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"I LOST THE BUS: CAN YOU GIVE ME A RIDE HOME ?": NATIVE AND NONNATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS' SPEECH ACT PRODUCTION AND METAPRAGMATIC JUDGMENTS: A STUDY ON APOLOGIES, COMPLAINTS AND REQUESTS

by

Anuradha Ruhil

A Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the

GRADUATE INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM IN
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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Anuradha Ruhil

entitled "I lost the bus: Can you give me a ride home?": Native and Nonnative English Speakers' Speech Act Production and Metapragmatic Judgments. A Study on Apologies, Complaints and Requests.

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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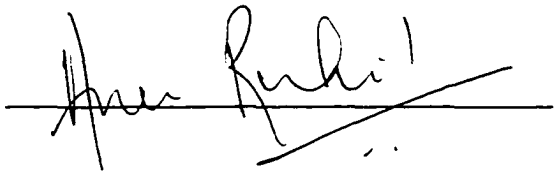
SIGNED: 

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DEDICATION

For my grandfather Mangesh Tembulkar;

My parents Brig. V. S. Ruhil and Asha Ruhil;

My husband Biswaroop Barua

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation reports the findings of a study on pragmatic ability and metapragmatic judgments of native and nonnative speakers of English conducted at a public university in the United States and also at a public university in Singapore. Specifically, the research study investigated the realization of apologies, complaints and requests focusing on the production of downgraders and upgraders. In addition, the study also examined metapragmatic ratings provided by these subjects and their reasons for the ratings.

Thirty-eight native and thirty nonnative speakers participated in the first phase of the study, which involved responding to a 30-item discourse completion task (DCT). In the second phase of data collection, responses to the DCT were used to construct a metapragmatic judgment task (MJT) in order to investigate subjects' metapragmatic ratings of apologies, complaints and requests. A new group of native speakers (69 total) and thirty-seven nonnative speakers (a new but comparable group) completed the MJT (the Singaporean subjects were unavailable for participation in the MJT). Fourteen native and 16 nonnative speakers participated in the interviews.

Various statistical tests were conducted to analyze the coded DCT responses as well as the MJT data. Interview protocols were summarized to study opinions provided by subjects for the MJT ratings.

Results of this research study indicated that native speakers used a significantly higher number of downgraders in complaints and requests than nonnative speakers. A significantly higher number of downgraders were also supplied in requests than in complaints. Metapragmatic ratings of native speakers differed significantly from those of nonnative speakers in 29/90 cases. While the two groups were significantly different in their performance on the DCT and the MJT, the subjective opinions expressed about the appropriateness of responses converged to a great extent.

In conclusion, this dissertation was able to contribute to our understanding of native and nonnative speakers' use of modality markers and their perceptions about appropriate language use. The results of this study also concur with previous research that indicates the need for instruction in pragmatic aspects of the L2.

Chapter 1
Introduction

Culture is inseperable from language and therefore must be included in language study; culture is in the act of becoming and therefore should be taught as a process.

(Crawford-Lange 1987, p. 258)

The Weave of Language and Culture

Language acquisition is typically investigated in a context of first language (i.e., mother tongue/native language) and second/foreign language acquisition (henceforth SL/FL). Research has provided ample evidence that while we all learn our mother tongues well, often performance in our second/foreign tongues is far from perfect, particularly if we have acquired the SL/FL after the onset of puberty[1]. It is widely accepted that second language learners differ from first language learners not only in their phonological, lexical, and syntactical acquisition, but also in their sociocultural and sociolinguistic acquisition.

Research within the past twenty years indicates that while learners need to learn the forms of a language, they must simultaneously acquire its functions : "The language system is also much more than words and rules; it includes the sociolinguistic elements of gestures and other forms of nonverbal communication, of status and discourse style, and 'learning what to say to whom and when'" (*Standards For Foreign Language Learning: Preparing for the 21st Century*, p. 29).

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[1] This period of decline in language learning ability is often referred to as the critical or sensitive period. The age at which the critical/sensitive period sets in has been debated and is generally placed somewhere around puberty.

As the Standards document suggests, knowledge of grammar and the manipulation of forms is no longer the primary goal of second language study. Learners should also be able to translate this knowledge into performance [Saussure's *langue* versus *parole*. De Saussure, F. (1949). *Cours de linguistique generale.*]. Moreover, this performance needs to be attuned to the norms of the second/foreign culture. Just as any SL/FL exhibits lexical and syntactical differences, it also differs with regard to ***how*** the language is used by its speakers, and ***what*** they consider appropriate. Thus, learners need to become socioculturally savvy in their second languages.

Acquisition of sociocultural competence entails knowledge of the cultural norms of the second culture and the ability to produce speech in harmony with these cultural norms. Thus, to learn a second language entails learning a second culture. Agar (1994) uses the term languaculture to refer to the tight knit of culture and language.

Language teachers have been struggling to define culture with the aim of teaching it in the classroom. There are several definitions of culture. The cultural anthropologist Goodenough (1963) offers the following comments on culture: "culture, then consists of standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding how one feels about it, standards for deciding what to do about it, and standards for deciding how to go about doing it" (cited in Goodenough 1981, p. 62). Henry Giroux (1988) offers the following definition: "culture signifies the particular ways in which a

social group lives out and makes sense of its given circumstances and conditions of life" (p. 193).

Language teachers concur that both "big-C" (arts, literature, music, etc.) and "small-c" (patterns of daily life, customs, dress etc.) culture need to be included in second language pedagogy. The importance of culture within language pedagogy has found resonance in the community of applied linguists and this is reflected in the recently published document *The Standards for Foreign Language Learning: Preparing for the 21st Century* (1996). According to the authors of this work, culture consists of practices and products. Although it is generally a simple matter to acquire knowledge of the social institutions, the fine arts, the literature, and the history of the second culture (i.e., the products), it is a great deal more difficult to acquire the norms of appropriateness (i.e., the practices) of the second language which help develop and maintain interpersonal relationships, in other words, -- what to say, how to say it, when to say it, and to whom.

Thus, language proficiency has a dual character - it involves both knowledge of the language, and the ability to translate this knowledge into performance. Performance in a second/foreign language is typically described and measured in terms of communicative competence. Bachman and Clark (1987) offer the following rubric for communicative competence: "the knowledge of grammatical rules, the knowledge of language functions, or illocutionary acts, and of sociolinguistic conventions, and the recognition of language use as a dynamic process" (p. 24). Pragmaticists focus primarily on sociolinguistic

competence. Under the rubric of communicative competence, Canale and Swain (1980) include grammatical competence or the knowledge of the rules of grammar, sociolinguistic competence -- the knowledge of the rules and uses of discourse, and strategic competence - the knowledge of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies.

Canale (1983) subsequently updated this model to a four-dimensional one comprising linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competencies. Bachman (1989) provides the following framework for communicative language ability :

> Communicative language ability consists of language competence, strategic competence, and psychophysiological mechanisms. Language competence includes organisational competence, which consists of grammatical and textual competence, and pragmatic competence, which consists of illocutionary and sociolinguistic competence. Strategic competence is seen as performing assessment, planning and execution functions in determining the most effective means of achieving a communicative goal. Psychophysiological mechanisms involved in language use characterise the channel (auditory, visual) and mode (receptive, productive) in which competence is implemented
>
> (as cited in Weir 1990, p. 8)

Thus Bachman's framework details the complexity of language performance situating it within a broader social context. It takes into account grammatical knowledge, the ability to use this knowledge within specific social contexts, and the ability to use non-verbal strategies in cases when the other competencies are insufficient. Finally, this model also emphasizes the channels and modes employed for language performance.

Pragmatics, Metapragmatics, and the Native Speaker

Loosely defined, pragmatics is the study of how language is used by its speakers. Steiner and Veltman (1988) view pragmatics as "the means by which students of language come to terms with language as a process as well as language as a product." (p. 2). Davis (1991) views pragmatics as a "theory of a speaker's linguistic competence." (p.4). Mey (1993) defines pragmatics as "the study of the conditions of human language used as these are determined by the context of society" (p. 42). Extrapolating from these definitions it appears that pragmatics concerns what people do with language. Pragmaticists thus view language as action.

Let me illustrate the idea of language as action with the help of an example. My advisor (for whom I work as a research assistant) is an extremely busy individual and sees large numbers of students on a daily basis, both during and outside her office hours. When I knock on my advisor's office door, I always accompany my knock with the words: "it's just me." This sentence can have several interpretations. However, I always mean it primarily as reassurance that it's not another student seeking her out outside of her office hours, and secondarily as a request for permission to enter her office.

Similarly, whenever we use language in daily life, we are attempting to accomplish certain goals. To borrow a phrase from Davis (1991), we have *communicative intentions*, which we carry out using language in specific ways. In order for successful

communication to take place, not only does the speaker express communicative intentions, but the hearer must also be able to decode them. Given that our utterances are not always crystal clear ***even*** to hearers who share our cultural norms, it logically follows that hearers of different cultural backgrounds are likely to "mishear" us. If every language has its peculiar and particular cultural flavor, then learners of languages need to somehow acquire this flavor. They need to sound "appropriate" to their interlocutors.

The consequences of not acting appropriately within another culture can lead to communication that goes awry. Thomas (1983) calls this phenomenon pragmatic failure and identifies two types: pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic. She maintains that pragmalinguistic failure occurs when "the pragmatic force mapped by S[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." (p. 99). Sociopragmatic failure occurs due to culturally different notions of appropriateness. Second language learners who are linguistically fluent can find themselves in a vulnerable position if they sound "inappropriate" to the native speaker. Their "pragmatic failures" may not be taken lightly, and the entire interaction may break down, even, in spite of linguistic accuracy.

Pragmaticists are concerned not only with how speakers produce utterances, but also why they make specific choices in producing those utterances. Consequently, metapragmatics as a field of inquiry is also of interest to the pragmaticist.

Metapragmatics can be defined as the set of beliefs and intuitions that any speaker of any language possesses about how and why speakers make choices in producing utterances. It is implicit, unconscious (to some extent) knowledge of social rules that govern the use of the language. In essence then, metapragmatics adds another level to pragmatics by dealing with what speakers consider appropriate language use employing not so much the speaker's perspective, but the hearer's. The native speaker acquires the guidelines for language use from birth onwards through his/her socialization. Conversely, the ***non***-native speaker is not enculturated with this knowledge and must therefore be explicitly instructed in it, or acquire it through experience and exposure to the L2.

The native speaker in applied linguistics research has been indispensable. He/she is the yardstick against which the performance of non-native speakers is measured. Although there has been a great deal of debate on the efficacy of absolute, dichotomous terms like native / non-native speaker, linguists and applied linguists continue to use them as they have failed to come up with an alternative concept which has psychological reality for language users.

Theoretical linguists see the native speaker as a reliable source of data for grammaticality judgments. In the area of sociolinguistics, the native speaker provides acceptability judgments because he/she is generally believed to have implicit knowledge of what constitutes appropriate language use in a given context in his/her language.

Speech Acts and Pragmatics

Speech acts have attracted a great deal of attention from teachers and researchers alike. Researchers are most concerned with analyzing meaning at the level of utterances. Speech act theory was developed by Austin *(How To Do Things With Words*, 1962), who was the first to suggest that to use language means to do something (to carry out an action) with it. A speech act is a functional unit in communication (Cohen, 1996a). Searle (1969) expanded Austin's work, and analyzed the complexity of human language in his own work *Speech Acts : An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. In this work, he raises questions about the difficulty of classifying speech acts, offers a taxonomy of speech acts, and comments on the relationship of language and context. Speech act research focuses on what is culture-specific language behavior in a functional perspective, and how learners transfer algorithms (Wildner-Bassett's term) of language use from L1 to L2.

While some speech acts such as apologies and requests have been examined in some detail, there is relatively less empirical research available on others such as compliments, complaints, and refusals. Research on speech acts is useful on many fronts: it provides a closer look at what nonnative speakers do with the L2 and how their linguistic output is perceived by native speakers ; it allows applied linguists to draw conclusions and suggest implications for instruction ; it allows for cross-culturai

comparisons - of crucial importance in today's world particularly with regard to English and its international varieties.[2]

Speech acts are often a source of concern and bewilderment for learners of a second language in interactions with native speakers. Consider the American greeting: "Hi! How are ya ?" Many international students think that Americans are superficial because they use this greeting in passing in hallways, and elevators and do not really want to know how the person is doing. However, to most Americans the question "Hey, how are ya?" is really not a request for information. From their cultural standpoint, the phrase is a formulaic expression, a routine used for establishing phatic communion. It has the same function as "Namaste" in Hindi, "Hallo / Tag" in German, etc. The speaker who utters the words is adhering to politeness norms within his/her cultural space.

According to Cohen (1996a) second language learners are "repeatedly faced with the need to utilize speech acts such as complaints, apologies, requests, and refusals..." (p.383). While all cultures employ these speech acts, the manner in which they are executed is language, context and culture-bound. Kramsch (1993) addresses the importance of context in her discussion on the use of authentic materials for learning second/foreign languages. She maintains that the information and cultural knowledge contained in authentic texts (not engineered specially for pedagogical purposes) allows the learner to see how language is used in a specific context. Thus, while textbooks typically

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[2] English is increasingly spoken by large numbers of people for whom it is not a first language. Approximately, the ratio of native to nonnative English speakers is 1:4 (Kachru, 1996).

focus on presenting rules and vocabulary in a sequential, often decontextualized manner, authentic texts allow the learner to interpret, negotiate, and reconstruct meaning.

Speaking in another tongue requires one to interpret not only what the interlocutor is saying, but also what is appropriate for one to say. It involves looking at language from a different perspective. Speech acts, though universal across cultures, differ in the ways in which diverse cultures realize and interpret them.

Apologies, Complaints, Requests

It is generally a matter of consensus that some speech acts require a higher level of pragmatic competence than others. Refusals for instance, are considered to be a 'sticking point' for ESL learners (King & Silver 1993). Similarly, Cohen, Olshtain and Rosenstein (1986) observed that advanced learners of English overgeneralize specific strategies for executing apologies and do not always provide the appropriate "social lubricant."

If the student avoids using the speech act of complimenting he/she can probably get by without serious consequences. After all, if you behave in a pleasant manner with others, it does not matter whether or not you say something nice about their clothing. Similarly, speech acts such as thanking, leave-taking, and greeting involve highly routinized language and specific formulaic expressions that learners can memorize and produce. However, the inability to apologize, complain, and request in socioculturally appropriate ways can lead to breakdown in communication and negatively affect

relationships. These three speech acts occur frequently and can also threaten the positive/negative face of the speaker/hearer.

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) maintain that people's feelings are involved in interaction and that interlocutors need to pay attention to two kinds of face. The individual's desire that "his actions be unimpeded by others" is the negative face, and the desire that his wants "be desirable to at least some others" is positive face. Brown and Levinson derive their use of the term face from the folk usage of the term 'to lose face.' According to the researchers, face is "something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (1978, p. 66). Consequently, speech acts that threaten either positive or negative face of the speaker/hearer could lead to pragmatic failure, particularly in cross-cultural interaction. If pragmatic failure occurs, the wants of the interactants are thwarted, and the situation would either be beyond repair (communication would be unsuccessful), or would require a great deal of negotiation before it can be repaired. Since the primary purpose of using language is to communicate with others, it is in the interest of the speaker to minimize instances of pragmatic failure. With respect to native-nonnative interactions which occur in the native speaker's cultural sphere, the nonnative speaker must not only be able to control the language forms, but also produce the appropriate forms in a given situation.

Call for Research

As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, within applied linguistics, speech acts have attracted the attention of researchers and teachers. Although there is a considerable amount of information available on the speech act of apologizing and requesting, relatively less work has been conducted on complaints. The present study examines the production of apologies, complaints, and requests of native and nonnative speakers of English. Within the context of this study, the terms native and nonnative have the following working definitions:

Native Speaker: refers to Americans who have had only English as the primary language of home and school. They belong to what Kachru and Nelson (1996) call the Inner Circle of English speakers/users which comprises the "old-variety English using countries, where English is the first or dominant language: United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand" (p. 77-78).

Nonnative Speaker: refers to speakers of English who have had language(s) other than/in addition to English as the language of home and school, and who belong to the Outer or Expanding Circles of English speaker/users which comprises countries such as India, Singapore, Pakistan, Nigeria, South Africa and Zambia "where English has a long history of institutionalized functions and standing as a language of wide and important roles in education, governance, literary creativity and popular culture" - these belong to the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle comprises countries such as China, Japan, Korea,

Indonesia, Iran, and Nepal, where English has "various roles and is widely studied but for more specific purposes than in the Outer Circle, including (but certainly not limited to) reading knowledge for scientific and technical purposes" (Kachru and Nelson 1996, p. 78).

The three speech acts investigated in this dissertation were selected for two reasons: a) they require a high level of pragmatic competence, and b) they are face-threatening, thus more susceptible to pragmatic failure, and consequently interesting and important to study cross-culturally.

Studies indicate that while nonnative speakers may exhibit a high level of grammatical competence, their pragmatic competence may not be as high. Typically, international students come to a university in the United States (here international refers to nonnative English speakers) to obtain a degree in a specific field, and to work in that field. Consequently, they may not focus in on the pragmatic functions of English, but on the mathetic function (using English to access knowledge in their respective academic fields). Instrumental motivation may be the driving force in their acquisition of English. However, outside the classroom, these students frequently encounter situations in which their pragmatic competence comes into play. For this reason, international students are an interesting group to study. For the purposes of this study, two groups of nonnative speakers were selected. One comprises of international students enrolled at a public

university in the United States, while the other group comprises of students enrolled at a large university in Singapore.

The latter group lives in a multilingual, multicultural society where English is but one of the many languages used. The indigenized variety of English spoken in Singapore is called Singapore English, which co-exists with other varieties such as British , American , and Australian and New Zealand English. Generally, students enrolled in courses at universities may use both Singapore English as well as Standard English.[3] Kachru (1996) pleads the case of nonnative englishes and emphasizes the need to examine these indigenized varieties within the complexity of their multilingual contexts. He maintains that indigenized varieties have historically been marginalized and calls for new paradigms and approaches to study the new englishes. He also states that traditionally the goal of English language teaching/learning has been for nonnative speakers to communicate with native speakers, and that such an approach is myopic within multilingual contexts. It cannot be denied that English as a colonial legacy in African and South Asian contexts has been appropriated for the communicative needs of these nations. Consequently, the varieties used in these countries are perfectly capable of expressing the communicative needs that arise.

However, many students from places like India, Pakistan and Singapore (to name some) choose to come to the United States for further studies. Here, they find

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[3] Singapore English considered to be the informal variety is used in everyday interaction, whereas Standard English is used in education as well as in international communication (Kamwangamalu, 1993).

themselves in situations and contexts that require them to interact with native speakers of American English. The pragmatic competence they possess in Indian or Singapore English may not be appropriate for interaction with speakers of American English. Though universal concepts, notions of face and politeness are dealt with differently across cultures. The nonnative speaker is faced with the cultural challenge of making sense of the sociocultural differences that he/she encounters. Failure to adjust to different norms may result in miscommunication and misunderstanding.

The Importance of this Investigation

Based on the above discussion, it is the goal of this dissertation to investigate the production of apologies, complaints, and requests by native and nonnative speakers of English. It is hoped that this study will provide a better understanding of the complexities involved in the nonnative usage of English speakers without treating their usage as aberrant. It is also expected that this study will explain areas in which pragmatic failure might occur between native and nonnative speakers. Furthermore, the study aims to investigate the beliefs about appropriate language use that native and nonnative speakers hold.

The subjects of this study are native speakers of English at a large public university in the United States, and non-native speakers of English at the same university, as well as at a public university in Singapore. Data were collected through discourse

completion questionnaires, metapragmatic judgment questionnaires, and open-ended interviews. A discourse completion questionnaire typically provides a scenario and a prompt followed by a space for the respondent to produce a written response. The metapragmatic judgment questionnaire contains responses produced by the subjects which they rate on a scale of 1-5 for acceptability. The interviews are aimed at providing a fuller description of the reasons for the subjects' ratings.

This researcher is cognizant of the fact that a discourse completion questionnaire aims at investigating and explaining oral discourse while utilizing the written mode. Although it is incongruent to discuss oral expression when using tools that require not oral, but written production, discourse completion tasks have been favored as data collection instruments in speech act research for a variety of reasons. Researchers have concluded that the advantages of this tool are strong enough to warrant continued use. This dissertation does not claim that the subjects' responses on the questionnaire are actual speech production, but only what subjects *think they would say* in the given situations. Whenever possible, it is ideal to supplement discourse completion data with naturalistic data. However, the scope of the investigation here did not allow for it.

The reasons for employing a metapragmatic judgment task questionnaire are three-fold: a) it provides insights into subjects' beliefs about what makes a response appropriate and polite, b) in the absence of L1 controls, it aids the researcher in correcting or confirming the values and weights of contextual factors built into the instrument

(Kasper and Dahl, 1991), and c) a metapragmatic comparison of native and nonnative speakers' beliefs also allows for a contrastive analysis of politeness norms, and consequently alerts us to potentially problematic areas and sources of pragmatic failure.

While discourse completion questionnaires examine speech acts from the speaker's point of view, metapragmatic judgment task questionnaires take as their point of departure the hearer's perspective. If conversation is a "serious and necessary occupation" (Mey 1981, p. viii), a skill that helps maintain rapport with others, and guarantees participation in society, both parties - the speaker, and the hearer (who acts, or does not act on what has been said) are important. Based on what has been said, the hearer decides whether an utterance is appropriate or not.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, when utterances are not perceived as appropriate or polite it can lead to pragmatic failure. In addition to cross-cultural differences in the realization of speech acts, there is also some individual variation in how speakers use speech. Discourse completion tasks allow for individual variation while simultaneously examining cultural patterns. Metapragmatic tasks supplement discourse completion tasks by looking beneath the surface of what has been said in an attempt to delineate common politeness patterns and norms. Since metapragmatic judgment questionnaires only provide information on how responses were rated, a follow-up interview with subjects allows the researcher to gain some insights on the subjects' reasons for their ratings.

Using these three data collection instruments, it is the ambition of this dissertation to examine speech acts cross-culturally in order to understand both native and nonnative language use, to explain cross-cultural differences in politeness, and finally to alert both language users and teachers to potential sources of pragmatic failure. As noted earlier in this chapter, cross-cultural differences can have serious and often terminal consequences for relationships. Consequently, a cross-cultural pragmatic analysis can offer information to language users which can assist them in communicating with members of different societies. The following research questions were investigated in this study:

1. What patterns are observed in native and nonnative English speakers' realization of apologies, complaints and requests as measured by a discourse completion task ?

Sub-questions:

1a) Is there a significant difference between the two groups in their use of downgraders and upgraders ?

1b) How does the performance of native and nonnative speakers differ as measured by a discourse completion task?

2. Do native and nonnative English speakers' differ significantly in their metapragmatic ratings of DCT apologies, complaints and requests ?

3. What reasons are provided by native and nonnative speakers for the metapragmatic ratings, and what opinions do they have regarding appropriate language use with respect to the realization of apologies, complaints and requests ?

Outline of Dissertation

Chapter 2 is the review of literature proceeding from a brief discussion about the general principles of pragmatics, and speech act theory, to an examination of relevant studies on the specific speech acts that this dissertation aims to investigate. In addition, data collection methods typically employed in speech act research will also be discussed in this chapter. Methodology and design of the present study will be contained in Chapter 3. Analysis of data and results will be presented in Chapter 4, while conclusions and implications will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2
Review of Literature

There isn't a more humbling experience than to open one's mind to the complexities of human language.

(Verschueren 1985, p. ix)

In the last twenty-five years, the field of SL/FL teaching and testing has seen the pendulum swing from the grammar-translation method to more integrative approaches. Researchers have been preoccupied with defining terms like communicative language teaching (communicative language ability, communicative language testing), language competence, and communicative competence. The broad concepts of "communication" and "competence" are central to current discussion on SLA and pedagogical theories.

Communicative Competence Defined

In the past two decades, the revised view of language primarily as an instrument of communication has brought about significant changes in teaching approaches. The main goal of second language instruction and acquisition is defined as communication. In order to communicate or perform effectively in the second language, the speaker needs to develop his/her language competence. Chomsky was the first to introduce the notion of competence versus performance. According to him, actual linguistic performance comprises of two elements : what the speaker actually says in a given context, and the underlying knowledge that he/she utilizes to say it.

Chomsky's (1965) linguistic theory was primarily concerned with "an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitation, distractions, shift of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (p.3). Within Chomsky's definition of linguistic theory, two concepts are salient : the notions of acceptability (whether a native speaker finds a given sentence acceptable or not) and grammaticality (whether a sentence is grammatical in the eyes of the native speaker).

The contribution of Dell Hymes (1962) to a broader understanding of language is recognized by anthropologists, sociolinguists and applied linguists. Hymes expanded Chomsky's notion of competence to include both linguistic as well as sociolinguistic competencies subsumed under the term the ethnography of speaking and we owe the concept "communicative competence" to him. In Hymes' view (1962), communicative competence is the ability of the native speaker to use the internalized rules of grammar appropriately as a member of a speech community. For the foreign/second language learner acquiring communicative competence involves learning about "a group's verbal behavior in order to participate appropriateley and effectively in its activities" (p. 16). From a psycholinguistic perspective, language is seen today as something that is a creative, dynamic, and functional system instead of a well-defined taxonomic structure.

The sociolinguistic approach views language as a dynamic code that is utilized by speakers chiefly to communicate and express their ideas.

The field of cultural anthropology has been responsible for broadening the definition of language to include social aspects. Anthropology is concerned with describing and analyzing culture, whereas linguistics concerns itself with the description and analysis of language as a code. Both linguistics and cultural anthropology have had tremendous impact on how we view language today. It is generally agreed that language is not used in a vacuum by the idealized native-speaker/hearer in the Chomskyian sense, but it is an instrument utilized by speech communities to fulfill specific functions.

If language is rule-governed behavior, it is logical that the rules would be different for different speech communities. What is appropriate for one community might not be for another and vice versa. Tannen (1984) maintains: "communication is, by its very nature, culturally relative" (p. 194). As per Tannen's definition of communication, members of a specific speech community share aspects of a specific culture of speaking (i.e., they are communicatively competent within a particular culture).

Saville-Troike (1982) defines communicative competence as "knowing not only the language code, but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in any given situation. It deals with the social and cultural knowledge speakers are presumed to have to enable them to use and interpret linguistic forms" (p.22). Socialization within our speech communities ensures that members/participants of that speech community are

initiated and instructed in the appropriate ways of speaking. It is this socialization which ensures smooth/less problematic communication. Cross-cultural differences in what is considered appropriate language use can result in problematic or failed communication.

Shared cultural knowledge facilitates communication. The second language learner comes to the communicative encounter with a different set of cultural assumptions and values than those of the target culture. In order for successful communication to take place between the learner and members of the target culture, the learner must have access to any aspects of cultural knowledge of the target culture which will facilitate a successful communicative encounter. Scholars and teachers in the field do not wish to suggest that the cultural norms the second language learner brings with him/her are in any way inferior, or that they must be abandoned. However, they acknowledge that to be successful in communicating with members of the target language culture, the learner needs to develop an awareness of the target language norms.

The concept of communicative competence seeks to define proficiency in a language based on the speaker's grammatical, discourse, strategic, and sociolinguistic competencies. Sociolinguistic competence refers to pragmatic competence in the second language. Research has shown that many second language users, while highly proficient in grammar, may not demonstrate a high level of pragmatic competence. Over the past two decades the development of pragmatic competence in L2 learners has been the focus of several research studies.

In the interest of clarity, this review of literature has been organized into sections that define some basic concepts and principles central to any discussion on communication, such as the Cooperative Principle, the Politeness Principle, Dell Hymes' concept of SPEAKING, and Wolfson's Bulge Theory. In addition, there are sections on pragmatic failure, and metapragmatics, proceeding to a definition of speech act theory, and a brief review of speech act studies on apologies, complaints, and requests. To a great extent this review of literature draws heavily upon an excellent review done by Chen (1996). In addition, the section on data collection has been informed by excellent reviews provided by Cohen (1993), and Kasper and Dahl (1991), to name a few.

Pragmatics Defined

Pragmatics as a field of study reflects influences from various disciplines. Philosophy, logic, linguistics, cultural anthropology, and ethnography have all made significant contributions to pragmatics. What is pragmatics ? Several researchers have attempted to circumscribe the domain of pragmatics.

According to Davis (1991), pragmatics is "part of a theory of a speaker's linguistic competence" (p. 4). It is generally understood to be a broad approach to discourse. It is not a methodology because no one method/set of procedures for analyzing speech is prescribed. Grundy (1995) suggests that pragmatics is "about trying to account in systematic ways for our ability to determine what speakers intend even when their

utterances are so dramatically underdetermined" (p. 10). Mey (1993) prefers to view pragmatics as an umbrella which covers the modules of linguistics. For him, pragmatics is both a component and a perspective. It is part of linguistics, and simultaneously a perspective on linguistics (p. 47). It is clear that no consensus has been reached on a definition of the term pragmatics. Consequently, what pragmatics deals with is an equally contentious area. The domain of pragmatics includes issues dealing with interactional sociolinguistics, as well as discourse analysis. In addition, within discourse analysis, speech act theory has been developed and researched intensively.

The credit for bringing speech act theory to the attention of logicians, philosophers, and linguists goes to the British philosopher John Austin. The collection of his lectures compiled in *How To Do Things With Words* (1962) is regarded as a seminal work in the field of pragmatics. The main idea that he proposes in this work is that utterances fulfill certain truth conditions. His ideas were diligently followed up and explicated further by his student John Searle in *Speech Acts : An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (1969). Searle expanded on the view that utterances fulfill certain truth conditions, but went a step further and proposed the view that not all sentences fulfill truth conditions, and that in fact utterances fulfill a limited set of functions.

The work of these two philosophers in pragmatics served as the launching pad for new theories and research studies. A discussion on pragmatics generally includes a discussion of certain basic concepts and principles of communication. These are: Context

and SPEAKING (an acronym coined by Hymes), the Cooperative Principle and Grice's Maxims, the Politeness Principle and the notion of face, and the Bulge Theory. These concepts are discussed in some detail below.

Pragmatic Principles[1]

Pragmatics has been described as the wastebasket of linguistics, and purportedly it contains all those elements that are messy and that do not fit into linguistics in a neat and orderly fashion (Mey 1993, Verschueren 1987). Attempts to describe and theorize the domain of pragmatics have resulted in the compilation of some principles of pragmatics. Here, we need to begin with some of the concepts central to communication and thus to pragmatics. Grundy (1995) views talk as a bundle of features which are difficult to disentangle. The principal features of talk according to him are: "the notions of appropriacy and relevance on the one hand and our liking for non-literal and indirect meaning on the other" (p. 14). He also underlines the importance of context, inference, and implicature to an understanding of talk. The discussion below attempts to elucidate the features of communication.

[1] This discussion on pragmatic principles is based largely on the one in Chen (1996). Some terms, such as implicature and pragmatic failure for example, have been treated in greater detail here.

a) Context and SPEAKING

> Language matters so much precisely because so little matter is attached to it; meanings are not given but must be produced and reproduced, negotiated in situated contexts of communication (cited in Mey, 1993)

This quotation from Sally McConnell-Ginet (1989, p. 49) emphasizes the importance of context. The significance of context in communication, as well as in second/foreign language teaching has gained currency. Cultural anthropologists and sociolinguists have provided some definitions of the term. According to Kramsch (1993), Roman Jakobson's (1960) and Hymes' (1974) definitions of situational context are among the best. The former views situational context as co-terminus with a speech event which consists of addresser, addressee, context, message, contact, and code. Kramsch (1993) also credits Malinowski and Firth for expanding the understanding of situational context by going beyond the spoken words to encompass gestures, facial expressions, the interlocutors and audience present during the conversation and finally the environment in which the conversation is situated. Hymes (1974) the father of ethnography, coined the acronym SPEAKING (explained in detail below) to explain his notion of situational context. The units of analysis as per Hymes' model are: communicative situation, communicative event, and communicative act. The communicative situation comprises of contexts such as a church service, ceremonies, fights, auctions, etc. The communicative

situation is not subject to specific rules for interaction. However, the communicative event is governed by specific rules for conversation.

Saville-Troike (1982) defines event as a "unified set of components throughout, beginning with the same general purpose of communication, the same general topic, and involving the same participants, generally using the same language variety, maintaining the same tone or key, and the same rules for interaction in the same setting" (p. 29).

Hymes' (1974) term SPEAKING is a framework for understanding communication, in which S stands for setting, and includes both time and place. P refers to participants including speaker/hearer, sender/receiver, addressor/addresse. E stands for ends, the purposes, or goals that the participants intend to accomplish. A stands for act sequence and refers to form and content of utterances. K stands for keys and refers to the tone in which the message is relayed. I refers to instrumentalities, the channels used for communication (oral versus written) and the code (first language, L2/FL/ etc). N stands for norms of interaction and interpretation and refers to the ways in which participants interact and interpret language. Finally, G stands for genres and refers to categories such as poems, lectures, prayers, proverbs, etc.

Hymes' understanding of situational context as outlined above provides a comprehensive framework of communication, and the variables at work. Kramsch (1993) maintains that Goffman (1981) diversifies Hymes' notion of setting and participants by adding one more dimension to it - that of footing. According to him, footing refers to how

we align ourselves to other participants in a given setting. Footing determines what we say and how we receive what is said to us.

b) Grice's Maxims

The underlying broad paradigm within Grice's Cooperative Principle emphasizes that generally people make an effort to cooperate with others in the course of conversation by providing information that is relevant, truthful, and clear. Grice (1991) formulates the cooperative principle in the following manner: "Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (p.47). Speakers and hearers are 'contractually' obligated to observe the cooperative principle. In order to discuss the cooperative principle any further, we first need to define and clarify the basic concept implicature. According to the explanation provided by Grice, the noun implicature can be understood as something which has been said, and what has been said is assumed to be "closely related to the conventional meaning of the words (the sentence)" (Grice, 1991, p. 307) that have been uttered. This leads to the distinction between conventional and conversational implicature. The latter is dependent upon context for its meaning, and the former derives its meaning through conventional use over time. Brown and Levinson (1987) provide numerous examples of conversational implicature. For example, the statement "That's hardly a Rembrandt" is an understatement and the meaning can be

understood only if the interlocutors are familiar with Rembrandt's name, and understand that the statement is meant to convey that the work is not up to par. Similarly, the hint "It's cold in here", can be understood as a request in English, but only if interlocutors share common ground. Thus, conversational implicatures are "essentially connected with general features of discourse" (Grice, 1991, p. 307) and consequently feature in the functioning of the cooperative principle.

According to Gricean pragmatics (1991, p. 308), there are four maxims operating in the cooperative principle:

Maxim of Quantity

1. Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than required.

Maxim of Quality:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Maxim of Relation:

1. Be relevant.

Maxim of Manner: the supermaxim operating in this category is 'Be perspicuous,' which can be further sub-divided into four general maxims

1. Avoid obscurity of expression
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.

Although interlocutors generally observe these four maxims, they may also choose not to fulfill them - either by violating a maxim, by opting out, by using one maxim in a manner which makes it clash with another, or by flouting a maxim. So far we have examined pragmatic principles that view interaction from the speaker's perspective. The Politeness Principle explained in the following section introduces the hearer's persepctive.

c) The Politeness Principle

The politeness principle works in conjunction with the cooperative principle. The greatest contribution to work on politeness comes from Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987). According to them, politeness is connected intrinsically with the concept of face. The authors define face as something "that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (1987, p. 61). There are two kinds of face: positive face and negative face. Brown and Levinson (1987) define these as follows:

> **negative face**: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others.
> **positive face**: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.

It is generally assumed that people do some 'face-work' in interactions with others and maintain their own and their interlocutors' positive and negative face. Though

politeness is a universal principle valid across cultures, its application in different contexts is culture- and group-specific. Brown and Levinson maintain that specific types of acts are face-threatening by their very nature because they "run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker" (1987, p. 65). Thus, face-threatening acts, or FTAs fall under two categories : a) those that threaten positive face b) those that threaten negative face.

As per Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, threats to face are either minimized, or avoided. If the interlocutors choose to minimize threat they have four options : a) to go on record (e.g., I promise I'll give you back your book in two days - you can be held liable as you have committed yourself to the act), b) to go off record (e.g., "I'm out of cash. I forgot to go to the ATM machine today!" as an attempt to get the other person to lend you some money), c) to do the act baldly without redress - (e.g., "pick me up on your way to the party" as a clear and unambiguous way to do an act when the speaker does not expect any retribution from the addressee), or d) to do it with redressive action.

The choice of negative or positive politeness strategies depends on what Brown and Levinson call pay-offs or advantages (also referred to as costs and benefits, 1978, p. 77). Strategies that are more advantageous in specific circumstances are more likely to be selected by the speaker/hearer. For example, in the speech act of complaining, the speaker's first decision concerns whether or not to air his/her feelings, thus potentially

putting the relationship in jeopardy. If the speaker chooses to express censure, then he/she must decide to do the act on/off record. In doing the act off-record, the speaker preserves hearer's face and if the hearer offers some form of repair, the problem is solved. Thus, the speaker comes across as a diplomatic person who manages to right the situation without face damage. However, in going on-record, the speaker risks open conflict with the hearer resulting in face damage. Consequently, the choice of positive or negative politeness strategies has a serious impact on the comity (defined as the establishment and maintenance of friendly relations, Aston 1993, p. 226) and harmony between speaker and hearer. Positive politeness strategies would help the speaker vent his/her feelings, while expressing concern or understanding for the hearer. Similarly, in using a negative politeness orientation, the speaker could use mitigation to soften censure, thereby lowering the risk of conflict, and breakdown in communication.

Although Gricean principles offer guidelines for achieving effective and efficient communication, conversation does not always proceed in accordance with these principles. The need to maintain face is a strong motive for "not talking maxim-wise" (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 95). For instance, a request can be made indirectly thus violating the maxim of manner. However, the indirectness of the request preserves the speaker's as well as the hearer's negative or positive face. Similarly, the request may be made in an elaborate fashion providing a solid reason for making the request in the first place, thereby again violating the maxim of manner. Brown and Levinson maintain that

the degree of politeness increases proportionately with an increase in perceived social distance and power between interlocutors.

d) Bulge Theory

Wolfson proposes a different dynamic for talk exchanges. According to her: "there is a qualitative difference between the speech behavior which middle-class Americans use to intimates, status unequals, and strangers on the one hand, and to nonintimates, status-equal friends, co-workers, and acquaintances on the other" (1989, p. 129).

Wolfson claims that relationships at the two extremes are characterized by relative certainty and stability, whereas those in the middle are instable, dynamic and thus open to negotiation. If status and social distance are fixed, speakers seem to know what to expect of each other. Wolfson explored this tendency in a study of compliments among middle-class Americans, and found that the occurrence of compliments is higher among people who are neither strangers nor intimates. She called this tendency 'The Bulge'. Wolfson's hypothesis was borne out by several other studies (Beebe 1985, D'Amico-Reisner 1983, 1985) which show evidence for the Bulge theory for other speech acts as well.

Summary

The principles discussed here have contributed significantly to our understanding of communication by providing theories for the study of interaction. In sum, the cooperative principle provides a framework for language use from the speaker's perspective. The Politeness Principle and the Bulge theory add an important aspect to the cooperative principle by taking into account the hearer as an important variable. Wolfson alludes to the dynamic nature of certain relationships which allow for more negotiation, and negotiation involves the speaker's utterances as well as the reactions of the hearer to the speaker's communicative intentions.

It is common knowledge that sociolinguistic variability, whether between native and nonnative or between native speakers provides "fertile ground for miscommunication" (Wolfson 1989, p. 140). According to Leech and Thomas (1990), pragmatic force "could no longer be thought of as given, but as something to be negotiated through interaction" (p. 195). As Grundy (1993) points out, individuals demonstrate a preference for indirect and non-literal meaning. As a result, ambiguity is part and parcel of how we use language and could potentially lead to 'communication breakdown' and 'communication conflict' to borrow terms used by Clyne (1977).

Pragmatics research has examined such issues in the context of cross-cultural speech acts which reflect pragmatic transfer. Why does pragmatic transfer take place

from L1 to L2 ? What does a nonnative speaker need to know in order to function well when using the target language in conversational exchanges ? Canale (1988) indicates that the speaker needs both illocutionary and sociolinguistic competencies. The former involves "knowledge of the pragmatic conventions of performing acceptable language functions", and the latter, "knowledge of the sociolinguistic conventions for performing language functions appropriately in a given context" (p. 90). This knowledge helps the nonnative speaker hit the 'pragmatic target,' as otherwise communication would misfire (Chen 1996). Instances of communicative misfires are referred to as pragmatic failure. So far, the focus of the discussion has been pragmatic principles which play a salient role in communication, and allow relationships to be maintained. Fleeting reference has also been made to the idea that communication can go awry, and the terms commonly used to describe this phenomenon are communication conflict and breakdown, pragmatic error, or pragmatic failure. The discussion below examines the concept of pragmatic failure. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, interlocutors who share common ground are more likely to communicate successfully, and differences in linguistic etiquette (term used by Kasper, 1997a) can result in communicative breakdown.

Pragmatic Failure

Cross-cultural communication breakdown is often referred to as pragmatic failure. Austin (1962) uses the term "unhappy utterance" to refer to an utterance which causes pragmatic failure. Thomas (1983) understands pragmatic failure as the "inability to understand what is meant by what is said" (p. 91). She distinguishes between two types of pragmatic failure : a) pragmalinguistic failure, which in her view is easier to overcome, and b) sociopragmatic failure, which is harder to overcome because it involves the learner's system of beliefs and values tied to language. Thomas objects to the term error to denote pragmatic failure, because error, in her opinion suggests a prescriptive standpoint, - which in her view is problematic for pragmatics. She cautions against adopting a prescriptive model for pragmatics because it involves the second language speaker's belief system, which they have a right to retain, and we do not have a right to alter. In addition, grammatical competence can be discussed in terms of error because grammar rules are categorical, whereas pragmatic competence "entails probable rather than categorical rules" (Candlin, 1976, p. 238 cited in Thomas 1983). Lakoff (1974) addressses this categorical nature of the pragmatic aspects of language use: "what is courteous behaviour to me might well be boorish to you, because we have slightly differently formulated rules, or because our hierarchy of acceptability is different" (p. 26, cited in Thomas 1983).

Thomas maintains that typically, individuals are allowed a certain latitude and the more one knows a person, the more tolerant you might be towards his/her speech behaviors. However, the nonnative speaker is under pressure to speak a superstandard English, and that the possibility of a flout[2] (failure to observe a maxim) is not taken into account. Any deviance from expectations is explained in terms of inadequate linguistic competence. However, she argues that so long as the speaker is aware of the sociolinguistic conventions and still chooses to flout them, that is his/her prerogative. However, they should have access to information so that they do not unintentionally flout a convention.

Lack of information about sociolinguistic conventions might lead to an image of the nonnative speaker as impolite or rude. In addition, such misunderstandings result in stereotypes like 'the abrasive Russian/German', 'the obsequious Indian/Japanese', 'the insincere American', and the 'standoffish Briton' (Thomas 1983, p. 97). Thomas advocates that language teachers need to alert their students to cross-cultural differences. Pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure can occur as a result of these differences. However, the language teacher steps on treacherous ground when attempting to correct pragmatic errors because pragmatics is the "place where a speaker's knowledge of grammar comes into contact with his/her knowledge of the world. But both systems of knowledge are filtered through systems of beliefs - beliefs about language and beliefs about the world" (Thomas 1983, p. 99). While pragmalinguistic failure occurs because of

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[2] Thomas (1995, pp. 64-71) provides detailed explanation and examples of flouts

differences in the linguistic encoding of pragmatic force and is thus mainly a linguistic problem, sociopragmatic failure occurs due to cross-culturally different perceptions of appropriate language use. Some examples of pragmalinguistic failure are given below.

The sentence 'Can you pass the salt?' is a conventionalized politeness form for requesting that the salt be passed to the speaker. In Russian, however, the question would not be interpreted as a request, but rather as a question about ability. Similarly, in Russian the use of a direct imperative when asking for directions is considered to be perfectly polite, whereas the opposite is true in English. In comparison, sociopragmatic failure does not occur due to inappropriate mapping of illocutionary force, but because the nonnative speaker has a different understanding of contextual variables such as size of imposition, cost/benefit, social distance, and relative rights and obligations.

Drawing on my own experience, here is an example of sociopragmatic failure. When I came to the United States eight years ago, I had to struggle with calling my American TA supervisor (senior to me in age) by name. I managed to do so with great difficulty, and primarily because she would not respond to the more formal 'Dr. X'. I called my supervisor's husband (he is German) '*Herr X.*' in accordance with German pragmatic ground rules (social distance is indicated by the use of the more formal *Herr/Frau* ____, and the status quo does not change until the addressee offers the use of the first name) and *Herr X.* called me by my first name.

Two years ago, he suggested I call him by his first name, which threw me in a quandary. Knowing the pragmatic ground rules for German, I should have accepted gracefully and switched to the first name. However, after six years of using the more formal *Herr X.*, it was virtually impossible for me to switch. I tried to negotiate and explain my side of it, and finally I switched to using his first name. Although we never came out and discussed our feelings about it explicitly, I realize that I probably offended him by offering resistance, for my reaction viewed from his perspective meant that I saw our relationship differently (i.e., not as friends, as status-equals) than he did. However, viewed from my perspective, there was no need to switch to the informal "*du*" because the switch would not bring about a change in the relationship. I would be no closer simply by exchanging one form of address for another. The use of last names and formal forms of address do not necessarily constitute personal distance between interlocutors when examined in Indian cultural contexts. For instance, I am accustomed to dropping in at the home of one of my favorite teachers when I am in India. I have known the lady for the past 18 years, and when I visit her, I usually ask for tea without waiting to be offered any, yet I have never called her anything other than 'Ma'am.'

As this incident indicates, sociolinguistic rules of language use are intrinsically linked to one's belief system and values. Underlying our language use are cultural notions of what it means to be polite, how we view ourselves vis-à-vis others, what good conduct and upbringing is, etc. etc. Therefore, failure resulting from the transfer of pragmatic rules

from the L1 into L2 (i.e., sociopragmatic failure) can lead to misjudgments about others. Since language instructors are dealing with sensitive issues where sociopragmatic failure is concerned, it is ultimately a matter of judgment as to whether conventions operative in the target language should be taught or not. Some argue that it is necessary to teach them so that learners do not unintentionally commit a *faux pas*. Others, like Thomas (1983) and Saville-Troike (1982) maintain that learners should be given access to target language conventions and then the decision as to whether to operate according to the conventions of their own languages, or according to those of the target language should be left to their discretion. Since sociopragmatic failure reflects on the system of beliefs and values, it taps into metapragmatic awareness. Thus, both Thomas (1983) and Saville-Troike (1982) argue for the guided development of metapragmatic awareness in L2 learners.

In summary, we have discussed how pragmatic principles operate to keep the communicative machinery well-oiled and running, and what consequences the breakdown of this machinery can have. We have talked at length about pragmatics from the speaker's perspective, however, failure occurs because the speaker's communicative intention and message have been decoded differently by the hearer. Therefore, it is not merely what or how the speaker relays his/her message, but also how it is received by the hearer that contributes to an understanding of a conversational exchange. This leads us to the following discussion on metapragmatics which includes the hearer's perspective.

Metapragmatics

> ...we can say that the metapragmatic level is where we discuss theoretical issues in pragmatics having to do with pragmatics itself: a pragmatic discussion on pragmatics, if one wishes."
>
> (Mey 1993, pp. 269-270).

This definition of metapragmatics provided by Mey attempts to describe a perspective on language use, which has generally been excluded from discussions on pragmatics. Both Thomas and Saville-Troike allude to metapragmatic awareness in their respective works, but, neither of them actually uses the term. Broadly understood, metapragmatics examines "reflections on the language users' use" (Mey 1993, p. 182). Mey maintains that metapragmatics is an even more vague term than pragmatics, and this is reflected in the fact that in the last decade none of the three major works on pragmatics Gazdar (1979), Levinson (1983) and Leech (1983) even mentioned the term. Metapragmatics, however, is a useful tool because "pragmatics by itself cannot explain or motivate its principles and maxims" (Mey 1993, p. 270).

A working definition of metapragmatics would refer to a speaker's internalized knowledge of how to use his/her language appropriate to the context. Thus it appears that the native speaker of language x knows something about his/her language that distinguishes him/her from those outside of the speech community. Explained from a psycholingusitic standpoint, the native speaker has access to Universal Grammar which allows him/her to judge grammaticality of utterances. Viewed from a sociolinguistic

perspective, the native speaker 'knows' which speech behavior is appropriate based on his/her socialization in the community of which he/she is a member. Although some social norms (such as greetings and thanking) are explicitly taught to children, countless others are acquired unconsciously through interactions with others. To judge what metapragmatic knowledge the native speaker has about the use of his/her language, we have to rely on tapping that speaker's intuition.

While some researchers have been skeptical about the accuracy and consistency of the speaker's intuition, others vouch for it. Wolfson (1989) argues that speakers' intuition is not always reliable, because they are often not aware of their own speech behavior. Secondly, what they think societal norms are, and what they actually do in interaction may be two different things. Wolfson supports her argument by citing studies conducted by Labov (1966) and by Blom and Gumperz (1972). Labov's study demonstrated that speakers in New York were not aware of the variability of their pronunciation in different contexts. Similarly, Blom and Gumperz showed that bilingual speakers of two Norwegian dialects were unaware of their code-switching. This leads Wolfson (1989) to conclude that if speakers are unaware of code-switching and pronunciation, they are probably equally unaware of how they use sociolinguistic rules: "native speaker intuitions are of limited extent and certainly do not include the ability to describe actual patterns of speech behavior" (p. 43). However, native speakers' intuitions are valuable because native speakers are "capable of recognizing inaccuracies

and inappropriate speech behavior" and also have "good insights into the meanings behind various means of expression" (Wolfson 1989, p. 45). Echoing Wolfson, Blum-Kulka and Sheffer (1993) also point out that native speakers have the ability to judge appropriateness of responses in specific contexts (p. 217).

Wolfson maintains that pragmatic and metapragmatic knowledge is unconscious, whereas Schmidt (1993) offers a counter-argument and suggests that such knowledge is "partly conscious and partly accessible to consciousness" (p. 23). Schmidt supports his argument by citing three specific sources: Kendall (1981), Ochs (1979) and Odlin (1986). As per Kendall, not all communicative behavior is unplanned and unreflective. For instance, some people pre-plan telephone conversations. Others pay great attention to appropriate and polite use of language in certain situations (as stated in Schmidt 1993, p. 23). Ochs maintains that conversations vary in the amount of spontaneity or planning they reflect, while Odlin emphasizes that "linguistic forms that are important for communicative competence are, in general, highly salient and accessible to awareness" (Schmidt 1993, p. 23). Blum-Kulka and Sheffer (1993) provide further support for Schmidt's hypothesis that native and nonnative speakers have conscious access to pragmatic rules. They do suggest, however, that native speakers exhibit variability with regard to their knowledge of pragmatic rules and differ in the degree to which they can formulate such rules.

Given the variation in native speakers' metapragmatic ability to formulate rules of speaking operative in their speech community, it is hardly surprising that metapragmatics as a field of inquiry has been included in very few research studies. However, as the discussion above highlights, metapragmatic awareness can provide valuable insights on language use, and can also be utilized pedagogically to heighten awareness of second language users, resulting in a higher level of communicative competence. For, as Schmidt (1993) points out, parents and caregivers do instruct children in communicative competence using a variety of strategies (p. 36). Similarly, instruction would also benefit second language users: "explicit teacher-provided information about the pragmatics of the second language can also play a role in learning, provided that it is accurate and not based solely on fallible native speakers intuitions" (Schmidt 1993, p. 36).

Assessing Metapragmatic Ability

Despite the necessity of examining metapragmatics, tests tapping into metapragmatic awareness have rarely been employed by researchers. This is due to two reasons: a) metapragmatics is a relatively new domain of inquiry and b) currently there is no single agreed-upon definition of the term and its agenda. Kasper and Dahl (1991) underscore the usefulness of a metapragmatic judgment test in cross-cultural pragmatics research: "metapragmatic assessments of contextual factors can provide an important corrective, or confirmation, of the values and weights of contextual factors built into the

instrument by the researcher. Such controls are particularly important in cross-cultural studies where the researcher is not a member of one or more of the implied cultures" (p. 238). According to Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1984), a metapragmatic judgment test also has the potential to reflect the preferences that native speakers of different L1s have across socially varied situations. In addition, it, i.e., the metapragmatic judgment test can "help establish degrees of equivalence between two or more languages both at the sociocultural and pragmalinguistic levels" (1984, p. 244, cited in Chen 1996).

Studies conducted by Fraser, Rintell and Walters (1980), Rintell (1981) and Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1984) employed rating scales to examine metapragmatic issues. None of these studies, however, used open-ended questions to determine the criteria that were used to rate responses. Chen (1996) states that the open-ended questions would have provided more insights about the raters' opinions of the responses. In her own study of refusals, Chen (1996) combined open-ended questions followed by interviews with subjects to determine the criteria they used for rating appropriateness of responses. This combination of research methods had two advantages: a) it allowed for a closer look at raters' insights regarding appropriateness of speech, b) it allowed for a comparison of native and nonnative speakers' opinions and beliefs regarding appropriate language use.

Clearly, metapragmatic judgment tests can prove to be very useful. However, a word of caution is warranted. In interpreting results of a metapragmatic judgment test, one has to take into account factors such as the "subjects' subjective understanding of the

task, and effects deriving from the semantic content and context" (Kasper and Dahl 1991, p. 219). This means that if context is not provided, subjects are likely to supply their own "mentally elaborated versions" and even if context is provided, subjects will elaborate further thereby making the researcher's task extremely difficult with regard to interpretation and generalizability of such data (Kasper and Dahl, 1991). Within pragmatics and metapragmatics, speech acts have been the focus of research for the past two decades.

Speech Acts : Some Terms

Cohen (1996a) defines a speech act as "a functional unit of communication" (p. 384). As mentioned earlier, two prominent figures in speech act theory are Austin and Searle. Austin (1962) ascribes three meanings to utterances in an effort to explain the function of speech acts - propositional or locutionary (the literal meaning of the utterance), illocutionary (the social function that the utterance or written text has), and perlocutionary (the result or effect that is produced by the utterance in the given context). To illustrate these meanings, let me cite an incident that occurred recently. One summer afternoon, a friend visiting me said: "you guys need a fan here." The locutionary meaning of his utterance concerns the lack of a fan in the room. The illocutionary meaning was a request to make the room cooler. The perlocutionary result of his utterance, or my reaction to his statement, was to bring a fan into the room to make him more comfortable.

However, it is not as simple as it may appear. Cohen (1996a) maintains that it is always problematic to apply these meanings to speech acts because the pragmatic intention of the speaker and the meaning of the speech act may not coincide. However, despite such problems, categorizations can be helpful to applied linguists in speech act research. On the basis of categorizations, theories can be tested, refined, and refuted. Searle's (1969) contribution to speech act theory was twofold: first, he proposed a taxonomy of speech acts expanding on the work done by Austin (1962); furthermore, he also established four conditions that underlie speech acts. Searle proposed the following taxonomy for classifying speech acts: representatives (assertions, claims, reports), directives (suggestion, request, command), expressives (apology, complaint, thanks), commissives (promise, threat), and declaratives (decree, declaration).

The four conditions underlying these speech acts are: a) propositional content rules, which specify the kind of meaning expressed by the propositional part of an utterance (e.g., a promise necessarily refers to some future act by the speaker), b) preparatory rules, which specify conditions that are prerequisites to the performance of the speech act (e.g., for an act of thanking, the speaker must be aware that the hearer has done something of benefit to the speaker), c) sincerity rules, which specify the conditions required for the speech act to be performed sincerely (e.g., for an apology to be sincere, the speaker must appear sorry for what has been done), and d) essential rules, which specify what the speech act must conventionally 'count as' (e.g., the essential rule of a

warning is that it counts as an undertaking that some future event is not in the addressee's interest) (Searle, 1969 as cited in Leech and Thomas, 1990, p. 177).

Austin and Searle's work on speech act theory stimulated researchers' interest in speech acts. Recognizing the variability inherent in speech, researchers have examined speech acts across different cultures with two basic goals: a) to describe the universality of speech acts across languages and cultures, and b) to examine the culture-specific differences in the realization of speech acts.

Thus, Fraser et al. (1980, p. 78) delineate three generally held assumptions that pragmaticists work with:

> 1. Every language makes available to the user the same basic set of speech acts, such as requesting, apologizing, declaring, and promising, with the exception of certain culture-specific ritualized acts such as baptizing, doubling at bridge, and ex-communicating.
>
> 2. Every language makes available the same set of strategies - semantic formulas - for performing a given speech act.
>
> 3. Language will differ significantly with respect to both when a particular speech act ought to be, ought not to be, or may be performed, and with what strategy.

Cross-cultural speech act studies take these three assumptions as their point of departure. A well-known, large-scale study on speech acts is the CCSARP study (Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project). This study was initiated by a group of international researchers in 1982 and made an attempt to examine requests and apologies across a broad range of languages - Danish, Canadian French, Argentinean Spanish,

German, Hebrew, and the following varieties of English: American, Australian, and British English. The team used a discourse completion task and sampled native and nonnative speakers' production. Some of the findings of the study summarized by Rose (1990) were: a) conventionally indirect request strategies were the most common, and thus suggest that this might be a universal category for the realization of requests; b) with reference to Australian English, Canadian French, and Hebrew opaque hints were preferred; c) please and bitte in British English and German function as requestive markers and not as politeness markers; d) apologies performed in Australian English, Canadian French, Hebrew, and German indicate reflected similar realization patterns. The team of researchers concluded that their observations support the notion of universality across languages in the realization of speech acts, and simultaneously demonstrate high cross-cultural variability. The study encapsulates the complexity involved in speech act phenomena. There have been a number of other cross-cultural studies on speech acts, but none as ambitious. The following sub-sections review some studies on apologies, complaints, and requests.

Apologies

Bergman and Kasper (1993) define apologies as "compensatory action to an offense in the doing of which S (speaker) was causally involved and which is costly to H

(hearer)" (p. 82). Apologies are face-threatening-acts causing potential loss of positive face to speaker.

Typically, cross-cultural work on apologies has examined the realization patterns of native and nonnative speakers with the goal of explaining possible areas of pragmatic failure for nonnative speakers. One of the largest research projects was the CCSARP discussed earlier. In addition, there were studies by Cohen and Olshtain (1981, 1993), Cohen, Olshtain, and Rosenstein (1986), Olshtain (1983), Olshtain and Cohen (1983, 1990), and Linnell, Porter, Stone, and Chen (1992). The general findings from these studies indicate that pragmatic transfer occurs from L1 into L2, that nonnative speakers undersupply semantic formulae, advanced nonnative speakers tend to overgeneralize the applicability of certain semantic formulae or provide a variety of forms, nonnatives also fail to provide the appropriate social lubricant in difficult situations, and finally, a higher level of proficiency results in a greater degree of convergence towards native speaker norms.

Complaints

Olshtain and Weinbach (1993) maintain that in the speech act of complaining, "the speaker (S) expresses displeasure or annoyance-censure-as a reaction to a past or ongoing action, the consequences of which are perceived by S as affecting her unfavorably" (p.

108). Complaints can either be direct or indirect. In the case of direct complaints, the hearer's face is threatened.

Complaint is a risky speech act because it could destroy the harmony and comity between people possibly leading to serious consequences such as estrangement, and disrupted relationships. The speaker must make the difficult choice between airing his/her feelings, and maintaining the relationship. Faced with this choice, the speaker selects from a repertoire of realization patterns for doing the speech act. This repertoire includes the following five strategies: a) below the level of reproach (avoid explicit mention of the offensive event), b) expression of annoyance or disapproval (e.g., "such lack of consideration" , "this is really unacceptable behavior"), c) explicit complaint (e.g., "you're inconsiderate"), d) accusation and warning (e.g., "next time I'll let you wait for hours"), e) immediate threat ("you'd better pay the money right now" ; or direct curses and insults, such as "you're an idiot") (Olshtain and Weinbach 1993, p. 111).

Cross-cultural studies on complaints have been conducted by Murphy and Neu (1996), Olshtain and Weinbach (1987, 1993), DeCapua (1989), Bonikowska (1985), and House and Kasper (1981). Diana Boxer (1993, 1996) has also contributed significantly to work on complaints. However, her focus has been on indirect complaints, which are not confrontational in nature, as direct complaints tend to be. Indirect complaints function as social strategies to establish rapport and solidarity. The findings of studies on direct complaints indicate that nonnative speakers use a variety of strategies for realizing

complaints. For example, in Olshtain and Weinbach's study (1993), Russian subjects used curses and threats in a specific situation, whereas Moroccan subjects either opted out, or chose one of the two softer realizations (i.e., below the level of reproach or disapproval) in the same situation. The researchers found that severity of offense was perceived differently by the two groups. Complaints were also supplied differently based on whether the offense affected the individual or a large group. Furthermore, the findings indicate that newcomers to the target culture attempt to sound less offensive and face threatening (Olshtain and Weinbach, 1993, p. 120). Another general finding was that length of utterance differed according to proficiency - subjects at the intermediate and advanced levels tended to be more verbose than native speakers. DeCapua (1989) documented that L2 learners (L1 German) tended to state the problem and then either requested or demanded repair. They also used threats, and women tended to request repair more than men.

In summary, indirect complaints function as solidarity moves, in contrast to direct complaints where censure is expressed towards the hearer. However, several strategies can be used to express censure. The use of mitigation generally lowers the risk of damaging the hearer's face, and potentially damaging the relationship. Studies show evidence that severity of offense is perceived differently across cultures, complaints are supplied differently based on whether the offense impacted the individual or the group, and newcomers elect to sound less offensive. Length of utterance depends upon

proficiency level as demonstrated in studies on other speech acts as well - intermediate learners tend to be more verbose.

Requests

Requests, like apologies and complaints are also face-threatening acts (Brown and Levinson, 1978). When making a request, the speaker impinges on the hearer's individual freedom and private space. All languages provide means of requesting, but the degree of imposition implied in a request, and the degree of politeness when making a request vary across languages. There have been several cross-cultural studies of requests (Goldschmidt 1989; Cohen and Olshtain 1993; Fukushima and Iwata 1987; Blum-Kulka 1982; Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984).

Fukushima and Iwata (1987) maintained that essentially the sequence of semantic formulas for making requests in Japanese resembles that of English. Both languages place similar strategies at the speaker's disposal. This repertoire comprises of: understating, grounding, cost minimization, and address terms (attention getters). Similarly, Goldschmidt's (1989) findings with regard to favor asking reflect the need to be minimally offensive, show the importance of the need for a favor, hint at reciprocation, and build solidarity.

Within the parameters of the CCSARP project, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) emphasize the importance of perspective in realization of requests. They outline three

perspectives : hearer oriented (e.g., "Could you tidy up the kitchen?"), speaker oriented (e.g., "Do you think I could borrow your notes from yesterday?"), and impersonal (the use of one/people/they as neutral agents, or the use of passivization - e.g., "So it might not be a bad idea to get it cleaned up"). Two other aspects of requests are also outlined. The first is the relative directness/indirectness of the act. Apologies and complaints can also fall on a continuum of direct--indirect. According to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), the three levels of directness for requests in English are: a) the most direct explicit level (e.g., "I request you to x"), b) the conventionally indirect level (e.g., "Could you do x ?"), and c) nonconventional indirect level (e.g., a hint such as "It's cold in here"). The other aspect is the use of internal/external modifications in requests. The following strategies are examples of internal modification: syntactic downgraders, consultative devices, understaters, hedges, downtoner, and upgraders (such as intensifiers and expletives). The external modification strategies include: checking on availability, getting a precommitment, grounder, sweetener, disarmer, and cost minimizer.

The brief review of cross-cultural studies on apologies, complaints, and requests also reflects a variety of data collection methods which will be discussed below. Data collection methods highly structured in format tend to be popular among speech act researchers. Naturalistic data, though highly desirable is difficult to gather. The following section will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the various data collection methods employed in speech act research.

Speech Acts and Data Collection Methods

Generally speaking, data collection methods tend to fall into two basic categories: observation and elicitation (Wolfson, 1986). Cohen (1996a, p. 389) distinguishes between production and perception of speech acts and maintains that with regard to production the following data collection methods are typically used: observation of naturally occurring data, role play, discourse completion tasks, and verbal report interviews. In the case of perception studies, both questionnaires (examining group reactions to videotaped role play or screen play) and verbal report interviews (reviewing naturally occurring data) have been utilized.

Although researchers agree that naturalistic data is clearly desirable and probably the best method to study speech, they are also cognizant of the difficulties of such an undertaking. Consequently, they emphasize the need for structured elicitation formats, while acknowledging the shortcomings of such instruments. The discourse completion task (also referred to as discourse completion test or questionnaire - henceforth DCT, and DCQ) has been used repeatedly in studies on speech acts, despite heavy criticism. Kasper and Dahl (1991) define discourse completion tasks as "written questionnaires including a number of brief situational descriptions, followed by a short dialogue with an empty slot for the speech act under study" (p. 221).

Beebe and Cummings (1985) maintain that discourse completion questionnaires are a highly effective means of gathering a large amount of data quickly. Furthermore, they add that the instrument allows researchers to study the perceived requirements for a socially appropriate response. Another advantage of discourse completion questionnaires is that they are easy to administer, and they do not involve a large financial expenditure. It cannot be denied, though, that DCQs encapsulate idealized responses. In other words, respondents note down what "they would say" and not what "they do say" in specific situations. In addition, discourse completion items are limited in their scope of eliciting a range of formulas and strategies, length of responses, or number of conversational turns necessary to fulfill a function (Cohen 1996a, p. 394).

Clearly, naturalistic data would be ideal for speech act research for the following reasons: the data are spontaneous, they reflect what native speakers say rather than what they think they would say; the speakers are reacting to a natural situation rather than to a contrived and possibly unfamiliar situation; the communicative event has real-world consequences; and finally, the event may be a source of rich pragmatic structures (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1993 as summarized in Cohen 1996a, pp. 391-392). However, Cohen (1996a) also lists the following drawbacks of collecting naturalistic data:

1. The speech act being studied may not occur naturally very often.
2. Proficiency and gender may be difficult to control for.
3. Collecting and analyzing the data are time-consuming.

4. The data may not yield enough or any examples of target items.

5. The use of recording equipment may be intrusive.

6. The use of note-taking as a complement to or in lieu of taping relies on memory.

Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992) collected naturally occurring data from academic advising sessions and compared it to data collected from a discourse completion task. Their findings indicate that the discourse completion task allowed respondents to opt out (not an option in a real face-to-face situation), to be less polite, did not promote turn-taking and negotiations. In contrast, the natural data showed evidence of extended negotiations, more turn-taking, and more polite forms. However, the researchers were of the opinion that data from the discourse completion task helped explain and interpret natural data. Similarly, Beebe and Takahashi (1989) conducted a study on two face-threatening acts (FTAs) - disagreement and giving embarrassing information. The two groups studied were Americans and Japanese. Data were collected from discourse completion tasks, and also using the ethnographic approach of keeping a notebook for recording naturally occurring instances of the two FTAs under investigation. A comparison of the two data collection methods indicated that notebook data demonstrated a preference towards shorter exchanges, atypical ones or those that sounded nonnative. In addition, the interactions recorded were typically between researcher and friends,

relatives, associates, as these were the people with whom the researchers interacted frequently.

Another study comparing naturally occurring data and data from a two-turn discourse completion task is the one conducted by Beebe and Cummings (1996) on refusal. The natural data were telephone conversations. The researchers came to the following conclusions: the amount of talk in the telephone conversation far exceeded that produced in the DCT, the number of semantic formulas used and the number of turns taken were also higher in the naturally occurring data. The written nature of the DCT did not allow for elaboration, repetition, or negotiation which were frequent in the telephone conversation. However, the findings also indicated that the content of the telephone conversation and the DCT was very similar. Beebe and Cummings (1996, p. 75) summarize this similarity:

> Questionnaires yielded 17 excuses; telephone conversations contained 16. Questionnaires had 12 statements of negative ability/willingness; telephone conversations contained 14. Questionnaires said "I'm sorry" 11 times; telephone responses used it 9 times.

In addition to the data collection methods presented above, role play is also another procedure for examining speech act production. Role plays are utilized in two ways : either closed format, or open role play. The closed format is identical to the DCT, except that the role play calls for oral production instead of written. The open role play on the other hand allows for more turns and negotiation.

Walters (1980), Scarcella (1979), Trosborg (1987), Kasper (1981), and Tanaka (1988) used role play in their respective studies on requests, requests and invitations, apologies, initiating speech acts (requests, suggestions, complaints, invitations, offers), and requests. Kasper and Dahl (1991) argue that compared to the DCT, open role plays are a richer source of data because they "allow examination of speech act behavior in its full discourse context" (p. 228). Other advantages of this method are: "they represent oral production, full operation of the turn-taking mechanism, impromptu planning decisions contingent on interlocutor input, and hence negotiation of global and local goals, including negotiation of meaning (in the SLA sense of the term), when required" (Kasper and Dahl 1991, p. 228). Finally, open role plays are replicable and allow for comparisons between nonnative speakers and native L1 and L2 controls. However, Kasper and Dahl maintain that we cannot substitute role play for natural data even though the two reflect similar features. Role play situations are by definition artificial, force the respondent to participate with the investigator, and the presence of the taperecorder/videotape can make the respondent feel "on the spot" and thus be likened to a test-taking situation.

In sum, it is clear that each method of collecting speech act data has both advantages and disadvantages. Thus, while naturally occurring data are ideal, one cannot control them for specific variables, permission is needed before people can be taped, and the data may not reflect very many instances of the speech act being observed. Similarly, discourse completion tasks are not without their share of problems. They are not speech,

they encapsulate idealized responses, do not allow for negotiations between interlocutors, and according to Rose (1994) may not be ideal for collecting data in all languages. Role plays using an open-ended format share many more features of oral communication, but cannot be thought of as a substitute for natural data. Thus, researchers (Wolfson 1986, Johnson 1993, Kasper and Dahl 1991, Beebe and Cummings 1996) advocate gathering data through multiple approaches given the shortcomings of each method.

Conclusion of Review of Literature

This literature review has examined features of communication that are understood to be salient in the context of this study and for any discussion on pragmatics. Some of the ideas discussed here were: Dell Hymes' notions of context and the framework for understanding communication: SPEAKING, Grice's Cooperative Principle and maxims, Brown and Levinson's Politeness Principle, and Wolfson's Bulge Theory[3]. All these components are integral to an understanding of pragmatics. A popular and important area of research within pragmatics has been the investigation of speech acts both intra- and inter-culturally.

Cross-cultural variation of speech acts has attracted the attention of researchers over the past two decades. Although production has been investigated in greater depth than perception, some studies (few in number) have also investigated the hearer's

[3] Although a brief discussion of the Bulge Theory was provided in this chapter, the current study did not investigate it at length.

perspective. Data collection methods are generally of two kinds: recording /note-taking of naturally occurring data, and eliciting data via discourse completion tasks or role plays. Research has shown that there is no best method for collecting data and a combination of data collection methods is both viable and useful.

A variety of data collection methods have been utilized to investigate speech acts such as apologies, complaints, compliments, greetings, refusals, requests, and thanking. While some speech acts such as thanking and greetings tend to be routinized and formulaic, others such as apologies, complaints, requests, and refusals tend to be more complex, because these are face-threatening speech acts. Consequently, they place greater demands on the pragmatic competence of second language speakers, and are more difficult to teach explicitly. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that belief systems and values bound with identity issues underlie ways of speaking, and though it is legitimate to point out the target community's values, it is inappropriate to expect second language learners to adopt them. The most teachers can and probably should do is give learners information about the second culture's sociopragmatic norms, and leave it to the learner's discretion to adopt or ignore them (Thomas 1983, Saville-Troike 1982). In a recent work, Kasper (1997c) also echoes these ideas and maintains that the "cross-culturally conscious teacher" (p. 130) will ideally not impose a cultural imperialism on the students by insisting they conform to the interactional patterns of the L2 classroom.

Based on the review of literature, the major research questions of this study are:

1) What patterns are observed in native and nonnative speakers' realization of apologies, complaints, and requests as measured by a discourse completion task?

Sub-questions

1a) Is there a significant difference between the downgraders and upgraders supplied by native and nonnative English speakers?

1b) How does the speech act performance of native and nonnative speakers differ as measured by the discourse completion task (DCT)?

2) Do native and nonnative speakers differ significantly in their metapragmatic ratings of apologies, complaints and requests ?

3) What reasons are provided by native and nonnative speakers for the metapragmatic ratings, and what opinions do they have regarding appropriate language use with respect to the realization of apologies, complaints and requests?

Taking these research questions as the point of departure, a combination of three data collection methods was employed : discourse completion questionnaire for eliciting apologies, complaints, and requests ; a metapragmatic judgment task questionnaire aimed at examining the ratings given to responses by native and nonnative speakers and the degree of convergence between native and nonnative subjects' ratings of appropriate language use ; interviews aimed at investigating subjects' reasons for the ratings and their opinions about appropriate language use. Chapter 3 will present the research design for this study and a discussion of the rationale behind the specific data collection instruments used in the study.

Chapter 3
Methodology and Research Design

Chapter 2 provided a brief review of salient concepts in communication, and a review of studies conducted on apologies, complaints, and requests. The review of literature also discussed the strengths and weaknesses of data collection methods utilized in speech act research. This chapter will outline the design of the present study, and briefly discuss the methods of analyses.

The Research Interest

As discussed in chapter 1, we organize the world through our respective culturally determined ways of using language. Kramsch (1993) uses the picture of faultlines to describe culture. She refers to the complexity and ambiguity inherent in the construct of culture and suggests that the difficulty in viewing the world from a different perspective is what makes culture-learning more difficult than the acquisition of grammatical or lexical forms.

The fauitlines (i.e, complexities and ambiguities) that Kramsch speaks of are probably most evident when we interact with members of a different culture. Accounts of inter-cultural experiences often demonstrate inability or sometimes even failure in communicating with members of another culture. Researchers have used terms like pragmatic error or failure to describe instances of communication breakdown. Pragmatic

failure as discussed in Chapter 2 is a source of interest to researchers and often a source of concern to language users and teachers.

My interest in pragmatics stems from my own experiences both as a nonnative speaker of English and a language teacher. It is well known that knowledge of the forms of a language is not sufficient to conduct conversations, and secondly that a high level of grammatical competence does not necessarily entail a high level of pragmatic competence. In other words, the learner needs to know both forms and functions. Typically, L2 learners gain control over the L2 forms, while still struggling with how these forms combine with communicative and pragmatic functions. As discussed in Chapter 2, the inability to combine forms and functions, particularly in fluent L2 speakers, poses problems. Thomas (1983) noted that pragmatic failure, particularly with respect to sociopragmatic norms, can lead to people being labeled insincere or rude. Such observations have engaged the interest of applied linguists, particularly the issue of the teachability of pragmatic norms. Since language is both a personal and a professional concern of mine, I was interested in studying how native and nonnative English speakers *use* the English language.

For example, in the researcher's estimation, generally speakers of Indian languages apologize a lot less than Americans (the words 'I'm sorry', or 'I apologize' are rarely used, and then only for grave infractions, and typically not with intimates), and they request much more directly with fewer overtly polite formulaic expressions (requests

often end up sounding like imperatives to Americans). However, requests are typically indicated through intonation and tags which is not apparent to someone from an English L1 background. Likewise, the equivalents for the expression 'thank you' are used mostly with strangers. For example, it is not common practice to thank siblings or parents for any help that they may offer, or for that matter for gifts that they give. Such interactional moves are typically accomplished by expressing delight over a gift, or expressing concern that too much was spent on the gift, etc. Thanks as understood within the context of American culture are generally not expressed in such situations. It would be safe to say that while most cultures have ways for realizing speech acts, the ways in which these speech acts are realized (directly or indirectly, through words or actions) will differ across cultures. Variability and difference are characteristics of culture or of language use which make it a potential source of conflict in cross-cultural encounters.

The impetus for this study arose out of a pilot project I conducted while working as a research assistant[1]. The pilot study investigated apologies, complaints, and requests produced by native and nonnative speakers of German. I was particularly interested in these three speech acts, because a) they occurred frequently, and b) there could often be serious consequences if communication were to go awry in contexts where these speech acts were appropriate.

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[1] Thanks are extended to Dr. Renate A. Schulz for providing this opportunity.

The Research Questions

Given my specific interest in examining the speech acts of apologizing, complaining, and requesting, the following three major research questions were formulated:

1) What patterns are observed in native and nonnative speakers' realization of apologies, complaints, and requests as measured by a discourse completion task ?

Sub-questions:

1a) Is there a significant difference between the downgraders and upgraders supplied by native and nonnative English speakers?

1b) How does the speech act performance of native and nonnative speakers differ as measured by the discourse completion task (DCT)?

2) Do native and nonnative speakers' differ significantly in their metapragmatic ratings of apologies, complaints and requests ?

3) What reasons are provided by native and nonnative speakers for the metapragmatic ratings, and what opinions do they have regarding appropriate language use with respect to the realization of apologies, complaints, and requests?

The research design utilized to study the research questions is discussed below.

The Inquiry

Researchers engaged in the study of interaction have repeatedly emphasized the importance of naturalistic data. Kasper and Dahl's (1991) thorough review of research methods in pragmatics concludes with the statement that there is a need to collect authentic data within the "full context of the speech event" (p. 245). Wolfson (1986) also

makes a strong case for collecting authentic data despite the difficulties of such a methodological approach. Similarly, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993) underline the importance of collecting naturalistic data, because such data is evidence of spontaneous speech, contains rich pragmatic structures, and reflects what speakers actually say. Clearly, the significance of naturally occurring data cannot be overlooked. Consequently, the inquiry began with an effort to collect natural data.

Using a notebook, instances and examples of apologies, complaints, and requests were recorded when the researcher came across them in cafes, at home, or at work. However, the samples collected were few, and across a variety of situations (not all of which could be seen as everyday interactions). There was another problem with recording natural speech - the researcher either ended up interrupting conversations to accurately jot down what she had heard, or furiously wrote things down, and consequently was unable to follow the conversation. In addition, it was difficult to be certain that the interaction had been accurately committed to memory, thus calling into question the validity of the notes.

A tape-recorder would have been a useful alternative to the notebook. However, recording people without their permission is unethical, and it is difficult to approach strangers and request permission to record them. Furthermore, the presence of the tape-recorder also biases the data being collected.

Given the difficulties of collecting samples of natural speech, an alternative was sought, and it was decided that data be collected from television shows. The rationale behind the venture was that television shows are not produced specifically for pragmatics research, however, they do reflect norms of behavior within specific interactional contexts - hence the data from such sources are likely to be 'naturalistic.' There were some obstacles: first of all, recording of televised material is strictly controlled by copyright laws, and secondly it would take hours to watch shows and record them. Furthermore, the issue of what types of shows would need to be recorded was a difficult one to solve, and the likelihood of not gathering adequate number of tokens was relatively high. The researcher experimented by watching a few shows and recording some speech in a notebook, but it was soon discovered that the situations were not generalizable (i.e, they were not situations which occur frequently). In addition, on average only one or two examples of apologies were observed in half hour shows.

As a result of these difficulties, it was decided that elicitation tasks be used to examine the three speech acts. Speech act researchers have reiterated the need to employ a multimethod approach to data collection since a single method cannot capture the complexity of human interaction, and secondly each method has strengths and weaknesses (Cohen 1996a, Johnson 1993, Kasper & Dahl 1991). Cohen (1996c) maintains that each of the data collection techniques "has its own merits but it is the use of more than one that provides us with important triangulation" (p. 24). Reviewing

current perspectives on data collection methods, a multimethod approach for the current study was considered appropriate.

The data collection methods used in this study were: discourse completion task, metapragmatic judgment task, and open-ended interviews. The discourse completion task was aimed at examining production of native and nonnative speakers' apologies, complaints, and requests. The goal of the metapragmatic judgment task was to examine the effect/impact of realizations of the three speech acts from the hearer's perspective. Finally, the interview protocols were deemed necessary to investigate subjects' perceptions of appropriate language use, with respect to the three speech acts under investigation. The data were collected from Singaporean speakers of English in the summer of 1997, and from native and nonnative speakers of English in the United States in the fall semester of 1997.

The following sections will provide a description of the research methods, the subjects, and the methods of analyses.

Instruments and Data Collection

Phase One : The Discourse Completion Questionnaire

As noted in literature on speech act research, the discourse completion task offers numerous advantages for collecting data. However, the instrument has been heavily criticized, and the following weakness noted : the use of elicitation formats relies on native speaker intuition, thus "what is being collected is intuitive data, not speech as it actually occurs in everyday use" (Wolfson 1986). Beebe and Cummings (1996) echo Wolfson's stand and maintain that discourse completion tasks do not adequately reflect either spontaneous or even unselfconscious elicited speech with respect to -

> actual wording, the range of formulas and strategies used (some like avoidance tend to be left out), the length of response or the number of turns it takes to fulfill the function, the depth of emotion that in turn qualitatively affects the tone, content, and form of linguistic performance, the number of repetitions and elaborations that occur, the actual rate of occurrence of a speech act - e.g., whether or not someone would refuse at all in a given situation (p. 80).

However, Beebe and Cummings (1996) underscore the efficacy of using discourse completion tasks due to the many advantages of the instrument. In their opinion, DCTs are a highly effective tool for the following reasons (p. 80):

> 1. Gathering a large amount of data quickly;
> 2. Creating an initial classification of semantic formulas and strategies that will likely 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; and

5. Ascertaining the canonical shape of speech acts in the minds of speakers of that language.

In addition to using the DCT as an instrument for data collection, it can also be viewed as a test/measure of sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence. Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985) address the difficulties involved in evaluating a phenomenon as complex as pragmatics. According to Schulz (1995), a valid test of communicative competence is "by definition a direct performance test and would necessitate that - to the extent possible - language is being used appropriately within the constraints of realistic contexts, by real language users, for realistic purposes, simulating realistic human interaction" (p. 4). However, also by definition, a language test is an artificial context - the student is being evaluated on the basis of implicit parameters established by the tester.

Schulz (1995) and Spolsky (1985) suggest the use of terms like semi-authentic or semi-direct (defined as simulations of real-life contexts) to evaluate performance and maintain that language tests are best categorized along a continuum of authentic/inauthentic. Authentic testing with respect to speech acts would involve asking our students to tape-record natural conversations and then sifting through the recordings to pinpoint and evaluate speech acts as they are used in the course of daily life. It is obvious that such a venture would be unwieldy and uneconomical. However, in an effort to make our tests more authentic so that they reveal real-life language use, the researcher

has to develop instruments that are practical, valid, and reliable. While DCTs do not claim to be measures of authentic and actual oral production, they measure speakers' perceptions of what they would say in a given situation. Thus, a great amount of research remains to be done before we can be assured of the validity and reliability of our tests of communicative language ability.

The focus of this study is not to make claims, tentative or otherwise, regarding the proficiency of the nonnative subjects. However, any comparison between native and nonnative speakers typically leads to a tabulation of deficiencies that are reflected in the nonnative speaker's production. Consequently, the native speaker is set up as the norm/standard and the **non**native is defined as lacking or deficient. Linguistic and pyscholinguistic research has demonstrated that the idealized native speaker has skills in his/her L1 which the nonnative does not. It is also a reality that the native speaker will both continue to function as the ideal to which nonnative speakers aspire and remain the yardstick for assessing competence of the nonnative.

The two points mentioned above are not debateable. However, some caution is in order. First of all, the native speaker is not a monolithic construct; there is considerable variation among native speakers due to socio-economic, age, regional, and gender differences, to name a few. Therefore, a great deal of research examining this variability in native speakers remains to be conducted before we can make definitive claims (Hudson et. al., 1995).

Typically, cross-cultural speech act studies address two main issues: 1) areas of pragmatic competence which the nonnative speaker needs to develop in the target language, and 2) sources of pragmatic failure in the nonnative speaker's speech which can lead to miscommunication. Rarely is there an appeal to native speakers to exercise more tolerance for nonnative production, nor is the L2 creativity of nonnative speakers addressed in such work. Although this study does compare native and nonnative speakers, the focus here is more a comparison between the two groups in an effort to better understand the productions of native and nonnative speakers. In other words, evaluation per se is not the sole or primary objective. To this end different data collection instruments were utilized which are described in the next several paragraphs.

The first instrument designed for this study was a DCT (Appendix B) comprised of thirty different scenarios aimed at eliciting apologies, complaints, and requests. The scenarios were based on personal encounters, those told to me by friends and colleagues and those used in studies conducted by Cohen, Olshtain & Rosenstein (1986), Cohen (1981), Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984), and Schulz & Ruhil (1996).

These three speech acts were selected because they occur frequently (in most cultures), are face-threatening (Brown & Levinson 1987), and consequently could result in pragmatic failure. Typically, a written discourse completion task provides a scenario, followed by an empty slot for a response. It could also include one or two turns. Kasper and Dahl (1991) define discourse completion tasks as "written questionnaires including a

number of brief situational descriptions, followed by a short dialogue with an empty slot for the speech act under study" (p. 221).

The scenarios, or situations (as Kasper and Dahl call them) in this study were all followed by prompts, and then an empty slot was provided for the subjects' response. The reasoning behind the use of prompts was that the conversational tone of the prompt would cue in the respondents to the conversational tone adopted in the questionnaire, and help them assume different roles. The words apologize, complain, and request were not used anywhere in the questionnaire, to avoid priming the respondents to produce responses in keeping with the expectations of the researcher. A sample scenario is given below:

> **Situation**: You had borrowed a CD from a friend. Your car is broken into and the car CD player, including your friend's CD is stolen. Your friend calls to invite you to her party and asks that you bring back the CD you had borrowed.
>
> **Your friend**: Hi ! How are you ? I am having a party this evening and you of course are invited. By the way, could you please bring me my CD ? I wanted to play that music at the party.
> **You**:

Upon drafting the questionnaire, I requested five native speakers of American English, as well as five Singaporeans to read the questionnaire in order to ensure that the situations were valid cross-culturally. I interviewed these informants and asked them if they, or anyone they knew, had encountered the situations, and if the situation occurred frequently within their own cultures. The interviews with the informants were very

useful and helped me eliminate problematic scenarios in the questionnaire. For instance, the following scenario proved to be problematic:

> **Situation**: You plan to visit an old friend in a nearby town over the weekend, but need someone to take care of your dog during your absence. You call a friend and explain.
>
> **Your friend**: Hey ! What's up ? I haven't heard from you for some time.
> **You**:

Although the situation had validity for the American informants, the Singaporeans were of the opinion that it was not common to have dogs as pets in Singapore, and that they could not see themselves in that situation. They suggested that the word plants instead of dog would make the situation more plausible. Thus, the situation was adapted to make it valid for both Americans and Singaporeans.

The Subjects

The pool of subjects who participated in the DCT were 38 American undergraduate students (L1 English), 11 undergraduate, international students (L2 English) at a large public university in the United States, and 19 undergraduate students (L2 English) at a public university in Singapore (the rationale for selecting the specific groups has been explained in chapter 1). Intact writing classes were selected for this study. Subjects were rated in their speaking ability (in ACTFL terms) between intermediate high and advanced by the course instructors. In other words, the researcher

worked with the assumption that these subjects had achieved a higher level of gramatical competence than elementary level speakers. Subjects were informed that their participation was voluntary, and that their responses would be kept anonymous. A letter briefly describing the study and requesting participation was provided to both groups, and they were told only that the study aimed to examine language behaviors of people from different countries.

Due to the length of the questionnaire, administration took place over three class periods. The decision to administer during class time was motivated by the need to examine spontaneous production, and to prevent subjects from referring to other reference sources. The 19 Singaporean subjects had the following L1 backgrounds[3] : Chinese (16), Tamil (1), Punjabi (1), and Malay (1). The international students studying in America had the following L1s: Chinese (3), Spanish (1), Greek (1), Arabic (1), Hebrew & Bulgarian (1), Bahasa Indonesian (4).

Subjects also filled out a background questionnaire (Appendix A) providing information about themselves. The demographic table provided on the following page gives the average age, range of ages, and gender of subjects[4] .

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[3] The four official languages of Singapore are: English, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil. A host of other languages and dialects are spoken, but not recognized officially.

[4] The original pool of subjects was 50 NS, 20 NNS (Singapore group) and 20 NNS (US group). However not all NNS completed the questionnaires, and the final number was 38 NS, 19 NNS (Singapore group) plus 11 NNS (US group).

Table 3.1
Demographic Information DCT Subjects

Subjects	Average Age	Gender
Nonnative Speakers (Singapore) N = 19	19.6 years (age range = 18-23 years)	Male = 3 (15%) Female = 16 (84%)
Nonnative Speakers (US) N = 11	19.5 years (age range = 18-24 years)	Male = 6 (54%) Female = 5 (45%)
Native Speakers N = 38	21 years (age range = 18-25 years)* Note: one subject was 43 years old.	Male = 14 (36%) Female = 24 (63%)

Nonnative subjects were asked to provide a self-rating of their speaking ability ranging from excellent to poor. In the Singaporean group, 6 rated themselves good speakers, 8 as fair, and 5 declined to provide a rating. In the second nonnative group, 7 rated themselves good speakers, 8 fair, and 3 poor. Subjects were also asked to indicate the amount of English they used every day and the people with whom they spoke it. In addition, they also provided information about their level of comfort in speaking English as well as frequency of use with native speakers. This data is summarized in Tables 3.2 and 3.3

Table 3.2
Information about Language Use
NNS Singapore / DCT Group
N = 19

Amount of English used daily	Frequency of Use with native speakers	Level of Comfort in speaking English
90-100% = 2 (10%)	Frequent = 6 (31%)	Very = 12 (63%)
80-90% = 5 (26%)	Occasional = 9 (47%)	Somewhat = 7 (36%)
70-80% = 6 (31%)	Rare = 4 (21%)	Not at all = 0
60-70% = 4 (21%)		
50-60% = 2 (10%)		

Table 3.3
Information about Language Use
NNS US / DCT Group
Note: This group also participated in the metapragmatic judgment task Form A
N = 11

Amount of English used daily	Frequency of use with native speakers	Level of Comfort in speaking English
90-100% 0 (0%)	Frequent = 5 (45%)	Very = 3 (27%)
80-90% = 4 (36%)	Occasional = 5 (45%)	Somewhat = 8 (72%)
70-80% = 2 (18%)	Rare = 1(9%)	Not at all = 0 (0%)
60-70% =0 ((0 %)		
50-60% =5 (45%)		

Of the nonnative speakers in Singapore, 6 said they used English with parents and one (Chinese speaker) indicated that he spoke it with everyone except with his mother. The others spoke English with teachers, friends, as well as colleagues. Of the nonnative speakers in the US, one used English only with teachers (Spanish speaker). The other 10 used it with teachers, friends, and colleagues.

Phase Two: The Metapragmatic Judgment Task

Mey (1993) describes metapragmatics as "a pragmatic discussion on pragmatics" (p. 270). He makes a case for including metapragmatics by stating two arguments (p. 270): 1) pragmatics by itself cannot explain or motivate its principles and maxims, and 2) since communication is inherently a complex phenomenon, no one aspect of it can be examined in isolation from the others. Leech's (1983) metagrammar and Mey's metapragmatics (1993) concern the extralinguistic knowledge that speakers are said to possess regarding language. Thus, according to Mey (1993) "metapragmatics studies the conditions under which pragmatic, i.e., users' rules are supposed to hold" (p. 277). It is clear from these definitions that both pragmatics and metapragmatics are slippery concepts, which deal with an unpredictable world as Mey calls it, and are therefore hard to operationalize.

As noted in Chapter 2, the use of metapragmatic instruments in speech act research has been very limited. Some studies that included a metapragmatic perspective were Fraser, Rintell and Walters (1980), Rintell (1981), Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1984). All three used rating scales to examine appropriateness of responses. None utilized interview protocols to assess criteria that respondents used to rate responses. A recent study conducted by Chen (1996) systematically used a metapragmatic judgment task (MJT) to study metapragmatic awareness of native (i.e., Americans) and nonnative (i.e, advanced EFL learners in Taiwan) speakers with respect to refusals. Chen underscores

the value of the metapragmatic judgment task as a means of raising nonnative speakers' awareness of metapragmatic issues.

In summary, the metapragmatic judgment task (henceforth MJT) is a useful tool, primarily because it includes the hearer's perspective. Since conversation is a cooperative activity, and does not take place in a vacuum, the speaker's production (or the locutionary and illocutionary acts) and the effect of that on the hearer (or the perlocutionary act) are both equally important. Furthermore, since pragmatics is a complex set of phenomena, the use of more than one method to examine the construct is called for. As noted earlier in this chapter and also in Chapter 2, a multimethod approach in speech act research is important for the purposes of triangulation.

Data collected from the DCT were used to design the metapragmatic judgment task questionnaire. The primary reason for selecting the metapragmatic judgment task as a research tool was to collect more information on the DCT productions. Chen (1996) maintains that the DCT only provides data that can be categorized semantically, and patterns of responses can be identified. Since an integral part of speech act production is the effect the production has on the hearer, a different method of inquiry is needed to investigate the hearer's perspective. Thus, the metapragmatic judgment task was selected for this purpose.

Two versions of the MJT, Form A and Form B, were constructed, incorporating 10 situations per form. Situations 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 on Form A were also reflected on

Form B, and the other situations were form specific. Due to the length of the DCT and consequently the heavy demand it placed on subjects' time, the MJT was shortened and only 15 situations combined were reflected on both forms. In addition, the questionnaires were not part of the regular class syllabus, and constituted extra work for the subjects. Therefore, to be fair to the subjects, it was of utmost importance to reduce the time needed to fill out the MJT.

Furthermore, to counter fatigue and automatic unreflective responses, it was decided that only 10 situations per questionnaire be included. A different, but comparable, (in terms of age) group of native speakers responded to the MJT. The international students responded to Form A of the MJT, and another comparable (in terms of age) group of advanced nonnative speakers enrolled at the same university was selected to respond to Form B. This was done to ensure that information could be collected for all 15 situations. The second group of nonnative speakers (also an intact class) was selected for two reasons: 1) the group that produced the DCT responses was unable to provide metapragmatic ratings for all 15 situations due to the amount of time it would take to respond to all items, 2) responses were needed for all 15 items from both groups for issues of comparability. Unfortunately, the Singaporean students were unavailable for participation in the MJT. I hope to replicate the metapragmatic component with Singaporean students at a later date.

A total of 17 nonnative subjects responded to Form A (11 subjects who had completed the DCT questionnaire and an additional 6 from within the same group whose DCT data could not be included because it was incomplete), whereas a total of 20 nonnatives responded to Form B. The first languages of the DCT group are listed on page 71. In addition, 6 subjects who did not supply all the DCT responses (recall that the starting pool of subjects for the DCT was 20, but only 11 compieted the questionnaire), but participated in the MJT had the following L1s: Japanese (2), Greek (1), Arabic (1). Three of the six subjects did not provide any information regarding language use. But, their average age, range of ages and gender are available. Average age was 21 years, range between 19-24 years. Four were male, 2 female. Demographic data for these subjects is provided in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4
Information about Language Use
3 additional NNS / MJT Form A
Note: 3 subjects failed to provide the following data. Only data about age and gender is available for them.
N = 3

Amount of English used daily	Frequency of use with native speakers	Level of comfort in using English
90-100% = 0 (0%)	Frequent = 0 (0%)	Very = 0 (0%)
80-90% = 0 (0%)	Occasional = 3 (100%)	Somewhat = 3 (100%)
70-80% = 1 (33%)	Rare = 0 (0%)	Not at all = 0 (0%)
60-70% = 0 (0%)		
50-60 5 =2 (66%)		

The first languages of the group that completed MJT Form B were: Bahasa Indonesian (5), Arabic (2), Hindi (1), Urdu (1), Japanese (2), Swedish (1), German (1), Spanish (4), Malay (1), Turkish (1), and French (1). Forty-nine native speakers of American English responded to either Form A or B. These subjects also filled out the background information questionnaire and the following data were gathered.

Table 3.5
Demographic Information
NNS MJT Form B
N = 20

Average Age	Gender
20 years (age range = 18-16 years)	Male = 13 (65%) Female = 7 (35%)

Five of these speakers rated themselves excellent, 7 good, 6 fair, and 2 poor. With regard to the amount of English they used every day, frequency of use with native speakers, and their level of comfort when speaking English the following data were gathered.

Table 3.6
Information about Language Use
NNS US /MJT Form B
N = 20

Amount of English used daily	**Frequency of use with native speakers**	**Level of Comfort in speaking English**
90-100% = 6 (30%)	Frequent = 12 (60%)	Very = 9 (45%)
80-90% = 5 (25%)	Occasional = 5 (25%)	Somewhat = 10 (50%)
70-80% = 2 (10%)	Rare =3 (15%)	Not at all =1 (.05%)
60-70% = 3 (15%)		
50-60% = 4 (20%)		

Only one of the subjects used English with parents (Urdu speaker), and one used it with everyone except friends (Spanish speaker). The others used English with teachers, friends and colleagues. The demographic data for native speakers who participated in the MJT is given in Table 3. 7.

Table 3.7
Demographic Information
Native Speakers MJT Forms A and B

Subjects	Average Age	Gender
Native Speakers Form A N = 37	20 years (age range = 18-23 years)	Male = 15 (40%) Female = 22 (59%)
Native Speakers Form B N = 32	21 years (age range = 18-35 years) * one subject was 28 and one 35 yrs. old	Male = 9 (28%) Female = 23 (71%)

The MJT was constructed by randomly selecting six DCT responses to each situation [three of the responses were produced by native speakers, and three were nonnative responses. Responses were ordered randomly.] A Likert-type scale was selected to rate the responses, because the goal was to determine the degree of acceptability of each response. The scale allowed each response to be rated on a scale of 1-5, with 1 being the lowest, and 5 being the highest rating possible. An example from the MJT is given below along with the rubric subjects used to rate the responses (see Appendix C for complete questionnaires):

> 1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable ; 3 = somewhat acceptable; 4 = acceptable; 5 = fully acceptable
>
> 5 = just the right amount of information, not too much, not too little, very easy to understand, perfectly appropriate
> 4 = nearly the right amount of information, easy to understand, socially appropriate
> 3 = slightly too much or too little information, fairly easy to understand, but not completely satisfactory

2 = either too much or too little information, or a little difficult to understand, or socially somewhat problematic

1 = way too much or too little information, or very difficult to understand, or socially very inappropriate

B is taking several courses this semester and has not finished all the assignments yet. B needs an extension for one of the papers and decides to speak to the professor. B says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I am taking 21 credits and they have kept me on my toes. I was wondering if it would be possible to get a small extension on one of my papers ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) I wonder whether you can give me an extension for the assignment you have given me?

1 2 3 4 5 c) I was wondering if I could have an extra night or two to finish the paper.

1 2 3 4 5 d) There are a lot of assignments to do and I've not finished one assignment yet. Can you give me more time to do it ? Thanks for your appreciation.

1 2 3 4 5 e) I'm really swamped right now. Everything seems to be coming down at once. Do you think there is a possibility that I can get this paper to you a day or two later?

1 2 3 4 5 f) I wanted to request you to grant me extension for one of the papers as I have not been able to finish all the assignments since I've taken several subjects. I was wondering if it is possible to get an extension.

Subjects were told expressly to avoid spending too much time on each response, and instead to respond with 'gut-feelings' (i.e, intuitions). The reason for providing a rubric was to ensure that the ratings could be compared assuming that all subjects were using the same criteria for judgment. Prior to administration of the MJT, it was piloted on five Americans to determine what criteria they were applying for rating responses.

They were given the MJT questionnaire and told to rate the responses for their appropriateness using the Likert type scale. It was found that some took grammar into consideration when rating appropriateness, whereas others largely ignored it and rated responses on the basis of politeness and effectiveness. As a result, it was decided that a rubric be provided for the subjects in order to ensure (at least to some extent) that the researcher could work with the assumption that subjects were using similar criteria. Chen (1996) did not provide a rubric for rating the responses in her study on refusals, because her goal was to uncover subjects' criteria for judgment. Furthermore, her subjects' provided written reasons for each rating, which were later checked for validity in an interview protocol.

Since the MJT of the current study was longer than the one used by Chen, it was not feasible to require subjects to provide written reasons for their ratings. Consequently, the MJT only provided numerical ratings, which were later examined in greater detail in the interviews. Since the metapragmatic judgment task has not been utilized systematically in earlier studies to investigate perception of speech acts, in-depth information regarding the efficacy of this research tool is not available. As discussed in the review of literature, very few studies used a rating task. Chen's (1996) recent study is one of the first to use the metapragmatic judgment task as a research tool. She reports that the metapragmatic judgment task had a high test/retest reliability of the appropriateness ratings.

The Interview as a Tool for Pragmatics Data Collection

Although the disadvantages of interviews as a data elicitation technique cannot be overlooked (subjects may not say honestly what they think and instead give responses they think the researcher wants to hear; researcher's own bias, etc.), Seliger and Shohamy (1989) mention the following benefits of open-ended interviews: they allow for greater depth in obtaining information, and the interviewee has greater flexibility and freedom of expression. Cohen (1996a) highlights the power of verbal reports in obtaining "feedback from respondents regarding aspects of their behavior that would otherwise be left to the intuitions and speculations of the investigator" (p. 390). Given that the MJT ratings needed to be explained, it was decided that interviews be conducted with subjects to determine the reasons for their ratings (see Appendix E for interview procedures).

The open-ended interviews were tape-recorded with the subjects' permission. Five situations were selected randomly from each form to investigate subjects' beliefs about appropriate language use. The interviews took twenty-five minutes per subject, and a total of fourteen native (6 male; 8 female; average age 20.5 years) and sixteen nonnative subjects (9 male; 7 female; average age 20 years) volunteered to participate. The nonnative interviewees had the following L1 backgrounds: Arabic (2), Bahasa Indonesian (3), Bahasa Malaysia (1), Bulgarian & Hebrew (1), Chinese (2), German (1), Japanese (3), Korean (1), Spanish (1) and Urdu (1). It would have been preferable to gather interview data from all subjects. However, not all subjects volunteered for the

interview, and the relatively large number of subjects involved in the study made it difficult to gather information from all of them.

During the interviews, the researcher asked the subjects to respond to the MJT questionnaires that they had filled out. The purpose of the interview was described to subjects thus:

> **I am interested in your reasons for the ratings you provided on the questionnaire that you filled out a week ago. There are no right or wrong answers here. Everyone has their own ideas of what makes a particular response acceptable or unacceptable. I would like to look at five situations with you and would like you to respond with your comments.**

The researcher asked the following questions:

a) You gave this response a rating of ___. Would your rating still be the same?

b) Why did you give this response a rating of _____ ?

Subjects described their reasons for the rating, and if the rating was low, the researcher followed up with :

c) what does this response lack ? In your opinion, what would be required for the response to be highly acceptable ?

It was the aim of the interviews to allow subjects to voice their reasons for the ratings given and also to gain insight into what native and nonnative speakers considered polite and appropriate language use. The research design and rationale has been described in detail above. In the following sections the procedures employed for analyzing the data will be described.

Data Analysis

Qualitative Analysis

The DCT responses were coded for the occurrence of modality markers, (i.e, downgraders and upgraders) using House and Kasper's (1981) coding scheme. Modality markers are an integral and important feature of speech acts because they contribute to the politeness of a speech act. Thus, while a speech act can have few modality markers, the use of downgraders and upgraders addresses the notion of face, and takes into account status of speaker and hearer, and finally contributes to the politeness of a response. Each of the thirty situations was coded for native and nonnative subjects to determine which downgraders and upgraders were supplied. For the purpose of coding, only complete questionnaires were included in the analysis. A total of 38 native and 30 nonnative DCTs were analyzed. Some examples of how the coding scheme was applied are provided below. All examples are taken from actual data collected.

Apologies

Situation : You call from work to find out how things are at home and your child reminds you that you forgot to take him shopping, as you had promised. This is the second time that this has happened.
Your child: You promised !

You: I'm so sorry ! I've been very busy, but when I get home we'll go get ice cream or something.

The response would be coded in the following way:

I'm so sorry = upgrader (intensifier)

when I get home we'll go get ice cream or something = downgrader (appeaser)

Requests

Situation: Your next door neighbor is in the habit of playing loud rap music. Sometimes it doesn't bother you too much, but tomorrow you have an important test and need some quiet time to study. You knock on your neighbor's door.
Your neighbor: Hi !

You: Hi ! Listen I've got a really tough test coming up tomorrow and I'm having trouble concentrating on my studies, *could you please turn your music down* ?

please = downgrader (politeness marker)

I've got a really tough test = upgrader (intensifier)

I've got a really tough test ... and I'm having trouble concentrating = downgrader

(grounder)

Complaints

Olshtain and Weinbach (1993, p. 111) describe complaints as post-event face-threatening conflictive acts generally performed by employing any of the five following realization patterns : 1) Below the level of reproach (no explicit reproach is expressed, instead a hint may be used) , 2) Expression of annoyance/disapproval (vague and indirect statements that do not explicitly mention either the socially unacceptable act, or the hearer), 3) Explicit complaint (speaker mentions both the socially unacceptable act and the hearer, but no sanctions are instigated against the hearer), 4) Accusation and warning (explicit expression of a complaint, and potential sanctions are implied), and 5) Immediate

threat (speaker openly attacks the hearer, curses or insults the hearer). Downgraders can be used to mitigate complaints, whereas upgraders generally intensify the complaint. An example is provided below.

Where have you been ? I have left two messages for you. I wish you have [sic] been here earlier.

Where have you been = upgrader (aggressive interrogative)

In addition to coding the DCT responses, the production of native and nonnative subjects was analyzed to determine the types of strategies they used for performing the speech acts. The production of nonnatives was approached from a variational perspective, instead of a deviational perspective, i.e, the goal was not to point out deficiencies, but rather to examine the variation, and to explain potentially problematic areas. Instances of opting out of performing a speech act were also analyzed in order to understand which situations NS and NNS chose to avoid. The metapragmatic ratings were also studied to determine what characteristics DCT responses exhibited which attracted either high, mid, or low appropriateness ratings. The interviews conducted were analyzed qualitatively to determine what patterns emerged regarding language use. The content of the interviews was summarized and some examples of opinions voiced by subjects are quoted[2]. For example, subjects' views regarding politeness, and appropriate

[2] Selective portions of interviews were transcribed using plain English and subjects' opinions were quoted directly. No transcription conventions were used. See examples in Chapter 4.

language use with people of different status and familiarity levels were noted. The focus was to explain subjects' reasons for the MJT ratings, and consequently their beliefs regarding appropriate language use. The analysis of interview data was divided into two parts : one summarizing reasons given for high ratings and the other summarizing reasons given for low ratings.

The DCT responses and the MJT ratings were analyzed statistically. The procedures employed for this type of analysis are explained below.

Quantitative Analysis

a) The Discourse Completion Task

The coded DCTs were analyzed for frequency of downgraders and upgraders supplied by the two groups - native and nonnative speakers. Modality markers supplied were analyzed for each situation, and MANOVA tests run to determine if there were significant differences between native and nonnative speakers in their use of modality markers.

The following null hypothesis was formulated: there will be no significant difference between native and nonnative speakers in their use of modality markers. In addition to the MANOVA, a different type of analysis was applied to the DCT data. Although the purpose of the current study was not to rank nonnative subjects in relation to an assumed native norm or standard, it was decided that an evaluative scale be used to

assess native and nonnative responses, in order to examine how the two groups differed. An adapted version of Cohen and Olshtain's (1993) scale for rating communicative ability was used (Appendix D). Although the scale was developed to rate oral abilities, it was deemed applicable for assessing the written DCT responses, since responses were to simulate what would be said.

The scale developed by Cohen and Olshtain (1993) has strengths and weaknesses. One of the biggest strengths is that it examines language use integratively and within a specific context (i.e., not in isolation) and could be used in pedagogical settings to evaluate students' speaking abilities. The researchers emphasize that teachers would need to practice with the scale in order to obtain reliable ratings, and ideally two or more raters are required. However, this is difficult to accomplish in instructional settings due to time and cost factors. The researchers also caution that validity could be compromised since people speak differently in natural settings versus classrooms. However, Cohen (1993) suggests that students could be encouraged to 'play' the roles as they would in actual situations. The scale is high in practicality, because it takes relatively little time, and is economical. Given the advantages of the rating scale, it was decided that the scale be used to examine differences between native and nonnative speakers.

For the purposes of evaluation, three situations were selected by random assignment: situation 7 (apology), situation 18 (request), and situation 22 (complaint). The same three situations were evaluated for a total of 30 nonnative, and 38 native

subjects. Two raters - the researcher, and a native speaker of American English rated the DCT responses. Prior to evaluation, the two raters worked together in a training session in which they evaluated six other situations (these six were different from the ones finally selected). The training session was aimed at determining the efficacy of the rating scale and ensuring interrater reliability.

The rating scale used was analytic in nature, and consisted of three bands/criteria, where the highest possible rating per band was 5, and the lowest was a rating of 1. The three criteria on the scale were : 1) Sociocultural ability 2) Sociolinguistic ability 3) Grammatical ability. Sociocultural ability was a measure of the amount and clarity of information provided, and whether a speech act was supplied or not. Sociolinguistic ability was a measure of appropriate and relevant linguistic forms (i.e, very sorry, terribly sorry, Would you mind... etc.) provided by the subject in realizing the speech act in question.

Interrater reliability was calculated using the Pearson Product correlation. In addition, a mixed-design ANOVA was used to investigate sources of variance. Sources of variance in the score were due to 1) scale (which had three types of criteria), and 2) type of speaker/subject (native versus nonnative). For the purposes of the ANOVA, only the scores provided by rater 1 were used, since rater 1 was not otherwise involved in the study, and was also a native speaker of American English. Since three situations were evaluated, and each situation was considered to be a different task, it was judged

inappropriate to sum up the scores received on each situation. In addition to the ANOVA, the Tukey post-hoc test was run to determine which means were signficantly different. The ANOVA indicates interaction and main effects, and to determine which variables were significant in the interaction, the Tukey test was important. Jaccard and Becker (1990) highlight the usefulness of the Tukey test in reducing the chances of a Type I error (rejection of the null hypothesis when it is true).

b) The Metapragmatic Judgment Task

The MJT data were analyzed statistically using inferential statistics to determine significance of variance. The chi-square was considered to be the appropriate statistical procedure to determine significance of variance between native and nonnative ratings of MJT responses. According to Hatch and Lazaraton (1991), the chi-square is an appropriate statistical procedure for analyzing frequency data that is nominal. The aim of using inferential statistics for analyzing MJT ratings was to determine if there was a significant difference between native and nonnative speaker ratings. Secondly, it was important to ascertain to what extent native and nonnative groups gave the same ratings, and to what extent they differed.

Conclusion

In summary, the current study employed a controlled elicitation task - the discourse completion task (DCT) to examine the speech act production of native and nonnative speakers of English. A 30-item DCT was used requiring subjects to produce apologies, complaints, and requests. A background questionnaire was also filled out by the subjects providing information about L1 and L2 language use. Although initially 50 NS and 40 NNS (20 Singapore group; 20 US group) participated in the DCT, not all completed the questionnaire. Therefore, only the questionnaires of those subjects who responded to all 30 items were used for data analysis, reducing the number of respondents to 38 and 30 respectively.

This study also aimed at examining the hearer's perspective employing a metapragmatic judgment task questionnaire (the MJT) which required subjects to rate DCT responses on a scale of 1-5. The subjects who participated in the MJT questionnaire were the same group of NNS (Form A - only the US group, 17) who filled out the DCT, 69 NS (undergraduate students) at the same university in the United States, and another comparable group of 20 NNS (Form B - US group). The length of the MJT did not allow the researcher to gather any open-ended responses about the ratings given. Consequently, subjects' input on their thinking as they made the MJT ratings were collected via open-ended interviews which lasted half an hour per subject.

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were conducted to answer the following research questions:

1) What patterns are observed in native and nonnative speakers' realization of apologies, complaints, and requests as measured by a discourse completion task ?

Sub-questions:

1a) Is there a significant difference between the downgraders and upgraders supplied by native and nonnative English speakers?

1b) How does the performance of native and nonnative speakers differ as measured by the DCT ?

2) Do native and nonnative speakers' differ significantly in their metapragmatic ratings of DCT apologies, complaints and requests ?

3) What reasons are provided by native and nonnative speakers for the metapragmatic ratings, and what opinions do they have regarding appropriate language use, with respect to the realization of apologies, complaints, and requests?

This chapter outlined the research interest, the design and rationale of the present study, and described the methods of analyses. In the following chapter, the qualitative and quantitative analyses, the findings, and conclusions will be discussed in detail. Chapter 5 will summarize the objectives of the current study, address the need for further research, and conclude with a discussion of limitations of the current study and pedagogical implications.

Chapter 4
Results and Analyses

The present study aimed at investigating the production of apologies, complaints, and requests by native and nonnative speakers of English with three specific goals: 1) to provide a better understanding of the complexities involved in the nonnative usage of English speakers; 2) to explain areas in which pragmatic failure might occur between native and nonnative speakers and ; 3) to investigate beliefs about appropriate language use that native and nonnative speakers hold. Chapter 3 outlined the research questions and the design of the study. The analyses of the research questions are presented below.

For the purpose of triangulation, three types of data collection methods were used: 1) Discourse Completion Task Questionnaire (DCT) comprised of 30 items (Appendix B), 2) Metapragmatic Judgment Task Questionnaire (MJT) with two forms A and B comprised of 10 situations per form, five situations were common to both forms and the other 5 on each form were different (Appendix C), and 3) Interview Protocols (Appendix E). Data collected are analyzed below, organized according to research questions.

Quantitative Analysis

Research Question 1a

Do native and nonnative speakers differ significantly in their use of downgraders and upgraders to perform apologies, complaints, and requests ?

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant difference between the two groups (NS/NNS) in their use of downgraders and upgraders.

The DCT production of the two groups was coded (appendix F provides samples of coded DCT responses) for the occurrence of downgraders and upgraders using the coding scheme (appendix H) designed by House and Kasper (1981) in their cross-cultural analysis of politeness in English and German. The coded data were entered separately - first the coded downgraders per situation and per group and then upgraders per situation and per group. MANOVA tests were run for both the downgraders and upgraders. Independent variables were group (NS/NNS) and situation type (apologies, complaints, and requests). Dependent variables were tokens, i.e., downgraders (14 total) / upgraders (7 total) . Not all the types of downgraders and upgraders listed by House and Kasper (1981) were found in the data set, and thus the categories were reduced for the purposes of the statistical analyses. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 present the downgraders and upgraders. Figure 1 lists examples of downgraders as per House and Kasper's taxonomy (1981):

Figure 1

List of Downgraders as per House and Kasper's Taxonomy

Politeness marker = please
Play-down = I wondered if.../ I was wondering if...
Hedge = kind of , sort of, somehow, and so on, etc.
Downtoner = just, simply, possibly, perhaps
Understater = a little bit, a second, not very much, just a trifle
Minus committer = I think, I guess, I believe
Consultative = Would you mind if...
Cajoler = you know, you see, I mean, actually
Appealer = okay, right, yeah
Forewarn = Far be it for me to belittle your efforts, but...
Preparator = I would like to ask you a question (as an indication of what type of intent the speaker is going to make manifest, without, however, specifiying the nature of the proposition following the preparator.)
Grounder = God, I'm thirsty. Get me a beer will you ? (reasons speaker gives for his / her intent)
Scope-Stater = I'm a bit disappointed that... (speaker explicity expresses his/ her subjective opinion vis-a-vis the state of affairs).
Hesitator = erm, er..

Table 4.1

Frequency Data for Downgraders Supplied by NS & NNS across Situations 1-30

Key: Gp = group (NS= native speaker, NN = Nonnative speaker) ; Sit = situation ; Pol = Politeness marker; Pl = Playdown; Hed = Hedge; Dwt = Downtoner; Und = Understater; -Co = Minus Committer; Cons= consultative; Caj = Cajoler; App = Appealer; For = Forewarn; Prep = Preparator; Gro = Grounder; Sco = Scope-stater; Hes = Hesitator

Gp	Sit	Pol	Pl	Hed	Dwt	Und	-Co	Con	Caj	App	For	Prep	Gro	Sco	Hes
NS	1	19			2			2	2			17	35		
NN	1	24						1	3	4		6	20		
NS	2	3	2		1	1		2						11	
NN	2	4												5	1
NS	3	32			3	2	13	3					13		
NN	3	30			2	1	15	2					8		
NS	4	6	20		4			10							
NN	4	3	10					7				16	23		
NS	5	1										16	22		1
NN	5	1													
NS	6	18	17		11	16		9				1	36		1
NN	6	17	4		2	3		8				4	27		2
NS	7									8			16		
NN	7	2								9			13		
NS	8	23				2	3	2					11	1	3
NN	8	31					5	3					8		
NS	9	3		1	3	4	5				1				2
NN	9	5			4	5	7				1				1
NS	10	1						1					25		
NN	10	3						5					26		
NS	11	5	18		2	1		15				4	37		
NN	11	11	7		2			4				6	27		
NS	12	5	17		1			9				10	29		
NN	12	7	5					4				16	28		
NS	13							1	2				32		
NN	13	3						11		2			25		3
NS	14	2							1				33		
NN	14	1						2	1	3			19		1
NS	15		3		1			23				1	26		
NN	15	2	5					14					22		
NS	16							6		1			18		2
NN	16	1						3					9		
NS	17	1	10					8					31		
NN	17	3	3					5				1	27		
NS	18	4	14		6			8				8	36		
NN	18	2	3		1			10				2	27		
NS	19							2					37		
NN	19	4											25		

Gp	Sit	Pol	Pl	Hed	Dwt	Und	-Co	Con	Caj	App	For	Pre	Gro	Sco	Hes
NS	20							18					27		
NN	20	2						13		1			26		
NS	21	1	5		1			16				19	9		
NN	21		1					13				16	8		
NS	22	7		1	5			1						2	
NN	22	10			5										
NS	23	3	5			1		3					9	1	1
NN	23	3	2				1	1					7		
NS	24		11										33		
NN	24		3					1				4	24		
NS	25	3			3	3	1	2					10	5	
NN	25	4			1		2				1		1	6	
NS	26	10	4		2		1	1					3	3	
NN	26	9			1		4	2		2			2	3	
NS	27									1			11		
NN	27	2								11			10		1
NS	28	3	9	1	4		8						19	2	
NN	28	5	3				5						17	2	
NS	29	4	2	1	2			8				2	25		2
NN	29	1	2					7					19		
NS	30	4	1										9		
NN	30	6	1				2						5		

Key: Gp = group (NS= native speaker, NN = Nonnative speaker) ; Sit = situation ; Pol = Politeness marker; Pl = Playdown; Hed = Hedge; Dwt = Downtoner; Und = Understater; -Co = Minus Committer; Cons= consultative; Caj = Cajoler; App = Appealer; For = Forewarn; Prep = Preparator; Gro = Grounder; Sco = Scope-stater; Hes = Hesitator

The following are examples of upgraders taken from House and Kasper (1981):

Figure 2

List of Upgraders as per House and Kasper's Taxonomy

Overstater = absolutely, purely, terribly, frightfully
Intensifier = very, so, quite, really
Lexical Intensifier = swear words
Plus Committer = I'm sure, certainly, obviously
Aggressive Interrogative = why haven't you told me before ? (employment by speaker of aggressive mood to explicitly involve the hearer)

Table 4.2

Frequency Data for Upgraders Supplied by NS & NNS across Situations 1-30

NOTE: There were no upgraders on situations 17, 21, and 24

Key: Group= group (NS = native speaker; NNS = nonnative speaker); Over = Overstater; Inten = Intensifier; Lex. Inten = Lexical Intensifier; +Com = Plus Committer; Agg. Interro = Aggressive Interrogative

Group	Sit	Over	Inten	Lex. Inten	+ Com	Agg. Interro
NS	1		9			
NNS	1		15			
NS	2	1	4	1		3
NNS	2		1			2
NS	3					1
NNS	3					1
NS	4		6			
NNS	4					
NS	5			13		
NNS	5			11		
NS	6	1	7			
NNS	6					
NS	7		15			
NNS	7		9			
NS	8					2
NNS	8		2			2
NS	9		5	2	1	
NNS	9					
NS	10		25			
NNS	10		23			
NS	11	1	4			
NNS	11		5			
NS	12		3			
NNS	12		2			
NS	13		1			
NNS	13					
NS	14		8			
NNS	14		18			
NS	15		1			
NNS	15					

Group	Sit	Over	Inten	Lex. Inten	+ Com	Agg. Interro
NS	16		2			
NNS	16		5			
NS	18		3			
NNS	18		3			
NS	19		14			
NNS	19		11			
NS	20		7			
NNS	20		5			
NS	22	2			8	1
NNS	22				14	
NS	23		2			7
NNS	23					4
NS	25		3	2		6
NNS	25	1	1			9
NS	26		2			
NNS	26					
NS	27		13			
NNS	27		14			
NS	28		7			
NNS	28		6			
NS	29		1			
NNS	29					
NS	30		4			8
NNS	30		1			5

Table 4.3
MANOVA Results
Downgraders: Significant Findings By Group & Speech Act Type

Type of Downgrader	Sig F Group	Sig F Type of Speech Act
Politeness marker		.022
Playdown	.001	.000
Hedge	.033	
Downtoner	.036	.006
Minus Committer		.000
Consultative		.000
Cajoler		.001
Appealer		.005
Forewarn		.012
Preparator		.002
Grounder	.036	.000
Scope-Stater		.000

Results of the MANOVA indicate that at an alpha level of .05, there was a significant difference by situation type for the following downgraders: politeness marker (p = .022), playdown (p = .000), downtoner (p = .006), -committer (p = .000), consultative (p = .000), cajoler (p = .001), appealer (p = .005), forewarn (p = .012), preparator (p = .002), grounder (p = .000), and scope-stater (p = .000). A significant difference by group was observed for playdown (p = .000), hedge (p = .033), downtoner (p = .036), and grounder (p = .036).

Table 4.4
MANOVA Results
Upgraders: Significant Findings By Group & Speech Act Type

Type of Upgrader	Sig F Group	Sig F Type of Speech Act
Intensifier		.000
Aggressive interrogative		.000

At an alpha level of .05, significant difference by type was observed for the following 2 upgraders: intensifier (p = .000), and aggressive interrogative (p = .000). Since an interaction was observed for group and type on some downgraders, a Tukey post hoc test was conducted to determine the location of the differences (i.e., for which type of situation).

Table 4.5

NS & NNS Group Means for Downgraders: Apologies, Complaints, Requests

Key: Group (NS = native speaker; NNS = Nonnative speaker) ; Pol Mark = Politeness Marker ; Play = Playdown ; Hedg = Hedge ; Dow = Downtoner ; Und = Understater ; Min Com = Minus committer ; Cons = Consultative ; Caj = Cajoler ; App = Appealer ; Fore = Forewarn ; Prep = Preparartor ; Grou = Grounder ; Sco Stat = Scope-stater ; Hes = Hesitator

Apologies

Group	Pol Mark	Play	Hedg	Dow	Und	Min Com	Cons	Caj	App	Fore	Prep	Grou	Sco Stat	Hes
NS	2.30	.00	.00	.20	.00	.00	3.00	.50	1.00	.00	3.30	25.6	.00	.40
NNS	4.30	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	3.50	.70	2.00	.00	.60	17.3	.00	.50
Complaints														
NS	9.10	2.10	.30	2.10	1.30	3.10	1.40	.00	.00	.10	.00	7.40	2.80	.70
NNS	10.7	.60	.00	1.60	.60	4.10	.80	.00	.20	.30	.00	4.80	1.70	.20
Requests														
NS	4.40	11.7	.10	2.80	1.70	.00	10.6	.00	.00	.00	4.50	26.2	.00	.30
NNS	4.60	4.30	.00	.50	.30	.00	7.30	.00	.00	.00	6.50	23.2	.00	.20

At an alpha level of .05, the Tukey post hoc test indicates that there was a significant difference between the number of playdowns supplied in requests compared to apologies and complaints (higher number of playdowns were supplied for requests; NS mean = 11.70 for requests compared to 2.10 for complaints ; NNS mean = 4.30 compared to .60). There was also a significant difference in group (native speakers supplied more playdowns; NS mean = 4.60 compared to 1.63 for NNS). There were significantly fewer downtoners in apologies than in the other two situation types (NS mean for apologies, complaints and requests respectively = .20, 2.10 and 2.80 ; NNS means = .00, 1.60, .50). There was no significant difference between downtoners supplied for complaints and requests.

There were significantly more minus committers supplied for complaints than for apologies or requests (NS means for apologies, complaints, and requests = .00, 3.10, .00; NNS means = .00, 4.10, .00). Consultatives were supplied significantly more for requests than either apologies or complaints (NS means for apologies, complaints and requests respectively = 3.00, 1.40, and 10.60 ; NNS means = 3.50, .80, 7.30) and there was no significant difference between consultatives supplied for apologies and complaints. Cajolers were more frequent in apologies than in either complaints or requests (NS means = .50, .00, and .00 ; NNS means = .70, .00, .00). Appealers reflected a similar pattern (N means = 1.00, .00, .00; NNS means = 2.00, .20, .00). Forewarn was used more in complaints than in the other two types of situations (NS means = .00, .10, .00 ; NNS means = .00, .30, .00). Preparators and grounders were supplied more in requests than in complaints, and there was no difference between apology and request, or apology and complaint (NS means for Preparators = 3.30, .00, 4.50 ; NNS means = .60, .00, 6.50 ; NS means for grounders = 25.60, 7.40, 26.20; NNS means = 17.30, 4.80, 23.20).

Table 4.6
NS & NNS Group Means for Upgraders: Apologies, Complaints, Requests
Key: Group (NS = Native speaker ; NNS = Nonnative speaker) ; Over = Overstater ; Inten = Intensifier ; Lex Inten = Lexical Intensifier ; Plus Comm = Plus committer ; Agg. Interro. = Aggressive Interrogative

Apologies

Group	Over	Inten	Lex. Inten	Plus Comm	Agg. Interro.
NS	.00	9.40	.50	.00	.00
NNS	.00	10.00	.00	.00	.00

Complaints

NS	.30	2.70	.50	.90	2.80
NNS	.10	1.10	.00	1.40	2.30

Requests

NS	.20	2.50	.00	.00	.00
NNS	.00	1.30	.00	.00	.00

In the case of intensifiers, more were supplied for apologies than for complaints or requests (NS means = 9.40, 2.70, 2.50 ; NNS means = 10.00, 1.10, 1.30). The scope-stater and aggressive interrogative were supplied only in complaints.

Table 4.7
NS & NNS Overall Means for Downgraders by Group & Situation Type

Group	Apologies	Complaints	Requests
NS	36.30	30.40	62.30
NNS	28.90	25.60	46.90

In sum, the statistically significant results of the quantitative analysis for Research Question 1a are as follows: native speakers used more downgraders overall than nonnatives across the 30 situations (NS means = 43.00; NNS means = 33.80). A greater number of downgraders were supplied for requests than either for apologies or

complaints, and there was no significant difference between apologies and complaints (Means per type of speech act overall = 32.60, 28.00, 54.60).

Table 4.8
NS & NNS Overall Means for Upgraders by Group & Situation Type

Group	Apologies	Complaints	Requests
NS	10.70	7.20	2.70
NNS	11.10	4.90	1.30

In the case of upgraders there was a significant difference between apologies, complaints and requests. A greater number of upgraders were supplied for apologies than for complaints or requests and there were more in complaints than in requests (Means per type of speech act for apologies, complaints and requests respectively = 10.90, 6.05, 2.00).

To summarize, the type and frequency of modality marker, i.e., either downgraders or upgraders, varied according to the speech act. For instance, downgraders (e.g., I was wondering if you could please turn down your music just for tonight ?) were more frequent (for both native and nonnative speakers) in the speech act of request than in the other two speech acts. Utilizing downgraders in realizing a request serves two purposes: 1) it has the effect of making the request more polite, 2) it also helps to mitigate the degree of imposition. Since the request threatens the negative face of the hearer, it is in the interest of the speaker to play down the impact his/her utterance is likely to have on the hearer so that the hearer is more willing to comply with the requester. In contrast, downgraders were least frequent in apologies thus fulfilling the

requirements of the speech act of apologizing. An apology is offered when the speaker has caused an infraction and to restore harmony between speaker and hearer. It is more effective if the apology is upgraded. Upgrading an apology is useful in maintaining comity (defined in Chapter 2, p. 28) and harmony in the relationship, which is especially important in cross-cultural encounters and intercultural communication.

In the case of complaints, the speaker has to maintain the fragile balance between airing his/her grievance and not jeopardizing the relationship. As a result, upgraders were more frequent in complaints than in requests, but were still fewer in complaints than in apologies. This indicates that speakers were less inclined to increase the impact of their complaints via upgraders in order to preserve the hearer's positive face. It was also observed that native speakers provided significantly more downgraders than the nonnative group (group mean NS = 43.00 ; group mean NNS =33.80). This difference between native and nonnative performance could have important consequences in cross-cultural communication. The smaller number of downgraders in the production of nonnative speakers could result in the perception that their production was not as polite, or was even impolite. The way in which production impacts perception will be examined in research question 3. The next section further examines the difference in native and nonnative performance.

Research Question 1b

Is there a significant difference in the speech act performance of native and nonnative speakers as measured by discourse completion tasks ?

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant difference in the performance of native and nonnative speakers as measured by discourse completion tasks.

As mentioned in chapter 3, an adapted version of Cohen's (1993) analytic scale (see Appendix D) for assessing communicative language ability was used to score native and nonnative performance on the following three randomly selected situations:

Situation 7 (apology): You call from work to find out how things are at home and your child reminds you that you forgot to take him shopping, as you had promised. This is the second time this has happened.
Your child: You promised !
You:

Situation 18 (request): You are taking several courses this semester and have not finished all the assignments yet. You realize that you will need an extension for one of your papers. You decide to speak to your professor.
Your professor: Come on in ! How are classes ?
You:

Situation 22 (complaint): The library issues you a notice saying you owe $50.00 for some books you haven't returned. This is not the first time this has happened. You are positive that you have returned the books, and are quite annoyed.
The Fines Department: My computer screen tells me that you owe this fine.
You:

The Cohen and Olshtain communicative ability scales (1993, p. 285-286) are comprised of: 1) sociocultural ability, 2) sociolinguistic ability, 3) grammatical ability. The scale of sociocultural ability assesses "the **appropriateness** of the sociocultural

strategies selected for realizing speech acts in a given context." The authors stress thatthe speaker would need to adapt his/her production to the following variables: cultural context, age and sex of interlocutors, socio-economic status, roles and social status. The sociolinguistic ability scale assesses "**the use of linguistic forms to express the intent of the speech act** (e.g., regret in an apology, the grievance in a complaint, the objective of a request, or the refusal of an invitation)." The grammatical ability scale "deals with **how acceptably** words, phrases, and sentences are formed and pronounced in the respondents' utterances."

As discussed in Chapter 3, an American native speaker who was not otherwise involved in the study rated the three situations (situations were not rated blindly) given above for each native and nonnative subject. Thus, a total of 114 responses for native speakers and a total of 90 responses for nonnative speakers were rated (Appendix G provides 60 rated responses). Since the three situations (apology, complaint, and request) were three different tasks, it was not meaningful to sum the scores for each situation. Scores per subject, per situation, and per scale were entered into the computer and a mixed-design ANOVA was run. The within-subjects factors were situation and criteria, and the between-subjects factor was group (NS/NNS). The independent variables were sociocultural, sociolinguistic and grammatical abilities. The dependent variables were group and situation.

The table provided below shows the results obtained from the ANOVA. The ANOVA indicates that there was a significant difference between groups, and at an alpha level of .01 the probability was .0000. The null hypothesis was rejected.

Table 4.9
NS & NNS Group Means for 3 Rated Situations (Apology, Complaint, Request)

Group	Sit. 7/Soc. cul. ability	Sit. 7/ Soc. ling. ability	Sit.7/ Grammabi lity	Sit.18/ Soc. cul. ability	Sit.18/ Soc. ling. ability	Sit.18/ Gramm ability	Sit.22/ Soc. cul. ability	Sit.22/ Soc. ling ability	Sit.22/ Gramm ability
NS	4.289	4.000	5.000	4.500	4.421	5.000	4.053	3.737	5.000
NNS	3.633	4.000	4.833	3.633	3.467	4.633	2.967	3.033	4.733

Table 4.10
ANOVA Results of the 3 Rated Situations

Source	D.F	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	17	238.2558	14.0150	26.4835	.000
Within Groups	330	174.6360	.5292		
Total	347	412.8918			

Since both main effect and interaction were obtained, Tukey post hoc tests were run to determine which means were significantly different. Table 6 provided below contains the results of the Tukey test.

Table 4.11
Tukey Post Hoc Test: NS & NNS Group Means on the 3 Rated Situations

Contrasts	Variables contrasted	T Probability
Constrast 1/ Situation 7	Apology x Sociocultural ability	.000
Contrast 4 / Situation 18	Request x Sociocultural ability	.000
Contrast 5 / Situation 18	Request x Sociolinguistic ability	.000
Contrast 7 / Situation 22	Complaint x Sociocultural ability	.000
Contrast 8 / Situation 22	Complaint x Sociolinguistic ability	.000

Note: All results involved the contrasts of native and nonnative speaker means.

The Tukey test indicates that there was a significant difference between native and nonnative speakers. In Situation 7, which was an apology, there was a significant difference between the two groups on sociocultural ability, but not on sociolinguistic or grammatical ability. In the case of Situations 18 (request), and 22 (complaint) there was a significant difference between the two groups on sociocultural and sociolinguistic ability, but no significant difference on grammatical ability.

Thus, grammatical ability was not one of the distinguishing criteria between the two groups. This is probably due to the fact that the nonnative group consisted of advanced L2 speakers. Cohen (1993) mentions that grammatical ability might make a difference for beginning or intermediate speakers. In this study, the level of the subjects

was higher and therefore did not seem to be a factor. However, on all three speech acts, the apology, request, and complaint, there was a significant difference between native and nonnative speakers on sociocultural and sociolinguistic abilities. This could be due to the nature of the specific situations.

Although only Rater 1's (a native speaker of American English) scores were taken into consideration for the purpose of the ANOVA and the Tukey, the scores given by Rater 2 were taken into consideration when establishing interrater reliability. Since the three situations were considered to be different tasks, interrater reliability was calculated separately for each situation using the Pearson Product test , and established at r =.62 (Situation 7, apology), r =.84 (Situation 18, request), and r =.76 (Situation 22, complaint) respectively.

A word about the scale is in order here. The analytic scale is particularly useful for investigating differences between the two groups on three different criteria and consequently provides more information about the performance of the two groups than a holistic/global scale which would provide only an overall score. For example, the researcher had hypothesized that the two groups would differ on grammatical ability as well. However, this hypothesis was proved false, thereby emphasizing the crucial importance of both sociocultural and sociolinguistic abilities for successful communication. Grammar, although important, may not impact the utterance as greatly as the sociocultural or sociolinguistic aspects of the utterance.

In this study, it was determined that the scale is high in practicality for two reasons: 1) it provides more information about subjects' performance than a holistic/global scale, and 2) it can be used to score DCTs with relatively low time investment if the raters are trained well. The expectations for each speech act need to be established prior to scoring, so that if there are two or more raters, their criteria for judging are comparable. Schulz (1995) states: "evaluation can be relatively quick and reliable when raters are trained in using either a global or analytical evaluation procedure with clear descriptive rubrics" (p. 12). However, Schulz echoes the opinions of others in the field when she reminds us that at this point in time neither the model of language ability assessment nor the instruments used for such assessment have been satisfactorily developed.

In summary, the production of native and nonnative speakers differs significantly with respect to the number of modality markers they provide for the speech acts of apology, complaint, and request. Specifically, nonnatives used fewer downgraders than the native speaker group. Furthermore, the two groups differ in terms of their sociocultural and sociolinguistic abilities, although grammatical ability did not prove to be a distinguishing criterion in the performance of the two groups. Contrasts in sociolinguistic and sociocultural abilities could have serious consequences for communication between the two groups if the performance of nonnative speakers is

perceived as less polite/appropriate by native speakers, as the results discussed in the context of Research Question 1a point out.

The next research question examines native and nonnative ratings of DCT responses in order to study differences in rating between the two groups. This research question addresses speech act production from a different perspective, namely that of the hearer. Although the DCT responses were not oral responses, the purpose of the investigation is to examine to what extent the DCT responses (if they had actually been produced in specific scenarios) are acceptable/appropriate from the perspective of a person who 'hears' these responses. In the context of this study both the DCT and the MJT instruments were administered in written formats.

Research Question 2

Do native and nonnative speakers differ significantly in their metapragmatic ratings of DCT apologies, complaints and requests ?

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant differences between ratings given by native and nonnative speakers.

For the purpose of investigating the hearer's perspective, a metapragmatic judgment task (MJT) was constructed by randomly selecting six DCT responses to each situation - three of the responses were produced by native speakers, and three were nonnative responses. A Likert-type scale was selected to rate the responses, because the

goal was to determine the degree of acceptability of each response. The scale allowed each response to be rated on a scale of 1-5, with 1 being the lowest, and 5 being the highest rating possible. An example from the MJT is given below (see Appendix C):

Please read the situations provided below and and rate each response on a scale of 1-5 with 5 being the most acceptable and 1 being the most unacceptable. Do not consider grammar mistakes unless they hinder comprehension. What you should consider is the overall appropriateness of the message within the given situation. Give your first impressions - do not spend too much time on the responses. Please read the key provided below before you begin.

1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable; 3 = somewhat acceptable; 4 = acceptable; 5 = fully acceptable

5 = just the right amount of information, not too much, not too little, very easy to understand, perfectly appropriate
4 = nearly the right amount of information, easy to understand, socially appropriate
3 = slightly too much or too little information, fairly easy to understand, but not completely satisfactory
2 = either too much or too little information, or a little difficult to understand, or socially somewhat problematic
1 = way too much or too little information, or very difficult to understand, or socially very inappropriate

B is taking several courses this semester and has not finished all the assignments yet. B needs an extension for one of the papers and decides to speak to the professor. B says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I am taking 21 credits and they have kept me on my toes. I was wondering if it would be possible to get a small extension on one of my papers ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) I wonder whether you can give me an extension for the assignment you have given me?

1 2 3 4 5 c) I was wondering if I could have an extra night or two to finish the paper.

1 2 3 4 5 d) There are a lot of assignments to do and I've not finished one assignment yet. Can you give me more time to do it ? Thanks for your appreciation.

1 2 3 4 5 e) I'm really swamped right now. Everything seems to be coming down at once. Do you think there is a possibility that I can get this paper to you a day or two later?

1 2 3 4 5 f) I wanted to request you to grant me extension for one of the papers as I have not been able to finish all the assignments since I've taken several subjects. I was wondering if it is possible to get an extension.

Ratings provided for each of the MJT items by native and nonnative speakers were entered into the computer. For ease of analysis the 5 different levels on the Likert-type scale (1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable; 3 = somewhat acceptable; 4 = acceptable; 5 = fully acceptable) were collapsed into three: low (1 and 2), moderate (3), and high (4 and 5). A total of 90 statements were rated.

Since the data are frequency data and not scores on a test, the Chi-square test was deemed an appropriate statistical test to answer the research question: Do native and nonnative speakers differ significantly in their ratings of DCT apologies, complaints, and requests? Results of the Chi-square tests indicate that the null hypothesis could be rejected. At an alpha level of .05, the two groups differed significantly on their ratings of 29/90 statements (11 apologies, 11 complaints, and 7 requests). These significant results have been provided in Table 4.12.

Response statements 2d, 2e, 3a, 3e, 3f, 4a, 4d, 4e, 4f, 6a, and 6b, were rated by a total of 69 NS and 38 NNS. Response statements 5c, 5f, 7a, 7c, 7d, 7e, 7f, 8c, 9b, 9d, 9f,

10b, and 10c (situations specific to Form A) were rated by a total of 38 NS and 17 NNS, and finally, Response statements 11b, 11c, 12c, 15e, and 15f (situations specific to Form B) were rated by 31 NS and 20 NNS. A summary of the tabulated results follows the tables.

Table 4.12

Percentages of NS & NNS Metapragmatic Ratings

Situation 2: While traveling abroad, B stays in a hotel and requests a wake-up call for the next morning. The hotel personnel does not call, and as a consequence, B misses the flight. B says to the hotel manager,

Response 2d, complaint, NNS

Yes, yesterday I've asked for help to someone in the lobby to wake me up at 5am. But why he/she didn't do it ? Now I've missed my flight. I want the replacement you should take care of everything all over again. Please consider it.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 50 72.5%	13 18.8%	6 8.7%
NNS 7 18.9%	11 29.7%	19 51.4%

p = .00000

Response 2e, complaint, NNS

Good morning ! I have requested a wake up call for this morning. However, the hotel personnel did not call me, and as a result I miss my flight. Could you give me an explanation for this ?

Low	Moderate	High
NS 23 33.3%	22 31.9%	24 34.8%
NNS 5 13.5%	8 21.6%	24 64.9%

p = .00960

Situation 3: C and a friend have just eaten a meal in a restaurant. The waiter brings a bill that is not accurate. C says,_

Response 3a, complaint NS
Actually, the bill is incorrect,...we did not order____ .

Low	Moderate	High
NS 3 4.3%	18 26.1%	48 69.6%
NNS 8 21.6%	6 16.2%	23 62.2%

p = .01692

Response 3e, complaint, NNS
Wait a minute. There is some mistake here. I don't order chicken tuna, why did you write it down ?

Low	Moderate	High
NS 49 71.0%	16 23.2%	4 5.8%
Nns 19 51.4%	9 24.3%	9 24.3%

p =.01652

Response 3f, complaint, NNS
Excuse me ! I think there is a little mistake in the bill. Could you recheck it for me please.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 12 17.4%	22 31.9%	35 50.7%
NNS 5 13.5%	2 5.4%	30 81.1%

p = .00351

Situation 4: D calls from work to find out how things are at home and D's child reminds D that D forgot to take him shopping, as had been promised. This is the second time that this has happened. D says.

Response 4a, apology, NS
I'm sorry there buddy. I'll tell you what, I'll get out of here a little early today and we'll go then. Ok ?

Low	Moderate	High
NS 3 4.3%	7 10.1%	59 85.5%
NNS 5 13.5%	9 24.3%	23 62.2%

p = .02253

Response 4d, apology, NS
Oh honey, I am so sorry !! I will leave work early today and take you shopping just like I said !

Low	Moderate	High
NS 11 15.9%	13 18.8%	45 65.2%
NNS	8 21.6%	29 78.4%

p = .03707

Response 4e, apology, NNS
Oh...I forgot ! Ok, next time I'll not forget. I swear to God.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 56 81.2%	10 14.5%	3 4.3%
NNS 19 51.4%	9 24.3%	9 24.3%

p = .00165

Response 4f, apology, NNS
Oh I'm so sorry . I was so busy it just slipped my mind. I'll be home soon and then we can freak out together. Will that be fine

Low	Moderate	High
NS 41 59.4%	14 20.3%	14 20.3%
NNS 7 18.9%	11 29.7%	19 51.4%

p = .00019

Situation 5: E is studying with a close friend and he offers some food he has cooked and says: "how do you like this dish? E thinks the food is terrible. E says,

Response 5c, complaint, NNS
Quite fine, but it is more delicious if you add more ketchup I think.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 13 34.2%	16 42.1%	9 23.7%
NNS 3 17.6%	4 23.5%	10 58.8%

p= .04035

Response 5f, complaint, NS
It's okay, next time you might want to add some...

Low	Moderate	High
NS 1 2.6%	12 31.6%	25 65.8%
NNS 5 29.5%	2 11.8%	10 58.8%

p = .00814

Situation 6: A plans to visit an old friend in a nearby town over the weekend, but needs someone to take care of the plants during A's absence. A calls a friend with whom A hasn't been in touch for some time. The friend says: "Hey ! What's up ? I haven't heard from you for some time." A says,

Response 6a, request, NS
I know. I'm sorry. Life has been so crazy. Oh, I almost forgot. Is there anyway you could come by this week and water my plants ?

Low	Moderate	High
NS 47 68.1%	15 31.7%	7 10.1%
NNS 14 37.8%	12 32.4%	11 29.7%

p = .00563

Response 6b, request, NS
You know what ? I am going out of town this weekend and I was wondering if you could stop by and water my plants while I am gone ?

Low	Moderate	High
NS 46 66.7%	18 26.1%	5 7.2%
NNS 12 32.4%	18 48.6%	7 18.9%

p = .00293

Situation 7: It's Saturday and A plans on running some errands. A has promised a neighbor to pick up some medicine for her sick child. Unfortunately, A forgets to buy the medicine. A says.

Response 7a, apology, NNS

Oh my god ! I have forgotten. I am sorry. Maybe I will get the medicine now.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 17 44.7%	10 26.3%	11 28.9%
NNS 2 11.8%	5 29.4%	10 58.8%

p = .03910

Response 7c, apology, NS

Oh I forgot. I'll go get it right now. I'll be back in 5 minutes

Low	Moderate	High
NS	3 7.9%	35 92.1%
NNS 2 11.8%	5 29.4%	10 58.8%

p = .00745

Response 7d, apology, NNS

O yeah, the medicine. I am really sorry. I forgot uuh...I just did some errand and my mind was fully concentrated on it, so your need was just disappeared in my mind. I'm so sorry.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 29 76.3%	9 23.7%	
NNS 5 29.4%	6 35.3%	6 35.3%

p = .00011

Response 7e, apology, NS

I knew I was forgetting something ! I'll be right back.

Low	Moderate	High
NS	5 13.2%	33 86.8%
NNS 3 17.6%	6 35.3%	8 47.1%

p = .00238

Response 7f. apology. NNS

Oh God ! It just slipped my mind. I'm so sorry. I'll just go and get it now if it is urgent or could I get in the morning tomorrow ?

Low	Moderate	High
NS 16 42.1%	15 39.5%	7 18.4%
NNS 1 5.9%	8 47.1%	8 47.1%

p = .01304

Situation 8: A has been working late at school and has missed the last bus. A realizes that Prof. Larry Smith is just leaving to go home. A knows that he drives to school and does not live far from A. Prof. Smith says: "I see you've been working late." A says,

Response 8c. request. NNS

Yes, it's been for weeks. Ooh, I'm exhausted. And now I've missed the bus. How unlucky I am for this week. Would you mind if I go home with you ? It would be worth for me.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 23 60.5%	13 34.2%	2 5.3%
NNS 3 17.6%	4 23.5%	10 58.8%

p = .00004

Situation 9: B is taking several courses this semester and has not finished all the assignments yet. B needs an extension for one of the papers and decides to speak to the professor. B says.

Response 9b. request . NNS

I wonder whether you can give me an extension for the assignment you have given me ?

Low	Moderate	High
NS 18 47.4%	11 28.9%	9 23.7%
NNS 2 11.8%	7 41.2%	8 47.1%

p = .03496

Response 9d. request, NNS

There are a lot of assignments to do and I've not finished one assignment yet. Can you give me more time to do it ? Thanks for your appreciation.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 18 47.4%	8 21.1%	12 31.6%
NNS 3 17.6%	2 11.8%	12 70.6%

p = .02509

Response 9f. request, NNS

I wanted to request you to grant me an extension for one of the papers as I have not been able to finish all the assignments since I've taken several subjects. I was wondering if it is possible to get an extension.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 13 34.2%	8 21.1%	17 44.7%
NNS	9 52.9%	8 47.1%

p = .00785

Situation 10: There is a leak in Z's apartment and although Z has left two messages for the landlord asking him to repair it, he has not returned the calls. Z is upset as the leak has caused a lot of extra work and inconvenience. Finally, the landlord shows up to take care of the problem. Z says,

Response 10b. complaint, NNS

Where have you been ? I have left two messages for you. I wish you have been here earlier.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 22 57.9%	12 31.6%	4 10.5%
NNS 4 23.5%	8 47.1%	5 29.4%

p = .04354

Response 10c. complaint, NNS

You must repair it now. I have already felt sucks with this. Please don't make next days become horrible anymore. I am enough for last days.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 34 89.5%		4 10.5%
NNS 5 29.4%	6 35.3%	6 35.3%

p = .00001

Situation 11: B's friend has just returned from a trip. She calls B to talk about her adventures. Unfortunately, B has guests and cannot talk to her. B says.

Response 11b, apology, NS

It's great to hear from you. But you know what I have company over. Could I call you back as soon as they leave ?

Low	Moderate	High
NS 2 6.5%	1 3.2%	28 90.3%
NNS 1 5.0%	6 30.0%	13 65.0%

p = .02519

Response 11c, apology, NNS

Tracy, can you hold for a while? I have guests in my house and it is very important for me because they are my customer. Maybe I can call you back as soon as I finish meeting them. Is it ok ? Thanks.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 10 32.3%	12 38.7%	9 29.0%
NNS 3 15.0%	4 20.0%	13 65.0%

p = .04030

Situation 12: A is a professor at a University and needs to ask a student to give his presentation talk a week earlier than he was supposed to. The student comes to A's office to talk about his presentation and A says,_

Response 12c, request, NNS

You need to see me a week before presentation. I want to discuss the material with you. Maybe we can make it more perfect.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 21 67.7%	4 12.9%	6 19.4%
NNS 6 30.0%	9 45.0%	5 25.0%

p = .01527

Situation 15: X has a good friend who often comes over to visit. She is usually about half an hour late and always gives a cursory apology. Lately, this habit of hers has been getting on X's nerves. Once again she is late by 40 minutes, and she says: "I'm sorry I'm late." X says.

Response 15e, complaint, NNS
You are always late! When will you improve? See now we are late for our appointment with X and we'll have to make up an excuse. God, can't you ever be on time? From next time if I need to meet you at 5pm, I'll tell you come at 4:30pm !

Low	Moderate	High
NS 17 54.8%	7 22.6%	7 22.6%
NNS 4 20.0%	6 30.0%	10 50.0%

p = .03711

Response 15f, complaint, NS
Again ! Thanks again ! You know this is starting to get old. Don't let it happen again please.

Low	Moderate	High
NS 13 41.9%	12 38.7%	6 19.4%
NNS 5 25.0%	4 20.0%	11 55.0%

p = .03053

The data presented in Table 4.12 reflect three specific patterns: 1) nonnative speakers' production rated high by nonnatives and lower by natives, 2) native speakers' production rated high by natives and lower by nonnatives, and 3) native speakers' production rated lower by natives and higher by nonnatives.

Responses 2d, 2e, 3f, 5c, and 15e were all complaints produced by nonnative speakers and given a high rating by the same group. Native speakers in comparison rated the same responses lower. For example, 50 NS (72.5%) rated 2d low compared to 7 NNS (18.9%). For Response 2e, the ratings given by NS were distributed evenly across all three categories : 23 (33.3%) gave a low rating, 22 (31.9%) a moderate, and 24 (34.8%) a

high rating. In contrast, the following distribution of ratings was calculated for nonnatives 5 (13.5%) low, 8 (21.6%) moderate, and 24 (64.9%) high.

Similarly, in the case of native speaker production, a discrepancy was noted between the ratings of the two groups. In Response 3a, a complaint produced by a native speaker was rated by 23 (62.2%) of the NNS as high, 6 (16.2%) as moderate, and 8 (21.6%) as low. Only 3 NS (4.3%) rated the same response low while 48 NS (69.6%) rated it high. Response 7c, an apology also indicated an interesting and similar pattern. While 35 NS (92.1%) gave it a high rating and none a low rating, only 10 NNS (58.8%) gave it a high rating, 5 (29.4%) a moderate, and 2 (11.8%) a low rating. Response 7c presents an interesting case because it lacked an explicit apology (e.g., I'm sorry/ I apologize) and despite that the majority of NS felt it was acceptable (92.1%), whereas based on the ratings of the NNS, the reader can conclude that the nonnative groups' distribution of ratings indicates that a majority of them did not find the statement acceptable.

In comparison, Response 4d, also an apology, produced by a native speaker attracted different ratings from both groups. Although 29 NNS (78.4%) rated it high and none gave it a low rating, 11 NS (15.9%) gave the same statement a low rating, 13 (18.8%) a moderate, and 45 (65.2%) a high rating. Thus, the ratings for this response show a reverse pattern than the one observed for Response 7c. Both 7c and 4d were produced

by native speakers, but whereas 7c was rated high by the majority of native speakers, 4d was rated comparatively lower.

Some response statements produced by native speakers were rated lower by natives and higher by nonnatives. For example, in Response 6a, a request, 47 NS (68.1%) gave it a low rating, whereas only 14 NNS (37.8%) gave it a similar rating. Only 7 NS (10.1%) gave it a high rating compared to 11 NNS (29.7%). Response 6b, also a request made by a native speaker, attracted similar ratings. While only 5 NS (7.2%) gave it a high rating, 7 NNS (18.9%) gave a similar rating. 46 NS (66.7%) gave a low rating compared to 12 NNS (32.4%). None of the statements produced by nonnative speakers were rated higher by native speakers and lower by nonnatives.

Certain characteristics of nonnative statements rated low by native speakers can be ascertained. In the case of complaints for example, nonnative complaints which were rated low contained direct blunt questions (bald-on-record utterances) which sounded almost accusatory (to this reader), for example "why did you write it down ?" (see 2d, 2e, 3e, 10c and 15e). Some statements also contained imperatives such as "you must repair it now." Even when a politeness marker was used, the statement sounded like an order as in 2d: "....I want the replacement you should take care of everything. Please consider it."

In the case of apologies, nonnative speakers' statements that either contained lexical items that were unclear or used differently by nonnative speakers, or which contained lexical items which sounded casual, were rated low by natives. For example, in

Response 4f, the utterance "I'll be home soon and then we can freak out together" was probably unclear to the native speakers due to the use of the phrase 'freak out' which is generally used to express loss of composure, and describes the emotional state of being upset. Here, the phrase was apparently intended to suggest that the parent and child will enjoy their time together, have fun together. Another example of a low rating by native speakers is Response 7d: "O yeah, the medicine. I am really sorry....." In this statement, the speaker's use of the words 'O yeah' sound casual although the situation requires more seriousness for most interactants. Given that the neighbor's child is sick and the speaker was supposed to buy medicine for the sick child and forgot to do so, the use of the words makes the utterance sound casual, even though the apology is uttered twice and is also intensified "I'm really sorry", "I'm so sorry." It could also be that the fact that the speaker did not offer repair in the situation is one reason why the statement was rated low.

Although the percentage of nonnative speakers who gave this statement a high rating was not very high (only 35.3%) it was significant that none of the native speakers gave this statement a high rating and only 9 (23.7%) gave it a moderate rating, compared to the 29 (76.3%) who gave it a low rating.

With respect to requests, nonnative requests that used imperatives or did not sound formal and polite were rated low by native speakers. For example, Response 9b sounds almost as if the speaker is wondering aloud instead of voicing a request to a

professor: "I wonder *whether* you can give me an extension for the assignment you have given me?" The use of the word 'whether' instead of 'if', and the use of 'can' instead of the subjunctive 'could/would' makes the utterance less polite.

Thus, the discrepancy observed between the two groups with respect to speech act production (pragmatic competence) in the analysis of research questions 1a and 1b was also reflected in the perception of the same speech acts (metapragmatic judgment task) analyzed for research question 2. Since the MJT only provides ratings of each response, it was necessary to gain a better understanding of the ratings by conducting interviews with the subjects. The analyzed interview protocols are summarized in the next section.

Qualitative Analysis

Research Question 3

What reasons are provided by native and nonnative speakers for the metapragmatic ratings, and what opinions do they have regarding appropriate language use with respect to the realization of apologies, complaints and requests ?

Since the MJT was too long and subjects could not devote time to all 10 situations in an interview, five situations were randomly selected for Form A and B. Situations 3, 5, 6, 9, and 10 were selected to investigate subjects' opinions. Situations 3 and 6 on form A were also on Form B. On Form A, situations 3, 5, and 10 were complaints, while 6 and 9

were requests. On Form B, situations 3 and 10 were complaints, 5 and 9 were requests, and situation 6 was an apology. The 16 nonnative speakers who were interviewed had the following L1s: Japanese (3), Korean (1), Arabic (2), Chinese (2), German (1), Bahasa Indonesian (3), Urdu (1), Bulgarian and Hebrew (1), Spanish (1), Bahasa Malaysia (1). All 16 subjects had participated in the MJT, and 5 had also completed the DCT.

In this section the interview data will be grouped under two categories. First, the reasons for high ratings will be discussed for both groups, and then the reasons for low ratings. Both high and low ratings for apologies will be discussed under one heading as there was only one example of an apology in the interviews.

Reasons for High and Low Appropriateness Ratings: Apologies

There was only one apology which the two groups had to address in the interviews. Situation 6 on form B involves two friends. One of them has just returned from vacation and calls to tell the other about her adventures. However, the friend who receives the call cannot chat since he/she has guests at home. Here, an apology is appropriate, in addition to concern/interest for hearer, and some repair. Native and nonnative speakers said that it was necessary to express interest in the friends' vacation and that a statement such as "could I call you back as soon as they leave" is better since it shows more interest in the person on the phone and an eagerness to hear about the friend's adventures. Some native and only one nonnative speaker said that it was not

appropriate to say "can I call you back later" or "can I call you tonight" because there was no way of knowing when the guests would leave. Native speakers also felt that the statement "Tracy could you hold for a while? I have guests in my house and it is very important for me because they are my customer. Maybe I can call you back as soon as I am finished meeting them. Is it ok? Thanks" was low in appropriateness because it made little sense to ask the caller to hold, only to tell them later that they (speaker) did not have the time to chat since they had guests at home. Statements with an explicit apology, an explanation, and concern for the speaker were rated higher. Thus, both native and nonnative speakers provided similar reasons for their ratings of the apology situation.

Reasons for High Appropriateness Ratings : Complaints

In general, less abrupt statements were rated highly appropriate. The use of politeness markers like please and excuse me, or asking instead of stating, were considered important for appropriateness of complaints. For example, in situation 3 which required a complaint to be voiced to the waiter for having made a mistake in the bill, both groups were of the opinion that mistakes were human and that the waiter should be asked if a mistake had been made instead of coming right out and emphatically stating that the bill was wrong.

In addition, native speakers who had worked in restaurants felt that it was inappropriate to tell the waiter there was a mistake in the bill without pointing out what

the mistake was. Native speakers expressed the opinion that they should assist the waiter in some way so that the bill could be corrected. Nonnative speakers, though they had not worked in restaurants mentioned similar ideas. One of them said: "a waiter is a human being" (NNS/ Korean), and that one should speak kindly because mistakes can happen. Thus, these examples indicate that the context (here the restaurant situation and waiter and customer as interactants) determines what is polite and appropriate. The contextual variables, such as the difficult job the waiter has to do, combined with how busy the restaurant might be, and that the waiter did not deliberately make a mistake were all determinants of which utterances were polite and which ones were not. The opinions given by both native and nonnative groups suggest the importance placed on harmony in social interactions.

Even in situation 10, where a complaint needed to be expressed to the landlord, native speakers generally felt that they needed to demonstrate understanding for the landlord even if the landlord's delay in coming to fix the leak inconvenienced them. A straightforward response like: "I don't mean to be rude, but it's caused me a lot of problems the last couple days. Why didn't you return my calls ?" got a more appropriate rating. According to some native speakers, this gave the landlord the option of explaining reasons for the delay in service.

In complaining to a friend who is always late, less direct statements were considered highly appropriate, and a solution also needed to be offered instead of openly

accusing the friend of always being late. In addition, native speakers also felt that prior to accusing the friend, they need to ask why the person is always late and if they are having any problems. Once again these views are indicative of the interactants' need to maintain harmony and comity (defined in Chapter 2, p. 28) in relationships, and also of their awareness that the relationship could be jeopardized if they damaged the hearer's positive face. The need to maintain harmony and comity is of particular import for both native and nonnative speakers, but more so for nonnative speakers who have to deal with pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic issues when using the L2.

Thus, with regard to complaints, two specific characteristics of highly appropriate statements emerge: 1) asking a question instead of stating a problem, thereby providing the hearer with the option to explain the infraction; 2) assisting the hearer in some way - either by pointing out the specific problem (as in the inaccurate bill situation) or by offering an alternative/solution (as in the stituation between friends where the the tardiness of the hearer is a problem).

Reasons for High Appropriateness Ratings: Requests

Honest and more straightforward requests were considered more appropriate by a majority of native speakers. For example, in requesting a professor for an extension, the majority of native speakers (10/14) said that a straightforward request is better, and that an explanation such as having too many assignments was not an appropriate reason for

requesting an extension for the assignment. It sounded more like an excuse. However, all nonnative speakers (16) said that an explanation was absolutely necessary to support the request.

Situation 5 proved to be problematic for native and nonnative speakers alike. They said they would not call a friend whom they had not seen for a while to ask a favor. None of the native speakers felt that the six response statements were elaborate enough. They were of the opinion that more polite talk was needed prior to making the request, and that the person should be made to feel important and the favor should not be the focus of the conversation. The following response referring explicitly to a prior favor done by the speaker for the hearer was considered unacceptable: "I was wondering since I looked after your dog while you were on vacation if you could water my plants while I'm gone. It will only be 2 days." One nonnative speaker gave the following opinion: "That's bad. That's very bad. It's like since I looked after your dog, it's like I did something for you, you do something for me. That's like business. That's really bad." (L 1 German).

One native speaker also suggested that repair work would be needed in this situation. An example would be: "let's get together when I get back." Another felt that an appeaser / reward was needed such as : "I'll make you cookies or something." Both opinions were given by female subjects. Native and nonnative speakers expressed different opinions about the following statement:

> "Hey do you know Anita from Tempe? Do you still recognize her ? She invite me to her party next Friday. I am missing her very much but I also care about my plants. How if you do me a favor ? Can you come to my apartment during my going but if you don't mind of course. Thanks."

Nonnative speakers generally felt it was appropriate because it gave an elaborate reason for requesting the favor. Native speakers felt that the statement took away attention from the hearer and was not a good reason to make the request. Concern for the listener was reflected as a theme in the interviews by both native and nonnative speakers, thereby once again establishing that both groups give priority to the need to maintain comity (defined in Chapter 2, p. 28) and solidarity.

In requesting the consular officer for information regarding a visa, a direct request with adequate information, and a greeting was considered most appropriate. Two native speakers (one male and one female) felt that greeting a consular officer using the less formal 'hi' was not very appropriate, and that a 'hello' would have been better. Only one nonnative speaker noted the difference between 'hi' and 'hello' and voiced the same opinion as the two native speakers. Thus, requests that were rated highly appropriate involved some rituals such as greetings, provided good reasons for making the request, and in relevant situations expressed concern for the hearer.

Reasons for Low Appropriateness Ratings: Complaints

Typically, statements which were too direct and as one native speaker put it "in your face" were considered inappropriate. For example, 'Where have you been?' 'You must repair it now.' The latter was considered too demanding and rude. Accusatory statements even to a close friend were considered inappropriate because no constructive criticism or solution was offered, for example: "You are always late ! When will you improve?" (NNS) or, "You make me very disappointed" (NNS) and "what was it this time?" (NS).

Sarcasm was considered inappropriate, for example: "I wouldn't expect anything else" (NS) and "Again ! Thanks again ! You know this is starting to get old." (NS). These statements were considered too direct and because anger was expressed, native and nonnative speakers felt uncomfortable about these statements. They were also of the opinion that expressing anger would make the hearer feel worse. While nonnative speakers rated the following statement more appropriate, native speakers rated it less so because of the accusatory tone : "You are always late ! When will you improve ? See now we are late for our appointment with X and we'll have to make up an excuse" (NNS). Nonnative speakers focused on the fact that due to the friend's tardiness, the interlocutors were late for another meeting. In their opinion, this deflected the blame away from the friend who is late.

In situation 3 where a mistake had been discovered in the restaurant bill, statements which were considered to be too direct and accusatory were rated low: for example, "Wait a minute. There is some mistake here. I don't order chicken tuna, why did you write it down?" (NNS), and "Just a second: are you sure this is correct ? Don't believe we ordered the octopus. Can you see if you confused us with another table. Thank you" (NS). Native speakers also said that they rated the first statement lower because "I don't understand this chicken tuna. There's no such thing." (NS, male).

Subjects mentioned that it would have been more polite to say "I think the bill might be incorrect" (NS), instead of saying pointedly that the bill was incorrect. Furthermore, neither of these statements offered the waiter any assistance in locating the mistake and were too demanding and pushy. In most of the native speakers' opinions, it would be important to point out where the mistake was. Particularly those subjects who had worked in restaurants felt that customers needed to be polite and helpful to waiters even if the waiter had made a mistake with the bill. The one important difference between the native and nonnative speakers on situation 3 was that nonnative speakers did not remark on the exclamation mark in the statement " Excuse me ! I think there is a little mistake in the bill. Could you recheck it for me please." Native speakers pointed out that they were not sure how to rate it since they did not know how the statement was said - whether it was said in irritation or in a polite manner. Nonnative speakers focused more on the use of the words 'excuse me', 'please', and 'could you' and therefore rated it

higher. These remarks point out the importance of paralinguistic features (e.g., intonation) for the every-day interpretation of utterances. As discussed earlier in Chapter 3, a DCT data collection instrument has the disadvantage of written responses, without of course paralinguistic features. The advantages of the instrument lead to its continued use.

In situation 5 form A, where a friend has cooked a meal which the subject did not like, native speakers said that it was not polite to criticize food that had been cooked by a friend. However, if criticism was voiced, it would be better to offer a suggestion or encouragement like "Well it's alright [sic], but I think there's something missing that would make it really good" (NS). Native speakers said that offering suggestions makes the person feel that it is not bad and that "it's almost there." Being too direct was felt to be confrontational and could jeopardize the friendship. Honesty was important even in providing criticism to a friend, but negative statements though honest were considered highly inappropriate. Therefore, directness in complaints with friends was generally considered inappropriate by both groups. One native speaker and one nonnative said that directness in complaints or criticism was all right with members of the family but not with friends.

Reasons for Low Appropriateness Ratings : Requests

In the case of requests, lack of elaboration including both lack of polite talk and good reasons for making the request caused both groups to rate certain requests as less appropriate. In addition, statements which did not express enough attention and concern for the person who is being asked to do the favor also attracted lower ratings. In requesting a friend to take care of plants, both native and nonnative speakers felt that none of the statements contained enough polite talk focused on the friend whom they had not called in a long time before making the request. There was only one elaborate statement, however, native speakers felt it was inappropriate because it seemed that the person was beating around the bush while leading up to the request, and was not paying enough attention to the friend. The statement is quoted below.

> Just fine. Hey, do you know Anita from Tempe? Do you still recognize her? She invite me to her party next Friday. I am missing her very much but I also care about my plants. How if you do me a favor ? Can you come to my apartment and take care of my plants during my going but if you don't mind of course. Thanks. (NNS)

Nonnative speakers felt this statement was a more appropriate statement because an adequate explanation was given. The statement that recalled a prior favor that the speaker had done for the hearer was considered inappropriate by both groups because the subjects felt obligated to the hearer to return the favor: "I was wondering, since I looked after your dog while you were on vacation if you could water my plants while I'm gone?

It will only be 2 days" (NS). In another request situation with the consular officer, statements which lacked politeness rituals (Hello/ Good morning etc), which were not formal enough, or which did not contain adequate information were considered less appropriate, for example: "I want to go to Canada. Do I need a visa for it?" (NS).

In addition, requests to friends which expressed interest and concern for the friend (i.e., the hearer) were considered high in appropriateness. In making a request to the professor for an extension, native speakers generally felt that taking too many courses was not a valid reason for an extension, and that it was preferable to ask directly for an extension, but that a valid reason was important. In comparison, nonnative speakers felt that a direct request without supporting the request with a reason was not appropriate.

A few situations involving friends proved to be somewhat problematic because the subjects said it would depend on the relationship between friends as to how a request or a complaint would be phrased. One of the native speakers said they would voice complaints according to both the personality of the friend (i.e., how sensitive the friend was) and the relationship between the interlocutors. There was a great degree of convergence in the views expressed by native and nonnative speakers. Only one nonnative speaker (L1 Malay) expressed completely different views from those of the other nonnatives as well as the native speakers. In his opinion, it is not necessary to use downgraders such as 'please,' 'thank you,' and 'would you mind if...' with friends and in fact he felt it is superficial and too formal. He also added that he did not like it when a

friend said 'I'm sorry' because it was not necessary between friends and he perceived it to be superficial.

The analysis of the interview protocols generally indicates an overall high level of agreement between native and nonnative speakers with regard to what constitutes 'polite' 'nice' talk and what does not. Both groups addressed issues of face in their opinions about ratings of individual statements. Concern for the hearer, interest in the hearer, and keeping the respect of the person even if the speaker has a right to be annoyed were all themes that emerged in the interviews. Indirect complaints were generally preferred over direct accusatory statements. Moreover, statements that included downgraders such as politeness markers, playdowns, consultatives, and minus committers were rated high in appropriateness.

In summary, the interview protocols indicate that both groups, NS and NNS, considered statements with politeness markers and other downgraders most appropriate. Generally, statements which contained adequate information and were expressed "politely" or "nicely" were considered more appropriate. Both groups preferred indirect, mitigated complaints which saved the hearer's negative face. For example, both native and nonnatives emphasized that in the situation where the friend always comes late, it would be best to suggest an alternative/solution, or they would just accept the tardiness as a personality trait and arrive accordingly. Sarcasm was considered inappropriate. For example the two statements: "I wouldn't expect anything else." and "Again ! Thanks

again ! You know this is starting to get old. Don't let it happen again please." were considered inappropriate because they used sarcasm. Nonnative speakers said that it was important to tell the friend honestly how they felt about his/her tardiness, but it should be expressed politely, so that they still "showed respect for the friend."

Based solely on the small sample size of the interviewees, it appears that nonnative speakers' metapragmatic awareness approximates that of native speakers. However, it was noted in the earlier portions of this chapter that the two groups differed both on production and perception. Thus, while it may appear that nonnative speakers hold generally similar views about what constitutes appropriate language use, they may not be able to transfer this declarative knowledge into procedural knowledge. Furthermore, the two groups differed significantly in their MJT ratings on 29 statements out of a total of 90, which is almost one-third of the total number of statements. Consequently, the metapragmatic judgments of the two groups in this study exhibited both similarities and differences. The following section summarizes some general findings with regard to the similarities and differences in the language awareness and use of the native and nonnative groups involved in this study.

Additional Qualitative Analyses: Some General Findings

This section examines the language use of the two groups employing a descriptive approach which allows a closer look at aspects of the data which are not addressed in the quantitative section. It is in this section of the study that examples particular to the group of nonnative speakers from Singapore will be addressed. The two groups of nonnative speakers were treated as one group due to the small number of subjects, and to the lack of opportunity for administering the MJT to the Singaporean subjects. This section will address some qualitative differences in the production of these subjects.

The very nature of a speech act, especially a face-threatening one, allows the speaker to either do the act, or opt out of doing it altogether in order to maintain harmony, and to save face. Studies on language use must by definition take variability of performance into account. This variability could be due to situational context or personality of the interlocutors, to name only two factors. Studies of speech act behavior examine language use typically on two levels: 1) the level of community or culture, and 2) the level of the individual. Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Lakoff (1987) maintain that: "Native speakers of a language speak not only with their own individual voices, but through them speak also the established knowledge of their native community and society, the stock of metaphors this community lives by, and the categories they use to represent their experience" (cited in Kramsch 1993, p. 43).

Thus, speech act behavior expresses both the cultural and the individual voices of the actor. As a result, variability is a given for research on speech acts. One aspect of this variability is the individual's choice not to do a speech act, but to opt out instead. In the present study, a few subjects chose to opt out of performing a speech act. These few cases are presented below.

Opting Out

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that opting out is one of the strategies available to speakers in situations that might pose a threat to face. Instead of going on-record by using a face-threatening act (FTA), the interlocutor can choose to avoid doing a speech act that would threaten either the speaker's or hearer's face. In the current data set, subjects opted out of performing some complaints and requests. They noted on the questionnaire that in real-life they would not say anything in certain situations. Examples of situations in which subjects opted out are provided below.

Situation 8: You are waiting in line at a bank. Someone goes right up to the teller without waiting in line and hands him a check to be cashed.
The customer: Good morning ! I would like to cash this check please.
You:

Six native speakers (total number of NS subjects was 38) said they would not complain in this situation. Three said they would either cough or glare at the person and draw their attention to the fact that they had cut into line. One of the subjects who provided a response, said that in real life they would not say anything unless they were in

a hurry. One native speaker said they would tell the teller to do their job properly, and another used an expletive saying that they would say the following to themselves and to the others around them : "let him be an _____". Three of the nonnative speakers said they would not say anything in this situation.

Situation 28: You have worked really hard for a paper and are very disappointed when you get your paper back with a B on it. You feel you've worked hard and have done a good job. You decide to talk to your professor.
Your Professor: Did you want to talk about your paper ?
You:

In this situation, one native speaker said they would not complain: "I don't complain in these things. I always accept the grades I'm given." All the nonnatives provided a response to this situation. In each of Situations, 2, 6, and 15, one native speaker respectively said that they would not say anything. Situation 2 called for a complaint to be made to the hotel manager because the staff had forgotten to give a wake-up call which resulted in the customer missing an important flight. Situation 6 called for a request to be made to the neighbor who plays loud music to turn the music down since the subject had a test the next day. Finally, Situation 15 was also a request, in which the subject had to ask a professor for a ride home since the subject had missed the last bus. In Situation 15, one nonnative speaker (Singapore group) said they would take a cab home. Situation 25 called for a response to a friend who is regularly late. Two native speakers who provided a response noted in parentheses that they would not have said anything in real-life. One said: "I would accept it as a personality trait" and the other : "I would've planned for her to be late always."

Convergence and Divergence

The similarities and differences in the speech act realizations of the native speaker and nonnative speaker groups will be presented here using a descriptive approach.

The Use of Alerters/Address Terms

The two groups of subjects also differed with respect to the use of alerters. The Singapore group consistently used the alerter Sir/Ma'am/Teacher in performing the request (13/19). None of the native speakers used an alerter, and only two nonnative speakers in the American group used an alerter (2/11). Forms of address are indicative of the speaker's perception of self and the relationship between interactants. Societies that tend to be less flexible and prefer formality for interactions between unequal partners (professor and student for example) choose to express this formality and hierarchy through the use of forms such as Sir/Ma'am/Teacher to address instructors. According to Wildner-Bassett (1995), forms of address are closely linked to culture and are means through which members of this culture express themselves. The author maintains that American society is relatively flexible and dynamic with respect to social relationships and this dynamic is closely connected to variables such as relationship between interactants, regional differences, general life style, ethnic background, religious orientation, socio-economic conditions, age, and education - all of which factor into the choice of address terms (p. 185).

Consequently, the use of alerters or address forms such as Sir/Ma'am by native speakers of American English is in all probability more common in the southern states. Therefore, the same DCT administered in the South may yield different results (personal communication, Wildner-Bassett, 1998).

Apologies

The production of apologies by nonnative speakers closely approximated native speaker production. Explicit apology, explanation (acknowledgment of responsibility for the infraction), repair, asking for forbearance (e.g., It won't happen again), and concern for hearer were strategies common to both groups. Some differences were observed however. In situation 7, in which the subject played the role of a parent apologizing to their child, some nonnative speakers asked for forbearance which native speakers did not produce at all. Here are some examples of nonnative speaker production:

Ok next time I will not forget !! I swear to God.

This time I'll really won't forget, ok ?

I promise that next time I will definitely take you there.

Native speakers used the endearment 'honey', whereas nonnatives used both 'honey' and 'dear'. Only one native speaker offered an appeaser which is a strategy not directly connected with the apology, but may be offered to placate the hearer (e.g., When I get home, we'll go get ice-cream or something), whereas six nonnative speakers offered

appeasers (e.g., Alright, for compensation, Mum will cook a delicious meal for you). Of these six, five were present in the productions of Singaporeans. Native speakers also said 'I love you' to the child, which was not common in the data obtained from nonnatives. In other situations nonnatives also used 'please pardon me' and 'please forgive me' neither of which were found in the productions of native speakers. Emotional expressions or exclamations as Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) refer to them were also used in performing apologies. The following differences were noted between native and nonnative speakers:

Native

Oh shoot ! / Damn! / Oh shit! / Oh no! / Oh my gosh ! / Oh crud! / Oops!

Nonnative

Oh God! / Oh my God! / Oh dear! / Oh my goodness ! Oh no! / Oup! / Shucks!

The exclamation oh God and oh my God may be offensive to more religious Americans[1], however, they do not have the same connotation in many non-western and even in some western cultures[2]. In the interviews, the nonnative speakers were asked to address and explain the use of this exclamation and it was found that the expression is commonly used and does not offend values within the L1 cultures. In situations 19 and 27 some other differences were observed. Situation 19 required an apology to be offered

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[1] Personal communication, American graduate teaching assistants.

[2] For example, generally in Hindu and in some Islamic cultures (India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan) the L1 equivalents of Oh God (Hai Rabba ! He Bhagwan ! Hai Ram ! Hai Allah ! etc) are commonly used. This is also true of many Western cultures, e.g., in German-speaking cultures.

to the boss for turning up half an hour late for a meeting. The two groups used similar strategies, but some native speakers provided an apology, and then referred to the meeting in the following manner :

What did I miss ?

Could we get started ?

Situation 27 was used with the expectation of an apology to be offered by the speaker for turning up forty minutes late. It was also not a first-time occurrence, but a habit of the speaker to always come late for meetings and appointments with the friend. While nonnative speakers used 'please forgive me', native speakers restricted themselves to the use of 'I'm sorry' (sometimes with intensifiers). Half the number of nonnative speakers also asked for forbearance (e.g., "I will try my best not be late the next time" / "It won't happen again") as a strategy, whereas only 6 native speakers supplied this strategy (e.g., "I'll try and make a point of coming early next time!").

Complaints

Complaints are post-event conflictive FTAs that threaten the hearer's positive face. As mentioned in chapter 3, there are five different realization patterns for complaints according to the schema set up by Olshtain and Weinbach (1993, p. 111):

1) Below the level of reproach: strategies that enable the speaker to avoid explicit mention of the offensive event or direct focus on speaker

2) Expression of annoyance/disapproval: vague or indirect strategies or realizations of complaints that do not explicitly mention either the socically unacceptable act (SUA) or the hearer, but do express general annoyance at the violation. Speaker still avoids open confrontation

3) Explicit complaint: speaker has made the decision to use an open face-threatening act toward hearer, but not to instigate sanctions

4) Accusation and warning: speaker chooses to perform an open face-threatening act and further implies potential sanctions against hearer

5) immediate threat: speaker openly attacks the hearer and might use curses or insults.

Complaints can be mitigated using a variety of downgraders, and alternately they can be intensified with the help of upgraders. All five types of complaint realization patterns were observed in this study, although pattern 5 was used very infrequently. Both groups cluster around the first four types of patterns. Although nonnative speakers reiterated the need to be respectful towards the hearer even if the speaker was in the right, some nonnatives realized complaints directly which resulted in the utterance sounding abrasive and rude. For example, in Situation 10 the speaker is disgruntled because the landlord has not repaired a leak despite two messages that have been left for him. Examples of nonnative speakers's realizations are provided below.

1) Where have you been ? I have left two messages for you. I wish you have been here earlier.

2) You must repair it now. I have already felt sucks with this. Please don't make next days become horrible anymore. I am enough for last days.

Similarly in other complaint situations the following statements were produced:

3) Wait a minute. There is some mistake here. I don't order chicken tuna, why did you write it down?
4) I am really disappointed with your staff. I had requested a wake-up call for today morning but I was not called. As a result I have missed my flight ! How do you think you can account for this ?

The questions in these examples cause the utterances to sound abrasive and accusatory. In comparison, even though native speakers voiced their discontent, it was usually dealt with differently:

1) I have a problem. I needed to catch a flight this morning, and I requested a wake up call. I didn't receive this call and missed my flight. There's not another flight until tomorrow. What can we do about this ?
2) I called yesterday for a wake up call this morning and I never got a call. Now I have missed my flight. Is there something you can do to correct this situation ?
3) Because you failed to give me my requested wake-up call, I missed my flight. Will you please arrange another for me?
4) I don't mean to sound rude, but it's caused me a lot of problems the last couple days. Why didn't you return my calls ?

Although native speakers also used questions in realizing complaints, they softened the impact by various means. For example, as in Statement 1, the speaker includes her/himself in the question thereby doing some face work to maintain the hotel manager's face even though the mistake is clearly the hotel's. Similarly, in the other examples, the questions are phrased in such a way as to elicit compliance from the hearer.

Sometimes, native speakers did realize complaints more forcefully, such as : "I am very unhappy. The reason is that I had left a request for a wakeup call, and because I did not receive one, I missed my flight. I am displeased with your service & expect you to come up with an adequate solution" , and "I need to reschedule a flight based on the incompetence of your staff !

Other interesting comparisons between native and nonnative speakers' production were found in realizations for Situation 9.

Situation 9: You are studying with a close friend and he offers you some food he has cooked. You think the food is terrible.
Your friend: How do you like this dish ? It's a new recipe I've tried.
Natives: 1) Well, it's a bit different, interesting. I don't know about it though. It has a bit of a funny aftertaste.
2) It's alright. I really don't like this kind of food though.
3) I'm not really fond of_____ , but this is pretty good. Can I have some water?
4) Um. It needs help. (smiley face). I'm sorry.
Nonnatives:

1) Maybe you need to practice a little more and it will be even better.
2) I know you've put in a lot of effort, but sad to say, it's not very tasty. Maybe you can try to add more seasoning because it tastes quite bland?
3) Not bad. I didn't know you can cook. Maybe you can make some changes to the new recipe to make it more delicious.
4) To tell you the truth I think something is either missing or too less. Maybe you could re-check the amount of xyz to be used.

The examples above indicate that nonnative speakers offered advice, suggestions, or comments about the recipe (16/30). Some native speakers (8/38) also made comments on the food, or gave advice to try the recipe again. However, only one gave a specific suggestion to add more spices. Both native and nonnatives used noncommittal phrases

like "it's not bad", "it's okay", and "it's interesting." Both groups also avoided criticism all together and instead said: "it's quite good, what is in it?" (NS), or "the food you cooked the last time was much much better" (NNS). There were also strong suggestions and implied indirect complaints in both native and nonnative speaker data such as : "You might have to go back to the drawing board on this one" (NS), "It could do with some improvement my pal" (NNS). Feigning lack of hunger, and self-blame (e.g., "Maybe it's just me, you know how picky I am [NS], or "it doesn't suit with my tongue"[NNS]) were also strategies used by both groups.

Requests

The request is an impositive act which threatens both the speaker's positive face and the hearer's negative face. The frequency data indicate that native speakers in general used more downgraders than nonnative speakers. Situation 4 is a good illustration of the differences between native and nonnative speakers' performance. The situation was as follows:

> **Situation 4**: You are going to receive a package from the post office and will not be home to collect it. You want to inquire whether your neighbor can collect it for you if she is at home.
>
> Your neighbor: Hello ! How are you doing ?
> You:

Some typical examples of native speakers production were:

1. Could you do me a small/huge favor?
2. Would you be able to collect a package for me?
3. I was wondering if you would/could do me a favor and...
4. I was wondering if you would/will be home today and...
5. Would you mind picking up the package for me ?

Nonnatives did use conventionally indirect request strategies such as "could I ask you to do me a favor ?' 'I was wondering if you could pick up the ..' Both native and nonnatives formulated speaker and hearer oriented requests. However, they also tended to perform requests more directly as illustrated in the examples provided below.

Examples:

1. I'm sorry to impose on you, but I need you to do me a favour. (NNS- Singapore)
2. I would like you to do me a favour. (NNS - Singapore)
3. Aunty, will you be at home today ? (NNS- Singapore).
4. I have a favour to ask from you.
5. I'll like to request a favour from you. (US)
6. Want a favour from you. (US)
7. I need you, if you have time to collect my package. (US)
8. I came by to ask you a big favor.(US)
9. Can you do me a favor ?

In example 4, the use of the word 'aunty' might sound strange to native speakers, however, given that the utterance was produced by a Singaporean, it is culturally appropriate from an emic standpoint. In Sridhar's (1989) study of requests in Indian English, the word 'aunty' was used to address a friend's mother when making a request.

Sridhar reports that though the word might sound strange to native speakers, the English word aunty is "basically grafted onto a basically Indic semantic pattern which functions as a marker of Westernized sophistication among the upwardly mobile middle-classes in urban and semi-urban India" (p. 103). Using a title such as Mrs. ___ signals distance and can be offensive in some Indian contexts. The use of the word 'aunty' in the Singaporean context probably has a similar function.

However, since the researcher was unable to gather verbal report data from the Singaporean subjects in this study, it would not be correct to make any broad generalizations about the use of the word. Speaking from an anecdotal perspective, though, one observes the frequent use of this attention getter in the speech of many younger Singaporeans. Another feature of Singaporean English (SE) was also discovered in the data - the 'lah' particle. The 'lah' particle comes into SE from Chinese dialects (Platt, 1983) and is used for emphasizing.

Situation 9 (complaint):
1) where did you get the recipe from ? It's okay *lah* !
Situation 12 (request):
2) No *lah*, I've been really busy with work.
Situation 15 (request):
3) Yah, *lah* Sir, exam coming ah
Situation 18 (request):
4) Ok *lah* Sir
Situation 25 (complaint):
5) C'mon, *lah*, 40 minutes.

Examples 2-5 were produced by the same subject. Bell and Quee Ser (1983) conducted a study to examine the use of 'lah' and 'la' particles in SE. It is their contention that the 'lah' particle indicates "power-signalling, hostility, and social-distancing" (p. 1). However, Kwan-Terry (1978) suggest the opposite. According to Kwan-Terry, 'lah' "suggests persuasion and kindly encouragement" (p. 24). The authors emphasize that their conclusions about the function of the 'lah' particle are tentative and more studies are needed before any definitive claims can be made. It is of interest that of the 19 Singaporean subjects, only the production of 2 reflects elements of SE. Recall that in the introductory chapter mention was made of the fact that speakers of an indigenized variety like SE command both standard English as well as the nativized variety. Perhaps the non-interactional and written format of the DCT elicits more standard English and the colloquial forms might be more apparent in spontaneous speech.

Conclusion

As evident from the data analysis, speech act production and perception of native and nonnative speakers shows both similarities and differences. This chapter attempted to explain speech act behavior of native and nonnative speakers of English utilizing three types of data collection procedures. Triangulation of the three data collection instruments indicates that native and nonnative speakers differ significantly in their use of modality markers and in the areas of sociocultural and sociolinguistic abilities. This difference in

production is paralleled by a difference in perception of the relative appropriateness of a speech act.

The differences in perception were further investigated with the help of interviews which suggest that both groups have similar opinions about which statements are appropriate and which ones are not, however, the small sample size of the interviewees makes generalization to the entire population impossible. This high degree of convergence between the two groups was reflected neither in the DCT nor in the MJT. Moreover, holding similar views on ideas of politeness does not necessarily mean that subjects will rate items identically, because the two tasks are different. Whereas the MJT calls for spontaneous appropriateness ratings based on intuition, the interviews aim at exploring beliefs that determine appropriateness judgments. The concepts that interviewees are addressing are also more abstract, thus leading to some broadly defined notions of politeness. It is noteworthy that the two groups did not differ significantly in their ratings of 61 statements. Thus, they exhibited similar perceptions on two-thirds of the metapragmatic judgment task questionnaire. The general findings of the study are summarized in relation to the research questions this study attempted to investigate.

Research question 1a: Is there a significant difference between native and nonnative speakers in their use of downgraders and upgraders ?

The two groups differ significantly in their use of downgraders but not on upgraders. Native speakers used more downgraders than the nonnatives. Native speakers

also used more playdowns and grounders as compared to nonnatives. Downgraders were most frequent in requests, and there was no significant difference between downgraders supplied for apologies and complaints. Upgraders surfaced most frequently in apologies, followed by complaints.

Research question 1b: How does the performance of native and nonnative speakers differ as measured by a discourse completion task ?

The two groups differed significantly in their performance as measured by the analytic scale of NS ratings for sociocultural, sociolinguistic, and grammatical abilities. Grammatical performance was not found to be a distinguishing criterion between the two groups. However, measurement of sociocultural and sociolinguistic performance indicated a significant difference between the two groups on a specific request and a complaint situation. In addition, the two groups differed significantly in terms of their sociocultural ability on the apology situation, but not on the sociolinguistic or grammatical ability scales.

Research question 2: Do native and nonnative speakers differ significantly in their metapragmatic ratings of DCT apologies, complaints and requests ?

The two groups differed significantly on their ratings of 29 statements out of a total of 90. Three specific patterns were observed: 1) nonnative speakers' production rated as significantly more appropriate by nonnative speakers and less appropriate by native speakers, 2) native speakers' production rated as significantly more appropriate by

native speakers and less appropriate by nonnatives, and 3) native speakers' production rated as more appropriate by nonnative speakers and less appropriate by native speakers.

Research question 3: What reasons are provided by native and nonnative speakers for the metapragmatic ratings, and what opinions do they have regarding appropriate language use, with respect to the realization of apologies, complaints and requests ?

Native and nonnative speakers showed a surprising convergence in their views about appropriate language use. Although references to politeness were avoided by the researcher so as not to bias the respondents, the subjects (both groups) voiced opinions about politeness and maintaining respect for the hearer (face work), and generally voiced a preference for speech acts that contained modality markers.

The next chapter will discuss the results of this study within the theoretical framework of speech act research, address the limitations of the study and the need for future research. Some pedagogical implications that arise from this study will also be discussed.

Chapter 5
Summary and Discussion

The pragmatic perspective centers around the adaptability of language, the fundamental property of language which enables us to engage in the activity of talking which consists in the constant making of choices, at every level of linguistic structure, in harmony with the requirements of people, their beliefs, desires and intentions, and the real-world circumstances in which they interact.

(Verschueren 1987, p. 5)

Objectives of the Study

As stated in Chapter 1, this dissertation aimed at exploring language use employing both a pragmatic and a metapragmatic perspective. The goal of this dissertation was to investigate the production of apologies, complaints, and requests by native and nonnative speakers of English. In addition, this study also aimed at investigating if there were significant differences between native and nonnative speakers in their appropriateness ratings of apologies, complaints, and requests. Finally, this dissertation also aimed to explore the opinions espoused by the subjects of the study about the ratings of specific speech act utterances. The following research questions were examined:

1) What patterns are observed in native and nonnative speakers' realization of apologies, complaints, and requests as measured by a discourse completion task?

Sub-questions:

1a) Is there a significant difference between native and nonnative English speakers in their use of downgraders and upgraders?

1b)How does the speech act performance of native and nonnative speakers differ as measured by the discourse completion task ?

2) Do native and nonnative speakers differ significantly in their metapragmatic ratings of DCT apologies, complaints and requests ?

3) What reasons are provided by native and nonnative speakers for the metapragmatic ratings, and what opinions do they have regarding appropriate language use with respect to the realization of apologies, complaints, and requests ?

Data Collection Procedures

The instruments used to collect data in order to answer the research questions were: 1) a discourse completion questionnaire (DCT); 2) a metapragmatic judgment task questionnaire (MJT) and; 3) open-ended interviews. The DCT was completed by 38 NS and 30 NNS (19 from the Singapore group and 11 from the US group). As explained in Chapters 3 and 4, the DCT was time consuming for the subjects and in order not to over burden the subjects, comparable groups (in terms of age and speaking ability) of NS and NNS completed the MJT. Specifically, 106 subjects - 69 NS, and 37 NNS provided ratings on the same 5 DCT statements, whereas 38 NS and 17 NNS, and 31 NS and 20 NNS from the same population provided ratings on DCT statements particular to Forms A and B respectively. Finally, 14 NS and 16 NNS were intervieweed on 5 randomly selected situations. Interview data for 2 situations were obtained from all 30 subjects, and the other 3 situations were again form-specific.

Data Analyses

The data were analyzed statistically using MANOVA, ANOVA, Tukey, and Chi-square tests to measure: 1) whether there was a significant difference between the two groups (NS/ NNS) on their use of downgraders and upgraders, 2) whether there was a significant difference between the two groups in sociocultural, sociolinguistic and grammatical ability as evaluated for 3 randomly selected situations (one apology, one complaint and one request), and if so, on which situations was the difference obtained and for which criteria (i.e., sociocultural or/and sociolinguistic/or and grammatical). The data were also analyzed qualitatively using a descriptive approach (supported by examples of actual student output) which focused on points of similarity and difference between the production and perception of the two groups on apologies, complaints, and requests.

Summary of Findings

The main motivation behind studying native and nonnative speakers' use of modality markers was to investigate perceived appropriateness of speech act utterances. Appropriateness is crucial in social contexts if the interlocutors are to communicate with each other successfully. Appropriateness is also impacted by the culturally-determined expectations we bring to both inter- and intra-cultural interactions, i.e., both speaker(s) and listener(s) have been socialized to behave according to specific norms. If interlocutors have been socialized similarly they share expectations, and thus, encounters are likely to succeed. However, when expectations conflict, pragmatic failure occurs, potentially leading to a breakdown of the interaction or even to damaged relationships.

Downgraders affect the directness of a response and consequently impact the politeness of an utterance. For example, two different levels of politeness are achieved by the following request interrogatives: 1) Can you do me a favor ? 2) I was wondering if it would be possible for you to do me a small favor ? Since a request threatens the listener's negative face (the desire to not be imposed upon), the second example would probably have a more conciliatory impact on the listener than the more direct, less modulated utterance in example 1.

Similarly, in the case of complaints, a toned-down complaint is less likely to cause serious damage. For example, in complaining about a fine that has been charged wrongly by the library, a statement such as: 1) "I am sure that I returned the book and I don't owe the fine. I am getting quite annoyed that someone can't do their job" (NS) - is very direct and expresses the irritation that the person feels. In comparison, the following statement might have a less direct and consequently a less aggresive impact: 2) "I am sure that I brought back the book. This has happened to me before. Do you think you could check to see if the books are on the shelf?" (NS). As mentioned earlier, interaction is a complex activity involving the careful selection of both linguistic and pragmatic strategies in order to communicate sucessfully "in harmony with the requirements of people, their beliefs, desires and intentions, and the real-world circumstances in which they interact" (Verschueren 1987, p. 5).

The choices interlocutors make in expressing their communicative intentions have a significant impact on the final outcome of the interaction. For example, in the situation given above, the library employee is in a position of more power than the student (within

the American context) and consequently, a politely worded complaint may not only be accepted more readily, but may also motivate the employee to help the student.

The following conclusions were reached on the basis of the analyses conducted in the present study: 1) native and nonnative English speaker's production of apologies, complaints, and requests reflects a significant difference with respect to the quantity of downgraders supplied ; 2) native and nonnative English speakers' metapragmatic ratings of apologies, complaints and requests also reflect a significant difference; 3) both native and nonnative speakers express similar broad views/opinions about what constitutes politeness in an apology, complaint, and request.

As discussed in Chapter 4, there was a significant difference between native and nonnative speakers in their use of downgraders, specifically in the use of playdown and hedge. There were only four examples of a hedge, all produced by native speakers, so there were no instances of a hedge in the nonnative speakers' production. Although nonnative speakers also used the playdown, they used fewer overall. The overrall results also indicated that native speakers used more downgraders than did nonnative speakers. With respect to upgraders, there was no significant difference between the two groups, which suggests that both native and nonnative speakers were performing similarly when they perceived that situations called for an apology or a complaint to be upgraded (intensified).

Based on these results, the researcher concludes that failure by NNS to adequately downgrade complaints and requests could result in sociopragmatic failure, and that the speech of some nonnative speakers could be perceived as impolite, or even rude,

by native speakers of American English. For example, Trosborg (1994) found that nonnative English speakers (L1 Danish) tended to use more upgraders in realizing complaints which increased the "severity of expression" (p. 414). Their complaints were more direct and they used less mitigation to voice displeasure.

Similarly, House and Kasper (1981) conclude from their study comparing native English and native German speakers that German speakers tended to be more direct in performing complaints as well as requests. They used upgraders more frequently than did the English speakers, and they also used fewer downgraders than the English speakers. The authors maintain that from an etic standpoint (the outsider's perspective) "the behavior of the German speakers may well be considered impolite by reference to an English norm" (p. 184).

Taking the etic standpoint then (outsider to the nonnative speaker group and insider to the native speaker group), within the context of this study, the failure of nonnative speakers to downgrade their requests and complaints could well result in impaired communication. Since linguistic etiquette is culturally determined, the difference between the two groups in their use of downgraders has important implications for cross-cultural pragmatics, communication and language pedagogy.

As stated earlier in Chapters 1 and 2, pragmatic 'misfires' by advanced speakers of an L2 can lead to them being perceived as rude since they are linguistically fluent enough to maintain conversational flow (Thomas 1983). Though SLA scholars and language teachers do not recommend that the cultural norms and beliefs underlying a particular language community be foisted on the nonnative learner/speaker, they

emphasize the importance of having access to the cultural values of the L2 culture so that L2 speakers can decide for themselves if they wish to converge towards native norms (Thomas 1983, Saville-Troike 1982).

Pragmatic failure that results from different belief systems (i.e., sociopragmatic failure) underlying language use is particularly problematic because it requires the speaker to adapt to a system of values that might be 'foreign' to him/her. However, the L2 learner should be given access to the norms/values of the target culture so that he/she is in a position to decide whether to add the new values to the existing system he/she already has, or to disregard the new system. Saville-Troike (1982) and Thomas (1983) caution against enforcing the values of the target culture on L2 learners, but emphasize the need to provide this information so that learners do not inadvertently commit a *faux pas*. Thus, within the context of this study, nonnative speakers would need to have access to information about downgraders which are culturally appropriate for making requests and complaints so that they are less likely to encounter problems in interactions with native speakers.

In addition to the difference between native and nonnative speakers in their use of modality markers, the two groups also differed with respect to sociocultural and sociolinguistic abilities. The interesting finding was that there was no difference between the two groups on grammatical ability for any of the three situations, but there was a significant difference in ratings of the two groups on sociocultural ability for situation 7 (apology), situation 18 (request) and situation 22 (complaint). Furthermore, the two groups differed significantly on sociolinguistic ability in situations 18 (request) and 22

(complaint), whereas there was no significant difference between the two groups on this ability in the apology situation.

The researcher concludes that the specific contexts of the complaint and request situations might have led to the difference in performance of the two groups. The two situations (particularly the complaint) were more context-dependent than the apology, so that a ritualized formulaic utterance was far less likely to be available to the speakers. The complaint situation was a scenario that takes place between a student and a library employee. The following distance and power configurations were built into the situation: + distance (the interlocutors are strangers), speaker minus power S(-P), hearer plus power H(+P). Complaints within an institutional context (here the university) are culture-specific, i.e., in some cultures the institution is more powerful than the individual. This might have lead to a difference in the performance of the two groups due to perceptions of individual versus institution.

Similarly, the request situation is also a very specific context. The contextual variables were: - distance[1], S(-P), H(+P). As noted in the interviews, a large number of nonnative speakers felt that in requesting an extension from a professor, it was important to provide a reason for the request. Furthermore, having a heavy course load was considered to be a 'good' reason.

[1] Distance is a subjective judgment. The relationship between the professor and student could be viewed as minus or plus D. Here, + D refers to complete strangers, thus the request situation is -D.

Although some native speakers shared this view, others felt that the heavy course load was not an adequate reason because it was not the professor's problem. Hence, a simple straightforward request without a reason was seen as more appropriate by the subjects. Such differences in perceptions of what constitutes a context-specific appropriate response may account for the significant difference between the two groups on sociocultural and sociolinguistic ability.

With respect to the third hypothesis regarding native and nonnative ratings, the null hypothesis was rejected: there was a significant difference between native and nonnative ratings of the same DCT responses. As discussed in Chapter 4, 29 out of 90 statements were rated significantly different by the two groups. In particular, three patterns of ratings were observed: 1) DCT responses produced by NNS were sometimes rated higher by nonnative speakers than by native speakers; 2) DCT responses produced by NS were sometimes rated lower by NNS than by NS; 3) DCT responses produced by NS were sometimes rated higher by NNS than by NS.

Thus, within the context of this study, native and nonnative speakers differed not only in their pragmatic competence as reflected by the DCT, but also exhibited significant differences in their metapragmatic judgments. Whereas data collected via the discourse completion task provides information on how the two groups produce elicited written versions of speech acts, the metapragmatic judgment task adds another level of understanding by taking into account the hearer's perspective.

As mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, in order to understand speech act utterances, the hearer's perspective is crucial so that the potential for relative success or failure of the speech act utterance can be investigated in depth. In the final analysis, successful communication is important for the following reasons: a) to forge and maintain relationships; b) to cooperate with each other in academic and non-academic settings; and c) to facilitate an exchange of information. Therefore, metapragmatic judgments provide additional information on why some utterances 'misfire.'

Given that the metapragmatic judgment task in this study only provided ratings of responses ranging from fully acceptable to totally unacceptable, and did not elicit reasons for the ratings, subjects' opinions regarding appropriateness of responses were collected via open-ended interviews (see Appendix E for list of questions and prompts).

Recall that during the interviews subjects were told to look at the responses they had provided on the MJT and to indicate their reasons for the response given. The researcher asked the following questions: 1) You gave this response a rating of ____. Would your rating still be the same ? 2) Why did you give this response a rating of ____ ? In the event that the response received a low rating, the following prompts were used: 3) What does this response lack ? In your opinion, what would be required for the response to be highly acceptable ? Can you pick out words/phrases in this sentence which bother you ?

Generally, both native and nonnative speakers concurred about their opinions regarding polite language use. They preferred apologies, complaints, and requests which contained modality markers and also indicated that utterances which showed respect and

deference were better than those that did not. Furthermore, subjects also mentioned that it was important not to hurt the other person's feelings even when the speaker had a legitimate reason to complain. Interest/concern for the listener was another theme that emerged in the interviews, thus indicating the speaker's recognition of the importance of maintaining the hearer's positive face. Thus, both groups were motivated by similar concerns: both emphasized the need to maintain harmony and comity in relationships.

These findings suggest that the need to avoid conflict and to preserve harmony may be a universal feature of linguistic etiquette. The issue of universality with regard to speech acts has been addressed by several scholars. Brown and Levison (1978, 1987) for instance, maintain that social power, social distance and degree of imposition act as universal constraints on linguistic action. However, others argue that these variables are context and culture-specific. Kasper and Schmidt (1996) suggest that some aspects of pragmatics are universal. These are: a) conveying pragmatic intent indirectly, and b) making use of routine formulae. The authors emphasize that since only some aspects of pragmatics are universal, others still have to be learned.

In sum, the basic need of interloctuors to maintain their own as well as the hearer's face was a motivating factor in the subjects' views on appropriate and polite language use. However, inspite of these similar views regarding politeness, the two groups demonstrated different behaviors in both the DCT and the MJT. Thus, it appears that nonnative speakers, though remarkably similar to native speakers with respect to general beliefs about language use, -- such as the need to save face, and to maintain

harmony, -- are not completely successful in translating their declarative knowledge into procedural knowledge.

The Current Research in Light of Previous Findings

As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, in the last two decades the foundational work of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) on speech act theory has been expanded and investigated by several researchers. A fairly extensive body of work which empirically examines different speech acts is available. In addition, some excellent reviews of literature on speech act studies and speech act data collection methods is available.

A large body of cross-cultural speech act studies has typically focused on the differences between native and nonnative speakers in their use of strategies for performing speech acts. Such research has generally included L2 controls (native speaker of the L2/target language as baseline data), L1 controls (so that pragmatic transfer can be explained from L1 to L2), and the nonnative subjects (so that interlanguage pragmatics can be assessed). As each study sheds new light on some aspect of speech acts, it simultaneously highlights the difficulties involved in categorizing human interaction and thus reiterates the need for further research.

The current study attempted to explain speech act performance focusing specifically on modality markers. Since cross-cultural work, particularly that which compares nonnative speakers using the native speaker as the standard or norm, focuses on problematic areas in the nonnative's interlanguage, conclusions from such cross-cultural

work have generally emphasized the need for the L2 speakers to adapt to / learn the pragmatic aspects of the target language.

In this researcher's opinion, a comparative study of modality markers supplied by native and nonnative speakers was important for the following reasons: 1) to my knowledge, a similar comparison has not been conducted extensively; 2) since pragmatics deals to a great degree with *appropriateness* of language use, it follows that politeness is part and parcel of appropriate speech, and thus modality markers as an index of politeness are of interest and importance; 3) furthermore, the metapragmatic task also required judgments of appropriateness and consequently, the investigation of downgraders and upgraders was linked to the perception of politeness that both groups had.

This study also shows evidence for the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle. Both native and nonnative subjects referred explicity in the interview protocols to the need for preserving face, behaving courteously, and providing relevant and adequate information particularly when performing requests. It also demonstrated that although native and nonnative groups differ significantly with regard to production of speech acts and perception of appropriateness of speech acts (a finding concurrent with findings of other speech act studies), the language use and language awareness of both groups also reflects many similarities.

As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, the native speaker has been indispensable in applied linguistics research. It was also mentioned that applied linguists continue to use dichotomous terms like native / nonnative speaker as they have failed to come up with an

alternative concept which has psychological reality for language users. The view of the native speaker as a monolithic construct has been problematized by many researchers. Native speakers exhibit variability in both production and perception. In this study, for instance, there was a lack of agreement between native speakers on the metapragmatic ratings of apologies, complaints as well as requests.

The variability of native speaker performance has been addressed by Hudson et. al., (1995): "the role played by the native speaker as the standard against which performance is judged is far from resolved. Much more research will need to be conducted to address the variability of native speaker performance" (p. 66). Paikeday (1985) considers the term 'native speaker' a fuzzy term which in his view linguists use to denote a theoretical construct. He finds the term problematic because it has "more political and sociological overtones than linguistic ones" (p. 72).

Although a great deal of present-day research calls for examining nonnative production in its own right without viewing it as an aberration, given the practical constraints of academic institutions and real-life as well, this proposal has largely remained a utopian ideal. In other words, the idealized native speaker remains the yardstick by which performance of nonnatives is measured for purposes of placing people into courses, for employing nonnative language teachers, and also for purposes of selection in other jobs. Consequently, the goal of achieving 'native-like' fluency is the target for many second/foreign language learners.

While, ideally, all language varieties[2] should be valued without stigmatizing any varieties, in reality this is not yet the case[3]. As a result, learning standard English (i.e., standard American/British English) particularly for L2 English speakers in the US or England continues to be an important objective.

Limitations of this Research Study

The current body of research on speech acts repeatedly emphasizes the importance of including data collection methods which are both ethnographic/naturalistic and elicitation tasks. The difficulties of collecting adequate amounts of natural data have also been addressed in detail by several researchers, like Beebe and Cummings (1985), and Cohen (1996a). Cohen (1996a), and Kasper and Dahl (1993) have enumerated the strengths and weaknesses of the different types of data collection methods and advocated multi-method approaches to studying speech acts so as to provide triangulation of results.

One of the drawbacks of the current study is its sole reliance on elicitation formats, and consequently the absence of naturalistic data. The major problem with the elicitation task employed in this study is the inability to conclude that people do indeed use language spontaneously and orally in ways that are similar to those evidenced in the DCT production. First of all, the elicitation task does not have 'real-life' consequences

[2] Here, variety refers to indegenized varieties of English such as BVE, Singaporean English (SE), etc. A distinction would have to be drawn between variety and interlanguage.
[3] The discussion on norms/standards within applied linguistics research is an important and controversial debate (Kachru 1996, Rajagopalan 1997, Widdowson 1994, Norton 1997, Pennycook 1994, Nero 1997, Parakrama 1995) beyond the scope of the present study.

thereby allowing for atypical or even outrageous responses from subjects. The relatively short utterances also result from the inauthentic nature of the task and lack of negotiation, since the task is not an actual conversation taking place in real time.

Some of the scenarios might also be potentially problematic for subjects because of a lack of experience with the situation. For example, Situation 7 called for an apology to be offered to a child. Since subjects were relatively young and in all likelihood they have no idea how to speak to children. Interpreting results of subjects' responses to this situation may thus be very difficult.

The number of subjects who completed the DCT was not very large (total of 38 NS and 30 NNS). However, the instrument included 30 items, making it longer than questionnaires used in other studies on speech acts. For example, an excellent study on refusals conducted by Chen (1996) had a very large subject size (126 NS and 126 NNS), but used only 8 items in the DCT, which were then reduced to 4 items on the MJT. The length of the questionnaire in this study was also a limitation because the demands on subjects' time were relatively high. However, given that the study aimed to examine 3 speech acts, it was deemed important to include at least 10 items per speech act.

Another problem was that the researcher did not belong to the L1 culture of any of the subjects, thus making it difficult to address issues of pragmatic transfer directly, if only from one person's perspective. For example, the title of this dissertation begins with the quote "I lost the bus. Can you give me a ride home?" It could safely be inferred that the use of the word lost instead of missed is an example of pragmatic transfer. Given that L1 controls were not used, it was not possible to study such examples of nonnative

usage in depth. The inability to obtain L1 controls for such a diverse population also compounded the problem of addressing pragmatic transfer. If the subject population had consisted of Hindi speakers, the researcher would have had an insider's view (emic standpoint) and been in a position to discuss pragmatic transfer from L1 into L2, in addition to issues specific to the L1 culture, such as notions of politeness and appropriateness in language use.

The inability to obtain metapragmatic judgments from the Singapore group is also a limitation of this study. Interviews with that NNS group would have shed light on whether their judgments were similar or different from the group of NNS in the US, thus enabling the researcher to address appropriateness particular to the cultural context. In other words, it would have been interesting to observe differences if any, between the two groups due to difference in the functions and status of English in Singapore and the United States. Since the researcher was also unable to interview the Singapore group, it was difficult to address issues particular to SE (Singapore English), although some elements of SE were found in the data and also discussed briefly in Chapter 4.

The limitations of this study as enumerated above address the need to conduct further research on speech act performance. First of all, we need to investigate a larger number of subjects before any conclusive claims can be made about the performance of both native and nonnative speakers. Furthermore, it is both interesting and necessary in ESL contexts such as Singapore, for example, to examine elements of the indigenized variety in order to explain the complex language use of multilingual nonnative English speakers/users. Particularly in such contexts where an indigenized variety used for

expressing a range of communicative functions has flourished, it is too simplistic to merely measure the performance of nonnative speakers against the yardstick of the 'native speaker.' Such an investigation will also shed more light on the registers (standard, indigenized) the multilingual speakers utilize and which interactional contexts elicit one or the other register.

The study could also be expanded by including L1 controls of one or more languages in order to allow for comparisons between context-bound appropriate language use in English and the L1s of the English NNS. This would also allow the researcher to investigate pragmatic transfer. In Chapter 2, it was mentioned that the study did not investigate the Bulge Theory in detail. A perfunctory look at the data indicate evidence for the Bulge which would be another topic that the researcher intends to investigate. Here, I will provide one example.

Recall that according to Wolfson's theory, maximum negotiation occurs between interactants who are neither intimates nor strangers. In the current study, Situation 6, a request scenario that took place between two neighbors had an inordinately high number of downgraders. The native speaker group produced 109 downgraders while the nonnative group produced 67. In comparison, Situations 17 and 21 for example (both requests, one between the Human Resources Officer and applicant, and the other between professor and student) had only 50 (NS) and 39 (NNS) and 51 (NS) and 38 downgraders respectively. This is clearly an interesting and important aspect of the data that needs a closer examination in the future.

Finally, the researcher also intends to expand the study by collecting some naturalistic data to verify the observations made here on the basis of elicitation tasks. Taking the limitations of the study and the possibilities for expanding the scope in future research, into consideration, certain pedagogical implications and applications can be drawn from the findings. The following section addresses the pedagogical implications of this research study.

Pedagogical Implications

The findings of this study show that native and nonnative speakers differ in how they apply their pragmatic ability to communicative needs. Therefore, the findings make a case for instruction so that nonnative speakers can develop their pragmatic ability and communicate successfully with native speakers of American English. This leads us to the question : to what extent can pragmatic competence be taught ?

Several research studies on speech acts have addressed the role and efficacy of instruction in developing pragmatic competence. For example, Cohen, Olshtain and Rosenstein's (1986) study on apologies indicated that advanced learners tend to overgeneralize some apology forms (either 'very' and 'sorry') or tend to use a wide variety of forms because they are not sensitive to subtle distinctions which native speakers make in their realizations of apologies. The authors question whether instruction would benefit advanced learners to identify the finer distinctions of language use. Blanche (1987) and Riley (1989) argue for explicit instruction in L2/FL pragmatics. Riley states that learners should be taught communicative strategies and also sensitized to

"pragmatic differences in the target language" (p. 244). Wildner-Bassett (1994) concludes from two pilot studies that instruction aided the development and use of routines, and there was an "overall increase in both the quantity and quality of routine use, as well as a greater sensitivity for the specific interactional demands and language realizations in a particular situation" (p. 14).

In a review of studies dealing with the teachability of speech acts, Cohen (1996b) concludes that several studies show that instruction is useful in developing pragmatic ability. In addition to teaching pragmatic aspects of L2, the teaching of metapragmatic awareness has also been examined. House (1996) examined the impact of providing metapragmatic knowledge about routines to learners and concludes that while such knowledge may develop metapragmatic awareness, it does not necessarily mean that learners can respond appropriately. Based on a comprehensive review of studies, Kasper (1997b) argues convincingly that some aspects of pragmatic competence may not develop sufficiently without some type of instruction. In particular, she reports that L2 learners possess a good deal of pragmatic knowledge in their first language which they often underuse in the L2: "So, the good news is that there is a lot of pragmatic information that adult learners possess, and the bad news is that they don't always use what they know." Kasper thus argues for raising pragmatic awareness through pedagogic intervention of some form so that learners can transfer their "universal or transferable L1 pragmatic knowledge in L2 contexts."

The findings of this study and research on the teachability of pragmatic competence suggest that the development of nonnative speakers' pragmatic and

metapragmatic competencies may indeed benefit from instruction. This research study showed that nonnative speakers undersupplied downgraders in complaints and requests, and also perceived speech act utterances differently from native speakers in terms of the relative appropriateness of each utterance. Thus, if communication between native speakers of American English and nonnative speakers is to be successful, these learners would need some instruction in the appropriate use of downgraders, as well as in analyzing what language use native speakers of American English consider appropriate in specific contexts.

Instruction with the goal of developing pragmatic ability can be provided in various ways. It could be a potential problem in the FL classroom if nonnative instructors are not familiar with appropriate norms of interaction in different communicative contexts. However, this problem can be approached in different ways. First of all, pieces of literature, films and television shows can provide rich information on language use. As demonstrated by Kachru (1991) and D'Souza (1991) fiction in Indian English for example, provides a rich source of information about how speech acts are performed within that specific cultural and linguistic context.

In addition, nonnative teachers could invite native speakers of the target language to teach specific units of the course dealing with pragmatic issues. Actual role-plays could also be conducted between native and nonnative speakers, or vignettes with native speakers interacting in diverse situations can be used in the classroom and students asked to role-play the situations. Such opportunities would instruct learners in what routines and formulas are appropriate in a specific given context.

The teacher could also play taperecordings of speech acts which integrate modality markers so that learners can identify how polite a specific utterance is/is not. Discussions of various aspects of language use, such as the importance and impact of modality markers can be incorporated in the classroom so that students are given the opportunity to use a meta-language to discuss their own language use. Wildner-Bassett (1997) underscores the value of using actual examples from spontaneous speech produced by native speakers and learners so that learners may develop awareness regarding the importance of "modality marking and downgrading routines for their own language use" (p. 124). Learners can also engage in analysis of social variables which determine speech act production in their native tongues and compare them to those at work in the L2. Such a contrastive analysis could assist learners in identifying the points of difference and similarity between their native language and the target language.

In addition to these pedagogical suggestions, Cohen's (1996b) suggestion that leaners keep an electronic learning log about their reflections on language learning and language use is a useful one. He also suggests that in the future, multimedia packages could assist greatly in this area by providing a "host of sociocultural and sociolinguistic contexts for given speech acts so that students will have greater assurance that they are using those speech acts in the appropriate context, employing acceptable semantic formulas, and exploiting language forms that are sociolinguistically appropriate" (p. 265).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the inability of nonnative speakers to modulate their utterances (downgrade requests and complaints) in interactions with native speakers could have serious interactional or even personal consequences. Thus, in

addition to exposure to the target language in the target language culture, instruction in classroom settings can be helpful in developing both pragmatic ability and metapragmatic awareness.

Since instruction also includes an assessment component the following caveats bear consideration. The DCT can be a useful instrument for assessing pragmatic competence of L2 learners. It is both quick and relatively easy to administer thus high in practicality. Since written DCTs do not measure actual authentic oral production, validity is compromised. However, with intensive training a high level of interrater reliability can be reached, thus increasing the reliability of the instrument. The issue of training raters is crucial, as raters need to agree on what expectations they have for specific situations. This study demonstrated variability in native speaker agreement of metapragmatic ratings thus addressing the fact that if native speakers are judging nonnative performance they need to agree on specific criteria for evaluation.

Although an analytic scale of communicative language ability can provide more information about students' DCT responses than a holistic one, the criteria of the analytic scale need to be honed. Cohen's scale for instance distinguishes between sociocultural and sociolinguistic abilities, however, the two are not so easy to separate. There could be potential overlap between sociocultural and sociolinguistic abilities and perhaps a scale that has only two criteria, for example, overall sociocultural appropriateness (i.e., whether a speech act was provided or not and whether appropriate use of modality markers and other linguistic devices for expressing the speech act were supplied) and grammatical ability may be more efficacious in assessing DCT responses. Attempts to deal with such

thorny issues focuses the attention of speech act researchers and applied linguists alike on developing good measures for assessing pragmatic competence.

Conclusion

In summary, the findings of this study indicate that advanced nonnative speakers of English perform apologies, complaints and requests differently from native speakers of American English. This study specifically contributes to information about nonnative speakers' use of modality markers and how their performance differs from that of the native speakers who participated in this study.

The research analyses revealed that nonnative speakers tend to provide fewer downgraders than the native speakers while their use of upgraders was not significantly different from the native group. Secondly, the communicative ability ratings received by nonnative speakers on their production of one apology, one complaint, and one request were significantly different from the ratings received by native speakers. Specifically, nonnative speakers differed from native speakers in both sociocultural and sociolinguistic ability (they received lower means on the measurement of both these abilities).

Furthermore, nonnative speakers' metapragmatic assessments of apologies, complaints, and requests are significantly different from those of native speakers. Therefore, the two groups differ not only in their production of the three face-threatening speech acts, but also in their perception of which speech act utterances they consider appropriate.

Finally, the interview protocols obtained in this study provide information that suggests that both groups were using similar broad critieria for metapragmatic ratings of responses. In other words, both native and nonnative groups were of the opinion that DCT responses containing modality markers, expressing interest and concern for the hearer, and showing respect for the hearer were more polite responses.

Based solely on the results of the interviews, it appears that the two groups converged in their views on politeness, i.e., they gave similar ratings of appropriateness to responses. However, this observation is not supported by the MJT ratings which indicate that there is discrepancy between native and nonnative metapragmatic responses. It seems that the interview data is perhaps a result of the structure of the interviews, i.e., the interviews examined subjects' reasons for their ratings and the reasons were framed broadly in terms of politeness.

As discussed previously in Chapter 4, the interview was an abstract task that some people have difficulty with. The MJT in comparison was a completely different task from the interviews which required subjects to read responses provided to specific situations and then rate the responses. Therefore, the discrepancy between native and nonnative ratings on the MJT (divergent) and from the interview protocols (convergent) were most likely due to the data elicitation procedures and the types of tasks for the subjects involved in this data elicitation. The different task types (MJT vs. interview) elicited different types of data. Nevertheless, these different types of data, with different analytic outcomes, both help to complete the picture we have of NS's and NNS's pragmatic aspects of English language use.

Based on these findings, it can be concluded that the nonnative speakers of this study could benefit from instruction in pragmatic aspects of the L2 so that their awareness of appropriate language use within the target culture is heightened. They need opportunities for developing pragmatic production strategies and L2 means for realizing pragmatic aspects of interaction, as well as metapragmatic awareness. Therefore, the L2/FL classroom could serve as a 'safe' environment (devoid of any real-life consequences) to explore their own L2 language use so that in actual conversational encounters with native speakers communication will be more successful. The language classroom can assist in the development of linguistic competence while providing a forum where learners can develop sociolinguistic and sociocultural competence as well.

Appendix A
Language Use Questionnaire

Name _____

Age _____ Sex M/F

Mother tongue _____

If non-native speaker of English, rate your speaking ability:

Excellent _____ Good _____ Fair _____ Poor _____

How comfortable do you feel speaking English?

Very _____ Somewhat _____ Not at all _____

Current use of English with native speakers:

Frequent_____ Occasional_____ Rare_____

With whom do you speak English?

Parents Teachers Friends Classmates

How much English do you speak every day ?

90-100% ___ 80-90% ____ 70-80% _____ 60-70% _____50-60% _____

* If English is your primary medium of communication in everyday life, how do you feel about that ?

(The responses to this question were too few and sporadic to be reported)

Appendix B
Discourse Completion Questionnaire

Initials_____ **Age** _____ **Sex** _____

Discourse Completion Questionnaire

[Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated ! Your response to the questionnaire is voluntary and you may withdraw from this study at any point.]

Please put yourself in the following situations and assume that in each instance you will, in fact, say something. In some situations, you might have to play the role of a professor, a parent, etc. Write down what you would say in the space provided. Be sure to write as much as you would say in each given situation.

1. Situation: You had borrowed a CD from a friend. Your car is broken into and the car CD player, including your friend's CD is stolen. Your friend calls to invite you to her party and asks that you bring back the CD you had borrowed.

Your friend: Hi ! How are you ? I am having a party this evening and you of course are invited. By the way, could you please bring me my CD ? I wanted to play that music at the party.

You:

2. While traveling abroad, you stay in a hotel and request a wake-up call for the next morning. The hotel personnel does not call you, and as a consequence, you miss your flight. You have asked to speak to the hotel manager.

The hotel manager: Good morning ! How may I help you?

You:

3. You and a friend have just eaten a meal in a restaurant. The waiter brings you a bill that is not accurate.

Waiter: Here's your bill. Will that be all ?

You:

Appendix B (continued)

4. You are going to receive a package from the post office and will not be home to collect it. You want to inquire whether your neighbor can collect it for you if she is at home.

Your neighbor: Hello ! How are you doing ?

You :

5. At a party, you meet a friend you haven't seen for some time. You ask about his wife and children.

Your friend: Maybe you haven't heard - we just got divorced.

You:

6. Your next door neighbor is in the habit of playing loud rap music. Sometimes it doesn't bother you too much, but tomorrow you have an important test and need some quiet time to study. You knock on your neighbor's door.

The neighbor: Hi !

You:

7. You call from work to find out how things are at home and your child reminds you that you forgot to take him shopping, as you had promised. This is the second time that this has happened.

Your child: You promised !

You:

8. You are waiting in line at a bank. Someone goes right up to the teller without waiting in line and hands him a check to be cashed.

The customer: Good morning ! I would like to cash this check please.

You :

Appendix B (continued)

9. You are studying with a close friend and he offers you some food he has cooked. You think the food is terrible.

Your friend: How do you like this dish ? It's a new recipe that I've tried.

You :

10. A friend of a classmate called and asked to borrow your class notes. You agreed to meet her that afternoon at the library, but then forgot. That night she calls.

Her: Hi, this is Alicia. Remember, I called you yesterday and we agreed to meet at the library today. I waited for an hour.

You:

11. You are applying for a job and have just been informed by the company that they need a letter of reference within a week. You make an appointment with your professor in order to explain your situation.

Your professor : Come in - what can I do for you ?

You :

12. You plan to visit an old friend in a nearby town over the weekend, but need someone to take care of your plants during your absence. You call a friend and explain.

Your friend : Hey ! What's up ? I haven't heard from you for some time.

You:

13. A good friend of yours has just returned from a trip. She calls to tell you about her adventures. Unfortunately, you are having guests and cannot talk to her.

Your friend: You won't believe what happened to me in _____ .

You:

Appendix B (continued)

14. It's Saturday and you plan on running some errands. You have promised your neighbor that you would pick up some medicine for her sick child. Unfortunately, you forgot. When you return home, your neighbor comes to your door.

Your neighbor : Did you get the medicine ?

You :

15. You have been working late at school and have missed the last bus. You realize that one of your teachers is just leaving to go home. You know he drives to school and does not live far from you.

Your teacher : I see you've been working late.

You :

16. You are hosting a small dinner and invite a colleague. At the dinner, your colleague informs you that she is vegetarian. You have prepared grilled chicken, baked potatoes, and a salad.

You : Why don't you try some of the chicken ?
Your guest : I am a vegetarian, I don't eat meat.

You :

17. You have just graduated and have applied for a job. You call the Human Resources manager to check on your application.

Human Resources Manager : Phil Bailey here - how can I help you ?

You :

18. You are taking several courses this semester and have not finished all the assignments yet. You realize that you will need an extension for one of your papers. You decide to speak to your professor.

Your professor : Come on in ! How are classes ?

You :

Appendix B (continued)

19. You had a meeting with your boss this morning. However, you were up late working on a report and overslept - as a result, you show up a half hour late for the meeting.

Your boss : I was beginning to wonder what had happened to you.

You :

20. You had borrowed your professor's book, which you had promised you would return today. However, you forgot to bring it to school. When you see your professor during class, she reminds you about the book.

Your professor : I'd like to have my book back.

You :

21. You are a professor at the University of Arizona and you need to ask one of your students to give their presentation talk a week earlier than he was supposed to.

Student : I need to talk to you about my upcoming presentation.

You :

22. The library issues you a notice saying you owe $50/- for some books you haven't returned. This is not the first time this has happened. You are positive that you have returned the books, and are quite annoyed.

The Fines Department : My computer screen tells me that you owe this fine.

You :

23. While you were visiting a friend, a neighbor in your friend's building backed into your parked car by mistake. He knocked on your friend's door and asked you to give a rough estimate of the costs and offered to pay for the damage. Now, several weeks have gone by, you have left three messages on his machine, and he has not returned your calls. Finally, you go over to his apartment.

The guy : Hi !

You :

Appendix B (continued)

24. You are a foreign student in the United States and would like to visit Canada and are not sure if you need a visa. You call the Canadian consulate.

The Consular Officer : Consular officer speaking. How may I help you ?

You :

25. You have a good friend who often comes over to visit you. She is usually about half an hour late and always gives a cursory apology. Lately, this habit of hers has been getting on your nerves. Once again, she is late by 40 minutes.

Your friend : Hi ! I'm sorry I'm late.

You :

26. The mail carrier has been putting your mail in your neighbor's mailbox for the past one week. You go to see the postmaster.

Postmaster : Yes, how can I help you ?

You :

27. You are generally not a punctual person and are working with a classmate who is very particular about keeping appointments. Once again, you are late for your meeting.

Your classmate : This is the third time you are more than 15 minutes late for our meeting.

You :

28. You have worked really hard for a paper and are very disappointed when you get your paper back with a B on it. You feel you've worked hard and have done a good job. You decide to talk to your professor.

Your professor : Did you want to talk about your paper ?

You:

Appendix B (continued)

29. You are at a book fair and run out of cash. You need to borrow $50.00 from your friend, and know that you can return it in a week.

Your friend : What's the matter ?

You :

30. There is a leak in your apartment and you've left two messages for your landlord asking him to repair it. He has not returned your calls and you are upset as the leak has caused you a lot of extra work and inconvenience. Finally, the landlord shows up to take care of the problem.

The landlord : Let me see where the leak is.

You :

Appendix C
Metapragmatic Judgment Task Form A

Initials_____ **Age** _____ **Sex** _____

Metapragmatic Judgment Task Questionnaire
Please read the situations provided below and rate each response on a scale of 1-5 with 5 being the most acceptable and 1 being unacceptable. **Do not consider grammar mistakes unless they hinder comprehension. What you should consider is the overall appropriateness of the message within the given situation. Give your first impressions - do not spend too much time on the responses. Please read the key provided below before you begin.**

1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable ; 3 = somewhat acceptable ; 4 = acceptable
5 = fully acceptable

5 = just the right amount of information, not too much, not too little, very easy to understand, perfectly appropriate
4 = nearly the right amount of information, easy to understand, socially appropriate
3 = slightly too much or too little information, fairly easy to understand, but not completely satisfactory
2 = either too much or too little information, or a little difficult to understand, or socially somewhat problematic
1 = way too much or too little information, or very difficult to understand, or socially very inappropriate

1. A borrowed a CD from a friend. A's car is broken into and the car CD player, including the friend's CD is stolen. A's friend calls to invite A to her party and asks that A bring back the CD. A says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) Well, I'm really sorry but my car got broken into and the CD was in my deck when it got stolen. If I have time today I will go and get you another one to bring to the party.

1 2 3 4 5 b) Well, I wanted to talk to you about that. Your CD was in my car stereo, and the other day my car got broken into, the stereo plus CD player were stolen. I will get you a new one once all of the insurance is taken care of. I'm really sorry.

1 2 3 4 5 c) Ok, I will come to your party and absolutely I'll bring your CD.

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 d) I am sorry ! Your CD has been stolen when my car is broken into. I will return a new one to you tomorrow.

1 2 3 4 5 e) Hey ! I'd love to come tonight. About your CD, my car was broken into last night and your CD was stolen along with my CD player. I am so sorry ! I will stop by the record store on the way home and get another one for you.

1 2 3 4 5 f) Well, I wanted to tell you something. My car was broken into and my CD player was stolen. Unfortunately your CD was in the player that day. I'm really sorry: Do you want me to buy you a new one ?

1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable ; 3 = somewhat acceptable ; 4 = acceptable
5 = fully acceptable

5 = just the right amount of information, not too much, not too little, very easy to understand, perfectly appropriate
4 = nearly the right amount of information, easy to understand, socially appropriate
3 = slightly too much or too little information, fairly easy to understand, but not completely satisfactory
2 = either too much or too little information, or a little difficult to understand, or socially somewhat problematic
1 = way too much or too little information, or very difficult to understand, or socially very inappropriate

2. While traveling abroad, B stay's in a hotel and requests a wake-up call for the next morning. The hotel personnel does not call, and as a consequence, B misses the flight. B says to the hotel manager,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I have a problem. I needed to catch a flight this morning, and I requested a wake up call. I didn't receive this call and missed my flight. There's not another flight until tomorrow. What can we do about this ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) You can pay for a plane ticket to get me back home. Your staff was to call me to wake this morning and didn't. As a result I missed my flight. What will you do to rectify this situation?

1 2 3 4 5 c) Hello, my name is Kelly Robertson and I am staying in room # 213. I requested a wake up call for 7:30am and I never received it. As a result, I missed my flight back to the United States and wish to be compensated.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Yes, yesterday I've asked for help to someone in the lobby to wake me up at 5am. But why he/she didn't do it ? Now I've missed my flight. I want the replacement you should take care of everything all over again. Please consider it.

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 e) Good morning ! I have requested a wake up call for this morning. However, the hotel personnel did not call me, and as a result I miss my flight. Could you give me an explanation for this ?

1 2 3 4 5 f) I am really disappointed with your staff. I had requested for a wake-up call for today morning but I was not called. As a result I have missed my flight ! How do you think you can account for this ?

3. C and a friend have just eaten a meal in a restaurant. The waiter brings a bill that is not accurate. C says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) Actually, the bill is incorrect,..we did not order_____ .

1 2 3 4 5 b) Excuse me. I think you have brought the wrong bill. Can you please check again?

1 2 3 4 5 c) It says here that we ordered one steak. I'm sorry but you forgot to include the other steak as well.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Just a second: are you sure this is correct ? Don't believe we ordered the octopus. Can you see if you confused us with another table. Thank you.

1 2 3 4 5 e) Wait a minute. There is some mistake here. I don't order chicken tuna, why did you write it down ?

1 2 3 4 5 f) Excuse me ! I think there is a little mistake in the bill. Could you recheck it for me please.

4. D calls from work to find out how things are at home and D's child reminds D that D forgot to take him shopping, as had been promised. This is the second time that this has happened. D says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I'm sorry there buddy. I'll tell you what, I'll get out of here a little early today and we'll go then. Ok ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) I am working right now. We will go as soon as I can.

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 c) I'm sorry dear. I know I have broken my promise the second time. But I still have a lot of work to finish. I will make this up tomorrow. Ok ?

1 2 3 4 5 d) Oh, honey. I am so sorry !! I will leave work early today and take you shopping just like I said !

1 2 3 4 5 e) Oh...I forgot ! Ok, next time I'll not forget !! I swear to God.

1 2 3 4 5 f) Oh I'm so sorry. I was so busy it just slipped my mind. I'll be home soon and then we can freak out together. Will that be fine ?

5. E is studying with a close friend and he offers E some food he has cooked and says: "how do you like this dish? E thinks the food is terrible. E says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) Don't try it again ! Buddy, it tastes funny ! I don't like it too much. Do you ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) Well it's all right, but I think there's something missing that would make it really good.

1 2 3 4 5 c) Quite fine, but it is more delicious if you add more ketchup I think.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Well, the food does not taste very good. However, with a few more practices, you should be able to make it.

1 2 3 4 5 e) To tell you the truth I think something is either missing or too less. Maybe you could re-check the amount of ___ to be used.

1 2 3 4 5 f) It's okay, next time you might want to add some...

1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable ; 3 = somewhat acceptable ; 4 = acceptable
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Appendix C (continued)

6. A plans to visit an old friend in a nearby town over the weekend, but needs someone to take care of the plants during A's absence. A calls a friend with whom A hasn't been in touch for some time. The friend says: "Hey ! What's up ? I haven't heard from you for some time." A says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I know. I'm sorry. Life has been so crazy. Oh, I almost forgot. Is there anyway you could come by this week and water my plants ?

1 2 3 4 5 b)You know what ? I am going out of town this weekend and I was wondering if you could stop by and water my plants while I am gone?

1 2 3 4 5 c) Not too much man, except that I'm going to San Diego tomorrow. I was wondering, since I looked after your dog while you were on vacation if you could water my plants while I'm gone ? It will only be 2 days.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Just fine. Hey, do you know Anita from Tempe ? Do you still recognize her ? She invite me to her party next Friday. I am missing her very much but I also care about my plants. How if you do me a favor ? Can you come to my apartment and take care of my plants during my going but if you don't mind of course. Thanks.

1 2 3 4 5 e) I am quite busy these few weeks. By the way, I would like you to do me a favor. I plan to visit an old friend in a nearby town over the weekend, but need someone to take care of my plants during my absence. Could you help me to take care of them, please ?

1 2 3 4 5 f) Hi ! I was a little busy. Sorry for that, but now I've called to ask you for a favor. I hope it won't be too much trouble for you to look after my plants while I'm away.

7. It's Saturday and A plans on running some errands. A has promised a neighbor to pick up some medicine for her sick child. Unfortunately, A forgets to buy the medicine. A says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) Oh my god! I have forgotten. I am sorry. Maybe I will get the medicine now.

1 2 3 4 5 b) Oh shoot ! I forgot it. Let me get organized and I will run back out to get it. Be right back, sorry.

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 c) Oh I forgot. I'll go get it right now. I'll be back in 5 minutes.

1 2 3 4 5 d) O yeah, the medicine. I am really sorry. I forgot uuh...I just did some errand and my mind was fully concentrated on it, so your need was just disappeared in my mind. I'm so sorry.

1 2 3 4 5 e) I knew I was forgetting something ! I'll be right back.

1 2 3 4 5 f) Oh God ! It just slipped my mind. I'm so sorry. I'll just go and get it now if it is urgent or could I get it in the morning tomorrow ?

8. A has been working late at school and has missed the last bus. A realizes that Prof. Larry Smith is just leaving to go home. A knows that he drives to school and does not live far from A. Prof. Smith says : "I see you've been working late." A says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) Yeah. I missed the last bus too ! Do you think you could give me a ride home, I would be very grateful ?!

1 2 3 4 5 b) Yes, I have worked so late that I have missed the last bus. I wonder if it is possible that you give me a lift home, Sir ?

1 2 3 4 5 c) Yes, it's been for weeks. Ooh, I'm exhausted. And now I have missed the bus. How unlucky I am for this week. Would you mind if I go home with you ? It would be worth for me.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Yeah, and because of it I missed my bus. Would it be terribly inconvenient for you to give me a ride home ?

1 2 3 4 5 e) Yes, I had some extra work so I had to stay late and unfortunately I've missed the last bus, now I think I'll have to take a taxi.

1 2 3 4 5 f) Yeah, and I already missed the last bus. Are you going anywhere near _____ ?

Appendix C (continued)

9. B is taking several courses this semester and has not finished all the assignments yet. B needs an extension for one of the papers and decides to speak to the professor. B says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I am taking 21 credits and they have kept me on my toes ! I was wondering if it would be possible to get a small extension on one of my papers ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) I wonder whether you can give me an extension for the assignment you have given me ?

1 2 3 4 5 c) I was wondering if I could have an extra night or two to finish the paper.

1 2 3 4 5 d) There are a lot of assignments to do and I've not finished one assignment yet. Can you give me more time to do it ? Thanks for your appreciation.

1 2 3 4 5 e) I'm really swamped right now. Everything seems to be coming down at once. Do you think there is a possibility that I can get this paper to you a day or two later?

1 2 3 4 5 f) I wanted to request you to grant me extension for one of the papers as I have not been able to finish all the assignments since I've taken several subjects. I was wondering if it is possible to get an extension.

10. There is a leak in Z's apartment and although Z has left two messages for the landlord asking him to repair it, he has not returned the calls. Z is upset as the leak has caused a lot of extra work and inconvenience. Finally, the landlord shows up to take care of the problem. Z says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I was hoping that you could have shown up earlier, but now that you are finally here, I will show you where it is.

1 2 3 4 5 b) Where have you been ? I have left two messages for you. I wish you have been here earlier.

1 2 3 4 5 c) You must repair it now. I have already felt sucks with this. Please don't make next days become horrible anymore. I am enough for last days.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Since it has taken so long for you to repair it, there is more damage that you need to repair.

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 e) I had left two messages but you did not reply. I would have greatly appreciated if you would have reacted earlier. This leak has really caused lots of extra work and trouble. Please come with me and I'll show you what all loss and trouble it has caused me.

1 2 3 4 5 f) I don't mean to sound rude, but it's caused me a lot of problems the last couple days. Why didn't you return my calls ?

Appendix C (continued)

Metapragmatic Judgment Task Form B

Initials_____ **Age** _____ **Sex** _____

Metapragmatic Judgment Task Questionnaire
Please read the situations provided below and rate each response on a scale of 1-5 with 5 being the most acceptable and 1 being unacceptable. **Do not consider grammar mistakes unless they hinder comprehension. What you should consider is the overall appropriateness of the message within the given situation. Give your first impressions - do not spend too much time on the responses. Please read the key provided below before you begin.**

1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable ; 3 = somewhat acceptable ; 4 = acceptable
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1. A borrowed a CD from a friend. A's car is broken into and the car CD player, including the friend's CD is stolen. A's friend calls to invite A to her party and asks that A bring back the CD. A says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) Well, I'm really sorry but my car got broken into and the CD was in my deck when it got stolen. If I have time today I will go and get you another one to bring to the party.

1 2 3 4 5 b) Well, I wanted to talk to you about that. Your CD was in my car stereo, and the other day my car got broken into, the stereo plus CD player were stolen. I will get you a new one once all of the insurance is taken care of. I'm really sorry.

1 2 3 4 5 c) Ok, I will come to your party and absolutely I'll bring your CD.

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 d) I am sorry ! Your CD has been stolen when my car is broken into. I will return a new one to you tomorrow.

1 2 3 4 5 e) Hey ! I'd love to come tonight. About your CD, my car was broken into last night and your CD was stolen along with my CD player. I am so sorry! I will stop by the record store on the way home and get another one for you.

1 2 3 4 5 f) Well, I wanted to tell you something. My car was broken into and my CD player was stolen. Unfortunately your CD was in the player that day. I'm really sorry: Do you want me to buy you a new one ?

1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable ; 3 = somewhat acceptable ; 4 = acceptable
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2 = either too much or too little information, or a little difficult to understand, or socially somewhat problematic
1 = way too much or too little information, or very difficult to understand, or socially very inappropriate

2. While traveling abroad, B stay's in a hotel and requests a wake-up call for the next morning. The hotel personnel does not call, and as a consequence, B misses the flight. B says to the hotel manager,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I have a problem. I needed to catch a flight this morning, and I requested a wake up call. I didn't receive this call and missed my flight. There's not another flight until tomorrow. What can we do about this ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) You can pay for a plane ticket to get me back home. Your staff was to call me to wake this morning and didn't. As a result I missed my flight. What will you do to rectify this situation?

1 2 3 4 5 c) Hello, my name is Kelly Robertson and I am staying in room # 213. I requested a wake up call for 7:30am and I never received it. As a result, I missed my flight back to the United States and wish to be compensated.

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 d) Yes, yesterday I've asked for help to someone in the lobby to wake me up at 5am. But why he/she didn't do it ? Now I've missed my flight. I want the replacement you should take care of everything all over again. Please consider it.

1 2 3 4 5 e) Good morning ! I have requested a wake up call for this morning. However, the hotel personnel did not call me, and as a result I miss my flight. Could you give me an explanation for this ?

1 2 3 4 5 f) I am really disappointed with your staff. I had requested for a wake-up call for today morning but I was not called. As a result I have missed my flight ! How do you think you can account for this ?

3. C and a friend have just eaten a meal in a restaurant. The waiter brings a bill that is not accurate. C says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) Actually, the bill is incorrect,..we did not order_____ .

1 2 3 4 5 b) Excuse me. I think you have brought the wrong bill. Can you please check again?

1 2 3 4 5 c) It says here that we ordered one steak. I'm sorry but you forgot to include the other steak as well.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Just a second: are you sure this is correct ? Don't believe we ordered the octopus. Can you see if you confused us with another table. Thank you.

1 2 3 4 5 e) Wait a minute. There is some mistake here. I don't order chicken tuna, why did you write it down ?

1 2 3 4 5 f) Excuse me ! I think there is a little mistake in the bill. Could you recheck it for me please.

Appendix C (continued)

4. D calls from work to find out how things are at home and D's child reminds D that D forgot to take him shopping, as had been promised. This is the second time that this has happened. D says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I'm sorry there buddy. I'll tell you what, I'll get out of here a little early today and we'll go then. Ok ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) I am working right now. We will go as soon as I can.

1 2 3 4 5 c) I'm sorry dear. I know I have broken my promise the second time. But I still have a lot of work to finish. I will make this up tomorrow. Ok ?

1 2 3 4 5 d) Oh, honey. I am so sorry !! I will leave work early today and take you shopping just like I said !

1 2 3 4 5 e) Oh...I forgot ! Ok, next time I'll not forget !! I swear to God.

1 2 3 4 5 f) Oh I'm so sorry. I was so busy it just slipped my mind. I'll be home soon and then we can freak out together. Will that be fine ?

5. A plans to visit an old friend in a nearby town over the weekend, but needs someone to take care of the plants during A's absence. A calls a friend with whom A hasn't been in touch for some time. The friend says: "Hey ! What's up ? I haven't heard from you for some time." A says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I know. I'm sorry. Life has been so crazy. Oh, I almost forgot. Is there anyway you could come by this week and water my plants ?

1 2 3 4 5 b)You know what ? I am going out of town this weekend and I was wondering if you could stop by and water my plants while I am gone?

1 2 3 4 5 c) Not too much man, except that I'm going to San Diego tomorrow. I was wondering, since I looked after your dog while you were on vacation if you could water my plants while I'm gone ? It will only be 2 days.

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 d) Just fine. Hey, do you know Anita from Tempe ? Do you still recognize her ? She invite me to her party next Friday. I am missing her very much but I also care about my plants. How if you do me a favor ? Can you come to my apartment and take care of my plants during my going but if you don't mind of course. Thanks.

1 2 3 4 5 e) I am quite busy these few weeks. By the way, I would like you to do me a favor. I plan to visit an old friend in a nearby town over the weekend, but need someone to take care of my plants during my absence. Could you help me to take care of them, please ?

1 2 3 4 5 f) Hi ! I was a little busy. Sorry for that, but now I've called to ask you for a favor. I hope it won't be too much trouble for you to look after my plants while I'm away.

6. B's friend has just returned from a trip. She calls B to talk about her adventures. Unfortunately, B has guests and cannot talk to her. B says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I can't wait to hear all about it, but we have people over right now, can I give you a call back later ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) It's great to hear from you. But you know what I have company over. Could I call you back as soon as they leave ?

1 2 3 4 5 c) Tracy, could you hold for a while ? I have guests in my house and it is very important for me because they are my customer. Maybe I can call you back as soon as I finish meeting them. Is it ok ? Thanks.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Hey, I'm having guests over right now. Why don't you come over and tell us all about it ?

1 2 3 4 5 e) Could I call you back after sometime please. I have guests over. I hope you don't mind. Sorry.

1 2 3 4 5 f) I'm sorry Cindy. I am having guests now. Can I call you tonight and you can tell me all about your adventures.

Appendix C (continued)

7. A is a professor at the University of Arizona and needs to ask a student to give his presentation talk a week earlier than he was supposed to. The student comes to A's office to talk about his presentation and A says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I was hoping that you would give your presentation a week earlier. I apologize for springing this on you.

1 2 3 4 5 b) I have something to tell you regarding your presentation. I would like you to give your presentation talk a week earlier, it is fine with you ?

1 2 3 4 5 c) You need to see me a week before presentation. I want to discuss the material with you. Maybe we can make it more perfect.

1 2 3 4 5 d) Oh, well I needed to talk to you as well. Let me hear what you have to say, please begin.

1 2 3 4 5 e) I wanted to tell you that due to some developments you will be required to present one week earlier. I'll be glad to help you with your problems anytime.

1 2 3 4 5 f) If it wouldn't conflict with your other classes and you would be able to handle it, I would like you to be able to give your presentation a week earlier than scheduled. Do you think you will be able to handle that ?

1 = totally unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable ; 3 = somewhat acceptable ; 4 = acceptable
5 = fully acceptable

5 = just the right amount of information, not too much, not too little, very easy to understand, perfectly appropriate
4 = nearly the right amount of information, easy to understand, socially appropriate
3 = slightly too much or too little information, fairly easy to understand, but not completely satisfactory
2 = either too much or too little information, or a little difficult to understand, or socially somewhat problematic
1 = way too much or too little information, or very difficult to understand, or socially very inappropriate

Appendix C (continued)

8. The library issues W a notice saying that W owes $50/- for some books that haven't been returned. This is not the first time this has happened. W is positive that the books have been returned, and is quite annoyed. W says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) I am positive that I have returned the books ! I am aware that this has happened before, but this time, I swear, the books are here in this library. Is there anyone else I can talk to ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) I am very sure that I have returned the books. Excuse me, this is not the first time this has happened. Could you check with the computer again, please ?

1 2 3 4 5 c) I am sure I have already returned them. I know exactly who was in charge. Billy was in charge at that time. Maybe you must ask him.

1 2 3 4 5 d) I really think you should go check the shelves for those books. I turned them in, and it has happened before where you and your colleagues don't check them in correctly.

1 2 3 4 5 e) I'm sure there is some problem with the computer entries because I am positive that I have returned the books on time. Please can you recheck it for me.

1 2 3 4 5 f) I know for a fact that I turned them in on time. Can I speak to your supervisor please ?

9. Y is a foreign student in the United States and would like to visit Canada and is not sure if a visa is required. Y calls the Canadian consulate and says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) Hello, my name is _____ and I am currently a foreign student in the US. I want to come up and visit Canada and I was wondering if I need a visa or not, could you help me ?

1 2 3 4 5 b) Hi ! I am a foreign student in the United States and would like to visit Canada. Do I need to apply for a visa ?

1 2 3 4 5 c) I am a foreign student here and would like to visit Canada. I wanted to inquire that do I need a visa to visit Canada ?

Appendix C (continued)

1 2 3 4 5 d) Hi ! My name is _____ . I am a foreign student studying at the U of A and would like to visit Canada. Will I need a visa to go through the US / Canada border?

1 2 3 4 5 e) I want to go to Canada. Do I need a visa for it ?

1 2 3 4 5 f) Hi I'm an exchange student here in America from Germany, and was interested in visiting Canada while I am here. I was wondering if I need a visa to do so and how would I go about getting one ?

10. X has a good friend who often comes over to visit. She is usually about half an hour late and always gives a cursory apology. Lately, this habit of hers has been getting on X's nerves. Once again, she is late by 40 minutes, and she says "I'm sorry I'm late." X says,

1 2 3 4 5 a) What was it this time ? You know, you are always late. If you aren't going to be here until 30 minutes after your estimated time of arrival, then tell me before you are late. It is kinda getting on my nerves.

1 2 3 4 5 b) You have been doing this so often lately. Could you be punctual next time, please ?

1 2 3 4 5 c) You make me very disappointed. The days before this you were late too but those were fine for me. But today ? You are 40 minutes late !!

1 2 3 4 5 d) I wouldn't expect anything else !

1 2 3 4 5 e) You are always late ! When will you improve ? See now we are late for our appointment with X and we'll have to make up an excuse. God, can't you ever be on time ? From next time if I need to meet you at 5 pm, I'll tell you come at 4:30pm !

1 2 3 4 5 f) Again ! Thanks again ! You know this is starting to get old. Don't let it happen again please.

Appendix D
Rating Scale for Assessing Communicative Language Ability.

[Adapted from Cohen, A. (1994). *Assessing Language Ability in the Classroom*. Heinle & Heinle: Boston].

A. Sociocultural Ability

5-- the message is socioculturally appropriate, reflects the situation clearly, and contains the proper amount of information.

4-- the message is for the most part socioculturally appropriate, reflects the situation relatively clearly, and/or contains the proper amount of information.

3-- the message is somewhat lacking in sociocultural appropriateness, calls for some interpretation to be understood, and/or contains too much or too little information.

2-- the message is mostly lacking in sociocultural appropriateness, calls for much interpretation to be understood, and/or contains too much or too little information. (e.g., no thanks/apology supplied where required etc).

1-- the message is completely lacking in sociocultural appropriateness, is not clear, and/or contains far too much or too little information.

B. Sociolinguistic Ability

5-- the subject uses linguistic forms that are fully appropriate for expressing the intended speech act (e.g., choice of lexical items to express oneself like I'm mortified../or I appreciate your offer of help, /I am so sorry, etc).

4-- the subjects uses linguistic forms that are mostly appropriate for expressing the intended speech act (e.g., thanks are supplied but not intensified,/ or an apology is given but only a cursory one).

3-- there is some use of inappropriate linguistic forms for expressing the speech act.
(e.g., Excuse me, the bill is inaccurate. Please fix it).

2-- there is substantial use of inappropriate linguistic forms for expressing the speech act.

1-- there is continuous use of inappropriate linguistic forms for expressing the speech act.

Appendix D (continued)

C. Grammatical Ability

5-- no major or minor errors in structure or vocabulary

4-- no major errors and only several minor ones

3-- several major and a fair number of minor ones

2-- a somewhat frequent number of major and minor errors

1-- frequent major and minor errors

Appendix E
Interview Protocol Questions & Prompts

Directions: I am interested in your reasons for the ratings you provided on the questionnaire that you filled out a week ago. There are no right or wrong answers here. Everyone has their own ideas of what makes a particular response acceptable or unacceptable. I would like to look at 5 situations with you and would like you to respond with your comments.

1. You marked this statement inappropriate. Can you tell me why ?

2. If you heard this statement, would it be ok with you ?

3. You talked about politeness. What about this response makes it polite in your opinion ?

4. For you this response is good/appropriate, because..... ?

5. If someone said that to you, how would you feel ?

6. You said you would never say the following statement to anyone. Can you tell me why ? What is wrong with it ?

7. What makes response x not as good as response y ?

8. If you had this situation in your own culture / your own mother tongue, which of these responses would be appropriate ?

Appendix F
Sample of DCT Responses Coded for Downgraders and Upgraders

Situation 27 / Apology , - Distance, Status equals (classmates)
N S

intensifier grounder
1. I'm [so very] sorry, but [I had to get my cat off the roof and then I had a flat tire as my car overheated].

intensifier
2. I'm [very] sorry. I don't mean to be late all the time. I promise it won't happen again.

intensifier
3. You're right and if you have to leave I understand. I'm [so] sorry that I'm late again.

intensifier
4. I'm [so] sorry. For the next time, let's plan to meet earlier, so I will be on time.

intensifier grounder
5. Sorry, [really], [but I'm usually busy], and I just can't find the time to get here any earlier.

intensifier downtoner
6. I'm [really] sorry. [Maybe] I can get you some coffee to make up for it.

intensifier
7. I'm [really] sorry, but I just have been using very bad judgment and bad concept of time.

intensifier grounder
8. I am [really] sorry, but [I had to take my mom to the hospital - she has been feeling very sick lately]. Next time I will definitely give you a call in advance if I forsee any problems occuring.

grounder appealer
9. I'm sorry. [I'm just a busy person.] At least I showed up, [right] ?

10. Sorry that's just the way I am. (no downgraders or upgraders)

Appendix F (continued)

NNS (examples 1- 5 US group ; 6-10 Singapore group)

1. Oh, I'm sorry.

intensifier
2. I'm [so] sorry. I don't have any words for this. The only way that I have to do is apologizing for my unpunctual.

intensifier
3. I'm [so] sorry about it. I promise, next time I will try to be on time.

overstater politeness marker
4. I'm [terribly] sorry. I'll try my best to be on time next time. [Please] forgive me.

intensifier grounder
5. Am [so] sorry about that, but [I don't have my own car so I have problem with transportation]. Sorry again for this inconvenience.

cajoler
6. Yes, I know, [you see] I have this problem of being late with my appointments.

appealer
7. Lunch on me, [okay] ? Sorry.

intensifier
8. I'm [so] sorry about that ! I will try to change my habit and come out earlier.

intensifier grounder
9. I'm [really] sorry. [I missed the bus]. It won't happen again.

hesitator intensifier
10. [Ahm...] I'm [really] sorry. I promise it won't happen next time. Now let's go on with the work and waste no more time.

Appendix F (continued)

Situation 25 / Complaint, -Distance, Status equals (friends)
NS

[hesitator] downtoner
1. Hi ! Um...do you think next time you could [maybe] make an effort to be here on time
grounder
[because you've been late an awful lot lately].

2. Yeah, I almost left because I have to meet someone in a few minutes ! Could you
pol. mark understater
[please] make it [a bit] earlier next time ??!

scope-stater
intensifier
3. [It is [really] annoying] when you are always late. If the time made doesn't suit you we can make it later.

scope-stater
4. I have come to expect it. You're always late and you're always sorry. [I'm tired of it]. Next time I won't wait around.

scope-stater
understater grounder
5. Hi, I don't mind it that you are late although [it is [a bit] frustrating] [because I always find myself sitting around waiting for you] and I'd be cool if you could call just as you're walking out the door.

lexical inten. a. interro.
6. [You dork !] You know, your late every day ! [What's wrong with you man ?] [It's
scope-stater grounder
starting to make me mad]. [It cuts into the rest of my day too].

scope-stater
a. interro. intensifier
7. If you're going to be late, [can't you at least call me ?] [It [really] pisses me off that] I
grounder
have to wait here [when I could be doing a million other things with my time].

a. interro. - committer
8. [Why are you always late ?] [I think] it's rather rude.

Appendix F (continued)

9. I've been waiting for a while. What kept you ?

pol. mark
10. [Please] call next time.

NNS (examples 1- 5 US group ; 6-10 Singapore group)

scope-stater
1. [You make me very disappointed]. The days before this you were late too but those were fine for me. But today ?? You are 40 minutes late !!

scope-stater
2. Well, it's alright now. [But I just want to tell you that I am getting annoyed by this].
pol. mark
So, could you [please] come on time next time ? This will be very good.

3. I think that you should think seriously about your problem with coming on time,
scope-stater
[because it starting to get on my nerves].

pol. mark grounder
4. Yes, I know, could you [please] phone me next time [so I won't be waiting for so long].

5. Yes, I know that very well. Next time, I will just leave you alone without waiting.
scope-stater
[I am tired of this]. Do you know that ?
a. interro.
6. Well, [since when have you not been late ?] Recently your habit has been getting
- comm.
worse. [I think] you better start to change that or else you would give people the bad impression.

scope-stater
7. Again, you're late. Can you kick off this habit ? [It's getting irritating]. It will not be nice for people to wait for you.

scope-stater
8. I appreciate you for visiting me often, [but not your habit of being late every time you visit me].

Appendix F (continued)

pol. mark
9. You have been doing this so often lately. Could you be punctual next time, [please ?]

forewarn
10. [It's not that I want to complain, but] your habitual lateness is getting worse
a. interro.
nowadays. [Why are you always late ?]

Situation 6 / Request, + Distance, Speaker (-power) Hearer (+power)
NS

understater grounder
1. Could you turn down your music [a little ?] Sorry, but [I have a huge exam tomorrow that I need to study for. Thanks.

grounder
2. Hi, listen [I've got a really tough test coming up tomorrow and I'm having trouble
pol. mark
concentrating on my studies], could you [please] turn your music down ?

playdown grounder
3. Hi ! [I was wondering if] you would mind turning your stereo down. [I have a huge exam tomorrow and I'm trying to study]. Usually, I don't mind, but that bass just isn't helping me learn what I need to learn.

playdown pol. mark downtoner
4. Hi! [I was wondering if] you could [please] turn down your music [just] for tonight ?

grounder
[I have a huge test tomorrow and need all the help and quiet I can get !] I'd appreciate it.

5. Hi. How are you ? Normally I wouldn't bother you about your music, but
grounder
[tomorrow I have a really important test and need some quiet.] I'd appreciate it if
downtoner
you could [just] turn down the music for a few hours. Thanks.

Appendix F (continued)

preparator grounder
6. Hi. [I feel bad because I'm not usually picky], but [I have a really big test tomorrow] -

consultative downtoner
[is it okay if you keep your music down [just] for tonight ? Thank you so much !

pol. mark grounder
7. Could you [please] turn your music down ? [It is too loud and I have a test tomorrow.]

preparator consultative
8. Hey, what's up ? [I hate to bother you], but [would you mind] turning your music
grounder
down - [I have a really big test tomorrow and am having trouble studying.]

playdown grounder
9. Hi. [I was wondering if] you could turn your music down ? [I've got an exam to
understater
study for and it's [a bit] distracting.

playdown understater
10. [I was wondering if] you could turn the music down [a little ?]

NNS (examples 1- 5 US group ; 6-10 Singapore group)

1. Hi ! Can you play your music louder, so I can safe my money to buy a stereo ?

consultative understater grounder
2. [Would you mind if] you turn [little] down your radio ? [I have a test for tomorrow.] Thanks.

pol. mark
3. Hi! I'm sorry, but could you [please] turn down the volume of the music ? [I
grounder
couldn't concentrate on my lesson. I have an important test for tomorrow.] Thank you for your help!

Appendix F (continued)

grounder
4. Hi, I am sorry. [I will have test tomorrow and I need some quiet time to study.] So,
pol. mark
could you [please] lower the volume of your music ? I will appreciate that very much.

playdown
5. Hi neighbor, how are you ? [I was wondering if] you could slow down the music [a
understater grounder
little bit] [since I have an important test and need some time to study]. I hope you don't bother.

consultative
6. Hello! Jimmy, [do you think] you can turn down the volume of your radio ?
grounder
[I need to concentrate tonight.]

pol. mark
7. Yes, hello, I've got a favour to ask from you. Could you [please] on the music softer
grounder
[as I've got an important test tomorrow and I need to study.]

consultative grounder
8. Hi ! [Do you mind] lowering the volume of your hi-fi please ? [I'm trying very hard to concentrate to prepare for an important test tomorrow.]

9. Hi ! Well, I had a little request to make. I hope it wouldn't be a problem if you could
grounder
lower the volume of your music system, [I have some studying to do for a test which is tomorrow.]

consultative
10. Hi ! I'm sorry but [would you mind] turning the volume of your radio down because
grounder understater
[I need to study for a test tomorrow and the sound is really [a bit] disturbing.]

Appendix G
Samples of Rated DCT Responses

Note: A total of 15 points possible; 5 points per criterion

Situation 7 / NS

Situation 7: You call from work to find out how things are at home and your child reminds you that you forgot to take him shopping, as you had promised. This is the second time that this has happened.
Your child: You promised !
You:

1. I know, I'm sorry, but I have so much to do now, and I'm so busy. Can't we not go shopping and stop focusing so much on materialistic goods ? I raised you better than that.

Score = 10
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 5

2. I'm so sorry! I've been very busy, but when I get home we'll go get ice-cream or something.

Score = 13
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

3. I know, you are absolutely right and I'm going to clear up a few things and be home shortly to take you shopping.

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

4. I'm sorry, its just that I've been so busy lately. I'll make you a deal. This weekend I'll be at your disposal for a day; anywhere you want to go.

Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

Appendix G (continued)

5. I know I did, and I am really sorry. You probably wouldn't believe me if I promised again, but I'll write you in for Saturday and if all goes well we can spend the entire day together.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

6. I am sorry honey. I have been busy, but I should have remembered. Be ready to go when I get home. I love you.

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

7. Maybe we can go when I get home.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

8. I know I promised, but I had to work. If I don't work, there's no money to go shopping with. We'll go this weekend. I'm sorry.

Score = 12
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

9. Alright Alright already ! You were a mistake ! Now stop your whining. We'll go when I have time now put your mother on the phone.

Score = 10
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 5

10. Tell you what. Let's go shopping right when I get home ok ? I'll honk the horn, and then you come out and we'll go shopping tonight ok ? I love you son, bye !

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

Appendix G (continued)

NNS (Examples 1-5 US group; 6-10 Singapore group)

1. I will find another day.

Score = 9
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 5

2. Oh... I forgot ! OK, next time I'll not forget !! I swear to God.

Score = 12
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

3. Oh, I'm sorry. I forgot it because I'm so busy. How about this afternoon ? I promise, I will take you shopping. I will not forget about it again, ok ?!

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

4. I am real sorry. I had a big meeting and I got stuck. I promise that tomorrow we are going. I hope you forgive me because I love you.

Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 4

5. Come on ! I am not Jim Carry. (Liar Liar)

Score = 9
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 5

6. Sorry, but I will bring you out when I am free.

Score = 10
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

7. Oh no, I'm so sorry dear. Can we do tomorrow. This time I'll really really won't forget.
Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

Appendix G (continued)

8. I'm sorry.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

9. I'm really sorry to disappoint you again but I hope that you will understand that Mummy has work to do which are very important to me. I will try to make it home soon and then we can go shopping, okay ?

Score = 13
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 4

10. I'm sorry honey but I'm really busy and I truly forgot. Do you think it'll be alright if I brought you shopping after work ?

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

Situation 18 / Request
Situation: You are taking several courses this semester and have not finished all the assignments yet. You realize that you will need an extension for one of your papers. You decide to speak to your professor.

Your professor: Come on in ! How are classes ?
You:

NS

1. Actually, that is what I was hoping to speak to you about, see I'm really in a bind and I was wondering if you could possibly give me a short extension.

Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

Appendix G (continued)

2. Good thanks. Professor I was wondering if I could get an extension on one of the papers, because I've had so many due in other classes and it's been hard for me to get them all done in such a short time.

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

3. I was wondering if I could get an extension.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

4. Tough. Let's not beat around the bush, I am so stressed; And I know that I won't be able to finish one of my assignments. Could I have an extension ?

Score = 9
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 5

5. Hey, not so good. I'm really stressed, blah, blah-blah and I don't think I'll finish in time. You know, grandma just died, my cat has the flu, my laundry's going through the roof, my hard drive crashed and I'm sick. Could I please have an extension ?

Score = 9
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 5

6. Good - not great at the moment. I am very overwhelmed with three papers right now. Would it be possible to get an extension ?

Score = 13
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

7. Bad. I am so behind. In fact, that is why I came here...to beg for your mercy. Is there any way I could stretch that due date out just a bit ? Please.

Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

Appendix G (continued)

8. Stressful, I was here asking for a week extension on the paper. I'm nearly complete but I had a couple of things come up and need a little more time.

Score = 13
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

9. Okay, I've fallen a litte bit behind these days. I've been juggling classes and work and it't taking a toll. I actually was coming to ask about an extension for the paper next week.

Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

10. They are really overloading me. I'm having trouble keeping up, and I was going to ask you for an extension. It would really help me out.

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

NNS (Examples 1-5 US group; 6-10 Singapore group)

1. I cannot finish my paper, and can hand it up later ?

Score = 8
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 4

2. Oh my classes are rather confusing. I have so many assignments. That's why I came here. I think I need an extension for your class' paper because I have not finished all the assignments yet. Would you mind giving me an extension for it?

Score = 12
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

3. Well, I have a problem in this classes. I have many courses in this semester and I am not able to finish all of my assignments. I am really need a help from you to give me another day to finish my paper. I'll really grateful.

Score = 10
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 3

Appendix G (continued)

4. Well, Professor I have been so busy with all the assignments that I haven't time yet to finish you paper. Is there anyway I can have an extension ?

Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

5. Well, not too good unfortunately, you see Sir I had to finish all my assignments by today but I didn't so I need an extension for one of them. Could I have an extension?

Score = 13
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

6. Fine. Can I ask for an extension for my assignments ?

Score = 10
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

7. Ok lah Sir, but some of the lecture materials require a lot of time to understand. Sir, concerning that, I was wondering if you could give me an extension on my Sociology paper. You see I have several deadlines to meet this same week and I'm afraid I won't be able to meet all of them.

Score = 13
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

8. Classes are fine but very packed because I'm taking several courses this semester. Sir, I have a number of assignments on hand, I'm trying my best to complete all on time but unfortunately, I think I still need some time. Do you think I can get an extension for one of my papers ?

Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

9. Hi Professor. Classes are fine but I've been very busy with the different courses I'm taking this semester. Sir, regarding my assignment, do you think I could have an extension ? I really need it as I've got many other assignments to hand in as well during this same period of time.

Score = 14
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

Appendix G (continued)

10. Fine. Excuse me Sir, can you grant me an extension for this paper, b'cos I still need more time ?

Score = 12
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

Situation 22 / Complaint

Situation: The library issues you a notice saying you owe $50.00 for some books you haven't returned. This is not the first time this has happened. You are positive that you have returned the books, and are quite annoyed.

The Fines Department: My computer screen tells me that you owe this fine.
You:

NS

1. This has happened before and I am positive that I returned them.

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

2. Well, I am sure I turned those books in. Why wasn't I told about this before ?

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

3. Your wrong I returned the books on time. I will not pay this fine till you go through and check everything to make sure.

Score = 9
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 5

4. Well, this is not the first time this has happened. Your computer is wrong. I don't owe 50$ and I will not pay it. I returned the books a while ago, and I would appreciate it if you could keep things like this straight.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

Appendix G (continued)

5. I already returned these books. Could you check the shelves ? This happened to me last time too.

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

6. Well, I returned the books on time and this is the second time this has happened to me. Why don't we look for the books at the library and make sure they are not there.

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

7. I'm sorry, but I returned those books on time. May I either speak to your supervisor or talk to someone who can do some personal research regarding this matter ?

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5
8. I have been in here numerous times and I'm positive I've returned the books. I'm <u>not</u> paying the fine.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

9. Well, I'm telling you I don't have those books, why don't we go and see if they are in the library ?

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= grammatical ability = 5

10. I turned in those books a long time ago. Is there anyway someone could check to see if the books are on the shelf or in the sort area and then get back to me ?

Score = 15
A = Sociocultural ability = 5; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 5; C= Grammatical ability = 5

Appendix G (continued)

NNS (Examples 1-5 US group; 6-10 Singapore group)

1. I don't think that I owe this fine because I'm quite sure that I returned those books a month ago.

Score = 12
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= Grammatical ability = 5

2. I am quite sure that there must be something wrong with your stupid screen.

Score = 9
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 2; C= grammatical ability = 5

3. But I'm sure that I have returned the books last week. I have looked for it at home once more and they were not there. Maybe you made a mistake, have you already looked for it on the shelves ?

Score = 12
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= Grammatical ability = 5

4. No. I am sure I have already returned them. I know exactly who was in charge. Billy was in charge at that time. Maybe you must ask him.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= Grammatical ability = 5

5. Could you check if the books are on the shelves or if something is wrong with the computer.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= Grammatical ability = 5

6. There must be some mistakes 'cos I've returned the books already.

Score = 10
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= Grammatical ability = 4

Appendix G (continued)

7. I'm sorry, but I've already returned the books. Maybe you could check again after all this is not the first time this has happened.

Score = 13
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= Grammatical ability = 5

8. But I have definitely returned the book and I saw the librarian stamping the cancelled mark on the due date ! I can show you if the books are still in the library.

Score = 13
A = Sociocultural ability = 4; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 4; C= grammatical ability = 5

9. This is not the first time. Last time you people said that I owe _____. But after investigations, it turned out that the computer was wrong. I'm very sure that I had returned the books. I can even ask my friend to be witnesses.

Score = 11
A = Sociocultural ability = 3; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

10. There must be some mistake. Could you please check again. Because my diary says that I have returned the books already.

Score = 10
A = Sociocultural ability = 2; B = Sociolinguistic ability = 3; C= grammatical ability = 5

Appendix H
Definitions of Downgraders and Upgraders as per House & Kasper (1981)

Downgraders (Note: agent avoider and steers are also listed as downgraders by the authors, however these two did not show up in the data collected for this study)

Defintion: Markers which play down the impact X's (speaker's) utterance is likely to have on Y (hearer).

Types of Downgraders

1. Politeness marker
   optional element added to an act to show deference to the interlocutor and to bid for cooperative behavior, e.g., please.

2. Play-down
   syntactical devices used to tone down the perlocutionary effect an utterance is likely to have on the addressee, e.g.,
   I wondered if / I was wondering if / etc.

3. Consultative Device
   optional devices by means of which X seeks to involve Y and bid for Y's cooperation; frequently these devices are ritualized formulas, e.g.,
   Would you mind if...

4. Hedge
   adverbials - excluding sentence adverbials - by means of which X avoids a precise propositional specification thus circumventing the potential provocation such as specification might entail; X leaves the option open for Y to complete his utterance and thereby imposes his own intent less forcefully on Y.
   e.g., kind of, sort of, somehow, and so on, and what have you, more or less, rather.

5. Understater
   adverbial modifiers by means of which X underrepresents the state of affairs denoted in the proposition.
   e.g., a little bit, a second, not very much, just a trifle.

Appendix H (continued)

6. Downtoner
   Sentence modifiers which are used by X in order to modulate the impact his utterance is likely to have on Y
   e.g., just, simply, possibly, perhaps, rather.

7. - ("minus") Committer
   Sentence modifiers which are used to lower the degree to which X commits himself to the state of affairs referred to in the proposition. X thus explicitly characterizes his utterance as his personal opinion
   e.g., I think, I guess, I believe, I suppose, in my opinion

8. Forewarn
   A kind of anticipatory disarmament device used by X to forewarn Y and to forestall his possible negative reactions to X's act. Typically a forewarn is a metacomment about what X is about to do, a compliment paid to Y as a preliminary to a potentially offensive utterance, or an invocation of a generally accepted cooperative principle which X is about to flout.
   e.g., far be it for me to bilittle your efforts, but..., you're a nice guy , Jim, but..., this may be a bit boring to you, but...

9. Hesitator
   Deliberately employed malformulations, used to impress on Y the fact that X has qualms about performing the ensuing act,
   e.g., erm, er

10. Scope-Stater
    Elements in which X explicitly expresses his subjective opinion vis-a-vis the state of affairs referred to in the proposition, thus lowering the assertive force of his utterance
    e.g., I'm afraid you're in my seat; I'm a bit disappointed that you did P; I'm not happy about the fact that you did P.

11. Cajolers
    Elements used to increase, establish, or restore harmony between the interlocutors.
    e.g., you know, you see, I mean, actually

Appendix H (continued)

12. Appealers
    Appealers appeal to the hearer and function to elicit a hearer signal, an uptaker.
    e.g., okay, right, yeah

13. Preparators
    X indicates or suggests what type of intent he is going to make manifest without, however, specifying the nature of the proposition following the preparator;
    e.g., I would like to ask you a question

14. Grounder
    X gives reasons for his intent (as expressed in his central move). Grounders may precede or follow the central move; e.g., God, I'm thirsty, Get me a beer, will you? (where the grounder precedes the central move).

Upgraders (**Note**: Rhetorical appeal was an upgrader listed by House and Kasper which did not surface in my data).

Definition: Modality markers which increase the force of the impact an utterance is likely to have on the addressee.

Types of Upgraders

1. Overstater
    Adverbial modifiers by means of which X overrepresents the reality denoted in the proposition in the interests of increasing the force of his utterance.
    e.g., absolutely, purely, terribly, frightfully

2. Intensifer
    Adverbial modifier used by X to intensify certain elements of the proposition of his utterance.
    e.g., very, so, such, quite, really, just, indeed

3. + ("plus") Committer
    Sentence modifiers by means of which X indicates his heightened degree of commitment vis-a-vis the state of affairs referred to in the proposition,
    e.g., I'm sure, certainly, obviously, really

4. Lexical Intensifier
    Lexical items which are strogly marked for their negative social attitude.
    e.g., swear words

Appendix H (continued)

5. Aggressive Interrogative

   Employment by X of interrogative mood to explicitly involve Y and thus to intensify the impact of his utterance on Y.

   e.g., Why haven't you told me before ?

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