The two strategies that Americans and Chinese people used with qualitative differences are interrogation and requests for repair. However, they may be typical for complaints that the hearer is assumed to have responsibility to the complaining target. Negative evaluations, on the other hand, do not have the assumed responsibility and thus strategies of evaluation would be different. They also find that Chinese tend to be more sensitive to social power. In contrast to Americans who express their annoyance across all the situations, Chinese vary their complaints based on the hearer's status.

There are five major studies regarding compliments in the Chinese language: Ye (1995); Yuan (2002); Wang and Tsai (2003); Yu (2005) and Lin et al (2012). The most recent one from Lin et al (2012) introduced the idea of regional difference in Chinese compliments. They compared compliments in Taiwanese Mandarin to Mainland Mandarin speakers and found both groups preferred explicit compliments, although the Mainland Chinese were significantly more explicit than their Taiwan counterparts. Their results also showed a salient increase in implicit compliment use when compared to Ye (1995) and Yuan (2002). The authors tried to explain the change according to the influence of western culture. However, one basic difference between Lin et al (2012) and Yuan (2002) is that they used different coding schemes regarding implicit compliments. Yuan (2002) separated implicit compliments from bounded semantic formulas[8] whereas Lin et al (2012) included them in the implicit category. It gives the impression that the increase in the use of implicit strategy might simply stem from the different codings. Wang and Tsai (2003) also conducted their study with Taiwanese Mandarin compliments but from the perspective of conversational analysis. Their participants, college students, showed a tendency to compliment the hearer's appearance or ability rather than his/her possessions or personalities. Apart from the function of compliments as establishing solidarity that has been repeated in previous studies (e.g. Manes and Wolfson 1981), the use of compliments as greeting routines was also mentioned in Wang and Tsai (2003).

[8] According to Yuan (2002), the bound semantic formulas are things that have to co-occur with explicit or implicit compliment so that they can be interpreted as part of a compliment, such as the question 'where did you buy your dress?' attached to the explicit compliment 'nice dress'.

Yuan (2002) mainly investigated the compliments of speakers of Kunming Chinese which belongs to the southwest dialect of Chinese. Yuan's study collected data with oral and written DCT, field notes and interviews from three age groups and educational levels. Participants of each gender were almost equal in number. The data analysis results showed an agreement with other studies that Chinese people preferred to compliment explicitly. Further analysis showed that explicit compliments are equally likely to occur separately as they are to combine with supportive moves, compared to the fact 92.5% of implicit compliment occur by themselves. Ye (1995) focused on the gender influence in compliments performed by Mainland Chinese speakers. He found that each gender group treated the opposite group differently from their own group.

The above four studies were done within the culture and their empirical settings were restricted to acquaintances of equal status. Admittedly, compliments occur most frequently between acquaintances of equal position. Yu's (2005) data supports this argument. However, Yu (2005) also found that a small proportion of compliments occur in unequal situations. Yu (2005) compared Chinese and American English compliments with ethnographic data. It appears that the Americans use significantly more direct compliments, although Chinese speaker also use a considerable number of direct compliments. However, Chinese people generally produced longer compliments with more supportive moves and small talk than Americans, which reduced their level of directness. In terms of functions of compliments, Yu concludes that there is a tendency that Americans use compliments to negotiate solidarity while Chinese asserts genuine admirations (2005:115).

To summarize the above studies done in Korean and Chinese languages, the complaint studies share two common points: (1) both Korean and Chinese complaints seem sensitive to social power; (2) the requests for repair are made if Koreans and Chinese assume that the hearer holds the responsibility to their complaints. The compliment studies, on the other hand, have one similarity and one difference. The similarity of Korean and Chinese compliments is that they are used more to express genuine admirations than to establish solidarity between interlocutors. The difference is that Chinese compliments are highly formulaic in terms of both complimenting strategies and supportive moves in contrast with Korean compliments which have been claimed to be diverse in strategy use. In light of these arguments, it is necessary to question whether (1) social power would be the most influential factor in negative evaluations; (2) the same contrast of formulaic and diverse strategy use exists in the positive evaluation by Koreans and Chinese.

2.3.2 Refusal

2.3.2.1 Refusal as a speech act

Pragmatically, a refusal is a negative response to engage in an action proposed by the interlocutor (Chen, Ye, Zhang 1995: 121). The action could be a request, a suggestion, an invitation or an offer. (Beebe et al 1990, Sattar et al 2011). The refusal speech act has been identified as the 'sticking point' for second language learners in cross-cultural communication because of its offending nature and complexity of forms (Beebe et al 1990: 56). Its offending nature was first explored by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) who defined refusal as a face-threatening act. Indeed, a refusal is an indication that the hearer's requests will not be satisfied and suggestions will not be taken as well as offers and invitations will not be accepted. In other words, the hearer's future action is inhibited, by which the hearer's negative face is threatened. On the other hand, the positive face could also be threatened due to the neglect towards speaker's desire of being approved of (Hayashi,1996:231; García,1996:270). The speaker may adopt a direct refusal if the situation permits or an indirect refusal to balance the need of saving face. The direct refusal may only involve a short but clear expression ('I cannot') whereas the indirect refusal includes many ways to mitigate the degree of imposition. For example, we may use excuses ('I have an appointment tonight'), alternatives ('why don't we meet next week instead'), promises for future acceptance ('I will definitely go with you next time'), conditions for acceptance ('I can do it if you can change it to tomorrow'), to refuse.

2.3.2.2 Previous studies of refusal speech acts

Refusals have been studied in the context of a single group, such as male speakers of Mexican Spanish in Félix-Brasdefer (2006), and in two or three different groups, such as native speakers and learners of that language in Beebe et al (1990). Various reasons have been found for different refusal performance, for example, learners' pragmatic transfer (Beebe et al 1990, Al-Issa 2003, see definition of pragmatic transfer below); learners' contact with the target language and culture (Bella 2011, Félix-Brasdefer 2003,2004); religious, political and/or culture values (Al-lssa 2003, Ebsworth & Kodama 2011); contextual variables such as *P, D, I* (Beebe et al 1990, Félix-Brasdefer 2006, Wolfson 1988). These factors are not mutually exclusive. They may affect peoples' refusal performance concurrently but at different levels. For instance, Al-Issa (2003) found that refusals by Arabic learners of English were influenced by pragmatic transfer which may result from religious and political reasons. In this section,

we start the review from Beebe et al (1990) which built one of the most accepting taxonomies of refusal strategies. The current study has also used their taxonomy to build its own list of semantic formulas (see Section 3.4.1 for the current list of semantic formulas, see Appendix I for Beebe et al's). Following Beebe et al (1990) which concerns pragmatic transfer, literatures will be reviewed according to the order of above listed variables.

Beebe et al (1990) compare the refusal performance of Japanese learners of English language with native speakers of English and Japanese. Their study aims to find the evidence of pragmatic transfer in Japanese learners' refusals to interlocutors at lower, equal and higher status. As for pragmatic transfer, Beebe et al define that "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" (1990:56) (See Section 2.4.1 for other definitions of pragmatic transfer). Their data reveals cross-group differences in the order of the semantic formula, the frequency of the formula, and the content of the utterances. Also, social power is found as an influential variable to Japanese participants more than to Americans. Gass and Houck (1999) also investigated Japanese learners of English using open role play which was claimed to be a better way to collect data than discourse completion tests. The analysis results of their data, however, lead to very similar findings in terms of semantic formula use and the content of semantic formulas to Beebe et al (1990) who used the discourse completion test.

Other than in English and Japanese languages, Beebe et al's (1990) coding scheme is often adjusted to fit into the specific requirements of different studies. For example, Al-Issa (2003) investigates the sociocultural transfer in refusals of Arabic learners of English language based on Beebe et al's (1990) coding scheme. Their findings add a few Arabic characterized semantic formulas to Beebe et al's taxonomy. According to their study, Arabic speakers tend to use 'define relationship', 'return favor', 'removal of negativity' and 'request of understanding' which were absent from Beebe et al's investigation. The author attributes the findings to the special religious and political factors in Jordan.

Besides pragmatic transfer, their refusals may also be affected by the length of staying in and the intensity of interacting with the target culture. From the perspective of politeness strategy use in refusals, Félix-Brasdefer (2003, 2004) start a series of investigations into Latin Spanish and American English as well as the interlanguage issues faced by American learners of Spanish (see Section 2.4.1 for the definition of interlanguage). In his 2004 study, the pragmatic transfer is found in learners' pre-refusal use. Besides, pragmatic competence and

length of staying in the target community is connected. Félix-Brasdefer (2004) suggests that the learners who stayed longer than 9 months have a better understanding regarding the social status in the target culture and thus attempt longer negotiations and a higher degree of politeness which are approximate of the Spanish native speakers.

Bella (2011) compares refusals to invitations from two groups of Greek language learners. One have been resident in Greece longer than another group, and another consists of intensive interactors with Greek. The study illustrates that the intensity of interaction is more decisive a factor than the length of residence in performing refusals to invitations from a friend. The learners who stayed in Greece for long but with less interaction with local people tend to exhaust their means of mitigating the refusals in the first round of a two-round refusal sequence. Coming to the second round in which the inviters insist their wants of the invitee's company, those long staying learners were blunt in their answers. Bella (2011) accounted for this exhaustion by expressing the possible fact that the learners let illocutionary transparency prevail over politeness. However, in spite of the length and exposure to the target culture, both groups of learners are less competent in using internal mitigation devices[9]. Thus, the author also highlights the need for pedagogical instruction in acquiring the refusal speech act.

Between two different native speaker groups, Ebsworth and Kodama (2011) found some culture-specific characteristics to be responsible for cross-group differences of refusals. They carried out a comparative study of the refusals in negotiation sequences performed by female Japanese and American English speakers. In their study, both American and Japanese participants used a negotiation of several rounds to reach the harmonious goal of conversation but "went about achieving this in different ways" (2011:114). For example, Japanese females use incomplete sentences and postponement answers frequently while American women tend to offer alternative plans to finish the conversation. From the following retrospective interviews by Ebsworth and Kodama, the different refusal performance is traced back to their culture values. That is, Americans emphasize sincerity and honesty whereas Japanese focus on preserving the relationship.

[9] Internal mitigation device is another term for internal modifiers in Bella (2011). It refers to elements which are not essential but serve to downgrade the potential negative effects of a speech act (2011:1720).

The contextual variables may also play a role in refusals. Félix-Brasdefer (2006) studies monolingual refusals in male speakers of Mexican Spanish from three aspects of politeness: (1) degree of formality; (2) politeness systems and strategy use; (3) politeness and the notion of face in Mexico. He found that the participants use significantly more linguistic strategies in formal situations than informal situations as well as more indirect strategies in the intimate-relation situations than distant-relation situations. Félix-Brasdefer (2006) also claims that the direct refusal use in Mexico is different to what Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) proposed. It does not threaten the negative face of the hearers. Instead, it functions as "a way of expressing closeness or affiliation with an interlocutor" (2006:2177). Furthermore, the author explains his findings with Wolfson (1988)'s bulge theory.

Wolfson (1988) proposed the bulge theory claiming that the frequencies of certain strategies in speech acts are similar in the polar settings of certain variables compared to the middle section. For example, the minimum and maximum social distance normally lead the participants to use similar speech act patterns which differ with the patterns used with the middle level of social distance. The same tendency was also found with the social power settings, in which the strategy use in equal-status situations deviated from two polarities. Wolfson examined this theory in compliments, invitations, disapprovals and gratitude. She further explained the reason for the bulge as 'it is the relative certainty of the first relationships (intimate, unequal, strangers) in contrast with the instability of the second(non-intimate, equal); put in other terms, the more status and social distance are seen as fixed, the easier it is for speakers to know what to expect of one another(1988:74).

To summarize, the refusal performance is attributed to the following factors: *P, D, I*, formality of situations, learner's length of staying in the target speech community, the intensity of interaction with the target speech community, learner's pragmatic transfer, and culture-specific characteristics (e.g. weight of honesty, religion, etc.). The following studies of refusals in Korean and Chinese examined the *P, D, I*, the pragmatic transfer, and culture-specific characteristics. They further added some more interesting findings to explain learners' refusal performance, such as familiarity with the situations.

First of all, studies in both Korean and Chinese found their refusals respond to *P* and *D*. For example, Kwon (2004) finds that Korean speakers are sensitive to higher status when refusing. His study compares the refusals performed by Korean native speakers and American English speakers in terms of frequency and the content of semantic formulas. In his study, Korean speakers are more likely to express positive feelings, apologies and reasons

more for their refusals to a higher status person. On the other hand, when they are located in a higher position, they may stress their own authority to refuse. For example, when refusing a student's suggestion, Koreans emphasized their position as being a teacher (e.g. *Sensayngnimulose patatulil su epta*. As being the teacher, I cannot take your suggestion). American English speakers, on the other hand, did not shift their style much with the change of social status. Kwon (2004) also finds that Korean speakers do not use direct refusal formulas as often as Americans. Further, both Korean and American English speakers justified their refusals with personal, only that the former's reasons referred to their filial piety to parents and the latter's reasons concerned spouses and children.

In a different study of Korean learners of English language, Kim (2007) had some similar findings. She investigates the effect that social status has on the refusal performance of Korean learners of English language. The study shows some pragmatic transfer in which learners applied their native norms to their English expressions. For example, Korean learners tend to use regret strategies including apologies much more than Americans when refusing a professor's invitation. They also used direct 'No' to refuse requests from close friends, in contrast to Americans who never used the 'No' in this situation. Kim summarizes that Koreans are more sensitive to social status while English speakers are more affected by social distance. This conclusion is in line with Beebe et al (1990)'s findings in terms of Japanese refusal performance.

In Chinese, Liao and his colleagues constructed a research series of refusals in Mandarin Chinese (1994a, 1994b, 1996). Chinese participants in Liao (1994a, 1994b) address an interlocutor of higher status by their positional titles repeatedly rather than simply using the second person pronoun. As presented in Gu (1990) in Section 2.2.3, the address maxim is considered as a way of expressing politeness in Chinese culture. In other words, Liao's participants tend to be politer to people higher in status by maximizing the respectful address. They also pay more attention to their relationship with others than to their own accomplishment. This finding is in line with previous politeness studies in East Asia as discussed in Section 2.2.3. People from East Asia may embed their concept of face in group relationships (e.g. discernment proposed by Ide 1989).

Liao and Bresnahan (1996) compare the refusal strategy use between Chinese native and American English groups. They further finds that Chinese speakers have the most difficulties when it comes to refusing a family member while Americans have the difficulties with friends. Families are usually considered as being socially close. Therefore, it seems the social distance

may also be an influential factor for Chinese refusals besides the social status. Another surprising findings is that the higher-status teacher was the easiest one to reject for students in both groups, although this conclusion is not compatible with many later studies.

The above listed studies and many alike explain their findings with *P* and *D* but rarely with the *I* of *P, D, I*. The variable of *I* has either not been tested or is not as influential as the other two variables. Another variable ignored in previous studies is the stimuli of refusals, hence the requests / suggestions / offers / invitations that people are set to refuse. It is not clear to what extent these different stimuli will affect people's refusal performance and cross-cultural comparison. The current research intends to extend the investigation of refusals to these two variables.

The refusals in Korean and Chinese are not only influenced by the above discussed variables, they also have some culture-specific characteristics, such as the filial piety in Korean refusals (Kwon 2004). Some of the findings may also be pragmalinguistic (See Section 1.3.3 for the definition of pragmalinguistics), for example, Koreans use fewer direct refusals than Americans (Kwon 2004), Chinese participants tend to be less strategic when refusing requests (Liao and Bresnahan 1996). The following few studies provide culture-specific and/or pragmalinguistic explanations for further Korean / Chinese comparisons.

In 1992, Lyuh compares Korean and American English speakers' use of refusal speech acts. He finds that Korean speakers use more semantic formulas and more polite strategies than English speakers. Also, direct refusals are rarely used by Lyuh's Korean participants. Korean speakers prefer to attribute the refusals to the circumstances in which they are reluctant to refuse, whereas the English speakers tend to use personal reasons to excuse their refusals. In the meantime, the excuses of Korean participants tend to be less specific than those of the American English speakers. Lyuh concludes that the Korean refusals take more strategies, and are more indirect, therefore more accommodating to face needs. The last point of this conclusion, however, appears to be problematic. The direct and less strategic way of American refusals is obviously not considered as insufficient for face need in American culture. In other words, both the Korean and American refusals are performed in the polite manner within their own culture. The face need may simply be approached differently by employing direct or indirect strategies.

Similar to Lyuh (1992), Guo (2012) carries out a cross-cultural comparison of Chinese and American English refusals. She finds that Chinese people elaborate their refusals more by giving reasons and alternatives. Americans, on the other hand, show more regrets and

considerations for the hearer's feelings. As for the justifications two groups adopted, Americans are more likely refer to their personal affairs whereas Chinese refusals vary according to the interlocutor's age and status. To the end, in Guo's study, more similarities are found between the two groups. For example, the use of direct refusals are not particularly partial to American group. However, this might be because half of their English speakers (30 people) are teachers working in China who already had a certain amount of exposure to Chinese culture.

Chang (2011a) discusses the directness and specificity in Chinese learners' refusals compared to English speakers'. The DCT data indicates that the learners tend to provide more details for their excuses while native speakers are not so specific. The alternatives used by the learners are not as effective as native speakers. The metapragmatic data reflects that Chinese learners care about other's face more than the American participants do. That is why they feel more obliged to state clearly their reasons for refusing and indicate that the refusal is reluctant.

There seems to be a contrast between Liao & Bresnahan (1996) and Guo (2012) / Chang (2011). Liao and Bresnahan (1996) agree with the latter two studies that Chinese prefer to attribute their refusals to extrinsic reasons which 'forced' them to refuse. However, refusals in Liao and Bresnahan's study tend to be less strategic compared to American participants'. This tendency is especially so when it comes to giving excuses / reasons for their refusals. Instead of elaborating more as Chinese participants in Guo (2012) and Chang (2011), Liao and Bresnahan (1996) have fewer tokens in refusals of Chinese than that of Americans. This may stem from the fact that Liao and Bresnahan investigated refusals to requests only. The different stimuli may lead to different conclusions for refusal performance.

Some other factors have also been found in explaining refusal performance. For example, Lee (2013) approaches the refusal acquisition from the processing dimension. She tests the rating of appropriateness, planning time, speech rate, and pause length when participants perform the refusals via role plays. Its data analysis reveals that the two NS groups and the Korean learner group of English all have the most difficulty when it comes to refusing lower-status interlocutors. The learners with lower proficiency of English experience more difficulty of this kind than more proficient learners. However, it seems that the difficulty was neither caused by the influence of L1 nor by the complexity of linguistic expressions. Rather, the learners' familiarity with the situations influence their fluency strongly, which was later verified by the verbal protocol data from the learners. Another possible factor which may

play a role in refusing a lower-status person is the consciousness of self-face. By stating incapability of meeting lower status persons' needs, refusing a person of a lower status may not only threaten the hearer's face but also risk of losing the speaker's own face. The author argues that the consciousness of self-face from the Korean data might indicate a shift of Korean social culture from a high-context culture, which Korean society had been deemed to be, to a low-context culture, which values individualism. However, as found in Kwon (2004), the consciousness of personal authority and the fear of not being able to display it may actually lead to the opposite conclusion that Korean people are sensitive to higher status and thus hierarchical in group.

To summarize the findings in Korean and Chinese refusals, first of all, *P, D, I*, especially *P*, have important roles in refusal performance. This is consistent with the findings of refusals of other languages. Chinese refusals seem to be influenced by *D* as well. For example, Chinese people find family members, who are intimate, the hardest to refuse (Liao and Bresnahan 1996). Second, both Koreans and Chinese prefer reluctant refusals by specifying that they are 'forced' to refuse by external reasons. Third, different stimuli of refusals may affect the results of cross-cultural comparisons. Fourth, Chinese learners tend to overproduce the reasons for refusals in English. It is worth investigating if CLK also have the same tendency in their Korean language use.

One thing that came to our notice is that all the above stated studies in this section are based on pre-set values of *P, D, I*. These situational variables are sometimes roughly dichotomized or trisected by the experiment designers. Consequently, (1) the study participant may have different perceptions compared to the experiment designers, and their performance may have been misread by the pre-set designs; (2) short of perceptual data of *P, D, I*, their effects have only been roughly assessed in previous studies. The conclusions are sometimes vague, such as certain speech acts in certain cultures are sensitive to certain variables. It is unclear what the actual roles of *P, D, I* are and how important the roles are in evaluations and refusals. Seemingly both the evaluation and refusal speech acts respond mostly to social power than other two factors, judging from the findings of previous studies. However, this may simply be because the three variables have not been properly measured. Therefore, the current research intends to use participants' perceptions of *P, D, I* to draw a more detailed picture for speech act performance.

2.4 Interlanguage development

This section reviews studies of learners' language, hence the interlanguage (hereafter IL). The definition of interlanguage is given in Section 2.4.1. In the following two sections, the particular issues addressed are (1) pragmatic transfers; (2) perceived language distance and (3) other explanations for interlanguage development. Pragmatic transfer, as mentioned in Section 2.3.2.2, has been investigated in speech act performance in previous studies. It has been the most emphasized factor at the time that interlanguage was considered as a product of native language influence. Most of previous studies set out to answer in which part of the performance we can find pragmatic transfer, few answer the question of under what kind of condition the transfer may occur. One very important factor, as realized in early research of cross-linguistic influence such as Weinreich (1953) and Lado (1957), is the language distance. The language distance can be viewed as either the actual linguistic difference or the perceived distance between L1 and L2 (Ellis 2008). The latter is sometimes proven to be more influential than the former (e.g. Cenoz 2001). Odlin (2003) also stresses that "any language contact is mediated in a bilingual's mind…much of what is called cross-linguistic influence depends on the individual judgments of language learners and bilinguals that there exist certain cross-linguistic similarities [and differences]" (2003:443). The notion of cross-linguistic influence is often interchangeably used with the notion of transfer (e.g. Odlin 2003). In fact, the cross-linguistic influence may cover some other issues, such as disbeliefs in the similarity between L1 and L2, avoidance, etc, which the transfer study may not quite reach.

Here, the term pragmatic transfer is used instead of the term of pragmatic influence across different languages. Its definition and classifications are presented in Section 2.4.1 along with the definition of interlanguage. The possible influential factor—perceived language distance—is discussed with findings from previous studies in Section 2.4.2. As the perceived language distance is less studied in pragmatics, this section also includes those studies from syntax, lexis, semantics and typology. Section 2.4.3 discusses three other explanations--disbeliefs, overgeneralization, and learners' voluntary adherence to L1 conventions—in interlanguage development. Section 2.4.4 provides the deviation phenomenon as an example of IL features which can be explained by different causes discussed in Sections 2.4.1 to 2.4.3.

The stance adopted in this section is to look at interlanguage from a learner-centric point of view. We believe that pragmatic transfer is not mechanical, the language distance is subjective to learner's perceptions, the interlanguage has its own developmental patterns and the learners have their own autonomy. Learner autonomy requires learners' cognitive

and active involvement in the learning, such as setting the learning goals, understanding the responsibility of their learning, etc (Little 2002). In pragmatics, for example, the learner's choice of how to apply their L1 knowledge is part of the learner's autonomy. The current study does not discuss the broad range covered by the learner autonomy. Rather, its findings lend some more support for the autonomy studies.

2.4.1 Interlanguage and pragmatic transfer

The learner's language has long been seen as a product of native language influence, but not a separate linguistic system until the concept of 'interlanguage' (and other approximative terms) was proposed in late 1960s (Tarone 2006:747). Interlanguage, namely the learners' language, is defined as a separate linguistic system evidenced when adult second-language learners attempt to express meaning in a language they are in the process of learning (Selinker 1972: 214). Selinker (1972) hypothesizes five psycholinguistic processes central to shaping interlanguage: (1) native language transfer; (2) overgeneralization of target language rules; (3) transfer of training; (4) strategies of communication, and (5) strategies of learning (1972:215). Either or a combination of these five psychological processes can stop developing the interlanguage towards the target language. This phenomenon is defined as 'fossilization' in interlanguage studies.

As mentioned at the start, the first psychological process—native language transfer—had been considered as the sole factor in shaping learner's language as well as being predictive in accounting for learning difficulties. This view has been broken by the systematic analysis of learner's language. Scientific analysis found some 'residue', which cannot be explained by native language transfer. Here, the native language transfer is left to discuss behind the discussions of the four other psychological processes.

The second process—overgeneralization of target language rules—is observed when a learner applies a general rule from the target language to his/her language without distinguishing the exceptions (Selinker 1972:217). For example, learners may use the past tense marker *–ed* to *lived*, *worked*, *used* as well as *goed**(went), *comed**(came). The third process—transfer of training—describes the case in which learners use the target language based on instructions (Selinker 1972:216). The instructions may not be ample, and formulaic application of the instructions may result in some divergence from the actual language use. The forth one—strategies of communication—provides alternatives if there is not a linguistic equivalent between learner's L1 and L2, or when learners do not have certain expressions

available in their interlanguage (Selinker 1972:217). For instance, without knowing the word of 'youtube', learners may change their strategies to explain that what they need is a website of video clips. The last process—strategies of learning—refers to learners' conscious attempts to master the target language (Selinker 1972:216). That learners actively compare their L1 to their L2 is one of the examples.

Back to the notion of 'native language transfer', its narrow definition may be traced back to the behaviourism which views that the second language acquisition is influenced by the first/native language habits (Johnson and Johnson 1998:353, cf James 2007:96). Later, the concept of 'native language transfer' has been broadened to 'language transfer'. The language transfer, according to Odlin (1989), is not either a pure consequence of language habits or of native language influence only (1989: 25-29). Instead:

> Transfer is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired.
>
> Odlin (1989: 29)

This definition is not flawless. For example, the influence of similarities and differences between the target language and previously existing languages is not clearly defined. Odlin (1989) assumes that the similarities facilitate the development of interlanguage, hence the influence of similarities is positive transfer. On the other hand, negative transfer refers to interference that learners had from their existing languages (1989:26). It is unclear, however, whether the negative transfer stems from the differences between the target language and the previously existing languages.

The transfer of language is ubiquitous in learner's acquisition of phonetic, phonological, syntactic, semantic as well as pragmatic knowledge in the target language. The last one--transfer of pragmatic knowledge--is different to those previous. As Odlin (1989) points out, the pragmatic transfer involves non-structural factors instead of structural factors. By structure, the author refers to the form-function systems involving in phonology, syntax, semantics, etc (1989:31-32). Pragmatics, on the other hand, is concerned with those non-linguistic factors which may not have a precise form-function relation.

Pragmatic transfer is defined slightly differently by different scholars. For example, Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990) define it 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" (1990:56). Kasper (1992) has an extensive definition: "pragmatic transfer in interlanguage pragmatics shall refer to the influence exerted by learners' pragmatic knowledge of language and cultures other than L2 on their comprehension, production and learning L2 pragmatic information". Kasper's (1992) definition includes the influence of other previously existing languages, rather than just L1. It also uses the notion of 'pragmatic knowledge' to replace 'sociocultural competence' in Beebe et al's (1990) definition. Instead of learner's expression of meaning/function as in Beebe et al's (1990), Kasper's definition specifies the aspects which pragmatic transfer affects, viz. the learners' comprehension, production and the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge. The current study takes Kasper's (1992) definition as the working one.

Kasper (1992) also defines the positive and negative pragmatic transfers. "positive transfer is evidenced by the lack of statistically significant differences in a pragmatic feature in L1, L2 and IL whereas negative transfer is found in statistically significant differences between IL-L2 and L1-L2, while there are no significant differences between IL and L1" (1992:223). Despite these definitions being highly operative in pragmatic transfer studies, there are two serious flaws. First, attributing the statistical similarities/differences between L1, L2 and IL to pragmatic transfers has overlooked other possible reasons for the similarities/differences. For example, a careful comparison and analysis by the learners between their L1 and L2 may lead to an approximation of their target group. This, however, should be considered as a successful learning strategy instead of transfer. Second, Kasper (1992) only includes two cases: the case that the similarity exists between L1, L2 and IL (positive pragmatic transfer), and the case that the difference exists between IL-L2 and L1-L2 (negative pragmatic transfer), but excludes other possibilities. For example, there are cases with statistical differences found between L1-L2 but similarities between IL-L1 and IL-L2. This may indicate that the learners' performance is approaching the goal of native-like ability but not yet reached it due to the influence of pragmatic transfer (see Section 4.1.1.3 for the findings).

With regards to transfers at the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic levels, Kasper (1992) provides the following definitions:

'Pragmalinguistic transfer' shall designate the process whereby the illocutionary force or politeness value assigned to particular linguistic material in L1 influence on learners' perception and production of form-function mappings in L2.

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.

(ibid: 1992:209)

In other words, pragmalinguistic transfer concerns the L1 linguistic resources that learners use to convey the communicative and relational meaning in L2, such as different strategies to refuse, and different honorifics used by interpersonal relation. Kasper (1992) emphasized 'politeness value' in this definition. He further explained that "more evidence for pragmalinguistic transfer has been documented at the level of strategies and forms by which particular linguistic action is implemented, affecting the politeness value of the utterance than its illocutionary force" (1992:213). However, the concept of 'politeness value' has been replaced by interpersonal meanings in his definition of pragmalinguistics (see Section 1.3.3: Kasper and Rose 2001). The latter term more precisely covered what 'politeness value' cannot assign to linguistic resources.

Pragmalinguistic transfer studies what learners find applicable in their L1 to their L2 while sociopragmatic transfer explains the reason that learners come to such a finding. As in Kasper (1992), sociopragmatic transfer occurs at the level of social perception. For example, Al-Issa (2003) finds that political and religious perception lead the Arabic learners of English to use some refusal strategies, such as a request of understanding ('please understand my situation'), which English and Japanese speakers in Beebe et al (1990) do not use at all. Kasper (1992) specifies that "sociopragmatic transfer has been found to operate in learners' perceptions of contextual factors, of whether carrying out a particular linguistic action is appropriate, and of the overall politeness style adopted in an encounter".

The current study widens the definition of pragmalinguistic transfer to 'the transfer of resources conveying communicative acts and interpersonal meanings' according to Kasper and Rose 's (2001) definition of pragmalinguistics. As for sociopragmatic transfer, this study is mostly concerned with whether there is a transfer in the perceptions of the contextual factors *P, D, I,* and if the transfer is reflected in the learners' strategy choice and politeness style.

The next section will discuss a topic relevant to pragmatic transfer – the perceived language distance. According to some transfer research (e.g. Ringborn 1987), learners are more likely to transfer the resource from the language which they perceive as being close to their target language. The perceived language distance also leads to explanations other than transfer in interlanguage studies.

2.4.2 Perceived language distance

The first problem of this section is its title. As discussed in Section 1.3.4, the speaker's active assessment of the pragmatic relation between L1, L2 and IL is of metapragmatic awareness. It seems that metapragmatic awareness is merely a different term for perceived language distance in pragmatics. If so, we should be able to use the term of 'perceptions' to cover both the perceptions of *P, D, I* and learners' perceptions of L1, L2 and IL. It could be argued that there are certain connections between people's perception and awareness. However, awareness cannot stand alone without the involvement of consciousness, especially in language learning (Schmidt 1995:18). Perceptions, on the other hand, do not have this kind of requirement. Taking the perceptions of language distance for example, Rothman (2010) states his uncertainty about "the extent to which the [perceived language distance] needs to be conscious to the speaker, although in line with the generative assumptions we anticipate that consciousness likely brings little to bear on this question" (2010:122). For a study like this in which the learners are asked if native speakers of L1/L2 would perform the speech act differently to them, the learners' awareness of L1-L2-IL difference/similarity must be activated when engaging in these questions. Therefore, the term of 'metapragmatic awareness' should be more precise to describe this part of learners' data. The perceived language distance may unconsciously affect the learner's production of speech acts, but it becomes metapragmatic awareness when the perceptions are consciously activated. In order to avoid that metapragmatic awareness affecting learners' speech act performance, the metapragmatic data is collected after their production of speech acts and the production cannot be amended once finished. The metapragmatic awareness of the language distance can thus be seen as a retrospective assessment of the perceived language distance which affects the speech act performance.

The language distance, as a psycholinguistic phenomenon, refers to what learners think is the degree of difference/similarity between the L1 and L2 (Ellis 2008: 390). Kellerman (1979) is one of the earliest studies discussing the importance of the perceived language distance in learners' transfer. It includes two experiments which investigate how the learners' judgments of linguistic correctness are affected by the perceptions of markedness of an expression and the perceptions of coreness of a word meaning. The linguistic elements which learners believe are common in their L1 and L2 are less marked, or classified as language neutral elements. In contrast, the linguistic elements which learners believe belong to certain languages only are marked, or language-specific. Citing two experiments from Jordens

(1977a, 1977b), Kellerman supports his hypothesis that the transfer is affected by the learners' perceptions of markedness. That is, the L1-specific elements believed by the learners are more likely to be rejected when declaring there is an equivalent in L2. Here, the neutrality or specificity belief does not necessarily conform to the actual linguistic similarity or difference, it concerns only the learners' judgments. Kellerman's second experiment involves different semantic meanings of one word, of which certain meanings are believed to be the most usual meaning, hence the core meaning. Kellerman uses 'blue' as an example, the core meaning is normally believed as colour instead of 'depression', 'jazz', etc. The experiment results show that the perceived coreness affects the transfer. The closer to core meaning it is perceived, the higher possibility the meaning is transferred. The perception of typological similarity is later termed as 'psychotypology' by Kellerman (1983).

Kellerman (1979) does not only indicate that the perceived language distance between markedness and unmarkedness have an important role in determining transfer, but also leads to the finding that the learners are actively selecting what to transfer and what not to. This kind of learners' selectivity has also been evidenced in some third language acquisition studies (hereafter L3). In the acquisition of L3, learners have at least two source languages, L1 and L2, as possible selections. The L3 transfer study investigates which source the learner selects and based on what the learner makes the selection. For example, Ringbom (1987) finds that the Finnish-Swedish bilinguals (Finnish as L1) and Swedish-Finnish bilinguals (Swedish as L1) both tend to transfer word morphology from Swedish to English (L3) rather than from Finnish. This is due to the perceived language distance between Swedish and English is closer than Finnish and English. A more recent study Rothman (2010) examines the importance of perceived language distance in syntactic and semantic transfer against the factor of the role that L2 plays in L3 acquisition (so called 'L2 status factor'). Rothman's study involves the groups of L1 Italian+L2 English+L3 Spanish and another group of L1 English+L2 Spanish+L3 Portuguese. They find that the transfer is more likely from the akin Romance language perceived as close in distance by the participants regardless of the source language is L1 or L2. In other words, his first participant group tend to transfer L1 Italian to L3 Spanish and his second group tend to transfer L2 Spanish to L3 Portuguese. Rothman labels the transfer model as Typological Primacy Model, meaning "initial state transfer for multilingualism occurs selectively, depending on the comparative perceived typology of the language pairings involved, or psychotypological proximity" (2010: 112).

The perceived language distance has also been considered in a few studies of pragmatic transfers, mostly from the perspective of certain pragmatic elements being marked or

unmarked. For example, Danish learners of English in House and Kasper (1987) perceive one Danish negative marker with mitigation functions as language-specific (marked) and thus refuse to transfer it into their IL. Russian learners of Hebrew in Olshtain (1983) perceive the apology strategy as an unmarked form used in both languages, which results in their overproduction of apologies in their L2. Takahashi (1996) looks at the influence of perceived language distance from a different approach. Her study investigates which request strategy is perceived as more appropriate in different contexts by Japanese learners of English. The request strategies in L1 and L2 have been grouped into pragmalinguistic equivalents (conventional equivalent pairs: CEPs) and sociopragmatic equivalents (functional equivalent pairs: FEPs) before providing them to the participants. CEPs and FEPs are then perceived and rated by Japanese or Japanese-English bilinguals in preliminary studies. In her main experiments, she finds that (1) CEPs are perceived as more appropriate and more transferable than FEPs; (2) this kind of perception is not influenced by L2 proficiency; (3) The imposition of request (*I* factor in *P, D, I*) has a joint influence with strategy type on learners' perceptions. Therefore, the equivalents differently perceived may further affect the learners' perceptions of what can be transferred from L1.

Most of the above listed studies focus on the influence of perceived language distance in terms of certain elements in learners' language / language use, such as the negative marker perceived as being language-specific in House and Kasper (1987). To the author's knowledge, the influence of perceived language distance at the level of speech act performance has not yet been studied. Moreover, the previous studies tend to use the influence of perceived language distance to explain transfers only, but ignore other possibilities that the perceived language distance may bring to the IL, such as learners' disbelief, over generalisation, and voluntary adherence to L1 conventions. These three possibilities in IL development will be discussed in the next section.

2.4.3 Other explanations in interlanguage development

This section highlights some other possibilities in IL development. They may be directly or indirectly related to the perceived language distance. However, in their cases, the perceived language distance is interacting with or even overrode by some other factors. For example, the first one is disbelief. It shows that the learners perceive their L1 and L2 to be close but soon deny this perception. It results in some useable parts from L1 are abandoned by learners. Learners' decision-making process in IL is complex. Here, in addition to the

perceived language distance, three more explanations for learners' decisions in their IL are provided. These three are closely related to later discussions of this research.

Disbelief

The disbelief here refers to that learners do not believe similarities actually exist between their L1 and L2. It is different to the case that learners actually perceive the L1 and L2 as different. Disbelief happens "even when learners discover and try to use a real similarity between the native and target language, they may be unwilling or unable to assess just how sound their judgment is" (Odlin 2003:445). For example, Hulstijn and Marchena (1989) find that Dutch learners of English language do not accept phrasal verbs even when they perceive Dutch and English are similar in many ways. Disbelief may provide one possible explanation for the gap between what the learners think and what they do (see Section 4.3.3).

Overgeneralization

As discussed in Section 2.4.1, overgeneralization of the target language rules has been identified as one of the five processes in shaping IL by Selinker (1972). It is observed when a learner applies a general rule from the target language to his/her interlanguage without distinguishing the exceptions (1972:217). Selinker used the English past tense to explain 'the target language rules', which appear to be clear enough for people to identify the misuse of 'went' as 'goed' stems from the overgeneralization of past tense rules. In pragmatics, however, the definition of overgeneralization necessarily leaves 'the target language rules' aside, as there is no definite rules for 'the choice that the language users make, the constraints they encounter and the effects of their language use' (Crystal 1985). For example, it would be arbitrary to state that learners' higher level of indirectness in their speech is because being indirect is the target language rule and they overgeneralized it. The very basic object to this kind of statement would be the individual difference at the choice of applying such a 'rule' or not.

Barron (2003) defines the pragmatic overgeneralization as the ineffective application of familiar functions/forms to new contexts in IL (2003: 40). She further refers to three sources of the pragmatic overgeneralization: (1) the strategy of least effort refers to learners' behaviour of selecting the strategies which are the most automated and easily produced. For example, learners may concentrate on producing the basic speech act and ignore the

necessity of adding modality markers. Barron attributes this to learners' overgeneralization of the referential function of language; (2) 'playing it safe' strategies refer to learners' efforts to making their utterance explicit and clear. This is resulted from learners' sense of insecurity as foreigners. Barron quoted an example from Faerch and Kasper (1989) in which the learners overuse supportive moves for 'safety'; (3) metalinguistic motives refers to learners' perception that a particular form sounds target-like. For example, learners of Hebrew overuse direct strategies because they perceive Israelis as universally direct (Blum-Kulka 1991).

Instead of the 'target language rules', Barron's (2003) definition looks at the 'familiar functions/forms' in pragmatic language use. However, looking at the above listed three sources, the overgeneralization of 'forms/functions' is merely a reflection of the overgeneralization of sociopragmatic perceptions. For example, one may perceive Koreans' language use to be more indirect than Chinese. Consequently, the indirect strategies are indistinguishably employed across different contexts no matter whether they are appropriate or not. The overuse of indirect strategies is an evidence of over-production while the perceptions of Korean being indirect is the example of overgeneralization. Without the overgeneralization supported by the cognitive evidence from participants, the over-production can be explained by many other factors. Therefore, pragmatic overgeneralization shall be restricted to a narrower sense in which clear evidence shows that learners did over apply the so perceived pragmatic rule to their IL. Here, one noteworthy difference between linguistic overgeneralization and pragmatic overgeneralization is the language users' overgeneralization in pragmatics can only be explained by their own perceptions of the 'rules' instead of the actual linguistic rules.

Voluntary adherence to L1 conventions

Pragmatically learners may deliberately choose to keep their L1 conventions and diverge from the L2 conventions. It refers to specific cases that learners are aware of the difference existing between their L1, L2 and IL. They consider their IL use similar to L1 but different to L2. Again, their choice is made upon their perceptions of the differences between L1, L2 and IL. Their actual IL use may or may not appear as they perceive.

The reasons for learners to resist L1 conventions can be various, such as resistance of their cultural identity, personal principles, sense of value etc (Ishihara and Cohen 2010: 87). For

example, a learner of Japanese in Ishihara and Tarone (2009) chooses to use higher level of honorifics to a person at lower status. He clearly reflected that he knew that level of honorifics was not necessary, but his personal belief that all human beings shall be treated equally is conflicting in this case.

To summarize, the above listed explanations provide different possibilities for the learners' language use along with L1 influence and some other factors. However, they require support from learners' perceptual data. Without perceptual data, the reasons can only be speculated for the patterns and features in interlanguage development. The next section provides an example of an IL feature explained by different causes.

2.4.4 Deviation as an IL feature

Learners' deviation in pragmatics refers to their pragmatic performance deviated from both L1 and L2 performance. The reasons vary, including all the aforementioned explanations. Here, we would like to include two manifests of deviations in pragmatics: overproduction and underproduction. Overproduction refers to those cases that learners overuse certain pragmatic elements/strategies which are not that much used in both L1 and L2. Under-production is the opposite, when learners underuse certain pragmatic elements/strategies which are used much more in both L1 and L2. Overproduction and underproduction are relative notions compared to NS' performance. They may feature in IL performance, but they are not necessarily problematic unless there is an indication of unacceptable consequence. Both of the two deviations are found in many previous studies.

For example, Chang (2009) finds that Chinese learners of English used the 'apology/regret' strategy (e.g. "I feel terrible") more than both native groups, when refusing requests. The Chinese native group used slightly more than the English group but not as much as learners did. Yu (2011) finds that Chinese learners of English tend to overuse supportive moves and small talk in their compliments. This is attributed to two possible reasons in Yu (2011): influence from L1 in which Chinese negotiate their face using supportive moves and small talk and 'play it safe' strategy as above mentioned.

On the other hand, Saito and Beeken (1997) finds that American learners of Japanese used the least negative responses to compliments in the three participant groups – Japanese and English NS and learners. As Americans rarely use negative responses to compliments, Saito and Beeken explains their findings with 'transfer of training' by which the learner's

performance is influenced by the instruction they had (see Section 2.4.1). Wannaruk (2008) has a very similar finding with Saito and Beecken (1997) that Thai learners of English used the least direct strategy in refusing invitations from friends. Wannaruk did not provide any explanations but in his follow-up interview, both NS and learners appear to have similar opinions of using a direct 'No'. They all perceive the direct refusal appropriate only in certain situations such as refusing a friend. Interestingly, the learners' performance did not match their perceptions.

Even though the deviation has been prevalently found in interlanguage use, there are more postulates than evidence showing its causes. None of the above listed literature involve perceptual data to support the actual existence of 'L1 influence', 'play it safe', and 'transfer of training'. In order to offer better explanations for later IL studies, the current study uses perceptual and metapragmatic data to seek answers for the deviation in interlanguage use. The explanations take place in Sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3.

2.5 Previous studies of the relation between perceptions and speech act performance

The first two sections of this chapter—speech acts and politeness–presented the theoretical frameworks for later discussions. The middle two sections – previous studies on evaluation and refusal speech acts and interlanguage development – provided findings of the specific speech acts and explanations of learners' performance. The last section will review the insufficient literature on the relation between perceptions of *P, D, I* and speech act performance. They directly relate to the current research questions. Methodologically they contribute many useful points to the current research.

Bergman and Kasper (1993) were some of the first to study this area. It examines the ways that Thai and American participants perceive contextual factors and the influence that the perceptions of contextual factors have on participants' apology strategy use. Bergman and Kasper collect performance data of apologies from 30 NS of English, 288 Thai NNS of English and 136 Thai NS and perception data from 30 NS of English and 30 Thai NNS of English. Both types of data are collected via written questionnaires. The performance data has been coded into IFID, upgrader, downgrader, offer of repair and verbal redress[10]. The contextual factors concerned in their study are *P, D, I*, with a further division of the *I* into four sub-elements including severity of offence, offender's obligation to apologize, likelihood for the apology to

[10] IFID are abbreviated from the Illocutionary Force Indicating Device which specify the force of a speech act. Upgrader and downgrader are responsible for increasing or reducing the force.

be accepted and offender's face loss. Participants were asked to rate these factors on a five-point scale. Later, the different ratings were organized into three categories (Low, Medium and High) for the ease of comparison and presentation. This method is also adopted by the current research. In their study, *P, D, I* are tested as independent factors, although the sub-elements of *I* interrelate with each other. By analysing the correlations between perception data and performance data, the factor of *P* was found not to be influential on the selection of apology strategies. Distance only affects the use of the "taking on responsibility" strategy. The level of imposition appears to act in the use of IFID and upgraders to some extent. Some cross-cultural difference was also found in the analysis. For example, the perceived obligation, as a sub-element of *I*, only functions in learners' performance. By allying Bergman and Kasper's study to some others', some possible cultural patterns have also been further explained by the perception data. One example is that the routine formulas in apology need upgraders to become a sincere rather than a ritual expression. The use of upgraders is influenced by the perceptions of obligation to apologize and the offender's face loss. One obvious shortcoming of Bergman and Kasper (1993) is that there is no perception data from NS Thai. That leaves the cross-cultural comparison at the level of performance data and uses the NS-NNS comparison merely as an indication of learners' competence in their target language. It cannot provide further reasons for learners' perceptual difference and performance.

Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) conducts a similar study using NS English and English learners from Greece. Both performance data and perception data are collected via written questionnaires. Contextual factors perceived are still *P, D, I* with a further division of *P* to speaker's power and hearer's power. In contrast to Bergman and Kasper (1993), Economidou-Kogetsidis studies request speech acts and collects both types of data from the same participants. The ratings of *P, D, I* are based on a three point scale. The mean value of ratings of each variable is calculated to explore the relation between perceptions and performance, instead of the low/medium/high categories used by Bergman and Kasper. The requests made by the NS and learner groups are coded into four strategies: direct, conventionally indirect, non-conventionally indirect and opt-out. Agreements of the strategy choice are found in eight out of ten situations in the questionnaire, leaving only two situations that have statistical differences between NS and learners' performance. In contrast, the NS and learner groups have different perceptions in terms of *P, D, I* in seven out of ten situations. Unfortunately, the correlation between perceptions and performance is only found in two situations in the learners' data. The performance data are still

explainable to some extent by comparing the perception differences between NS and learners. The author further attributes the performance difference to some 'context external' factors such as request goals, obligation and rights. The different perceptions that learners have compared to NS are then categorized as 'sociopragmatic failure', despite the fact that the different perceptions lead to the similar performance. That is, the learners well achieved the intentional goal of requests in the target language. Similar to Bergman and Kasper's (1993) study, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) does not have the data from NS Greek. As a result, the interpretation of the learners' data remains only at the level of their comparison with the target language group.

Considering the shortcomings from the above two studies, there are four supplements that the current study would like to provide: (1) the addition of NS data from the learner's mother language. It is necessary if considering the L1 influence and other explanations for learners' performance; (2) a statistical test of homogeneity within the perceptions of the same group. Bergman and Kasper (1993) and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) simply assumed that the perceptions within one certain group are congruent and the mean value or tri-sectional categories can be automatically used to explain the cross-cultural findings. They ignore the possibility that the intracultural variation in perceptions of *P, D, I* may be larger than what can be directly used for cross-cultural comparison. Thus, in order to validate the findings of cross-cultural comparison, the homogeneity test should be carried out first; (3) the calculations of the effect sizes of *P, D, I*. It is indeed found that the perceptions of *P, D, I* are influential across different groups, but the extent of the influence is rarely investigated; (4) a discussion that if learners' different perceptions shall be taken as 'sociopragmatic failure' in the case that the intend speech acts have been well carried out. As mentioned in Section 1.3.3, learners' pragmatic failure is to be judged by their own intention of being successfully delivered or not. Thus there might be a further need to delimit the scope of 'sociopragmatic failure', if the learners' different perceptions are actually the very reasons for their success in pragmatic performance.

Chapter 3 Current study

In this chapter, the research questions and research methods shall be discussed. Section 3.1 devotes itself to presenting the research questions. Section 3.2 makes the choice of research instruments and presents their designs. Section 3.3 includes the data collection procedure and refinements of data collection tools. Section 3.4 provides the ways of categorizing and coding data for later data analysis.

3.1 Research questions

As briefed in Section 1.5, this research attempts to use the perceptual and metapragmatic data to explain people's speech act performance. The involvement of three participant groups entails cross-group comparison as well as the within-group investigation. Accordingly there are four research questions (hereafter RQ):

(1) How do KNS/CNS/CLK perform the evaluation and refusal speech acts?
(2) How do KNS/CNS/CLK perceive the variables of *P, D, I*?
(3) How does the way that *P, D, I* tend to be perceived affect the speech act performance of KNS/CNS/CLK?
(4) With regard to the relation between L1, L2 and IL, how does learners' metapragmatic awareness affect their speech act performance?

The RQ (1) asks about the speech act performance by different groups. It explores the patterns of language use within each group as well as the cross-group similarities and differences. The RQs (2) and (3) concern the perceptions of *P, D, I* and their influence on performance. The *P, D, I* may be perceived differently or similarly by different groups. Consequently the different/similar way of perceiving *P, D, I* may have an influence on people's speech acts. The perceptions of *P, D, I* have been assumed by previous studies as being collective in one certain group so that the cross-group comparison is possible. Otherwise, what should be tested is the cross-individual difference instead of cross-group comparison. The current study examines this assumption in Section 3.3.4.

The RQ (4) focuses specifically on learners. As learners have knowledge of both Chinese and Korean languages, their performance is not merely affected by their contextual perceptions, but also by how they perceive the relation between their L1, L2 and IL. Therefore, we expect that the metapragmatic data could help to explain some parts not yet to be explained parts by learners' perceptions of *P, D, I*. More importantly, the metapragmatic data helps to explain the learners' autonomy in selecting what they want to present in IL.

The answers to RQ (1) can be found in Section 4.1. Section 4.2 provides findings for RQ (2) and (3). The RQ (4) is responded in Section 4.3.

3.2 Research instruments

3.2.1 The choice of instruments

According to the research questions, the data collected is performance data and perceptual/metapragmatic data, both of which were collected via written questionnaires. This section discusses the reasons for choosing the written questionnaires as the data collection tools along with their advantages and disadvantages.

The performance data is collected from people's speech acts. Ideally, the speech is collected from spontaneous conversations in authentic situations. However, this ideal data also poses some challenges to this study: 1) the occasion, the time and the location at which the speech acts may occur are highly unpredictable. In other words, it may be a waste of time to record irrelevant conversations which do not contain the target speech acts, or time consuming to identify the target speech acts from a wide array of other speech acts. This will eventually affect the number of the tokens; 2) In order to have enough tokens from natural speech, researchers may also confine their studies to a number of realistic settings in which relevant speech acts are likely to occur. For instance, suggestion speech acts occur frequently in a classroom setting between teachers and students. This approach, however, would limit the opportunity from observing speech acts occurring in different contexts. The role-relationship involving in the conversation is rather restricted, such as that of teacher and student (Blum-Kulka et al 1989:177). In a study like this one, we would expect that the performance data can be gathered from different contexts in which the perceptions of *P,D,I* may vary; 3) the cross-group study requires the contexts, which the different groups are located to, are at least comparable to each other. As Economidou-Kogetsidis (2003) points out "legal and ethical considerations aside, it would be practically impossible to collect large [natural occuring] data of a given speech act in the same situational and interpersonal context" (2003:2269).

Both of the previous studies on perceptions of contextual variables and speech act performance adopt written questionnaires (Bergman and Kasper 1993, Economidou-Kogetsidis 2003). Economidou-Kogetsidis justifies her choice of data collection tools as: (1) instead of the nature of speech acts in interaction, it is the nature of the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic resources employed by participants that studies of this kind would like

to investigate; (2) according to Kasper and Rose (2002), a carefully designed written DCT can provide useful information of pragmalinguistics and of sociopragmalinguistics, especially the knowledge of context factors (2002:96, cf Economidou-Kogetsidis 2003: 2269). The current research, aligned with the previous studies, utilise written questionnaires instead of natural data.

On the other hand, we are aware of the advantages and disadvantages of using written questionnaires as well. The written questionnaire used to collect performance data is a written discourse completion test (hereafter WDCT). It is developed in the CCSARP. A WDCT item consists of a scenario with a prompt given to the participant and the participant is asked to finish the dialogue where one turn is missed.

WDCT is criticized for the data it collects. The criticisms include the authenticity of the data and its effectiveness compared to other tools. The criticism of authenticity concerns that to what extent the DCT data represents the actual language usage. Eisenstein and Bodman (1993) studies the expressions of gratitude by native and non-native speakers of English using data from WDCTs, oral DCTs, oral role-plays and naturally occurring examples. They did not find any remarkable difference between these four types of data, in fact the WDCT and Oral Discourse Completion Test produced almost identical expressions. Beebe and Cummings (1985, 1996) compare the WDCT data to the records of phone calls. They argue that "written role plays bias the response towards less negotiation, less hedging, less repetition, less elaboration, less variety and ultimately less talk" (1996:71). However, they also support the effectiveness of the WDCT and emphasize that more similarities than differences are found between participants' speech act performance in the WDCT and natural conversations. Moreover, their results suggest that the WDCT is a strong way to discover the frequently used semantic formulas (see the definition of semantic formulas in Section 3.4.1). Beebe and Cumming conclude the strengths of WDCT as follows (1985: 10):

1) Gathering a large amount of data quickly;
2) Creating an initial classification of semantic formulas and strategies that will occur in natural speech;
3) Studying the stereotypical perceived requirements for a socially appropriate response;

4) Gaining insight into social and psychological factors that are likely to affect speech and performance;

5) Ascertaining the canonical shape of refusals, apologies, partings, etc. in the minds of the speakers of that language.

Beebe and Cumming's conclusion is confirmed by Kasper and Rose (2002) as mentioned above. Using WDCT does not only have some advantages in collecting performance data, but also provides more help for collecting perceptual data (above 3, 4, 5).

Another criticism concerning the WDCT is if it is more or at least equally effective compared to other data elicitation tools, especially those verbal tools. There are at least six possible instruments: Written Discourse Completion Test (WDCT), Multiple-choice Discourse Completion Test (hereafter MC), Oral Discourse Completion Test(hereafter ODCT), Role Play(hereafter RP), Discourse Self-Assessment Task(hereafter DSAT), Role-Play Self-Assessment(hereafter RPSA) (Brown and Ahn 2011:199)[11]. Rintell and Mitchell (1989) compare the WDCT data with the RP data. They find great similarities in terms of the speech length and strategy use with some minor differences which may result from learners' limitation of fluency and lack of certainty of appropriateness. Brown and Ahn (2011) compare these instruments in Korean with G theory and FACET analysis. G theory is a statistical framework for testing the dependability of measurements under specific conditions. FACET analysis is to examine the degree to which variables in the measurements produce different scores relative to each other (Brown and Ahn 2011: 200). In their study WDCT and ODCT yielded very similar dependability estimates while RP and RPSA demonstrated greater reliability than the previous two.

However, judging from their RMSE values[12], examinees appear not to be very well adapted to the RP and RPSA tests which may have an effect of the G-study result. In G-study, RP and

[11] The Multiple-choice discourse completion Task asks examinees to read a written description of a situation and then select what would be best to say next in that situation. The Oral Discourse completion task requires examinees to listen to a recorded description of a situation and then record what they would say next in that situation. A role play asks examinees to read a description of a situation and then play a particular role with another person in that situation. A Discourse self-assessment task requires examinees to read a written description of a situation and then rate their own pragmatic ability to respond correctly pragmatically in the situation. A Role-play self-assessment requires examinees to rate their own pragmatic performance based on a previously audio- or video-taped role-play (Brown and Ahn 2011: 199-200).

[12] The RMSE is the root mean square standard error for all non-extreme measures. The low value of RMSE indicates that the data fits the model well (Brown and Ahn 2011: 206)

RPSA almost doubled the size of person variance compared to WDCT and ODCT. This means the reliability of examinees in RP and RPAS is open to question. In fact, Brown and Ahn found that the WDCT gained the highest score in the reliability test, which means the difference between the examinees is the most consistent.

So far there is not any conclusive evidence that indicates WDCT is less effective and/or less reliable than other data-elicitation instruments. WDCT has its advantages over RP in terms of design, control and distribution. Furthermore, verbal tools, such as RP, have been criticized for not being able to fully reflect the participants' actual pragmatic competence. The improvisation in a role play after a short preparation time does not allow the participant to fully display their real pragmatic knowledge (Chen et al 2011). If the preparation time is long enough for the participant to have a careful script, it raises concern as to whether the RP simply becomes a read-out of WDCT. Some researchers even argue that, compared to spoken data, written data may better reveal what is considered as pragmatically appropriate behavior by speakers (Kasper 2000, Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2010). One last reason for the current research to adopt WDCT is that it is considered as an effective tool in identifying the semantic formulas (Beebe & Cumming 1996). As the evaluation speech act has rarely been studied as a speech act, there is not any prepared list of semantic formulas. By using WDCT, we are more effective in identifying the frequently used semantic formulas of evaluation speech acts.

Despite the effectiveness of WDCT, one unanimous shortcoming is that WDCT does not provide us with thorough information regarding interactive routines, such as the rituals, hesitations, and other features specific to spoken language. Later, this particular disadvantage will affect the calculation of the occurrences of pause fillers (see Section 3.4.1 for the definition of pause fillers).

The perception data is collected via written questionnaires as well. The perceptions of *P, D, I* are collected with five-point scales ranging from 1 (low level) to 5 (high level) (see Section 3.2.2 for detailed value assignments). The metapragmatic data of learners are collected from open questions. The written form gives the participant enough time to make their judgments concerning the *P, D, I,* and the relation between their L1, L2 and IL. The designs of the questions are presented in the following section.

3.2.2 The design of instruments

WDCT for performance data collection

This section discusses the design of WDCT and questionnaires for perceptual/metapragmatic data. WDCT was chosen to collect the performance data as discussed above. The basic design of WDCT is that each item consists of a scene with an optional prompt or rejoinder. The first question of WDCT design is what needs to be included in the scene. Billmyer and Varghese (2000) investigate if the enriched content of the scene can improve the effectiveness of WDCT. They found that learners' variability might have an unexpected influence on the performance data, if the situations included in the WDCT are not designed according to Hymes' (1974) instructions of scene and setting[13]. Their content-rich WDCT may be time-consuming for participants, but the speech acts collected appear to be more elaborated with more external modifications, compared to the content-poor version. Félix-Brasdefer (2010) and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2013) agree with this conclusion and claim that detailed contextual information is desirable.

As all the learners involved in this research have an upper intermediate level or higher in Korean language proficiency, detailed scenes would not have much interference in their understanding of the meaning. The present WDCT thus includes the hearer's name, both the interlocutors' age, their career, the location, the time, hints towards the degree of intimacy and dominance in their relationship (e.g. the president whom you met for the first time, your classmate with whom you went to the same class for one year, etc.), the topic and hints at their emotional status. One thing not included in the WDCT is the performative word, namely 'evaluate' in evaluation speech acts and 'refuse' in refusal speech acts. The evaluative and refusing intention is only suggested to the participants but not imposed on them. The design is to approximate of the authentic contexts for speech. The choice that whether to perform the speech act or not will be made out of the participants' own decision. For example, Situation 1 in evaluation WDCT includes the speaker's tiredness of busy timetable instead of specifying that the speaker has a negative evaluation. Situation 28 in refusal WDCT only describes that the speaker has an appointment with their boy/girlfriend instead of specifying that the speaker wants to refuse a colleague's invitation.

The second question of WDCT design is if the prompt/rejoinder is needed and what type shall be included. Rose (1992) administered two types of request WDCTs to his participants, one with hearer response and the other without hearer response, but did not find any significant difference between the two forms of WDCTs. Johnston et al (1998) further examined the

[13] According to Hymes (1974), the setting includes the physical circumstance while the scene is the psychological setting which cultures may influence.

production questionnaires with and without a rejoinder as well as those with preferred and dispreferred rejoinders in complaint, request and apology speech acts. According to their investigation, the presence and the type of rejoinders affect both the native speakers and nonnative speakers' answers, however, the effect size differs depending on the speech act. Regarding the three speech acts their study involved, complaints are the least affected and apologies are the most. It is worth mentioning that both complaint and apology are post-event, meaning they are primed by an offensive act. The difference of effect sizes seems to stem from the fact that social rapport is broken by a complaint but is restored by an apology. In other words, those speech acts, which are post-event as well as harmony breakers, may be less affected by the type of rejoinder.

Evaluation speech acts are complicated in its nature. The social rapport could be broken by a negative evaluation if the hearer is expecting a positive one (and vice versa). It can also be restored by an evaluation which matches the hearer's expectation. There are further cases that the evaluation neither breaks nor restores the social rapport. For example, the social rapport does not seem to be affected when a friend has a negative evaluation about a drama to another friend who never watched it. To prevent any influence of the rejoinder on the evaluation performance, the current study decides to have a neutral prompt to induce the participants' answer. For example, the prompt for evaluations of a conference is "how was today's conference?".

Refusal speech acts may or may not come with either of the prompts and rejoinders as in different studies (e.g. rejoinders in Beebe et al 1990, prompts in Nelson et al 2002, both prompts and rejoinders in Sahragard & Javanmardi 2011, no prompt/rejoinder in Liao and Bresnahan 1996 as well as Chen 1996). This research employs four types of prompts --- requests, suggestions, offers and invitations, according to Beebe et al's (1990) advice. This is because (1) the same format of WDCTs for evaluations and refusals prevents the cross-speech act comparison from the bias of different designs; (2) the four prompts, or so called 'stimuli' of refusals, are important factors for interpreting the data. We expect the participant can notice them properly instead of missing them in the content.

In short, the current WDCT has the following designs: 1) each item has an enriched context and a prompt; 2) all the dialogues contain only one turn from each interlocutor. The hearer response is not provided, as any further response would have a similar influence with the rejoinder discussed above; 3) participants are provided with a relatively large space allowing for an 8 line paragraph. They are able to create a several-turn conversation if they deem it

necessary; 4) the WDCT takes the form of an online test in which no item can be skipped. If the participant would like to remain 'silent' in an answer, they have to write down their reasons before moving on to the next item.

Five-point scale for perception data collection

The above discussed WDCT is used to collect performance data. The perceptual and metapragmatic data is collected in two different ways. The former – perception data of *P, D, I*-- is collected using questions with five-point scales.

The initial version of WDCT (hereafter Version 1) was developed based on roughly trisected values of *P, D, I*. For example, the value of *P* was divided as high, intermediate and low. Refusal WDCT further added another variable of the stimuli. After consulting the NS linguists, we designed 30 situations with different combinations of *P, D, I* (and stimuli in refusals). In other words, the Version 1 had 15 different situations for evaluation and refusal respectively. The values of *P,D,I* have not been finalized until the participants rate the variables by themselves. The author's initial design was only temporary and the participants decide the final design of the WDCT.

The questions, which ask about the participants' perceptions of *P, D, I*, are attached to the Version 1 items along with two other questions. The total of five questions are as below:

1) Is it hard for you to imagine the given situation? (Yes/No)
2) How often do you think the given situation happens in real life? (From never happened to happening every day)
3) How well do you think the speaker knows the hearer in the given situation? (From strangers to knowing each other very well)
4) What is the social status of the speaker compared to the hearer (From very low to very high)
5) How hard do you think it is for the speaker to tell their "true thought" (the given evaluation)? (From the hearer hates the 'true thought' to that the hearer likes the 'true thought')

How hard do you find it is to refuse the given request/suggestion/invitation/offer? (From very easy to very hard)

The first question examines if all the designed items are approachable from the participants' background. The second question further asks about the frequency of the situation happening in their daily life. If a situation never happened (1 point) or happens randomly (2 points) in participant's experience, it will be considered as an unusual situation. This research does not focus on how people deal with unusual situations. The third and fourth questions are related to the role-relationship in the WDCT situation with one role given to the participant (the speaker). Their ages, occupations and frequency of meeting each other are fixed and given in the situations. These allow the participants to define the role-relationship by interpreting these pieces of information according to their own cultural and societal background. There inevitably are some individual differences. In the Section, we will test how homogenous the ratings of different group members are. The last question is concerned with the degree of imposition. The harder the speakers feel it is to speak their mind, the greater the possible imposition is.

As seen above, the first question is presented in yes or no format. The second question has a 5-point scale with one end representing a situation that would never happen and the other end a daily occurrence. The remaining three questions have 5 separate answers which are assigned to point 1 to 5. For instance, regarding the social distance, there are 1-complete strangers (*cenhye molunun saita* 전혀 모르는 사이다); 2-do not know each other well (*cal molunun saita* 잘 모르는 사이다), 3-know each other fairly well (*pothong anun saita* 보통 아는 사이다); 4-know each other well (*cal anun saita* 잘 아는 사이다); 5-know each other very well (*acu cal anun saita* 아주 잘 아는 사이다). Instead of a numeral scale, this kind of option system helps to prevent possible cognitive differences regarding one certain item. In other words, if a 5-point scale is used to define social distance, then some of the participants may consider 3 would already indicate closeness while others may think otherwise. The 5 option system seems to break the rating with intervals, but the mean ratings gained from a number of participants is still consistent with the 5-point scale. Thus it can be considered as an extension of the 5-point scale. The mean values of ratings in different situations can be found in the Appendix II. A sample of the five questions and their scales can also be found in the Appendix IV.

The design for perception data collection partly follows Bergman and Kasper's (1993). They required their NS and NNS participants to rate *P, D, I* on a five-point scale. However, the first two question used by the current research are not included in their design. The approachability and accessibility of the WDCT items remain unknown. Bergman and Kasper employ rather bald questions regarding P, D, I. For example, they ask their participants 'how close the role-relationship is', 'what is the status-relationship' and 'how serious offence is'. These questions may pose some difficulties for those non-linguistic participants to understand. The current research refines them to a more approachable manner. The current research also assigns the answers to each point from 1 to 5. As mentioned above, this is to prevent the cognitive difference between individuals. This is another refinement from Bergman and Kasper's version.

Open questions for metapragmatic data collection

The metapragmatic data is collected from learner group regarding the relation between their L1, L2 and IL. It is collected with two open-end questions:

(1) Do you think you will perform differently in your L1 with another L1 native speaker? If yes, how would it be different?
(2) Do you think the L2 native speakers will perform differently with what you just did? If yes, how would it be different?

Learners answer to the two questions after they finish their WDCT. In other words, the metapragmatic data collection comes after the performance data collection. The learners can still refer back to their answers to the WDCT but are unable to amend them. In addition, learners are allowed to answer these questions in their native language. Their metapragmatic awareness is thus not restricted by their proficiency of L2.

This design consults Barron's (2003) retrospective interviews, in which the participants were asked if they would do the same in their L1 as in their L2. Barron includes three interesting retrospections: the learners' awareness of L2 conventions ("No means No in L2"), learners' willingness to follow the L2 conventions ("when in Rome…") and learners' resistance to their L1 conventions ("but I want to be myself"). Barron considers the retrospections as learners' metapragmatic awareness of the norm difference between L1 and L2. The fact is, however, that the retrospection is made upon learners' metapragmatic awareness of their L1

compared to that of their own L2 language use, in other words, their IL. The current research interprets the metapragmatic awareness as to the relation between L1, L2 and IL.

3.3 Data collection

This section introduces the actual questionnaire settings used in the current research, including the WDCT Version 1 and its later refinement --- final version of WDCT. The procedure of data collection and examination of questionnaire design help to explain the process of the questionnaire refinements.

3.3.1 Details of WDCT Version 1

The WDCT version 1 has a total of 30 items, 15 each for evaluation and refusal speech acts. The values of *P, D, I* are roughly trisected in the Version 1. Their values are not finalized until the perception data of *P, D, I* is collected. The WDCT items, which are designed originally according to the order of values of *P, D, I*, are randomized before being administered to the participants. This is to reduce the possibility of the participants having any paradigmatic answers. The brief descriptions of WDCT are provided below and full-version of WDCT can be found in the Appendix III.

Table 1. WDCT for evaluation elicitation

	Situation description	Social distance	Social power	Rank of imposition
1	Criticizing your workload with a friend who are in the same position	intimate	S=H	low
2	Evaluating the conference with your hotel roommate who seems to have negative opinion	plain	S=H	low
3	Evaluating a professor with a junior in your university at the first gathering of senior-junior	distant	S>H	intermediate
4	Evaluating the long queue with an unknown woman who is also very anxious.	distant	S<H	low
5	Evaluating the boy who jumped over traffic with the taxi driver	distant	S=H	low
6	Evaluating your friend's work	intimate	S=H	intermediate
7	Evaluating the dance rehearsal of the senior from your university	plain	S<H	high
8	Evaluating the party held by your company with the president	distant	S<H	high
9	Evaluating the look of your date whom you are just introduced	distant	S=H	high
10	Evaluating the event held by a mall with the mall manager	plain	S>H	intermediate

11	Evaluating the student who skipped too many classes as you being his professor	plain	S>H	intermediate
12	Evaluating your tutorial student with his mother	plain	S<H	high
13	Evaluating a new employee with his manager as you being the president	intimate	S>H	intermediate
14	Evaluating the foreign country which both you and your friend are staying	intimate	S<H	low
15	Evaluating the good job which your friend just gained	intimate	S>H	low

Table 2. WDCT for refusal elicitation

	Situation description	Social distance	Social power	Rank of imposition	Stimuli of refusals
16	Refusing a language exchange suggestion from a friend of friend	plain	S=H	intermediate	suggestion
17	Refusing your manager's suggestion of tidying up files	plain	S<H	high	suggestion
18	Refusing the salelady's suggestion of buying a new scarf	distant	S=H	low	suggestion
19	Refusing your student's suggestion of team work	plain	S>H	low	suggestion
20	Refusing your friend's request of donation	intimate	S=H	low	request
21	Refusing the offer of a lift from a colleague whom you do not know well	plain	S=H	low	offer
22	Refusing the offer of a expensive gift from your senior in your university	intimate	S<H	intermediate	offer
23	Refusing the offer of some food samples from your friend's daughter	plain	S>H	low	offer
24	Refusing the request of increasing pay from your housekeeper	intimate	S>H	high	Request
25	Refusing the request of change seats from an unknown woman	distant	S=H	intermediate	request
26	Refusing your supervisor's request of doing a PPT for him	intimate	S<H	high	request
27	Refusing your teacher's request of helping his another student with a questionnaire	intimate	S<H	high	request
28	Refusing your colleague's invitation to a drinking party	plain	S<H	intermediate	invitation
29	Refusing your friend's invitation to his house for spending a festival	intimate	S=H	low	invitation
30	Refusing your supplier's invitation to a business dinner	plain	S>H	low	invitation

The initial questionnaires were developed in Korean and amended twice after discussions with two Korean linguists. The Korean version was then translated into Chinese by the author

with minor corrections on the names of roles and locations. This was to ensure that they are culturally adapted to Chinese. The Chinese version was back translated into Korean by a Korean-Chinese lecturer who is NS of both languages. The three versions (one original and two translations) were compared carefully and amendments were made based upon any discrepancies. The Korean version was assigned to KNS and CLK while the Chinese version was given to CNS.

3.3.2 Data collection procedure

Three steps were taken in the data collection. The first step is to collect the perception data from 15 participants of each group. The perception data is used for three purposes: (1) to decide if a situation is accessible from participants' life experience; (2) to test if the perceptions of *P, D, I* are homogeneous within one group before involving them in the cross-group comparison; (3) to explain the speech act performance. The first and second purposes are served by the reality test (Section 3.3.5) and reliability test (Section 3.3.4). The reliability test is a within-group test which examines the degree to which the speakers in the same group resemble each other in terms of *P, D, I* perceptions. The reality test is to examine whether a situation is approachable from participants' imagination, accessible from their life experience as well as effective in learners' production of speech acts.

The less approachable, less accessible or ineffective situations are excluded after the reality test. The ratings of *P, D, I* are used to finalize the design based on the results of the reliability test. The final version of WDCT is distributed to another group of 45 KNS, 50 CLK and 44 CNS to collect their speech acts. This is the second step—performance data collection. The third step, which collects the metapragmatic data from the learner group only, comes immediately after the second step. 50 CLK are divided into two groups, answering the metapragmatic questions for evaluations and refusals respectively (see Section 3.3.3).

The collection of perception data is prior to the collection of performance and metapragmatic data, because: (1) the *P, D, I* setting in the WDCT cannot be finalized until the participants rate them. In other words, the WDCT Version 1 is temporary and the final version for performance data collection is made upon the participants' decisions in Version 1; (2) the participants' performance may be affected if the perception data is collected from the same participant group before or at the same time with their performance data. In that case, the learners may be forced to re-consider the situational settings before or while they perform the speech acts. Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) collects the perception data from

the same participant group after the performance data collected. This is possible because they do not have a third part of metapragmatic data collection.

The current research follows the procedure of Bergman and Kasper's (1993) data collection. They collect the perception data first and performance data second from different participant groups. The shortcoming of this data collection method is obviously that the perception data cannot be used directly to explain the performance data. Rather, it is the way that *P, D, I* tend to be perceived by certain groups explaining the performance. Bergman and Kasper divide their perception data into three categories when explaining the performance data. For example, the continuous ratings of power are categorized as low (1-2.3), medium (2.4-3.7) and high (3.8-5) (1993:90). However, this categorization is possible only if the within-group ratings are congruent between different group members. Otherwise the individual differences may be seriously oversighted. This is why the current research carries out a reliability test (Section 3.3.4) before categorizing the ratings of *P, D, I*.

3.3.3 Participants

Participants in perception data collection

Each of the KNS, CNS and CLK groups has 15 participants. Their task is to answer the five questions in Section 3.2.2 for perception data collection. Their average ages are 28, 25.46 and 25.33 respectively including people from 21 to 33. KNS group consists of 9 females and 6 males while CNS group is made up of 11 females and 4 males. All of them are university students. The average age of the KNS group is slightly higher due to the Korean male participants spent 2 years in compulsory military service, resulting in them being slightly older than other university students.

The learner group consists of 15 females. There seems to be more female students than males in Korean language class. For example, the author's own class has only 3 males out of 39 students. We did not deliberately balance the gender ratio in the learner group. Instead, Section 4.1.1.2 tests if the biased gender ratio has an influence on speech act performance. All of the CLK participants are at the advanced level of Korean language. 4 of them have passed Level 5 and 11 of them have passed Level 6 in the Test of Proficiency in Korean (TOPIK)[14]

[14] The Test of Proficiency in Korean (TOPIK) is a Korean language test offered to non-natives whose first language is not Korean, overseas Koreans who are learning Korean, those wishing to study at a

Before answering the WDCT, the participants are asked to give some personal details, including their educational background, their first language(s), their level of second language(s), experience of staying abroad, knowledge of Korea and China. Both KNS and CNS have 13 undergraduates and 2 postgraduates. They do not have any native language other than Korean or Chinese. 29 out of the 30 native speakers claim that their second languages is English and their English proficiency can only support basic communication or is restricted to reading. None of KNS learnt Chinese as a second language except one claiming that she can write traditional Chinese characters, which have already been abandoned in Mainland China. None of CNS have ever learnt Korean either. Only 1 out of 30 native speakers had spent longer than 6 months abroad. The majority of the native speakers confirm that they have a fairly good knowledge of their native culture.

In addition to the above personal details, CLK participants are asked a few more questions, such as the length of time they had been in Korea, the length of time they had been learning Korean language, and their level of exposure to Korean society, etc.

CLK are students in an institute of Korean studies which provides courses for postgraduates only. Thus the learner group consists of 7 postgraduate students and 8 doctoral students. They may be more experienced than NS groups in terms of academic life, but none of them are studying linguistics or any relevant subject. All of the learners are at an advanced level in Korean language but only have intermediate or below level in other second languages. 10 out of 15 learners have been studying the Korean language for over 5 years with another 3 people for over 3 years and 2 people for 2 years. 9 of them have been staying in Korea for over 2 years with another 4 over 1 year and only 1 under 1 year. All of them claim that they have a fairly good knowledge about Korean society and culture. They are asked to list three representative socio-cultural characteristics based on their understandings of Korea. The most popular answers were: 1) Korean people maintain their traditions; 2) Korean society is very hierarchical; 3) Korean people are impetuous and 4) Korean society is collective. These answers are similar to KNS' feedbacks on Korean culture in Section 1.2, although KNS did not particular mention the hierarchical society.

These 45 participants from three different groups were involved in the perception data collection. KNS and CLK rate the *P, D, I* in the Korean version of WDCT while CNS rate the

Korean university, and for those who want to be employed at Korean companies in and outside of Korea. TOPIK is administered by the National Institute for International Education - NIIED

variables in the Chinese version. To what extent their ratings can represent their group is discussed in Section 3.3.4.

Participants in performance and metapragmatic data collection

The performance data was collected from 45 KNS, 50 CLK and 44 CNS. The metapragmatic data is collected from the 50 CLK only. Due to the fact that large numbers of learners can only be found in universities and language schools, the majority of participants consist of undergraduates and graduates from over ten different universities, such as Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Chung Ang University, Inha University, Yongin University, Kwandong University, Chonbuk National University in Korea and Ocean university, Qingdao University, Qingdao Agricultural university, Shandong Agricultural university in China as well as some other local institutes. NS participants were recruited through an acquaintance from these universities. None of the NS is studying linguistics or relevant subjects. The Learner group was gathered from Korean departments in different universities/institutes. As over ten different universities and institutions were selected, a great diversity of participants were involved. Their data is expected to represent the young generation who are currently at higher educations. The average ages of KNS, CLK and CNS are 23.09, 22.82 and 21.23 respectively ranging from 19 to 25. Both native speaker groups consist of almost even number of females and males. KNS have 22 female and 23 males and CNS have 22 from each gender. In contrast, the gender ratio of CLK is 4:1 for the same reason in the perception data collection.

Neither group of native speakers knows the other's language. English is the second language in general. 20% of KNS and 16% of CNS claimed that they have an upper intermediate level in English. But none of the CNS and only 6% of KNS had spent over a year abroad. They did not stay in the other's country (China or Korea).

CLK group understands Korean, their second language, very well. 42 out of 50 participants have passed the test of upper intermediate (4 Kup) level or above in TOPIK. Another 8 participants have not yet taken any further examinations since they passed their lower intermediate level. None of the participants had any difficulties in answering the questionnaires.

With regards to the learning background, the current research collects the information of learning motivation, previous learning materials and study time. First, 30% and 28% of the

CLK are driven by the need to study in Korea and their pure interest in the Korean language. These motivations are followed by 22% of learners who are seeking to improve their employability, 16% inspired by the Korean wave. It left only 4% who are studying for other purposes. Second, 55% of CLK are using or have used the textbook of Yensei University. The remaining 45% are scattered by different textbooks, such as 9% with Seoul University textbook, 7% with Beijing University textbook etc. Taking the structure of the Yensei textbook as an example, each lesson starts with five conversations. These conversations are not accompanied by any contextual information. Each conversation is followed by a list of vocabulary making it convenient for learners. Next to the conversations are instructions regarding grammar, which normally contain explanations and example sentences. Some pattern drills are attached after the grammar. The pattern practice is a series of drill dialogues in which the grammar patterns are repeated without any authentic and communicative settings. Thus it is hard to say that the textbook is either pragmatic or communicative. Also, due to the nature of classroom learning, it is questionable if CLK have been provided sufficient pragmatic input and/or communicative information. Third, as CLK reach the upper intermediate level, they are paying more attention to their speaking and listening which cannot be taught by textbook alone. The average time spent on listening, speaking, reading and writing is 4.4 hours, 3.8 hours, 3.4 hours and 2.76 hours per week respectively. The fact that participants spent longer hours on speaking and listening indicates the learners' are eager to become more capable of communicating.

According to the data collection procedure, the participants for perception data collection use WDCT version 1 with five-scale questions. The participants for performance and metapragmatic data collection use the final version of WDCT with two open-ended metapragmatic questions. The refinement from Version 1 to the final version is made through the following reliability test and reality test.

3.3.4 Reliability test

The reliability test is a within-group test which examines the degree to which the speakers in the same group resemble each other in terms of *P, D, I* perceptions. As stated in Section 3.2.2, a five option-system is assigned to these three variables, which means that the participants give a rating from 1 to 5. B&L's (1987) initial interest in these three factors is only to the extent that 'the actors think it is mutual knowledge between them that these variables have some particular values' (1987:74). The extent to which the mutual knowledge

exists is examined specifically in the current study. The within-group agreements guarantee the possibility of cross-cultural comparison. In case of the group ratings being scattered as opposed to being collective, it is possible individual differences may be overriding the culture influence on *P, D, I*. Consequently; the cross-culture comparison may be invalid.

The reliability test is based on the perception data from 15 participants of each group. It is a big number of 15 raters in terms of reliability test. Free Marginal Multirater Kappa (multirater *Kfree*) is employed here to test the 30 WDCT items. Free Marginal Kappa applies to categorical ratings without participants knowing the distribution of each category. Thus it is not influenced by the bias or prevalence if compared to Fleiss Kappa which desires a perfect bell distribution. Like all other Kappas, it expresses the extent to which the observed amount of agreements among raters exceeds what would be expected if all raters made their ratings completely randomly. The most important calculation in Free Marginal Kappa is to compute how many rater-rater pairs are in agreement and then to compare them to all the possible pairs. In other words, only the exact same number, rated by two participants, will be counted as a pair and no marginal difference is permitted. The five option system currently in use assigns different points to different categories. The categories, however, are not completely separate. Instead, they are vaguely coherent with the continuum of the variable change (e.g. social distance from far to close). Therefore, the five option system actually allows for a marginal difference in ratings. For instance, rating 4-high and 5-very high in social distance may not indicate that the participants perceive the same item totally differently. Therefore, the result of the Free Marginal Kappa test will be, to some extent, an underestimate of the reliability of the current data. A high Kappa and significance will, however, strongly support the reliability of certain items.

The following are results of Free Marginal Kappa tests. They are obtained using Rondolph's (2005) syntax in SPSS. The kappa indicates the degree to which the actual agreements are greater than chance. *Z* and *p* values show whether the outnumbering above chance is significant or not.

Table 3. Distance_KNS Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

				Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
kappa	Standard Error	z	p		

.35040	.03710	9.44442	.00000	.27768	.42311

Table 4. Power_KNS Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

kappa	Standard Error	z	p	Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
.44127	.04874	9.05373	.00000	.34574	.53680

Table 5. Imposition_KNS Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

kappa	Standard Error	z	p	Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
.21627	.02150	10.06118	.00000	.17414	.25840

Table 6. Distance_CLK Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

kappa	Standard Error	z	p	Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
.39802	.03242	12.27532	.00000	.33446	.46157

Table 7. Power_CLK Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

kappa	Standard Error	z	p	Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
.55278	.05893	9.37983	.00000	.43727	.66829

Table 8. Imposition_CLK Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

Standard	Lower 95% Confidence	Upper 95% Confidence

kappa	Error	z	p	Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
.22143	.02565	8.63193	.00000	.17115	.27171

Table 9. Distance_CNS Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

kappa	Standard Error	z	p	Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
.34087	.03044	11.19697	.00000	.28120	.40054

Table 10. Power_CNS Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

kappa	Standard Error	z	p	Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
.50397	.05283	9.53941	.00000	.40042	.60752

Table 11. Imposition_CNS Empirical Confidence Limits - Overall kappa

kappa	Standard Error	z	p	Lower 95% Confidence Limit	Upper 95% Confidence Limit
.29405	.03795	7.74752	.00000	.21966	.36844

As presented above, all the Kappas are currently at a high level and the amount of actual agreements are all significantly greater than probable. For example, 39.8% of all the possible chance-adjusted agreements have been reached in social distance perceived by CLK[15]. Their *p* value is far below 0.05 as well. These results strongly support that members of certain groups tend to have similar perceptions of *P, D, I*. Thus the cross-cultural comparison of *P, D,*

[15] Like all other maltirater kappas, the equation for Free Maginal Kappa is still:

$$\kappa = \frac{P_o - P_e}{1 - P_e}$$

P_o is the actual proportion of reached agreements and P_e is the expected proportion of agreements above chance.

I is possible. More importantly, the tendency of *P, D, I* being perceived by each group can be used to explain the performance data.

Compared the above figures of *P, D, I*, the *P* and *D* gained more agreements than *I* in all three groups. *P* and *D* are interpersonal variables which defines the role-relationship. On the other hand, *I* is more related to different contexts. It seems that people are more certain about the role-relationship than the contexts.

Even though the current Kappas already strongly support that the perceptions of *P, D, I* are group-featured, it is still worth repeating that the actual degree of agreements should be even greater if the margins of convergence are allowed. As the Kappa only tests perfectly matched agreements (the exact same choices made by different raters), some close-by choices have been ignored.

3.3.5 Reality test

Three questions are concerned in the reality test: (1) if a WDCT situation is hard to imagine for participants (Question 1 in perception data collection); (2) if a WDCT situation frequently happens in participants life (Question 2 in perception data collection); (3) if a WDCT situation overlaps with another or misleads to other speech acts. Those situations, which are less approachable, less accessible from the participants' life experience and less likely have effective data, are excluded at the end.

The first question is a Yes/No question. Among the 30 situations, Situations 16 and 29 are first removed, as 4 out of 15 CNS claim that they have difficulties to imagine them. This leaves 15 situations for evaluations and 13 situations for refusal speech acts.

The second question is based on a five point scale with one end being "never happening situation" (1 point) and another end being "daily happening situation" (5 points). Some situations may be frequent in one culture but rare in another. Therefore, those situations rated lower than average by one group are all discarded. The mean ratings of 15 raters' are calculated by situation as below.

Table 12. Reality ratings of situations in evaluation speech acts

	Group			
	KNS	CLK	CNS	Total

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Situation1	3.60	15	.910	3.93	15	1.223	3.93	15	.799	3.82	45	.984
Situation2	3.20	15	.775	2.87	15	1.407	3.53	15	1.246	3.20	45	1.179
Situation3	4.13	15	.834	3.93	15	1.280	3.87	15	1.125	3.98	45	1.076
Situation4	*2.93*	*15*	*.799*	***2.87***	***15***	***1.407***	*3.80*	*15*	*1.207*	*3.20*	*45*	*1.217*
Situation5	***2.67***	***15***	***.816***	***2.73***	***15***	***1.668***	*3.20*	*15*	*1.424*	*2.87*	*45*	*1.342*
Situation6	3.67	15	.816	3.53	15	1.187	3.80	15	1.146	3.67	45	1.044
Situation7	***2.60***	***15***	***.910***	*3.00*	*15*	*1.000*	*3.27*	*15*	*1.280*	*2.96*	*45*	*1.086*
Situation8	3.27	15	.704	3.87	15	1.125	3.87	15	1.187	3.67	45	1.044
Situation9	2.80	15	.676	3.20	15	1.207	3.47	15	1.246	3.16	45	1.086
Situation10	3.07	15	.704	3.47	15	1.302	3.47	15	1.356	3.33	45	1.148
Situation11	3.13	15	.640	3.27	15	1.223	3.93	15	1.100	3.44	45	1.056
Situation12	3.13	15	.640	3.67	15	1.175	3.93	15	.961	3.58	45	.988
Situation13	***2.73***	***15***	***.884***	3.40	15	1.352	3.47	15	1.356	3.20	45	1.236
Situation14	***2.93***	***15***	***.799***	3.60	15	1.056	3.47	15	1.302	3.33	45	1.087
Situation15	3.40	15	.737	3.60	15	1.242	3.60	15	.986	3.53	45	.991

Table 13. Reality ratings of situations in refusal speech acts

	Group											
	KNS			CLK			CNS			Total		
	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Situation16	3.07	15	.884	3.53	15	1.302	3.20	15	1.265	3.27	45	1.156
Situation17	3.27	15	.961	3.40	15	1.121	3.73	15	.961	3.47	45	1.014
Situation18	3.73	15	1.100	4.40	15	.828	4.20	15	.775	4.11	45	.935
Situation19	3.13	15	.990	3.20	15	1.146	3.27	15	1.280	3.20	45	1.120
Situation20	***2.93***	***15***	***.884***	***2.73***	***15***	***1.223***	*3.00*	*15*	*1.309*	*2.89*	*45*	*1.133*

Situation21	2.80	15	.941	3.07	15	1.387	3.47	15	.990	3.11	45	1.133
Situation22	***2.67***	***15***	***1.047***	***2.67***	***15***	***1.345***	*3.47*	*15*	*1.246*	*2.93*	*45*	*1.250*
Situation23	***2.93***	***15***	***1.100***	***2.87***	***15***	***1.125***	3.40	15	1.242	3.07	45	1.156
Situation24	***2.60***	***15***	***.910***	3.13	15	1.302	3.27	15	1.280	3.00	45	1.187
Situation25	3.00	15	1.134	3.93	15	1.223	4.00	15	.845	3.64	45	1.151
Situation26	3.20	15	1.082	3.47	15	1.060	3.47	15	1.457	3.38	45	1.193
Situation27	3.07	15	1.100	3.40	15	.910	3.53	15	1.187	3.33	45	1.066
Situation28	3.27	15	.799	3.87	15	.990	3.87	15	.834	3.67	45	.905
Situation29	2.80	15	.775	3.60	15	1.121	3.20	15	1.424	3.20	45	1.160
Situation30	2.87	15	.915	3.60	15	1.242	3.27	15	1.438	3.24	45	1.228

If the median value of 3 indicates a fairly usual situation, then Situation 4 is considered as unusual by CLK, Situations 7, 13, 14 and 24 are considered as unusual by KNS, while Situations 5, 20, 22, and 23 are considered as unusual by both CLK and KNS. These situations are thus discounted. It left 10 situations in evaluation WDCT and 9 in refusal WDCT.

The third question aims to discard those extra 'burden' for participants. According to Brown and Ahn (2011), 6-8 item types can already give a WDCT a high dependability of 89%. Participants' ratings of *P, D, I* can be found in the Appendix II. Situation 6 is removed because its *P, D, I* ratings overlap the Situations 15. Situation 15 is kept as it is the only one with both the speaker and hearer bearing positive evaluations. Situation 11 is discarded due to its over-production of irrelevant talks, such as greeting rituals. This indicates that its setting is not strong enough for the participants to realize the need to perform the target speech act. Besides, it has very similar *P, D, I* ratings to situation 13 which has been considered as unusual by KNS. Situation 11 is considered to be usual, perhaps because it happens frequently along with other speech acts, such as greetings. The same problem is also found with refusal speech acts in Situation 25. Finally, Situation 19 is also removed. CLK had a rocketing estimation of the *P* in Situation 19 because of some careless mistakes made by two participants (misreading the comparison questions).

At the end, the WDCT items are reduced to 8 for evaluations and 7 for refusals. The remaining 15 situations are taken to the performance and metapragmatic data collections.

3.3.6 Details of WDCT final version

The final version of WDCT contains the following items. They are frequently occurring situations and participants find them easy to access from their previous experience. Detailed description of the shorthand can be found in Tables 14 and 15. Their ratings of *P, D, I* are presented as below:

Table 14. Final WDCT for evaluations

Situation	To evaluate	KNS			CLK			CNS		
		P	D	I	P	D	I	P	D	I
1	Heavy workload	3.083	3.5	2.6	3	3.923	2.8	3.067	3.733	2.733
2	Boring conference	3	2.25	2.8	3.154	2.231	1.933	3	3.4	2.533
3	Strict professor	3.833	3.417	2.733	4	2.538	3.067	3.533	3.133	2.467
8	Noisy drinking party	1.167	3.5	4	1.308	2.538	3.4	3	3	3.267
9	Date's appearance	2.833	1.5	4.6	3	2.154	4.067	1.867	1.867	3.2
10	Unwanted freebies	3.417	3.083	2.933	3.846	3.077	3.2	3.467	3.467	2.733
12	Tutee's work	2.5	2.917	3.733	3	2.846	3.733	3.2	3.2	3.067
15	Friend's success in exam	3.5	4.167	2.533	3.615	4.615	1.733	4	4	2.467

Table 15. Final WDCT for refusals

Situation	To refuse	KNS			CLK			CNS		
		P	D	I	P	D	I	P	D	I
17	Suggestion of organizing files	1.583	3.583	4.267	1.308	3.615	4.533	2.067	3.8	3.733
18	Suggestion of saleslady's	3.75	1.25	1.8	3.769	1.231	1.867	3.333	1.867	2.067
21	Offer of a lift	3	2.25	3.133	3	2.462	3.2	3	2.6	2.8
26	Request of PPT preparation	1.25	3.833	4.6	1.077	3.769	4.733	2.067	3.933	3.933
27	Request of helping another student	1.667	3.083	4.067	1.231	3.385	4.333	1.8	3.667	3.733
28	Invitation to a drinking night	2.333	3.083	3.867	2.231	3.154	3.8	2.133	3.467	3.333
30	Invitation to a business dinner	3.583	2.833	3.133	4.308	3.077	2.733	3.867	2.867	2.6

For the ease of analysis and presentation, the current research categorizes the ratings of *P, D, I* into three levels, just as Bergman and Kasper (1993) did. As most of the ratings in Tables

14 and 15 range from 1.5 to 4.5, every whole point within this range is considered to be one level. For instance, a range from 1.5 to 2.49 in distance is defined as 'low' category and is labeled as [-D]. 2.5 to 3.49 and 3.5 to 4.5 are [D] and [+D]. Those outliers in ratings can be grouped into the polar categories. By labeling the categories with [-D, D, +D], [-P, P, +P] and [-I, I, +I], the settings of different situations can be organized as follows:

Table 16. Categorization of *P, D, I* ratings

	KNS	CLK	CNS
Evaluation			
Situation 1	[+D P I]	[+D P I]	[+D P I]
Situation 2	[-D P I]	[-D P -I]	[D P I]
Situation 3	[D +P I]	[D +P I]	[D +P -I]
Situation 8	[+D -P +I]	[D -P I]	[D -P I]
Situation 9	[-D P +I]	[-D P +I]	[-D P I]
Situation 10	[D P I]	[D +P I]	[D P I]
Situation 12	[D P +I]	[D P +I]	[D P I]
Situation 15	[+D +P I]	[+D +P -I]	[+D P -I]
Refusal			
Situation 17	[+D -P +I]	[+D -P +I]	[+D -P +I]
Situation 18	[-D +P -I]	[-D +P -I]	[-D P -I]
Situation 21	[-D P I]	[D P I]	[D P I]
Situation 26	[+D -P +I]	[+D -P +I]	[+D -P +I]
Situation 27	[D -P +I]	[D -P +I]	[+D -P +I]
Situation 28	[D -P +I]	[D -P +I]	[D -P I]
Situation 30	[D +P I]	[D +P I]	[D +P I]

To be specific, the social distance is becoming closer from [-D] to [+D], the power that the speaker has over the hearer is increasing from [-P] to [+P], the degree of imposition is becoming more serious from [-I] to [+I].

Comparing the *P, D, I* categorizations across KNS, CNS and CLK, we find some differences between either of the two or three groups:

Table 17. Cross-group difference in *P, D, I* categorizations

Variable	Difference between groups			
	KNS vs CNS	KNS vs CNS & CLK	CLK vs KNS & CNS	KNS vs CNS vs CLK
Distance	S3	S9		S2
Power	S8, S17, S26	S12	S10, S27, S30	
Imposition	S12, S26, S28	S8	S2, S15	S9

* S is abbreviation for situation. The 'vs' indicates the differences are found between the groups. '&' indicates similarities are found between the groups

The above categorization of perception data is used for two types of analysis: (1) factor analysis is to investigate the effect size of single variable of *P, D, I* in individual group (Section 4.2.1); (2) qualitative comparison is to provide the explanations that different ways of *P, D, I* being perceived have for speech act performance by different groups in individual situation (Section 4.2.3). The following section presents the categorizations of performance and metapragmatic data.

3.4 Categorizing performance and metapragmatic data

3.4.1 Coding the evaluation and refusal speech acts

The current research codes the performance data into two parts --- what I will call "functional components" and "semantic formulas". Semantic formulas is the carrier of speech act strategies. They are used to perform the illocutionary acts and to deliver the speaker's intention. For example, one performs a refusal using strategies such as: 'No', or 'I cannot do', or excuses such as: 'my girlfriend is going to kill me'. These refusal strategies belong to the semantic formulas. Functional components, on the other hand, are not responsible for the delivery of speaker's intention. Instead, they are used to strengthen or soften the speaker's intention or to indicate the interpersonal information (e.g. hornorifics). For example, one refuses with 'I am a bit busy'. The semantic formula 'I am busy' shows the speaker's

unavailability. 'A bit' is used to mitigate the imposition of the refusal. It is thus what I will call the functional component.

Similar separation of functional components and semantic formulas can be found in previous studies. For example, one of the fundamental works of CCSARP, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), separates the head acts from internal and external modifications. They explain that '[neither of] the modifications affect the level of directness of the act, nor does it alter its propositional content'. The internal modification includes syntactic downgraders, other downgraders, hedges, downtoners, upgraders. These are included in the list of functional components with others in the current research.

Functional components

A similar range of functional components are found in different speech acts, although their occurrence differs from one to another. This is because the functional components do not change the illocutionary force of the speech act. Their functions are more or less the same in different contexts. Below is the list of functional components found in the evaluations and refusals used by both Koreans and Chinese.

Table 18. List of functional components

Functional components	Examples
Hedges	이 것만 고치면 좋은 것 같아요. "It seems better if you can amend this. "
Honorifics	~시~; 드리다; 아드님, etc ~si~; to give (to senior); (your)son, etc
Upgraders	정말 좋았어요. "It was really good."
Downgraders	좀 힘들어요. "It is a bit hard."
Sensitivity marker	제 생각에는 안 될 것 같아요. "From my perspective it will not work out."
Obligation marker	이 것을 해야 돼요. "It has to be done."
Agreement marker	예~ 괜찮은데요.

	"Yeah~ it should be ok."
Rhetorical question	이렇게 하면 더 좋잖아요. "It is better if doing it in this way, isn't it?"
Pause filler	Including discourse markers, attention getters, laughter, etc
Vague or missing certain information	누구의 꼴 좀 봐봐. "look at that someone."
Repitition	그 교수님이요? 왜 그 교수님의 수업을 듣고 싶어요? "That professor? Why do you want to take his course?"
Incompleted answer	이 것이 좀… "This is a bit…"
Adversative conjunction	활동은 좋지만 사은품이 약하네. "The event was good, but the free gift was lame."

Compared to other functional components, the pause filler seems like a 'mix-match' including several different elements. The reasons that these elements are grouped together are twofold: (1) unlike other functional components, these elements are not embedded in the sentence. They are mostly a word or a sound used independently of the main body of speech; (2) they have the function of filling the vacancies in common conversations. For example, discourse markers mark the organization of discourse, such as using 'right' to indicate the start of a new topic. In other words, the discourse markers fill the vacancies between different turns of conversation. Attention getters are used to attract the hearer's attention to the speech, such as 'Oi' or ''huh?' in English. They are used when the hearer's attention is absent. Laughter sounds (e.g. haha), hesitation sounds (e.g. hmm…), and iconic expressions are extensive features of spoken language to its written form. When speaking, they are visually or aurally available for hearers to wait before they can start their turn of the conversation. Like Beebe and Cumming (1996) criticized, the WDCT may result in fewer features of spoken language (see Section 3.2.1). The above elements may find very few tokens if they are separated as individual categories. The current study takes their common features as stated above and categorizes them into the 'pause filler'.

Semantic formulas

Unlike functional components, semantic formulas vary in different speech acts. In other words, the evaluations and refusals need different strategies to perform. Some of the

strategies may be common, for example, excuses/reasons/explanations. The major strategies are different in evaluations and refusals. The two speech acts have their own list of semantic formulas.

The evaluation speech act does not have any established list of semantic formulas. Previous studies on relevant speech acts, such as complaints and compliments, are consulted when developing a new list for evaluation speech act (see Sections 2.3.1.2 for review of studies of complaints and compliments). The draft of evaluation semantic formulas are then refined according to the WDCT data. As the current WDCT data is restricted to Korean and Chinese languages, the following list of semantic formula only reveals the possible formulas used by the younger population in Korea and China.

Table 19. Semantic formulas of evaluation speech acts

Semantic formulas	Examples
Direct evaluation	
Praise	정말 잘 했어요. "Really well done."
Criticism	그 교수님이 까다로워요. "That professor is picky."
Resonance/asking for resonance	오늘 회의는 재미없지 않을까요? "Don't you think today's conference boring?"
Disagreement	(선보는 대상에 대해)듣던 것과 많이 다르지는 않아요 (To answer "do I look different") "You do not look quite different with what I heard."
Indirect evaluation	
Equivocation	그냥 그래요. "Just so so."
Generalization	이 나이의 아이들은 다 노는 것에 더 집중하는 거지요. "All children focus on playing at this age."
Joke/Irony	(사은품으로 치약만 받을 때) 다음에 칫솔을 받으러 올게요 (When you only got toothpastes as free gifts), "I will pick up some toothbrushes next time."
Avoidance	전에 (선보는 대상에 대해) 많이 못 들었어요. "I have not heard much about you (the date from match making)."
Consultative question	저 쪽이 어떻게 생각하세요?

	"What do you think?"
Setting condition for evaluation	좀 더 노력하면 잘 할 거에요 "He will do well if he works a bit harder."
My wish	이런 모임이 자주 있기를 바래요. "I hope we can have this kind of gatherings often."
Suggestion	이 부분을 좀 고치면 좋겠어요. "It would be better if you can amend this part."
Giving a credit	사장님 덕분에 즐거웠어요. "Thanks to you (President), I had a good time."
Consequence	자칫하면 학점이 잘 못 나올 수도 있어요. "You may lose your credits of this course if you are not careful."
Encouragement/self-obligation	열심히 가르치겠습니다. "I will teach harder."
Excuses/reasons/explanations	이번 학기 복수전공 때문에 일주일 24 시간 수업이야. "I have 24 hours every week thanks to the honor degrees."
Guilt trip	제가 술이 약해서 괜히 분위기를 깰까 걱정했는데. "I am weak at drinking so I was worried if I ruined the whole mood."
Stating philosophy	외모로 사람을 판단하면 안 되지요. "We should not judge someone by his/her appearance."
Adjuncts	
Emotional statement	정말 부러워요. "I am really jealous."
Gratitude	이런 자리를 마련해 주셔서 감사합니다. "Thank you for organizing this (gathering)."
Rituals	사장님, 조심해서 가세요. "President, please take care on your way back."

The formulas are divided into three categories: direct, indirect and adjuncts to evaluations. The direct category includes the clearest positive and negative evaluations as well as direct deny and confirmation to the hearer's expectations. Indirect evaluations involve some intervention before the hearer recognizes the expression as being an evaluation. For example, we could criticize the date's appearance by stating the philosophy-'never judge a book by its cover'. Adjuncts are dependent on the direct and/or indirect evaluations. These three categories and their sub-categories are not mutually exclusive. They are, in most cases,

used together. For example, in Situation 12 [evaluating the tutee's work], some participants reply "he can't focus on the learning very well, but it is normal for kids at this age. I will find another way". The reply contains a criticism "he can't focus on the learning very well", a generalization "it is normal for kids at this age", and a self-obligation "I will find another way".

As found in the current data, both Koreans and Chinese employ a considerable amount of equivocations for their evaluations. The equivocation, in evaluation speech acts, is the 'grey' act between clearly black and white ones. The illocutionary force of equivocation as being evaluative is identifiable but the nature of it being positive or negative is open for interpretations. The most typical equivocations include: *chà bù duō* in Chinese and *kunyeng kuleyo* in Korean. The semantic meaning of the former is 'not far to' and the latter is 'as it is'. They may be translated into 'all right', 'just so so', 'not bad' etc. according to the contexts. Their interpretations of having positive or negative connotations also depend on the context in which they are used. More importantly, the equivocation, compared to the direct evaluations, leaves the hearer more space to interpret.

The above categorization of sematic formulas in Table 19 is inspired by Beebe et al's (1990) work on refusal speech acts. They group the refusal strategies into direct, indirect refusals and adjuncts. The current research made a few adjustments to Beebe et al's list based on the current data.

Table 20. Semantic formulas of refusal speech acts

Semantic formulas	Examples
Direct refusal	
Direct 'No'	아니에요/필요없어요. "No/I do not need it."
Negative willingness or ability	못 해요. "I cannot do (that)."
Indirect refusal	
Evasion	코트만 살게요. "I will just buy the coat."
Praise/resonance	생각이 좋았어요. "It was a good idea."
My wish	정말 가고 싶은데요.

	"I really want to go (but…)."
Excuses/reasons/explanations	이따가 친구가 데리러 올 거에요. "I have a friend coming and picking me up in a moment."
Alternatives	제가 다른 친구한테 부탁해 볼까요? "Shall I ask some other friends?"
Offers of compensations	다음에 제가 한턱 낼게요. "I will treat you next time."
Requests for compensations	이 것을 하면 선생님이 점심 사 주시겠어요? "Will you (teacher) buy me lunch if I do this for you?"
Consequence	오늘 안 가면 여자친구가 진짜 화날 거예요. "My girlfriend will be furious if I do not go today."
Guilt trip	이 상태에 설문지를 제대로 완성하지 못할까 걱정이에요. "I am worried that I cannot finish the questionnaire well under this condition."
Hypothesis for past acceptance	미리 알려 주셨으면 갔을 걸. "I would have gone there if you told me a bit earlier."
Promise for future acceptance	다음에 꼭 가겠습니다. "I will definitely go next time."
Setting condition for acceptance	내일 내도 괜찮다면 해 드리겠습니다. "I will do that for you if it is ok to submit it tomorrow."
Showing empathy/understanding	아줌마의 상황은 우리도 이해하긴 해요. "We do understand your situation."
Request for empathy/understanding	좀 이해해 주세요. "Please understand me."
Statement of philosophy	지금 시간은 돈인데요. "Now time is money."
Self-defence	제가 알아서 잘 해 놓을게요. "I will get it done well in my way."
Adjuncts	
Apology	죄송합니다. "Sorry."
Gratitude	고맙습니다. "Thank you."
Off the hook	걱정 마세요.

	"Don't worry."
Rituals	(저는 택시를 타면 돼요) 조심해서 가세요. "(I will take a taxi).Please take care on your way."
Exception	
Acceptance	예. 알겠습니다. "Yes. I got it."

The basic layout of the categorization remains the same as Beebe et al's. Acceptance as an 'exception' is added after the three categories. Acceptances happen when the participants find the request (or suggestion, invitation, offer) too hard to refuse. As discussed in Section 3.2.2, the current WDCT does not 'force' the participants to refuse but rather provide them with a reason to refuse. Instead of reluctant production of refusals, participants' acceptance due to the high cost of refusal is more of the interest.

In the category of direct refusals, performative refusals (e.g. I refuse) have been removed from Beebe et al's list, because they are not found in the current data. Evasion is added to the indirect category as all three participant groups used a considerable number of expressions to evade a direct 'no' or their incapability. For example, when refusing a suggestion from a saleslady to buy a scarf, the participants answered with "I think I will just take the coat" (*khothuman halkeyyo* 코트만 할게요) or "I'm fine" (*kwaynchanhayo* 괜찮아요). This kind of answer is vaguer than saying 'no', "I cannot buy it" or "I do not need it" but still clear enough for the hearer to recognize the refusal. Thus evasion is placed at the top of indirect strategies. The evasion also absorbs some examples of 'acceptance functioning as a refusal' in Beebe et al's (1990) scheme. For example, Beebe et al's indefinite replies, such as 'one day we could do it', are to evade the confrontation of a direct refusal by pointing at another option. The above 'I just buy the coat' is the same as stating the customer's own choice. The evasion category includes these similar cases. The 'acceptance that functions as a refusal' is omitted from the current list. Another two additions to the indirect category are 'offers of compensations' and 'requests for compensations'. Apology and rituals are added to the adjunct category.

3.4.2 Categorizing the metapragmatic data

The metapragmatic data is collected from learners only regarding their awareness of the relation between their L1, L2 and IL. The data is categorized in two ways. The first

categorization is made according to the question of whether a CLK consider his/her IL performance would be different compared to that of a NS' performance in L1 and L2. The second categorization is made on CLK's answers to how their IL performance would be different with NS' in L1 and L2.

The first categorization includes four possible cases: (1) CLK consider their IL performance to be the same as a NS in both L1 and L2; (2) CLK consider their IL performance the same as a NS in L1 but different compared to a NS in L2; (3) CLK consider their IL performance different compared to a NS in L1 and L2; (3) CLK consider their IL performance would be different compared to a NS in L1 but the same in L2.

CLK's metapragmatic awareness does not necessarily coincide with the actual similarity/difference found between KNS and CNS. Instead, they reflect merely on their perceived language distance between L1, L2 and IL.

The second categorization specifies the differences perceived by CLK. The differences are identified as below:

Table 21. Categorization of metapragmatic differences

Difference type	Examples
Pragmalinguistic difference	"Korean people would use more honorifics".
Sociopragmatic difference	"We do not need so many greeting rituals in Chinese".
Cultural difference	"Korean people would be more honest, but Chinese people would fear of losing their job".
Individual difference	"Their replies may differ depending on their personalities".
Being politer	"Korean people are politer in this case".
Being less polite	"I would be more sarcastic to her in Chinese".
Exaggerative	"I would complain more in Chinese, tell them that I don't even have time to eat".
Understated	"Korean people wouldn't complain as much as I did. They probably will emphasize the good points of having a busy timetable".
More direct	"They would tell you directly that the conference is boring".
More indirect	"They would be more euphemistic. They won't speak it out in a straight way like I did".
Referring to distance	"Chinese people would not have a drink with someone they just met".
Referring to power	"They would suggest their junior more, as being a senior".
Referring to imposition	"They would not say anything bad about their professor. They would not tell their true thought".
Other	"I am not sure"

The above categories are not mutually exclusive. CLK may provide several explanations for their performance. However, some of them may overlap each other. For example, the sociopragmatic difference includes the different interpretations of performance related to *P, D, I* ('referring to distance/power/imposition' as above). The cultural difference may include

the sociopragmatic difference. In these cases the current research counts the explanation only once. In other words, if an explanation has been categorized as 'referring to *P/D/I*', it will not appear in the categories of sociopragmatic difference or cultural difference. The category of sociopragmatic difference contains the 'residue' from the specific explanations. The cultural difference again contains the 'residue' from sociopragmatic difference. The 'residue' is actually the space left for CLK's vague explanations for their metapragmatic awareness.

To summarize this chapter, we employ the written questionnaires to collect perception, performance and metapragmatic data from different groups. The perception data of *P, D, I* is categorized according to participants' own ratings. The participants' ratings also appear to have group-specific tendencies. We will use the tendencies to explain the performance data. In other words, the current research investigates how the way that *P, D, I* tend to be perceived influences the group's performance of speech acts. The performance data is categorized into functional components and semantic formulas. Learners' performance is likely to be affected by the perceived relation of L1, L2 and IL. Their metapragmatic data may offer supplementary explanations for their performance. The data analysis and findings are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the current research. Section 4.1 presents the pragma linguistic findings. It answers the first research question: how KNS, CNS and CLK perform the evaluations and refusals. Section 4.2 answers the second and third question: how KNS, CNS and CLK perceive the *P, D, I* and how the way of *P, D, I* being perceived affects the speech act performance. This section conveys the findings about the relation between perceptions of *P, D, I* and performance of evaluations and refusals. The last section 4.3 uses learners' metapragmatic data to further explain their performance. CLK's metapragmatic awareness is found not only to be complementary, but also to compete with the perceptions of *P, D, I* in explaining learners' performance.

4.1 Pragmalinguistic findings

This section presents the statistical results in 4.1.1. The Section 4.1.1 includes descriptive analysis of functional components and semantic formulas, correlation analysis between strategy use and gender and cross-group comparison. Sections 4.1.2 to 4.1.4 discuss specific findings from the data analysis. Section 4.1.2 focuses on the different preference of functional components by different groups. Section 4.1.3 and 4.1.4 separate the discussions into findings of direct strategy use and findings of indirect strategy and adjunct use.

4.1.1 Statistical results

4.1.1.1 Descriptive results

Functional components

KNS, CNS and CLK produced a total of 1591 components for evaluation, 730 were produced by KNS, 577 were by the CLK, and 284 were generated by CNS. CNS employed the functional components the least amongst the three groups. This is partly because of the linguistic nature of Chinese as discussed in Section 1.2. For example, Chinese does not have as many honorific lexicons and affixes as the Korean language has. Chinese people are neither required to use the honorifics as often as Koreans do. Another reason is the restriction of the written tool. Chinese, as an ideographic language, is sometimes unable to include those sound-based components in written form, such as hesitation sounds etc. One last reason for Chinese's less use of functional components may be the method that we used to count upgraders. As mentioned in Section 1.2, the Chinese language prefers words with two syllables. They may add the upgraders to one-syllable word just for the rhythmic need (Zhang

2006). The current study excludes the rhythmic use of upgraders when counting the occurrence of upgraders.

The most frequently used components are pause fillers, upgraders, and honorifics by KNS, upgraders, downgraders and honorifics by CLK, upgraders, downgraders and adversative conjunctions by CNS. The lists of the top three components are slightly different across different groups. CLK's list seems like a mixture of both KNS and CNS'. Detailed comparison between groups is provided in Section 4.1.1.3. The following Table 22 provides the frequencies and mean values of each component used in evaluations.

Table 22. Frequencies of functional components in evaluations (*F* in %)

Components	KNS			CLK			CNS		
	F	M	SD	*F*	M	SD	*F*	M	SD
Hedges	12.6	2.04	1.77	7.63	0.9	1.21	2.46	0.16	0.43
Honorifics	16.85	2.73	2.22	11.27	1.33	1.38	2.46	0.16	0.37
Upgraders	18.36	2.98	2.04	28.08	3.31	1.97	22.89	1.48	1.37
Downgraders	12.47	2.02	1.69	14.9	1.76	1.39	22.54	1.45	1.3
Sensitivity marker	3.01	0.49	0.87	6.41	0.76	0.97	7.75	0.5	0.7
Obligation marker	1.64	0.27	0.62	2.08	0.24	0.48	0.35	0.02	0.15
Agreement marker	3.56	0.58	0.78	5.2	0.61	0.79	7.39	0.48	0.82
Rhetorical question	3.56	0.58	0.75	2.95	0.35	0.56	2.11	0.14	0.41
Pause filler	20.14	3.27	2.89	10.57	1.24	1.56	13.03	0.84	1.12
Repetition	0.82	13	0.4	1.21	0.14	0.35	0.35	0.02	0.15
Vague or missing certain information	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Incomplete answer	0.68	0.11	0.53	1.21	0.14	0.41	0.7	0.05	0.3
Adversative conjunction	6.03	0.98	1.2	7.97	0.94	0.92	17.61	1.14	0.96

**F* stands for frequency. M stands for Means. SD stands for Standard deviation.

As for refusals, KNS employed 604 functional components; CLK had 602 in contrast with CNS who only produced 343. The reasons for CNS' lower figure are discussed as above. CLK, on

the other hand, use fewer components than KNS in evaluation speech acts, but almost the same number of components in refusal speech acts with KNS. The different levels of components used by CLK between evaluations and refusals indicate that the speech act itself has an influence on the learner's performance. Learners may display different levels of mastering the functional components in different speech acts. Studies on a single speech act may not be sufficient in discussing the learners' pragmatic ability.

The most frequently used components are pause fillers, honorifics and hedges by KNS, pause fillers, upgraders and hedges by CLK, and pause fillers, upgraders and downgraders by CNS. CLK's list, again, seems to be a mixture of KNS and CNS'.

Table 23. Frequencies of functional components in refusals (*F* in %)

Components	KNS			CLK			CNS		
	F	M	SD	*F*	M	SD	*F*	M	SD
Hedges	16.72	2.24	1.64	14.78	1.85	1.6	5.54	0.44	0.67
Honorifics	20.7	2.78	2.13	13.29	1.67	1.77	7	0.56	0.88
Upgraders	9.44	1.27	1.42	14.78	1.85	1.38	18.37	1.47	1.76
Downgraders	5.63	0.76	1.05	8.14	1.02	1.16	12.83	1.02	1.08
Sensitivity marker	0.99	0.13	0.46	2.33	0.29	0.54	5.83	0.47	0.74
Obligation marker	8.77	1.18	1.03	7.64	0.98	0.94	2.33	0.19	0.45
Agreement marker	3.97	0.53	0.63	7.48	0.94	1.16	10.2	0.81	1.08
Question/rhetorical question	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.21	0.26	0.54
Pause filler	29.97	4.02	2.87	21.76	2.79	1.96	24.78	1.98	1.28
Repetition	0.66	0.09	0.36	0.83	0.1	0.31	0.58	0.05	0.21
Vague or missing certain information	0	0	0	0.17	0.02	0.14	0.29	0.02	0.15
Incomplete answer	0.99	0.13	0.46	1.83	0.23	0.52	0.58	0.05	0.21
Adversative conjunction	2.15	0.29	0.7	6.98	0.87	0.94	8.45	0.67	0.99

**F* stands for frequency. M stands for Means. SD stands for Standard deviation.

The components used most frequently are hedges, honorifics, upgraders, downgraders, agreement markers, pause fillers and adversative conjunctions along with obligation markers which are rarely used in evaluation speech acts. Judging by the frequencies, most of CLK's

component use has its figure in between KNS' and CNS'. However, the frequencies are calculated depending on the overall use. Only the mean value is independent as in each component. Compared to the NS' mean values, we find that learners have some overproductions when using upgraders, agreement markers and adversative conjunctions. Learners' overproduction is discussed in Sections 4.2.3.5 and 4.3.1.

Semantic formulas

The semantic formulas are three divided into direct acts, indirect acts and adjuncts in both evaluations and refusals. According to this categorization, KNS produced 400 direct evaluations, 462 indirect evaluations and 94 adjuncts. CLK produced 455 direct formulas, 428 indirect ones and 87 adjuncts. CNS employed 389 direct evaluations, 289 indirect ones and 51 adjuncts. The numbers of three groups are the most similar in the category of direct evaluations. CNS used fewer indirect evaluations and adjuncts compared to the other two groups. In other words, CNS used the direct evaluations more frequently than KNS and CLK. These observations coincide with findings from previous studies. Chinese compliments, as a kind of positive evaluations, are formulaic compared to English. Korean compliments are more context-based (Section 2.3.1.2).

The following Table 24 provides the frequency of each semantic formula used by the three groups. It gives an overview of the most popular formulas, but it does not reflect the strategy distribution in the direct, indirect and adjunct categories separately. In other words, the calculation of frequencies of direct strategies is affected by the figures for the other two categories and vice versa. Therefore the differences in frequencies may tend to be bigger or smaller due to the similarity or difference between the groups' overall numbers. The mean value, however, which is not affected by other formulas, provides more information about the actual use of certain strategies. Detailed cross-group comparison based on mean values can be found in Section 4.1.1.3.

Table 24. Frequencies of semantic formulas in evaluations (*F* in %)

	Components	KNS			CLK			CNS		
		F	M	SD	*F*	M	SD	*F*	M	SD
Direct	Praise	18.2	3.87	1.45	22.74	4.51	1.56	25.38	4.2	1.79
	Criticism	17.57	3.73	1.63	18.62	4.2	1.42	23.05	3.82	1.69

	Disagreement	4.6	0.98	0.78	3.5	0.69	0.65	2.06	0.34	0.53
	Resonance/asking for resonance	1.45	0.31	0.51	1.95	0.39	0.61	2.88	0.48	0.66
Indirect	Equivocation	2.3	0.49	0.59	3.29	0.65	0.75	8.92	1.48	1.19
	Generalized expression	1.57	0.33	0.6	0.62	0.12	0.33	1.37	0.23	0.42
	Joke/Irony	2.51	0.53	0.76	1.23	0.24	0.56	3.02	0.5	0.73
	Avoidance	1.46	0.31	0.51	0.72	0.14	0.41	1.1	0.18	0.39
	Consultative question	8.89	1.89	1.3	5.56	1.1	0.8	3.16	0.52	0.55
	Setting condition for evaluation	2.72	0.58	0.75	1.75	0.36	0.6	0.96	0.16	0.43
	My wish	1.99	0.42	0.58	2.16	0.43	0.58	1.78	0.3	0.51
	Suggestion	7.11	1.51	1.12	6.07	1.2	0.96	5.35	0.89	0.81
	Giving a credit	1.05	0.22	0.47	1.54	0.31	0.62	0.55	0.09	0.36
	Consequence	0.42	0.09	0.36	0.51	0.1	0.31	0.41	0.07	0.26
	Encouragement/self-obligation	3.14	0.67	0.93	3.09	0.61	0.89	3.16	0.52	0.76
	Excuses/reasons/explanations	13.91	2.96	2.12	15.84	3.14	2.43	8.37	1.39	1.39
	Guilt trip	0.21	0.04	0.21	0.51	0.1	0.37	0.14	0.02	0.15
	State of philosophy	1.05	0.22	0.7	1.13	0.22	0.47	1.37	0.23	0.57
Adjuncts	Sentimental statement	3.35	0.71	0.9	4.42	0.88	0.78	2.74	0.45	0.73
	Gratitude	1.36	0.29	0.55	1.03	0.2	0.46	0.69	0.11	0.39
	Rituals	5.13	1.09	1.22	3.7	0.75	0.86	3.57	0.59	0.58

**F* stands for frequency. M stands for Means. SD stands for Standard deviation.

As for refusals, participants employed 2294 strategies in total, excluding acceptances. KNS produced 798 with 102 direct refusals, 493 indirect ones and 203 adjuncts. CLK produced 861 formulas with 116 direct refusals, 495 indirect ones and 250 adjuncts. On the contrary, CNS only used 635 semantic formulas with 95 direct refusals, 368 indirect refusals and 172 adjuncts.

According to Table 25, the most frequently used strategies by all three groups are excuses, negative willingness/ability and apologies. CLK's mean values are either the highest or lowest in the three groups in direct refusals, my wish and excuses in the indirect category, as well as apology in adjuncts. CLK tend to overuse or underuse some major strategies compared to the NS groups. Section 4.1.1.3 tests if the observed difference is of any significance.

Acceptances, as exceptions from refusals, are found in the current data. This shows that participants do not feel obligated to refuse with the current WDCT. They chose to perform or withdraw the refusals with their own judgments of the situations.

Table 25. Frequencies of semantic formulas in refusals (*F* in %)

	Components	KNS			CLK			CNS		
		F	M	SD	*F*	M	SD	*F*	M	SD
Direct	Direct No	3.21	0.6	0.65	0.56	0.1	0.37	3.36	0.53	0.63
	Negative willingness or ability	8.92	1.67	1.49	12.39	2.31	1.46	10.51	1.67	1.39
Indirect	Evasion	7.25	1.36	0.88	4.35	0.81	1.12	1.61	0.26	0.58
	Praise/resonance	2.02	0.38	0.61	2.01	0.37	0.67	3.65	0.6	0.77
	My wish	2.85	0.53	0.69	4.58	0.85	0.97	2.48	0.4	0.62
	Excuses/reasons/explanations	30.44	5.69	2.04	31.58	5.9	1.73	31.39	5	1.9
	Alternatives	5.95	1.11	1.27	5.02	0.94	0.81	6.13	0.98	0.94
	Offer compensation	0.95	0.18	0.44	0.89	0.17	0.43	1.17	0.19	0.39
	Ask for compensation	0.59	0.11	0.32	0.67	0.13	0.33	1.02	0.16	0.43
	Consequence	0.24	0.01	0.21	0.45	0.08	0.28	0.58	0.09	0.29
	Guilt trip	0.24	0.04	0.21	0.33	0.06	0.25	0.29	0.05	0.21
	Hypothesis for past acceptance	0.59	0.11	0.38	0.11	0.02	0.14	0	0	0
	Promise for future acceptance	3.92	0.73	0.84	2.12	0.4	0.54	1.17	0.19	0.55
	Setting condition for acceptance	2.73	0.51	0.66	1.78	0.33	0.6	2.04	0.33	0.52
	Showing empathy/understanding	0.24	0.04	0.21	0.22	0.04	0.2	0.15	0.02	0.15
	Request for empathy/ understanding	0	0	0	0.11	0.02	0.14	0.29	0.05	0.21

	Statement of philosophy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.15	0.02	0.15
	Self-defence	0.24	0.04	0.21	0.22	0.04	0.2	0.88	0.14	0.41
Adjuncts	Apology	11.18	2.09	1.36	13.06	2.44	1.38	7.74	1.23	1.38
	Gratitude	4.4	0.82	0.86	6.92	1.29	0.92	8.03	1.28	1.05
	Off the hook	2.73	0.51	0.73	1.45	0.27	0.49	0.58	0.09	0.29
	Rituals	5.83	1.09	1.08	6.47	1.21	1.09	8.76	1.4	1.14
Exception	Acceptance	5.11	0.96	0.95	3.91	0.73	0.98	7.3	1.16	1.11

4.1.1.2 Gender and the strategy use

As discussed in Section 3.3.3, the CLK group consists of more females than males. By contrast the KNS and CNS groups are comprised of even numbers of each gender. This leads people to question whether the difference in strategy use is simply due to the different gender ratio. In this section, we test how much of the cross-group difference can be interpreted as a result of the gender ratio. Because of the comparable number of males and females in KNS and CNS, the Pearson correlation test is employed to investigate the effect size of gender on strategy use. The test involves the frequently used functional components and semantic formulas as well as the overall use.

Evaluation

Table 26. KNS gender and functional component use

Correlations

		Hedges	Honorifics	Upgraders	Downgraders	Pause filler	Total
Group	Pearson Correlation	.153	-.144	.055	.254	.204	.184
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.316	.344	.720	.093	.178	.226
	N	45	45	45	45	45	45

Table 27. CNS gender and functional component use

Correlations

		Upgraders	Downgraders	Pause filler	Sensitivity marker	Total
Group	Pearson Correlation	-.251	-.071	.021	-.197	-.116
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.100	.649	.895	.199	.455
	N	44	44	44	44	44

The KNS group has 23 males and 22 females. At p≤0.05 level, male and female KNS do not have any significant difference in their evaluations except in rituals (Table 28). The figure of rituals indicates that Korean female participants tend to use this adjunct more than males. However, gender, as a reason, only explains 11.08% of the variance difference (square of correlation values).

The CNS group has 22 males and 22 females. At p≤0.05 level, there is only one significant difference found in criticism (Table 29). The numbers indicate that Chinese males tend to be more critical than females but the effect size of gender is only 10.69% in this case.

Overall, gender does not play a significant role in evaluations. The cross-group comparison is unlikely to be affected by the different gender ratios. However, this is not to overlook the fact that CLK employed fewer rituals than KNS and more criticisms than CNS (Table 24). CLK have the most females amongst the three groups. If their female participants are anywhere similar to KNS or CNS in terms of gender influence on performance, CLK should have the most rituals and the least criticisms. CLK's actual use of rituals and criticisms, however, is opposite to this assumption. This may indicate that the CLK's performance is greatly influenced by other factors other than the gender.

Table 28. KNS gender and semantic formula use

Correlations

		Praise	Criticism	Consultative question	Suggestion	Excuses/reasons/explanations	Rituals	Total	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts
Group	Pearson correlation	-.002	.134	.050	.070	.275	.333*	.144	.205	.010	.269
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.989	.379	.745	.646	.067	.025	.345	.178	.948	.074
	N	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 29. CNS gender and semantic formula use

Correlations

		Praise	Criticism	Equivocation	Suggestion	Excuses/reasons/explanations	Rituals	Total	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts
Group	Pearson correlation	.261	-.327*	-.058	-.085	.050	.079	.094	-.010	.024	.272
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.090	.030	.709	.584	.748	.611	.545	.948	.877	.074
	N	43	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Refusal

Table 30. KNS gender and functional component use in refusals

Correlations

		Hedges	Honorifix	Upgraders	Downgraders	Pause filler	Total
Group	Pearson Correlation	-.065	-.129	.099	.231	.431**	.257
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.670	.399	.517	.127	.003	.088
	N	45	45	45	45	45	45

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 31. CNS gender and functional component use in refusals

Correlations

		Upgraders	Downgraders	Mental statement	Pause filler	Total
Group	Pearson Correlation	-.060	-.109	-.079	.166	-.017
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.704	.485	.615	.288	.915
	N	43	43	43	43	43

According to Tables 30 and 32, most of the KNS' refusals are independent of gender. Only the use of pause fillers (p=0.003, phi=0.1857) in functional components and rituals in semantic formulas (p=0.004, phi=0.1738) are biased by gender. Korean females tend to produce both strategies more than Korean males. The effect sizes of gender are 18.57% and 17.38% respectively.

CNS did not use hedges and honorifics as much as KNS did. Their functional components tested are slightly different than KNS'. No significance was found in CNS' use of functional components or semantic formulas according to Table 31 and 33. Chinese females and males perform the refusals similarly in all the major strategies.

CLK, who have more female participants than KNS, employ fewer pause fillers and more rituals than KNS. The gender influence, again, does not explain the CLK's patterns of strategy use. CLK's lower use of pause fillers seems to result from other factors, such as proficiency. The gender influence may be one of the reasons for CLK's higher use of rituals. Another

possible reason is the L1 influence as CNS used more rituals than both KNS and CLK. More examinations can be found in Section 4.1.1.3.

Table 32. KNS gender and semantic formula use

Correlations

		Direct No	Negative willingness/ability	Evasion	Excuses/reasons/explanations	Alternatives	Apology	Rituals	Acceptance	Direct	Indirect	Adjucts	Total refusals
Group	Pearson Correlation	.330*	-.080	.111	.173	-.016	-.164	.417**	-.048	.062	.099	.109	.139
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.027	.600	.468	.257	.918	.283	.004	.753	.685	.517	.475	.363
	N	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 33. CNS gender and semantic formula use

Correlations

		Direct No	Negative willingness/ability	Evasion	Excuses/reasons/explanations	Alternatives	Apology	Rituals	Acceptance	Direct	Indirect	Adjucts	Total refusals
Group	Pearson Correlation	-.281	.006	-.213	.124	.126	.201	-.112	-.109	-.124	.168	.118	.128
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.068	.972	.171	.429	.421	.196	.476	.485	.430	.280	.452	.412
	N	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43

4.1.1.3 Cross-group comparison

As this study involves three groups, one-way ANOVA is used as the main analysis for cross-group comparison. In order to process an ANOVA, data needs to pass the homogeneity test of variance across different groups. The homogeneity test is used to confirm that the performances of the three groups are comparable. Ideally the variance should be calculated between equal groups so that the data will not be skewed. However, the real-life data hardly meet these pre-conditions. For example, the current study has three groups with slightly unequal numbers of participants. The data was collected from selected settings and thus is not always normally distributed. There may be one of the groups having very little use of certain formulas/components. In order to fully include all the comparable data, the Kruskal-Wallis test, which is a non-parametric equivalent of ANOVA, was also employed. The Kruskal-Wallis test does not simply assume the data is comparable. It requires a homogeneity test after transforming the data. The non-parametric equivalent to the Levene test (Homogeneity test for ANOVA) is carried out by comparing the absolute difference[16].

About 60% of the formula/component use passed the homogeneity test of AVOVA (Levene test). If we count those that passed non-parametric Levene test, it means 90% of the formula/components appear to be comparable. An example of the non-parametric homogeneity test is presented in the Appendix VII. In this section, only the main test results, where there is a meaningful similarity or difference, are presented. The presentation is in the order of comparisons of functional component use in evaluations, functional component use in refusals, semantic formula use in evaluations and semantic formula use in refusals.

Functional component use in evaluations

In evaluation speech acts, hedges and honorifics could not pass a homogeneity test due to CNS' very little use of them. The comparison of this component use is only possible by observing the differences of frequencies and mean values in Table 22. The mean values of hedges are 2.04 (KNS), 0.9 (CLK) and 0.16 (CNS). The mean values of honorifics are 2.73 (KNS), 1.33 (CLK) and 0.16 (CNS). KNS' use of both components is over ten times that of CNS' and double that of CLK's use. It is reasonable to state that KNS have a salient difference with CNS and CLK in regards to the use of honorifics and hedges.

[16] The absolute difference can be calculated by the ranked value minus the ranked mean.

Apart from hedges and honorifics, all other components frequently used are statistically comparable. Similarities are found in the use of downgraders, sensitivity markers and adversative conjunctions. Differences are found in the use of upgraders, pause fillers and the overall number of component use.

Table 34. Functional components in evaluations: ANOVA

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Upgraders	Between Groups	86.282	2	43.141	12.932	.000
	Within Groups	450.363	135	3.336		
	Total	536.645	137			

Table 35. Functional components in evaluation: post hoc tests

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Upgraders	KNS	CLK	-.328	.377	.660	-1.22	.57
		CNS	1.501*	.387	.000	.58	2.42
	CLK	KNS	.328	.377	.660	-.57	1.22
		CNS	1.829*	.379	.000	.93	2.73
	CNS	KNS	-1.501*	.387	.000	-2.42	-.58
		CLK	-1.829*	.379	.000	-2.73	-.93

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The above analysis reveals that CNS used significantly fewer upgraders than KNS and CLK ($F=12.932$, $df=2$, $sig<0.001$). As discussed in Section 4.1.1.1, the rhythmic use of upgraders

has been excluded in Chinese. This may result in the significance between CNS and the other two groups.

Table 36. Functional components in evaluations: Kruskal-Wallis test

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Pause filler	Total
Chi-Square	32.454	54.406
Df	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Group

Table 37. Functional components in evaluations: post hoc Kruskal-Wallis tests

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean difference	df	Sig.	Chi-square
Pause filler	KNS	CLK	24.64	1	0.000	19.903
	CLK	CNS	7.44	1	0.158	1.993
	KNS	CNS	27.49	1	0.000	26.544
Total	KNS	CLK	16.5	1	0.003	8.615
	CLK	CNS	31.36	1	0.000	31.492
	KNS	CNS	35.96	1	0.000	43.329

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

* The mean difference is calculated according to the ranked mean values.

According to the Tables 36 and 37, KNS employ significantly more pause fillers than CLK and CNS (X^2 =32.454, df=2, sig<0.000). CLK and CNS, on the other hand, do not have any significant difference in their use of pause fillers. The pause filler is used to fill the void of conversations. It includes discourse markers, attention getters, iconic expressions, sound-based expressions etc. Different groups may refer to the resources of pause fillers to different extent. Nevertheless, there is another possibility that some of the pause fillers are easier to write for an alphabetic language like Korean than an ideographic language like Chinese.

Overall component use is interesting, because any two of the three groups are significantly different (X^2=54.406, df=2, sig<0.000). KNS and CNS may have some salient cross-cultural differences in the use of functional components. CLK used more functional components in their L2 than in their L1, but not as many as KNS did.

To sum up, substantial differences are found in the use of hedges, honorifics, upgraders, pause fillers and the summative number of component use in evaluations between KNS, CNS and CLK. KNS employ these components the most. When CNS employ a similar number of certain components, similarities are found between groups despite the proportion of the components being used is very different. For example, there is not any statistical difference between groups in the use of adversative conjunctions. The mean values are similar, but the frequencies of this components are 6.03% for KNS and 7.97% for CLK compared to 17.61% for CNS. In other words, statistical similarities are mostly found in those components preferred by CNS. The different preferences concerning functional components will be further discussed in Section 4.1.2.

Functional component use in refusals

In refusals, the use of hedges, obligation markers and adversative conjunctions could not pass any type of homogeneity test. Their discussions are restricted to observations of mean values in Table 23. KNS employ the hedges and obligation markers five times of CNS. CNS use the adversative conjunctions three times that of KNS. What is more interesting is that CLK use the most adversative conjunctions in the three groups. Their use of adversative conjunctions has more differences with KNS than CNS with KNS. One of the possible explanations for CLK's adversative conjunction use is the L1 influence. The learners may perceive the adversative conjunctions prevalent in L2 as or even more than in their L1. Another possible explanation is that the adversative conjunctions are means of 'playing it safe' in CLK's performance In Section 2.4.3, we quoted Barron's (2003) explanations for 'playing it safe' strategies that leaners may overuse certain strategies for the explicitness and clarity of their speech. CLK, however, may feel necessary to use this component for the purpose of being polite or indirect instead of explicitness and clarity.

Of those components that passed a Levene or equivalent test, there is no significant difference in the use of upgaders, downgraders or agreement markers. Significant differences are found in the use of honorifics (X^2=34.454, df=2, sig<0.000) and the overall use of functional components (X^2=22.878, df=2, sig<0.000). According to Table 39, there is

significant difference in honorific use between either two of the three groups. KNS use the most while CNS use the least honorifics. This may stem from the different honorific system in Korean and Chinese languages (see Section 1.2). CLK use the honorifics more than CNS but less than KNS. The salient difference in the use of honorifics between their L1 and L2 may have influenced the learner's performance. The overall use of functional components is similar between KNS and CLK but different between CNS and them.

Table 38. Functional components in refusals: Kruskal-Wallis test

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Total	Honorifics
Chi-Square	22.878	34.454
df	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Group

Table 39. Functional components in refusals: post hoc Kruskal-Wallis test

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean difference	df	Sig.	Chi-square
Honorifics	KNS	CLK	15.5	1	0.005	7.923
	CLK	CNS	17.86	1	0.001	11.856
	KNS	CNS	30.27	1	0.000	33.213
Total	KNS	CLK	0.75	1	0.893	0.018
	CLK	CNS	23.39	1	0.000	17.893
	KNS	CNS	22.24	1	0.000	16.779

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

* The mean difference is calculated according to the ranked mean values.

Semantic formula use in evaluations

The semantic formulas of evaluations have been categorized into direct, indirect strategies and adjuncts. In the direct category, no significant difference was found in the use of praise and criticisms. Disagreement, as a kind of direct formula, was used significantly more by KNS than by CNS (Table 24). Comparing the mean values, CLK have the most praises and the least

criticisms in the three groups. The overall use of direct strategies does not differ between the three groups.

According to Tables 40 and 41, significant differences are found in the indirect category (X^2=15.455, df=2, sig<0.000) and adjuncts (X^2=8.411, df=2, sig=0.015). The differences are mostly between KNS and CNS as well as between CLK and CNS. Differences between either two of the three groups are found with the use of consultative questions (X^2=36.351, df=2, sig<0.000). KNS use this strategy the most while CNS use it the least. CLK's figure is in the middle but still significantly different with either end. This phenomenon is also found in the overall use of functional components in evaluations.

Table 40. Evaluation semantic formulas: Kruskal-Wallis test

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Indirect	Adjuncts	Equivocation	Excuses/reasons/explanations	Consultative question
Chi-Square	15.455	8.411	22.197	18.300	36.351
df	2	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.015	.000	.000	.000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Group

Table 41. Evaluation semantic formulas: Kruskal-Wallis test

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean difference	df	Sig.	Chi-square
Indirect	KNS	CLK	8.02	1	0.154	2.036
	CLK	CNS	14.52	1	0.009	6.766
	KNS	CNS	20.9	1	0.000	14.712
Adjuncts	KNS	CLK	3.9	1	0.479	0.501
	CLK	CNS	12.09	1	0.026	4.976
	KNS	CNS	14.45	1	0.007	7.357
Equivocaion	KNS	CLK	-4.62	1	0.358	0.846
	CLK	CNS	-19.24	1	0.000	13.086
	KNS	CNS	-22.43	1	0.000	18.87
Excuses	KNS	CLK	-1.15	1	0.836	0.043
	CLK	CNS	20.53	1	0.000	13.856

	KNS	CNS	20.11	1	0.000	13.949
Consultative question	KNS	CLK	17.09	1	0.001	10.159
	CLK	CNS	18.68	1	0.000	13.226
	KNS	CNS	29.53	1	0.000	32.088

The opposite case is also spotted in the data (Table 43). That is, when KNS and CNS have a significant difference, CLK is different neither to KNS nor to CNS. For instance, in the suggestion strategy use (F=4.592, df=2, sig=0.012), the significant difference is found between KNS to CNS (sig=0.008) but does not exist when comparing CLK to either KNS or CNS. In both cases, CLK's figure falls in the middle between KNS' and CNS'. Only, when the gap between KNS and CNS is large, CLK appears to be different to both of them. When the gap is small, CLK appears to be similar to both of them.

If there exists any pragmatic transfer in the above cases, Kasper's definition of negative pragmatic transfer needs to be broadened. The negative pragmatic transfer occurs not only when statistic differences are found between IL-L2 and L1-L2 as Kasper (1992) assumed. It also happens when statistic differences are found between L1-IL-L2, or when statistic differences are found between L1-L2 but not found between IL to either of them. In other words, the IL falls in between of L1 and L2.

Table 43 displays the data concerning the emotional statement, which is another interesting case. CLK use the emotional statements significantly more than CNS (sig=0.033), whom do not have a significance difference when compared with KNS. This leads to the assumption that learners' performance could also be quite different with KNS'. No significance is found, however, between KNS and CLK (sig=0.577). The learners outnumbered both KNS and CNS of whom KNS used the strategy slightly more than CNS. This is considered as the phenomenon of deviation as reviewed in Section 2.4.4. Sections 4.2.3 and 4.3.2 will further provide explanations for the deviation.

Table 42. Evaluation semantic formulas: ANOVA

ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.

Disagreement	Between Groups	9.054	2	4.527	10.311	.000
	Within Groups	59.272	135	.439		
	Total	68.326	137			
Suggestion	Between Groups	8.683	2	4.342	4.592	.012
	Within Groups	127.635	135	.945		
	Total	136.319	137			
Emotional statement	Between Groups	4.183	2	2.091	3.230	.043
	Within Groups	87.419	135	.648		
	Total	91.601	137			

Table 43. Evaluation semantic formulas: post hoc ANOVA

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Disagreement	KNS	CLK	.284	.137	.099	-.04	.61
		CNS	.637*	.140	.000	.30	.97
	CLK	KNS	-.284	.137	.099	-.61	.04
		CNS	.353*	.138	.030	.03	.68
	CNS	KNS	-.637*	.140	.000	-.97	-.30
		CLK	-.353*	.138	.030	-.68	-.03
Suggestion	KNS	CLK	.307	.201	.280	-.17	.78
		CNS	.625*	.206	.008	.14	1.11
	CLK	KNS	-.307	.201	.280	-.78	.17

		CNS	.318	.202	.261	-.16	.80
	CNS	KNS	-.625*	.206	.008	-1.11	-.14
		CLK	-.318	.202	.261	-.80	.16
Emotional statement	KNS	CLK	-.166	.166	.577	-.56	.23
		CNS	.257	.171	.292	-.15	.66
	CLK	KNS	.166	.166	.577	-.23	.56
		CNS	.423*	.167	.033	.03	.82
	CNS	KNS	-.257	.171	.292	-.66	.15
		CLK	-.423*	.167	.033	-.82	-.03

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Overall, all three groups performed similarly when it came to using praise and criticism with the learner group using slightly more than the other two. The differences are mostly found in indirect and adjunct categories between KNS and CNS. CLK's strategy use may appear to be different or similar to both of the NS groups depending on how different the NS' performance is. They may also overproduce certain strategies compared to NS groups.

Semantic formula use in refusals

The semantic formulas of refusals are also divided into direct, indirect and adjunct categories. Acceptance, as an exception, is added to the formula list. In all the formula use, only the evasion strategy failed to pass the homogeneity test due to its infrequent use by CNS. Observationally it is used the most by KNS, then followed by CLK. The ranked mean difference between KNS and CNS is 46.05. This number is large enough to reveal significances between any two of the three groups according to previous experiences.

Statistical differences are found mostly in direct refusals and adjuncts. There is not a significant difference in the use of excuses/explanations and my wishes in the indirect category as well as acceptances.

Table 44. Direct 'No' in refusals: Kruskal-Wallis test

Test Statistics[a,b]

	Direct No
Chi-Square	21.685
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000

*Grouping Variable: Group

Table 45. Direct 'No' in refusals: post hoc Kruskal-Wallis test

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean difference	df	Sig.	Chi-square
Direct 'No'	KNS	CLK	19.74	1	0.000	19.745
	CLK	CNS	-17.19	1	0.000	16.285
	KNS	CNS	2.27	1	0.640	0.218

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

* The mean difference is calculated according to the ranked mean values.

Table 46. Semantic formula use in refusals: One-way ANOVA

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Negative willingness/ability	Between Groups	30.825	2	15.413	7.318	.001
	Within Groups	280.109	133	2.106		
	Total	310.934	135			
Apology	Between Groups	34.398	2	17.199	9.109	.000
	Within Groups	251.131	133	1.888		
	Total	285.529	135			
Gratitude	Between Groups	6.472	2	3.236	3.612	.030

	Within Groups	119.146	133	.896		
	Total	125.618	135			
Indirect	Between Groups	135.054	2	67.527	5.460	.005
	Within Groups	1644.828	133	12.367		
	Total	1779.882	135			
Adjucts	Between Groups	33.596	2	16.798	3.704	.027
	Within Groups	603.161	133	4.535		
	Total	636.757	135			

Table 47. Semantic formula use in refusals: post hoc tests

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Group	(J) Group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Negative willingness/ability	KNS	CLK	-1.000*	.301	.003	-1.71	-.29
		CNS	-.008	.309	1.000	-.74	.73
	CLK	KNS	1.000*	.301	.003	.29	1.71
		CNS	.992*	.305	.004	.27	1.71
	CNS	KNS	.008	.309	1.000	-.73	.74
		CLK	-.992*	.305	.004	-1.71	-.27
Apology	KNS	CLK	-.349	.285	.442	-1.02	.33
		CNS	.856*	.293	.011	.16	1.55
	CLK	KNS	.349	.285	.442	-.33	1.02
		CNS	1.205*	.289	.000	.52	1.89
	CNS	KNS	-.856*	.293	.011	-1.55	-.16
		CLK	-1.205*	.289	.000	-1.89	-.52
Gratitude	KNS	CLK	-.469*	.196	.048	-.93	.00
		CNS	-.457	.202	.065	-.94	.02
	CLK	KNS	.469*	.196	.048	.00	.93
		CNS	.013	.199	.998	-.46	.48

	CNS	KNS	.457	.202	.065	-.02	.94
		CLK	-.013	.199	.998	-.48	.46
Indirect	KNS	CLK	.643	.730	.653	-1.09	2.37
		CNS	2.397*	.750	.005	.62	4.17
	CLK	KNS	-.643	.730	.653	-2.37	1.09
		CNS	1.754*	.738	.049	.00	3.50
	CNS	KNS	-2.397*	.750	.005	-4.17	-.62
		CLK	-1.754*	.738	.049	-3.50	.00
Adjuncts	KNS	CLK	-.697	.442	.259	-1.74	.35
		CNS	.511	.454	.500	-.57	1.59
	CLK	KNS	.697	.442	.259	-.35	1.74
		CNS	1.208*	.447	.021	.15	2.27
	CNS	KNS	-.511	.454	.500	-1.59	.57
		CLK	-1.208*	.447	.021	-2.27	-.15

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

In two direct refusal strategies, CLK employed the direct 'No' significantly less (X^2=21.685, df=2, sig<0.000), the negative willingness/ability (F=7.318, df=2, sig<0.001) significantly more than both NS groups (Tables 45 and 47). The mean differences can be observed easily in the following line charts:

Figure 1. Direct 'No' use in three groups

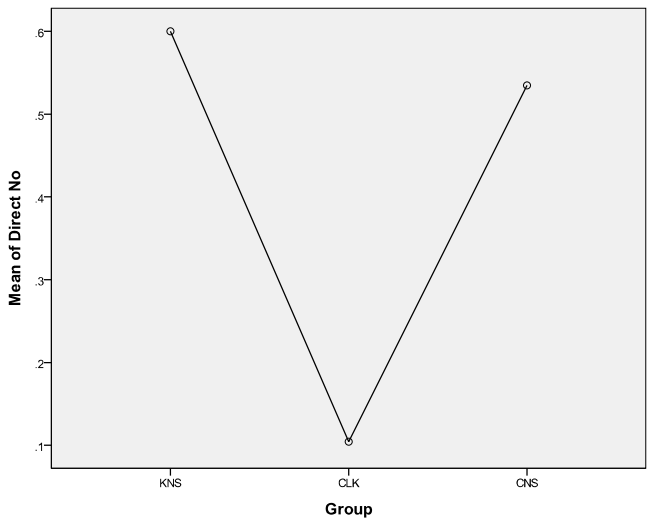
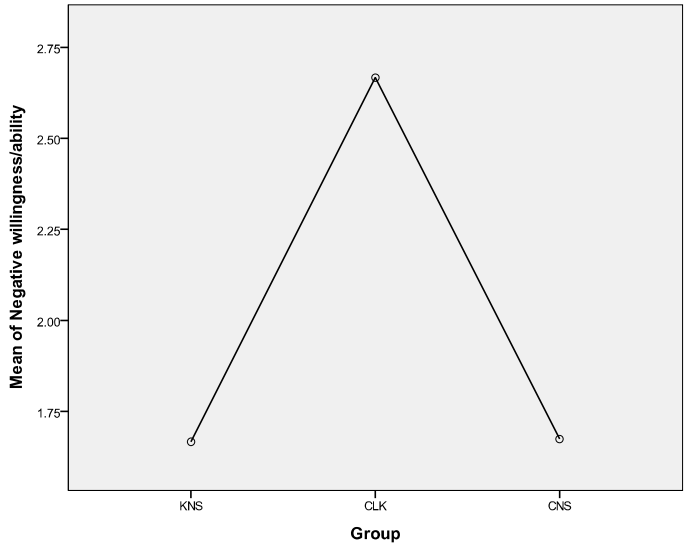


Figure 2. The use of negative willingness / ability in refusals



According to the above two figures, CLK's performance of direct refusals significantly deviates from both NS groups. However, the significance disappears when testing the direct category as a whole. That means CLK's over-use of negative willingness/ability compensates precisely for their fewer use of direct 'No's. In other words, CLK choose the less direct strategy from the two direct strategies, when there is a need.

According to Tables 47, KNS and CLK employed the indirect strategies significantly more than CNS. However, the statistical difference is not found in the use of individual indirect strategy. That means KNS and CLK may employ each of the indirect strategies slightly more than CNS. Only the overall number shows significant difference. CLK seem to be more sophisticated with indirect strategies than direct strategies. The indirect strategies may make them less anxious about being over direct or impolite.

CLK employed the adjuncts significantly more than CNS while KNS and CNS do not have any significant difference (Table 47). This is the result of CLK employing both the apologies and gratitude the most in all three groups. Comparing KNS and CNS, we found that the apology is preferred by KNS and gratitude is preferred by CNS. CLK's mixed-use of both strategies leads to a significance between them and CNS.

Overall, KNS and CNS have more similarities in direct strategy use, main formula use in the indirect category, and adjunct use. In total, KNS used significantly more indirect strategies, even though the difference does not stand out in each formula. Using KNS as the baseline, the learners are the most sophisticated in terms of indirect strategy use, but are unaccustomed to the use of direct strategies.

4.1.2 Different preference of internal and external modifications

This section discusses findings from the analysis of functional components. In both evaluation and refusal speech acts, KNS prefer to use internal modifications while CNS prefer to use external modifications. CLK employ both internal and external modifications but less than both NS groups in general. As discussed in Section 3.4.1, the internal modifications refer to those devices used within the semantic formulas and the external modifications are located not within the formula but within the immediate context (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984)

In evaluation speech acts, KNS use the pause fillers the most followed by upgraders, honorifics, hedges, and downgraders respectively. These five components covered 80.42% of the total use. On the contrary, CNS has a different top five list: upgraders, downgraders, adversative conjunctions, pause fillers and sensitivity markers. They occupied 83.82% of CNS' component use. As discussed in Section 4.1.1.3, the difference of using pause fillers may either stem from the different pragmalinguistic system or from the restriction of written questionnaires. CNS' use of upgraders is discounted if the upgraders are used for rhythmic need.

Apart from these two, the hedges and honorifics are internal modifications that are used much less by CNS compared to KNS. Another internal modification is the obligation marker, which is used ten times more by KNS than by CNS. CNS' frequency of using adversative conjunctions is three times that of KNS'. An adversative conjunction in evaluations requires one positive and one negative formula at least. By using the positive evaluation, the offense caused by the negative evaluation might be compensated (Chen 2014). The sensitivity marker could be separated from the main body of a sentence. Treating it as an external modification explains why it is on the CNS' list.

The downgrader is the only internal modification that CNS used more frequently than KNS. The mean values of downgraders do not have any statistical difference between KNS and CNS. Both groups frequently use this component, perhaps because it is one of the main means to mitigate impositions.

In refusal speech acts, we also found the different preference of internal and external components. KNS and CNS employ the pause fillers the most. KNS then employ the honorifics, hedges, upgraders, and obligation markers. CNS, on the other hand, employed the upgraders, downgraders, agreement markers and adversative conjunctions. These top 5 strategies in each group covered 85.6% of KNS' component use and 74.63% of CNS's component use.

Honorifics, hedges and obligation markers are not on the CNS' list, as they are internal modifiers. CNS have an inclination to using external modifiers such as agreement markers, sensitivity markers and adversative conjunctions. In refusals, adversative conjunctions may involve a positive willingness (e.g. I wish I could go) or praise/resonance (e.g. this sounds like a good chance) to mitigate the possible imposition of refusal.

CLK's preference of functional components includes both internal and external modifications. In evaluation speech acts, CLK's top five list consists of upgraders, downgraders, honorifics, pause fillers and adversative conjunctions. Both NS groups frequently use the downgraders. Upgraders may not have had significant difference if CNS' rhythmic use of upgraders had been counted. Besides these, the honorifics are internal modifications preferred by KNS and adversative conjunctions are external modifications preferred by CNS.

The internal modifications also include hedges and obligation markers which are preferential to KNS. The hedges exist literally in both Korean and Chinese languages, but they are less adopted by Chinese. CLK used slightly more hedges than CNS but could not even reach half that of KNS'. The obligation marker can find a range of equivalents in Chinese. For example, Korean 'aya hata' (~아야 하다 have to) can be translated into '*yào*'(要), '*deǐ*'(得), '*bì xū*'(必须), '*yīng gāi*' (应该) etc in Chinese. These Chinese obligation markers also have other functions. For instance, '*yào*'(要) can be interpreted into 'want'; '*yīng gāi*' (应该) has the meaning of inference as well. In other words, there are many equivalent forms in Chinese for Korean obligation markers, but the forms might not coincide exactly to the functions of Korean obligation markers. CNS rarely used any obligation markers in evaluations. CLK, on the other hand, use a similar amount of obligation markers with KNS. This may indicate that learners are better with the functional components that have many equivalent forms in their L1 than others that do not.

This assumption is also supported by CLK's overproduction of upgraders. CLK exceed the other two groups in upgrader use and has a significant difference with CNS. The difference between CNS and KNS in upgrader use is caused by the discount of the Chinese upgraders used only for rhythmic need. The difference could disappear if those rhythmic upgraders were to be included in the CNS' use. If there exists any L1 influence, the rhythmic upgraders, which have the same form with pragmatic upgraders, may have offered some advantages to CLK despite being functionally different.

External modifications include pause fillers, sensitivity markers, agreement markers and adversative conjunctions. The frequencies show that CLK and CNS use the sensitivity markers, agreement markers and adversative conjunctions much more frequently than KNS.

CLK's use of functional components in refusal speech acts is similar to what they did in evaluations. Both the internal modifications, such as hedges, honorifics and obligation markers, and external modifications, such as: agreement markers, adversative conjunctions, are frequently employed. CLK use the internal modifications more than CNS but less than KNS. They use the external modifications equally or even more than both NS groups.

CLK is the most native-like when using obligation markers, upgraders and downgraders, compared to honorifics and hedges. Many Korean honorifics do not have form-equivalents or function-equivalents in Chinese. According to the assumption above, they may pose more challenges to the learners than those components having form-equivalents in L1.

4.1.3 The use of direct strategies

Evaluation

KNS and CNS employed a similar amount of direct evaluations, even though KNS used over 30% more indirect strategies and adjuncts than CNS. Comparing the different categories, KNS used slightly more indirect strategies than direct ones in contrast with CNS, who used substantially more direct ones.

It seems that CNS tend to concentrate on using certain strategies to evaluate. This leads to CNS' overall number of strategies significantly smaller than KNS'. CNS' evaluations tend to be less elaborated and more formulaic than KNS'. Previous studies also found that KNS and CNS differ in the degree of verbalization (e.g. Liao and Bresnaham 1996, Lyuh 1992). Koreans are more expressive in refusal and compliment speech acts. Compliments, as a kind of positive evaluation, are seen to be context-specific and of various forms in Korean (Park 2007). Chinese compliments, on the other hand, tend to be formulaic (Ye 1995; Yuan 2002). This may explain why CNS highly depends on direct strategies in evaluations. In other words, while the KNS vary their strategies in one speech, the CNS negotiate the evaluative meaning using rather restricted formulas.

Judging from the frequency of individual strategy, both KNS and CNS employ the praise and criticism strategies the most. That means, compared to indirect evaluations, both Koreans and Chinese prefer to give effective and clear statements of their opinions. This finding is in

line with previous findings in compliment and complaint speech acts. Lee (2009) finds that both Korean and Japanese speakers employ explicit complaints. Yuan (2002) finds Chinese preference of explicit compliments. Although explicitness is not entirely equated with directness, they all indicate that Koreans and Chinese tend to present clear evaluations instead of ambiguous ones.

Furthermore, both groups used slightly more praises than criticisms. Considering that 6 out of the 8 WDCT items contain a negative evaluation, the KNS and CNS either lied in those situations or adopted the praise and criticism simultaneously in one speech. The praises may have been used to mitigate the imposition caused by criticisms.

CLK's use of direct evaluations outnumbered both the NS' in terms of mean values. They also use more indirect strategies and adjuncts than CNS, as KNS do. This phenomenon reminds us their use of functional components. They use both internal and external modifications despite that the two NS groups have different preferences. In semantic formula use of evaluations, CLK depend on the formulaic combinations of praise+criticism as much as CNS do. Meanwhile, they also include some indirect strategies in their evaluations, although their use is not as frequent as KNS'. This kind of mixed-use may stem from (1) learners' IL competence, (2) the psychology of 'playing it safe', (3) overgeneralization of the perceived pragmatic rules in L2 culture, (4) learners' resistance to L1 conventions. The detailed reasons are to be discussed in Sections 4.2.3.5 and 4.3.

Refusal

KNS and CNS have similar use of both direct strategies: the direct 'No' and the negative willingness/ability. All three participant groups used negative willingness/ability more than the direct 'No'. It seems that the direct 'No', as the most direct strategy, is less preferred. However, this tendency appears to be the most obvious in CLK's performance compared to other two groups'. They produced the least direct "No" strategies and the most negative willingness/ability strategies of the three groups. The differences are statistically significant (Tables 45 and 47). Perceptual and metapragmatic reasons for CLK's overuse/underuse of certain strategies are discussed in Sections 4.2.3.5 and 4.3.

In previous studies such as Lyuh (1992) and Kwon (2004), direct refusals were rarely used by their Korean participants (Section 2.3.2.2). The current data, however, reveals that the direct strategies are used as often as many other indirect strategies. Especially, the negative

willingness/ability are one of the most frequently used formulas by all three groups. This difference may stem from the different subjects involved in comparisons. Both Lyuh and Kwon's studies compare Korean speakers to English speakers. The current study investigates the cross-cultural differences between two Asian languages and discovers that the direct strategies are not avoided in Korean and Chinese contexts.

4.1.4 The use of indirect strategies and adjuncts

Evaluation

Statistic differences are found in the use of disagreements, equivocations, consultative questions, excuses and suggestions between KNS and CNS. Apart from equivocations, KNS outnumber CNS in all other strategies above. Equivocation is the third most popular strategy used by CNS following praise and criticism. The typical equivocal answers in Chinese include "*hái xíng ba*"(" 还行吧": alright), "*hái hǎo ba*"(" 还好吧": not bad), "*chà bù duō ba*" ("差不多吧": almost there) etc. These kinds of answers may sound ambiguous in terms of being positive or negative. Their interpretations are left to the hearer's understanding of the contexts. On the other hand, KNS choose consultative questions as their fourth most common strategy. By asking for the hearer's opinions, KNS try not to be arbitrary about their evaluations. They invite the hearer to participant and/or to criticize their evaluations. Both equivocations and consultative questions can find linguistic equivalents in the other's language but the preference of using them is rather culture-specific. Apart from equivocations and consultative questions, both groups employ a wide range of excuses and suggestions with KNS elaborating more. KNS also outnumber CNS in all three kinds of adjuncts. As discussed in Section 4.1.1.3, Korean evaluations include a wider range of strategies than CNS'. CNS frequently relied on the combination of praise+criticism strategies. Their evaluations tended to be more formulaic than KNS'.

As mentioned in Section 4.1.3, CLK's evaluations include as many direct strategies as CNS'. At the meantime, they also approximate to KNS in the use of indirect strategies, such as excuses, equivocations, wishes etc. Statistics suggest that CLK have some differences with both NS groups in terms of using suggestions and consultative questions. The use of these two strategies can be explained by the perception of *P, D, I*. CLK's perceptions and the two strategies use is discussed in Section 4.2.3.5.

Refusal

In indirect refusals, CNS rarely used evasions, hypotheses for past acceptance and promises for future acceptance. According to the means, KNS used at least 5 times more of these strategies than CNS (Table 25). For example, the evasion strategy has a total of 67 tokens from KNS compared to CNS' 18 tokens. The typical evasions include 'showing other intentions' (e.g. "I will just take this coat" when refusing to buy a scarf), 'I am fine', 'sentimental talk' (e.g. "I will only take your kindness" *maumman patkeysstupnita* 마음만 받겠습니다, "what a shame" *aswipneyyo* 아쉽네요") etc. Evasions are particularly frequent when refusing offers or invitations that the speaker believed to be beneficial to him/herself. When refusing such good will, Koreans prefer to convert the refusal into positive feedback. This kind of 'tone-flip' also happens with the greater use of hypothesis for past acceptance and promises for future acceptance by KNS. Both the strategies convert the negative tone of refusal to a positive tone of acceptance.

KNS and CNS also have different preferences in adjuncts. KNS use more apologies and 'off the hook' strategies whereas CNS use more gratitude and rituals. CLK include all four types of adjuncts in their refusals. Their adjunct use outnumbered both NS groups.

CLK appear to be more capable with those indirect refusals preferred by CNS or by both KNS and CNS, such as excuses, my wishes. Their performance held significant differences in those strategies preferred only by KNS, for instance, the 'tone-flip' strategies in refusals.

To summarize, KNS, CNS and CLK have different preferences for functional components and semantic formulas. KNS prefer internal modifications, indirect evaluations as well as 'tone-flip' strategies in refusals. CNS prefer external modifications, direct evaluations and equivocations in refusals. CLK tend to use a mixture of internal and external modifications, reply on both direct and indirect strategies and sometimes deviate with an overproduction of certain strategies. The next section discusses the perceptual reasons for the use of these strategies.

4.2 Perception and Performance

This section discusses the relation between perceptions of *P, D, I* and speech act performance. The perception data used in this section is the group tendency of perceiving *P, D, I*. Section 3.3.4 tested that the perceptions of *P, D, I* are congruent to a significant extent

in each group of KNS, CNS and CLK. They can thus be categorized and used to cross-group comparison. The mean values of *P, D, I* have been categorized in Table 16 Section 3.3.6 according to WDCT situations. This section bases its discussion on the categorization of *P, D, I*. For the ease of presentation, the following sections may use 'perceptions of *P, D, I*' or 'rankings of *P, D, I*' as alternatives to 'the tendency of *P, D, I* being perceived by the group'.

4.2.1 Statistical results

This section presents the within-group comparisons. By comparing the performance in different situational settings, the effect sizes of certain variables are measured. In other words, the role that the group tendency of *P, D, I* perceptions have on performance is tested.

The Chi-square test is used to check if different performance is independent from the change of variable value. In other words, it examines if one variable has a significant effect on participants' production of strategies. Cramer's V further measures the effect sizes of certain variables.

The statistics show that different types of speech acts are affected by different variables. Evaluations are more likely to be influenced by distance while refusals are more likely to be affected by power. The different variables also play different roles in different groups. When evaluating, KNS are sensitive to the change in distance and the high level of imposition. CLK are sensitive to both the distance and power change. CNS, on the other hand, tend to respond to the interaction of multiple variables. When refusing, the stimuli of refusals, along with the factors of *P, D, I*, affects the group performance. Under the same stimuli, the distance variable affects CLK's refusals more than KNS'. CNS, on the other hand, are sensitive to the variable of power.

4.2.1.1 Factor analysis in evaluations

KNS

Starting with the KNS group, the extent to which they react to the distance change is presented below:

Table 48. KNS_Distance I

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
3 [D +P I]	62(50.15)	75(77.6)	5(14.25)	142

15 [+D +P I]	33(44.85)	72(69.4)	22(12.75)	127
Total	95	147	27	269

X^2=18.83 df=2 p<0.001 Cramer's V=0.2645

The power and imposition variables are ranked into the same category in situation 3 and 15. The only difference is the change of distance from acquaintance [D] to intimate [+D]. The Chi-square value is 18.83 and the probability of distance change being irrelevant with performance is less than 0.001. 26.45% of speech differences in these situations can be interpreted by the distance change from [D] to [+D].

Table 49. KNS_Distance II

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
10 [D P I]	54(48.4)	71(67.12)	3(12.46)	128
1 [+D P I]	47(52.58)	69(72.88)	23(13.54)	139
Total	101	140	26	267

X^2=15.46 df=2 p<0.001 Cramer's V=0.2406

Situation 10 and 1 are another pair in which the distance changes from acquaintance to intimate. The result is very close to the previous pair. A small p value strongly contradicts the independence of speech and distance change. The Cramer's V shows that the distance's effect size is 24.06%. The mere -2.39% difference between Tables 48 and 49 may stem from the interaction of distance change and other variable(s).

To be specific, the distance change from acquaintance to intimate leads the KNS to use fewer direct strategies and more adjuncts. Indirect strategy use does not change much.

Table 50. KNS_Distance III

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
2 [-D P I]	54(48.92)	42(51.2)	10(5.89)	106
10 [D P I]	54(59.1)	71(61.8)	3(7.11)	128
Total	108	113	13	234

X^2=9.23 df=2 p<0.01 Cramer's V=0.1986

On the other hand, changing the distance from [–D] (stranger) to [D] (acquaintance) is not as influential as changing from [D] to [+D] (Table 50). Speech act performance is still dependent on the distance change ($p<0.01$) but the Chi-square ($X^2=9.23$) is smaller. In this case, the effect size of distance only accounts for 19.86% of the overall strategy use. And the change of [–D] to [D] is reflected by an increase of indirect strategy use and a decrease of adjunct use. Direct strategy use remains the same.

Table 51. KNS_Distance IV

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
2 [-D P I]	54(44.05)	42(51.72)	10(10.23)	106
10 [D P I]	54(53.2)	71(62.46)	3(14.27)	128
1 [+D P I]	47(57.76)	69(67.82)	23(13.42)	139
Total	155	182	36	373

$X^2=23.02$ df=4 $p<0.001$ Cramer's V=0.1756

When comparing situations 2, 10 and 1 together (Table 51), distance seems to have a smaller effect on performance. This is because more possible factors are involved in the two-step change of [-D] to [+D] than one step from [-D] to [D] and then to [+D].

Table 52. Interaction between distance and imposition_KNS I

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
9 [-D P +I]	61(44.8)	24(38.83)	2(3.36)	87
12 [D P +I]	59(75.2)	80(65.17)	7(5.64)	146
Total	120	104	9	233

$X^2=19.26$ df=2 $p<0.001$ Cramer's V=0.2875

It is clear that the variables interact more or less with each other. For example, when changing the distance from [–D] (stranger) to [D] (acquaintance), the effect size of distance in Table 50 only gives 19.86%, but it dramatically increases to 28.75% in Table 52. The only difference between Tables 50 and 52 is that the degree of imposition increased. There is a possibility that the change of imposition has a strong interaction/correlation with the distance change, which is supported by later tests.

Table 53. KNS_Power I

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
1 [+D P I]	47(41.8)	69(73.68)	23(23.52)	139
15 [+D +P I]	33(38.2)	72(67.32)	22(21.48)	127
Total	80	141	45	266

X^2=1.36 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.072

Table 54. KNS_Power II

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
3 [D +P I]	62(61.01)	75(76.79)	5(4.21)	142
10 [D P I]	54(55)	71(69.22)	3(3.79)	128
Total	116	146	8	270

X^2=0.4346 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.04

However, not all the variables interact notably with each other. According to the two tables above, the change of power, from [P] to [+P], does not have a significant influence (p>0.05) on strategy choices regardless of the change of other variables. The strategy choice differs in frequency but the difference is not triggered by the change of power. Power's effect size stays below 10%.

Table 55. KNS_Imposition

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
10 [D P I]	54(52.79)	71(70.54)	3(4.67)	128
12 [D P +I]	59(60.21)	80(80.46)	7(5.33)	146
Total	113	151	10	274

X^2=1.18 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.066

Besides distance and power, the degree of imposition is tested between [I] (medium degree of imposition) and [+I] (high degree of imposition). Unfortunately KNS did not rank any situation as lower imposition [-I], although their counterparts, CNS and CLK, did. In other words, KNS do not take any of the evaluative situations as not or less impinging. Changing the degree of imposition from a medium level to a high level does not seem to be influential

to the strategy use (p>0.05). In situation 12, KNS produced more in each category than in situation 10 due to reasons other than the higher degree of imposition. However, this result is only restricted to those cases where KNS knew the hearer fairly well.

Table 56. Interaction between distance and imposition_KNS II

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
2 [-D P I]	54(63.16)	42(36.25)	10(6.59)	106
9 [-D P +I]	61(51.84)	24(29.75)	2(5.1)	87
Total	115	66	12	193

X^2=8.62 df=2 p<0.025 Cramer's V=0.2113

As assumed above, the change of imposition becomes very powerful (X^2=8.62 df=2 p<0.025) if the distance value remains at a lower level (Table 56). The effect size of imposition rocketed to 21.13% from insignificance. KNS seem to be highly cautious of possible offences when they are facing someone they do not know well. The variables of distance and imposition appears to interact with each other at the level of [-D] and [+I]. The medium levels of *D* and *I* do not have any significance in terms of variable interactions.

CNS

First of all, no situation was ranked by CNS as highly imposing. There is not any [-I] in CNS' categorization. In contrast, KNS do not have a [+I]. CNS are not as sensitive to the distance and power either. The majority of situations rated by them can only be categorized into [D, P], hence the moderate level.

Regarding the distance change, CNS is similar to KNS (Tables 57 and 58). Changing the distance from acquaintance to intimate has more influence (X^2=7.67 df=2 p<0.025) than changing from stranger to acquaintance (X^2=4.08 df=2 p>0.05). The effect size of distance change from [D] to [+D] is smaller (20.75%) in CNS' than in KNS' performance. The change from [D] to [+D] in CNS leads to fewer uses of indirect formula in contrast with KNS' decrease of direct strategies. CNS' performance is statistically independent of distance change from [-D] to [D].

Table 57. CNS_Distance I

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
1 [+D P I]	46(53)	49(40.5)	11(12.51)	106
2 [D P I]	43(36)	19(27.5)	10(8.5)	72
Total	89	68	21	178

X^2=7.67 df=2 p<0.025 Cramer's V=0.2075

Table 58. CNS_Distance II

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
2 [D P I]	43(41.28)	19(23.52)	10(7.2)	72
9 [-D P I]	43(44.72)	30(25.48)	5(7.8)	78
Total	86	49	15	150

X^2=4.08 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.1649

Comparing the Situations 1, 2 and 9 in Table 59, the change of distance is found to have an insignificant influence on CNS' performance (X^2=8.97 df=4 p>0.05). The effect size of distance from [-D] to [+D] is 18.87%.

Table 59. CNS_Distance III

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
1 [+D P I]	46(54.66)	49(40.58)	11(10.77)	106
2 [D P I]	43(37.13)	19(27.56)	10(7.31)	72
9 [-D P I]	43(40.22)	30(29.86)	5(7.92)	78
Total	132	98	26	256

X^2=8.97 df=4 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.1871

According to Table 60, the change of power from [P] to [-P] does not have much influence on strategy use (X^2=3.15 df=2 p>0.05), although the effect size (Cramer's V=0.1369) is slightly bigger than KNS'.

Table 60. CNS_Power

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
2 [D P I]	43(41.57)	19(23.14)	10(7.29)	72

8 [D -P I]	54(55.43)	35(30.86)	7(9.71)	96
Total	97	54	17	168

X^2=3.15 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.1369

The interaction between *D* and *I* is not found in CNS' data analysis, as there is not any situation rated as [+I]. In the following Table 61, the change of [-I] to [I] does not seem responsible for CNS' performance (X^2=5.03 df=2 p>0.05).

Table 61. CNS_Imposition

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
1 [+D P I]	46(38.81)	49(54.45)	11(12.74)	106
15 [+D P -I]	21(28.2)	45(39.55)	11(9.26)	77
Total	67	94	22	183

X^2=5.03 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.1657

CLK

The distance has an effect on CLKs' performances at a high level of imposition (X^2=13.61 df=2 p<0.005). The effect size of [-D] to [D] is 24.01%, which is slightly smaller than KNS' (28.75%). In Table 40, CLK used more direct formulas when the distance changed to a stranger. On the contrary, both KNS and CNS maintained the same level of direct strategy use in this case.

Table 62. CLK_Distance

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
12 [D P +I]	66(79.6)	57(44.1)	4(3.2)	127
9 [-D P +I]	82(68.4)	25(37.9)	2(2.78)	109
Total	148	82	6	236

X^2=13.61 df=2 p<0.005 Cramer's V=0.2401

According to Table 63, the change of power has a greater effect on CLK's performance (X^2=12.091 df=2 p<0.005) than on KNS'. Power can explain 22.73% of CLK's strategy use. It might be controversial to use a different comparing pair for the CLK and NS groups. Analysis of the CLK's performance focuses on the comparison between lower power [-P] and higher power [+P]. KNS' data provides the comparison of [P] and [+P] while CNS' data supports the

comparison of [-P] and [P]. Neither of the NS group is sensitive to power change. In contrast, CLK' performance is significantly dependent on the power change. There is a possibility that the significance is entirely the result of the power change from lower [-P] to higher [+P], but not from [-P] to [P] or from [P] to [+P]. However, this assumption does not negate the fact that the variable of power plays an important role in the CLK's performance. It is also worth noticing that learners did not use any adjuncts when they realized they have more power over the hearer (e.g. Situation 3). They simply gave the evaluations either directly or indirectly.

Table 63. CLK_Power

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
8 [D -P I]	52(55.5)	42(47.9)	18(8.6)	112
3 [D +P I]	64(60.5)	58(52.1)	0(0)	122
Total	116	100	18	234

X^2=12.091 df=2 p<0.005 Cramer's V=0.2273

As for the change in the degree of imposition, significance is found in the situations with [-D] (X^2=9.679 df=2 p<0.01). The change of imposition explains 21.36% of the strategy choices by CLK, which is a very similar level to that of KNS (Table 64).

Table 64. CLK_Imposition

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
2 [-D P -I]	60(69)	33(28.2)	10(5.83)	103
9 [-D P +I]	82(73)	25(29.82)	2(6.17)	109
Total	142	58	12	212

X^2=9.679 df=2 p<0.01 Cramer's V=0.2136

To sum up, the variables of *P,D,I* have different effects on different groups' use of evaluation strategies. With the KNS group, the distance is the most influential factor and a high level of imposition is correlated with a distant relationship. As for CLK group, power is as influential as distance. The imposition also plays a relatively important role in their performance. On the contrary, CNS' performance is rather highly dependent on the interaction of different

variables. Significance is unlikely to be found when investigating only one factor, although the single variable still has a moderate level of influence.

4.2.1.2 Factor analysis in refusals

Besides *P,D,I*, an extra variable--the stimuli of refusal--is involved in refusal speech acts. The stimuli are the prompts that the speaker is supposed to refuse. According to Beebe et al (1990), the stimuli of refusals are requests, suggestions, offers and invitations. Different stimuli can result in very different strategy use even if the *P, D, I* are the same. For example:

Table 65. Suggestion VS Request with the same settings: KNS

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
17 [+D -P +I]	2(4.07)	54(43.72)	5(13.22)	61
26 [+D -P +I]	10(7.93)	75(85.28)	34(25.78)	119
Total	12	129	39	180

X^2=12.98 df=2 p<0.005 Cramer's V=0.2685

Table 66. Suggestion VS Request with the same settings: CLK

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
17 [+D -P +I]	5(8.02)	58(53.85)	13(14.13)	76
26 [+D -P +I]	16(12.98)	83(87.15)	24(22.87)	123
Total	21	141	37	199

X^2=2.5 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.112

Table 67. Suggestion VS Request with the same settings: CNS

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
17 [+D -P +I]	0(2.4)	43(38.74)	5(6.86)	48
26 [+D -P +I]	7(4.6)	70(74.26)	15(13.14)	92
Total	7	113	20	140

X^2=5.13 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.1914 (almost significant)

Situation 17's stimulus is a suggestion and situation 26's stimulus is a request. Situation 17 is an employee refusing his/her boss' suggestion to organize files and Situation 26 is a student

refusing his/her professor's request that s/he makes a PPT. The two situations have been categorized into the same *P, D, I* group. The Chi-square test in Table 65 shows that the difference of KNS' strategy use is highly dependent on the different stimuli (X^2=12.98 df=2 p<0.005). The request in Situation 26 entails more strategy use in all three of direct, indirect and adjunct categories. Situation 17 results in more acceptance (24 tokens) in KNS compared to 9 acceptances in Situation 26. Students in situation 26 tend to combine different refusal strategies in their answers, such as '*I am really sorry, but I feel unwell today and may need to go to the hospital, so I can't help you this time, but I promise I will help next time'*. The differences between Situation 17 and 26 can be accounted for 26.85% by the stimuli difference in KNS' refusals. In terms of CLK's and CNS' refusals, the stimuli may not be as influential as they are for KNS. The different stimuli account for 18.14% and 11.2% of the performance difference for CNS and CLK.

Table 68. Request VS Invitation with the same settings: KNS

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
27 [D -P +I]	13(7.69)	58(68.08)	24(19.23)	95
28 [D -P +I]	7(12.31)	119(108.92)	26(30.77)	152
Total	20	177	50	247

X^2=10.3 df=2 p<0.01 Cramer's V=0.204

Table 69. Request VS Invitation with the same settings: CLK

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
27 [D -P +I]	22(19.11)	59(68.13)	32(25.76)	113
28 [D -P +I]	24(26.89)	105(95.86)	30(36.24)	159
Total	46	164	62	272

X^2=5.43 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.1412 (almost significant)

Situation 27 contains a request and situation 28 contains an invitation. Situation 27 is a student refusing a tutor's favour and Situation 28 is a junior fellow refusing a senior employee's invitation to a drinking party. The two situations have the same *P, D, I* setting as [D +P +I]. KNS' strategy use is dependent on the stimuli difference (X^2=10.3 df=2 p<0.01). The use of indirect strategy in invitation-initialed situation almost doubles that in request-initialed situation. The junior fellows in Situation 28 used various indirect refusals including

excuses ('I have an appointment with my parents'), promises for future acceptance ('I will definitely go next time' and wishes ('I really want to go but…') etc. The differences between stimuli can explain 20.4% of the analysis result (Table 68). On the other hand, CLK's strategy distribution is not as affected by different stimuli as KNS' (Table 69). The stimuli accounts 14.12% for CLK's performance in these two situations.

Since stimuli have important roles in participants' performance, the analysis of *P, D, I* is restricted to those situations with the same stimuli. The current study only has 7 selective refusal situations from which the comparable pairs are very few. In fact, only 1 pair from each group was found.

Table 70. KNS_Distance (Request)

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
26 [+D -P +I]	16(16.48)	75(75.57)	34(32.95)	125
27 [D -P +I]	13(12.52)	58(57.43)	24(25.05)	95
Total	29	133	58	220

X^2=0.1197 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.023

Both situations 26 and 27 are request-stimulated. They have the same power relationship and degree of imposition. When the speaker is in a position of lower status [-P] and the risk of refusing is high [+I], the distance change from acquaintance to stranger does not have any significant influence on strategy use as shown in Table 70 (X^2=0.1197 df=2 p>0.05). The effect size of distance is only 2.3%.

Table 71. CLK_Distance (request)

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
26 [+D -P +I]	16(19.81)	83(74)	24(29.2)	123
27 [D -P +I]	22(18.2)	59(68)	32(26.8)	113
Total	38	142	56	236

X^2=5.747 df=2 p>0.05 Cramer's V=0.156 (almost significant)

CLK ranked the *P,D,I* in situations 26 and 27 the same as KNS did. Nevertheless, the distance change has a much greater effect on the learners' performance (Cramer's V=0.156) than on

the KNS (Table 71). The Chi-square value(X^2=5.747) is very close to the critical value (5.99 for 0.05 probability).

According to the following Table 72, CNS group has the comparable pair providing information on power change. Their strategy use is significantly related to power change. The power change from [-P] to [+P] can explain 20.94% of their strategy choice.

Table 72. CNS_Power (Invitation)

Situations	Direct	Indirect	Adjuncts	Total
28 [D -P I]	13(17.98)	82(69.29)	33(40.73)	128
30 [D +P I]	21(15.89)	49(61.2)	44(36.91)	114
Total	34	131	77	242

X^2=10.62 df=2 p<0.005 Cramer's V=0.2094

Overall, the stimuli have important influences on strategy use. Faced with the same stimulus, the distance does not greatly influence KNS' refusal performance when the speaker's power is low and the potential imposition is serious. However, CLK's performance is largely affected by the distance change. The effect size of distance in Table 71 is coming to the edge of statistical significance at the 0.05 level. The power appears to be very influential on CNS' performance.

4.2.2 Different effects that *P, D, I* have on different speech acts

The first finding of the Section 4.2 is that different speech acts are affected by different factors of *P, D, I*. The variable of distance has an important role in evaluation performance across all three groups. Its effect size is larger than that of the power and imposition in evaluations. However, it is an insignificant factor in refusal performance. The power factor tends to be more influential, at least on CNS' performance.

Therefore, it would be arbitrary to claim that certain cultures are only sensitive to certain variables. For example, Kim (2007) concludes that Koreans react to social power more compared to English speakers, who are more responsive to social distance. This finding, however, is restricted to their findings in refusal speech acts and shall not be generalized to Korean and English cultures.

The finding that power is influential on refusals coincides with many previous studies (e.g. Beebe et al 1990; Kwon 2004; Liao 1994a in Section 2.3.2.2). The intimate relationship [+D] may also influence the refusal performance by Chinese (Liao and Bresnahan 1996). This partly supports our finding that the power has an almost significant influence on CLK's refusals (Table 71).

The finding that distance is the most influential factor in evaluation performance, however, does not match the conclusions of previous studies. In Section 2.3.1.2, Blackwell (2010) finds that the occurrence of evaluation pragmatic act is affected by both *P* and *D* in Spanish. Du (1995) concludes that Chinese people tend to be more sensitive to *P* in complaint speech acts which is a type of negative evaluation. Chinese compliments, which are positive evaluations, are mostly found between acquaintances at equal status (e.g. Yuan 2002). Only Boxer and Pickering (1995) mentioned that the variable of *D* affects the responses to the indirect complaints. That might be because the social power factor was not tested in their study.

However, the current study finds that the variable of D is the most responsible for evaluation performance. The reasons for the difference might be twofold: (1) evaluation speech acts are different with complaints and compliments as discussed in Section 2.3.1.2; (2) the effects of different variables have not been carefully examined in previous studies. Rather the conclusions that the variable of *P* is influential are made upon observations in individual situations.

4.2.3 Different effects that *P, D, I* have in different groups

Another finding is that different groups respond to the variables of *P, D, I* differently. The above Section 4.2.1 measured the different effect sizes of *P, D, I* within each group. The following Table 73 provides a summary:

Table 73. Summary of effect sizes of *P, D, I*

Group	P	D	I
Evaluation			
KNS	4%--7.2%	24.06%--28.75%	6.6%--21.13%
CNS	13.69%	16.49%--20.75%	16.57%
CLK	22.73%	24.01%	21.36%
Refusal			
KNS		2.3%	
CNS	20.94%		
CLK		15.6%	

According to the above Table 73, the power has the most influence on CLK's evaluations compared to NS groups'. The distance affects the evaluation performance of KNS and CLK more than CNS'. Interactions were found between distance and imposition in KNS and CLK's evaluations.

When performing refusals, CLK tend to be more sensitive to the distance change than KNS. CNS's performance is significantly influenced by the power change.

The following sub-sections will compare the effects of *P, D, I* across different groups. It provides details about what kind of strategies are used differently under the influence of *P, D, I* perceptions.

4.2.3.1 The holistic difference in perceiving *I* by KNS and CNS in evaluations

According to the categorization of *P, D, I* in Table 16 Section 3.3.6, KNS do not have a [-I] and CNS do not have a [+I] in the evaluation situations. The level of imposition was perceived much lower by CNS than by KNS in 4 out of 8 situations, thus, indicating that KNS and CNS might have some holistic differences in perceiving the *I*. This section discusses if the different perceptions of the *I* result in any different strategy use between KNS and CNS.

KNS and CNS have the same [P, D] rankings but yielded a different [I] ranking in Situations 3, 9 and 12. Situation 3 was to answer a junior's question about a professor whom the speaker considers as being strict. Its situational setting is ranked as [D +P I] by KNS compared to [D +P -I] by CNS. However, the different perceptions between [I] and [-I] do not seem to result in many differences of strategy use. The use of suggestion strategy is the only noticeable one, in which KNS doubled CNS' mean values. The KNS' greater use of suggestions might be a result of the closer relationship between seniors and juniors in Korean universities. The senior student may feel more obliged to direct their junior fellows in Korea. This is partially supported by CLK's metapragmatic awareness. 5 out of 23 CLK consider that KNS would guide their juniors more in Situation 3. More CLK carried out this 'responsibility' of being senior member. They employed a similar number of suggestions as KNS. This similarity may also stem from their similar perceptions of *P,D,I* as KNS. Overall, the difference between [I] and [-I] does not have any significant influence on strategy use cross-culturally.

In contrast, the difference between [+I] and [I] resulted in more differences in strategy use than the difference between [-I] and [I]. KNS and CNS have the *I* difference in Situation 9 and

Situation 12. *Situation* 9 was to evaluate the date's appearance. It is ranked as [-D P +I] by KNS and [-D P I] by CNS. Situation 12 was to evaluate the tutee' work to the tutee's mother. It is ranked as [D P +I] by KNS and [D P I] by CNS.

In Situation 9, both KNS and CNS avoided criticizing the date's appearance. KNS used praises and disagreements instead of telling their true thoughts: 'the date looks terribly different compared to what was said'. The praises and disagreements provide positive feedback about the date's appearance (e.g. "You look good"). In other words, KNS tell white lies, as they are aware of the high imposition [+I] from telling their true thoughts. CNS lied less in this case. They chose to present their opinions apathetically by using equivocations and resonances (e.g. "It is ok as I must also look different from what you have heard"). This is explicable, as CNS did not take the criticism on the date's appearance highly imposed. The difference in strategy use is also found in Situation 12 in which KNS employed various indirect strategies and less direct strategies because of the higher imposition. CNS stuck to the direct strategies, although their praises could have mitigated the imposition from criticisms.

In sum, the variable of *I* is not the major reason for differences in performance within the KNS or CNS groups. The different perceptions of [-I] and [I] may not lead to cross-group differences in performance either. The different perceptions of [I] and [+I], on the other hand, exert more influence on performance cross-culturally. In other words, there are more possibilities to find cross-cultural differences between KNS and CNS within highly imposed situations.

4.2.3.2 The reversed effects of *D* in evaluation speech acts of KNS and CNS

The distance is the most influential factor in evaluation performance within each group. It explains over 20% of the within-group variance. In this sub-section, we explore its influence across different groups. In other words, would the different ranking of *D* explain some extent of cross-group differences?

Situation 2 was to evaluate a boring conference to a newly known roommate. It is ranked as [-D P I] by KNS but [D P I] by CNS. Both groups had similar ratings when it came to P and I, but in terms of D rankings, the KNS took the listener to be a stranger, whereas CNS considered him/her as an acquaintance. Both groups presented their criticisms. KNS used more praises to mitigate the criticism while CNS sought more resonances from the hearer. KNS also employed 13 consultative questions compared to only 1 used by CNS. CNS presented their emotional states more, such as "*wúliáosǐle*"(无聊死了。Bored to death),

"*zhōngyú kěyǐ hǎohǎo fàngsōng yíxiàle*."(终于可以好好放松一下了。Finally I can relax). Since CNS view themselves as being much closer to the listener than KNS do, they tend to be more direct in their speech and desire to build solidarity. To be specific, CNS had the same number of criticisms as KNS. Further to this they emphasize their criticisms with emotional statements, by which they are trying to have the listener agree with their criticisms. KNS, on the other hand, are more euphemistic by reporting the positive side of the conference and/or inviting the listener to give their own opinions.

Judging from Tables 48 to 50 in Section 4.2.1.1, the better that KNS know each other, the more cautious and indirect they would be when placing their evaluations. KNS increased the use of indirect strategies when the social distance changed from stranger to acquaintance. In addition to the increase of indirect strategies, they further decreased their direct evaluations with intimate people. On the contrary, CNS dropped their use of indirect strategies when the distance changed from acquaintance to intimate according to Tables 57 in Section 4.2.1.1. Therefore, we can predict that KNS' evaluations will become more indirect than CNS in further intimate relationships. The variable of *D* has reverse effects on KNS and CNS' evaluations.

In light of this finding, KNS and CNS may have different pathways of building social-rapport within close relationships. KNS approach acquaintances and intimates with indirect evaluations. They leave the listener space to present different opinions. The social rapport is built by indirectness and space of communication. CNS, on the other hand, consider that being direct can gain more resonances from close hearers. The resonances are the indication of interpersonal solidarity. Social rapport is built by seeking for agreements with people and being honest.

4.2.3.3 Power and directness in refusals of KNS and CNS

The power is found significantly affecting CNS' refusals (Table 72). CNS increased direct strategy use and decreased indirect strategy use when they have more power over the hearer. In other words, their refusals tend to be more direct with the power change. The effect size of power could not be tested in KNS' data due to the shortage of comparable pairs. This subsection discusses if KNS also prefer direct refusals with [+P] setting.

Situation 18 was to refuse a saleslady's recommendation of buying a scarf. It is ranked as [-D +P –I] by KNS and [-D P -I] by CNS. KNS consider themselves, as a customer, higher in status than the saleslady. CNS, however, placed themselves at an equal status with the saleslady.

CNS employed more indirect strategies than KNS. KNS mainly used the direct "No" and evasions in this situation, meanwhile CNS chose more negative willingness/ability in the direct category as well as praises, excuses, gratitude and rituals in indirect and adjunct categories.

With more power over the hearer, both NS groups tend to be direct in refusals. However, this finding is only upheld if other variables, especially the stimuli, are controlled. The influence of stimuli is discussed in Section 5.2.

4.2.3.4 The hardest *P, D, I* setting to refuse by KNS and CNS

The acceptance is treated as an exception from the current refusal data. It indicates that the speaker is unwilling or unable to refuse even if they have reasons to. The occurrence of acceptance is an indication of the situational setting that participants have the most difficulty refusing. According to the current data, the acceptance frequently happens in Situations 17, 26 and 27. All the three situations have [+D –P +I] as their situational setting. In other words, the participants have the most difficulty to refuse when they perceive a relationship as intimate, themselves as lower in status, and refusals being highly imposing.

KNS and CNS have different strategies when dealing with difficult situations. For instance, Situation 26 was to refuse the supervisor's request of making a PPT for him. Both KNS and CNS ranked the situational setting as [+D –P +I]. 9 of KNS accepted the supervisor's request while only 1 CNS did so. In the case of the CNS, they offered more alternatives. Alternatives can become acceptances if the hearer confirms them. In other words, it is a negotiation between the refusal and acceptance.

Situation 17 was another situation that has KNS and CNS' agreement on variables ([+D –P +I]). It is designed to refuse the boss's suggestion of sorting the files. 16 KNS and 19 CNS accepted the boss's suggestion. Further to this, 13 of KNS attempted to accept it with a condition such as "*kuphasin selyuputhe cenglihakeysupnita*."(급하신 서류부터 정리하겠습니다 "I will sort the urgent files first."), "*pochunginwenul puthakhayto toylkkayo*?"(보충인원을 부탁해도 될까요 "Can I ask for others support?"). etc. CNS had slightly more intent of refusing by referring to the consequence, making more excuses, and even self-defending. Furthermore, 9 CNS flattered the boss to soften their intention, such as "*jīnglǐ shuōde hěnduì*."(经理说得很对 "You are so right."), "*zhěnglǐhòu kěndìng*

hěnhǎozhǎo."(整理后肯定很好找 "It will definitely be easy to find the file after sorting it out.") etc.

Situation 27 was to refuse the supervisor's request of helping another student. It was ranked as [D –P +I] by KNS and [+D –P +I] by CNS. Consequently, more CNS accepted the request (15 acceptances) compared to KNS (8 acceptances). Also, CNS used less negative willingness/ability, less excuses and no conditions for acceptance. They asked for compensation directly as they deemed the teacher to be someone close. Request for compensation is a kind of negotiation before acceptance. CNS may eventually agree to take the mission once the listener confirms the compensation or further tries to convince them.

The [-P] indicates that the hearer has the power over the speaker. As discussed in Section 1.2, both Koreans and Chinese are influenced by the Confucian belief that the subordinates are assumed to submit to the superior. B&L's (1987) also assume that refusing a superior increases the face-risk than refusing other status. Therefore, It is not a surprise to find the participants accepting more in [-P] situations. However, instead of [-D], the intimate relationship [+D] appears to be hardest setting in which to refuse. This finding deviates from B&L's prediction. The opposite findings to B&L's politeness theory will be discussed in Section 5.1.

4.2.3.5 Similar ways of perceiving *P, D, I* and deviation by CLK

According to Table 16, CLK's rankings of *P, D, I* were mostly similar to both or either of the KNS and CNS. For example, they have the same *P, D, I* rankings with KNS in Situations 9, 12, 18, and 27, and with both NS groups in Situations 17 and 26. CLK's performance, however, has the deviation as their IL feature. The deviation includes overproduction and over under-production. They, especially overproduction, have also been found in many previous studies discussed in Section 2.4.4. However, very few studies provide explanations for it. The first explanation provided by the current study is that: the deviation may be an indication of the particular way that learners' *P, D, I* perceptions influence their performance.

In Situation 9 [evaluating the date's appearance], both KNS and CLK have the situational setting as [-D P +I]. Responding to the high level of imposition, KNS use disagreements and praises to hide their true thoughts ('the date looks terribly different compared to what was said'). CLK employ both strategies more than KNS. In addition, they use criticisms and suggestions, such as "I do not think we match each other"(우리가 어울리지 않는 것 같아요),

"You are just not my type"(그런데 내 스타일이 아니에요), "let's be friends"(우리 친구 합시다). The overproduction of these strategies increases the potential imposition. In this sense, CLK may have a rather reversed way of coping with the high rank of imposition with KNS.

Situation 12 [evaluating tutee's work] and Situation 18 [refusing saleslady's suggestion] share some common points in CLK's performance. KNS and CNS have different strategy choices as discussed in Sections 4.2.3.1 and 4.2.3.3. CLK, on the other hand, employ all the strategies preferred by any of the NS groups. This makes their evaluations and refusals verbose and less effective in these two situations.

In Situation 27 [refusing a professor's request of helping another student], CLK and KNS rank it as [D –P +I], compared to CNS' [+D –P +I]. [+D –P +I] is the hardest situational setting for NSs to refuse as discussed in Section 4.2.3.4. Consequently more CNS accepted the professor's requests. KNS did not rank this situation as the hardest one to refuse, accordingly, they accepted less and refused slightly more with negative willingness/abilities, excuses and apologies. In other words, the different rankings of *D* resulted in some different strategy use between KNS and CNS. CLK, who have the same ranking of *P, D, I* as KNS, accepted the least and refused the most. They expressed the most negative willingness/abilities, excuses and apologies. In addition, they also asked for compensations like CNS did. There is a possibility that CLK overreacted to the [D] and [+D] difference, which led to their overproduction of refusals.

When all three groups have the same rankings of *P, D, I*, CLK tend to use their native strategies more. For example, Situations 17 and 26 have been ranked as [+D –P +I] by all three groups. This setting is the hardest to refuse as discussed in Section 4.2.3.4. It results in many acceptances by KNS, while CNS adopted alternatives as a means of negotiating between refusals and acceptances. CLK, however, has a greater use of the alternative strategy. More interestingly, CLK also adopted the strategies of self-defence and consequences. These strategies are used by a few CNS in Situation 17 but never by KNS. In these cases CLK's adoption of strategies used mainly by CNS may stem from the L1 influence and the similar *P ,D, I* perceptions as the native groups. However, they seem not to be the strong reasons judging from CLK's metapragmatic data. The next Section will discuss the influence of CLK's metapragmatic awareness, which appears to be more persuasive for CLK's overuse of native strategies.

4.3 Metapragmatic awareness and learners' performance

4.3.1 Descriptive analysis of learners' metapragmatic data

The current study categorized the metapragmatic data in two ways as discussed in Section 3.4.2. The first categorization is quantified according to the four cases:

Case 1: CLK consider their IL performance the same as NS' in both L1 and L2;

Case 2: CLK consider their IL performance the same as NS' in L1 but different from NS' in L2;

Case 3: CLK consider their IL performance different from NS' in both L1 and L2;

Case 4: CLK consider their IL performance different from NS' in L1 but the same as NS' in L2.

The data is collected from CLK's answers to the question of whether their performance is different from NS' in L1 and L2. Following is the descriptive analysis for each case:

Table 74. Metapragmatic data for Evaluations

Situation	Case 1 (both same)		Case 2 (same as L1)		Case 3 (both different)		Case 4 (same as L2)	
	Frequency	Percent %	Frequency	Percent %	Frequency	Percent %	Frequency	Percent %
S1	5	21.7	5	21.7	7	30.4	6	26.1
S2	7	30.4	3	13.0	11	47.8	2	8.7
S3	5	21.7	3	13.0	13	56.5	2	8.7
S8	12	52.2	0	0	7	30.4	4	17.4
S9	14	60.9	2	8.7	6	26.1	1	4.3
S10	12	52.2	0	0	7	30.4	4	17.4
S12	13	56.5	2	8.7	7	30.4	1	4.3
S15	15	65.2	2	8.7	4	17.4	2	8.7
Total	83	45.1	17	9.2	62	33.7	22	12.0

Table 75. Metapragmatic data for Refusals

Situation	Case 1 (both same)		Case 2 (same as L1)		Case 3 (both different)		Case 4 (same as L2)	
	Frequency	Percent %	Frequency	Percent %	Frequency	Percent %	Frequency	Percent %
S17	4	22.2	1	5.6	11	61.1	2	11.1
S18	6	33.3	3	16.7	4	22.2	5	27.8
S21	7	38.9	2	11.1	5	27.8	4	22.2
S26	3	16.7	12	61.1	2	11.1	1	5.56
S27	7	38.9	1	5.6	5	27.8	5	27.8
S28	8	44.4	1	5.6	4	22.2	5	27.8
S30	9	50.0	1	5.6	5	27.8	3	16.7
Total	44	34.9	21	16.7	36	28.6	25	19.8

According to the above Tables 74 and 75, 45.1% and 34.9% of the CLK group consider their evaluations and refusals to be the same as NS' performance in their L1 and L2. That means that, from these CLKs' perspective, their L1 and L2 have the same speech act performance. 33.7% and 28.6% of the CLK are aware that their IL performance may be different from that of both NS groups. In this case the learners may deliberately keep their IL features or may not actually know the exact difference. 12% and 19.8% of the CLK consider their evaluations and refusals to be the same as those of the NS' in L2. Another 9.2% and 16.7% perceive their performance to be the same as their L1 counterparts but different from the target group, meaning that these CLK volunteered to keep their L1 conventions in their L2 performance.

The second categorization of metapragmatic data is made upon the differences between L1, IL and L2 specified by CLK (Table 21 Section 3.4.2). This categorization provides qualitative explanations for individual situations in the following sections.

The next two sections discuss (1) other possible reasons for CLK' deviation, (2) the competition between learners' perceptions of *P, D, I* and performance.

4.3.2. Metapragmatic awareness and CLK's overproduction

The metapragmatic data has been categorized into four cases as in the above section, referring to CLK's different kinds of metapragmatic awareness of the relationship between their L1, L2 and IL. This section answers that in which way the different types of metapragmatic awareness are reflected in CLK's performance. More specifically, the metapragmatic awareness provides some explanations other than the perceptions of *P, D, I* for CLK's deviation. The discussion will focus on those unexplainable or less explained parts in Section 4.2.3.5.

Case 1 in Section 4.3.1 is that CLK may perceive their IL performance the same as both NS groups'. In the case that L1 and L2 do not actually have common performance, CLK's metapragmatic awareness of the above kind may result in a mixed-use of strategies preferred by L1 and L2 separately. For example, in Situation 12 [evaluating the tutee's work], CLK's overproduction is reflected in their mixed-use of direct strategies and indirect strategies preferred by CNS and KNS respectively. 56.5% of the CLK perceive their IL performance to be the same as NS' in L1 and L2. In other words, they deem that the two NS groups will have the same strategy choice in this situation. This perception obviously deviates from the actual language use displayed by KNS and CNS as shown in Section 4.2.3.1.

Perceiving the different strategies as being prevalently used in both L1 and L2 may have resulted in CLK's undistinguished use of direct and indirect strategies. This is similar to the findings of Olshtain (1983). Olshtain's Russian learners of Hebrew perceived the apology strategy as prevalent in both Russian and Hebrew. This resulted in the learner's overproduction of apologies.

With regards to the difference between L1, L2 and IL performance, 34.8% of the CLK consider CNS more direct. 26.1% of them state that KNS are either indirect or understated when evaluating the tutee's work to the tutee's mother. The perceived contrast of CNS being direct and KNS being indirect may also have lead the CLK to use more praises, as a means to compensate their criticisms as well as increasing the indirect strategy use.

Case 2 in Section 4.3.1 is that CLK consider their IL performance the same as CNS' but different to KNS'. In the case that CLK realize L1-L2 differences, they may deliberately keep their performance similar to that of their native language. For example, CLK overproduced alternatives in Situation 26 [refusing the professor's request of helping to make a PPT]. Their performance may be explained from three different angles: (1) CLK may have different ways of coping with situations [+D –P +I] as discussed in Section 4.2.3.5; (2) there may exist pragmatic transfer from L1. All three groups have the same rankings of *P, D, I* for Situation 26. KNS and CNS differ significantly in their strategy choice. KNS accepted 9 times compared to only one CNS accepting CNS employ 16 alternatives compared to the 8 employed by KNS. CLK employ 18 alternatives in this case, similar to CNS' figure; (3) 66.7% of CLK deliberately kept their L1 conventions in their performance. That means they are aware that alternatives are less used by KNS but used more by CNS. They volunteered to use the strategies, as they would do in their L1. A similar case can be found in Ishihara and Tarone (2009) in which their Japanese learner actively chose to conflict the general practice of honorific use, as people are treated more equally in his native culture.

More interestingly, the current study finds that CLK may also choose to resist to their IL conventions, hence the Case 3 in Section 4.3.1. In Situation 17 [refusing the boss's suggestion to organize files], all three groups have the same rankings of *P, D, I*. CLK's overproductions are reflected in their greater use of excuses and alternatives as well as fewer acceptances compared to the NS groups. This may be because CLK have different pathways to deal with [+D –P +I] settings. Judging from their metapragmatic awareness, however, the different pathway is not the main reason. 61.1% of the CLK were aware of their IL performance being different with both NS groups' in this situation. More specifically, 33.3% of the CLK stated

that KNS would use more polite expressions and CNS would be more direct. The NS groups did exactly this. KNS employed indirect strategies such as setting conditions for acceptances. CNS used slightly more self-defences in this case. Despite some of the CLK having proper metapragmatic awareness, 61.1% of the CLK would like to keep their IL conventions by producing more refusals and fewer acceptances. In short, CLK's performance may also be explained by their resistance to IL conventions.

In Case 4, the fact that CLK consider their performance the same as KNS but different to CNS, indicates CLK's acquisition (or at least desire of acquisition) of the target language conventions. However, this metapragmatic awareness does not guarantee their actual acquisition. For example, in Situation 27 [refusing a professor's request of helping another student], CLK's overproduction is reflected in their greater use of refusals and fewer acceptances. This can be explained by their perception of *D* as acquaintance in this situation. It is easier to refuse acquaintances than intimates when the other two variables remain [-P +I]. Another explanation might be that 44.44% of the CLK considered KNS to be more direct and politer in this case. In other words, these CLK believe direct refusals are polite and acceptable in Situation 27. KNS' actual language use, however, is not as direct as CLK perceived. They accept the requests more and employ fewer direct refusals than CLK. This misestimation of L2 behaviour may be responsible for CLK's overproduction.

So far, there have been six explanations provided for CLK's overproductions: (1) the perception of P, D, I as discussed in Section 4.2.3.5; (2) the perceived language distance as discussed with Situation 12. The overproduction may result from perceiving certain strategies as prevalent or perceiving certain groups as contrastive in the manner of language use; (3) learners' voluntarily keep L1 conventions as in Situation 26; (4) learners' resistance to their IL conventions as discussed with Situation 17; (5) mis-estimation of one group's strategy use as discussed with Situation 27; (6) pragmatic transfer as discussed with Situation 26. The causes (2), (3), (4) and (5) function at the level of metapragmatic awareness. The cause (6), pragmatic transfer, is a cause itself but may also be a result of influence from perceived language distance (Section 2.4.2).

4.3.3. Metapragmatic awareness in competition with perceptions of *P, D, I*

The above section discusses the metapragmatic awareness and perceptions of *P, D, I* as parallel or complementary reasons for learners' performance. This section presents two special cases in which the two reasons are in competition with each other.

Situation 2 is to evaluate a boring conference to a recently met roommate. In this situation, both KNS and CNS criticized the conference. KNS used praises to mitigate the imposition of criticism and invited the hearer's opinions by using consultative questions. CNS, on the other hand, sought for the hearer's resonances for their criticisms. The use of the 'seeking resonance' strategy is an indication of CNS building closer social relationships. In contrast to CNS, who anticipate the hearer to agree with their direct negative evaluation, KNS tend to be more euphemistic in this situation. Moreover, KNS' level of directness further reduces with the change of distance from stranger to intimate. As discussed in Section 4.2.3.2, KNS and CNS have opposite pathways to deal with close relationships in negative evaluation situations.

CLK perceived the imposition differently to KNS and the distance differently to CNS. As discussed in Section 4.2.3.1, the different awareness of [I] and [-I] does not have any significant effect on strategy choice. The different strategy use more likely resulted from the [-D] and [D] perceptions by KNS and CNS respectively. CLK, despite having the same ranking of *D* as KNS, sought resonances and added emotional statements for their criticisms similar to that of CNS. The different perceptions of *D*, which supposedly resulted in some performance differences, seems not to have exerted any influence on CLK's evaluations in this case. In other words, CLK were using strategies that were only used by CNS when the hearer was an acquaintance.

With a further look at the metapragmatic data, we found that 21.7% of the CLK group considers that CNS would have the same evaluation of the social distance (a stranger), which was actually regarded as being an acquaintance by CNS. Moreover, 17.4% of the CLK group points out that Chinese people would not get a drink together in this situation, which might also indicate that the social distance prevents them from doing so. In other words, CNS' perception of *D* is assumed by CLK as being the same with CLK's *D* perception in Situation 2, whereas CNS actually perceived the *D* variable differently from CLK. The actual [-D] and [D] rankings did not result in any difference in strategy use between CLK and CNS. Instead, it seems that the perceived distance of *D* rankings between L1 and IL led the learners to use the strategies that their native counterparts preferred. In other words, as the *D* ranking was perceived the same between IL and L1, CLK employed the strategies used by CNS only. The perceived *D* ranking is of metapragmatic awareness. In Situation 2, the metapragmatic awareness overrides the perceptions of *P, D, I*.

Situation 15 was to evaluate a friend's success in exam. In this situation, KNS preferred giving suggestions as they consider themselves as a senior, whereas CNS tend to encourage their hearers as they place themselves at an equal position. Both NS groups adopted jokes with praises (e.g. "you did great but stop showing off"). In other words, the use of jokes are indications of the close relationship. CLK has the same rankings of *D* as [+D], along with both NS groups. However, they differ from both NS groups in the use of jokes, giving credit and rituals. CLK's avoidance of joking prevents them from being sarcastic with the friend. At the meantime, the intimate relationship is less indicated because of the shortage of jokes. Giving more credits to the hearer is actually a kind of compliment. The extra rituals also consist mainly of congratulatory expressions to the hearer's achievement. Strategy choice of this kind indicates that CLK are being more indirect and more distant with the hearer. This indication deviates from their actual ranking of [+D]. Wannuk (2008) had similar findings that both NS and learner groups perceive the direct refusal appropriate when refusing a friend. The learners' actual performance, however, had the least direct refusals compared to the NS groups (Section 2.4.3).

Looking at their metapragmatic data, 65.2% of the CLK group consider their IL performance the same as NS' in L1 and L2; hence L1 and L2 evaluations sharing common points. 21.7% of the CLK even mentioned that Chinese natives would joke in this situation. It seems that CLK disbelieve their metapragmatic judgments of L1-L2 similarities. This kind of disbelief has been discussed in Section 2.4.3 in which Hulstijn and Marchena (1989) finds their Dutch participants disbelieving the similarities between Dutch and English. In the current study, by complimenting more but joking less, the potential imposition decreases. CLK are 'playing it safe' when evaluating a friend. Only, the 'playing it safe' strategy was adopted not for the explicitness and clarity as Barron (2003) discussed (Section 2.4.3), but instead was used for indirectness and avoidance of impoliteness.

In Situation 15, CLK are neither loyal to their perception of *D* nor to the metapragmatic awareness of language distance. Rather, another metapragmatic factor – 'play it safe' – overrides both. That means, when the learners do not have a solid belief in their perceptions and judgments, they may turn to another metapragmatic awareness which they have more certainty with.

Thus far, the influence of perceptual and metapragmatic variables has been discussed regarding participants' speech act performance. Another factor—the stimuli of refusals—was left. The stimuli are evidenced as influential factors in refusals (Section 4.2.1.2). However,

it is not discussed (1) where their influence comes from; (2) why they have different influence on refusal performance. As the stimuli in the current study are pre-set rather than perceived by participants, they are not discussed in this Chapter. In the next Chapter, Leech's (1983, 2007) politeness theory will be used to explain for the influence of stimuli. Other than Leech, B&L's (1987) politeness theory will also be examined from the current findings.

Chapter 5 Discussion

This chapter discusses the current findings in three different topics. Section 5.1 focuses on discussing the meaning of the findings in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics. Section 5.2 discusses the applicability of two politeness theories in Korean and Chinese contexts. It further proposes a combined view of different politeness theories to explain the politeness in East Asian cultures.

5.1 Explanations and mis-explanations in Cross-cultural pragmatics and Interlanguage pragmatics

Based on the findings in the previous chapter, this section discusses what may have been mis-explained or incompletely explained by previous studies and what other explanations there are for cross-cultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics. Section 5.1.1 discusses the cross-cultural findings based mostly on perceptual data. Section 5.1.2 discusses the interlanguage pragmatics findings based mostly on metapragmatic data.

5.1.1 The importance of participants' perceptual data

Differing from most of the previous speech act studies, the current one has its findings based on (1) the participants' ratings of contextual variables *P, D, I,* and (2) the calculated effect size of *P, D, I*. Previously, there have been more pragmalinguistic findings in speech act research than sociopragmatic findings. Sociopragmatics deals with the social perceptions underlying participants' interpretations and performance of linguistic actions (Section 1.3.3). As reviewed in Section 2.3, many of the cross-cultural pragmatics studies start with pre-set interpersonal relationships and then attribute the participants' performance to the pre-set variables in the relationships. For example, the interpersonal relationships, defined by the levels of *P, D, I*, have been pre-set in the designs of experiments which are used to collect performance data in Beebe et al (1990) and Félix-Brasdefer (2006). As the pre-set values of *P, D, I* are determined by experiment designers instead of participants, they become insufficient when it comes to explaining the cross-cultural difference of social perceptions underlying the participants' performance, and therefore the cross-cultural differences at the level of sociopragmatics.

The current study invited the participants to rate the contextual variables themselves. The experimental design was based on participants' own judgments. It then adopted the participants' ratings to explain the participants' performance. Its data analysis leads to many sociopragmatic findings, such as the holistic difference between perception of the *I* variable by KNS and CNS (Section 4.2.3.1). More importantly, the use of participants' perceptual data helps to reduce the possibility that effects of certain variables are mis-estimated by the researchers.

Two possibilities of mis-estimations exist. The first one is to overlook the possibility that different speech acts are affected by different variables. For example, the function of certain variables in one speech act may be wrongly generalized to other speech acts, or even the whole culture, as found in Section 4.2.2. By generalizing a finding such as 'Koreans react to *P* difference more than Americans' (Kim 2007), the culture is stereotyped to its outsiders. The stereotype may further result in overgeneralization by language learners (Section 2.4.3). For example, learners may overuse the indirect strategies because they perceive that the L2 culture prefers indirectness more than their L1 culture. The L2 native speakers, on the other hand, vary their use of indirect strategies according to the situation.

The second possibility is to mis-estimate the effect size of one particular variable. As found in Section 4.2.2, the variable of *D* is the most influential factor in evaluations, in contrast to most relevant studies which claim *P* is the most powerful. Also, the *D* variable has reversed influences on KNS' and CNS' performance, which none of the previous studies have ever reported (Section 4.2.3.2). Without measuring the effect size of variables carefully, researchers' observations alone sometimes lead to an incomplete conclusion about the relationship between contextual variables and participants' performance.

Here, the perceptual data is important in both the cross-cultural pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics. The sociopragmatic findings from the comparison between NS and learners are considered to be as significant as those from cross-cultural comparisons.

5.1.2. Further insights into interlanguage pragmatics

This sub-section discusses three separate concerns in interlanguage pragmatics: (1) the display of learners' pragmatic competence; (2) the power of the perceived language distance; (3) some cross-cultural psychologies in interlanguage pragmatics.

This study examined two speech acts which each belongs to different categories of Searle's, and found that learners displayed different levels of pragmatic abilities in the two speech acts. For example, Section 4.1.1.1 showed that, compared to KNS, CLK used fewer functional components in evaluation speech acts, but almost the same number of functional components in refusal speech acts. That is, CLK's mastery of functional components varies between evaluations and refusals. This finding may question those studies of pragmatic competence involving only one speech act (e.g. Chang 2011b, Su 2010). For example, Chang (2011b) discussed the relation between pragmalinguistic competence and sociopragmatic competence displayed in apologies. Giving the possibility that the pragmalinguistic / sociopragmatic competence may display differently in other speech acts than apologies in Chang (2011b), her findings of the relation between the two competences need to be re-examined if studies of other speech acts intend to generalize. The different display of pragmatic competence in different speech acts may also influence pragmatic transfer studies. For instance, Beebe et al (1990) has the assumption that the pragmatic transfer is in proportion to the proficiency level of learners. Any studies looking to support or object to their assumption will need to consider whether the level of pragmatic transfer displayed by learners is affected by the single speech act itself. Therefore, the current study proposes the need to examine multiple speech acts in one interlanguage pragmatic study.

The second concern is the power of perceived language distance, which is reflected by the metapragmatic data and its interpretations in this study. Section 4.3.2 found that the close language distance perceived by CLK regarding their L1 and L2 resulted in mixed use of the strategies preferred by different native groups. Similar cases have also been found in CLK's mixed use of internal and external modifications (Section 4.1.2), of adjuncts in refusals (Section 4.1.1.3), and of direct and indirect evaluations (Section 4.1.3). These results are not surprising considering that we found that there were more CLK perceiving their L1 and L2 as being similar in both refusal and evaluation performance, compared to three other cases in Tables 74 and 75 (Section 4.3.1). The perceived language distance appears to be a very powerful factor functioning across different types of speech acts.

Another concern reflected by learners' metapragmatic data is the interface between cross-cultural psychologies and interlanguage pragmatics. Section 4.3.3 revealed that learners' metapragmatic awareness competes with their perceptions of contextual variables and between different kinds of metapragmatic awareness they may compete with each other as well. For example, CLK 'played it safe' by using positive evaluations instead of jokes, although jokes were preferred by both the native groups. Interestingly, 65.2% and 21.7% of the CLK

group realized that the L1 and L2 performance would be similar and L1 native speakers would joke. In this case, the concept of 'playing it safe' competes with both the perceptions of contextual variables and perceived language distance.

Psychologically, the 'play it safe' strategy may stem from CLK's awareness of Korean culture being highly uncertainty-avoiding. Uncertainty avoidance, as proposed by Hofstede (1984), refers to a society's tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity. Societies with high uncertainty avoidance tend to use formality in interactions and rely on rigorous rules / regulations of their language (and society). Compared to China, Korea appears to have a stricter system in its society and language use, with a more dogmatic adoption of Confucianism, six levels of honorifics, etc. (Section 1.2). Perceiving the Korean culture as being less tolerant of the unstructured and informal behaviours, CLK may choose to 'play it safe' and avoid the risk of breaking the certainty of social relationships. Muhr (1994) also used the uncertainty avoidance theory to explain his 'play it safe' findings. Austrian Germans in his study chose to have more face-saving explanations in their apologies than German Germans, because Austria has shown a higher index of uncertainty avoidance than Germany (cf. Schölmberger 2008).

Besides the uncertainty avoidance, Muhr (2008) further adds two reasons to explain Austrian Germans' language use: (1) identity and national pride and (2) the role of language for national and cultural identity. As Muhr's studies did not involve any language learners, his discussion was restricted to Austrian Germans' use of mitigation devices and indirectness. CLK, as language learners in the current study, have a different native language from the language they used in the experiments. Their identity and national pride may positively be related to the resistance to their L1 or IL conventions. As found in Section 4.3.2, CLK may have volunteered to keep their L1 or IL features even when they realized that their performance would be different from KNS. Chinese people often load their national pride on the success of economic development and profound history (see the end of Section 1.2). Although the country is not mono-ethnic, Chinese is one of the world's most historical languages, and is used by the largest population in the world, including minorities in China. The spread of the Chinese language also benefits from the fast development of economics. Conversely, the Chinese cultural / national identity may be reinforced by the role of language. For language learners, adherence to 'who they are' in language use may be an indication of their proud identity, differentiating them from the L2 native speakers.

5.2 Examining the politeness theories in East Asian contexts

The key notions of *P,D,I* used in this study originate from B&L (1983)'s politeness theory. They are evidenced as influential factors in people's speech acts by previous and current studies. As previous studies rarely have any perceptual data of *P,D,I,* it is worth discussing if the current ranking or ratings of *P,D,I* have different interpretations for politeness in Korean and Chinese. Compared to B&L's politeness theory, would other theories be more applicable to the interpretation of politeness in Korean and Chinese? This section sets out to discuss these questions. Sections 5.1 and 5.2 focus on the discussions of B&L's theory and Leech (2007)'s theory. Section 5.3 provide a combined view of these two theories, which appears to better explain the current findings.

Iterating our position in Section 2.2.3, we believe that there must be some aspects of politeness that are universal between human beings, but the extent to which the current politeness theories can represent the universality is in question.

5.2.1 The examination of B&L's politeness formula

In B&L's (1987) politeness theory discussed in Section 2.2.1, the *P, D, I* are independent variables responsible for the seriousness of the FTA. The notion of FTA is built on the speech act. The seriousness of FTA is calculated by adding the *P,D,I* together. The formula is: Wx = P (H, S) + D (S, H) + Rx (see Section 2.2.1 for explanations of each variable). As the seriousness of a FTA increases, redressive strategies would serve better to minimize the face risk (B&L 1987:83). Redressive strategies (e.g. could you do X?) are supposed to be less face-risking than bald strategies (Do X) according to B&L's formula. A rational person with face ('MP' named by B&L) would have the highest level of redress for someone distant (e.g. a stranger) and powerful (e.g. higher status) when making serious impositions. Hence, the setting of [-D, -P, +I] would require the highest level of politeness in the current study, if following B&L's prediction.

This section examines to what extent the findings of the current study support B&L's politeness theory, especially the *P, D, I* model. As argued by Chen et al (2013) and Pizziconi (2003), the *P, D, I* model can actually explain some language use claimed as culture-specific in East Asian languages, such as honorifics (Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.3). Chen et al (2003) maintains that some criticisms to B&L's theory are due to their ignorance of the *P,D,I* model.

Therefore, the *P, D, I* model is the focus of the current discussion with regard to the universal applicability of B&L's theory.

First of all, the variables of *P, D, I* are statistically evidenced as influential factors in people's speech acts (Section 4.2.1). They have different effects for different groups and in different speech acts. Their influence is culture-specific as B&L admit. However, the current study also found some discrepancies with the B&L framework.

The first discrepancy is that the summative manner of *P,D,I* may not be appropriate in calculating the seriousness of an FTA. In evaluation speech acts, we found that the variable of distance has reversed influence on KNS' and CNS' performance (Section 4.2.3.2). The same change from [D] to [+D] leads the KNS to use more indirect strategies and fewer direct strategies in contrast to CNS who use fewer indirect strategies. In terms of the reversed functions, the positive value of *D* in KNS' formula is actually the negative value of *D* in CNS' formula. The same level of face risk may be presented by P+D+I in Korea but P-D+I in China.

Moreover, the variable of distance and imposition is found to be interactive in evaluation speech acts (Section 4.2.1.1). The change of imposition only has significant effects on performance at the level of [-D] (Table 56). The change of distance appears to have more influence on performance at the level of [+I] (Table 52). Therefore, the *P,D,I* factors may not be entirely independent of each other. As much as the size of one's effect is affected by another, the three variables should not simply be added as in B&L's formula.

The second discrepancy found between the current study and B&L's study is that bald strategies can be used for a high level of politeness. In other words, the redressive strategies are not used in the *P,D,I* settings where B&L assumed them to appear. For example, Situation 21 is to refuse an offer of a lift from a colleague. KNS and CNS ranked this situation as [-D P I] and [D P I] respectively. That means that Situation 21 contains neither the lowest level of imposition nor the highest level of *D* and *P* (hence, [+D +P -I] has the lowest Wx). According to B&L's formula, this situation, as being [-D P I] or [D P I], has a moderate level of Wx at least. Blunt refusal may not be appropriate in this case to mitigate the face risk. However, KNS used 16 and CNS used 20 direct 'No' in this situation. This situation has the most direct strategy use of all refusal situations. The correlation between Wx and level of redress is not supported by the current study.

The third discrepancy is that the level of Wx may not be decided by the predicted roles of *P,D,I*. According to B&L, the highest Wx happens in [-D −P +I] situations. In terms of refusal,

people may experience the most difficulties to refuse someone distant [-D] and higher at status [-P] with great potential offence [+I]. The finding from the current study, however, is that participants find the [+D –P +I] hardest to refuse as discussed in Section 4.2.3.4. Refusing someone who is intimate is perceived to have higher Wx than refusing someone distant in Korea and China. The calculation of Wx may not match B&L's prediction of what a 'rational person with face' would do.

In sum, the current study confirms B&L's framework of *P,D,I* as influential and being culture-specific. It does not agree that the *P,D,I* can simply be added to decide the level of seriousness of face-risk or the level of redress that a speech act needs. There needs to be more studies on the actual influence and interactions of *P,D,I*.

5.2.2 The examination of Leech's politeness constraints

Leech (1983) has a different approach to politeness compared to B&L (Section 2.2.2). According to Leech's (2007) further amendments to his 1983 work, the principle of politeness is defined as constraints that people encounter in communications. Politeness is motivated by avoiding communicative discord and maintaining communicative concord. There are five pairs of constraints as listed in Section 2.2.2 (Leech 2007:182).

Leech's constraints (or 'maxims' in early work) are used as politeness principles in Korean and Chinese by a few previous studies (e.g. Gu 1990). This section discusses to what extent the current findings support Leech's framework.

First of all, the great use of praise in evaluations support the principle of associating high value with what pertains to others in Leech's Grand Strategy of Politeness (see the definition of Grand Strategy of Politeness in Section 2.2.2). As discussed in Section 4.1.3, praises and criticisms are the two strategies used most frequently in evaluations. Both KNS and CNS employed more praise than criticism despite 6 out of 8 evaluation situations containing a negative evaluation. The praise may be used to place a high value on the hearer's wants, qualities, opinions or feelings as Leech suggested.

Second, the relation between language use and stimuli supports Leech's (1983) Tact and Generosity maxims. They are applicable to commissives which the refusal speech acts belong to (see Section 2.1.2 for speech act classification). The Tact maxim include to minimize cost to other and to maximize benefit to other. The Generosity maxim is to minimize benefit to self and maximize cost to self. In the stimuli of refusals, a request is to maximize the benefit

to self, a suggestion is to maximize the benefit to other, an invitation is to maximize the benefits to both the speaker and hearer, and an offer is to maximize the benefit to other. Thus, to refuse a request is to refuse the benefit to other, to refuse a suggestion is to refuse the benefit to self, to refuse an invitation is to refuse the benefits to both interlocutors, and to refuse an offer is to refuse the benefit to self and the cost to another. According to Tables 65-69 in Section 4.2.1.2, all three types of refusal strategies are employed more by both KNS and CNS in refusals to a request than refusals to a suggestion, even though Situations 17 (request) and 26 (suggestion) have identical rankings of *P,D,I*. It normally takes Korean and Chinese speakers more steps to refuse satisfying the other's benefit (request) than their own benefit (suggestion). Comparing the request-stimulated and invitation-stimulated refusals, the latter has twice the indirect strategies of the former (Tables 68 and 69). As stated above, the invitation is mostly for mutual benefits. Therefore, refusing an invitation may cost both interlocutors' face as well as the solidarity of the community. KNS and CNS seem to be more cautious of refusing invitations than refusing requests. On the contrary, refusing an offer is to decline the benefit to the speaker him/herself. Both KNS and CNS tend to deny immediately in instances similar to Situation 21 as discussed in Section 5.1.

Third, Korean and Chinese native speakers may observe different constraints in the same situation. For example, Situation 17 [refusing a boss' suggestion of organizing files] is ranked as [+D –P +I] by both KNS and CNS. KNS accepted the suggestion with some conditions, such as request of colleague's support. CNS accepted with some flattering, such as complimenting the boss' suggestion. In this sense, KNS prioritize the boss' wants (Generosity constraint) while CNS highly evaluate the boss' opinion (Agreement constraint).

Forth, the learners' language use may observe one constraint but reject another. In Situation 9 [evaluating the date's appearance], CLK employed praises to the date's appearance and disagreements to the date's deference ("do I look differently with what you have heard"), although they think the date looks terribly different. This kind of strategy use observes the approbation constraint to place a high value on the other's quality. Concurrently, CLK also used criticism and suggestions, such as "you are just not my type", "let's be friends". These strategies reject the sympathy constraint which places a high value on the other's feeling.

In sum, different constraints may have different weights in different groups. The NS' performance seem to be more explicable by the observance of constraints. The learners' language use, however, place different constraints in conflict. For example, their observance of approbation constraint in Situation 9 decreased the potential imposition of negative

evaluation which is, again, increased by the rejection of sympathy constraint. In order to explain under what context the constraints are observed or rejected, we need to combine the B&L and the Leech's frameworks.

5.2.3 The combined view of B&L and Leech's frameworks

As discussed at the end of Section 2.2.2, B&L's theory sets out to answer the question—what determines the level of politeness in language use, and Leech's theory seeks to answer another — under what principles politeness is manifested in language use. They are not mutually exclusive. In fact, a combined view of these two theories helps to explain the current findings better.

For example, the different imposition rankings between KNS and CNS result in different strategy use in Situation 9 [evaluating a date's appearance] (Section 4.2.3.1). KNS used more praises and disagreements than CNS. Praises of the date's appearance are used to place a high value on the date's qualities, which is to observe Leech's approbation constraint. The factor of *I* is one of the three influential factors in B&L's politeness formula. To fulfil the politeness entailed by a higher ranking of imposition, KNS chose the strategies observing Leech's approbation constraints. B&L and Leech's theories can work hand in hand in this sense.

The other two factors in B&L's politeness formula, *P* and *D*, have also been found to be combinable with Leech's constraints in terms of explaining politeness. For example, the high level of power [+P] may be one of the reasons for both KNS and CNS not to observe the agreement constraint. The agreement constraint is to place high value on the hearer's opinion. When the speaker has more power than the hearer, the level of politeness required does not need to be manifested by valuing the hearer's opinion. For example, in Situation 18 KNS refused the saleswoman's recommendation using a direct 'No' (see Section 4.2.3.3). On the other hand, when the hearer has the power over the speaker, there is strong evidence of the agreement constraint in the speaker's answer to the hearer's request or suggestion. For example, the speaker's acceptance can be taken as an indication of submission to the hearer's opinion. It occurs the most in Situations 17, 26 and 27, where the hearer has the power over the speaker. In other words, the *P*, as in B&L's politeness theory, influences the level of politeness. This is reflected by the degree to which KNS' strategy choice observes Leech's agreement constraint in refusals.

More interestingly, the change of distance reveals that different groups may have different approaches to Leech's constraint. As found in Section 4.2.3.2, the change of distance has reversed influence on KNS' and CNS' evaluations. KNS increase their level of indirectness in situations where the relationship is more intimate, while CNS decrease their indirect strategy use. When the hearer was perceived as acquaintance [D] as in Situation 2 [evaluating a boring conference], CNS highlighted their criticisms using emotional statements (e.g. 'Finally I can relax'). They seek the hearer's resonance to their own opinion instead of placing a high value on the hearer's opinion. This kind of behaviour may further extend to a [+D] relationship as it entails less indirectness. The interpersonal closeness, or in Leech's own words the social concord, is actually built by CNS' violation of the agreement constraint. By contrast, the agreement constraint is highly observed by KNS in this case. They invite the hearer to give their opinions about the conference using consultative questions. KNS further reduces the use of direct evaluations with close relationships. That is, their strategy choice places a lower value on their own evaluation as the distance changes from stranger to intimate.

Facing the same variable change, different groups have different interpretations which are reflected in their strategy use. That means that B&L's productive model (or any similar model) alone may lead the explanations of politeness strategy use into a disordered list of cross-cultural differences. Leech's (or any similar) theory describes the order behind the strategy use well, but fails to provide information about the contexts which entail politeness. Therefore, a combination of the two theories is suggested for a more comprehensive explanation of politeness.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The current study investigates the evaluation and refusal speech acts performed by three different groups—KNS, CNS and CLK. It seeks perceptual explanations for their speech act performance. The perceptions of *P, D, I* and the metapragmatic awareness of CLK are under investigation. The findings answered four research questions concerning: (1) pragmalinguistic difference across the three groups; (2) perception difference between the groups; (3) the influence that the tendency of *P,D,I* being perceived has on speech act performance; (4) the influence of metapragmatic awareness. In the Conclusion chapter, Section 6.1 presents an overview of the findings. Section 6.2 discusses some limitations of the current study and Section 6.3 intends to highlight some points for further research.

6.1 Summary of findings

First, the pragmalinguistic differences are found in the use of functional components, direct semantic formulas as well as indirect formulas and adjuncts. KNS are found to prefer internal modifications in the functional components, such as honorifics, hedges etc. Their evaluations include a high use of direct strategies and various indirect strategies and adjuncts. Their refusals feature the use of 'tone-flip' strategies, which convert the refusal into positive feedback. Compared with CNS, KNS have different preference of adjuncts to refusals.

CNS, on the other hand, prefer to use external modifications in functional components. Their evaluations depend more on direct strategies, such as praise, criticism, etc. They also have different choices of indirect evaluations compared with KNS, such as the choice of equivocations by CNS and consultative questions by KNS (Section 4.1.4). CNS have similar use of direct refusals compared to KNS. In indirect refusals, they rarely use the 'tone-flip' strategies that KNS do. CNS' favour of refusal adjuncts are gratitude and rituals, compared to KNS' favour of apologies and 'off the hook' (e.g. "Don't worry").

CLK appear to have a mixed-use of internal and external modifications as well as the semantic formulas preferred by KNS and CNS. Their performance in IL is featured by deviation (overproduction as a sub-category) compared to two NS groups.

Second, the perceptual data of *P, D, I* are found to have different influences on different speech acts and in different groups. Evaluation speech acts are more likely affected by the distance, and refusal speech acts are more likely affected by the difference in power. In evaluations, the variable of D is found to have reversed influence on KNS and CNS. These two

groups may have different approaches to building social-rapport with intimates (Section 4.2.3.2). Different from evaluation speech acts, the variable of *P* may have a positive correlation with directness in refusals. The more power that the speaker has over the hearer, the more direct the refusal tends to be. Surprisingly, all three groups have the most difficulties to refuse someone close but higher at status when the potential imposition is high ([+D –P +I]).

The variable of imposition is perceived very differently by KNS and CNS in evaluations. KNS do not take any of the evaluative situations as low in the degree of imposition [-I] whereas CNS do not take any of them as highly imposing [+I]. The difference of [*I*] rankings, however, explains little of the cross-cultural difference in performance. Besides, the [*I*] is found to interact with *D* in KNS and CLK's data. This finding may call for some amendments to B&L's (1987) formula for calculating face-risk.

Fourth, CLK's speech act performance can be explained with several reasons including (1) their reaction to learners tendency of *P,D,I* being perceived; (2) the perceived language distance; (3) misestimation of the language use in L1 or L2; (4) their resistance to IL; (5) their resistance to L1 conventions; (6) the pragmatic transfer. The metapragmatic awareness is found to sometimes compete with the learners' perceptions of *P, D, I*. Different types of metapragmatic awareness may also compete with each other. The competition may stem from CLK's 'play it safe' strategy, which is explained by their awareness of Korean culture as being highly uncertainty-avoiding (Section 5.1.2).

Lastly, the stimuli appear to have a significant influence on participants' refusals. The difference in strategy use according to the stimuli can be explained by Leech's (1983) politeness theory. Cross-cultural differences are also found in the observations of different politeness constraints by KMS and CNS. However, neither B&L nor Leech's politeness theories can fully explain the politeness in Korean and Chinese. Combining both B&L and Leech's theories may offer a better view when it comes to explaining politeness in Korean and Chinese.

6.2 Limitations of the current study

The first limitation of the current study is its use of WDCT. This written tool provides many advantages as discussed in Section 3.2.1. However, it also loses some verbal features. For example, the sound-based pause fillers are less recorded in CNS' data because of the

restriction of written forms in Chinese. The WDCT does not include several turns of interactions either. The single-turn WDCT was designed after considering the potential influence of rejoinders. The interactive information is thus missed. Another drawback of missing such information is that we are unable to know if the perceptions of *P,D,I* will change depending on the interaction. Therefore, the current results are restricted to a context-based judgment of *P,D,I*.

The second limitation is the perceptual data which is collected from a different group with the performance data. This is arranged after considering the data collection procedure (Section 3.3.2). The within-group congruency of *P,D,I* perceptions is also statistically proved in Section 3.3.4. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that perceptual data collected from the same group of performance data may provide precise explanations of the relation between perceptions and speech act performance.

The third limitation is the selection of WDCT items in the current study. The selection of WDCT items is made after the reality and dependability tests (Sections3.3.4 and 3.3.5). The number of items is reduced to 7 and 8 which is a smaller burden to the participants. However, the limited items lessened the comparable pairs when investigating the effect sizes of *P,D,I*. For example, the pair for comparison of different [*I*] rankings is missed in refusal speech act (Section 4.2.1.2). A richer coverage of WDCT items would help to solve this problem.

6.3 Directions for further research

The current study is expected to direct some further research on the relation between people's perceptions and their speech act performance.

Compared to the pre-set *P,D,I* designed by researchers, the participants' ratings of *P,D,I* can provide very different information for their performance. For example, the current study found that distance is an influential factor responsible for evaluation speech acts. This finding is different compared to most previous studies of compliments and complaints, claiming the *P* is more influential (Section 4.2.2). We were able to measure the effect size of *P,D,I* from their actual rankings as well. Instead of vaguely concluding the roles that they play on performance, we now know more precisely how big the role is in Korean and Chinese. The sociopragmatic differences were identified in the comparison of *P,D,I* perceptions of different groups.. Therefore, careful examinations of *P,D,I* perceptions are encouraged for speech act studies using these three variables in experimental settings.

Another inspiration of the current study is that language learners' performance may result from very particular metapragmatic factors. For example, the perceived language distance was mostly examined in the areas of lexicon or syntax. Its extension to pragmatics remained at the level of strategy use. The current study found that the perceived language distance may also function at the level of sociopragmatics. For example, in Situation 2, learners used the strategies preferred by CNS only because they perceive the L1 NS will have the same rankings of *D*. That is, learners' performance is not only affected by their actual perceptions of *D*, but also by their perceived language distance of *D* perceptions between L1 and IL. That perceiving the L1-L2 distance as being close by CLK may also be a reason for their mixed-use of strategies across different speech acts (Section 5.1.2). Another interesting finding is the learner's resistance to their L1 or IL features. For example, in Situation 17, 61.1% of the learners realized their IL performance is different to both NS' in L1 and L2. They volunteered to keep the difference in their language use. Their language use may have a role playing in their cultural identity or national pride as discussed in Section 5.1.2. In light of the current findings and discussions, insights into the learners' metapragmatic awareness were able to reveal a different picture for interlanguage studies. In addition to the metapragmatic awareness, investigations to the cross-cultural psychologies may help studies of this kind go further.

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Appendixes

I. Coding scheme of refusals from Beebe. Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990)

Classification of Refusals

1. Direct
   a. Performative
   b. Nonperformative statement
      'No'
      Negative willingness/ability
2. Indirect
   a. Statement of regret
   b. Wish
   c. Excuse, reason, explanation
   d. Statement of alternative
   e. Set condition for future or past acceptance
   f. Promise for future acceptance
   g. Statement of principle
   h. Statement of philosophy
   i. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor
      Threat or statement of negative consequence to the requester
      Guilt trip
      Criticize the request / requester
      Request for help, empathy, assistance by dropping or holding the request
      Let interlocutor off the hook
      Self-defense
   j. Acceptance that functions as a refusal
      Unspecific or indefinite reply
      Lack of enthusiasm
   k. Avoidance
      Nonverbal
         Silence
         Hesitation
         Do nothing
         Physical departure
      Verbal
         Topic switch
         Joke
         Repetition of part of request
         Postponement
         Hedging

Adjuncts to Refusals

1. Statement of positive opinion feelings or agreement
2. Statement of empathy
3. Pause fillers
4. Gratitude / appreciation

II. Mean values of P,D,I ratings

Evaluation speech act

Situations	KNS			CLK			CNS		
	D	P	I	D	P	I	D	P	I
S1	3.5	3.083	2.6	3.923	3	2.8	3.733	3.067	2.733
S2	2.25	3	2.8	2.231	3.154	1.933	3.4	3	2.533
S3	3.417	3.833	2.733	2.538	4	3.067	3.133	3.533	2.467
S4	1	2.583	3.133	1.077	2	2.4	1.667	3	3
S6	4.083	3.083	2.933	4.462	3	3.333	4	3.067	2.867
S8	3.5	1.167	4	2.538	1.308	3.4	3	2.2	3.267
S9	1.5	2.833	4.6	2.154	3	4.067	1.867	2.933	3.2
S10	3.083	3.417	2.933	3.077	3.846	3.2	3.467	2.933	2.733
S11	2.917	4.417	3.733	2.692	4.846	3.8	2.733	3.867	2.867
S12	2.917	2.5	3.733	2.846	3	3.733	3.2	3.2	3.067
S14	3.417	2.833	2.2	3.923	2.846	2.2	3.6	2.8	2.6
S15	4.167	3.5	2.533	4.615	3.615	1.733	4	3	2.467

Refusal speech act

Situations	KNS			CLK			CNS		
	D	P	I	D	P	I	D	P	I
S16	2.167	3.083	3.267	2.231	3	3.333	2.8	3	3.2
S17	3.583	1.583	4.267	3.615	1.308	4.533	3.8	2.067	3.733
S18	1.25	3.75	1.8	1.231	3.769	1.867	1.867	3.333	2.067
S19	3	4.167	2.6	2.846	4.923	2.6	3.133	4.133	2.8
S21	2.25	3	3.133	2.462	3	3.2	2.6	3	2.8
S23	2.75	3.5	2.667	2.846	4.308	3.133	2.667	3.733	2.733
S25	1.083	3	3.467	1	3.077	3.6	1.4	3	2.667
S26	3.833	1.25	4.6	3.769	1.077	4.733	3.933	2.067	3.933
S27	3.083	1.667	4.067	3.385	1.231	4.333	3.667	1.8	3.733
S28	3.083	2.333	3.867	3.154	2.231	3.8	3.467	2.133	3.333
S29	4.167	3	3.467	4.231	3	2.667	3.933	3	2.8
S30	2.833	3.583	3.133	3.077	4.308	2.733	2.867	3.867	2.6

III. Final version of WDCT in Korean with English translations.

상황 1. 당신은 20 대 대학생입니다. 오늘 식당에서 지난 학기에 같이 수업을 들었던 다른 학과에 다니는 친구 지현을 만났습니다. 당신과 지현은 올해부터 다 복수전공을 선택해서 수업이 갑자기 많아지게 되었습니다. 당신은 이번 학기 일주일 24 시간의 수업에 많이 지쳐 있습니다. 여름방학동안 보지 못한 지현은 당신에게 안부를 묻습니다. 당신은 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

지현: 어~오래만이야. 이번 학기는 어때?

당신:_____

Situation 1. You are a university student in your 20s. Today, in the cafeteria you met your friend Iihyeon, who you took a class with last year but is from a different department. Both of you chose to take a joint honors this year, thus meaning the workload suddenly increased. You are tired of having 24 hours of classes per week. Now you and Jihyeon are catching up briefly as you have not seen each other during the whole summer. How would you answer in the following dialogue?

Jihyeon: Long time no see. How is the new term?

You: _____

상황 2. 당신은 30 대 회사직원입니다. 이번 주 회사의 파견으로 지방에 있는 회의에 참가하러 출장왔습니다. 그 곳의 호텔에서 같은 회의에 나가는 영주 씨를 처음으로 만났습니다. 영주 씨와 같은 방을 쓰게 된 다음에 알아보니 동갑입니다. 오늘 회의는 재미없었습니다. 겨우 끝났고 지금 영주 씨와 술 한잔을 같이 하고 있습니다. 다음 대화에 당신이 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

영주: 휴~오늘 하루가 길었네요. 지현 씨(당신)는 회의가 어땠어요?

당신:_____

Situation 2. You are an office worker in your 30s. This week you have been sent to another city to attend a conference. You met Yeongju, who was coming to the same conference, for the first time in the hotel. You found you two are at the same age after you were arranged in the same room. Today's conference was boring. It had barely ended and now you are having a drink with Yeongju. What would you say in the following conversation?

Yeongju: hoo~ today was so long. How did you find the conference?

You: _____

상황 3. 당신은 대학교 3 학년 학생입니다. 오늘 당신 학교의 신입생들과 같이 식사하고 술자리도 가졌습니다. 옆에 앉은 어린 여자 후배 지연이 이번 학기에 A 교수님의 수업을 좀 들을지 생각중입니다. 하지만 당신은 A 교수님이 아주 까다롭고 과제도 많이 준다는 것을 알고 있습니다. 다음 질문에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

후배 지연: 선배님, 있잖아요. 저는 이번 학기부터 우리과 A 교수님의 수업을 좀 들으려고 하는데 혹시 A 교수님의 수업이 어떤지 아세요?

당신: _____

Situation 3. You are a 3rd year University student. Today you had a meal and drinking party with some Freshmans. A female 1st year student, Jiyeon, is thinking to take a course from Professor.A. However, as you know, Professor.A is very picky and tends to give a lot of homework. How would you answer the following question?

Jiyeon: Senpaynim, you know, I am thinking about taking a course from Professor.A. Do you know how his class is going to be?

You: _____

상황 8. 당신은 20 대 신입사원 김영주입니다. 오늘 신입사원들을 위하여 회사 회식이 있어서 참석했습니다. 회사 전체 모임이라 평소에 잘 뵙지 못하는 사장님도 오셨습니다. 시간이 지날 수록 술을 많이 마시게 되어 모임이 시끄러워졌습니다. 당신은 술을 잘 마시지 못하는데도 억지로 마셔서 속이 안 좋습니다. 모임이 끝나고 다들 문밖으로 나와 사장님과 작별인사를 하고 있습니다. 사장님의 다음 질문에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

사장님: 김영주 씨, 오늘 어땠어요?

당신: _____

Situation 8. You are Yeongju Kim and you are a new employee in your 20s. Today you went to a welcome party for new recruits. As it was for the whole company, you met the President whom you rarely met before. As time went by, the party become very noisy when people got drunk. You are not very capable of drinking a lot, yet you were forced to drink, resulting in your stomach not feeling too well. After the party ends, everyone comes to the front door to say farewell to the President. How would you answer the following question from the President?

The President: Yeongju, how was today('s party)?

You: _____

상황 9. 당신은 20 대 후반 직장인입니다. 오늘 어머니의 말씀에 선을 보러 갔습니다. 상대방 영주 씨는 당신과 동갑입니다. 그런데 듣던 것과 달리 상대방의 외모가 좀 형편없어서 당신이 실망했습니다. 다음 대화에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

영주: 저는 어때요? 듣던 것과 많이 달라요?

당신:_____

Situation 9. You are an office worker in your 20s. Today you went on a date that was arranged by your mother. Your date (Yeongju) is the same age as you. Compared to what you have heard, your

date was rather poor looking. So you were disappointed. What would you say in the following conversation?

Yeongju: How about me? Do I look different compared to what you had heard?

You: _____

상황 10. 당신은 40 대 가정주부입니다. 오늘 집 근처에 있는 매장에 행사가 있다고 해서 거기에 갔습니다. 당신은 그 매장에서 생활용품들을 많이 샀기 때문에 젊은 판매원과 매니저들도 얼굴을 다 압니다. 오늘 이벤트에서 게임을 해서 재미있었습니다. 하지만 행사의 기념품은 오직 치약 뿐이었는데 당신은 치약 6 개보다는 다른 기념품도 좀 주었으면 좋겠다고 생각하고 있습니다. 행사가 끝나고 아는 매니저 지현이 다가와서 행사가 어떻냐고 물었습니다. 다음 질문에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

지현: 아주머니, 오늘도 오셨네요. 오늘 행사가 어떠셨어요?

당신: _____

Situation 10. You are a housewife in your 40s. You went to an event held by a mall near your house. Since you frequently go shopping in that mall, the young salesmen and managers know your face. Today's event had many fun games. However, they only have toothpastes for a prize. You got 6 toothpaste tubes which you hoped could be swapped for other things. After the event ends, a manager, Jihyeon, came to ask about your opinion. How would you answer the following question?

Jihyeon: Acumeni(Korean address for middle age ladies), you came today. How was the event?

You: _____

상황 12. 당신은 20 대 대학원생입니다. 아르바이트로 11 세의 아이에게 수학 과외를 하고 있습니다. 과외를 하는 동안 학생의 어머님이 항상 과일과 음료수를 자주 챙겨 주셨습니다.

하지만 그 아이는 수학에 대해 별로 자질이 없고 수업시간에 자꾸 놀려고 합니다. 오늘 과외가 끝난 후에 거실에 나왔는데 학생의 어머님이 기다리고 계십니다. 아래의 질문에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

학생의 어머니: 우리 아들을 가르치느라 수고가 많지요. 그런데 우리 아들의 수업 태도가 어때요? 가르칠 만한가요?

당신: _____

Situation 12. You are a postgraduate student in your 20s. You are tutoring an 11 year old student mathematics. During the private lesson, the student's mother was always bringing you fruits and drinks. However, the student was not particularly talented at mathematics and always wanted to play during the classes. Today you found that the student's mother was waiting for you after the tutorial finished. How would you answer the following question?

Student's mother: Thank you for all the efforts you are going to in teaching my son. How is his attitude towards learning? Is it worth your efforts?

You: _____

상황 15. 당신은 20 대 직장인입니다. 오늘 어렸을 때부터 같이 놀았던 여동생이 공무원 시험에 합격했습니다. 그래서 친한 친구들을 다 불러서 같이 파티를 했습니다. 당신은 공무원이 안정되고 힘들지 않아서 여자에게 참으로 좋은 직장이라고 생각하기 때문에 그 동생을 위해 진심으로 기뻐하면서도 좀 질투가 납니다. 같이 술을 먹고 있는데 다음 대화에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

여동생: 어휴~드디어 붙었어. 부모님이 맨날 공무원이 좋다고…뭐가 좋아. 시험만 어려운데…

당신: _____

Situation 15. You are an office worker in your 20s. A younger female friend with whom you used to spend time together from a young age passed the exam to become a civil servant. She called for a party with you and other close friends. In your opinion, the position of civil servant is a very good job for girls as it is stable and the workload is not heavy. Whilst you are sincerely happy for the friend, at the same time, you feel a little jealous. During having a drink together, what would you say in the following conversation?

Your friend: Whooo~ finally passed. My parents always nagged me about how good the job is…what is so good. Only the exam is hard…

You: _____

상황 17. 당신은 30 대 사장님 부속실의 비서입니다. 오늘 사장님이 급하게 당신에게 어떤 서류를 찾으라고 하는데 당신의 폴더에 있는 서류들이 정리가 잘 안 되어 있어서 찾을 때까지 시간이 좀 걸렸습니다. 그러다가 사장님이 서류들을 시간순서로 정리하면 좋겠다고 제의하셨는데 당신은 정리하는 데 더 시간이 걸릴 것 같아서 안 하려고 합니다. 아래의 대화에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

사장님: 서류들이 많아서 시간순서로 정리하면 좋겠네.

당신: _____

Situation 17. You are a 30-year-old secretary in the office of a company president. Today the president urgently told you to find a file, but due to the files not being properly sorted you took some time finding the file. Afterwards the President suggested that it might be better to sort those files according to time. However, you think that sorting it may take even longer. What would you say in the following conversation?

President: It would be better if you can sort those files according to the time, as there are so many of them.

You: _____

상황 18. 당신은 30 대 직장인입니다. 오늘 코트를 사러 백화점에 갔는데 가게 점원이 코트와 어울리는 목도리도 하나 사라고 제의했습니다. 당신은 집에 목도리 몇 개 있어서 더 사고 싶지 않습니다. 아래의 제안에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

점원: 이 코트와 어울리는 이 목도리도 있는데요. 한번 해 보세요. 같이 매시면 더 멋질 거예요.

당신: _____

Situation 18. You are an office worker in your 30s. Today you went to the department store to buy a coat. The sales assistant recommended you buy a scarf that matches your coat. You do not particularly want to buy another, since you already have a few scarves at home. How would you answer the following suggestion?

Sales: Here is a scarf that matches this coat. Try it. It looks even nicer if you put them on together.

You: _____

상황 21. 당신은 30 대 회사직원입니다. 오늘 퇴근이 늦어서 버스의 막차를 놓쳤습니다. 이 때 마침 같은 빌딩에서 일하는 지현 씨가 차를 몰고 나왔는데 당신이 혼자 기다리는 것을 보고 태워 주겠다고 했습니다. 하지만 지현 씨는 사무실 빌딩에서 몇번 얼굴을 보고 인사정도만 하는 사이입니다. 그런데도 상대방이 이성(異性)이라서 당신은 불편할 것 같아서 차라리 콜택시가 더 좋을 거라고 생각합니다.아래의 대화에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

지현: 어~혼자 기다리고 계세요? 집이 어디세요? 제가 태워 드릴게요.

당신: _____

Situation 21.You are an office worker in your 30s. You missed the last bus today due to finishing work late. At the same time, a colleague, Jihyeon, is driving out from the office building and found that you were waiting alone, so s/he offered you a lift. However, Jihyeon is only someone you have seen a few times in the office and only ever said hello to. So you think it may be better to call a taxi than taking the same car with someone of the opposite gender. What would you say in the following conversation?

Jihyeon: Oh, you are waiting alone? Where is your house? I will give a lift.

You: _____

상황 26. 당신은 20 대 대학원생입니다. 오늘 하루종일 연구실에서 공부해서 정말 피곤합니다. 이 때 지도교수님께서 전화하셔서 내일 학회에서 쓰실 PPT 를 좀 만들어 달라고 하셨습니다. 당신은 너무 피곤해서 해 드리고 싶지 않습니다. 아래의 대화에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

교수님: 김지현 학생(당신), 전에 말했던 학회 PPT 를 만드는 것 좀 도와 주겠나?

당신: _____

Situation 26. You are a postgraduate in your 20s. You are really tired now after studying in the study room for a whole day. At this time your supervisor called you and asked if you could help him to do a PPT for his conference tomorrow. You do not want to do as you are really tired. What would you say in the following conversation?

Professor: Jihyeon Kim, could you help me with the conference PPT that I mentioned to you before?

You: _____

상황 27. 당신은 24 세 대학생입니다. 오늘 수업을 담당하신 선생님이 설문지 하나를 주셨고 본인이 지도하는 박사학생의 자료 수집이라고 하시면서 한 시간 내로 작성해 달라고

하셨습니다. 하지만 당신은 속으로 이런 일을 무료로 도와 주고 싶지 않습니다. 아래의 대화에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

선생님: 자네, 시간이 좀 있으면 이 설문지를 좀 채울 수 있니? 박사생의 자료 수집용이니 한 시간내로 끝내야 돼.

당신: _____

Situation 27. You are a 24 year old university student. Today a lecturer who is teaching you gave you a questionnaire. The questionnaire is used by a PhD student under the lecturer's supervision to collect data and it needs to be done in an hour. However, you do not want to help with this kind of work for free. What would you say in the following conversation?

Lecturer: Hey, if you have time, could you do this questionnaire? It is used for data collection by a PhD student and needs to be done in an hour.

You: _____

상황 28. 당신은 20 대 신입사원입니다. 오늘은 아는 직장 선배님이 퇴근 후에 동료들과 같이 술을 먹고 평소 잘 모르는 동료들과도 친해지자고 하셨습니다. 당신도 이 기회를 통해 동료들과 좀 친해지고 싶지만 오늘 밤에 애인과 약속이 있어서 못 갈 것 같습니다. 아래의 대화에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

선배님: 영주 씨(당신), 오늘 퇴근한 후 우리랑 같이 술 한잔 할까요? 서로 잘 친해질 겸.

당신:_____

Situation 28. You are a new employee in your 20s. Today one senior colleague suggested that you go for a drink together to get to know other colleagues. You would love to take the opportunity to become friendlier with your colleagues but you already have an appointment with your girl/boyfriend. What would you say in the following dialogue?

Senior colleague: Yeongju, would you like to join us for a drink after work? It is also for us to get to know each other.

You: _____

상황 30. 당신은 A 병원의 원장(50 세)입니다. 오늘 A 병원에 의료기계를 공급하는 B 회사의 마케팅 과장 이영주(35 세) 씨에게 전화가 왔는데 비싼 레스트랑에서 저녁을 대접하고 싶다고 초대를 해왔습니다. 당신은 영주 씨를 이전에 몇 번 만나봤고 이야기를 나눈 적이 있습니다. 하지만 당신은 비지니스 만찬에 관심이 없어서 가고 싶지 않습니다. 아래의 대화에 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

영주 씨: 원장님, 혹시 오늘 밤 시간이 되십니까? 지금까지 저의 사업을 많이 지지해 주셨는데 감사의 뜻으로 ○○레스트랑으로 모시고 싶습니다.

당신: _____

Situation 30. You are the director of A hospital. Today Yeongju Lee, who is the marketing manager in the provider company of medical appliances, called to invite you to a dinner in an expensive restaurant. You have met Yeongju a few times before and had talked to him as well. However, you are not interested in this kind of business dinner and thus do not want to go. What would you say in the following conversation?

Yeongju: Director, do you happen to have time tonight? Thank you for your support to our business. We would like to invite you to a dinner and say it in person in OO restaurant.

You: _____

IV. Sample of questionnaires for perception data

Evaluation

상황 1. 당신은 20 대 대학생입니다. 오늘 식당에서 지난 학기에 같이 수업을 들었던 다른 학과에 다니는 친구 지현을 만났습니다. 당신과 지현은 올해부터 다 복수전공을 선택해서 수업이 갑자기 많아지게 되었습니다. 당신은 이번 학기 일주일 24 시간의 수업에 많이 지쳐 있습니다. 여름방학동안 보지 못한 지현은 당신에게 안부를 묻습니다. 당신은 어떻게 대답하시겠습니까?

지현: 어~오래만이야. 이번 학기는 어때?

당신:_____

Situation 1. You are a university student in your 20s. Today, in the cafeteria you met your friend Iihyeon, who you took a class with last year but is from a different department. Both of you chose to take a joint honors this year, thus meaning the workload suddenly increased. You are tired of having 24 hours of classes per week. Now you and Jihyeon are catching up briefly as you have not seen each other during the whole summer. How would you answer in the following dialogue?

Jihyeon: Long time no see. How is the new term?

You: _____

1) Is it hard for you to imagine the given situation?

   Yes

   No

2) How often do you think the given situation happens in real life?

   1 2 3 4 5

   never happened happening every day

3) How well do you think the speaker knows the hearer in the given situation?

   Very close

   Knowing each other well

   Fairly knowing each other

Not knowing each other very well

Not knowing each other

4) What is the social status of the speaker compared to the hearer

Higher

Slightly higher

Equal

Slightly lower

Lower

5) What kind of answer would it become if the speaker tells their “true thought” (the given evaluation)?

It will be the answer preferred by the hearer.

It will be the answer fine to the hearer.

It will be the answer acceptable by the hearer.

It will be the answer that the hearer does not really like.

It will be the answer that the hearer hates.

How hard do you find it is to refuse the given request/suggestion/invitation/offer? (for refusal speech acts)

Very hard to refuse

Hard to refuse

Not so hard to refuse

Easy to refuse

Very easy to refuse

V. Additional questions for learners

1) 한국어를 배우는 동기 Motivations of learning Korean

a. 한류의 영행 Influence from Korean wave

b. 취직 목적 Employability

c. 유학 목적 Studying abroad

d. 언어에 대한 취미 Interest in the language

e. 기타 _____ Other

2) 한국어 학습 기간 Length of learning Korean

a. 1 년이하 Under 1 year

b. 1 년이상 More than 1 year

c. 2 년이상 More than 2 years

d. 3 년이상 More than 3 years

e. 4 년이상 More than 4 years

3) 한국어 학습기간, 방식 및 기관 Duration and institute of learning Korean

한국에 오기 전에 / 한국에 온 후에 Before coming to Korea / After coming to Korea

a. 대학교 전공 Majoring in Universities

b. 학원/어학당 Language academy

c. 과외 받음 Personal tutor

d. 자학 Self-learning

e. 전혀 배우지 않았음 Not learning at all

4) 지금 한국어는 일주일 몇 시간정도 배웁니까? How many hours do you spend on learning Korean every week?

듣기 / 말하기 / 읽기 / 쓰기 Listening / Speaking / Reading / Writing

a. 2 시간 혹 이하 2 hours or less

b. 4 시간 전후 Around 4 hours

c. 6 시간 전후 Around 6 hours

d. 8 시간 전후 Around 8 hours

e. 10 시간 혹 이상 Around 10 hours

5) 한국어는 배우는 데 주로 어디의 교재를 사용하고 있는지, 그리고 어디의 교재를 사용했는지 적어 주십시오. What textbooks are you currently using? What textbooks have you used?

6) 한국어 능력 시험 (TOPIK) 급수로 보면 현재 수준으로 몇 급 통과할 수 있습니까? What level are you judging from the levels of TOPIK?

a.1 급 Level 1

b.2 급 Level 2

c.3 급 Level 3

d.4 급 Level 4

e.5 급 Level 5

f.6 급 Level 6

7) 한국에 얼마동안 체류했습니까? How long have you been in Korea?

a. 6 개월이하 6 months or less

b.6 개월이상 More than 6 months

c. 1 년이상 More than 1 year

d.2 년이상 More than 2 years

e.기타_____ Other

8) 한국 사회와 문화에 대해 어느정도 잘 안다고 생각합니까? How well do you think you know about Korean society and culture?

a. 전혀 모릅니다 Nothing

b.잘 모릅니다 Not well

c. 기본정도 압니다 Know them at the basic level

d. 잘 압니다 Know well

e. 아주 잘 압니다 Know very well

VI. Examples of participants' responses

Evaluation

Situation 2 Evaluating the conference with your hotel roommate who seems to have negative opinion	
KNS	회의가 조금 지루하지 않았어요? Wasn't it a little boring? 지루하고 재미없는 회의였지만 이것도 다 경험이겠죠. Although it is a boring conference, it is worth experiencing. 조금 지루했던 것 같아요. 영주 씨는 어땠어요? It seems to be a bit boring. What do you think?
CNS	就是太长了，有点受不了。 That was too long. I can't bear it. 今天的会议好无聊啊。 It was too boring. 今天的会议好无聊哦，那人真能讲。 Today's conferece was too boring, the speaker was too talkative.
CLK	재미없지만 많이 배운 것 같아요. Although it was boring, I think learnt something (from it). 지금 너무 피곤해. 술 한잔 하면 좋겠어, 같이 갈래? I am too tired now. I want a drink. Do you want to join? 이 회의가 너무 재미없어서 회의 동안 시간 너무 길었어요. 지금 술 먹는 시간이 아주 좋아요. This conference was too boring and it feels like the clock stopped ticking. I feel better because we are drinking now.

Refusal

Situation 21 Refusing the offer of a lift from a colleague whom you do not know well	
KNS	아니에요. 콜택시를 이미 불렀어요. 먼저 가세요. No, I have called a taxi. You go ahead. 아니에요. 친구가 데리러 오기로 해서요. No, my friend will come to pick me up. 감사합니다. 그런데 제가 다른 곳을 가야 해서 마음만 받겠습니다. Thank you. But I need to go somewhere else. Thank you for the concern.
CNS	谢谢，不用了，我叫出租车就行了，不麻烦你了。 Thank you. No. I am ok with taxi and would like not to trouble you. 不用了，忙了一天，你也挺辛苦的。 No. After the whole day of busy work, you must be tired too. 不用了，谢谢。

	No. Thank you.
CLK	감사합니다. 그런데 제가 남편을 기다리고 있어요. Thank you. But I am waiting from my husband. 괜찮아요. 택시를 타야 돼요. 감사해요 I am ok. I need to take a taxi. Thank you. 고마워요. 그런데 콜택시를 했어요. Thank you. I have called a taxi.

VII. An example of non-parametric homogeneity test (excuses/reasons/explanations in evaluations).

ANOVA

abs_dif

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1173.817	2	586.908	1.818	.166
Within Groups	43580.712	135	322.820		
Total	44754.529	137			

*For the following Kruskal-Wallis test, see Tables 27 and 28.