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교육학박사학위논문

Korean Middle School English Learners' Development of Pragmatic Competence and Metapragmatic Awareness through CA-informed Pragmatic Instruction: Focusing on Requests and Refusals to Requests

대화분석 기반 화용 교수를 통한 한국인 중학생 영어 학습자들의 화용 능력 및 상위 화용 인식 발달 연구: 요청과 요청에 대한 거절 중심으로

2023년 2월

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by
Sooyeon Kang

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Department of Foreign Language Education
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in English Language Education

At the
Graduate School of Seoul National University

February 2023

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ABSTRACT

Korean Middle School English Learners' Development of Pragmatic Competence and Metapragmatic Awareness through CA-informed Pragmatic Instruction: Focusing on Requests and Refusals to Requests

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The development of pragmatic competence is crucial for effective communication. Notably, second language learners need to develop it properly since they may possess different pragmatic norms in their native language. Unlike grammatical errors, pragmatic errors can cause more severe communication breakdowns and negatively affect the interlocutor. However, being equipped with pragmatic competence is a daunting task for second language learners since it requires adequate knowledge of what to say and how to say it to whom. It is even more challenging when the learners are under real-time interaction.

Studies in second language pragmatics have investigated second language learners' pragmatic competence cross-sectionally and longitudinally. Most of the studies focused on how the learners comprehend and produce speech acts, with the speech act of request and refusal being the

most popular. At the same time, some also focused on the cognitive processes underlying the speech act performance. The studies' results delineated shared preferences on appropriate speech acts by native and non-native speakers and the salient features shown in the non-native speakers' performance, which may lead to unintentional pragmatic failure. Learners' underlying thoughts also revealed the struggles and difficulties in delivering their pragmatic intentions. These altogether called for the importance of pragmatic instruction.

A myriad of interventional studies proved that pragmatics is teachable. Based on the consensus, more recent studies have focused on what to teach among many pragmatic features, when to teach them, and how to teach them. Despite the advancement, the target participants of the studies have been chiefly skewed to adult second language learners. The target pragmatic features have also been limited to semantic formulas of speech acts. Methodically, most studies employed practical measurements such as discourse completion tests, making it hard to understand how learners produce their pragmatic intention in interaction. Furthermore, despite the advancement of instructional studies on second language pragmatics, studies on Korean EFL learners are relatively scarce.

Considering both the importance of pragmatic competence and the limitations of the previous studies, the study sought to explore how Korean middle school learners with limited linguistic ability benefit from pragmatic

instruction. Fourteen learners engaged in eight instructional phases over two weeks on two speech acts, requests, and refusals to requests. The materials were informed by Conversation Analysis (CA). During the instruction, learners were exposed to the basic CA concepts, engaged in the contrastive analysis of speech acts in L1 and L2, received authentic input, and performed drama-script writing tasks and open role-plays with feedback. To measure any gains from the instruction, learners' request and refusal interactions were obtained before and after instruction using open role-play tasks. Furthermore, retrospective verbal reports were implemented right after performing role-plays to capture any cognitive changes in planning and performing the speech acts. Finally, learners' role-plays were analyzed following the conversation analysis framework (Schegloff, 2007), and learners' retrospective verbal reports were examined concerning their attention to pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic information.

The results from the request role-plays revealed that learners before instruction showed atypical sequences in projecting requests, being occupied with delivering the core message of requests. Regarding different contextual variables, learners struggled more in launching the PDR-high requests (i.e., requests with a high degree of an imposition to someone of a higher status and a larger distance). After instruction, most learners were shown to make a request properly in extended discourse by deferring the request in real-time interaction and using more appropriate pragmalinguistic forms according to contexts.

Meanwhile, the results from the refusal role-plays before instruction indicated the prevalent use of direct refusal formulas positioned earlier in turns, regardless of the situation. Their refusal strategies were mostly limited to providing accounts and expressing regrets. After instruction, learners depicted more diversification of refusal strategies and reflected the non-compliant nature of refusals in their turns by delaying them in interaction across contexts.

Learners' retrospective verbal reports before instruction illustrated learners' sociopragmatic awareness that seems to be transferred from their L1 sociocultural norm. Some learners reported difficulties in delivering pragmatic intention derived from a lack of pragmalinguistic knowledge and linguistic ability. After instruction, learners' sensitivity toward socio-contextual variables improved, and more could utter improved pragmalinguistic knowledge. In doing so, learners' proficiency and metacognition were shown to affect the instructional effect.

Based on the findings, the study discusses the significance of developing pragmatic competence and awareness. Lastly, the study provides pedagogical implications for developing effective CA-informed pragmatic instruction for young learners of English with relatively low proficiency.

Key Words: second language pragmatics, pragmatic competence, metapragmatic awareness, CA-informed pragmatic instruction, conversation

analysis, Korean middle school English learners

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

The present study explores how Korean middle school English learners develop pragmatic competence and metapragmatic awareness of two speech acts (request and refusal to request) through CA-informed pragmatic instruction. Section 1.1 deals with the background of the study. Sections 1.2 and 1.3 show the purpose and significance of the study, respectively. Lastly, section 1.4 outlines the organization of the dissertation.

1.1. Background of the Study

Successful communication requires linguistic knowledge and the ability to use the language in a socially appropriate way. The development of communicative competence models has suggested that both linguistic and pragmatic competence are essential for a speaker to use language appropriately in social contexts (Bachman & Palmer, 1996; Canale & Swain, 1980). In models of communicative competence, pragmatic competence is defined as 1) the knowledge of conventions for performing language functions and 2) the knowledge of social rules of appropriateness.

The ability to use language appropriately is important not only for native speakers but also for second language learners (henceforth L2 learners). L2 learners may have different perceptions of what is appropriate behavior in the target language. Furthermore, not knowing how-to-say-what-to-whom-when (Bardovi-Harlig, 2013) in the target language may lead to interpersonal communication breakdown, which is a ‘pragmatic failure’ (Thomas, 1983). According to Fraser (1990), violation of grammatical rules and inappropriate use of vocabulary can be considered a lack of language proficiency, whereas pragmatic errors can result in severe barriers to communication. Eslami-Rasekh (2005) also noted that pragmatic failure could give a negative impression, unlike grammatical errors.

Despite the importance of being equipped with pragmatic competence, it is difficult for learners in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) settings where naturalistic input is limited (Kasper & Schmidt, 1996; Yin, 2020; Zhang, 2021). Even with extended exposure to the target language, such as in an English as a Second Language (ESL) context, relevant pragmatic features might go unnoticed by learners (Schmidt, 1993; Sydorenko, 2015; Taguchi, Naganuma, & Budding, 2015) without external events such as modeling or feedback. According to Schmidt (1993), attention should be directed to relevant pragmatic features for successful pragmatic learning. Moreover, since pragmatic competence not only requires learners to know what to say in L2 but also how to say it to whom appropriately, being equipped with pragmatic competence is undoubtedly a daunting task (Taguchi, 2019). It is even more difficult for L2 learners when they have to be engaged in real-time interaction.

Acknowledging both the importance and difficulty of acquiring pragmatic competence, the English curriculum of Korea (e.g., Ministry of Education, 2015) has emphasized the need to develop learners' pragmatic competence. Teaching expressions appropriate for contexts or purposes has been highlighted as key to pragmatic competence (Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 35). In the curriculum, several communicative functions (e.g., disagreement, request, refusal, apology, compliment, etc.) are presented with exemplary expressions. Textbook developers include these types of expressions and locate them in appropriate contexts in speaking sections of the textbooks. The communicative functions offered in the curriculum are closely related to speech acts (i.e., utterances with performative functions), which have been the most popular research topic in second language pragmatics (hereafter, L2 pragmatics).

In L2 pragmatics, L2 learners' ability to comprehend and produce different speech acts (e.g., request, refusal, apology, compliment) in a socially and culturally appropriate manner has been rigorously investigated (Plonsky & Zhuang, 2019; Taguchi & Roever, 2017). Studies have revealed shared perceptions and preferences on appropriate speech acts by native and non-native speakers and the salient features shown in the non-native speakers' performance, discussing the causes in terms of differences in the pragmatics and transfer of L1 (Park & Oh, 2019). Some have also evidenced that learners with higher proficiency do not always develop pragmatic competence (Rose, 2000). Although relatively few, another line of research has directed attention to L2 learners' cognitive processes underlying the speech act performances (Alcón-Soler & Guzman-Pitarch, 2010; Cohen & Olshtain, 1993; Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Hassall, 2008; Park & Oh, 2019; Ren, 2014; Robinson, 1992; Widjaja, 1997; Woodfield, 2010). It is hard to gain insights into what L2 learners know about pragmatics without examining their thoughts in planning and performing certain speech acts. One of the common findings from the studies was that learners struggle with pragmatic difficulties resulting from a lack of pragmatic knowledge. These findings lent support to the importance of pragmatic instruction to L2 learners. Early interventional studies in L2 pragmatics have focused on the teachability of L2 pragmatic features. Based on the consensus on teachability (Alcón-Soler, 2005; Félix-Brasdefer & Cohen, 2012; Ishihara & Cohen, 2010; Nguyen, 2018; Taguchi, 2015), the critical issue in the field has been 'what to teach among the many pragmatic features', 'how to teach them', and 'when to teach them' (Taguchi & Roever, 2017).

With regards to 'what to teach', speech acts have received primary attention (Taguchi, 2015). Among many speech acts, requests and refusals have been the most popular since both are widely used daily but are face-threatening acts requiring caution when performed. Most previous studies focused on teaching semantic formulas for requests and refusals based on native speaker baseline data. They examined how L2 learners could use those formulas in different contexts compared to native speakers. However, a limitation of these studies is that they have ignored teaching the interactive nature of the speech acts (Kasper, 2006). Further, learners' learning outcomes were primarily measured through practical measurements such as discourse completion tests (DCTs) which cannot capture learners' ability to perform speech acts in interaction.

As for when to teach, a majority of studies have focused on teaching adult college-level L2 learners with intermediate-level proficiency. However, as Taguchi et al. (2015) have argued, more studies need to be conducted on different age groups. The few studies (Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Li, 2012) that have investigated the effect of pragmatic instruction on younger age groups (e.g., adolescents) with limited linguistic competence have revealed its beneficial effect. Nevertheless, the limited number of studies indicates a need for more research to inform what to teach among the various pragmatic features to these relatively younger L2 learners (Plonsky & Zhuang, 2019; Savić, 2015).

Despite the importance of teaching pragmatics to L2 learners in the field of pragmatics, the implementation of pragmatic instruction during English classes in Korea has received relatively less attention. In addition, despite the importance that has been placed on pragmatic competence in the national curriculum, there needs to be more knowledge and exploration of what pragmatic features can be taught and what kind of pragmatic instruction can benefit learners under the curriculum. Moreover, it is rare to find research on how pragmatic instruction changes, if any, the learners' pragmatic awareness when planning and performing pragmatic tasks. Thus, it is important to research the development of pragmatic competence and awareness through pragmatic instruction, targeting Korean learners of English under the national curriculum, such as middle school students.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The current study investigates how pragmatic instruction enhances the development of Korean middle school English learners' pragmatic competence and metapragmatic awareness in the speech acts of request and refusal to request. Among others, the two speech acts were chosen since they are widely used in daily life, are face-threatening acts that require caution, and are the most widely discussed speech acts in the aforementioned literature. In addition, the two speech acts have been one of the targets of communicative functions that Korean middle English learners need to master according to the English curriculum of Korea (Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 148-149). The two main objectives of the present study were as follows: 1) to obtain a detailed picture of how Korean middle school English learners perform the speech act of request and refusal to request in interaction before and after pragmatic instruction, and 2) to investigate how Korean middle school English learners' metapragmatic awareness on the two speech acts changes through pragmatic instruction. The followings are the research questions that are addressed in the study:

1. How do Korean middle school English learners develop their pragmatic competence in two speech acts (i.e., requests and refusals to requests) through CA-informed pragmatic instruction?
2. How do the learners develop their metapragmatic awareness of the two speech acts through CA-informed pragmatic instruction?

1.3. Significance of the Study

The present study contributes to the literature on L2 pragmatics by investigating how Korean middle school learners of English perform two speech acts (i.e., request and refusal to request) in interaction and what perceptions they possess behind their performances. Prior studies in the field have predominantly focused on how learners of English perform speech acts in a single-turn utterance, and the target participants were mainly adult college-level learners. This overall speaks to a need to investigate how younger learners of English perform those acts in interaction with the target language.

In addition, the present study examines how the learners' speech act performance in interaction changes through Conversation Analysis (CA)-informed pragmatic instruction. The field of conversation analysis seeks to describe the organizational features beneath social interaction (Park & Oh, 2019). According to Heritage (1984), it discloses the "competencies which ordinary speakers use and rely on when they engage in intelligible, conversational interaction" (p. 241). The study reveals the changes in learners' interactions in detail by applying CA for data analysis. Unlike previous interventional studies where the instruction focused on teaching semantic formulas to conduct speech acts, the instruction in the current research focuses on developing learners' awareness of the linguistic and non-linguistic repertoire related to the two speech acts and the norms of interaction in English. To this end, the study provides research-based pragmatic instruction, mainly referring to the findings in CA studies. The significance of the study also lies in tracking not only learners' production but also examining what lies beneath the performance. The study tries to reveal how these perceptions evolve through pragmatic instruction. Looking at learners' cognitive processes behind performance will provide in-depth insights into their pragmatic knowledge, awareness, and difficulties.

Information on how learners develop speech act performance and metapragmatic awareness through pragmatic instruction will help stakeholders (e.g., curriculum designers, textbook developers, and language teachers) in the EFL setting make decisions on incorporating pragmatic instruction into language teaching. Furthermore, evidence from the study's results will contribute to improving current pedagogical practices of teaching speech acts in the Korean EFL contexts, allowing more effective pedagogy to be presented to secondary school learners with limited linguistic competence.

1.4. Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 describes the background of the study, the purpose of the study, and the significance of the study. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the theoretical frameworks and studies in L2 pragmatics and pragmatic instruction. The research methodology is described in Chapter 3, including participants, instruments, procedures, and data analysis. The results of the research are presented and discussed in Chapter 4. Finally, chapter 5 summarizes the major findings and provides pedagogical implications, followed by limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews previous literature relevant to the present study. Section 2.1 overviews pragmatics, introducing theoretical concepts concerning pragmatics – pragmatic competence in 2.1.1, speech act theory in 2.1.2, politeness theory in 2.1.3, and conversation analysis in 2.1.4. Section 2.2 overviews second language pragmatics. Section 2.3 introduces empirical studies on second language pragmatics – second language pragmatics studies on requests in 2.3.1, second language pragmatics studies on refusals in 2.3.2, and learners' metapragmatic awareness in second language pragmatics research in 2.3.3. Section 2.4 reviews pragmatic instruction – an overview of instructional studies on second language speech acts in 2.4.1, interventional studies on English requests in 2.4.2, interventional studies on English refusals in 2.4.3, and interventional studies using CA-informed materials in 2.4.4. Lastly, 2.5 summarizes the limitations of previous studies.

2.1. Pragmatics

Pragmatics is the field of study whose interest is how linguistic forms are used in a social context to realize a communicative act. It considers that language forms such as grammar and lexis used to achieve a communicative goal are determined by the language-internal rules and social and cultural considerations (Taguchi & Rover, 2017). Since the first introduction of the term *pragmatics* by Morris (1938), the definition of the term has evolved further by several scholars. Levinson (1983) referred to pragmatics as “the study of those relations between language and context that are grammaticalized, or encoded in the structure of language” (p. 9). Crystal (1997) viewed pragmatics as “the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication” (p. 301). Though the definitions of pragmatics vary, they commonly consider language, meaning, context, and action as essential elements. The following sections will deal with the theoretical backgrounds of pragmatics. Section 2.1.1 presents the concepts of pragmatic competence. Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 deal with speech act theory and politeness theory, respectively. Lastly, section 2.1.4 demonstrates the relevance of CA to L2 pragmatics.

2.1.1. Pragmatic Competence

The development of models of communicative competence has influenced the areas of pragmatics as regards theoretical foundations and research methodology. The origin of communicative competence traces back to Hymes (1972), who proposed two types of language knowledge: grammatical and sociocultural. Hymes viewed that both knowledge jointly determines how to use language appropriately in a social context. Hymes’s framework led to several models of communicative competence, which placed pragmatic competence as one of the essential components of language knowledge (Bachman & Palmer, 1996; Canale & Swain, 1980).

One of the earliest models suggested by Canale and Swain (1980) posited that integrating four sub-competencies (i.e., grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse, and strategic competence) leads to a successful communicative act. Among the sub-components, sociolinguistic competence is concerned with the knowledge of using language in a socially appropriate manner. In Canale and Swain's model, pragmatic and sociolinguistic competence were not distinguished. Pragmatic competence was assumed to be one of the parts of sociolinguistic competence.

In Bachman's (1990) and Backman and Palmer's (1996) model of communicative competence, pragmatic competence was viewed as competence in its own right. For example, in Bachman and Palmer's (1996) model, language competence is categorized into organizational and pragmatic competence. Among these, pragmatic competence consists of illocutionary competence and sociolinguistic competence. While the former refers to the ability to carry out acts, the latter refers to the ability to use language appropriately in context.

In pragmatics, pragmatic competence has also been conceptualized in two types of knowledge: pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics (Beltrán-Planques & Querol-Julián, 2018). A distinction between pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics has long been discussed since the terms were introduced by Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983). According to Leech (1983), there are two areas of pragmatic competence that interactants need to have: pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competence. Pragmalinguistic competence includes knowledge about linguistic resources available in a language that carries “particular illocutions” (p. 11). It includes knowledge about strategies and linguistic and non-linguistic resources that can convey pragmatic meaning (Félix-Brasdefer & Shively, 2021). On the other hand, sociopragmatic competence includes knowledge of the social norms governing language use, familiarity with politeness assessment, and social power or distance contextual variables. It concerns the knowledge of more or less politeness depending on the participants’ relationship and the cost (e.g., concerning time, money, and effort) (Taguchi & Roever, 2017). For example, one's pragmalinguistic knowledge includes knowing that the phrases such as “I was wondering if you could…”, “Could you…”, and “I want/need…” can carry the meaning of requests, and each carries a different pragmatic force (e.g., politeness level). On the other hand, knowing why requests are phrased differently depending on social context factors (e.g., who is asking to whom and how much of a favor they are asking) reflects one’s sociopragmatic knowledge. For instance, when a person (e.g., Tom) is at a bakery to buy bread, he would request the person behind the counter by saying, “I’d like a loaf of toast, please.” rather than “Could I possibly have a loaf of toast, please?”, knowing that the latter phrase is too polite in the context at hand (Roever, 2022).

While pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge is crucial for successful language use and to become a pragmatically competent speaker, one should also develop other abilities in interaction. For example, one should know how to comprehend and produce social actions at the discourse level and negotiate meaning in interaction by developing one's interactional competence (Félix-Brasdefer & Shively, 2021). Regarding the relationship between pragmatic and interactional competence, researchers present similar and different stances. Barron (2020), for instance, noted that interactional competence is "an integral part of pragmatic competence" (p. 433). On the other hand, Galaczi and Taylor (2018) viewed interactional competence as a broader term, defining it as "the ability to co-construct interaction in a purposeful and meaningful way, taking into account sociocultural and pragmatic dimensions of the speech situation and event" (p. 18). These two seemingly different stances show that interactional and pragmatic competence overlap, influencing each other in examining learners' participation in extended discourse (Taguchi & Roever, 2017).

2.1.2. Speech Act Theory

Speech act theory has been established as the most relevant in the field of pragmatics (Flor & Juan, 2010). Austin (1962) assumed that people use language not only to say things but also to 'do things.' He developed a classification of utterances into locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary act refers to the act of saying things, while illocutionary act indicates what is done in saying things. Perlocutionary act represents what is done by saying something. Focusing on the illocutionary act, Searl (1969) later on developed a taxonomy of illocutionary acts according to common functional characteristics. The taxonomy includes five categories, which are representatives (e.g., describing, stating), expressives (e.g., thanking, apologizing), commissives (e.g., threatening, offering), declarations (e.g., sentencing, naming), and directives (e.g., requesting, suggesting).

Searl's (1969) work on speech acts has greatly influenced pragmatics. It has inspired many studies on the learning of several speech acts; how L2 learners perceive and perform requests, refusals, suggestions, disagreements, etc., have been the main subject of the studies across languages using diverse types of research instruments (Taguchi & Roever, 2017). However, it also received criticism from many scholars since it only accounts for formal considerations. Thomas (1995), for example, argued that distinguishing speech acts into clear-cut categories is not always possible when contextual factors are considered. LoCastro (2003) also claimed that the analysis of speech acts should be expanded to study them in context. The lack of elaboration on the real-world contextual conditions for performing speech acts was later on addressed through research on politeness.

2.1.3. Politeness Theory

One of the influential models for pragmatic research is Brown and Levinson's model of politeness (1987). The model involves several components such as face, acts that threaten to face, and sociological variables that influence the face threats. The notion of face is related to one's public image, self-esteem, and reputation. Thus, losing one's face results in embarrassment and humiliation. Positive face is "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (p. 62), and it involves one's desire to be approved of or admired. On the other hand, negative face is "the want of every competent member that his actions be unimpeded by others" (p. 62). For example, requests, which impose one's freedom of action, are generally oriented to negative face.

Any actions that impinge on a person's face, such as orders and insults, are face-threatening. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), three sociological variables (i.e., the relative 'power', the 'social distance', and the absolute 'ranking' (i.e., the degree of imposition)) work in assessing the amount of face threat that a particular act involves, and thus how much politeness is required to counter-balance it. The power of the hearer over the interlocutor is an asymmetric social dimension, while distance denotes an asymmetrical social dimension of similarities or differences between the speaker and the interlocutor. Ranking (i.e., the degree of imposition) indicates “a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent’s wants of self-determination of approval” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 77).

Computing these social variables has been methodologically popular in pragmatics studies since examining one’s pragmatic competence involves how one behaves according to the social variables. Numerous researchers in the field of pragmatics manipulated these variables in administrating discourse completion tests (DCTs), questionnaires, and role-plays to quantify the types of politeness strategies implemented by people of different relative power, distance, and so on (Culpeper, Mackey, & Taguchi, 2018). With speech act theory, Brown and Levinson’s framework has been the central research paradigm in L2 pragmatics until the mid-2000s. Since then, Conversation Analysis (CA), a new theoretical paradigm, has received attention in the field (Taguchi & Roever, 2017).

2.1.4. Conversation Analysis (CA)

CA is originally designed as an analytic approach to describe social conduct. It aims to understand how people manage their social relations through talk. Traditionally, the interests of CA lie in examining the recordings of natural conversation under the assumption that the interactants share competencies that allow them to analyze an interlocutor’s production and show the interlocutor their reaction to the production (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). CA takes an anti-mentalist stance (Kasper, 2009), emphasizing observable data and declining to speculate about possible intentions or motivations since these are unavailable to interactants (Taguchi & Roever, 2017). In addition, CA is also traditionally disinclined to explain interactional conduct through the physical context or the social relationships between the interactants (Seedhouse, 2004). This approach is quite contrastive to research in L2 pragmatics, where researchers use elicited data and manipulate tasks and participant variables systematically to examine their effects on pre-determined features of interests (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2012).

While CA and L2 pragmatics may seem incompatible, the overtly etic analyses in L2 pragmatics have led to calls for the integration of CA methods and perspectives (Kasper, 2006). Furthermore, with the emergence of ‘applied CA’ (ten Have, 2007), how interactions are managed differently in a particular institutional context has begun to be investigated. In L2 pragmatics, CA’s microanalytic approach and attention to every detail of the talk have made CA an attractive tool. Thus, learners’ elicited data have been analyzed using the CA framework to investigate their competencies in sequencing the interactions (Heritage & Clayman, 2008).

CA sees the turn as the unit of analysis. In CA, turns are considered accomplishing social actions, and interactants turn-by-turn build their conversation into longer sequences. A common way to connect turns is in the form of an adjacency pair, which consists of the first pair part (i.e., the turn preceding the second pair part) and the second pair part. The first pair part makes a particular second pair part relevant (Sidnell, 2010). For instance, greeting and greeting and request and grant/rejection are typical adjacency pairs.

In many cases, there is a central second pair part that is more ‘preferred’ among the alternative types of responses (Pomerantz, 1984). For example, in response to an invitation, acceptance is preferred over rejection as a second pair part. However, first pair parts can also be preferred or dispreferred. For example, offers are preferred over requests as first pair parts. According to Schegloff (2007), dispreferred responses are often mitigated and elaborated. They also differ in their positioning in a turn. That is, while preferred responses are placed contiguously, coming early in the next turn with no delays, dispreferred responses are ordinarily not done contiguously often with an inter-turn gap, turn-initial delay, accounts, and pro forma agreements (i.e., ‘agreement + disagreement’). Preference organization integrates politeness within the structure of interaction. An awareness of preference organization thus constitutes a crucial accomplishment of interaction (Caroll, 2011).

Requests are dispreferred first pair parts (Wong & Waring, 2010). Unlike offers and invitations, requests impose upon the recipients. Therefore, they are frequently delayed, mitigated, and accounted for. Speakers often begin with preface markers, announcements, or pre-expanding moves that would project an upcoming request (Wong & Waring, 2010). As with dispreferred second pair parts, they may also be attenuated to the point of non-articulation (Schegloff, 2007). By using the devices marking dispreference, a requester structures their turn so that the requestee may pre-empt the request with an offer. Meanwhile, a refusal is a dispreferred second pair part in that it does not accomplish the action proposed by the interlocutor. As a dispreferred response, it shares the characteristics of lengthiness and long silences, and mitigations and elaborations often accompany it. With these devices, refusers may postpone their refusal, entailing long negotiation sequences (Gass & Houck, 1999).

2.2. Second Language Pragmatics

Second language pragmatics (hereafter L2 pragmatics) is a field that investigates “L2 learners’ ability to comprehend and perform pragmatic functions in the target language and how that ability develops over time” (Taguchi & Roever, 2017, p. 7). In the 1990s, Kasper and Dahl (1991) defined the term as a branch of second language acquisition (SLA) that investigates how non-native speakers comprehend and produce speech acts and how their L2 speech act knowledge is acquired. Later on, Kasper and Schmidt (1996) defined the term as the “study of the development and use of strategies for linguistic action by non-native speakers” (p. 150). Finally, in the early 2000s, Kasper and Rose (2002) suggested a two-part definition.

According to their claim, as the study of L2 use, L2 pragmatics investigates L2 learners' comprehension and production of actions in a target language. In addition, like the study of L2 learning, it examines L2 learners' development of the ability to understand and produce actions in a target language. Bardovi-Harlig (2013) also noted that L2 pragmatics is "the study of how learners come to know how-to-say-what-to-whom-when" (p. 68). More recently, Culpeper et al. (2018) pointed to adding a dimension to the definitions by arguing that in addition to how learners understand and comprehend meaning, how they negotiate and co-construct meaning in interaction is equally important. The term thus has evolved to encompass how learners comprehend, produce, and perform actions in interaction.

L2 pragmatics is closely connected to cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics research. Cross-cultural pragmatics is a field that investigates performances of linguistic acts by speakers of different languages, revealing the differences and similarities between cultures. Studies in this field have informed L2 pragmatics on the topic of learners' L1 transfer. Learners' L1 pragmatic behavior and interactional practices can be transferred to L2, and the learners' L1 system can explain the types of errors and their causes. For example, pragmatic failure (Thomas, 1983) has been presented through findings from cross-cultural pragmatics, revealing features of pragmatics practices from learners' L1. However, studies in intercultural pragmatics have changed the view of L1 as a source of pragmatic failure. Intercultural pragmatics examines how learners of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact in L2, the target language. This line of research focuses on examining how L2 speakers achieve mutual understanding through negotiation and interaction. In intercultural communication, learners' interactional behavior cannot just stem from their L1 but instead emerges among the participants. This view has informed L2 pragmatics regarding methodology, calling for examining how learners interact in different contexts.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a myriad of empirical studies in L2 pragmatics examined pragmatic behaviors across cultures and languages. Primarily focusing on two areas (i.e., speech acts and politeness), studies compared linguistic forms used to perform speech acts across contextual variables and languages (Culpeper et al., 2018). For example, Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989) compared the speech acts of requests and apologies across seven languages using DCTs. The study also collected data from L2 learners, revealing similarities and differences between L1 and L2 patterns. This pioneering research later led to quite a few studies, which presented further descriptions of speech act use across languages (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998).

Since the 1990s, studies have increasingly focused on pragmatic instruction and assessing pragmatic competence. The former line of research focused on teaching learners sociocultural and sociolinguistic aspects of L2.

The pragmatic targets of the investigation were mainly speech acts, with requests receiving the most attention. The studies overall not only confirmed the teachability of pragmatics but also informed several tips for developing instructional materials. For example, Cohen and Ishihara (2013) suggested including steps such as awareness-raising, pragmatically focused communication practice, and discovering pragmatic rules in teaching pragmatics. Meanwhile, research on assessing pragmatic competence focused on how the learners' pragmatic knowledge can be best assessed. This line of research yielded a range of measures to collect and assess pragmatic competence, which includes oral and written DCTs, role-plays, multiple-choice tests, interviews, and think-aloud protocols.

During the same period, the field of L2 pragmatics also noticed a growing body of longitudinal research on the examination of learners' pragmatic development. Longitudinal studies demonstrated the developmental patterns of various pragmatic targets such as speech acts, routines, and interactional features. Through the studies, several generalizations could be made. For instance, research on L2 learners' pragmatic production revealed that learners move away from overgeneralizing a few forms or routine formulas to expanding their pragmalinguistic repertoires. Studies have also illustrated that pragmatic development varies depending on pragmatic targets, with pragmalinguistic forms such as hedges and syntactic mitigators taking longer to develop, whereas semantic strategies used to organize speech acts take a shorter time.

In the 2000s, many studies examined the effect of diverse instructional methods on teaching and testing pragmatics (e.g., technology). Moreover, drawing on the concept of interactional competence (Young, 2002), more research started to analyze ‘pragmatics in interaction in context’ (Taguchi & Roever, 2017). Particularly, the complementary nature of L2 pragmatics and interactional competence is being dealt with in teaching and testing pragmatic competence (Roever, 2022). By using speech acts as a connection, studies have investigated ‘speech acts in interaction’ (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2012, 2013, 2018; Félix-Brasdefer, 2019; Kasper & Youn, 2018; Youn, 2018, 2020). Based on the fact that speech acts take place as part of extended interactions rather than in the form of an isolated utterance, the studies have tried to link speech acts and extended talk.

2.3. Empirical Studies on L2 pragmatics

Based on the theoretical background demonstrated in the previous sections, a large number of studies have been conducted to examine the speech act performances by non-native speakers of English in various contexts. First, section 2.3.1 presents previous studies on requests by language learners. Then Section 2.3.2 reviews previous literature on refusals by language learners. Section 2.3.3 deals with previous studies on language learners’ metapragmatic awareness.

2.3.1. L2 Pragmatics Studies on Requests

The speech act of request has been most widely studied in L2 pragmatics. Requests are directives by which a speaker attempts to get a hearer to do something specified in his or her utterance, generally for the speaker’s goal (Fraser, 1978). Sociolinguistically, a request is considered a face-threatening act (Brown & Levinson, 1987) due to its potential risk of putting imposition on the counterpart. By request, a speaker threatens a hearer’s freedom to act freely (i.e., negative face) and also risks losing his or her public self-image (i.e., positive face). Thus, to make the request less imposing and sound polite and to save one’s face, some degree of politeness strategies and mitigating devices are required on the part of the speaker. Moreover, since requests vary across cultures and languages, language learners are required to have considerable expertise to perform it appropriately in the target language (Byon, 2004; Taguchi, 2006).

L2 pragmatics studies on the speech act of request can be mainly divided into two groups. The first group of studies examines how learners develop pragmatic ability in performing requests (e.g., Brubæk, 2012; Rose, 2000, 2009; Kasper & Rose, 2002). The second group focuses on learners’ intuition about what makes up an appropriate request (e.g., Tanaka & Kawade, 1982) and their production of requests (e.g., Byon, 2004; Suh, 1999; Won, 2012). The first group of research, which was conducted either cross-sectionally or longitudinally, demonstrated how learners, as they get old, develop pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competence. The results concerning learners' pragmalinguistic development revealed mixed results. Some studies (Rose, 2009) found substantial evidence of its development, showing that learners, as they get old, move away from using formulaic expressions to using language with conventionally indirect strategies. In contrast, other studies (Rose, 2000; Savić, 2015) found little evidence of its development, illustrating that learners master a very limited number of request strategies that mostly correspond to the forms in their L1. Studies have referred to Kasper and Rose's (2002) developmental stages for L2 requests in discussing the results. Based on longitudinal studies (Achiba, 2002; Ellis, 1992), Kasper and Rose (2002) proposed five stages as follows: "pre-basic, formulaic, unpacking, pragmatic expansion, and fine-tuning" (p. 140). The first stage involves request realization highly dependent on context and devoid of syntax. The second stage is characterized by using unanalyzed forms and imperatives, and the third stage involves learners' employment of conventionally indirect language. In the fourth stage, learners use a wider variety of pragmalinguistic forms, a range of mitigating devices, and more complicated syntactic structures. Learners at the last stage can adapt requests according to the social context. Despite the incongruent results in learners' pragmalinguistic ability development, the studies generally confirmed that learners show fewer indicators of sociopragmatic development. It was revealed that learners could not use varying request forms and strategies according to the varying situational demands (Rose, 2000, 2009; Savić, 2015).

The second group of studies investigated learners' judgment or use of semantic formulae (i.e., "a word, phrase, a sentence that meets a particular semantic criterion or strategy; any one or more of these can be used to perform the act in question" (Cohen, 1996, p. 265)) and politeness strategies following varying situational levels. In doing so, studies included target language (e.g., English) norms by having native speaker baseline data. In analyzing learners' request production, Cross-Cultural Speech Act Requests and Apologies (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989) was rigorously referred to. The landmark study compared the speech act patterns of requests and apologies across several different languages, with a particular focus on three parts: 1) how many different types of strategies for the two speech acts exist in a single language, 2) the degree to which the strategies are direct or indirect and 3) how the speech acts vary across situations (Culpeper et al., 2018). The coding framework for requests presents nine different types of request head acts (i.e., a core unit that carries the illocutionary for of requests) in terms of the level of directness. Directness means "the degree to which the speakers' illocutionary intent is apparent from the locution" (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 278). The nine expressions are then further classified into direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect requests (See Table 2.1). A direct request is the request realized through grammatical, lexical, or semantic items. A prototypical type would be imperatives (e.g., "Please lend me a pen."). A conventional indirect request is expressed using linguistic conventions (e.g., "Could you lend me a pen?"). Finally, a non-conventional indirect request is realized by hints, making partial reference to the requested act (e.g., "Do you have a pen?").

Table 2.1

Nine Request Strategies Based on the Level of Directness

Level of directness	Strategy	Examples
Direct	1. Mood derivable	“Please use another time.”
	2. Explicit performative	“I come here to *ask* you if I can borrow your laptop.”
	3. Hedged performative	“I’m going to *have to ask* you to leave.”
	4. Locution derivable	“You will have to move your car.”
	5. Want statement	“I’d like to borrow your notes.”
Conventionally indirect	6. Suggestory formula	“How about cleaning up the kitchen?”
	7. Preparatory	“Could/Can you please turn down the music?”
Non-conventionally indirect	8. Strong hint	“Will you be going home now?” (Intent: Getting a lift home)
	9. Mild hint	“We’ve been so busy, haven’t we?” (Intent: getting hearer to clean the living room)

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), a request sequence includes request head acts and other options such as supportive moves and downgraders. Supportive moves occur outside the head act, modifying the request externally (either before or after), mitigating or aggravating its impositive force. Examples of mitigating supportive moves are preparators (i.e., asking potential availability of the hearer for carrying out the request) and grounders (i.e., giving reasons, justifications, and reasons). Instances of aggravating supportive moves are a threat (i.e., threatening the hearer to comply with the request) and moralizing (i.e., telling the positive outcome of the request). Unlike supportive moves, downgraders modify the request internally. Polite markers such as *please*, syntactic devices such as durative aspect markers (e.g., I *was wondering* if you could borrow the book), adverbial modifiers such as *a bit*, *a little*, and sentence modifiers such as *maybe*, *probably*, *just*, and *possibly* are the examples of downgraders.

Using the CCSARP coding framework, a large number of studies were conducted in the form of comparative linguistic studies (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993; Félix-Brasdefer, 2003; Taguchi, 2006; Trosborg, 1995). In doing so, studies addressed how learners of different L2 proficiency levels conduct the speech act of request (e.g., what linguistic expressions they use to enact the speech act of request, how often they use them, and to what extent the expressions are direct or indirect according to the contextual variables) in comparison to native speakers. The results of the study generally depicted that higher-level learners' choice of linguistic expressions for requests is closer to the native speakers' pattern compared to lower-level learners. Trosborg (1995), for instance, found that advanced learners use more mitigations to reduce the threat, thereby approximating the native norm.

While most of the previous studies focused on learners' use of request strategies and formulas, a few studies took a different approach (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2012, 2013). These studies attended to learners' interactive data to examine how request is embedded in a larger discourse sequence. In a cross-sectional study, Al-Gahtani and Roever (2012) examined how learners of four different proficiency levels perform requests to lower, equal, and higher power interlocutors through open role-play. The sequential organization of the learners' interaction revealed a different picture depending on the learners' proficiency level. Lower-level learners were less likely to project upcoming requests and uttered requests early, relying heavily on the interlocutors to elicit further information, leading the conversation interlocutor-guided. The interlocutor had to adjust to those learners to avoid complications. Concerning sociopragmatic ability, only advanced-level learners showed its (i.e., power) noticeable effect on the pragmalinguistic forms. The study overall broadened the view of L2 pragmatics study by showing how learners' proficiency-dependent employment of interactive sources affects the structure of the talk and the interlocutor.

In the Korean context, how Korean ESL or EFL learners use politeness strategies in requests following different situations was the main interest of the previous studies (Kang, 2011; Park, 2006; Suh, 1999; Won, 2012). It was shown that the learners rely heavily on a limited number of formulaic expressions to express politeness (Kang, 2011; Won, 2012). Sociopragmatically, the studies revealed that learners have insufficient knowledge to perform requests according to different situations (Suh, 2009; Won, 2012). Hence, the studies concluded that pragmatic instruction is highly needed to make Korean learners of English perform the speech act properly.

Based on the reviewed literature above, several findings can be summarized. First, learners' pragmatic development can be judged concerning more employment of conventionally indirect language, a wider variety of pragmalinguistic forms, a broader range of mitigating devices, and more complex syntactic structures following contextual demands. Second, most L2 pragmatics studies on requests paid attention to how learners use request strategies (e.g., linguistic expressions for requests). Only a few studies (e.g., Al-Ghatani & Roever, 2012, 2013) focused on how learners act in interaction. Third, regarding sociopragmatic ability, being able to use various request forms and strategies according to the varying situational demands has been considered an indicator of its development, but L2 learners have exhibited only limited improvement if any. Hence, the results from L2 pragmatics studies on request indicate the need for pragmatic instruction.

2.3.2. L2 Pragmatics Studies on Refusals

Refusal is considered a face-threatening act; in performing refusals, the speaker declines to comply with his or her interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1987). It is considered a "sticking point" in cross-cultural communication, particularly for non-native speakers (Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990, p. 56). It involves extended negotiations and face-saving actions to mitigate its uncooperative nature (Gass & Houck, 1999). To complicate things further, social variables such as age, power, and the distance between the interlocutors affect how to refuse in different situations. To mitigate refusals, interlocutors use face-saving rules (Brown & Levinson, 1987), and these mitigating strategies vary across cultures and languages (Kwon, 2004). Thus, refusal is a complex and demanding speech act to perform (Félix-Brasdefer, 2006) on the part of language learners. In order to comprehend and produce refusals effectively and adequately, learners are required to be familiar with the socio-cultural values of the target language culture (Allami & Naeimi, 2011; Gass & Houck, 1999).

L2 pragmatics research on refusals has two main branches: 1) cross-cultural studies focusing on the realization of the speech act in different languages (Lyuh, 1992; Kwon, 2004) and 2) inter-language pragmatic studies focusing on how language learners (i.e., non-native speakers) differ from native speakers of the target language both pragmalinguistically and sociopragmatically (Ahn, 2010; Al-Issa, 2003; Allami & Naeimi, 2010; Beebe et al., 1990; Chung, Min, & Uehara, 2013; Kim & Kwon, 2010; Lin, 2014; Piao, 2016; Shishavan & Sharifian, 2013; Wannaruk, 2008).

One pioneering research that affected both branches of the study was conducted by Beebe et al. (1999). The study examined refusals by native speakers of Japanese, native speakers of English, and Japanese English learners. Using DCT, the researchers examined elicited refusals responding to requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions by interlocutors of high, equal, and low statuses. The results showed clear pragmatic transfer in terms of semantic formula, the frequency of the formula, and the content of the utterances. It turned out that Japanese learners of English were more direct when they addressed a lower-status person demonstrating status sensitivity. In contrast, native speakers of English (here Americans) usually used a form of indirect communication. The taxonomy of refusals suggested in the study includes semantic formulas (i.e., expressions used to perform refusals) and adjuncts that soften the refusal (See Appendix A). Semantic formulas are divided into direct and indirect strategies. Direct strategies include instances of direct ‘No’ and expressions that show negative willingness or ability, such as ‘I can’t’ and ‘I don’t think so.’ On the other hand, indirect strategies include instances of the statement of regret (e.g., ‘I’m sorry’), reason or explanation, statement of alternative, promise, asking a question, both verbal and non-verbal avoidance, etc. As for adjuncts, strategies that involve a statement of positive opinion (e.g., ‘I would love to…’), a statement of empathy (e.g., ‘I understand you are…’), and pause fillers (e.g., ‘uhh’, ‘well’, ‘uhm’) are mentioned.

Employing Beebe et al.’s (1990) taxonomy of refusals, cross-cultural studies were conducted (Kwon, 2004; Lyuh, 1992). The two studies thoroughly investigated Korean native speakers’ and English native speakers’ realization of refusals. They revealed that compared to English native speakers, Korean native speakers hesitate more often, use direct refusals less, and thus their refusals are less transparent and tentative. The research attributed the results to cultural differences. That is, a high-context culture (e.g., Korea) depends on the context, thus encoding little information in the message. In contrast, a low-context culture (e.g., America) depends less on the context, embedding necessary information in the message. Moreover, a collectivist culture like Korea highlights groups and harmony over individuals and autonomy, whereas an individualistic culture like America emphasizes individual interests over group interests. The authors argued that Korean native speakers’ digression from conventional patterns of English might lead to unintentional failure in conveying the intended illocutionary force. Kwon (2004) further illustrated specific patterns of refusals noticed in the two languages. Korean native speakers use apology and gratitude before making refusals, whereas English native speakers state positive opinions about a proposed action.

In addition to cross-cultural studies, refusals by learners with a variety of L1 backgrounds (e.g., Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Thai, Jordanian, Iranian, etc.) have been investigated, focusing on the extent to which their performance is similar or different from that of native speakers of the target language (e.g., English). In doing so, pragmatic transfer and the learners' proficiency level in refusal performance were considered across the studies. In terms of pragmatic transfer, negative pragmatic transfer has been found (Al-Issa, 2003; Piao, 2016; Wannaruk, 2008). Forms in L1 or socio-cultural values that the learners have turned out to be transferred in both the choice of semantic formula and the content of the formula. However, studies examining proficiency's effect on learners' refusals showed somewhat mixed results. Some illustrated a positive correlation between proficiency and pragmatic transfer, which means pragmatic transfer occurs especially among highly proficient learners (Allami & Naeimi, 2011), while others showed the reverse trend (Robinson, 1992; Wannaruk, 2008). Robinson (1992), for example, found that low-proficient learners are more influenced by their native language refusal styles in refusing in L2.

A relatively smaller number of studies examined learners' refusals in interaction (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2018; Bella, 2014; Gass & Houck, 1999; Taguchi, 2013; Park & Oh, 2019). Taguchi (2013), for example, investigated higher- and lower-proficiency EFL learners' refusal production in comparison to the native speakers using open role-plays. While both learner groups showed more use of direct refusals compared to the natives, the data showed that there is a clear proficiency effect in terms of appropriateness, use of linguistic strategies, and speech rate. That is, higher-level learners were able to produce more appropriate refusals and speak faster. Meanwhile, Al-Gahtani and Roever's (2018) study somewhat broadened the scope of analysis by taking an interactional competence perspective. The study examined the developmental pathways of refusals by examining three different proficiency levels of L1 Arabic EFL students' performance. Open role-plays conducted by the learners revealed that with increasing proficiency, learners could diversify the interactional methods to perform refusals as dispreferred actions. In addition, more proficient learners used more conventional and precise lexical and sequential resources and exhibited more active recipiency. Nevertheless, even the advanced learner groups showed some deviant aspects compared to the native speakers.

In the Korean context, most of the studies focused on the following two aspects: learners' use of refusal strategies (e.g., the type and frequency of the strategies and the degree of directness) compared to the native speakers following the different situations and the effect of proficiency level and social variables (Kang, 2013) on learners' refusal performance (Ahn, 2010; Kim & Kwon, 2010). Studies evidenced that compared to native speakers of English, Korean EFL learners tend to be more indirect, expressing vagueness in reason (Kim & Kwon, 2010; Lee & Kang, 2001). This tendency was interpreted in terms of pragmatic transfer, referring to the fact that refusing someone using direct expressions in Korean sounds impolite (Jung & Kim, 2008). However, others revealed the opposite results. Min (2013), Chung, Min, and Uehara (2013), and Kang (2013) found that, unlike native speakers of English, Korean EFL learners preferred to employ direct strategies using a very limited range of forms like 'can't' presumably due to their lack of linguistic and pragmatic knowledge. Concerning the effect of proficiency level on learners' performance, pragmatic transfer turned out to occur greater among high-proficient learners (Ahn, 2010; Kim & Kwon, 2010). As far as the effect of social variables such as power and status are concerned, it turned out that Korean EFL learners are more sensitive to power and status (Park & Oh, 2019).

Unlike the other studies that focused on learners' use of refusal strategies in a single-turn response, Park and Oh (2019) examined how Korean EFL learners of different proficiency levels conduct refusals in extended discourse. Learners' interactions with interlocutors of two different statuses showed their sensitivity to status, which was measured by the success rate of refusals and both verbal and non-verbal features of performance. In addition, proficiency affected the frequencies and lengths of pauses and learners' abilities to express affiliation to their interlocutors.

Both cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics studies on refusals contributed greatly to understanding how L2 learners realize the speech act of refusal compared to the native speakers of the target language. Moreover, the discussion on the reasons behind L2 learners' refusal performance yielded clear proficiency and L1 effect. Regarding the target of analysis, most studies examined learners' use of refusal formulas and strategies, focusing on the level of directness, formality, appropriateness, and diversity. However, some trials are being made that expand the learners' refusal interaction in extended discourse. Like the studies on L2 requests, DCT has been the most popular measurement to elicit refusals, and the target participants have been mostly adult learners of English.

2.3.3. Learners' Metapragmatic Awareness in L2 Pragmatics Research

Though relatively few, L2 learners' cognitive processes in producing speech acts have also been the focus of several studies in L2 pragmatics. Employing retrospective verbal reports (RVRs) after either DCT or role-plays, researchers tried to make learners report on what they thought during the task performance. RVRs involve verbalization of one's thought processes while completing the task, which thus can provide in-depth insight into a learner's pragmatic knowledge once it is implemented with caution.

Studies that combined RVRs with other production data revealed learners' attention during planning and executing their utterances, the sources of knowledge and difficulties, their language of thought, the evidence of L1 transfer, and changes in learners' cognitive processes (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993; Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Hassall, 2008; Park & Oh, 2019; Ren, 2014; Robinson, 1992; Widjaja, 1997; Woodfield, 2010). The studies carefully examined the underlying thoughts of learners with diverse L1 backgrounds (i.e., Japanese, Chinese, Taiwanese, Spanish, Hebrew, Korean) in their production of various speech acts (i.e., refusals, apologies, complaints). It turned out that learners had many things on their minds (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Woodfield, 2010). They showed both linguistic and pragmatic difficulties stemming from a lack of pragmatic knowledge, particularly pragmalinguistic knowledge (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993; Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Hassall, 2008; Park & Oh, 2019; Robinson, 1992; Widjaja, 1997). Some studies further revealed the influence of learners' L1 pragmatic knowledge on L2 pragmatic performances (Widjaja, 1997; Woodfield, 2010) and their language of thought (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993; Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Woodfield, 2010). For example, Félix-Brasdefer (2008) revealed that learners' thinking in L1 takes place due to their lack of pragmalinguistic information such as mood, tense, and formal forms of address in L2, whereas Woodfield (2010) showed that learners' utilization of L1 takes place widely in lexical search, discourse planning, and translation, particularly in search of pragmatic expressions.

Meanwhile, Hassall (2008) slightly differs from the other studies in that it examined the proficiency effect on learners' attention. Specifically, the study used RVRs and role-plays to investigate the underlying cognitive processes of Australian learners of Indonesian at two different proficiency levels during their planning and executing requests and complaints. The RVRs demonstrated that low-intermediate learners attended more to the linguistic planning of the speech act than pragmatics, whereas the reverse trend was found among upper-intermediate learners. Also, regarding sources of knowledge, low-intermediate learners reported that they had benefited from formal education, while upper-intermediate learners had acquired the knowledge from their residence in an L2 environment. Lastly, RVRs indicated that despite having accurate sociopragmatic knowledge, the learners, especially the low intermediate learners, lacked the necessary pragmalinguistic knowledge.

More recently, Ren (2014) investigated advanced L2 learners' (i.e., Chinese learners of English) cognitive processes in performing status equal and unequal refusals in English while they studied abroad. Unlike the other studies, the study was conducted longitudinally over one academic year, during which learners' development of cognitive processes was collected three times by RVRs. The results from RVRs showed not only learners' paying increasingly more attention to sociopragmatics but also the effect of studying abroad in two aspects: an increase in learners' pragmatic knowledge and a decrease in their pragmatic difficulty. Methodically, the study demonstrated that RVRs at different points allow for examining the changes in L2 learners' cognitive processes involved in their L2 pragmatic production.

In the Korean context, Park and Oh (2019) investigated Korean EFL learners' cognitive processes using RVR in the realization of refusals to status-equal and higher interlocutors through open role-plays. The results indicated that despite the learners' sociopragmatic awareness, they are not fully equipped with appropriate L2 pragmalinguistic knowledge. Also, there were some occasions of mismatch between what learners' intended to say and what they said. Based on these results, the study highlighted the importance of pragmatic instruction with a particular emphasis on how the target expressions are used in a particular context and what pragmalinguistic functions they carry.

2.4. Pragmatic Instruction

Based on the findings in the previous sections, a bulk of research on pragmatic instruction has been conducted. First, section 2.4.1 presents an overview of instructional studies on L2 speech acts. Second, sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3 illustrate previous interventional studies on L2 requests and refusals. Lastly, section 2.4.4 deals with CA-informed pragmatic instruction.

2.4.1. Teaching and Learning L2 Speech Acts

L2 pragmatics studies on speech acts yielded a large number of instructional studies (e.g., Ahmadian, 2020; Alcón-Soler; 2007; Alcón-Soler & Guzman-Pitarch, 2010; 2013; Bacelar da Silva, 2003; Chung, Min, & Lee, 2014; Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Kim, 2016; King & Silver, 1993; Kondo, 2008; Li, 2012; Lim & Han, 2006; Morrow, 1995; Taguchi et al., 2015; Takahashi, 2001; Yin, 2020). The studies in the field focused on the teachability of pragmatics and the instructional methods that can best assist the learning of pragmatics. The consensus from the studies was that, like grammar or lexis, pragmatics could be taught and thus should be incorporated into classroom pedagogy (Jeon & Kaya, 2006; Taguchi, 2015).

Instructional studies have mostly been conducted in a foreign language environment, suggesting that pragmatics needs to be taught in an input-scarce context. With a few exceptions, the studies were carried out with adult learners with intermediate-level proficiency (Taguchi & Roever, 2017; Yousefi & Nassaji, 2019). As regards treatments, the effects of explicit vs. implicit instruction have received the most attention, of which results have indicated a greater effect of explicit teaching on pragmatics learning. Target pragmatic features centered mostly on speech acts, although other features such as discourse organizational skills and hedging have also been taught. In measuring outcomes from instructional treatments, both receptive (e.g., multiple-choice tests) and productive tasks (e.g., DCTs, role-plays) have been implemented.

Regarding the instructional methods, explicit teaching methods, which involve a direct explanation of target pragmatic features, turned out to be more effective than implicit teaching methods, which withhold those explanations (Kasper, 2001; Taguchi, 2015). Particularly, it was exhibited that explicit teaching methods facilitate pragmatic learning more than implicit counterparts when learners' performance was measured with tasks of greater cognitive demands (e.g., in production tasks rather than recognition tasks) (Taguchi, 2015). Nonetheless, the implicit teaching method combined with some modicum of activities that draw learners' attention to target pragmatic forms and form-function-context mappings turned out to lead to effective changes in learners' pragmatic systems (Jeon & Kaya, 2006). To date, researchers are continuously incorporating diverse teaching methods in their pragmatic instructional studies. Those include technology-embedded instruction (Ajabshir, 2019; Cunningham, 2016; Eslami, Mirzaei, & Dini, 2015; Syndorenko, 2015) and task-based pragmatic instruction (Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Taguchi & Kim, 2014; García-Fuentes & McDonough, 2018).

Most of the pragmatic instructional studies took the form of pre-and post-test designs. Employing diverse kinds of assessment measures such as structured receptive skill tasks (e.g., multiple-choice knowledge test), structured production tasks (e.g., role-plays, DCTs), and more open, performance-based authentic tasks, the studies measured learners' knowledge and use of learned pragmatic forms before and after the instruction. While a positive effect of instruction was consistently found, a more robust effect was noticed when the assessment measurements were less cognitively demanding. For example, in Safont (2004), where two different types of measures (i.e., DCTs and role-plays) were used, only a partial change was shown during role-plays due to the nature of the role-play that involves spontaneous face-to-face interaction, thereby requiring more processing demand. In verifying the effectiveness of instruction, the degree of correspondence between the treatment tasks and test tasks also seems to mediate the effect (Taguchi, 2015). In Taylor (2002), for instance, the evidence of learning turned out to be greater when the learners were tested with those measurements that resembled the tasks offered during the instructional sessions.

Target pragmatic features varied across the studies, with most of the studies targeting speech acts (i.e., the core speech act strategies). Aside from speech acts, other features such as discourse organizational skills (Liddicoat & Crozet, 2001), hedging (Wishnoff, 2000), and reactive tokens (Sardegna & Molle, 2010) have also been targeted. While most of the studies revealed the positive effect of pragmatic instruction on learning the targets, some studies which taught more than one pragmatic feature to a single group of learners revealed incongruent results for the effectiveness of instruction.

Taguchi (2015) argued that there may be potential interaction between the instructional effects and target pragmatic features. For instance, in Johnson and deHaan's (2013) study, the instruction on English requests and apologies facilitated learners' learning of macro-level semantic strategies more than micro-level syntactic accuracy. After the instruction, the learners were able to realize the speech act by employing appropriate discourse moves and politeness strategies, but could not still use the acts with accurate forms. Aside from this, research suggested that the degree of simplicity and complexity of target pragmatic forms and the opaqueness of target pragmatic features may also contribute to the learnability of pragmatic features.

2.4.2. Interventional Studies on L2 English Requests

Teaching L2 requests, particularly English requests, has been most popular in interventional studies on pragmatics (Taguchi & Roever, 2017). Since requests entail face-threatening aspects (Halenko, 2016; Kim, 2016; Liu, 2007), the ability to choose appropriate requests in given contexts is vital to L2 learners. At the same time, however, requests have been reported as one of the most challenging speech acts for learners (Rajabia, Azizifara, & Gowhary, 2015; Takimoto, 2008; 2013). Therefore, researchers have tried to reveal the effectiveness of one method over another (or others). Among them, the effectiveness of explicit vs. implicit treatment on learning English requests has been most widely researched. With a few exceptions (Li, 2012;

Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Kim, 2016), pragmatic instruction was offered to adult learners of English with diverse L1 backgrounds (Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, etc.). The results of the studies generally confirmed the teachability of English requests and the superior effect of explicit instruction over implicit instruction (Alcón-Soler, 2007; Taguchi et al., 2015; Takahashi, 2001). Although the components of explicit instruction slightly differed across the studies, explicit instruction on English requests usually included the following components: 1) relevant L2 input, 2) directing learners' attention to target forms, 3) metapragmatic information (i.e., explanation), and 4) production practice. Among the components, the provision of metapragmatic information (i.e., direct presentation of pragmalinguistic tools and sociopragmatic rules) typically characterizes explicit instruction in teaching L2 pragmatics (Kasper, 2001).

Moving away from the explicit-implicit dichotomy, several other interventional studies also attempted to examine the effect of various types of interventions and different types of feedback on learning English requests (Fukuya, Reeve, Gisi, & Christianson, 1998; Fukuya & Zhang, 2002; Li, 2012; Takimoto, 2006; 2008; 2013). For example, Takimoto (2008) investigated the effect of three treatments (i.e., deductive, inductive with problem-solving tasks, and inductive with structured input tasks) on using lexical and syntactic downgraders to perform complex requests. All three treatments turned out to be effective for adult Japanese learners of English.

However, the effectiveness decreased from post-test to delayed post-test (i.e., DCTs) among the learners who had received deductive instruction. In terms of the feedback, the beneficial effect of explicit feedback (Takimoto, 2006), as well as implicit feedback such as recast (Fukuya et al., 1998; Fukuya & Zhang, 2002) on pragmatic aspects of English requests, has been verified.

Regarding the instruction target, studies have predominantly focused on teaching request head acts, internal modifications, and external modifications following varying situations under the speech act paradigm (Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Safont, 2003). During treatments, students were taught various request strategies according to varying social constraints and measured how much the learners could recognize or produce appropriate request forms in given contexts using practical measurements such as DCTs and multiple-choice questionnaires. The situational variations were generally manipulated, referring to Brown and Levinson's (1987) three contextual variables: power, distance, and the degree (ranking) of imposition. The results exhibited that despite its mixed durable effect (Li, 2012; Salazar, 2003), instruction is clearly beneficial in learning the target features.

While pragmatic instructional studies targeting Korean EFL students are lacking, a growing body of research has started to investigate its effectiveness. Kim (2014) found the effectiveness of explicit pragmatic instruction on the use of request head acts in formal, neutral, and informal contexts among Korean college students. The students showed prolonged retention regarding using request forms appropriately when the social constraints varied. More recent studies expanded their scope of participants to younger learners, including elementary (Kim, 2016) and middle school students (Kim & Taguchi, 2015). Kim (2016) investigated the effectiveness of explicit vs. implicit instruction on Korean elementary school learners' development of request head acts in terms of their ability to employ modal verbs and sentence patterns according to varying situations. The results confirmed that the features are teachable and explicit instruction is more facilitative to learning than its implicit counterpart. On the other hand, Kim and Taguchi (2015) investigated the effect of task-based pragmatic instruction on English request head acts and modification. The instruction involved explicit metapragmatic explanation of the target pragmalinguistic forms followed by drama-script writing tasks where learners in pairs had to create a dialogue referring to pictures and scenario descriptions. Though the main interest of the study was in revealing the role of task complexity on pragmatic instruction, the study showed the teachability of pragmatics to EFL middle school beginner learners as well as the positive role of tasks (e.g., paired drama construction tasks) in promoting their negotiation around the context.

2.4.3. Interventional Studies on L2 English Refusals

Interventional studies on English refusals have generally focused on teaching polite refusal strategies. Compared to the speech act of request, the speech act of refusal is relatively under-researched, and thus there is a relatively smaller number of instructional studies (Lingli, 2008; Usó-Juan, 2013). Also, while the scope of target participants is expanding to younger learners (Sa'd & Gholami, 2017), most instructional studies on refusals so far have targeted adult learners of English whose proficiency level usually ranged at intermediate. As for teaching methods, most studies included explicit teaching of the targets by the instructor, thereby falling into explicit instruction on the explicit-implicit pragmatic instruction continuum. Unlike interventional research on requests, only a few studies examined the comparative effectiveness of diverse teaching methods (e.g., explicit vs. implicit: Ahmadian, 2020; Lingli, 2008) for L2 learners.

King and Silver (1993) are one of the earliest studies investigating the effect of teaching refusals. In the study, six intermediate-level ESL learners of diverse L1 backgrounds were taught sociolinguistic variables important in English refusals. During the treatment, which lasted for only 70 minutes, the learners discussed their experiences of refusing, read and analyzed dialogues, received explicit teaching of refusal strategies, and performed a limited amount of output practice with role-playing. Learners' production was tested through a discourse completion questionnaire before and after the instruction. Two weeks after the instruction, any learning retention was also examined through a telephone interview during which the learners had to refuse a big request. The results showed that instruction had little effect on post-tests and no on delayed post-tests (i.e., telephone interviews). The researchers attributed the disappointing results to insufficient time for practice and the lack of natural listening data as input.

In contrast to King and Silver (1993), most interventional studies on English refusal revealed its facilitative effect. For example, a case study by Morrow (1995) demonstrated that after receiving three and half hours of instruction, including exposure to model dialogues, refusal formulae, and various production activities, the intermediate-level ESL learners' refusal performance improved in terms of clarity and politeness. Bacelar da Silva (2003) also found the beneficial effect of instruction on low-intermediate ESL learners' refusal performance. The instructional phases in the study involved raising awareness of genuine refusal interactions, focusing on pragmalinguistic forms, practicing with role-plays, engaging in collaborative learning, and receiving peer and teacher feedback. Unlike the two studies (King & Silver, 1993; Morrow, 1995), Bacelar da Silva (2003) examined how learners improved in their choice of refusal strategies and their thought processes in performing the speech act through a retrospective recall questionnaire. The study found the effectiveness of teaching the learners sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic aspects of refusals. Particularly, learners showed considerable pragmatic awareness during the post-instruction phase. However, since the inspection of the learners' pragmatic awareness before instruction was not carried out through the retrospective recall questionnaire, the gains after instruction could not be attributed directly to the instruction.

Like Bacelar da Silva (2003), Kondo (2008) investigated the effect of explicit instruction on Japanese EFL learners’ use of refusal strategies and pragmatic awareness. The specific goals of the instruction were as follows: 1) raising awareness that misunderstanding can occur due to differences in performing refusals between Americans and Japanese, 2) raising awareness of what learners already know, and encouraging them to apply their universal pragmatic knowledge in appropriate L2 contexts, and 3) teaching appropriate refusal forms to the learners. The learners’ pragmatic ability measured by oral DCTs showed the changes in learners’ choices of refusal strategies, but their strong preference for telling regrets (e.g., ‘I’m sorry’) in refusing remained even after instruction, which expresses their identity as Japanese. Overall, learners’ pragmatic awareness of English refusals could be improved through instruction.

While the specific teaching targets of refusals have been mostly refusal strategies, Alcón-Soler and Guzman-Pitarch (2010, 2013) expanded the scope of the targets to the discourse level. In both studies, the treatments included identification of refusals in interaction, explanation of the speech act sets (i.e., pragmalinguistic and sociolinguistic information on refusals), noticing and understanding of refusal sequences, and production and evaluation of refusals by the learners themselves. During each instruction step, various questions were probed to draw learners' attention to the speech act. In Alcón-Soler and Guzman-Pitarch (2013), the results obtained from pre-test and post-test interviews were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. A significant difference was found in learners' refusal strategies and their attempts to accommodate the non-compliant nature of refusals in their discourse. In Alcón-Soler and Guzman-Pitarch (2010), the focus was on the changes in learners' pragmatic awareness rather than their refusal performance. Learners' attention was divided into pragmalinguistics, sociopragmatics, and linguistics. After instruction, learners in the study depicted changes in the information attended to. Specifically, learners' attention to pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics increased while their attention to linguistic aspects decreased.

There are few pragmatic instruction studies on English refusals for Korean EFL students (Chung, Min, & Lee, 2014; Kim, 1999; Lim & Han, 2006). Kim (1999) is the first study that examined the effect of explicit pragmatic instruction on Korean EFL students' learning of refusal strategies. The study's results not only revealed the beneficial effect of the instruction on learners' performance but also learners' increased awareness of the importance of pragmatic competence. On the other hand, Lim and Han (2006) investigated the effect of utilizing movie clips on the use of refusal strategies by Korean high school students. The study further examined whether proficiency is a mediating factor for the effectiveness and whether the students' affective aspects (i.e., interest, motivation, and confidence) toward English change through the instruction. The results delineated the positive effect of instruction on learners' appropriate use of refusal strategies, and the effect turned out to be greater for low-level learners. In addition, positive changes occurred in terms of interest, motivation, and confidence in English through the instruction.

Several findings from the reviewed literature on request and refusal instruction can be summarized as follows. Most pragmatic instruction studies focused on teaching speech act strategies (e.g., linguistic expressions) as targets. Empirical evidence for the effectiveness of teaching discourse aspects of speech acts is scarce. The effectiveness was generally measured by practical measurements such as DCTs and questionnaires. Learners' learning outcomes were tested concerning the appropriateness and accuracy of their recognition and production of target forms according to various situational demands. The pragmatic instruction, in general, was effective, especially when it involved explicit metapragmatic explanation. Its durable effect, however, was incongruent. As for the target participants, adult learners of English have been predominantly researched though some studies on request instruction demonstrated their attention to younger beginner learners. Lastly, as for Korean EFL learners, little research has been done on pragmatic instruction, particularly teaching English refusals.

2.4.4. Teaching and Learning Pragmatics through CA

As was reviewed in the previous sections, most interventional studies on L2 requests and refusals focused on teaching semantic formulas to conduct the speech acts using models of speech acts rather than naturally occurring data. Teaching materials used to develop learners' pragmatic competence did not often contain pedagogical considerations for the negotiation of the speech acts taking conversation-analytic perspectives (Bardovi-Harlig & Mahan-Taylor, 2003). Considering that teaching speech acts to learners does not necessarily mean that they have to be nativelike but rather they have to develop their awareness of the linguistic and non-linguistic repertoire related to a particular speech act and the norms of target language interaction (Félix-Brasdefer, 2006), several studies have strived for revealing the possibility of teaching L2 pragmatics using CA. They have presented the possible models of CA-based instruction, while some also have showed how learners' pragmatic competence improves through the instruction.

Huth and Taleghani-Nikazm (2006) examined how CA-based materials can effectively teach L2 socio-pragmatics. The study also revealed the possibility of utilizing CA as a methodology to identify and analyze what learners' have learned through instruction. First-year German learners at an American university were taught telephone openings in German. The instructional phases presented in the study included in-class reflection on the learners’ L1 conversational practices and their systemic nature, a contrastive analysis of telephone opening sequences in learners’ L1 and the target language, the analysis of German telephone opening sequences using audio and video materials, practicing the sequences of telephone openings engaged in role-plays, and reflection and discussion on cross-cultural differences. In addition, learners’ interactional data were collected before and five weeks after the instruction and were analyzed using CA. After the instruction, typical interactional behaviors of the learners exhibited L2 sequences taught in class, which proved the positive effect of CA-based instruction on learning pragmatic aspects of L2.

Based on the review of interventional studies in L2 pragmatics, Félix-Brasdefer (2006) also introduced a pedagogical model that can be used to teach the negotiations of multi-turn speech acts. The model that he suggested contains three pedagogical units: 1) identification of communicative action, 2) doing conversation analysis, and 3) communicative practice and feedback. Specifically, to teach the speech act of refusal to intermediate-level learners of Spanish at an American university, the following components could be included in the instruction: 1) identification of communicative action, doing activities for developing cross-cultural awareness of refusals in English and Spanish, presentation of refusal expressions in English and Spanish, 2) analysis of the multi-turn sequential organization of refusal, which included inferencing about interlocutors' social status or identity, and 3) doing communicative practice using role-plays and providing peer feedback.

Caroll (2011) and Olsher (2011) also presented how the concepts of CA can inform pragmatic instruction. Caroll (2011), for example, introduced several activities that can help learners deal with the norms of preference organization in English. The researcher argued that teaching preference organization rather than the lexical forms of politeness would help learners engage in interaction politely since preference organization integrates politeness in the structure of interaction. Olsher (2011), on the other hand, introduced responders (i.e., responses that demonstrate an orientation to the preceding turn) as the instruction target, considering their important function in extended interaction.

Although only a few, CA-based materials have also been utilized to teach interactional competence. Barraja-Rohan (2011), for instance, applied findings of CA to teach interactional competence and found its positive effect on developing interactional competence of adult ESL learners whose proficiency levels ranged from lower-intermediate to intermediate. The components of instruction were 1) observation of interactional and conversational features and teaching CA concepts such as response tokens (e.g., 'yeah', 'mm', 'okay' etc.), assessment (i.e., statement of evaluation such as 'good' and 'fantastic'), adjacency pairs, and sociocultural norms of interaction, 2) discussion on students' experience with L2 and cross-cultural discussion and 3) conversation practice. Learners' post-instruction conversations turned out to be more interactionally sophisticated, with interactants being very attentive and responsive to the ongoing conversation.

More recently, Waring (2020) conducted a very small-scale interventional study targeting beginning-level ESL learners. The goals of the lesson were to make learners develop the ability to "self-identify and recognize another in the context of a phone opening, give and return greetings as part of call openings, take turns in the sequences with appropriate timing, recognize that conversation turns can be short and simple, recognize that silence and disfluency can mean trouble, recognize that requests can be made and rejected indirectly, and end a phone conversation" (p. 223). The lesson was comprised of a discussion on conversation myths (e.g., native speakers always use perfect sentences when they speak and are always direct when they make a request), listening to the audio recording of 'stalled tape' (Schegloff, 2007) with the script, directing learners' attention to turns, pauses, and sequences, and practicing conversation through role-plays. Responses from the post-intervention survey evidenced that the learners found the lesson useful, could articulate what they learned (e.g., rejecting without saying 'no'), and expressed an interest in lessons of a similar kind.

Teaching pragmatics using CA presents a new lens into teaching speech acts. CA-based pragmatic instruction not only involves teaching necessary forms of the acts but also deals with its multi-turn sequential organization. Though empirical evidence is scarce, the CA-based pragmatic instructional models and CA-informed activities have been proven to be effective in teaching pragmatic aspects of speech acts and interactional competence.

2.5. Limitations of Previous Studies

Both cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics studies on refusals and requests contributed greatly to understanding L2 learners' realization of the speech acts compared to the native speakers of the target language. In addition, through the interventional studies on refusals and requests, the teachability of the two speech acts has been proven, and the effects of several methods of instruction presented pedagogical implications to L2 classrooms. However, despite all these contributions, several issues still need to be addressed.

The first is concerned with the methodological issue. As acknowledged and mentioned in previous literature, learners' request and refusal performance were predominantly measured using practical measurements such as DCTs, which can only investigate a single turn of the speech acts rather than examining how they are constructed in interaction with interlocutors. Since refusals and requests occur throughout long sequences of interactions, other types of data elicitation methods need to be used. It was only recently that studies examined learners' requests and refusals in an extended interaction (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2012, 2013, 2018; Park & Oh, 2019). More research is thus needed on how L2 learners perform these speech acts in extended discourse.

Second, when it comes to the target of participants, previous studies focused greatly on examining college-level adult learners' pragmatic performance except for a few (Li, 2012). More research needs to address younger learners (e.g., adolescent learners of English) with relatively limited linguistic competence. Particularly, further investigation needs to investigate whether these learners can develop their pragmatic competence through pragmatic intervention. Through this, the issue of what to teach to whom and when is likely to be more thoroughly answered.

Third, more studies need to be conducted not only to capture learners' development of production ability but also to examine learners' development of awareness through pragmatic instruction. Previous studies using RVRs for complementing and validating learners' production data provided a clear insight into students' perceptions of the production. This method can be used to capture the learners' different perceptions before and after instruction.

Fourth, concerning what to teach during pragmatic instruction, not only formulaic expressions for head acts and mitigation but also how to apply them in a long sequence of discourse need to be taught to the students.

In doing so, as was mentioned in Huth and Talghani-Nikazm (2006), findings in CA can be a powerful tool as it depicts the normative practice of speech acts in natural conversation. However, considering that there are only a few CA-informed pragmatic instruction studies with a limited spectrum of target participants (i.e., adult learners), more studies need to be conducted to prove its value.

Lastly, in the Korean context, an examination of Korean EFL learners' pragmatic competence and how their competence improves through pragmatic intervention is a relatively neglected area. Considering that pragmatic instruction can help L2 learners develop pragmatic competence and awareness and that pragmatic competence is one important part of communicative competence, more research should be done on Korean EFL learners.

The current study is an initiative that investigates the development of both L2 speech acts in interaction and metapragmatic awareness through CA-informed pragmatic instruction by the relatively neglected population (i.e., adolescent Korean EFL learners) in the literature.

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter reports the methodology of the current study. Section 3.1 describes the context of the study with characteristics of the participants. Section 3.2 introduces the instruments – paired open role-play tasks to measure learning gain from pragmatic instruction in 3.2.1 and retrospective verbal reports to investigate changes in learners' perception related to pragmatic choices in 3.2.2. Section 3.3 provides information about the pragmatic instruction. In 3.3.1, the objectives of the instruction are presented, and 3.3.2 introduces the constitutes of instructional phases. Specific information about each instructional phase is presented from 3.3.2.1 to 3.3.2.7. Section 3.4 discusses procedures – a pilot study in 3.4.1 and the main study procedure in 3.4.2. Lastly, section 3.5 reports the data analysis – the analysis of open-role plays in 3.5.1 and the analysis of RVRs in 3.5.2.

3.1. Participants

The study was conducted at B middle school located in Seoul, Korea. Participants included a total of fourteen 9th graders. To maintain confidentiality, pseudonyms were randomly assigned to each participant. All of them were 14 or 15 years old, and among them, 8 were males and 6 were females. Participant characteristics are summarized in Table 3.1 – their names, gender, and proficiency level.

Table 3.1
Participants' Background Information

Name	Gender	Proficiency Level
Emily	F	B2
Sofia	F	B1
Nora	F	A2
Owen	M	A2
Adela	F	A2
Dylan	M	A2
Lucas	M	A2
Henry	M	A2
Hazel	F	A2
Grace	F	A2
Julian	M	A2
Daniel	M	A2
Jacob	M	A2
David	M	A2

All the participants had completed six years of formal English education in Korea, and none of them had any experience of living in an English-speaking country. By the time of data collection, they were receiving three hours of English instruction per week from a Korean English teacher. Throughout their school years, they have been learning English mainly through their compulsory English textbooks (i.e., Middle School English 1, 2, 3) that covers various topics targeting all four skills (Yoon, et al., 2017, 2018, 2019). For listening and speaking, each chapter of the book contains two target communicative functions with dialogues, closed role-plays, and some other speaking activities. In terms of the request and refusal of the request, the participants had learned key expressions to perform these speech acts through Middle School English 1. The textbook presented expressions such as “Can you please do the dishes?” for requests and “I’m sorry, but I can’t” for refusals as targets. However, there was no information in the textbook about when, for what purpose, and which expressions are appropriate in a particular situation.

Participants were recruited with the help of one of the English teachers at B middle school. She introduced the study (e.g., purpose, duration, target participants, etc.) in her class, and those who wished to participate in the study came to the researcher voluntarily at their convenience. The researcher worked in the same school as an English teacher, but she was not teaching them during regular class hours. Soon after recruitment, participants were invited to a classroom after school, which was noticed in advance, and their English proficiency was measured through a free quick online English test at Cambridge Assessment English (https://www.cambridgeenglish.org/test-your-english/). The test is composed of 25 multiple-choice questions which includes answering conversation questions and choosing appropriate words or expressions for blanks in sentences. The test scores indicated that their proficiency ranged from A2 to B2. Twelve were A2 level, a basic level according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), one was B1, and the other one was B2. Students’ proficiency level was considered in making pairs for performing open role-plays. Learners with similar proficiency levels were paired together.

Prior to the present study, a survey was conducted to choose the role-play situations. A total of seventy-eight students answered the survey questions. In addition, six students participated in a pilot study.

3.2. Instruments

3.2.1. Paired Open Role-play Tasks

Open role-plays were used to measure the outcome of instruction. According to Kasper and Dahl (1991), role-plays can be distinguished into closed and open role-plays. Closed role-plays are essentially oral DCTs where participants act out the given situational description by providing a one-shot response to the interlocutor’s standardized initiation (Culpeper et al., 2018; Roever, 2022). Open role-plays specify the characters’ roles and settings like closed role-plays, but there are no predetermined outcomes of interaction, which allows for eliciting a longer exchange over several turns. It has been shown that this type of elicitation technique produces spontaneous data, which resemble those of natural settings (Bacelar da Silva, 2003; Culpeper, et al., 2018; Turnbull, 2001). Furthermore, they function well for assessment purposes since they allow a certain degree of standardization and control. Open role-plays in the study were played out by two participants in response to certain situations.

Participants engaged in eight open role-plays in total (i.e., four requests and four refusals to requests). The role-play situations were operationalized using Brown and Levinson’s (1987) three contextual variables: power (P), distance (D), and the degree of imposition (R). Eight situations were divided into two PDR-high requests, two PDR-low requests, two PDR-high refusals to requests, and two PDR-low refusals to requests. The division of situation types into PDR-high or low was implemented in previous studies (Taguchi, 2007; Taguchi, 2013; Kim & Taguchi, 2015). PDR-high requests are requests made to someone of greater power and distance, with a higher degree of imposition. For example, a student asking a teacher for an extension of a homework deadline would be a PDR-high request. In contrast, PDR-low requests are requests with a lower level of imposition which are made to a person in equal power and small distance. An example of this type would be a student asking his/her friend to share an umbrella. Meanwhile, PDR-high refusals to requests are refusing requests of a higher degree of imposition made by someone in greater power and distance. A student refusing a teacher’s request to move heavy boxes and books to the teacher’s lounge would be one example of this type. PDR-low refusals to requests are refusing requests of a lower degree of imposition made by a person with equal power and small distance (e.g., refusing a friend’s request to help with his/her English homework after school).

To confirm differences between PDR-high and low situations, a survey was conducted before the data collection. A total of 78 students in the same grade at the same school participated in the survey. None of them participated in the main study. The survey included 16 PDR-high and low request and refusal situations in total (i.e., four PDR-high requests, four PDR-low requests, four PDR-high refusals to requests, and four PDR-low refusals to requests) and were all written in students' mother tongue. The situations were either adapted from previous literature (Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Taguchi, 2012) or developed by the researcher considering students' everyday school lives. Students were asked to read each situation carefully and rate the degree of ease or difficulty on a five-point Likert scale (i.e., 1: very easy, 5: very difficult). Through the results of the survey, situations for the open role-plays were decided. The mean difficulty ratings for request and refusal situations were 2.76 and 3.01, respectively. For PDR-high requests, two situations (i.e., asking a teacher to extend the deadline for the homework, and asking a teacher to change the date of personal consultation) that received a rating ranging from 3.59 to 3.83 were selected while for PDR-low requests, those two (i.e., asking a friend to explain a math problem, and asking a friend to share an umbrella) that received the rating of 1.87 to 1.90 were selected. As for PDR-high refusals to requests, two situations (i.e., refusing a teacher's request to move some heavy boxes and books to the teacher's lounge, and refusing a teacher's request to get along well with a classmate) that received a rating ranging from 3.85 to 3.89 were selected whereas, for PDR-low counterparts, those (i.e., refusing a friend's request to do homework together at your home, and refusing a friend's request to help his/her homework staying in class) that received a rating from 2.23 to 2.42 were selected.

The situations (i.e., settings) and roles were described both in English and Korean on role-play cards (See Appendix B). In addition to this, visual aids were created to help participants imagine the situations (See Appendix C) and were presented to the participants during data collection. It was expected that the images would stimulate real-time conversation (Park, 2016).

3.2.2. Retrospective Verbal Reports

In combination with open role-plays, the study employed RVRs to investigate the cognitive processes and reasoning behind the learners' pragmatic production. RVRs were expected to shed light on why the learners make particular pragmatic choices and how much the choices are related to the instruction (Cunningham, 2016; Zhang, 2021). To improve the reliability and validity of RVRs, the study adopted some of the recommendations from the previous studies as in Ren (2014). First, before RVRs, participants' performances were replayed to help them recall their range of thought (Ren, 2014; Woodfield, 2012). Second, participants were able to freely choose either L1 or L2 as a language for RVRs (Cohen, 1996; Ren, 2014). Third, instructions were given to the participants before RVRs

(Cohen, 1996; Ericsson & Simon, 1993). Despite the advantage of conducting RVRs right after performing each role-play, RVRs in the present study were administered after completing all the role-plays to prevent any effect on the participants' subsequent performance.

Guided questions for RVRs were adopted from previous studies (Park & Oh, 2019; Ren, 2014) as follows: 1) What were you focusing on when you responded to this situation? 2) What made you reply in this manner? 3) What did you intend to say? Were you able to say what you intended? 4) What was the difficulty, if any, in responding to this situation? 5) In what language were you thinking? Were you thinking in L1 or/and L2? How will you respond to this situation in your L1? In addition to the fixed questions, other data-driven questions were also asked during the RVRs whenever it was necessary.

3.3. Pragmatic Instruction

3.3.1. Objectives

The objectives of the pragmatic instruction were to develop Korean middle school students' pragmatic competence in performing two speech acts: requests and refusals to requests by teaching pragmalinguistic, sociopragmatic, and interactional features of the two acts. To achieve the objectives, instructional phases were designed by the researcher based on 1) the CA-informed instructional cycle suggested in previous literature

(Barraja-Rohan, 2000; Betz & Huth, 2014) and 2) learners' performance of the two speech acts before instruction.

3.3.2. Instructional Phases

A total of eight instructional phases were provided to the participants. Each instructional phase lasted a maximum of 45 minutes considering the regular class duration for Korean middle school students (i.e., 45 minutes). The instructor used both Korean and English during each phase. Instructional phases were conducted by the same instructor twice a week (e.g., two phases at a time with a ten-minute break in between) for two weeks after school. Due to the participants' busy after-school schedules, two phases had to be given at a time. The instructor was also a researcher. The instructor made both PowerPoint Slides and handouts for each phase. All the materials were designed based on the findings and suggestions from previous studies (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2018; Culpeper et al., 2018; Curl & Drew, 2008; Flor & Juan, 2010; Houck & Tatsuki, 2011; Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Schegloff, 2007; Taguchi & Kim, 2014, Waring, 2018; Wong & Waring, 2010, Youn, 2018). By referring to instructional phases that were proven to be effective for adult L2 learners during CA-informed pragmatic instruction (Barraja-Rohan, 2011; Félix-Brasdefer, 2006; Huth & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006), the current study tried to validate the instructional design.

CA-informed instruction in the current study was operationalized by including the following components: 1) dealing with basic CA concepts such as adjacency pair and preference organization; 2) provision of authentic input informed by CA; and 3) opportunities for output practice and reflection focusing on sequencing practices of speech acts. Apart from these elements informed by CA, other elements such as reflection on the speech acts in L1 and L2 and teaching of pragmalinguistic resources were also included in instructional phases as was in previous L2 pragmatic instructional studies.

First, teaching basic CA concepts such as adjacency pairs and preference organizations was included in the instruction since L2 pragmatic interaction involves not only using appropriate pragmalinguistic resources but also using diverse interactional resources such as taking a turn at the level of adjacency pairs and organizing the actions sequentially across multiple turns (Youn, 2020). Second, in providing authentic input, not only the dialogues from authentic videos but also authentic exemplars which are based on findings in CA were drawn. Since the exemplars drawn from CA literature provide blueprints of conversational sequences from recordings of natural interactions among native speakers (Huth & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006), they were expected to help L2 learners to interpret and produce L2 sequences underlying particular verbal actions. Lastly, while performing pedagogic tasks (i.e., collaborative drama script writing tasks and role-plays), learners were encouraged to direct their attention to sequencing practices, namely, “ways of initiating and responding to talk while performing actions” (Wong & Waring, 2010, p. 56).

In terms of the explicit-implicit dichotomy in pragmatic interventional studies, the pragmatic instruction in the present study falls into explicit instruction as an explicit metalinguistic explanation was provided by the instructor in every phase. An explicit approach was taken since classroom research on L2 learners’ pragmatic development strongly supports more beneficial effects of explicit teaching in learning pragmatics (Huth & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006; Tateyama, 200l; Plonsky & Zhuang, 2019). With respect to the inductive-deductive dichotomy in the teaching of pragmatics, the pragmatic instruction in the study falls into the inductive one as learners were presented with language material first and were led to discover the mechanisms underlying the language use (Ishihara & Cohen, 2010). According to Glaser (2016), within the explicit framework, inductive instruction is more effective than deductive one in teaching pragmatic skills. Informed by the results, the explicit instruction in the current study was done inductively by frequently engaging learners to discover pragmatic features first by themselves.

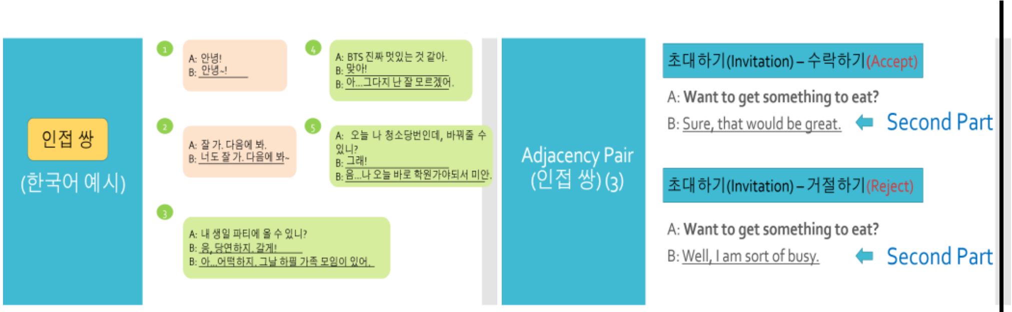
3.3.2.1. Instructional Phase 1: Exposure to the Basic Concepts of CA

In instructional phase 1, students were explicitly drawn to the basic concepts of CA. This started with discussing ‘why we speak’. The instructor gave out a post-it to each student, who freely wrote either in Korean or

English about what they can do through speaking. Interestingly, most of the students wrote that they speak to communicate with others and to share one's thoughts and ideas with others. Some of them wrote specific actions they can achieve through speaking such as refusing, disagreeing, and expressing likes and dislikes. Adding to students' ideas, the instructor shared various actions that can be done through speaking so that students can see language as social action. In doing so, the instructor reviewed several communicative functions that the students had learned through their textbooks. Then the basic unit of a conversation, which is the *adjacency pair*, was introduced. To help learners to understand the concept better, the examples of adjacency pairs were shown in Korean first. In the form of a fill-in-the-blank activity, students were shown the first-pair parts of greeting, inviting, assessing, and requesting and they practiced filling in the blanks with appropriate second-pair parts (Figure 3.1). After that, the instructor moved to the English version where students had to do the same, but in English. For instance, seeing a short conversation between A and B where A invites B, students had to think about how to respond to A's invitation (i.e., want to get something to eat?) and write appropriate responses in blank Bs (e.g., accepting and refusing responses in English) (Figure 3.1). During the fill-in-the-blank activity, the instructor consistently provided students with some time to think about the answers first, then check the possible answers as a whole class. The presentation of the simple versions of adjacency pairs was followed by expanded adjacency pairs that resemble real conversation (Figure 3.2). By doing this, students were able to learn the concept of the adjacency pair and its relevance to real conversation.

Figure 3.1

Examples of Fill-in-the-blank Activities for Adjacency Pair



In Korean

인접 쌍
(한국어 예시)

1
A: 안녕!
B: 안녕~!

2
A: 잘 가. 다음에 봐.
B: 너도 잘 가. 다음에 봐~

3
A: 내 생일 파티에 올 수 있니?
B: 응, 당연하지. 갈게!
B: 아...어떡하지. 그날 하필 가족 모임이 있어.

4
A: BTS 진짜 멋있는 것 같아.
B: 맞아!
B: 아...그다지 난 잘 모르겠어.

5
A: 오늘 나 청소당번인데, 바꿔줄 수 있니?
B: 그래!
B: 음...나 오늘 바로 학원가야되서 미안.

In English

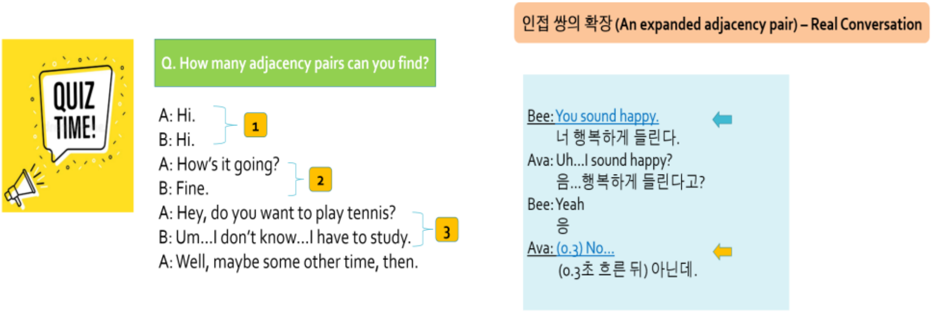
Adjacency Pair
(인접 쌍) (3)

초대하기(Invitation) – 수락하기(Accept)
A: Want to get something to eat?
B: Sure, that would be great. ⬅ Second Part

초대하기(Invitation) – 거절하기(Reject)
A: Want to get something to eat?
B: Well, I am sort of busy. ⬅ Second Part

Figure 3.2

Examples of Expanded Adjacency Pairs



Q. How many adjacency pairs can you find?

A: Hi.
B: Hi.
A: How's it going?
B: Fine.
A: Hey, do you want to play tennis?
B: Um...I don't know...I have to study.
A: Well, maybe some other time, then.

인접 쌍의 확장 (An expanded adjacency pair) – Real Conversation

Bee: You sound happy.
너 행복하게 들린다.
Ava: Uh...I sound happy?
음...행복하게 들린다고?
Bee: Yeah
응
Ava: (0.3) No...
(0.3초 흐른 뒤) 아닌데.

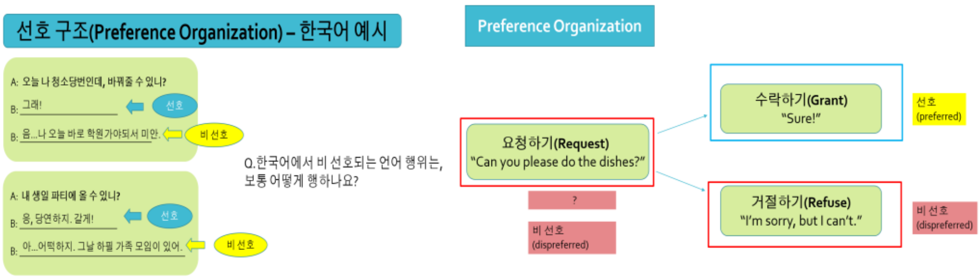
In the last part of instructional phase 1, students were introduced to the concept of *preference organization*. As was in the case of adjacency pair, preference organization structure was first addressed with examples in Korean. Both the shape of preferred and dispreferred responses was dealt with. Students discussed together what they typically or regularly do in performing preferred and dispreferred actions in Korean (Figure 3.3). Then they thought about preferred and dispreferred second-pair part responses for an invitation, assessment, and request in English and also spent time thinking about requests as dispreferred first-pair part (Figure 3.3). As the last step, they discussed what they would typically do in performing dispreferred actions in English. With the instructor, they came up with hesitation, delay, providing accounts, or showing regrets as the typical strategy they apply in performing dispreferred actions.

Figure 3.3

Examples of Preference Organization in Korean and English

In Korean

In English



선호 구조(Preference Organization) – 한국어 예시

A: 오늘 나 청소당번인데, 바꿔줄 수 있니?
B: 그래!
B: 음...나 오늘 바로 학원가야되서 미안.

A: 내 생일 파티에 올 수 있니?
B: 응, 당연하지. 갈게!
B: 아...어떡하지. 그날 하필 가족 모임이 있어.

Q.한국어에서 비 선호되는 언어 행위는, 보통 어떻게 행하나요?

Preference Organization

요청하기(Request) "Can you please do the dishes?"

수락하기(Grant) "Sure!"

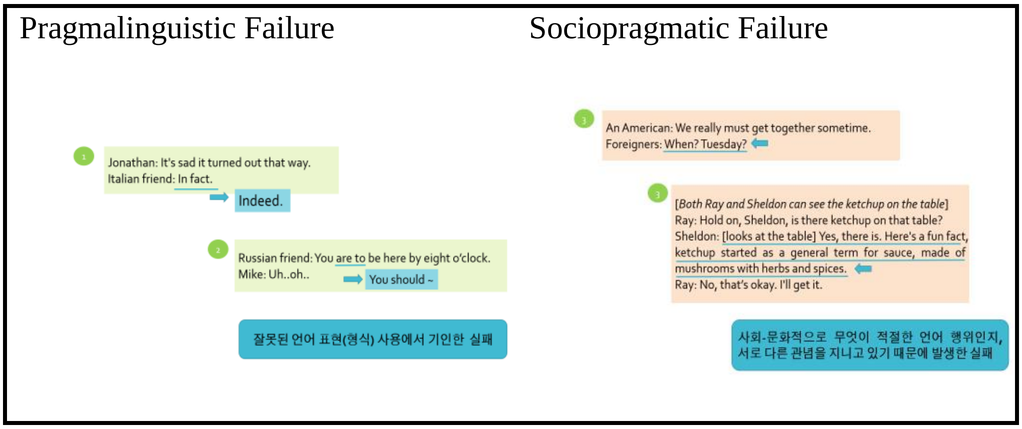
거절하기(Refuse) "I'm sorry, but I can't."

3.3.2.2. Instructional Phase 2: Reflection on L1 and L2 Request and Refusal to Request

In instructional phase 2, students' attention was first drawn to 1) the examples of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure in English and 2) cross-cultural discussion on request and refusal to request in L1 (i.e., Korean) and L2 (i.e., English). The examples of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure which were adopted from previous literature (Culpeper et al., 2018) were shown to the students, and students were asked to guess the utterance that seems awkward to them (Figure 3.4). The instructor and the students freely talked about the expressions that need to be substituted for better ones. Students enjoyed the time thinking about and trying out appropriate expressions, praising one another when a student made a correct guess. Students noticed that communication failure can derive from a lack of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge and can be made unintentionally.

Figure 3.4

Examples of Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic Failure



Pragmalinguistic Failure

1

Jonathan: It's sad it turned out that way.
Italian friend: In fact.
Indeed.

2

Russian friend: You are to be here by eight o'clock.
Mike: Uh..oh..
You should ~

잘못된 언어 표현(형식) 사용에서 기인한 실패

Sociopragmatic Failure

3

An American: We really must get together sometime.
Foreigners: When? Tuesday?

3

[*Both Ray and Sheldon can see the ketchup on the table*]
Ray: Hold on, Sheldon, is there ketchup on that table?
Sheldon: [looks at the table] Yes, there is. Here's a fun fact, ketchup started as a general term for sauce, made of mushrooms with herbs and spices.
Ray: No, that's okay. I'll get it.

사회-문화적으로 무엇이 적절한 언어 행위인지, 서로 다른 관념을 지니고 있기 때문에 발생한 실패

The discussion with examples of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure naturally led students to discuss cross-cultural similarities and differences between Korean and English in performing the two speech acts: requests and refusals to requests. The discussion started with how people make a request in Korean followed by how it is done in English. The instructor presented several questions (e.g., In making a request in Korean/English, what kind of expressions do you use? Do you try to make it indirectly? What kind of devices are there to make it indirect? Do you consider the status or distance of the interlocutor and the degree of imposition in making a request? How would these contextual and interlocutor variables affect the use of devices in making a request?) and made students in pairs to discuss for about 10 minutes. Then, students' ideas were summed up as a whole so that students could share and confirm their ideas together. Concerning the English request forms, learners suggested "Can I~?", "Could I~?", and "Please…" which all appeared while they performed request role-plays before instruction. While acknowledging that the forms are used for requests, the instructor talked about the polite marker *please*, commenting that it is not a magic word for a polite request. While doing this, it was mentioned that since requests are likely to pose a threat to the interlocutor's negative face, they are most preferably realized using indirectness to decrease the imposition and increase optionality for the interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1987). As one example of expressions that can be used in the PDR-high requests, the instructor explicitly introduced the English request expression (i.e., “I was wondering if I/you could~”) referring to the previous studies (Curl & Drew, 2008; Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Taguchi & Kim, 2014) and the participants’ linguistic readiness to this form. In Taguchi and Kim (2014), the form was explicitly taught to Korean middle school learners of English as one of the targets for the PDR-high requests, and the learnability of this form was evidenced. Thus, it was assumed that the form was also teachable to the participants in the study. In addition, before the instruction, students in the present study had learned the *bi-clausal structure* through their regular grammar lessons, which suggests that they are at least familiar with and ready to learn the form. Referring to the results from Curl and Dew (2008), students were informed that a *bi-clausal structure* is used when there is uncertainty about whether the request can be granted by the requestee.

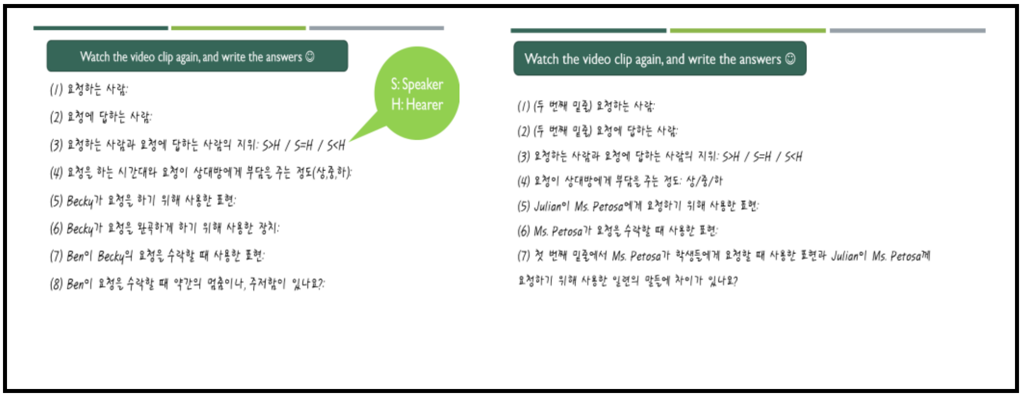
After that, the class moved on to the discussion on the refusal to request in Korean and English. Students spent another 10 minutes in pairs to talk about questions probed by the instructor (e.g., In refusing a request in Korean/English, what kind of expressions do you use? Do you try to make it indirect (or polite)? What kind of devices are there to make it indirect? Does the status or distance of the interlocutor affect how people refuse a request in Korean/English?) (See Appendix D). While students discussed in pairs, the instructor circled the classroom and tried to find some useful ideas that are worth sharing with the whole class. After a pair discussion, students freely talked about what they wrote for each question, and the instructor summarized the ideas altogether. The instructor shared the findings from previous studies that since refusal is considered a face-threatening act, it requires some degree of indirectness (Gass & Houck, 1999) and that regardless of the status of an interlocutor, quite consistent refusal patterns are used in English (Allami & Naeimi, 2011; Kwon, 2004; Lee, 2011; Morrow, 1995; Min, 2013; Bacelar da Silva, 2003). As for the target pragmalinguistic forms for refusals, the instructor introduced pro forma agreements (e.g., “I’d love to but…”, “I want to but…”) which were shown to be lacking in learners’ refusal performances before instruction, but which were reported to be frequently used in English (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2018; Beebe et al., 1990; Min, 2013; Bacelar da Silva, 2003) when refusing. Other strategies such as providing an account or expressing regrets were also discussed. The discussion on the two languages was expected to help students to attend both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge for the two speech acts.

3.3.2.3. Instructional Phase 3: Exposure to Authentic Input – Movie Scenes

In instructional phases 3 and 4, students were exposed to authentic input in which request and refusal to request situations are depicted. Instructional phase 3 included showing movie scenes where interlocutors make a request and refuse a request. Before teaching the third period, the instructor watched two movies, *The Intern* and *Wonder*, and singled out the scenes that show characters requesting and refusing requests. The two movies were chosen because they are both appropriate for the student's age, contain many scenes in which interlocutors of various ages and statuses converse, and have simple storylines that can be understood easily. The class started with a brief introduction to the two movies by the instructor. The instructor then presented the images of movie scenes (four in total) with brief explanations of the characters in the image, which lasted about 2 minutes each. When the movie clip was played for the first time, students grasped the overall situation of the scene with the help of Korean subtitles. By the time when it was replayed, the students referred to the script in their handout, analyzed the scene, and tried to figure out answers to some questions related to the scene. To help learners comprehend the movie script better, glosses (i.e., a brief explanation of the meaning of words used in the scripts) were provided, and the students' focus was mainly directed to the speech acts themselves. Questions slightly differed depending on the scene but they were all to raise students' awareness of the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge of requests and refusals to requests. Questions, for example, were designed to answer the speaker, the hearer, the relationship between the two in terms of status and/or distance, the imposition degree of the request/refusal, any devices used for request/refusal, and so forth (Figure 3.5), which were adapted from Flor and Juan (2010). Students had time to write the answers first, then checked the answers altogether.

Figure 3.5

Example Questions for Movie Scene Analysis



Watch the video clip again, and write the answers ☺

(1) 요청하는 사람:

(2) 요청에 답하는 사람:

(3) 요청하는 사람과 요청에 답하는 사람의 지위: S>H / S=H / S<H

(4) 요청을 하는 시간대와 요청이 상대방에게 부담을 주는 정도(상,중,하):

(5) Becky가 요청을 하기 위해 사용한 표현:

(6) Becky가 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위해 사용한 장치:

(7) Ben이 Becky의 요청을 수락할 때 사용한 표현:

(8) Ben이 요청을 수락할 때 약간의 멈춤이나, 주저함이 있나요?:

Watch the video clip again, and write the answers ☺

(1) (두 번째 밑줄) 요청하는 사람:

(2) (두 번째 밑줄) 요청에 답하는 사람:

(3) 요청하는 사람과 요청에 답하는 사람의 지위: S>H / S=H / S<H

(4) 요청이 상대방에게 부담을 주는 정도: 상/중/하

(5) Julian이 Ms. Petosa에게 요청하기 위해 사용한 표현:

(6) Ms. Petosa가 요청을 수락할 때 사용한 표현:

(7) 첫 번째 밑줄에서 Ms. Petosa가 학생들에게 요청할 때 사용한 표현과 Julian이 Ms. Petosa께 요청하기 위해 사용한 일련의 말들에 차이가 있나요?

3.3.2.4. Instructional Phase 4: Exposure to Authentic Input – Excerpts from Previous Literature

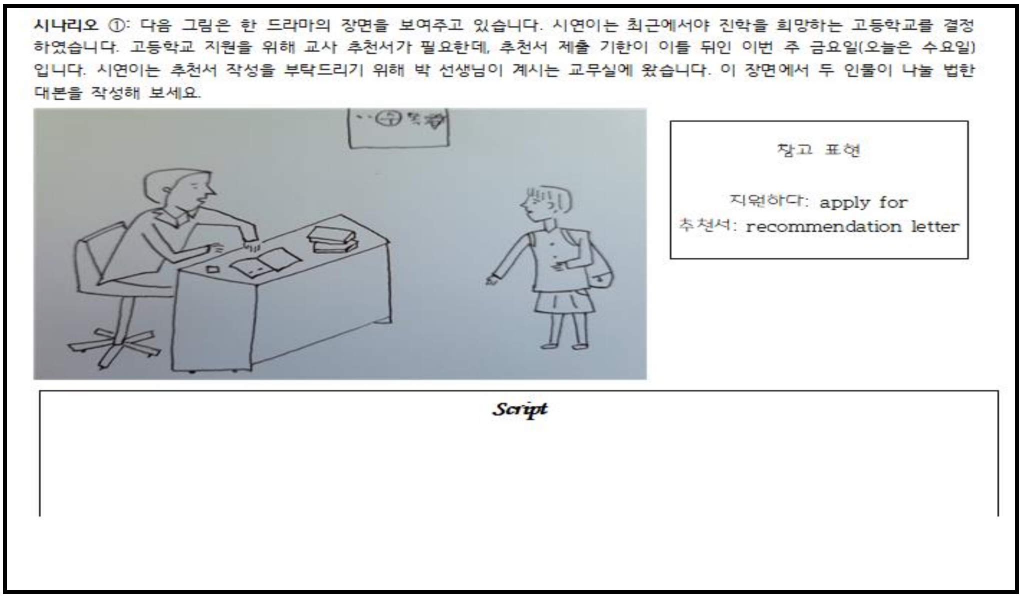
In instructional phase 4, the instructor presented three excerpts from previous studies as authentic input (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2018; Schegloff, 2007; Youn, 2018). It was to provide students with typical sequential organization and pragmalinguistic forms of requests and refusals. Since video and audio files were not available for the scripts, the students read aloud the scripts together, figured out overall situations, and tried to answer the questions presented with the scripts. The type of questions was similar to those for movie scenes (See Appendix E). After checking the answers altogether, the instructor and the class as a whole spent time reading aloud the scripts each taking a role. Before the read-aloud, the instructor asked students to read them as naturally as possible focusing on every single word including the hesitation markers such as *um* and *well*, and the response tokens such as *oh* and *um hmm*. Students enjoyed acting with the scripts. Throughout the instruction, it was emphasized that the conversations shown in the handouts demonstrate a norm that entails specific actions if violated.

3.3.2.5. Instructional Phase 5: Written Practice Using Drama-Script Writing Tasks

Instructional phases 5 and 6 constituted writing tasks through which students could practice what they learned through previous classes and reflect on their performance based on peer feedback. In instructional phase 5, students in pairs practiced creating dialogues for scenarios involving requests and refusals to requests. Students were provided with collaborative drama script writing tasks which were adapted from previous studies (Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Taguchi & Kim, 2016). The tasks contained detailed explanations of scenarios, matching pictures, and expressions which can be referred to in creating content of the dialogues (Figure 3.6) (See Appendix F). Right after the instructor explained the tasks, students in pairs created dialogues for four scenarios in total. Each scenario depicted PDR-high request, PRD-low request, PDR-high refusal, and PDR-low refusal, respectively. While completing the tasks, students were expected to make use of their pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic knowledge related to the two speech acts. They were encouraged to consider the features of preferred and dispreferred actions and the sequential organization of the two speech acts in creating the dialogues. They were also asked to integrate appropriate response tokens into the conversations. The handouts that students had used in the prior class were redistributed so that students could be exposed to the input again and could refer to the pragmalinguistic forms and sequential organization of the conversation. Before students proceeded to the tasks, active pair discussions were encouraged by the instructor.

Figure 3.6

An Example of a Drama-Script Writing Task



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참고 표현

지원하다: apply for
추천서: recommendation letter

Script

3.3.2.6. Instructional Phase 6: Reflection on Written Drama-Scripts

During instructional phase 6, students in pairs spent time providing peer feedback to other pairs' dialogues. The handouts on which a pair's dialogues are written were given to two other pairs. Using the feedback boxes written under the script boxes, two pairs gave feedback on a pair’s dialogues. Feedback boxes contained the following questions: 1) Are there any features in the dialogues that show requests and refusals as dispreferred action? If so, what features can you notice?, 2) Do you think that the speaker and the hearer in the dialogues are sensitive to the situation (i.e., context)?, 3) Do they use direct expressions for request and refusal?, 4) What expressions do they use? Are these appropriate for the context? (See Appendix F). Originally, each pair was supposed to be given feedback from three other pairs, but due to the time limit, they were given feedback from two other pairs. When the feedback boxes were completed by other pairs, the handout was returned to the original pair. Pairs spent time taking a look at the peer feedback results and reflecting on their performance.

3.3.2.7. Instructional Phases 7-8: Speaking Practice Using Open Role-Plays and Reflection on Role-Play Performances

In instructional phases 7 and 8, students performed oral open role-play tasks and reflect on their performance based on teacher and peer feedback. Before proceeding to the main activity, the researcher distributed the handouts that students had used in the last class with some constructive feedback on their writing. After students examined the feedback and the instructor’s brief review of the previous class, they proceeded to watch what they would be doing through a website (http://clicmaterials.rice.edu/online-workshops/interactional-competence/). The link depicts a demonstration of a class where pairs come up to the front, role-playing speech acts. Inspired by the demonstration, students were asked to be seated in pairs as they wished, given a card where a number was written, and invited to the front of the class when one's number was called upon. Once a pair came up to the front, they were given role-play cards randomly, planned how they would act for a while, and started role-playing when both were ready. To reduce any pressure in talking in front of the whole class using English, the role-play situations were set as the same as the ones used for writing tasks. Since students' role-playing was done spontaneously without any scripts that could be referred to, it was considered enough for practicing impromptu speaking. During the role-plays, each person in the pair had to perform two requests and two refusals. While a pair conducted role-plays, other students individually wrote feedback to the pair on how successfully the pair performed the role-plays. The feedback was given in terms of the followings: 1) the extent to which appropriate expressions or strategies were used for requests or refusals 2) the extent to which the conversation was co-constructed responding to each other appropriately. In addition to the peer feedback, the instructor also provided explicit feedback to each pair regarding their pragmalinguistic, sociopragmatic, and interactional features (e.g., response tokens), praising highly those who demonstrated good examples and also giving negative feedback to those who showed inappropriate performances. After all the role-playing was done, each pair received peer feedback results, reflecting on their performance once again. Then as the last step of the whole instructional phase, the instructor handed out a post-intervention survey. The students were asked to circle ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to a set of statements adapted from Waring (2020) checking and reminding them what they have learned so far. They were also asked to evaluate the overall instructional phases commenting on 1) the most helpful part, 2) the most interesting part, 3) free comments for eight instructional phases, and 4) what need to be improved (See Appendix G).

Table 3.2

Summary of Instructional Phases

Instructional phases 1-2	
Phase 1 (40 mins)	Basic CA concepts - Language as social action - Adjacency pairs - Preference organization
Phase 2 (45 mins)	Review of instructional phase 1 Failure in communication - Sociopragmatic failure - Pragmalinguistic failure Contrastive analysis of Korean and English - Discussion on Requests - Discussion on Refusals to requests
Instructional phases 3-4	
Phase 3 (45 mins)	Review of instructional phase 2 Authentic input (1) - Watching movie clips & Analyzing the

	conversations
Phase 4 (30 mins)	Authentic input (2) - Reading script excerpts from previous studies & Analyzing the conversations - Shadowing (Reading aloud) the conversation
Instructional phases 5-6	
Phase 5 (45 mins)	Review of instructional phases 3 & 4 Practice with writing tasks - Conducting collaborative drama script writing tasks in pairs
Phase 6 (35 mins)	Provision of peer feedback and reflection - Providing feedback to other peers' scripts - Reflecting on the scripts based on peer feedback
Instructional phases 7-8	
Phase 7 (45 mins)	Review of instructional phases 5 & 6 Practice with speaking tasks (1) - Each pair: performing open role-plays in front of the whole class - Other pairs: providing written feedback to the role-playing pair - Teacher: providing oral feedback to the role-playing pair upon their task completion
Phase 8 (30 mins)	Practice with speaking tasks (2) - Each pair: performing open role-plays in front of the whole class - Other pairs: providing written feedback to

	the role-playing pair - Teacher: providing oral feedback to the role-playing pair upon their task completion
	Reflection on role-plays based on peer feedback
	Post-intervention survey

3.4. Procedures

3.4.1. Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to examine the followings: 1) to check the plausibility of open role-play situations; 2) to examine the degree of difficulty in performing open role-plays; 3) to decide on the amount and type of direction that will be given before the open role-plays; 4) to decide on how to make pairs; and 5) to adjust any difficulties in answering questions during RVRs. Six 9th graders at B middle school who would not participate in the main study were recruited to perform open role-plays and RVRs. Before the study, they were asked to take the free quick online English test at Cambridge Assessment English (https://www.cambridgeenglish.org/test-your-english/) through their mobile phone. It turned out that two were at B1 level, and the rests of the four were at A2 level. According to these proficiency levels, the pairing was done by the researcher.

The researcher arranged the date and time with each pair and the study was executed in a quiet classroom after school. Once each pair was seated in a chair with two desks in between, the researcher provided the role-play cards. The students were asked to read the cards carefully and start a conversation in English once they were ready. They were given as much time as they want and were allowed to ask for any English words or expressions that they needed before they start to talk. They were informed that there is no limitation on the amount of talk they would exchange. Each pair was provided with PDR-high/low request situation first, then moved to PDR-high/low refusal situation. In performing PDR-high/low request situation, Student A in the pair took the role of requester while Student B took the role of interlocutor. On the other hand, when they performed PDR-high/low refusal situation, Student B took the role of requester while Student A took the role of refuser. This way, student A's performance on the speech acts (i.e., request and refusal to request) could be examined. Once they terminated their conversation for all four situations, student A stayed with the researcher for RVRs while student B moved to a nearby classroom and stayed safe for a while. Afterward, the pair went through another exactly same procedure but, this time, Student B took the role of the requester and the role of refuser in PDR-high/low request and PDR-high/low refusal situations, respectively. After completing all the role-plays, Student B participated in RVRs. At the end of each RVR, some questions (e.g., the plausibility of the role-play situations, etc.) that would inform the main study were also asked to each student.

First, in terms of the plausibility of each open role-play situation, all responded that the situations are likely to happen in their daily school lives. Four of them, however, mentioned that since role-playing itself is not familiar to them, it was hard to put themselves into the situations. When asked whether providing visual aids would help, they answered that it would be helpful for them to visually imagine the situations. Second, when they were asked about the difficulty in performing open role-plays, all responded that it is a little hard but fun and interesting. They enjoyed conversing in English although they were much concerned about how successfully they could speak in English. Third, to decide on the direction for the role-plays and the way to make pairs, the students' behaviors while planning and executing the role-plays were closely examined. During planning, the following were observed: 1) Two out of six students asked whether they could take notes of the expressions and words that they would use during role-plays, 2) One of them asked if she could take a look at her interlocutor's role-play cards. Meanwhile, during the role-plays, the students showed the following behaviors: 1) They frequently returned to their L1 or simply abandoned their utterances when they thought that the intra-turn pause length becomes too long, 2) One pair, being paired with very close friends, did not take the role-playing seriously. Regardless of the roles indicated on the role-play cards, they played out every situation as if they were just friends. Lastly, when questions for RVRs were asked to the students, they responded that all questions are understandable. The use of their mother tongue for RVRs greatly helped them to speak out about their thought processes.

The findings of the pilot study suggested the researcher include several points in conducting role-plays and RVRs. First, to help participants fully put themselves into role-playing situations, visual aids should be provided. Second, clear guidelines should be presented to the students before planning and performing the role-plays. Such guidelines include ‘not to take notes of expressions or words on the role-play cards’, ‘not to look at the partner’s role-play cards’, and ‘try not to abandon their utterances but to terminate them in English as possible as they can.’ These were to guide the participants to have conversations as naturally as possible and to provide answers to the possible inquiries that are likely to be asked by participants in the main study. Lastly, in pairing participants, not only their proficiency level but also their acquaintanceship should be considered. Rather than pairing close friends together, randomized pairing considering proficiency levels would be a better option. All these points were dealt with in the main study, which will be presented in the following section.

3.4.2. Main Study

As can be seen in Table 3.3, the main study lasted for 9 weeks. The first (i.e., week 1) and last week (i.e., week 9) were spent for open role-plays and RVRs, and two weeks (i.e., weeks 2 and 3) between them were allotted for eight instructional phases. There were 6 weeks of intervals between the last instructional phase and the delayed role-plays and RVRs.

Table 3.3

Summary of Data Collection Procedures

Week 1	Open role-plays and RVRs
Week 2	Instructional phases1 to 4
Week 3	Instructional phases 5 to 8
Week 9	Delayed open role-plays and RVRs

Role-play and RVR data could not be obtained right after the last instructional phase due to COVID-19 and the school schedule. All participants had to be kept in quarantine for two weeks after some of them being tested positive for the coronavirus, and their final school examination was coming along after the quarantine, which made it difficult to continue data collection right after the last instructional phase. The eight instructional phases were provided to the participants by the researcher and took place in a classroom after school where students usually spent time in their regular English classes. The researcher met the students twice a week for two weeks (i.e., week 2 and week 3). Two instructional phases of which duration did not exceed 45 minutes were provided in one day with 10-minute-break time in between.

The whole procedure was conducted after school in a quiet classroom that students were familiar with. As a first step to conducting the open role-plays and RVRs, the researcher randomly paired the participants considering their proficiency level and acquaintanceship and arranged a date and time with each pair. During the first week, the researcher met each pair after school on a set day. Each pair came to the classroom and were seated in chairs facing each other with desks between them. Tripods with mobile phones were installed to video and audio-record their performance. Once they were seated, several directions were given: 1) to carefully read the role-play cards that would be given and start a conversation in English when both were ready; 2) to spend as much time as they want and ask any English words or expressions that are needed to make the content of the conversation before they start to talk; 3) not to take notes on the cards and not to look at the partner's role-play; 4) to exchange conversation as much as they want but try not to simply abandon it; and 5) not to think that they are being tested. Then the researcher distributed the role-play cards to the pair. To help them grasp the situation better, visual aids were also presented before every role-play. As was in the pilot study, each pair was provided with PDR-high/low request situation first and then moved to PDR-high/low refusal situation. In performing PDR-high/low request situations, Student A in the pair took the role of requester while Student B took the role of interlocutor. In this case, Student B could freely choose to either accept or refuse the request. On the other hand, when they performed PDR-high/low refusal situation, Student B took the role of requester while Student A took the role of refuser. This way, student A's performance on the speech acts (i.e., request and refusal to request) could be examined. Once they terminated their conversation for all four situations, student A stayed with the researcher for RVRs while student B stayed in a nearby classroom for a while. Afterward, the pair went through another exactly same procedure, but this time, Student B took the role of the requester and the role of refuser in PDR-high/low request and PDR-high/low refusal situations, respectively. After completing all the role-plays, Student B participated in RVRs. It took approximately 25 minutes for both role-playing and RVRs per student. The procedure of role-plays and RVRs that were conducted before and after the instruction was identical. Also, participants role-played with the same interlocutor to prevent the interlocutor effect, and the questions for RVRs were also the same. Eight situations for the role-plays were consistent before and after instruction, but after instruction, the student in each pair was asked to perform under situations that his/her interlocutor carried out before (e.g., situations presented to Student A before instruction were presented to Student B and vice versa). The comparability of two different situations for PDR-high/low request and refusal conditions was ensured through the survey which had been conducted before data collection (See 3.2.1). This way, the possible practice and memory effect could be avoided.

3.5. Data Analysis

3.5.1. The Analysis of Open Role-plays

The audio- and video-recorded open role-plays were transcribed and analyzed following the conversation analysis framework (Schegloff, 2007) (See Appendix H). The interaction data were analyzed in detail, taking requests and refusals as dispreferred first-pair parts and dispreferred second pair parts (Schegloff, 2007). Requests are often withheld by speakers through mitigations (i.e., elaborations consisting of excuses, reasons, and hedges), delays, and accounts to maximize the possibility of being offered by others (Wong & Waring, 2010). Similarly, refusals as dispreferred second pair parts often accompany mitigations and elaborations and be delayed through silence, intervening turns, and pause fillers (e.g., um). When it comes to the analysis of request strategies, CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) was also referred to, and for the analysis of refusal strategies, the taxonomy made by Beebe et al. (1990) (See Appendix A) was used. Learners' production data before and after pragmatic instruction were analyzed and presented based on CA-analysis and taxonomies of request and refusal strategies.

3.5.2. The Analysis of RVRs

Based on the previous studies on learners' metapragmatic awareness in performing speech acts (Cohen & Olshtain, 1993; Félix-Brasdefer, 2008;

Park & Oh, 2019; Ren, 2014; Robinson, 1992; Woodfield, 2010), the study focused on revealing learners' attended features, their perceived difficulties, and source of the difficulties while planning and executing request and refusal in English. As in Ren (2014), the present study tried to reveal changes in the cognitive processes of the learners, but unlike Ren (2014) where the changes were revealed during the learners' study abroad, the current study focuses on learners' cognition before and after pragmatic instruction.

Referring to Alcón-Soler and Guzman-Pitarch (2010) and Ren (2014), the attended features revealed in RVRs were coded into pragmalinguistic information, sociopragmatic information, and linguistic information. First, learners' attention to '(non)linguistic resources to perform the speech acts' (e.g., core request form, refusal strategies, tone of voice, sequential organization) was counted as their attention to pragmalinguistic information. Second, their attention directed to 'how to perform the acts under different contexts' were considered to be their attention to sociopragmatic information. Lastly, their mention of attention to vocabulary, grammar, and/or pronunciation in making propositional meaning was regarded as their attention to linguistic information. While categorizing learners' attention into those three features, several difficulties were mentioned by the learners. By referring to the previous literature (Park & Oh, 2019; Ren, 2014; Robinson, 1992) learners' perceived difficulties and sources of difficulties before and after instruction were categorized into pragmatic difficulties (i.e., difficulties relating to pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic aspects of the two speech acts) and linguistic difficulties (i.e., difficulties relevant to grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation in conveying propositional meaning). Table 3.4 shows the coding scheme with examples.

Table 3.4
The Coding Scheme with Examples

Coding Category (Code)	Examples
Attention to Pragmalinguistics (P) (e.g., core request forms, refusal strategies, tone of voice, the directness, sequential organization)	*"I was thinking of* ***an expression for the request****. I used* ***'please'****."* *"I was thinking of using* ***'could you~'*** *and* ***'I have a favor.'****"* *"I was thinking* ***what expression to use for the refusal****."* *"I was concerned about* ***a reason*** *so that I would not hurt the interlocutor's feelings."* *"I wanted to adjust* ***the tone of my voice*** *so that I could sound polite."* *"I was thinking whether to be* ***direct or not****."* *"I was thinking of* ***explaining the situation first****."*
Attention to Sociopragmatics (S) (e.g., adjusting forms or sequential organization according to contexts)	*"If I used 'I want you~' to* ***the teacher****, it would sound like I am insisting upon, so I wanted to be indirect by saying* ***'I was wondering if~'****."* *"It was* ***a big request****, and the teacher would have had another schedule, so I tried to say* ***'I have something to ask first and then make a request****."* *"It was* ***refusing a teacher's request****, so it needed* ***a reason****."*

Attention to Linguistic Information (L) (e.g., pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar)	*"I wanted to say that I cannot help the teacher because I am weak. But I didn't know* ***how to express that*** *('the fact that I am weak')."* *"I kept saying words with* ***wrong pronunciation****. So, I was concerned about it."* *"I was confused about whether I had to put* ***'to me'*** *at the end of the sentence or right after 'you'."*

To ensure inter-rater reliability, the coding of RVRs was conducted by the researcher and verified by a second coder, a Ph.D. candidate in English Education. After a training session by the researcher, 100% of RVRs from each phase (i.e., 14 RVRs before instruction and 14 RVRs after instruction) were independently coded by the two raters. The inter-rater reliability for 'attention to pragmalinguistics' was 94.64%. The inter-rater reliability for 'attention to sociopragmatics' and 'attention to linguistics' was 88.39% and 89.28%, respectively. When there were discrepancies, the researcher discussed them with the second coder. In these cases, the two raters read the RVRs line by line again and came to a more appropriate conclusion based on consensus. Thus, the items which demonstrated initial disagreement were decided to be included in the data.

Chapter 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter illustrates the findings and discussions of the present study. Section 4.1 displays the results on the realization of the request speech act before and after pragmatic instruction. Section 4.2 reports the findings on the realization of the refusal speech act before and after instruction. Section 4.3. delineates learners' attended features in planning and executing speech acts before and after instruction.

4.1. The Development of Pragmatic Competence – The Speech Act of Request

This section deals with learners' development of pragmatic competence by comparing and contrasting their role-play performances for requests before and after the instruction. Section 4.1.1 depicts how learners perform PDR-high and low request role-plays before instruction. Section 4.1.2 illustrates learners' performance after instruction.

4.1.1. Before Instruction: The Case of Requests

Participants' overall request production before the instruction is characterized by the inconsistent placement of preliminary moves (e.g., preliminaries to preliminaries, accounts, and explanations) before launching a request. Requests are dispreferred in principle, which does not tend to occur at the beginning of an interaction. They are regularly accompanied by delays, accounts, and mitigations in advance of the requests themselves

(Schegloff, 2007) although different requests may be dispreferred to different degrees (Wong & Waring, 2010). However, more than half (i.e., 54%) of the requests in learners’ interactions were put very early either right after they start conversing or right after an opening sequence. Excerpts 1 and 2 display parts of the interactions between Owen and Nora and Henry and Lucas in the PDR-high role-play situation where requests were put on the record very early.

Excerpt 1. (Extracted from Owen-Nora (A2 levels): PDR-High Request)

```
01   Owen:    uh hello ms kim:: (1.5) [teacher
02   Nora:                            [hi hi soohyeon
03            (2.0)
04→  Owen:    geu please (0.2) extent the deadline for the
05            homework
06   Nora:    what's wrong
07            (2.7)
08   Owen:    mm because (2.8) I haven't (0.9) finish (1.6)
09            [homework
10   Nora:    [why
11            (2.4)
12   Owen:    mm (2.0) I was(2.2) um (4.0) many play
```

Excerpt 2. (Extracted from Henry-Lucas (A2 levels): PDR-High Request)

```
01→ Henry:    teacher (0.2) could I change the date of the

02            (0.6) per(.)sonal consultation?
03  Lucas:    why are you (.) change the (.) date?
04            (0.3)
05  Henry:    today i >is my< (0.2) birthday I go (0.2) °to
06            the°(0.4) birthday party
07  Lucas:    oh:: so (0.9) o↓kay you can change the date
08  Henry:    thank you teacher
```

In excerpt 1, after an opening sequence in lines 1-2, Owen (i.e., the role of a student named *Soohyeon*) launches a request early on in line 4. Although the inter-turn pauses exist before the request, the frequent inter-turn pauses in the interaction overall indicate that the pauses put before the request may not display Owen's attempt to project the request. Upon Owen's direct request, Nora (i.e., the role of a teacher named *Ms. Kim*) questions the reason in line 6, which was followed by Owen's provision of an account. Excerpt 2 demonstrates a similar pattern. In line 1, Henry, playing the role of a student, puts the request on the record right after starting the conversation. This time, the core request was produced using a conventionally indirect expression (i.e., "Could I change the date of personal consultation?"). Upon Henry's request, Lucas, playing the role of a teacher, asks for the reason in line 3, followed by Henry's account in line 5.

Both excerpts show that learners produce atypical request sequences, and rely on the interlocutor for successful completion of interaction rather than control throughout the conversation.

When the preliminary moves were present, they constituted only a single item of account or *pre-pre* and were often placed with the request head act within the same turn. Here, *pre-pre* (i.e., preliminaries to preliminaries) denotes an optional preliminary move such as “Can I ask you a favor?” which is usually placed at the outset of a request sequence, signaling to the interlocutor that a request sequence is following. Excerpts 3 and 4 depict parts of the interaction on how learners used a single item of the preliminary move.

Excerpt 3. (Extracted from Sofia (B1 level)-Emily (B2 level): PDR-High Request)

```
01   Sofia:     hello ti (0.4) tea(.)CHER
02              (0.4)
03   Emily:     hi
04→  Sofia:     uh:: (0.6) I have a personal consul(0.8)tation
05              today after school.
06              (0.3)
07              bu::t (0.7) I have to change the °date°
08              (0.5)
09   Emily:     alright so when do you want me to change the
10              date?
11   Sofia:     um:: (0.8) next (0.2) friday?
```

Excerpt 4. (Extracted from Adela-Dylan (A2 levels): PDR-Low Request)

```
01→ Adela:    uh:::: (1.7) hello Dyl(.) Dy (0.2) Dylan? uh I

02            can't (0.2) s::sol::ve the math problem >so< I
03            want (1.0) you ex(.)pla::in the math (0.3)
04            problem to me
05            (3.0)
06  Dylan:    °uh° (1.1) it's I don't solve a math problem?
07            and we CAN uh (1.2) uh solve °a prob° math
08            problem? mm together
```

In excerpt 3, after a greeting sequence in lines 1-3, Sofia tries to share a common ground with Emily by saying that she has a personal consultation today. Not acknowledged by Emily verbally, Sofia launches straight into the direct request using the “I have to…” form, thereby placing the core of the request with the *pre-pre* within the same turn. Meanwhile, in excerpt 4, the conversation starts with Adela’s summon in line 1. Hearing no response from Dylan, Adela proceeds to provide an account for the request, which is immediately followed by the core direct request form (e.g., “I want you explain the math problem to me”). After a 3.0s pause, Dylan in lines 6-8 provides the reason for not being able to explain the math problem to Adela and presents an alternative, thereby rejecting Adela’s request indirectly.

The excerpts above demonstrate that learners are occupied with delivering their core message of the request early on and their ability to put the request in typical request sequences is limited. The lack of responses by the learners who took the role of the requestee seems to further result in the requester’s direct requests. The findings in the study are in line with previous studies on beginner-level learners’ request production in interaction (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2012, 2013) where more than half of the participants (i.e., low-proficient Arabic learners of English) in their study showed the early placement of request in conversation sequence. Similar to the results in Al-Gahtani and Roever (2013), learners in the present study also depicted inconsistency in expressing preliminary moves before launching a request. Moreover, as shown in excerpts 3 and 4, aside from request-specific sequences, learners’ overall interactions depicted a lack of response tokens (e.g., acknowledging prior talk, inviting continuation such as *uh-huh* and *um-hmm*) and their limited ability to produce the basic building block of a sequence (i.e., adjacency pair) in a timely appropriate manner. Notably, the absence or inappropriate delay of the relevant next turn in response to the first turn was frequently observed.

Concerning the directness of the core request form, it turned out that learners used direct request forms more often in the PDR-high request situation (i.e., 64% of the learners) than in the PDR-low request situation (i.e., 36% of the learners). Excerpts 5 and 6 demonstrate two parts of the interactions under PDR-high and low request situations by the same pair (i.e., Julian and Daniel).

Excerpt 5. (Extracted from Julian-Daniel (A2 levels): PDR-High Request)

01→ Julian: uh Mr. Kim please extend the deadline for the
02 homework (.) for ME (0.3) because I have to
03 (.) do (0.2) other homework
04 (2.2)
05 Daniel: mm soohyeon (.) you need to enough time to
06 prepare this ↑homework
07 (4.5)
08 Julian: but I HAve to do other ↑homework

Excerpt 6. (Extracted from Julian-Daniel (A2 levels): PDR-Low Request)

01→ Julian: uh Daniel (.) can you (0.2) explain the (.)
02 pro >the math problem< to so::lve (.) a math
03 te::s ah uh problem?
04 Daniel: oh YES I:: (1.2) I solve it

In excerpt 5, Julian (i.e., the role of a student named *Soohyeon*) produces the direct request using *please+imperative* followed by an account in lines 1-4. Upon this, Daniel (i.e., the role of a teacher named *Mr. Kim*) refuses the request telling an account for the refusal in lines 5-6. After a long 4.5s pause, Julian insists on requesting by emphasizing the reason for his request in line 8. In Julian’s request, attempts to mitigate the impositive force of requests through the sequential structure are not detected. Still, the retrospective interview revealed that he had relied on the word “please” to make his request sound polite. Learners employed the word “please” more frequently in PDR-high situations than in PDR-low situations. This coincides with the previous findings that Korean learners of English often use “please” as a politeness marker and as a substitute for the Korean honorific system (Kang, 2011; Song, 2014). On the other hand, in excerpt 6, after addressing Daniel in line 1, Julian launches a request using the form “Can you…”. Unlike what he had done in performing the PDR-high request, Julian used the indirect request form this time, and this is followed by Daniel’s acceptance in line 4.

Among the learners who used direct request forms in the PDR-high request situation, (*please)+imperative* form (7 instances) was most prevalent followed by “I have to…” (2 instances). These mood derivables and want-statement fall into direct request strategies (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), which do not reflect the cultural norm of either learners’ native language or English. Previous studies revealed that native speakers of English are inclined to use indirect strategies regardless of the power relations between the interlocutors (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Brown & Levinson, 1987). The RVRs illustrated that when learners performed the same PDR-high request in their L1, they also relied highly on indirect request forms with accounts, hesitations, and elaborations preceding them, contrasting with what they had done in English. This implies that Korean middle school English learners have pragmatic awareness of the socio-contextual variables that the PDR-high request situation imposes on them. Still, their consideration of those variables is not well-reflected in their L2 utterances due to their lack of L2 pragmalinguistic knowledge and sequential tools for performing a PDR-high request. The only device they had for a big request seemed to add the lexical politeness marker, “please” to their core message. It is interesting to note that learners used “please” only with an imperative sentence rather than the way that they had encountered in their textbook (e.g., “Can you *please* do the dishes?”). Considering the relatively low proficiency of the participants, it could have been easier for them to just put the lexical modifier in front of a sentence rather than in the middle. Also, as for the frequent use of *want statements* (e.g., “I have to…”), when the RVRs from those who used them were scrutinized, it was revealed that they used these forms without any awareness of the pragmatic function that these forms carry. In addition, their use of these forms stemmed at least partially from their inadequate translation of the Korean request form ‘…*hae-ya-hal-geot-gat-a-yo’* (i.e., “I think I have to…”) to English. Due to the learners’ limited linguistic ability, the transfer of the L1 form to L2 could not be done properly.

On the other hand, in PDR-low request situations, learners’ production of indirect request strategy was more prevalent (i.e., 9 out of 14 learners, 64%). Among the indirect request strategies mentioned in Blum-

Kulka et al. (1989), eight learners employed the preparatory strategy (e.g., “Can I (you)…”) while one learner used a hint. Excerpts 7 to 9 show parts of the interactions by Sofia and Emily, Lucas and Henry, and Hazel and Grace under the PDR-low request role-play situations, depicting the trend.

Excerpt 7. (Extracted from Sofia (B1 level)-Emily (B2 level): PDR-Low Request)

```
01→ Sofia:    uh Emily can I share >share< your umbrella?
02  Emily:    SURE my umbrella’s big for (0.2) big enough
03            for two to get in
04  Sofia:    that's great (0.2) thank you
05  Emily:    okay
```

Excerpt 8. (Extracted from Lucas-Henry (A2 levels): PDR-Low Request)

```
01  Lucas:    hey did you solve a math problem?
02  Henry:    okay I help you solve a math problem (0.3) I
03            explain the math (.) problem
04            (0.3)
05→ Lucas:    oh thank you could you explain the math
06            problem?
07  Henry:    °okay°
```

Excerpt 9. (Extracted from Hazel-Grace (A2 levels): PDR-Low Request)

```
01→ Hazel:    °uh° I don't understand this math problem
```

```
02   Grace:     hmm:: (1.5) I don't know (0.2) TOO (0.8) go
03              math teacher
```

In excerpt 7, Sofia addresses Emily and puts the request straight on using the indirect request form (line 1). Emily's immediate acceptance follow this in lines 2-3, and the conversation ends with a thanks exchange. In excerpt 8, Lucas in line 1 asks Henry whether he had solved the math problem, checking the availability of his request first. Henry in lines 2-3 seems to regard Lucas's pre-request in line 1 as a request, which led him to say that he could help explain the math problem. Upon this utterance, Lucas in lines 5-6 proceeds to what he had initially intended to communicate (i.e., request) using the indirect request form, and Henry's acknowledgment follows this in line 7. Meanwhile, excerpt 9 observes an instance of using a hint as a request is observed. In line 1, Hazel hints at a request to Grace by saying that she does not understand the math problem. Upon this, Grace refuses the request in lines 2-3, saying that she does not know how to solve the problem either. Excerpts 7 through 9 thus show that more learners used indirect strategies in performing PDR-low requests. The RVRs revealed that since "Can I (you)…" is the common and familiar expression for a request, the learners could use the expression without thinking deeply. Learners' different performances in PDR-high and low request role-plays overall demonstrate that they are sensitive to the contextual variables, but since they have limited knowledge of L2 pragmalinguistics and request sequences, their sensitivity toward each situation is not well-reflected in actual performance. It was particularly problematic when learners had to deal with the PDR-high request situation.

4.1.2. After Instruction: The Case of Requests

After the instruction, learners' request performance revealed several common features. First, all of their requests were realized in a conventionally indirect way. None of the learners used the direct request forms that were widely used before the instruction. Second, learners' greater sensitivity toward preference organization was reflected in the request sequence. For example, preliminary moves were more widely employed before requests, thereby enabling the requestee to foreshadow the upcoming request. Lastly, learners' sensitivity toward different contextual variables was reflected in their use of preliminary moves and pragmalinguistic forms for a request. Excerpts 10 and 11 present parts of the conversation between Sofia and Emily under PDR-high role-play situations before and after the instruction.

Excerpt 10. (Extracted from Sofia (B1 level)-Emily (B2 level): PDR-High Request Before Instruction)

```
01   Sofia:    hello ti(0.4) tea(.)CHER
02             (0.4)
03   Emily:    hi
04→  Sofia:    uh:: (0.6) I have a personal consul(0.8)tation
```

```
05             today after school (0.3) but (0.7) I have to
06             change the °date°
07             (0.5)
08   Emily:    alright so when do you want me to change the
09             date?
10   Sofia:    um:: (0.8) next (0.2) friday?
11   Emily:    alright
```

Excerpt 11. (Extracted from Sofia (B1 level)-Emily (B2 level): PDR-High Request After Instruction)

```
01   Sofia:    he hello::
02             (1.3)
03   Emily:    hi soohyeon
04→  Sofia:    uh:: I have some↑THING to tell you::
05   Emily:    um hmm (2.2) what is it?
06→  Sofia:    uh:: (2.7) I:: >I have< ing (.) ing (.)
07             english HOME↑work
08   Emily:    mm hmm
09→  Sofia:    that you told me:: last two weeks?
10   Emily:    mm hmm
11             (1.2)
12→  Sofia:    uh:: bu::::t (4.5) but I (0.8) didn't (2.5)
13             finish it
14→  Emily:    oh:: so you want me to exTEND the deadline for
15             thi:: homework >the homework<?
```

```
16   Sofia:    yeah
```

Sofia and Emily's interaction after instruction in excerpt 11 starts with a greeting sequence in lines 1-3. Then Sofia (i.e., the role of a student named *Soohyeon*) produces her first preliminary move (i.e., pre-pre) in line 4 indicating that she has something to tell. In line 5, Emily (i.e., the role of a teacher) utters a go-ahead move, showing her attention to the ongoing conversation. In lines 6-7, Sofia expresses another preliminary move, sharing the common ground with Emily about the assignment. After Emily's acknowledgment (line 8), Sofia continues her move in line 9, which is followed by Emily's other acknowledgment (line 10). In lines 12-13, Sofia produces an account, explaining that she did not finish the assignment. Upon this, Emily in line 14 expresses her affiliation ("oh") followed by the pre-emptive offer. Here, Emily's offer in line 14 pre-empts the need for Sofia to produce a request. Emily seems to apply what she had learned during the instruction that the optimal preferred response to the pre-request is a pre-emptive offer (Schegloff, 2007). Considering that Emily was the only one who could provide a pre-emptive offer in accordance with the interlocutor's preliminary moves, her high proficiency seems to have worked positively. In excerpt 11, Sofia's projection of the request was made successfully by getting the pre-emptive offer from Emily. Considering that Sofia could use *pre-pre* in her request even before instruction (see lines 4-6 in excerpt 10), the pragmatic instruction seems to have helped her elaborate her request by adding another resource (i.e., providing an account). Though request sequence entailing pre-emptive offer occurred only in this pair (i.e., more proficient learners) in the PDR-high request situations, the result depicts one example of learners' greater sensitivity toward preference organization and their effort to co-construct their conversation. The more prevalent request sequence examined in the learner data (86% of the total interactions) was the use of one or two preliminary moves and an overt request by the requester with (36% of the total request interactions) or without response tokens in between (50% of the total request interactions) from the requestee. Excerpts 12 and 13 show parts of the interaction between Nora and Owen under PDR-high request situations before and after instruction.

Excerpt 12. (Extracted from Nora-Owen (A2 levels): PDR-High Request Before Instruction)

01 Nora: hi miss:: (1.1) miss park
02 (0.5)
03 Owen: hello
04 (1.3)
05→ Nora: I:: (0.5) have to change the date
06 (1.4)
07 Owen: why?
08 (1.2)
09 Nora: I::: I have (1.0) uh after class (2.2) ahh

```
10             after school?
11             (2.0)
12   Owen:    °uh° (2.0) you can't change the date
```

Excerpt 13. (Extracted from Nora-Owen (A2 levels): PDR-High Request After Instruction)

```
01   Nora:     excuse me?
02   Owen:     oh hello soohyeon
03             (0.3)
04→ Nora:     uh:: I have a:: favor
05   Owen:     what (0.2) problem
06→ Nora:     could you extend the deadline for the homework
07             please?
08             (0.3)
09   Owen:     sorry soohyeon
```

In excerpt 13, Nora (i.e., the role of a student named *Soohyeon*) produces an attention-getter in line 1, which is followed by Owen’s (i.e., the role of a teacher) greeting in line 2. In line 4, Nora produces a bare *pre-pre*, which serves to project the request later on. Owen, in line 5, produces a go-ahead response asking what problem Nora has. Upon this, Nora makes a request in line 6 using the conventionally indirect request form with “please” at the end. After pauses, Owen apologies to Nora, which signals his rejection of Nora’s request. Nora’s way of requesting after instruction contrasts with what she had done before instruction where she had put her request early on in the conversation using a direct request form (i.e., “I have to…”) (See excerpt 12). Excerpts 14 and 15 illustrate parts of the interactions between Grace and Hazel under PDR-low request situations before and after instruction.

Excerpt 14. (Extracted from Grace-Hazel (A2 levels): PDR-Low Request Before Instruction)

01→ Grace: um:: (2.0) can:: can? can you share one's
02 umbRELLA?
03 Hazel: °uh° yes where is your (0.2) house?
04 (1.0)
05 Grace: um:: (3.0) mm:: (5.2) next (.) to:: (0.4)
06 school?
07 Hazel: uh okay let's go together

Excerpt 15. (Extracted from Grace-Hazel (A2 levels): PDR-Low Request After Instruction)

01 Grace: hello
02 Hazel: hello
03→ Grace: um:: (0.3) I know >I don't know< math problem
04 (1.0)
05 Hazel: °oh::°
06→ Grace: =°so° (0.4) would you explain the math (0.2)
07 pro(.)blem?
08 (1.4)
09 Hazel: °I° (.) I'd love to help you but I don't know

Excerpt 15 also illustrates a similar pattern (i.e., pre-sequence followed by the core request), but this time, instead of a bare *pre-pre*, an account precedes a request. After a greeting sequence in lines 1-2, Grace expresses a statement of the problem in line 3 with some pauses and hesitations. Upon this new information, Hazel provides a change of state token "oh" to Grace's problem. This is followed by Grace's indirect request in lines 6-7 with some pauses. Hazel in line 9 refuses the request using a pro forma agreement followed by her account for the refusal. As in excerpt 14, Grace, before instruction, put her request using an indirect form early on in the conversation, but later, she could use a preliminary move before launching her request.

The examination of preliminary moves after instruction also revealed that while only 7% of the learners expressed verbal responses to the requesters' preliminary moves before instruction, after instruction, it increased to 36%. This indicates learners' effort to show their understanding of ongoing conversation and affiliation toward the interlocutor, and their attempt to co-construct the conversation, which was emphasized during the instruction.

The previous study (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2012) demonstrated that learners' ability to defer requests using preliminary moves in real-time discourse is one characteristic of highly proficient learners. This study shows that relatively low-level learners' ability to make a request properly in extended discourse can be enhanced through CA-informed pragmatic instruction, though the degree to which it is realized was qualitatively diverse across the students. The results also provide empirical support for the effectiveness of CA-informed pragmatic instruction in that it helped learners to produce appropriate request forms and sequences, reflect preference organization in their discourse, and produce more interactionally sophisticated conversation with being more attentive and responsive to their ongoing conversation (Barraja-Rohan, 2011; Caroll, 2011; Huth & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006).

Regarding learners' performance in PDR-high request role-plays, two noticeable patterns were found in comparison to their performances in PDR-low request role-plays. That is, they used the core request form embedded in the clause structure and applied more extended preliminary moves before launching their requests. Excerpts 16 and 17 show parts of the interactions between Hazel and Grace in the PDR-high request role-play situation before and after instruction.

Excerpt 16. (Extracted from Hazel-Grace (A2 levels): PDR-High Request Before Instruction)

```
01   Hazel:     hello hh
02              (0.4)
03   Grace:     hello
04→  Hazel:     =my name is soohyeon?
05              (2.1)
```

06 Hazel: uh:: (0.9) I:::: mis:: understood (0.2)

07 homewor::k.

08 (1.2)

09 Grace: um:: (0.4) other student (2.2) submit (2.0)

10 uh::(1.2) home↓work

11 (2.2)

12→ Hazel: °uh° please extent the (.) dea↑line for the

13 homework

14 (1.6)

15 Grace: °um° (0.2) I'm sorry bu::t (0.7) uh:: (2.0)

16 no:: extend the deadline for the homework

Excerpt 17. (Extracted from Hazel-Grace (A2 levels): PDR-High Request After Instruction)

01 Hazel: hello teacher

02 Grace: hello Hazel

03→ Hazel: I have a persona::l (.) cons >consula::< (1.2)

04 consulation? (0.2) today °but° I like to but I

05 go (0.8) grandmother house?

06 Grace: °mm hmm°

07 (1.6)

08→ Hazel: I was wondering if you change the da(.)te

09 (1.3)

10 Grace: oh:: (0.8) to when?

11 Hazel: uh:: (0.5) next monday

In excerpt 17, after a greeting sequence in lines 1-2, which is placed contiguously, Hazel provides an account for her request in lines 3-5. In doing so, Hazel firstly reminds Grace of the appointment, shows her willingness to keep the promise, and then provides the account for the request. This is followed by Grace's immediate go-ahead response in line 6. After pauses, Hazel finally launches a request embedded in clause structure in line 8. In line 10, Grace further asks for information about when would be a good candidate for the next consultation. In the present study, as one example of requests embedded in clause structure that could be used in PDR-high request situations (Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Taguchi, 2006), "I was wondering if I(you) could…" had been explicitly taught to the students during the instructional phases. Although Hazel's use of this structure is not grammatically complete with the missing *could* in the *if-clause*, she tried to put what she had learned into actual performance. Five out of fourteen learners (36%) attempted to use this form in PDR-high request situations while none used it in PDR-low request situations. Though only one (i.e., Emily, the B2 level learner) out of five learners used a grammatically complete form due to the complexity of the form, their attempt to use the form implies that more learners tried to reflect their sensitivity toward the contextual variable through an appropriate pragmalinguistic form. The other nine learners (64%) applied the modal verbs "can", "could", or "may" instead of the target form taught for the PDR-high request.

Before instruction, learners had difficulty not only in putting requests in a sequentially appropriate manner but also in using appropriate L2 pragmalinguistic forms in different contexts. Mainly, it was problematic in PDR-high request situations. After the instruction, however, as being equipped with appropriate pragmalinguistic forms for different contexts and knowing how to accommodate the request in a sequentially appropriate manner, more learners could appropriately project their request in interaction reflecting the contextual demands. Meanwhile, learners' more appropriate use of preliminary moves than the pragmalinguistic form itself can be discussed in terms of their L1. Previous studies revealed that request modifications are teachable to adolescent learners (Kim & Taguchi, 2015; Li, 2012), and they are retained until delayed posttests. Furthermore, in Kim and Taguchi (2015), it was found that learners could learn and retain request supportive moves more easily than the pragmalinguistic form itself at delayed post-tests. To this finding, they suggested the L1 effect on the learnability of pragmatic features. That is, since the use of supportive moves in making a request also exists in the Korean language, it is more likely that learners could retain the use of preliminary moves in making English requests. On the other hand, the *bi-clausal* (e.g., "I was wondering if I/you could…") taught to the learners was not only syntactically complex but also does not exist in the Korean language, which is thus more amenable to attrition or only partially correct use.

4.2. The Development of Pragmatic Competence – The Speech Act of Refusal

This section deals with learners' development of pragmatic competence by comparing and contrasting their refusal role-play performances before and after the instruction. Section 4.2.1 depicts how learners perform PDR-high and low refusal to request role-plays before instruction. Section 4.2.2 demonstrates learners' performance of refusal to request role-plays after instruction.

4.2.1. Before Instruction: The Case of Refusals to Requests

Learner's refusals before instruction showed several common features. First, the use of direct refusal formulas positioned relatively earlier in the turn was prevalent regardless of the situation (79% of the total interactions). Second, the provision of accounts, reasons, and excuses (82% of the total interactions) and expressing apologies (79% of the total interactions) were found to be prevailing strategies among the students. Excerpts 18 and 19 illustrate interactions depicting how refusals in PDR-high and low situations were conducted by Sofia and Emily before instruction.

Excerpt 18. (Extracted from Sofia (B1 level)-Emily (B2 level): PDR-High Refusal to Request)

```
01   Sofia:    uh haneul (0.2) uh:: (0.4) can you move some
02             heavy book >boxes and books< to teacher's
03             l(.)lounge?
04→  Emily:    sorry miss (0.2) lee I couldn't move it
05             because I have an aCAdemy after school AND
06             (0.2) I don't have tai >I don't have much
07             time<
08   Sofia:    °uh° it's okay
09             (1.2)
10   Emily:    okay thank you  (0.7) for understanding
```

Excerpt 19. (Extracted from Sofia (B1 level)-Emily (B2 level): PDR-Low Refusal to Request)

```
01   Sofia:    uh:: Emily(0.2) can I go over to your house to
02             do the English homework with ↑you?
03→  Emily:    sorry I >sorry I can't< I:: think we couldn't
04             (0.2) because (0.3) my house is too dirty and
05             my mom doesn't like me take >taking< friends
06             to our house
07   Sofia:    it's okay thanks
```

In excerpt 18, Sofia (i.e., the role of a teacher, *Ms. Lee*) addresses Emily (i.e., the role of a student named *Haneul*) in line 1. Hearing no response from Emily, Sofia proceeds to ask Emily to help her move some heavy boxes and books to the teacher’s lounge. Upon this, Emily refuses the request right away using the expression of regret, followed by the direct expression, “I couldn’t”, and two accounts throughout lines 4-6. In excerpt 19, a similar picture is shown. In lines 1-2, Sofia (i.e., the role of a student) launches a request right after starting a conversation. Emily (i.e., the role of a friend) immediately refuses this request in the following turn (lines 3-6) using the expression of regrets and the direct expressions, “I can’t” and “we couldn’t”. After this, Emily proceeds to add two accounts, which minimizes the risk of face-threatening. Upon this, Sofia expresses both acknowledgment and appreciation in line 7, which leads to the closing of the sequence. Overall, Emily’s immediate refusals in both PDR-high and low refusal situations depict that she is not sensitive enough to the contextual variables. Excerpts 20 and 21 show parts of the interactions between Jacob and David before instruction, depicting a similar trend of refusal practice.

Excerpt 20. (Extracted from Jacob-David (A2 levels): PDR-High Refusal to Request)

```
01   David:    uh:: hey haneul (0.5) do you have some
02             time(.)s?
03   Jacob:    uh (2.0) uh:: why?
04             (0.8)
05   David:    uh can you move some heavy boxes and books to
06             teacher's lounge?
07→  Jacob:    =uh sorry I can't I have (.) a meeting now
```

Excerpt 21. (Extracted from Jacob-David (A2 levels): PDR-Low Refusal to Request)

```
01   David:     HEY (0.6) can I (0.7) go to your home to do
02              (0.2) the English homework together?
03→  Jacob:     °uh° sorry (0.2) you can't uh I have a (0.2)
04              family meeting?
```

In excerpt 20, David (i.e., the role of a teacher, *Ms. Lee*) addresses Jacob (i.e., the role of a student named *Haneul*) in line 1. The absence of a response from Jacob makes David proceed to ask whether he has some time after school. Jacob in line 3 asks “why”, signaling a go-ahead move. Upon this, David in lines 5-6 asks Jacob to move some boxes and books to the teacher’s lounge. Jacob immediately refuses the request by making use of the expression of regret, followed by the direct expression, “I can’t”, and an account in line 7. In excerpt 21 where Jacob was under PDR-low refusal to request situation, a similar refusal practice was depicted. In line 1, David addresses Jacob by uttering “hey”. Not hearing any response from Jacob, David puts his request on record, asking whether it is okay to visit Jacob’s home to do the English homework together. Jacob immediately refuses this request in the following turn (lines 3-4) using the expression of regret, the direct expression, “you can’t”, and an account. Excerpts 22 and 23 illustrate parts of the interactions by another pair under PDR-high and low situations, respectively.

Excerpt 22. (Extracted from Henry-Lucas (A2 levels): PDR-High Refusal to Request)

```
01   Lucas:    hey sihyeon I have something to (1.2) say you
02   Henry:    °uh yes°
03             (2.6)
04   Lucas:    please you get along well with (0.7) your
05             classmate(1.0) Dain
06             (2.5)
07→  Henry:    mm mm mm no I can't Dain is (1.8) °uh° many
08             (0.7) f↑riends (2.4) fight >fight<
09             (1.1)
10   Lucas:    oh (1.4) so I (1.0) say to Dain (0.3) with
```

Excerpt 23. (Extracted from Henry-Lucas (A2 levels): PDR-Low Refusal to Request)

```
01   Lucas:    HEY you have a time?
02             (0.5)
03→  Henry:    no I can't >I< (0.4) I have a headache I have
04             to go to a hospital
```

In except 22, after an opening sequence in lines 1-2, Lucas (i.e., the role of a teacher) requests in lines 4-5, asking Henry (i.e., the role of a student) to get along with Dain, who is struggling to get along with her classmates. Henry in lines 7-8 directly refuses the request using the expression “no I can’t” following the turn-initial delay and the pause fillers (i.e., “mm”). The turn-initial delay and the pause fillers here can be interpreted in two ways; they could be the characteristics of dispreferred response, a way of mitigating and delaying the refusal or they could also indicate dysfluency caused by linguistic difficulties. When RVRs by Henry were scrutinized, it was found that he was struggling with coming up with an appropriate refusal expression as well as finding words to deliver his intention, and this seems to have made him hesitate and stumble. Thus, Henry's silence and hesitations in lines 6-8 can be considered more relevant to the linguistic difficulties he encountered at the time of uttering his refusal. Henry, after pausing for 1.8s, further provides an account, which may mitigate the direct "no." Lucas, in line 10, marks information receipt by saying "oh" and states that he would talk with Dain, signaling the closing of the sequence. Similar to what he had done in refusing the PDR-high request, Henry, in excerpt 23, employs the direct "no I can't" and an account for his refusal under the PDR-low refusal to request situation. Although Lucas in line 1 only asks for the availability of time before launching his request, Henry seems to have either misinterpreted this as a request or has been so obsessed with what he wanted to say that he provided his refusal in the following turn in lines 3-4.

The learner data showed that they use devices such as expressing apologies and accounts to mitigate the force of refusals but they contain a bald, on-record utterance (e.g., "no" and "can't") in their interaction relatively early on to show the clarity of refusals. Furthermore, the learner data showed little effect of situational demands on the directness of refusals. That is, regardless of the situation, learners consistently used the direct refusal formula although the direct refusals were often accompanied by expressions of regrets and/or accounts marking dispreference organization. Taguchi and Roever (2017) stated that learners with low proficiency privilege clarity and efficiency over contextually sensitive design. This may be true considering learners' proficiency level in this study, but in addition to this, the RVRs showed that it was also affected by both input and incomplete translation of their L1 expression. Many of the learners mentioned that they had encountered such expressions (e.g., "I can't", "no I can't", "sorry I can't") somewhere in their textbooks, and thus they 'just' used the expression, which implies that they hardly considered the pragmatic function of the form or the degree of the directness of the form. They also stated that they tried to translate Korean expressions for refusals, "*an-doel-geo-gat-ta-yo*" or "*mot-hal-geo-gat-ta-yo*" (both translated into "I don't think I can make(do) it" in English) into English, which was unfortunately done only partially due to their limited linguistic ability. Interestingly, when learners performed the same role-plays in their L1 during the RVRs with the researcher playing the role of the interlocutor, their clear intention of refusal (which would be translated into "I don't think I can make it" in English) was placed in the later turn of their utterances preceded by pause fillers, accounts, and/or regrets while the reverse pattern was noticed in their performances in English. For example, when Henry was asked how he would respond in L1 if he were in the PDR-high refusal situation as in excerpt 22, he mentioned he would say “um…I’m sorry but…Dain fights with friends quite often and she keeps herself at a distance from classmates, so I don’t think I can get along well with her”.

Concerning the learners’ prevalent use of accounts in refusing requests, the results of the current study resonate with the previous findings in that this is a strategy that both native speakers of English and learners of English prefer to use the most in refusals (Beebe et al., 1990; Kwon, 2004; Min, 2013). Meanwhile, learners’ frequent application of apologies can be discussed in terms of the input from their textbook. In their textbook, “I’m sorry, but I can’t” was introduced as the main expression for refusals. Since the expression is quite formulaic and easy to remember, learners seemed to have used the expression widely whenever it is necessary.

The RVRs further revealed that learners are aware of the speech act of refusal as a face-threatening act, and they think it should be conducted politely and cautiously to any interlocutors. As was in the case of requests, they were aware of the contextual variables and their perception of the interlocutor’s status was particularly salient, but this did not necessarily lead learners to perform differently according to the interlocutor with different status. Excerpts 24 and 25 show interactions between Daniel and Julian under both PDR-high and low refusal to request situations.

Excerpt 24. (Extracted from Daniel-Julian (A2 levels): PDR-High Refusal to Request)

```
01   Julian:    oh (1.1) oh sihyeon (0.2) you CAN get along
02              with (0.5) Dain? (0.6) because (.) ↑she (0.4)
03              can't get along with other classmates
04→ Daniel:     uh:: sorry teacher (2.5) but (4.1) °I°(4.6)
05              but I >I am< (1.2) °be° (3.4) unfriendly
06              (1.3)
07   Julian:    oh:: (1.5) yes (.) I will (0.4) ah I'll ask
08              other °ah° o↑ther classma other students
09   Daniel:    °yes°
```

Excerpt 25. (Extracted from Daniel-Julian (A2 levels): PDR-Low Refusal to Request)

```
01   Julian:    oh Daniel (.) can you help me? (1.6) my
02               homework? t to stay in class?
03→ Daniel:     =uh sorry Julian I have a:: academy (0.8)
04              after school
05   Julian:    oh:: yes (0.6) I will (0.4) ask other (0.6)
06              friends
07   Daniel:    oh ye::s bye
08   Julian:    bye
```

As was shown in excerpts 18 through 23, excerpts 24 and 25 also depict that learners employ similar refusal strategies regardless of refusal situations. In excerpt 24, for example, upon Julian’s (i.e., the role of a teacher) request in lines 1-3, Daniel (i.e., the role of a student named *Sihyeon*) immediately refuses this in lines 4-5 by expressing regrets followed by an account. Regarding the frequent inter-turn pauses, Daniel mentioned during the RVRs that he was thinking of the word “unfriendly”, which suggests that his struggle with linguistic difficulty caused him to frequent silence. In excerpt 25, Daniel’s similar way of refusal is depicted. In lines 1-2, Julian summons Daniel, but hearing no response from Daniel, Julian proceeds to his request, asking Daniel to help him with his homework. Daniel once again immediately refuses the request in lines 3-4 by expressing regrets and an account.

In a recent study, Park and Oh (2019), using open role-plays, revealed Korean EFL learners’ sensitivity toward the interlocutor’s status concerning the sequential organization, the directness of the refusals, expressions of regret, and non-verbal features (e.g., gaze orientation). The data in the study illustrated that the learners produced more insert expansions when not complying with the status-higher interlocutor’s request. In terms of the directness of the refusals, it was also found that learners use less direct refusal expressions and expressions of regret to status-higher interlocutors than to status-equal interlocutors. In the current study, however, no such trend was found. That is, learners produced a similar number of direct strategies and expressions of regret regardless of situations and interlocutors. Also, there was no particular difference in their projection of insert expansion. These different results can be discussed concerning the limited linguistic ability of the participants in the current study. Previous studies (Ahn, 2010; Allami & Naeimi, 2011; Kim & Kwon, 2010) argued that negative pragmatic transfer more frequently occurs among higher-proficient learners. According to the studies, lower-level learners are more likely to rely on formulaic expressions, which, in turn, seems to result in the impermeability of L1 transfer (Kim & Kwon, 2010). Since most participants in the present study had a more limited linguistic ability, their L1 norms (i.e., greater sensitivity toward the status of the interlocutor) seem to have been less transferred to English, which in consequence led the learners to produce a seemingly similar pattern of refusals regardless of the situation.

4.2.2. After Instruction: The Case of Refusals to Requests

The followings characterize learners' refusal productions after the instruction. First, while the provision of accounts or expressions of regret were the most prevalent strategies like before instruction, the directness of refusal strategies moved from direct to indirect. Although there found instances of straightforward refusal formula in 10 out of 28 refusal interactions (36%), 11% were placed at a later position of a turn, while 25% were still placed in the earlier position of a turn. Second, diverse types of pro forma agreements were employed by the learners, which worked as showing the recipiency toward the interlocutor's problem-telling (11 out of

28 refusal interactions, 39%). Before instruction, the use of pro forma agreement was detected only in 3 out of 28 interactions (11%). Third, the use of prefatory particles (e.g., “um”, “mm”, “uh”) by the learners increased (25 out of 28 refusal interactions, 89% out of 100%), thereby delaying the refusals in their utterances. Before instruction, the use of prefatory particles was detected in 16 out of 28 interactions (57%). Excerpts 26 and 27 demonstrate examples of refusals to request in PDR-high situations before and after instruction.

Excerpt 26. (Extracted from Sofia (B1 level)-Emily (B2 level): PDR-High Refusal to Request Before Instruction)

01   Sofia: uh haneul (0.2) uh:: (0.4) can you move some
02   heavy book >boxes and books< to teacher's
03   l(.)lounge?
04→ Emily: sorry miss (0.2) lee I couldn't move it
05   because I have an aCAdemy after school AND
06   (0.2) I don't have tai >I don't have much
07   time<
08   Sofia: °uh° it's okay
09   (1.2)
10   Emily: okay thank you (0.7) for understanding

Excerpt 27. (Extracted from Sofia (B1 level)-Emily (B2 level): PDR-High Refusal to Request After Instruction)

01 Sofia: sihyeon

02 (0.5)

03 Emily: ye::s?

04 (1.7)

05 Sofia: uh:: I have something to tell you

06 Emily: uh hmm

07 (0.6)

08 Sofia: you know Dain right?

09 Emily: yeah

10 (0.3)

11 Sofia: umm:: °she° >I think she doesn't get along<

12 (0.2) WELL with (1.5) other:: classmates?

13→ Emily: oh

14 Sofia: so can you help >HELP her<?

15→ Emily: umm it's okay with me but (.) one of my

16 friends (0.7) FOUGHT with Dain? (.) last

17 year so maybe she wouldn't like it (0.6) I'm

18 sorry maybe you could ask another one

19 Sofia: o↑kay I will

In excerpt 27, after an opening sequence in lines 1-4, Sofia (i.e., the role of a teacher) attempts to project the request over several turns. In line 5, she prepares Emily (i.e., the role of a student named *Sihyeon*) for the upcoming request (i.e., *pre-pre*) saying that she has something to talk about.

Emily expresses a go-ahead response in line 6, which is followed by Sofia's pre-sequence in line 8 asking whether Emily knows Dain. After hearing "yes" from Emily, Sofia states the problem that Dain (i.e., Emily's classmate) has as another pre-sequence in lines 11-12. Emily utters "oh" in line 13, marking the information receipt, and this is followed by Sofia's request in line 14. Upon this, Emily firstly expresses a prefatory particle (i.e., "umm"), provides an account of why she cannot accept the request, expresses her apology, and finally presents a suggestion. This way of refusal contrasts with what Emily did before instruction (see excerpt 26) in terms of the number of strategies used and the degree to which she accommodated the non-compliant nature of refusals in interaction.

Excerpt 28. (Extracted from Henry-Lucas (A2 levels): PDR-High Refusal to Request Before Instruction)

01 Lucas: hey sihyeon I have something to (1.2) say you
02 Henry: °uh yes°
03 (2.6)
04 Lucas: please you get along well with (0.7) your
05 classmate (1.0) Dain
06 (2.5)
07→ Henry: mm mm mm no I can't Dain is (1.8) °uh° many
08 (0.7) f↑riends (2.4) fight >fight<
09 (1.1)
10 Lucas: oh (1.4) so I (1.0) say to Dain (0.3) with

Excerpt 29. (Extracted from Henry-Lucas (A2 levels): PDR-High Refusal to Request After Instruction)

01 Lucas: hello

02 Henry: hello teacher

03 Lucas: uh:: (5.9) you have p↑la::n after school?

04 Henry: °no° I don't have

05 Lucas: so:: (0.3) can you please help me (0.8) °to°

06 (0.5) mo::ve some heavy boxes (.) and books to

07 teacher's lounge?

08 (1.0)

09→ Henry: °um::° (1.8) uh I want to help you bu::t I

10 have (.) I hurt my legs

11 Lucas: oh okay

12 (0.9)

13→ Henry: sorry teacher

14 Lucas: it's okay

In excerpt 29, after a greeting sequence in lines 1-2, Lucas (i.e., the role of a teacher) as a pre-sequence asks Henry (i.e., the role of a student) if he has a plan after school (line 3). Following Henry's go-ahead response in line 4, Lucas asks Henry to move some boxes and books to the teacher's lounge in lines 5-7. Henry in line 9 refuses the request using the expression of pro forma agreement (i.e., "I want to help you but") and an account following a prefatory particle (i.e., "um") and a 1.8s pause. In line 11, Lucas acknowledges Henry's situation by saying "oh okay", and Henry further adds an expression of regret in line 13 as a strategy of refusal. Henry’s way of refusing differs from what he had done before instruction where his refusal only contained a bald “no” followed by an account (See lines 7-8 in excerpt 28). After instruction, he tries to show more affiliation to the interlocutor by making use of adequate pauses, pause fillers, a positive opinion, an account, and the expression of regret.

Excerpt 30. (Extracted from Hazel-Grace (A2 levels): PDR-Low Refusal to Request Before Instruction)

```
01   Grace:    oh (2.3) after school (0.7) what are you
02             doing?
03             (0.2)
04   Hazel:    °uh° I:: (2.0) °uh° nothing.
05             (1.6)
06   Grace:    um:: (1.4) we ha >↑have< do the English
07             homework together?
08   Hazel:    uh yes
09             (0.9)
10   Grace:    in your house
11→  Hazel:    uh:: NO
12   Grace:    uh:: (1.3) okay
13→  Hazel:    =uh we go (0.5) caFE? (1.2) ca↓fe
14             (4.0)
15   Grace:    um I have no money
```

Excerpt 31. (Extracted from Hazel-Grace (A2 levels): PDR-Low Refusal to Request After Instruction)

```
01   Grace:    hello
02   Hazel:    hello
03   Grace:    um:: I have many english homeWO::RK (1.6) so::
04            (1.0) could you help (.) one's homework stay in
05             cla::ss?
06→ Hazel:    °oh° (0.4) I would (1.1) but (0.3) I:: go to
07             academy (0.2) NOW
08   Grace:    oh:: (0.4) okay sorry
09→ Hazel:    °sorry°
```

In excerpt 31, after a greeting sequence in lines 1-2, Grace (i.e., the role of a student) in lines 3-5 asks Hazel (i.e., the role of a friend) to help her homework after school. Upon this request, Hazel in lines 6-7 first shows affiliation to Grace's situation (i.e., "oh"), expresses pro forma agreement (i.e., "I would but"), and provides an account emphasizing the urgency of his current situation with the expression "now" at the end of her utterance. Hazel further adds an expression of regret in her following turn in line 9 as a way of refusal. On the other hand, what Hazel used for refusing a request before instruction was limited to saying "no" (See line 11 in excerpt 30) with the provision of an alternative (See line 13).

Excerpts 27, 29, and 31 above showed that pragmatic instruction helped learners move away from focusing on clarity of refusals to accommodating the non-compliant nature of refusals in interaction. Learners' refusals were generally prefaced by markers of dispreference such as hesitations, prefatory particles (e.g. "um", "oh"), and variants of pro forma agreement, which all could lead to demonstrating their commitment to maintaining social solidarity. In terms of the pro forma agreements, for example, learners produced various kinds, which included "I'd love to but", "I like to but", "I want to help you but", "I really help you but", and "I want but." Previous studies (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2018; Pekarek Doehler, & Pochon-Berger, 2015; Taguchi & Roever, 2017) demonstrated that diversification of methods in performing speech acts is a hallmark of learners' pragmatic and interactional development. This study illustrates that pragmatic instruction can encourage learners to broaden the range of tools for formatting refusals in interaction. In terms of refusals, learners in the study (except for a few) focused more on diversifying and fine-tuning their refusal methods through lexical and phrasal tools. Another noticeable strategy used by refusers was to emphasize the urgency of their current situation (e.g., "right now", "really quickly", "right after school"). This may be due to the salience of lexical and phrasal tools and also the limited linguistic ability of the learners in the present study.

Regarding learners' performance in the PDR-high and PDR-low refusal situations, respectively, there found no particularly different pattern that turned out to be dominant as was before the instruction. Excerpts 32 and 33 show how David refuses PDR-high and low requests, respectively.

Excerpt 32. (Extracted from Jacob-David (A2 levels): PDR-High Refusal to Request After Instruction)

01 Jacob: uh hey (0.2) uh haneul (0.8) uh:: (0.6) do you
02 have time?
03 (2.1)
04 David: what's (0.3) what problem?
05 Jacob: °uh° (1.2) °uh° (1.9) can you help °me° (2.4)
06 to move s:: some heavy boxes and books uh:: to
07 the teacher’s lang ah long?
08→ David: oh:: my academy is s::start at four o'clock
09 (1.4)
10 so there's no time I'm sorry
11 Jacob: °oh° okay

Excerpt 33. (Extracted from Jacob-David (A2 levels): PDR-Low Refusal to Request After Instruction)

01 Jacob: hey David (0.3) uh::
02 David: =yes?
03 (1.7)
04 Jacob: do you have (0.7) °uh::° (0.2) may I go your
05 (0.3) house to do the english °home°
06 >°homework°< together?
07 (0.6)
08→ David: uh:: (0.9) I'm sorry but (.) my brother has
09 tests °tomorrow° so:: (0.8) my brother (0.4)

10 has to:: (0.5) study

In both excerpts, David employs similar refusal strategies. That is, regardless of the situation, David's refusal (See lines 8-10 in excerpt 32 and lines 8-10 in excerpt 33) entails pause fillers, expressions of regrets, and an account to mitigate the face-threatening nature of refusals. A very similar picture is shown in the following excerpts 34 and 35 where Dylan refuses Adela's requests under PDR-high and low refusal to request situations.

Excerpt 34. (Extracted from Dylan-Adela (A2 levels): PDR-High Refusal to Request After Instruction)

01 Adela: hey hanuel
02 (0.9)
03 Dylan: °yes°?
04 Adela: uh:: (0.3) I have some favor (.) to you
05 (1.1).
06 Dylan: °uh::° (0.6) what?
07 Adela: °um° I WONder (0.4) you move some:: heavy box
08 and books to (0.) teacher (0.2) lounge
09 (0.3)
10→ Dylan: um:: sorry but move some heavy box(.)es and
11 books to teacher lounge spend a lot of time
12 but I don't have time for math ma >math
13 °academy°< (0.2) I'm sorry
14 (2.4)
15 Adela: o↓kay (0.2) I I will find a(.)nother students

16 (0.6)
17 Dylan: o↓kay

Excerpt 35. (Extracted from Dylan-Adela (A2 levels): PDR-Low Refusal to Request After Instruction)

01 Adela: hey Dylan (0.3) can ↑I going (0.2) your home
02 today? because (0.2) doing the english
03 homework to(.) gether?
04→ Dylan: u:::m (0.3) sorry uh:: I have >today i::s< my
05 sister birthday so I go (0.2) I::go eat res
06 >go restauRANT< (0.2) with my family [sorry
07 Adlea: [oh (2.8)
08 oh o↓kay (1.0)bye

Like David in excerpts 32 and 33, Dylan in excerpts 34 and 35 shows not only how much he is able to reflect the non-compliant nature of refusals in his conversation but also how much his refusal practices are alike regardless of situations. For example, in lines 10-13 in excerpt 34, Dylan (i.e., the role of a student named *Haneul*) refuses Adela's (i.e., the role of a teacher) request through the provision of an account and the expression of regrets following the pause filler (i.e., "um"). Under the PDR-low refusal to request situation, Dylan refuses Adela's request (lines 4-6) by employing strategies that are similar to those used for the PDR-high refusal.

Learners' employment of similar refusal strategies, regardless of the situation, can be interpreted in terms of the instructional effect. That is, during the instruction, learners were informed that in the target language (i.e., English), polite refusal patterns, which include provision of positive opinions, expression of regrets, and provision of excuses or reasons, are quite consistently used across refusal situations. This could have led them to produce seemingly similar patterns of refusals under the two different contexts.

4.3. The Development of Metapragmatic Awareness

This section delineates the findings from learners' RVRs after the open role-plays. Section 4.3.1 shows what learners attended to while planning and performing requests before and after instruction. Section 4.3.2 demonstrates learners' attended features in planning and performing refusals to requests before and after instruction.

4.3.1. Attended Features Before and After Instruction: The Case of Requests

Table 4.1 shows the number and percentage of learners who attended to pragmalinguistic, sociopragmatic, and linguistic features while planning and performing the PDR-high and low requests before and after instruction.

Table 4.1
Attended Features in the PDR-high and low Request Situation Before and After Instruction

Situation	**Attended Features**	**Before Instruction**	**After Instruction**
PDR-high Request	Pragmalinguistic information (e.g., core request forms, tone of voice, the directness, sequential organization)	14 (100%)	14 (100%)
	Sociopragmatic information (e.g., the use of request forms, tone of voice, the directness, and/or sequential organization according to contexts)	9 (64%)	14 (100%)
	Linguistic information (e.g., vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation)	7 (50%)	2 (14%)
PDR-low Request	Pragmalinguistic information (e.g., core request forms, tone of voice, the directness, sequential organization)	14 (100%)	14 (100%)
	Sociopragmatic information (e.g., the use of request forms, tone of voice, the directness, and/or sequential organization according to contexts)	5 (36%)	12 (86%)
	Linguistic information (e.g., vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation)	11 (79%)	3 (21%)

When learners' RVRs before and after instruction were compared, several changes were detected. First, more learners showed greater concern for choosing an appropriate request form following the contexts (from 64%

to 100% in the PDR-high request situation and from 36% to 86% in the PDR-low request situation). Excerpts 36 through 40 show what learners reported preparing and performing their PDR-high requests before instruction.

> Excerpt 36. Emily (B2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): It was a request asked of a teacher. I thought I should not hurt the teacher’s feelings, and make my request sound polite. I wanted to adjust my tone to be sounded polite. I was the one who did not finish the homework on time, so I tried to think of an English expression that corresponds to the Korean expression “*he-ju-sil-su-it-eu-se-yo*?”(i.e., “Could you please…”), which I came up with was “Can you…”.
>
> Excerpt 37. Jacob (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): It was a request to a higher-status person and I was a requester. (…) I used “please” to make my request sound polite.
>
> Excerpt 38. Hazel (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): The request was to a teacher, so I thought I have to be polite. I used “please” because of the reason. (…) I delivered my intention a bit, but my request was not sincere enough. Originally, I wanted to say ‘I thought the deadline for the homework was next week, but it was tomorrow. I was completely mistaken. Could you please extend the deadline? I mean only just this once?’
>
> Excerpt 39. Nora (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): I tried

> to adjust my tone to sound cautious because it was a request made to a teacher, and I had to change the date of the personal consultation. I used "I have to…" because it was the only expression that I could come up with for requesting.
>
> Excerpt 40. Daniel (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): I was thinking about whether I would ask for changing the date of a personal consultation first or later (than the account). It was between a teacher and a student, and the data was fixed two weeks ago. So, I thought I have to provide an account (for the request).

As shown in the excerpts above, more than half of the learners (64%) mentioned that they were concerned about the status of the interlocutor (e.g., the teacher) or/and the degree of imposition (e.g., the fact that the schedule for the consultation was fixed two weeks ago) when they made a PDR-high request before instruction. They articulated that they tried to come up with an appropriate request form to make their request sound polite, which shows their awareness of sociopragmatic information. However, as in the case of Emily, Jacob and Hazel in excerpts 36 through 38, they mostly ended up thinking of "please" or "Can you…". Furthermore, when learners used "please", it was placed at the beginning of an imperative, which thereby made their requests sound rather direct. It seems learners were not aware that *please* has directive force when it is used in an imperative (Kang, 2011; Sato, 2008). As shown in the case of Emily and

Nora (excerpts 36 and 39 respectively), two learners also mentioned the use of the nonlinguistic feature (i.e., tone of their voice) to make their request sound politer in the PDR-high request situation. In the case of Daniel, unlike the others who mentioned certain (non)linguistic features for a polite request, he, in excerpt 40, mentioned that he had considered where to place the core request in the conversation, which implies his consideration for the request sequence.

The RVRs above thus show that even before instruction, 64% of the learners were aware of contextual demands and they felt the need to differentiate their utterances accordingly but they lacked appropriate pragmalinguistic knowledge necessary for delivering their pragmatic intention. In addition to this, as Hazel depicts in excerpt 38, it seems their lack of linguistic competence had led them to only partially deliver their original intention. Although what they originally wanted to utter in the situation was more elaborate, they had no choice but to simplify or abandon it due to their limited linguistic knowledge. The findings in the current study are in line with the results of previous studies (Hassall, 2008; Park & Oh, 2019; Ren, 2014; Woodfield, 2010) where learners showed a lack of pragmalinguistic knowledge despite their sociopragmatic awareness in performing pragmatic tasks. In addition, some learners' frequent mention of teacher-student relationships also indicates the potential influence of socio-cultural transfer, which was also found in Woodfield's (2010) study on

Japanese ESL learners' status-unequal requests.

As for the PDR-low request situation, 36% of the learners reported having concerns about the contextual variables, and having tried to think of appropriate forms according to the context. Excerpts 41 through 44 illustrate what learners reported preparing and performing their PDR-low requests before instruction.

> Excerpt 41. Emily (B2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): It was not a big deal. I was just asking something I don't know well, so I tried to adjust my tone as if I talked casually.
>
> Excerpt 42. Henry (A2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): If the interlocutor was a person whom I met for the first time, I would use "excuse me" and "please" but it was just between friends, so I used "Can I…" casually.
>
> Excerpt 43. Julian (A2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): This time, it was between friends, so I used "Can you…".
>
> Excerpt 44. Jacob (A2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): I thought I have to be equally polite to my friend (as to a teacher), so I used "please".

As the excerpts above show, 36% of the learners articulated that they had tried to adjust their requests according to the lower situational demand of the PDR-low request situation. Emily, for example, stated that unlike what she had done for the PDR-high request, she tried to adjust her tone so that her talk could sound casual because the situation was not heavy. She indeed used *want statement* (i.e., “I want you to explain it for me.”) in the PDR-low request situation whereas she applied a conventionally indirect request form (i.e., “Can you…”) in the PDR-high request situation. Meanwhile, both Henry and Julian mentioned that they had used “Can I…” because they were asking a friend to do something for them. Julian who had used “please” for a big request further mentioned that he did not use “please” during the PDR-low request because it is a polite marker, and it does not fit in the PDR-low situation. On the other hand, Jacob states that he used “please” thinking that he should be equally polite even to a friend in making a request. This implies that although he acknowledges that a request is a face-threatening act, he is not sensitive enough to the varying demands of request situations. Except for the four students above, the other students did not articulate their concern for using appropriate request forms according to the lower situational demand of the PDR-low request situation. The result of the study is consistent with the findings in Ren (2014) where many more learners mentioned noticing sociopragmatic variables in unequal-status than equal-status situations. Furthermore, while the learners depicted both pragmatic and linguistic difficulties in performing the PDR-high request, there was no instance of pragmatic difficulties found in performing the PDR-low request.

After instruction, more learners reported paying attention to the contextual variables and their efforts to make appropriate requests accordingly (100% for PDR-high and 86% for PDR-low requests). Excerpts 45 through 49, for instance, demonstrate what learners reported concerning their PDR-high requests after instruction.

> Excerpt 45. Emily (B2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): I thought it was a big request. So, I tried to be polite. The teacher might have another schedule, so I first said that I have something to ask. (…) I used “I was wondering if…” to make a request indirectly. If I used ‘I want to…’ blah blah blah, the request would sound too demanding.
>
> Excerpt 46. Adela (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): The schedule was fixed two weeks ago, so I thought it was a heavy request. So, I did not ask from the start but said that “I have some favor”. (…) I used “I wonder…” because I thought it is the expression that can more indirectly deliver my want than ‘Can I…’.
>
> Excerpt 47. Hazel (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): I wanted to say that I tried hard but could not finish my homework first. If I made a request directly, it would sound a little impolite. (…) I used “I was wondering if…” because I thought it was a request form used when the request would be hard to be granted.
>
> Excerpt 48. Grace (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): On the part of the teacher, my request would not be considered okay, so I

> tried to be cautious. I thought if I said a reason for the request first and if I kept explaining my situation, the teacher would feel okay with my request. (…) I used “I was wondering…” because I had learned it during the instruction to be used to make a request sound polite.
>
> Excerpt 49. Daniel (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): The deadline for the homework was announced two weeks ago. So, I tried to be cautious in making the request. I used “I was wondering can you…” because I was a little confused. I thought using only “Can you…” would be a little strange. I felt the necessity to add something before that. I came up with “I was wondering…”, so I added the expression before “Can I…” but I think I used it incorrectly.

The excerpts above show the RVRs from the five learners who applied the target pragmalinguistic form (i.e., “I was wondering if I(you) could…”) taught during the instruction for the PDR-high request situation. The learners attempted to gauge the overall situational demand and tried to choose appropriate pragmalinguistic forms for their big requests, which shows their enhanced sociopragmatic competence. Emily and Adela in excerpts 45 and 46 clearly show their awareness of the pragmatic function of the two request forms (“I was wondering if…” vs. “I want…” or “Can I…”), and their ability to choose a more appropriate one for the situation they were situated in. Though there found instances of unstable knowledge of the request form (See excerpt 49), Hazel, Grace, and Daniel in excerpts 47 through 49 also indicated that they somehow felt the need to adjust their request form according to the situational demand of the PDR-high request. Interestingly, what these learners had in common during the RVRs before instruction was that they were the ones who thought deeply about how to request politely and/or rigorously reflected on their performance, and were aware of the need to improve their requests under the PDR-high request situation. Thus, this may suggest that learners' awareness of their lack of pragmatic knowledge or their need for learning pragmatic knowledge before an instruction is crucial in determining their maintenance of pragmatic knowledge in a long term. Unlike the learners above, some learners still illustrated partial pragmalinguistic knowledge in performing the PDR-high request (See excerpts 50 through 53 below).

> Excerpt 50. Julian (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): The schedule was set two weeks ago, so the request itself was too demanding on the part of the interlocutor. I used "Can you…" to make my request sound polite.
>
> Excerpt 51. Dylan (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): I tried to think of what I had learned during the instruction, and I remembered stating a reason (before the request). I tried to be polite because it was an important problem. (…) I used "Can you…"

> because it can be used widely.
>
> Excerpt 52. Owen (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): It was a request made to a teacher, so I thought I have to be more cautious. I tried to say that I have a favor first, and then make a request. This way, my request would sound more modest and politer. I don't know why I used "Could you…".
>
> Excerpt 53. Henry (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): The deadline was announced two weeks ago, but I had to ask for an extension. So, I thought I have to deliver my intention as quickly as possible so that I could quickly resolve the situation and focus on my homework.

In excerpts 50 through 53, all the learners show their awareness of the demanding contextual variables. While their knowledge of the use of supportive moves is quite robust as was also shown in their role-play data, some of the rationales behind their choice of the core request form indicated that they still have limited pragmalinguistic knowledge on a particular form. For example, Julian in excerpt 50 mentioned that he used a conventionally indirect request form (e.g., "Can I…') because he thought it was a polite request form. For Julian, who had used a direct request form (i.e., *please+imperative*) in the PDR-high request before instruction, indirect request forms seem to have hinted at more politeness. In the case of Dylan and Owen, although they were able to think of putting preliminary moves that would project their big request, it seems they were not particularly attended on choosing an appropriate request form for the certain situation. Dylan, for instance, stated that he used “Can I…” because it is a widely used request form. First, it may be because of the fact that learners were taught the concept of preference/dispreference organization which integrates politeness in the structure of interaction (Caroll, 2011; Olsher, 2011) during the instruction. This seems to have made learners locate their requests in a sequentially appropriate way rather than rely solely on the appropriate request forms. It may be also due to their limited linguistic competence and cognitive capacity. It may have been hard for them to think both the sequential tool and pragmalinguistic forms at the same time, thereby choosing one over the other. On the other hand, Henry, who was aware of the heaviness of the situation as the other learners, stated that he put his request on the record early on without any preliminary moves so that he could resolve the situation quickly and focus on his homework, which would ultimately reduce the amount of time necessary for the extended deadline. It seems he misjudged how the contextual variables determine the appropriate request strategies at the time of task performance. During the instruction, when he had to perform open role-play tasks under PDR-high and low request situations, he was able to project requests in a sequentially appropriate manner. Also, he indicated his understanding of requests as disperferred action in the post-intervention survey. Nonetheless, he mentioned in the RVRs after instruction that although he cannot say ‘why’, learning how to request was harder for him (than learning how to refuse). This may indicate the possibility that he was not able to fully acquire the knowledge taught during the instruction.

In the case of the PDR-low request situation, 86% mentioned their concern for appropriate forms and/or supportive moves for the PDR-low request. Excerpts 54 through 57 show what learners reported about PDR-low requests after instruction.

> Excerpt 54. Emily (B2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): The friend could have left early if I had not asked something for her, and I needed the umbrella quickly, so I tried to make her understand my situation as fast as possible. (…) I used “Can you…” because it’s a more casual expression than “I was wondering if you could…”.
>
> Excerpt 55. Hazel (A2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): It was not that demanding situation, so I did not use “I was wondering…” but used “Could you…”.
>
> Excerpt 56. Nora (A2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): It was something that I could ask a friend casually. So, I thought I could ask right away. (…) I used “Could you…” because it was the only expression that I could come up with.
>
> Excerpt 57. Owen (A2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): It was between me and my friend. I thought I could make a request right

away. I used “Could you…” because I just came up with it.

As shown in excerpts 54 through 57, 86% of the learners articulated their awareness of the lower contextual demand of the PDR-low request situation. Accordingly, learners tried to use an appropriate request form and/or put succinct preliminary moves before their request. For example, Emily and Hazel in excerpts 54 and 55 delineate that they used either “Can you…” or “Could you…” instead of the syntactically modified request form according to the casualness of the situation. On the other hand, other learners who showed their awareness of contextual variables only mentioned their particular attention to the sequence of requests. For example, Nora and Owen reported that since the request was something that they could ask a friend casually, they could request without some moves. What they intended was reflected in their production data in that while both of them utilized a bare *pre-pre* (i.e., “I have a favor”) during the PDR-high request, it was not present during their performance of the PDR-low request. Upon why they used certain request expressions, however, they were not able to provide a rationale.

Meanwhile, unlike learners’ increased attention to sociopragmatic information, their attention to linguistic information turned out to be decreased after instruction in both PDR-high and low request performances. This seems to be quite related with the instruction. First, it may be due to the fact that learners’ attention moved more to the pragmatic end than linguistic one since their attention had been mainly directed to pragmatics throughout the instruction. Second, it may be because learners, during instruction, were informed that conversation turns can be short and simple, and can be fixed bit by bit during conversation rather than being delivered in complete and ready-made sentences. As all learners indicated their awareness to this aspect in their post-intervention survey (See Appendix G), their greater concern for linguistic aspects during the conversation before instruction seems to be attenuated after instruction.

The RVRs before and after instruction in performing the PDR-high and low requests overall suggest that the instruction helped learners to be more aware of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic information in performing the pragmatic tasks. Before instruction, learners, particularly in performing the PDR-high requests, depicted pragmatic difficulties resulting from a lack of pragmalinguistic knowledge. Also, instances of linguistic difficulties were found in delivering their intention. However, after instruction, more learners reported appropriate rationale for their choice of request forms and/or moves in accordance with the situational demands, which shows their enhanced pragmatic knowledge. Despite the overall trend, it seems changes in learners' pragmatic awareness and knowledge are, to some extent, mediated by learners' awareness of their lack of pragmatic knowledge (i.e., metacognition) and their need for improving the knowledge.

4.3.2. Attended Features Before and After Instruction: The Case of Refusals to Requests

Table 4.2 shows the number and percentage of learners who attended to pragmalinguistic, sociopragmatic, and linguistic features while planning and performing the PDR-high and low refusals to requests before and after instruction.

Table 4.2

Attended Features in PDR-high Refusal to Request Situations Before and After Instruction

Situation	**Attended Features**	**Before Instruction**	**After Instruction**
PDR-high Refusal to Request	Pragmalinguistic information (e.g., refusal strategies, the directness, sequential organization)	14 (100%)	14 (100%)
	Sociopragmatic information (e.g., the use of refusal strategies, the directness, and/or sequential organization considering contextual variables)	13 (93%)	10 (71%)
	Linguistic information (e.g., vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation)	5 (36%)	4 (29%)
PDR-low Refusal to Request	Pragmalinguistic information (e.g., refusal strategies, the directness, sequential organization)	14 (100%)	14 (100%)
	Sociopragmatic information (e.g., the use of refusal strategies, the directness, and/or sequential organization considering	10 (71%)	10 (71%)

	contextual variables)		
	Linguistic information (e.g., vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation)	6 (43%)	3 (21%)

When learners’ RVRs before and after instruction were scrutinized, it could be noticed that learners were aware of the contextual variables and they tried to apply appropriate refusal strategies accordingly. Excerpts 58 through 63 show what contextual variables learners attended to during the PDR-high refusal before instruction.

> Excerpt 58. Emily (B2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): If I just say ‘no,’ the teacher would think I am not polite. I am a student, so I have to be polite. If I just said ‘I’m sorry I can’t’ the teacher would misunderstand that I just don’t want to do it. I thought the teacher would understand my refusal if I present a clear reason. I said “I’m sorry but I couldn’t” because it is the expression that I encountered in the English textbook, and also it is the translated form of “*joi-song-han-de-mot-hal-geot-gat-seum-ni-da*”.
>
> Excerpt 59. Adela (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): I first said that I want to help (the teacher) because I thought it is politer that way. I thought I had to say like ‘I want to help but I can’t do that because of some reasons.’ I thought it would sound politer. (…) I thought upon which reason I would use. I couldn’t think of any other reasons, so I said I am busy.

Excerpt 60. Nora (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): The teacher was asking for me to get along with a classmate at the beginning of the semester, so, I thought it was a little (hard) to just say ‘no’. I thought I needed to say a reason, but the only reason that I could come up with was the fact that I had fought with the classmate. (…) I just thought I would use “I can’t”. Answering the request can be done briefly (with “I can’t”), but telling a reason needs more utterances, so I said “I can’t” first.

Excerpt 61. Hazel (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): If I just say ‘no’ without any reason, on the part of the teacher, it would sound a little (impolite). Originally, when the teacher asked if I had some time, I was supposed to pretend that I have got a phone call, and I needed to be off because of some issues. But, I thought it would be hard to express that (in English), so I just said that I have a promise.

Excerpt 62. Henry (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): It was a refusal to a teacher, so I tried to think of ways to refuse politely, but I really could not come up with any, so I just said “no I can’t”. I wanted to put something first in my refusal, but I could not think of an expression, so I used “no I can’t”. (…) I tried to think of a reason, but it was also hard to come up with one.

> Excerpt 63. Dylan (A2 level, PDR-high: Before Instruction): I tried to think of why I cannot help the classmate. What I came up with was 'I don't know how, and I am not capable of helping her'. I thought if I just refuse the request, I thought it is not polite, so, I presented a suggestion. I tried to think of another refusal expression (rather than "no"), but I could not come up with any, so I used "no".

As shown in the excerpts above, before instruction, learners were concerned about the status of the interlocutor (i.e., the teacher) and/or the degree of imposition (i.e., the fact that the teacher requested at the beginning of the semester) in the PDR-high refusal situation. Among the contextual variables, learners' attention was more directed to the status of the interlocutor, which indicate learners' transfer of L1 socio-cultural knowledge (i.e., sensitivity to the status of the interlocutor) when planning the PDR-high refusal task. To make their refusal sound polite according to the situation, what learners thought of most as a strategy was the provision of reasonable excuses for their refusal. Other strategies which were mentioned as showing politeness were showing empathy (See excerpt 59) and providing a suggestion (See excerpt 63). However, the most salient strategy learners implemented was the provision of appropriate excuses for their refusals. As shown in the excerpts of Adela, Nora, and Hazel, what made learners struggle during the planning of the PDR-high refusal situation was also coming up with decent reasons for the refusal and thinking of how to express that in English. Like Hazel in excerpt 61, some learners mentioned that due to their limited linguistic competence, they had no choice but to present the reason briefly.

Regarding the use of direct refusal expression (e.g., “no”, “I can’t”) which learners widely applied regardless of the situation, they presented several rationales. First, as Emily mentioned in excerpt 58, it seems to be a partial translation of Korean expression, which corresponds to “I don’t think I can do it”. Second, another party of the learners mentioned that they just used those direct expressions as an ‘answer’ to the request. Nora and Henry, for example, reported that they felt the necessity to put an answer to the request first and say other things (e.g., reasons) afterward. Some learners such as Emily and Nora further illustrated that they used the familiar, formulaic direct expression without any particular consideration of its pragmatic force or their degree of directness. Meanwhile, Henry and Dylan who used blunt “no” in their PDR-high refusals reported that they wanted to use a more appropriate refusal expression in the situation, but they were not able to come up with one. This illustrates their awareness of their lack of pragmalinguistic knowledge. Overall, the results of learners’ RVRs in planning and executing the PDR-high refusal depict that even before instruction, learners had a high degree of sociopragmatic awareness, but they had limited pragmalinguistic and linguistic knowledge to deliver their intention. This result is quite consistent with what learners reported in the

RVRs for requests before instruction.

As for the PDR-low request situation, 71% of the learners reported having concerns about the interlocutor and tried to think of appropriate refusal strategies accordingly. Excerpts 64 through 68 illustrate what learners reported preparing and performing their PDR-low refusals before instruction.

> Excerpt 64. Emily (B2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): If I just said ‘no’ to the friend, he/she would have felt uncomfortable, and he/she might misunderstand (my intention). So, I said some reasons. (…) I wanted to express that I have no choice but to refuse his/her request. (…) I used “sorry I can’t” because it is the expression in textbooks, and it was just what I could think of.

> Excerpt 65. Julian (A2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): Even to a friend, it is important not to hurt his/her feelings by providing a reason. I was concerned about it. I used “you can’t” because I had heard about it a lot from the English listening tests.

> Excerpt 66. Lucas (A2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): I felt a little comfortable because I was talking to a friend, but, even to a friend, there should be a reasonable reason not to hurt his/her feelings.

> Excerpt 67. Nora (A2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): I thought of a reason. When refusing, there should be a reason, and

> the friend asked me for help. If I just say ‘no’, it would hurt his feelings, so I wanted to show that I have no choice but to refuse his request for reasonable reasons. Then I thought of vocabulary. When I was supposed to say ‘I cannot help because I have to go to the academy’, I thought about whether I had to put “to”. I was also confused with “the”. I used “sorry I can’t” because I have learned it since my elementary school years. It just came out.
>
> Excerpt 68. Grace (A2 level, PDR-low: Before Instruction): Well, I tried not to make the friend think that I leave because I don’t want to help her. Originally, I wanted to say that ‘I am really sorry but I have to go to the *hakwon* (i.e., private academy), so maybe you could ask another friend.’

Like what learners reported as a rationale for their refusal in the PDR-high refusal situation, they mentioned that they tried to think of appropriate reasons for refusing a friend’s request. As Lucas mentioned in excerpt 66, although the fact that they were talking with a friend might have provided comfort, they were still prioritizing that they should not hurt the friend’s feelings and not make any misunderstandings. To do so, what they considered the most was to provide a reason for their refusals. Unlike what they mentioned in the RVRs for the PDR-high refusals, however, only a few learners reported having struggled with coming up with the reason. Rather, the difficulties they encountered during the PDR-low refusals mostly centered on linguistic ones. For example, Nora in excerpt 67 seems to have been confused about what words to use in making reasons. In the case of Grace, due to her limited linguistic competence, she ended up abandoning one strategy (i.e., providing an alternative) in her actual utterance.

After instruction, a similar trend was found as before instruction. That is, learners' attention turned out to be directed to the contextual variables (e.g., the interlocutor and/or the degree of imposition) and their efforts to produce refusals according to the contexts were revealed through RVRs. As was before instruction, what they were most concerned about was directed to the provision of valid excuses. However, as shown in the excerpts below, more learners talked about what refusal strategies they had used other than telling an account. Excerpts 69 through 74 show what learners reported preparing and performing their PDR-high refusals after instruction.

> Excerpt 69. Sofia (B1 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): It was a request from a teacher, so I tried to say sorry first and utter excuses more specifically.
>
> Excerpt 70. Grace (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): I tried not to provide a flat refusal. I thought my refusal should not be sounded impolite because she was my homeroom teacher. I thought I should use "I'd love to".
>
> Excerpt 71. Adela (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): It was a

sensitive problem. The teacher was asking for getting along well with a classmate. To refuse this, I needed a suitable reason, so I thought upon it. I thought of the sequence of my utterances. If I said “can’t” first, it would sound a little (too direct), so I said like ‘I want to but I cannot because blah blah blah’.

Excerpt 72. Henry (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): I was concerned about what I had learned such as refusing with hesitations and reasons. On the part of the teacher, he is in a quite difficult situation, and it was only me and him who were left in the classroom. So, I wanted to refuse politely. (…) I used “I’d love to help” to indicate that I really want to help but I cannot because I hurt my legs. (…) Coming up with a reason was hard.

Excerpt 73. Julian (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): I was concerned about the reason. When refusing, I need an excuse, but I could not think of one, so I was really concerned about it. During the execution, I was concerned about the words like “have already”.

Excerpt 74. Daniel (A2 level, PDR-high: After Instruction): I tried to think of a reason. I was also concerned about my pronunciation. (…) During the planning time, I was thinking to say someone else in the hallway or next classroom can do that instead of me, but I could not think of the words like ‘hallway’ or ‘next classroom’, so I gave up.

Among the refusal strategies other than telling accounts or expressing regrets, what learners mentioned the most was related to showing empathy to the interlocutor. Adela who had already applied the strategy even before instruction seems to have noticed during the instruction that her strategy was appropriate, and thus she used it again with confidence. On the other hand, Grace, who was only equipped with telling an excuse and expressing regrets as refusal strategies before instruction, seems to have added this one more strategy to use after instruction. Henry, who reported his awareness of difficulty in what refusal strategies to use before instruction, now seems to know about them rather clearly. For example, he mentioned how he delayed his refusal with hesitations and how he delivered his intention of polite refusal by empathizing with the interlocutor and telling valid reasons. The case of Henry again suggests the importance of one's awareness of pragmatic difficulty in maintaining the knowledge obtained from pragmatic instruction. Meanwhile, there were a few learners (e.g., Julian and Daniel) who did not articulate their attention to contextual variables after instruction although they did before instruction. Before instruction, they reported their attention to the interlocutor (i.e., teacher) and their effort to provide a decent reason accordingly. However, as can be seen in excerpts 73 through 74, they only articulated about their concern for the refusal strategies and linguistic aspects rather than the contextual factor itself. A few assumptions can be made here. First, since they were all the learners who already had awareness of socio-contextual variables even before instruction, they might have moved their attention more to pragmalinguistic aspects. It may have been possible that these pragmalinguistic aspects were considered more salient to them, and thus they were only articulated in their RVRs. Second, it could be also related with their limited linguistic competence. Julian and Daniel were all low-level learners who were struggling with limited linguistic ability. Although they were equipped with more refusal strategies through the instruction, they might not have been able to manage all the things (e.g., new strategies, their function, context, and linguistic choice) together at the same time.

Learners’ RVRs for the PDR-low refusal depict a similar picture. As was before instruction, they were mostly concerned about thinking about a reason not to hurt the interlocutor’s (i.e., friend) feelings. Similar to what they reported in the RVRs for the PDR-high refusal, the learners depicted how they tried to manage the refusals with strategies they could come up with in the context at hand.

> Excerpt 75. Hazel (A2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): The friend was asking me to help with her homework. If I just said no, she would feel like she was just refused. I was concerned about the reason. The expression “I would” was what I could remember, and the reason I made (e.g., ‘I have to go to the academy’) is what I usually do after school.

> Excerpt 76. Jacob (A2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): When I refused, I was concerned about the reason. Even to a friend, it would be better to tell a reason not to make any misunderstandings.
>
> Excerpt 77. Henry (A2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): The friend was asking me if he could come over to my house. So, I thought the reason for the refusal should be related to the problem of me or my family. I thought about the reason a lot so that my friend could understand. (…) I thought it would be better not to refuse directly but rather to express regrets with a valid reason.
>
> Excerpt 78. Lucas (A2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): When refusing, there needs a reason, so I thought about one. The expression, “I’d love to but I can’t”, was what I could come up with all the time.
>
> Excerpt 79. Adela (A2 level, PDR-low: After Instruction): Well, I thought about a valid reason. I focused on how to refuse. If I empathize with the interlocutor, he/she would feel relatively less offended, so I empathize with the interlocutor.

The RVRs before and after instruction in performing the PDR-high and low refusal to request illustrate that pragmatic instruction particularly helped learners to enhance their awareness on pragmalinguistic information in performing pragmatic tasks. Similar to what learners reported during RVRs for requests, learners depicted both pragmatic difficulties, especially from a lack of pragmalinguistic knowledge, and linguistic difficulties in performing refusals. However, after instruction, more learners reported more diverse repertoires they can employ to reflect the non-compliant nature of refusals.

Chapter 5. CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes and discusses the findings of the present study with reference to the two research questions and presents implications for future pragmatic instruction and research. Section 5.1 illustrates learners' development of pragmatic competence through pragmatic instruction. Section 5.2 shows learners' development of metapragmatic awareness through pragmatic instruction. Section 5.3 provides pedagogical implications. 5.4 concludes the study by sharing the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

5.1. Pragmatic Instruction and Pragmatic Competence

In line with the previous findings in the field of pragmatic instruction, the results of the current study delineate the positive effect of pragmatic instruction in developing pragmatic competence of the two speech acts, requests and refusals to requests (Jeon & Kaya, 2006; Plonsky & Zhuang, 2019; Taguchi, 2015). After instruction, more learners were able to use appropriate resources to perform the speech acts in interaction according to varying contexts, which indicates their improvement in pragmatic competence. Specifically, they became able to discard their inappropriate pragmalinguistic repertoires, move toward more conventionally appropriate forms, and locate their requests and refusals in a sequentially appropriate manner.

Learners’ request performance before the instruction revealed that they are occupied with delivering their core message of the request, and have limited ability to put the request in sequence (i.e., inconsistent placement of preliminary moves before a request). Previous studies on learners’ pragmatic development manifested that learners with low-level proficiency prioritize message over context (Kasper & Rose, 2002; Taguchi & Roever, 2017). Given that most participants of the current study have low English proficiency, learners’ request performance seems to represent the characteristics of low-level of development. It was also found that learners use pragmalinguistic forms without considering their pragmatic functions. Sociopragmatic awareness stemmed from their L1 was detected during RVRs but their awareness had a limited influence on their performance due to their lack of linguistic and pragmalinguistic knowledge.

After the instruction, more learners could use conventionally indirect request forms, project the request through preliminary moves marking dispreference, and reflect their sensitivity toward different contextual variables through appropriate request forms and sequences. According to Kasper and Rose (2002), request development is characterized by a movement from directness and indirectness. In this study, learners’ direct requests decreased after instruction, thereby suggesting its positive effect. In addition, more learners were able to make pragmalinguistic choices according to social context variables, corroborating the findings of previous literature (Halenko & Jones, 2011; Kim, 2014; Kim, 2016; Li, 2012; Liu, 2007; Taguchi et al., 2015). Particularly, more learners were able to appropriately project the PDR-high requests using the resources taught during the instruction. Among the resources, however, the way to project the request sequentially in interaction turned out to be retained better than the request forms themselves. This suggests the value of teaching sequential organization (e.g., pre-sequence) (Taguchi & Roever, 2017) rather than focusing too much on the use of certain pragmalinguistic forms for varying contexts.

Learners' refusal performances before instruction involved accounts, reasons, explanations, and apologies (Allami & Naeimi, 2011; Chung, Min, & Uehara, 2013; Sa'd & Gholami, 2017). This finding is consistent with the findings of several studies on refusals (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford 1991; Beebe et al., 1990) where the reason strategy was found to be most favored refusal strategy across cultures. In addition to those strategies, however, the refusals also contained instances of several direct, bald refusal formulas (e.g., "no", "I can't") regardless of situations, and they were often placed in the turn-initial position. As was discussed in learners' request performance, learners' low-level of proficiency seemed to affect the trend (i.e., prioritizing message of refusal over context). Sociopragmatic awareness derived from their L1 pragmatic norm (e.g., sensitivity towards the status of the interlocutor) was found from RVRs, but attempts to transfer their native pragmatic knowledge seem to have been hindered due to the learners' limited target language competence.

It was evidenced that learners, after instruction, were more able to diversify their refusal strategies and decrease the use of direct, flat refusal strategy as was found in previous pragmatic instruction studies on English refusals (Alcón-Soler & Guzman-Pitarch, 2013; Bacelar da Silva, 2003; Kondo, 2008; Lingli, 2008). The decrease in the level of directness can be interpreted as the positive effect of pragmatic instruction in "mitigating refusals as a speech act of dissent" (Alcón-Soler & Guzman-Pitarch, 2013, p. 54). In addition to the different strategies that learners employed after instruction, learners were more able to format refusals as dispreferred actions. Specifically, dispreference was achieved sequentially through turn-initial delays and turn-internal components such as prefatory particles (e.g., "um", "oh", "well") and pro forma agreements (e.g., "I would but"). Their performance overall showed the non-compliant nature of refusals across contexts by using resources that reduce the disaffiliating force of refusals.

The CA-informed pragmatic instruction in the current study turned out to be effective for the production of both speech acts in terms of the appropriate use of resources for the realization of the speech acts and the sequentially appropriate placement of those resources in interaction.

5.2. Pragmatic Instruction and Metapragmatic Awareness

Learners' metapragmatic awareness scrutinized by RVRs before and after instruction indicated that learners have many things on their minds (Félix-Brasdefer, 2008; Woodfield, 2010). RVRs were certainly instrumental in revealing "what learners know about pragmatic acts" (Culpeper et al., 2018, p. 124) before and after instruction. To illustrate, RVRs before instruction revealed learners' sociopragmatic awareness stemmed from their L1 and their lack of linguistic and pragmalinguistic knowledge. When the learners' cognitive processes beneath their performance were analyzed, it was found that even before instruction, learners possessed some degree of sociopragmatic awareness. Particularly, it was salient when learners had to perform the speech acts under the PDR-high conditions. Among the contextual variables, learners were greatly concerned about the status of the interlocutor. The findings are consistent with Woodfield (2010) in which status-difference turned out to be a salient feature among the advanced-level Japanese learners of English (e.g., learners from the collectivist culture). Unlike in Woodfield (2010), where learners' socio-cultural transfer was instrumental in formatting their responses, for the learners in the current study, mapping appropriate conventions of forms to social contexts was quite limited due to both their limited pragmalinguistic and linguistic knowledge.

After pragmatic instruction, difficulties stemming from not knowing how to deliver their intention due to their lack of pragmalinguistic forms seem to have been generally resolved. Although all the learners mentioned their attention to pragmalinguistic information even before instruction, their knowledge was often limited. For example, the linguistic resource to project the PDR-high request was limited to the lexical polite marker “please”, which was all combined with an imperative. As for refusals, the resources were limited to using bald refusal expressions, and the provision of regrets and excuses. After instruction, however, the quality and content of learners’ pragmalinguistic knowledge changed, depicting more appropriate and diverse resources to perform both of the speech acts.

After pragmatic instruction, more learners also reported their awareness of sociopragmatic information. That is, RVRs after instruction showed learners' more reports on what strategies, forms, or/and sequential tools they utilized under varying contexts, validating learners' role-play performances after instruction. Meanwhile, it is worth mentioning that a few learners did not provide reports on sociopragmatic information after instruction despite the fact that they had reportedly considered it before instruction. When those learners' RVRs were scrutinized in detail, the difference lay in their more mention of pragmalinguistic aspects after instruction. RVRs are known to "access memories of particularly salient aspects of the experience of solving a task" (Taguchi & Roever, 2017, p. 103). Some learners' attention was likely directed more to pragmalinguistic features rather than sociopragmatic ones while performing the role-play tasks, neglecting the mention of sociopragmatic information during RVRs. Given that the decrease in the number of learners who reported attention to sociopragmatic aspects was detected more in the speech of refusal where learners demonstrated a high level of sociopragmatic awareness even before instruction, it is quite likely that learners' attention moved toward pragmalinguistic resources.

RVRs in the current study were instrumental not only in revealing changes in learners’ metapragmatic awareness but also in showing individual differences that are likely to trigger pragmatic learning. Pragmatic learning and individual differences have been one of the key issues in pragmatic instruction studies (Taguchi & Roever, 2017). Although this issue was not the focus of the current study, some learners’ robustness in the development of metapragmatic awareness may hint at the individual difference measures that may lead to greater gains. First, RVRs after instruction delineated more proficient learners’ (i.e., Emily and Sofia) robustness in providing concrete and specific consideration of form-function-context mapping compared to the less proficient learners. Second, improvement was found more robustly among learners who had depicted awareness of one’s lack of pragmatic knowledge before instruction. This may suggest the important role of metacognition in learning pragmatics as well as in other areas of L2 learning (e.g., listening and writing).

A majority of previous studies on pragmatic instruction examined how learners' comprehension and production of speech acts changes through pragmatic instruction. What these studies neglected were how learners' underlying thought (i.e., pragmatic knowledge) in performing the speech acts changes through pragmatic instruction. The current study tapped into this issue, delineating where learners' attention was directed to in planning and performing the speech acts, and what kinds of pragmatic difficulties they encounter both before and after instruction, which was instrumental in complementing and validating learners' production data.

5.3. Pedagogical Implications

From the results of the current study, several pedagogical implications can be drawn. First is concerned with the target pragmatic features that can be taught to middle school English learners in the Korean EFL context. The findings of the study suggest that dealing with formulaic pragmatic targets accompanied by consciousness-raising activities that would direct learners' attention to contexts is instrumental for these learners with relatively low English proficiency. In addition, learners' successful retention of how to locate their requests and refusals in a sequentially appropriate manner after six weeks of interval suggests that teaching the conventional dispreferred structure of a request or a refusal is within the reach of the low-level learners as was suggested by Taguchi and Roever

(2017). Considering that previous studies on pragmatic instruction of speech acts mostly focused on teaching semantic formulas, the current study provides pedagogical implication that interactional features and the structure of conversation which are necessary for performing the speech acts are also teachable. Given the fact that teaching particular aspects of conversation such as preference organization has not received sufficient attention in teaching L2 pragmatics, the results of the study indicate the necessity and possibility of teaching those features.

Second, concerning ‘how to teach’, the results of the current study present two suggestions. First, in terms of the teaching components, the study shows the positive effect of pragmatic instruction that involves the following components: input, feedback, an opportunity for practice, and metapragmatic information. Plonsky and Zhuang (2019) demonstrated that the effect of pragmatic instruction is greater when it encompasses any of the above features. While supporting this finding, the results of the current study suggest that, as Li (2012) claimed, teachers do not have to wait until learners are fully competent in the target language. Pragmatic instruction which entails those components mentioned above seems to work for adolescent learners with limited linguistic ability, calling for the need to incorporate this kind of instruction into secondary education. Second, in terms of ‘how to deal with the teaching components’, the study demonstrates the effectiveness of an explicit-inductive approach to teaching pragmatics. While an explicit explanation of pragmatic features does help, providing learners with opportunities to discover and explore those features first is likely to foster their pragmatic learning.

Third, as was revealed in RVRs, the results of the present study demonstrate the importance of considering individual differences that may mediate learners' pragmatic learning. Although revealing mediating factors was not the focus of the current study, the results show that learners' metacognition (e.g., how much they are aware of (in)appropriateness of speech act performances) and proficiency may be the triggering factor for successful pragmatic learning. Thus, the study suggests that it is important for teachers to consider the individual factors that are likely to enhance pragmatic learning. For example, teachers may be able to encourage those learners who seldom reflect on one's pragmatic performance by providing them with triggering questions and repeated practice for reflection.

Fourth, the study presents one type of pedagogical practice that can be incorporated into the classrooms under the 2022 Revised English Curriculum in Korea (Ministry of Education, 2022). The recently revised curriculum states that 'learners' ability to speak or write according to situations and purposes using appropriate strategies' is important, and thus it deserves one of the achievement standards for learners' English production ability. Moreover, the competency-based new curriculum clearly indicates the importance of interactional competence in its own right as is emphasized in CEFR (Council of Europe, 2018). Thus, teaching practitioners may adopt and adapt the pragmatic instruction presented in the current study to promote the required ability included in the new curriculum.

At the same time, the current study also provides suggestions for the English curriculum. In the curriculum, several communicative functions have been presented with exemplary forms. To date, there has been no clear guideline on when and where these forms are used in real life, what pragmatic functions these forms carry, and how these forms are located in larger conversations or discourses. Since learners' attention to these features needs to be directed to make them speak appropriately depending on contexts, more information needs to be presented in the curriculum. As Huth and Taleghani-Nikazm (2006) argued, research findings in CA which show how target language users behave verbally and nonverbally in various social situations may inform the curriculum developers in presenting what needs to be taught in terms of L2 pragmatic norms.

Lastly, the study calls for the necessity and importance of providing teachers with teaching materials and teacher training programs that would inform pragmatic instruction. According to Siddiqa and Whyte (2021), there are major longstanding challenges to L2 pragmatic instruction. One is the absence of adequate teaching materials, and the other is the lack of teacher training on pragmatic instruction. This may also be true for English teachers in Korea. Therefore, collaboration among stakeholders such as teachers, material designers, curriculum developers, and administrators is highly needed to create and design adequate teaching materials for pragmatic instruction tailored to Korean adolescent learners under the national curriculum.

5.4. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

Despite its theoretical and pedagogical contribution to L2 pragmatics, the study is not without limitations. First, despite the advantages of open role-plays in revealing learners' interaction in real-time, there is an authenticity issue. There has been an argument that role-plays are not authentic and natural, and cannot represent real-life interactions (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2012; Gass & Houck, 1999; Kasper & Youn, 2017). Nevertheless, they reflect natural data more closely with no predetermined outcomes (Culpeper et al., 2018) and approximate actual conversation (Golato, 2017). Second, due to the small number of participants, the results are not enough for generalizations. Future research with more learners with diverse proficiency levels is likely to provide a comprehensive picture of how L2 learners of this age perform speech acts in interaction, how their performance changes through instruction, and how their changes are mediated by proficiency levels. Third, since the participants of the present study participated in the instruction voluntarily, it can be assumed that they were highly motivated to learn pragmatics, and this self-selection bias may have affected the effect of pragmatic instruction. Future studies, thus, need to consider individual variables (e.g., motivation) in examining the effect of pragmatic instruction on the learners. Fourth, as the study did not have a control group, it is difficult to compare the participants' performance to those who did not receive the instruction (Bacelar da Silva, 2003). Future studies need to include a control group to ensure a stronger design. Fifth, regarding manipulation of contextual variables, the study was limited in providing PDR-high and low situations to the learners considering the time-consuming nature of role-plays and RVRs. Future studies may diversify the contextual demands of the situations in detail. Lastly, due to COVID-19 and the school schedule, the study could not examine the immediate effect of instruction on learners' pragmatic performance and awareness. Future studies need to examine both immediate and delayed effects of pragmatic instruction to clearly delineate what pragmatic features are more likely to be retained or not likely to be retained in learners' future performance.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Classification of Refusal Formula (Originally developed by Beebe et al. (1990) and adapted by Kwon (2004))

A. Direct

a. Performative (e. g., ‘I refuse’)

b. Non-performative statement

a) ‘No’

b) Negative willingness/ability (‘I can’t’, ‘I don’t think so’)

B. Indirect

a. Statement of regret (e. g., ‘I’m sorry …’, ‘I feel terrible …’)

b. Wish (e. g., ‘I wish I could help you …’)

c. Excuse, reason, explanation (e. g., ‘I have a headache’)

d. Statement of alternative

a) I can do X instead of Y (e. g., ‘I’d rather …’, ‘I’d prefer …’)

b) Why don’t you do X instead of Y (e. g., ‘Why don’t you ask someone else?’)

e. Set conditions for future or past acceptance (e. g., ‘If you had asked me earlier, I would have …’)

f. Promise of future acceptance (e. g., ‘I’ll do it next time’)

g. Statement of principle or philosophy (e. g., ‘I never do business with friends’)

h. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor

i. Acceptance that functions as a refusal

j. Avoidance (Nonverbal- Silence, Hesitation, Do nothing; Verbal- Top switch, Joke, Repetition of part of request, Postponement, Hedging)

C. Adjuncts to refusals

a. Statement of positive opinion (e. g., ‘That’s a good idea …’; ‘I’d love to …’)

b. Statement of empathy (e. g., ‘I realize you are in a difficult situation’)

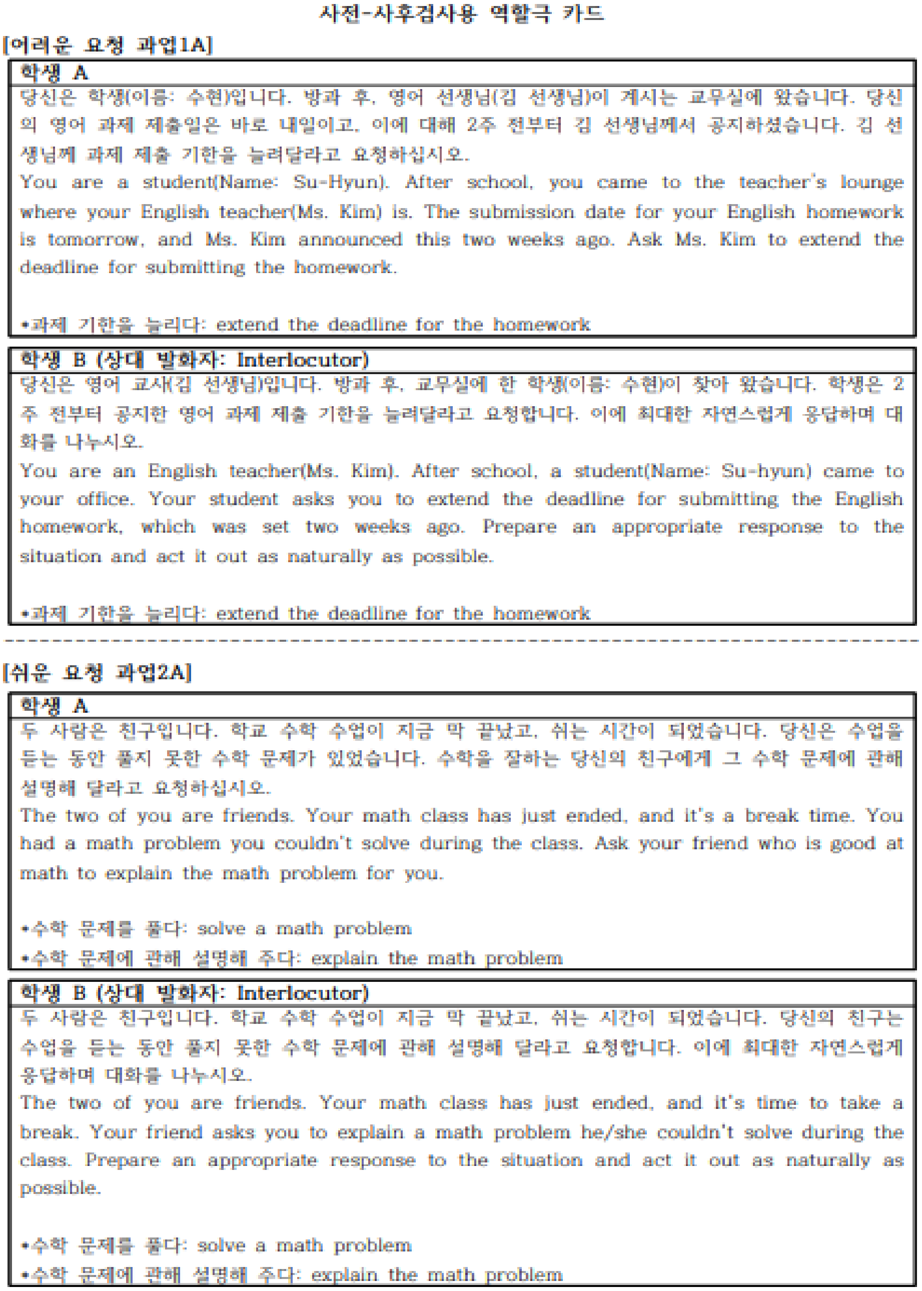
c. Pause fillers (e. g., ‘uhh’, ‘well’, ‘oh’, ‘uhm’)

d. Gratitude/appreciation

e. Elaboration on the reason

Appendix B

Open Role-play Cards



사전-사후검사용 역할극 카드

[어려운 요청 과업1A]

학생 A

당신은 학생(이름: 수현)입니다. 방과 후, 영어 선생님(김 선생님)이 계시는 교무실에 왔습니다. 당신의 영어 과제 제출일은 바로 내일이고, 이에 대해 2주 전부터 김 선생님께서 공지하셨습니다. 김 선생님께 과제 제출 기한을 늘려달라고 요청하십시오.

You are a student(Name: Su-Hyun). After school, you came to the teacher's lounge where your English teacher(Ms. Kim) is. The submission date for your English homework is tomorrow, and Ms. Kim announced this two weeks ago. Ask Ms. Kim to extend the deadline for submitting the homework.

•과제 기한을 늘리다: extend the deadline for the homework

학생 B (상대 발화자: Interlocutor)

당신은 영어 교사(김 선생님)입니다. 방과 후, 교무실에 한 학생(이름: 수현)이 찾아 왔습니다. 학생은 2주 전부터 공지한 영어 과제 제출 기한을 늘려달라고 요청합니다. 이에 최대한 자연스럽게 응답하며 대화를 나누시오.

You are an English teacher(Ms. Kim). After school, a student(Name: Su-hyun) came to your office. Your student asks you to extend the deadline for submitting the English homework, which was set two weeks ago. Prepare an appropriate response to the situation and act it out as naturally as possible.

•과제 기한을 늘리다: extend the deadline for the homework

[쉬운 요청 과업2A]

학생 A

두 사람은 친구입니다. 학교 수학 수업이 지금 막 끝났고, 쉬는 시간이 되었습니다. 당신은 수업을 듣는 동안 풀지 못한 수학 문제가 있었습니다. 수학을 잘하는 당신의 친구에게 그 수학 문제에 관해 설명해 달라고 요청하십시오.

The two of you are friends. Your math class has just ended, and it's a break time. You had a math problem you couldn't solve during the class. Ask your friend who is good at math to explain the math problem for you.

•수학 문제를 풀다: solve a math problem
•수학 문제에 관해 설명해 주다: explain the math problem

학생 B (상대 발화자: Interlocutor)

두 사람은 친구입니다. 학교 수학 수업이 지금 막 끝났고, 쉬는 시간이 되었습니다. 당신의 친구는 수업을 듣는 동안 풀지 못한 수학 문제에 관해 설명해 달라고 요청합니다. 이에 최대한 자연스럽게 응답하며 대화를 나누시오.

The two of you are friends. Your math class has just ended, and it's time to take a break. Your friend asks you to explain a math problem he/she couldn't solve during the class. Prepare an appropriate response to the situation and act it out as naturally as possible.

•수학 문제를 풀다: solve a math problem
•수학 문제에 관해 설명해 주다: explain the math problem

[요청에 대한 어려운 거절 과업3A]

학생 A

당신은 학생(이름: 하늘)입니다. 지금은 학기 초입니다. 종례가 끝나고 귀가할 시간 즈음, 교실에는 당신과 담임 선생님(이 선생님) 둘만 있습니다. 이 선생님께서 당신에게 몇몇 무거운 상자들과 책들을 교무실까지 옮겨달라고 말씀하십니다. 이에 대해 거절하십시오.

You are a student(Name: Ha-Neul). This is the beginning of the semester. After school, it is time to return home. Only you and your homeroom teacher(Ms. Lee) are left in the classroom. Ms. Lee calls you and asks you to move some heavy boxes and books to the teacher's lounge. You are going to refuse this.

- 몇몇 상자들과 책들을 옮기다: move some heavy boxes and books
- 교무실: teacher's lounge

학생 B (상대 발화자: Interlocutor)

당신은 담임 교사(이 선생님)입니다. 지금은 학기 초입니다. 종례가 끝나고 학생들이 귀가할 시간 즈음, 교실에는 당신과 반 학생(이름: 하늘) 둘만 있습니다. 하늘이에게 무거운 몇몇 상자들과 책들을 교무실까지 옮겨달라고 말하십시오. 이어지는 학생의 말에 최대한 자연스럽게 응답하며 대화하시오.

You are a homeroom teacher (Ms. Lee). This is the beginning of the semester. After school, when it is time for the students to return home, only a student(Name: Ha-Neul) and you are left in the classroom. Ask Ha-Neul to move some heavy boxes and books to the teacher's lounge. Prepare an appropriate response to the student's answer and act it out as naturally as possible.

- 몇몇 상자들과 책들을 옮기다: move some heavy boxes and books
- 교무실: teacher's lounge

[요청에 대한 쉬운 거절 과업4A]

학생 A

두 사람은 친구입니다. 종례가 끝나고 귀가할 시간이 되었습니다. 집으로 향하는 길, 친구가 당신에게 영어 과제를 함께 하러 당신의 집에 가도 되겠냐고 묻습니다. 이에 대해 거절하십시오.

The two of you are friends. After school, it is time to return home. On the way back home, your friend asks you if he/she can go to your house to do the English homework together. You are going to refuse this.

- 함께 영어 과제를 하다: do the English homework together

학생 B (상대 발화자: Interlocutor)

두 사람은 친구입니다. 종례가 끝나고 귀가할 시간이 되었습니다. 집으로 향하는 길, 친구에게 영어 과제를 함께 하러 친구의 집에 가도 되겠냐고 말하십시오. 이어지는 친구의 말에 최대한 자연스럽게 응답하며 대화하시오.

The two of you are friends. After school, it is time to return home. On the way back home, ask your friend if you can go over to his/her house to do the English homework together. Prepare an appropriate response to your friend's answer and act it out as naturally as possible.

- 함께 영어 과제를 하다: do the English homework together

[어려운 요청 과업1B]

학생 B

당신은 학생(이름: 민서)입니다. 방과 후, 담임 선생님(박 선생님)이 계시는 교무실에 왔습니다. 당신은 담임 선생님과 오늘 방과 후 개인 상담을 하기로 되어있습니다. 이는 2주 전에 정해진 일정입니다. 담임 선생님께 상담 날짜를 바꿔 달라고 요청하십시오.
You are a student(Name: Min-Seo). After school, you came to the teacher's lounge where your homeroom teacher(Ms. Park) is. You are supposed to have a personal consultation with your homeroom teacher after school today. This was set two weeks ago. Ask your homeroom teacher if you could change the date of the meeting.

- 개인 상담을 하다: have a personal consultation
- 날짜를 바꾸다: change the date

학생 A (상대 발화자: Interlocutor)

당신은 담임 교사(박 선생님)입니다. 방과 후, 담임 반의 학생(이름: 민서)이 교무실로 왔습니다. 당신은 이 학생과 오늘 방과 후 개인 상담을 하기로 하였고, 이는 2주 전에 정해진 것입니다. 학생은 지금 상담 날짜를 바꿔 달라고 합니다. 이에 최대한 자연스럽게 응답하며 대화를 나누시오.
You are the homeroom teacher(Ms. Park). After school, a student(Name: Min-Seo) from your homeroom class came to the teacher's lounge. You have a personal consultation with this student today, which was scheduled two weeks ago. Now the student asks you to change the date of the consultation. Prepare an appropriate response to the situation and act it out as naturally as possible.

- 개인 상담을 하다: have a personal consultation
- 날짜를 바꾸다: change the date

[쉬운 요청 과업2B]

학생 B

두 사람은 친구입니다. 종례가 끝나고 귀가할 시간 즈음, 갑자기 비가 내리기 시작합니다. 우산을 가져온 당신의 친구에게 우산을 같이 써도 되겠냐고 요청하십시오.
The two of you are friends. Suddenly it starts raining after school. Ask your friend who brought an umbrella whether you can share his/her umbrella.

- 우산을 함께 쓰다: share one's umbrella

학생 A (상대 발화자: Interlocutor)

두 사람은 친구입니다. 종례가 끝나고 귀가할 시간 즈음, 갑자기 비가 내리기 시작합니다. 우산을 가져온 당신에게 친구가 우산을 함께 써도 되겠냐고 묻습니다. 이에 최대한 자연스럽게 응답하며 대화를 나누시오.
The two of you are friends. Suddenly it starts raining after school. Your friend who did not bring an umbrella asks you if she/he could share your umbrella. Prepare an appropriate response to the situation and act it out as naturally as possible.

- 우산을 함께 쓰다: share one's umbrella

[요청에 대한 어려운 거절 과업3B]

학생 B

당신은 학생(이름: 시현)입니다. 지금은 학기 초입니다. 종례가 끝나고 귀가할 시간이 되었습니다. 담임 선생님(강 선생님)께서 당신을 불러 반 친구들과 잘 어울리지 못하는 친구(이름: 다인)와 친하게 지내 달라고 말씀하십니다. 이에 대해 거절하십시오.

You are a student(Name: Si-Hyun). This is the beginning of the semester. After school, it is time to return home. Your homeroom teacher(Ms. Kang) calls you and asks you to help a friend(Name: Da-In) who doesn't get along well with your classmates. You are going to refuse this.

•반 친구들과 잘 어울리다: get along well with classmates

학생 A (상대 발화자: Interlocutor)

당신은 담임 교사(강 선생님)입니다. 지금은 학기 초입니다. 종례가 끝나고 학생들이 귀가할 시간에, 한 학생(이름: 시현)을 불러 반 친구들과 잘 어울리지 못하는 친구(이름: 다인)와 친하게 지내 달라고 말하십시오. 이어지는 학생의 말에 최대한 자연스럽게 응답하며 대화하시오.

You are a homeroom teacher(Ms. Kang). This is the beginning of the semester. After school, when it is time for the students to return home, you call a student(Name: Si-Hyun) and asks him/her to help a friend(Name: Da-In) who doesn't get along well with other classmates. Prepare an appropriate response to the student's answer and act it out as naturally as possible.

•반 친구들과 잘 어울리다: get along well with classmates

[요청에 대한 쉬운 거절 과업4B]

학생 B

두 사람은 친구입니다. 종례가 끝나고 귀가할 시간이 되었습니다. 친구가 교실에 남아 영어 과제를 도와달라고 말합니다. 이에 대해 거절하십시오.

The two of you are friends. After school, it is time to return home. Your friend asks you to stay in class and help him/her with English homework. You are going to refuse this.

•교실에 남다: stay in class
•숙제를 돕다: help one's homework

학생 A (상대 발화자: Interlocutor)

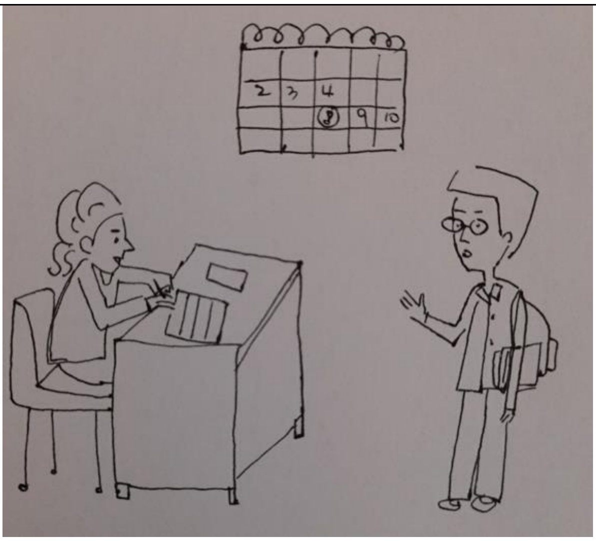
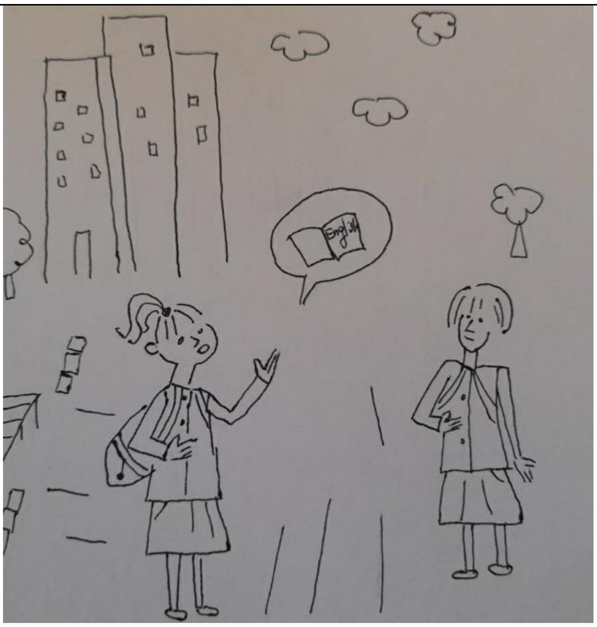
두 사람은 친구입니다. 종례가 끝나고 귀가할 시간이 되었습니다. 친구에게 교실에 남아 영어 과제를 도와달라고 말하십시오. 이어지는 친구의 말에 최대한 자연스럽게 응답하며 대화하시오.

The two of you are friends. After school, it is time to return home. Ask your friend to stay in class and help you with your English homework. Prepare an appropriate response to your friend's answer and act it out as naturally as possible.

•교실에 남다: stay in class
•숙제를 돕다: help one's homework

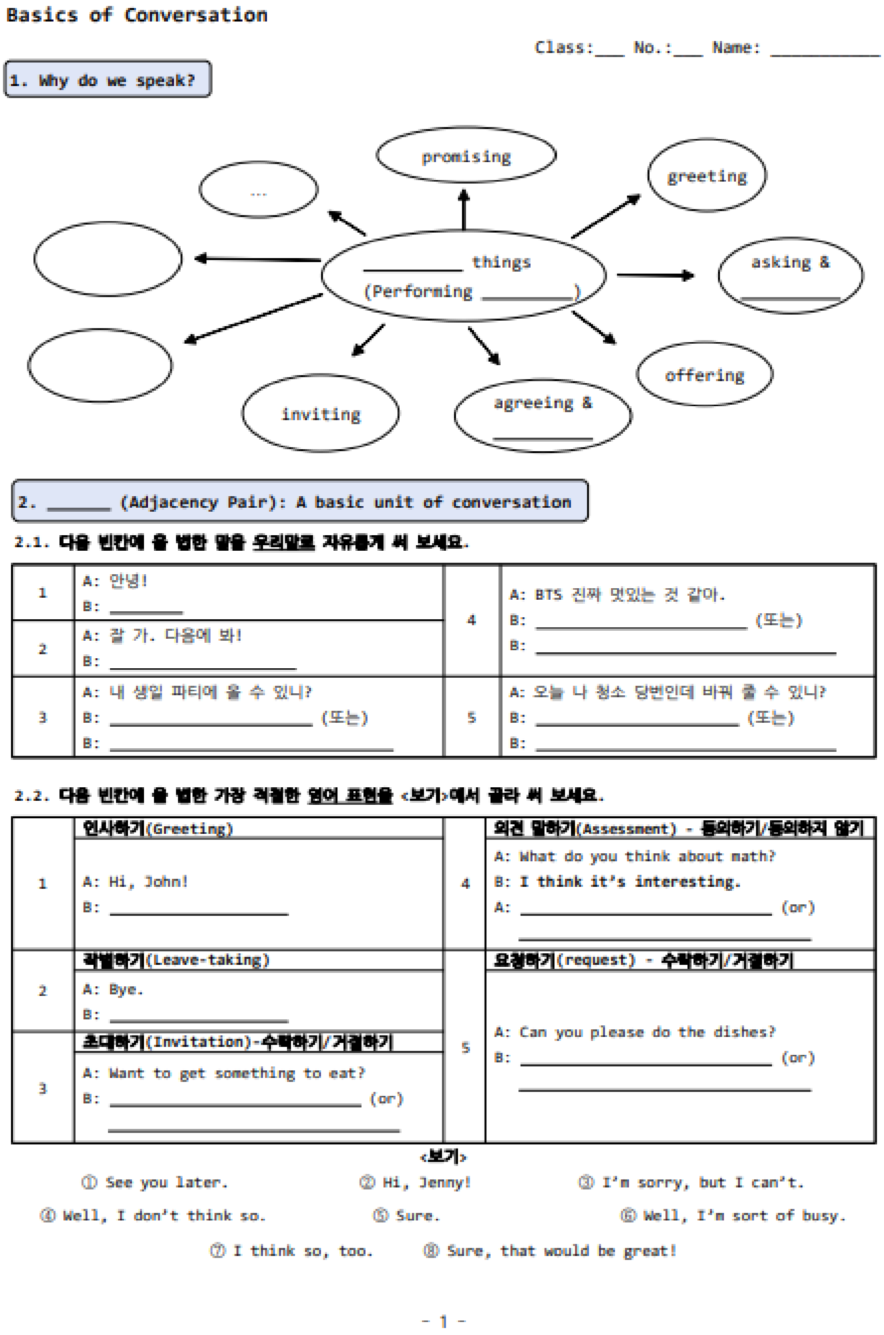
Appendix C

Samples of Visual Aids

Visual Aid for PDR-high Request Role-play

Visual Aid for PDR-low Request Role-play


Appendix D

Handouts for Instructional Phase 1-2



Basics of Conversation

Class:___ No.:___ Name: ___________

1. Why do we speak?

______ things (Performing ______)

promising

greeting

asking & ______

offering

agreeing & ______

inviting

...

2. ______ (Adjacency Pair): A basic unit of conversation

2.1. 다음 빈칸에 올 법한 말을 우리말로 자유롭게 써 보세요.

1	A: 안녕! B: ________	4	A: BTS 진짜 멋있는 것 같아. B: ______________________ (또는) B: ______________________
2	A: 잘 가. 다음에 봐! B: ______________		
3	A: 내 생일 파티에 올 수 있니? B: ______________________ (또는) B: ______________________	5	A: 오늘 나 청소 당번인데 바꿔 줄 수 있니? B: ______________________ (또는) B: ______________________

2.2. 다음 빈칸에 올 법한 가장 적절한 영어 표현을 <보기>에서 골라 써 보세요.

1	**인사하기**(Greeting) A: Hi, John! B: ______________	4	**의견 말하기**(Assessment) - **동의하기/동의하지 않기** A: What do you think about math? B: I think it's interesting. A: ______________________ (or) ______________________
2	**작별하기**(Leave-taking) A: Bye. B: ______________	5	**요청하기**(request) - **수락하기/거절하기** A: Can you please do the dishes? B: ______________________ (or) ______________________
3	**초대하기**(Invitation)-**수락하기/거절하기** A: Want to get something to eat? B: ______________________ (or) ______________________		

<보기>

① See you later. ② Hi, Jenny! ③ I'm sorry, but I can't.

④ Well, I don't think so. ⑤ Sure. ⑥ Well, I'm sort of busy.

⑦ I think so, too. ⑧ Sure, that would be great!

- 1 -

2.3. 인접 쌍의 확장 - 다음 문장들을 자연스러운 대화로 만들기 위해 순서를 써 보세요.

(1) **Chris:** You want to drink? ____ **Jenny:** Not much. ____ **Chris:** What are you doing? __1__ **Jenny:** Yeah! ____	(2) **Bee:** You sound happy. __2__ **Ava:** No. ____ **Bee:** Yeah. ____ **Ava:** Uh...I sound happy? ____

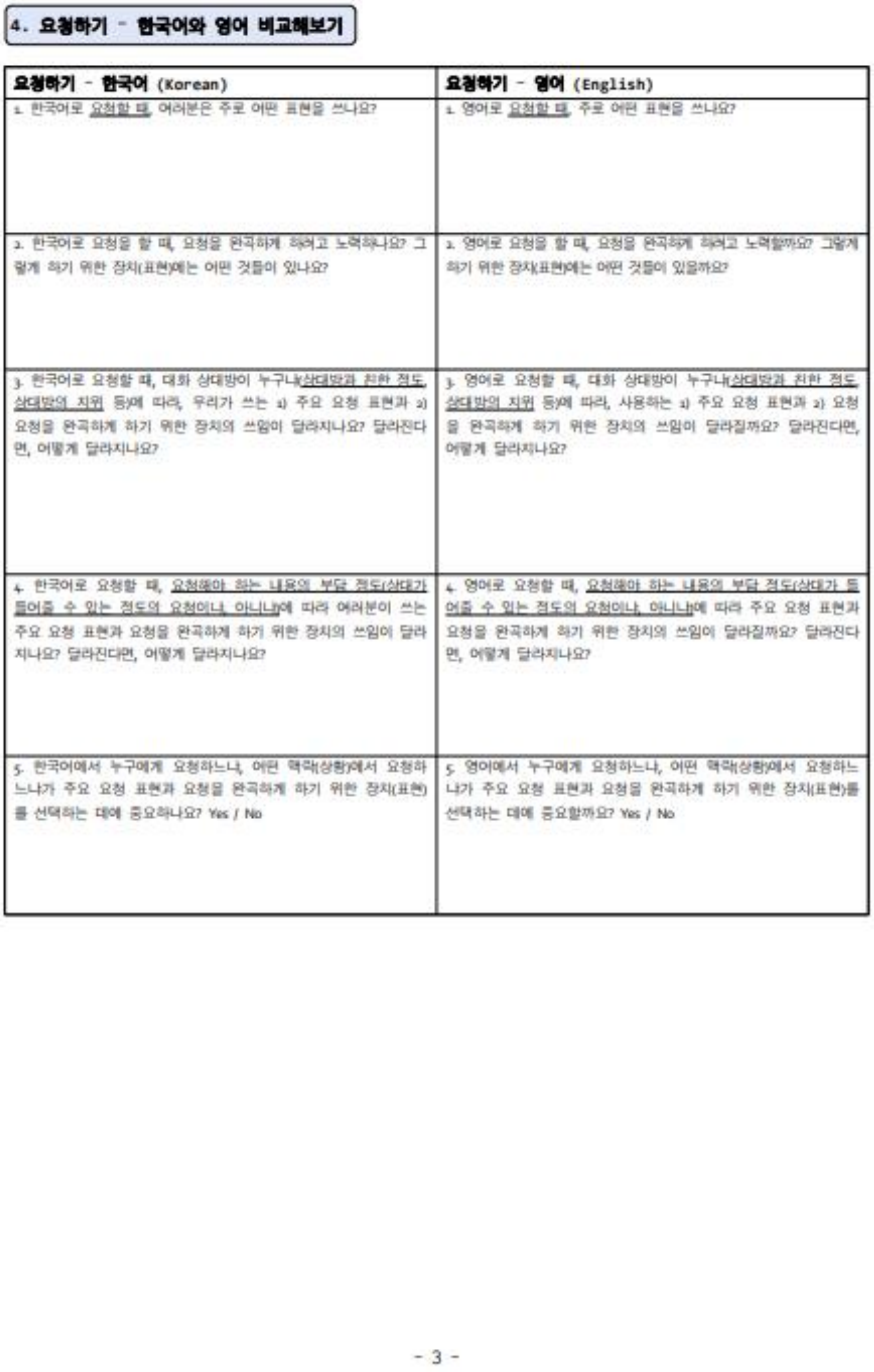
3. _______ 구조 (Preference Organization)

3.1. 다음 A의 답으로 선호되는 말을 골라 보세요.

(1) A: Want to get something to eat? ① B: Sure, that would be great! ② B: Well, I'm sort of busy.	**(2) A: I think it's interesting.** ① B: I think so, too. ② B: Well, I don't think so.
(3) A: Can you please do the dishes? ① B: Sure. ② B: I'm sorry, but I can't.	***Can you please do the dishes?와 같은 요청 행위는 선호되는 발화행위일까요, 비 선호되는 발화행위일까요?** ① **선호** ② **비 선호**

3.2 비 선호 발화 행위를 할 때, 한국어와 영어에서 사용하는 전략에는 어떤 것들이 있을까요?

→



4. 요청하기 - 한국어와 영어 비교해보기

요청하기 - 한국어 (Korean)	**요청하기 - 영어** (English)
1. 한국어로 요청할 때, 여러분은 주로 어떤 표현을 쓰나요?	1. 영어로 요청할 때, 주로 어떤 표현을 쓰나요?
2. 한국어로 요청을 할 때, 요청을 완곡하게 하려고 노력하나요? 그렇게 하기 위한 장치(표현)에는 어떤 것들이 있나요?	2. 영어로 요청을 할 때, 요청을 완곡하게 하려고 노력할까요? 그렇게 하기 위한 장치(표현)에는 어떤 것들이 있을까요?
3. 한국어로 요청할 때, 대화 상대방이 누구냐(상대방과 친한 정도, 상대방의 지위 등)에 따라, 우리가 쓰는 1) 주요 요청 표현과 2) 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치의 쓰임이 달라지나요? 달라진다면, 어떻게 달라지나요?	3. 영어로 요청할 때, 대화 상대방이 누구냐(상대방과 친한 정도, 상대방의 지위 등)에 따라, 사용하는 1) 주요 요청 표현과 2) 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치의 쓰임이 달라질까요? 달라진다면, 어떻게 달라지나요?
4. 한국어로 요청할 때, 요청해야 하는 내용의 부담 정도(상대가 들어줄 수 있는 정도의 요청이냐, 아니냐)에 따라 여러분이 쓰는 주요 요청 표현과 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치의 쓰임이 달라지나요? 달라진다면, 어떻게 달라지나요?	4. 영어로 요청할 때, 요청해야 하는 내용의 부담 정도(상대가 들어줄 수 있는 정도의 요청이냐, 아니냐)에 따라 주요 요청 표현과 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치의 쓰임이 달라질까요? 달라진다면, 어떻게 달라지나요?
5. 한국어에서 누구에게 요청하느냐, 어떤 맥락(상황)에서 요청하느냐가 주요 요청 표현과 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치(표현)를 선택하는 데에 중요하나요? Yes / No	5. 영어에서 누구에게 요청하느냐, 어떤 맥락(상황)에서 요청하느냐가 주요 요청 표현과 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치(표현)를 선택하는 데에 중요할까요? Yes / No

5. 요청에 거절하기 - 한국어와 영어 비교해보기

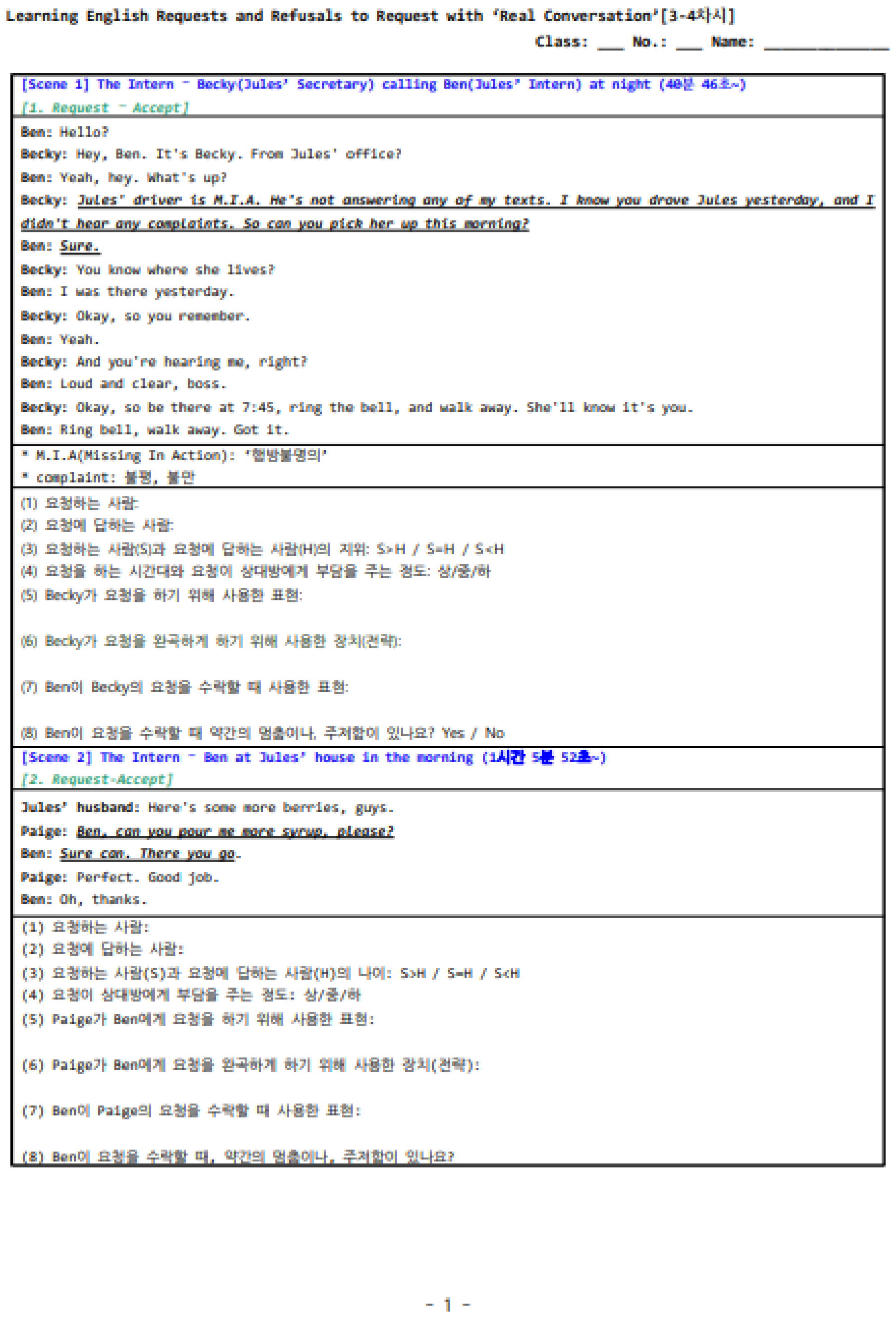
요청에 거절하기 - 한국어 (Korean)	요청에 거절하기 - 영어 (English)
1. 한국어로 요청에 대해 거절할 때, 여러분은 주로 어떤 표현을 쓰나요?	1. 영어로 요청에 대해 거절할 때, 주로 어떤 표현을 쓰나요?
2. 한국어로 요청에 대해 거절 할 때, 거절을 완곡하게 하려고 노력하나요? 그렇게 하기 위한 장치(표현)에는 어떤 것들이 있나요?	2. 영어로 요청에 대해 거절 할 때, 거절 완곡하게 하려고 노력할까요? 그렇게 하기 위한 장치(표현)에는 어떤 것들이 있을까요?
3. 한국어로 요청에 대해 거절할 때, 대화 상대방이 누구냐(상대방과 친한 정도, 상대방의 지위 등)에 따라, 우리가 쓰는 1) 주요 거절 요청 표현과 2) 거절을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치의 쓰임이 달라지나요? 달라진다면, 어떻게 달라지나요?	3. 영어로 요청에 대해 거절할 때, 대화 상대방이 누구냐(상대방과 친한 정도, 상대방의 지위 등)에 따라, 사용하는 1) 주요 거절 요청 표현과 2) 거절을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치의 쓰임이 달라질까요? 달라진다면, 어떻게 달라지나요?
4. 한국어에서 누구의 요청에 거절하느냐, 어떤 맥락(상황)에서 거절하느냐가 주요 거절 표현과 거절을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치(표현)를 선택하는 데에 중요하나요? Yes / No	4. 영어에서 누구의 요청에 거절하느냐, 어떤 맥락(상황)에서 거절하느냐가 주요 요청 표현과 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위한 장치(표현)를 선택하는 데에 중요할까요? Yes / No

6. Real English Conversation - Request & Refusal

Marcia: Hello?
Donny: Hello, Marcia,
Marcia: Yeah,
Donny: It's Donny.
Marcia: Hi Donny.
Donny: Guess what?
Marcia: What?
Donny: My car is stalled. (0.2) and I'm up here in the Glen?
Marcia: Oh...
(0.4)
Donny: hhh And (0.2) I don't know if it's possible, but see, I have to open up the bank (0.3) at the Brentwood?
Marcia: Yeah, and I know you want and I would, but except I've gotta leave in about five minutes.
Donny: Okay then I gotta call somebody else right away.

Appendix E

Handouts for Instructional Phase 3-4



Learning English Requests and Refusals to Request with 'Real Conversation'[3-4차시]

Class: ___ No.: ___ Name: ____________

[Scene 1] The Intern – Becky(Jules' Secretary) calling Ben(Jules' Intern) at night (40분 46초~)

[1. Request – Accept]

Ben: Hello?

Becky: Hey, Ben. It's Becky. From Jules' office?

Ben: Yeah, hey. What's up?

Becky: *Jules' driver is M.I.A. He's not answering any of my texts. I know you drove Jules yesterday, and I didn't hear any complaints. So can you pick her up this morning?*

Ben: *Sure.*

Becky: You know where she lives?

Ben: I was there yesterday.

Becky: Okay, so you remember.

Ben: Yeah.

Becky: And you're hearing me, right?

Ben: Loud and clear, boss.

Becky: Okay, so be there at 7:45, ring the bell, and walk away. She'll know it's you.

Ben: Ring bell, walk away. Got it.

* M.I.A(Missing In Action): '행방불명의'
* complaint: 불평, 불만

(1) 요청하는 사람:
(2) 요청에 답하는 사람:
(3) 요청하는 사람(S)과 요청에 답하는 사람(H)의 지위: S>H / S=H / S<H
(4) 요청을 하는 시간대와 요청이 상대방에게 부담을 주는 정도: 상/중/하
(5) Becky가 요청을 하기 위해 사용한 표현:

(6) Becky가 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위해 사용한 장치(전략):

(7) Ben이 Becky의 요청을 수락할 때 사용한 표현:

(8) Ben이 요청을 수락할 때 약간의 멈춤이나, 주저함이 있나요? Yes / No

[Scene 2] The Intern – Ben at Jules' house in the morning (1시간 5분 52초~)

[2. Request-Accept]

Jules' husband: Here's some more berries, guys.

Paige: *Ben, can you pour me more syrup, please?*

Ben: *Sure can. There you go*.

Paige: Perfect. Good job.

Ben: Oh, thanks.

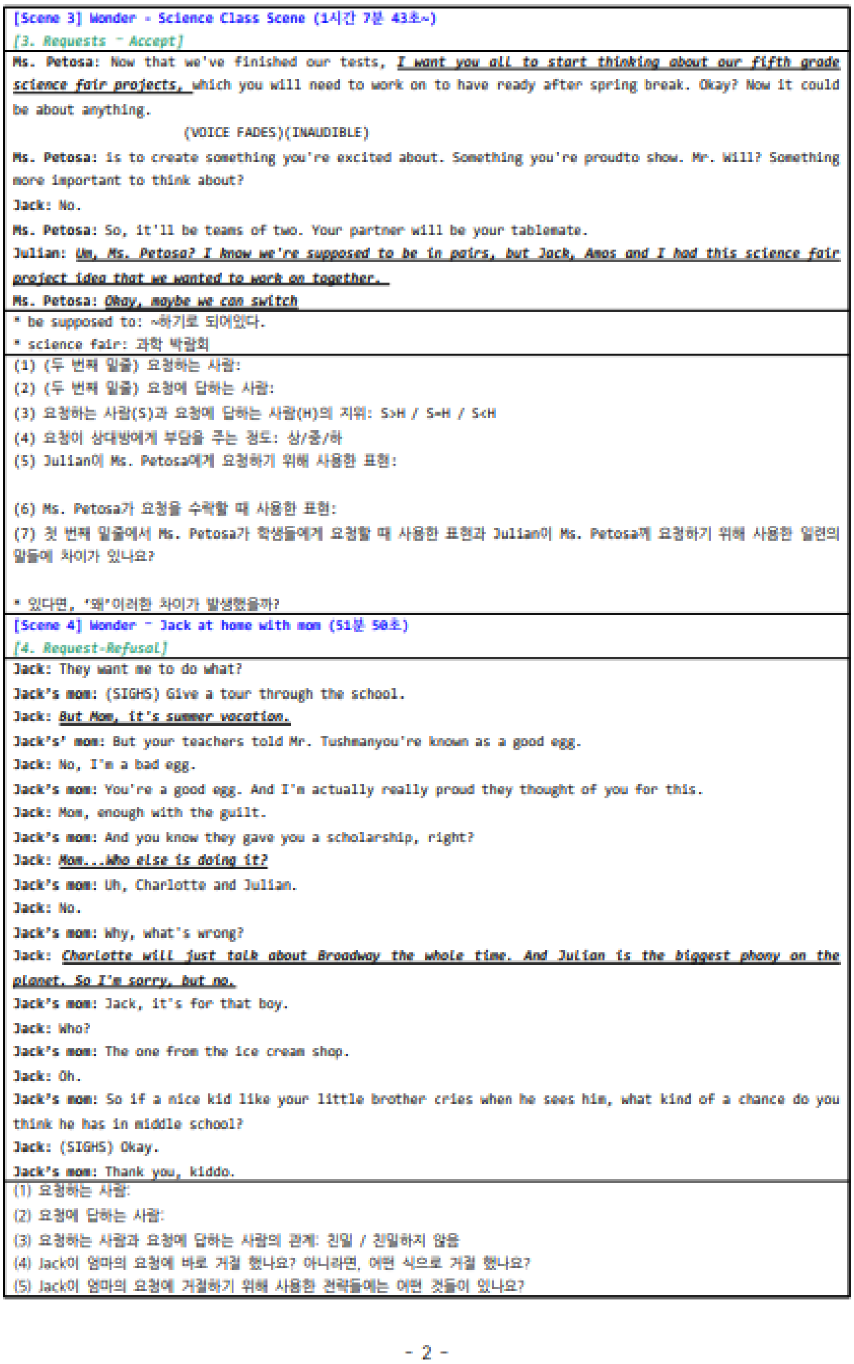
(1) 요청하는 사람:
(2) 요청에 답하는 사람:
(3) 요청하는 사람(S)과 요청에 답하는 사람(H)의 나이: S>H / S=H / S<H
(4) 요청이 상대방에게 부담을 주는 정도: 상/중/하
(5) Paige가 Ben에게 요청을 하기 위해 사용한 표현:

(6) Paige가 Ben에게 요청을 완곡하게 하기 위해 사용한 장치(전략):

(7) Ben이 Paige의 요청을 수락할 때 사용한 표현:

(8) Ben이 요청을 수락할 때, 약간의 멈춤이나, 주저함이 있나요?

- 1 -



[Scene 3] Wonder - Science Class Scene (1시간 7분 43초~)

[3. Requests - Accept]

Ms. Petosa: Now that we've finished our tests, *I want you all to start thinking about our fifth grade science fair projects,* which you will need to work on to have ready after spring break. Okay? Now it could be about anything.

(VOICE FADES)(INAUDIBLE)

Ms. Petosa: is to create something you're excited about. Something you're proudto show. Mr. Will? Something more important to think about?

Jack: No.

Ms. Petosa: So, it'll be teams of two. Your partner will be your tablemate.

Julian: *Um, Ms. Petosa? I know we're supposed to be in pairs, but Jack, Amos and I had this science fair project idea that we wanted to work on together.*

Ms. Petosa: *Okay, maybe we can switch*

* be supposed to: ~하기로 되어있다.

* science fair: 과학 박람회

(1) (두 번째 밑줄) 요청하는 사람:

(2) (두 번째 밑줄) 요청에 답하는 사람:

(3) 요청하는 사람(S)과 요청에 답하는 사람(H)의 지위: S>H / S=H / S<H

(4) 요청이 상대방에게 부담을 주는 정도: 상/중/하

(5) Julian이 Ms. Petosa에게 요청하기 위해 사용한 표현:

(6) Ms. Petosa가 요청을 수락할 때 사용한 표현:

(7) 첫 번째 밑줄에서 Ms. Petosa가 학생들에게 요청할 때 사용한 표현과 Julian이 Ms. Petosa께 요청하기 위해 사용한 일련의 말들에 차이가 있나요?

* 있다면, '왜'이러한 차이가 발생했을까?

[Scene 4] Wonder - Jack at home with mom (51분 50초)

[4. Request-Refusal]

Jack: They want me to do what?

Jack's mom: (SIGHS) Give a tour through the school.

Jack: *But Mom, it's summer vacation.*

Jack's' mom: But your teachers told Mr. Tushmanyou're known as a good egg.

Jack: No, I'm a bad egg.

Jack's mom: You're a good egg. And I'm actually really proud they thought of you for this.

Jack: Mom, enough with the guilt.

Jack's mom: And you know they gave you a scholarship, right?

Jack: *Mom...Who else is doing it?*

Jack's mom: Uh, Charlotte and Julian.

Jack: No.

Jack's mom: Why, what's wrong?

Jack: *Charlotte will just talk about Broadway the whole time. And Julian is the biggest phony on the planet. So I'm sorry, but no.*

Jack's mom: Jack, it's for that boy.

Jack: Who?

Jack's mom: The one from the ice cream shop.

Jack: Oh.

Jack's mom: So if a nice kid like your little brother cries when he sees him, what kind of a chance do you think he has in middle school?

Jack: (SIGHS) Okay.

Jack's mom: Thank you, kiddo.

(1) 요청하는 사람:

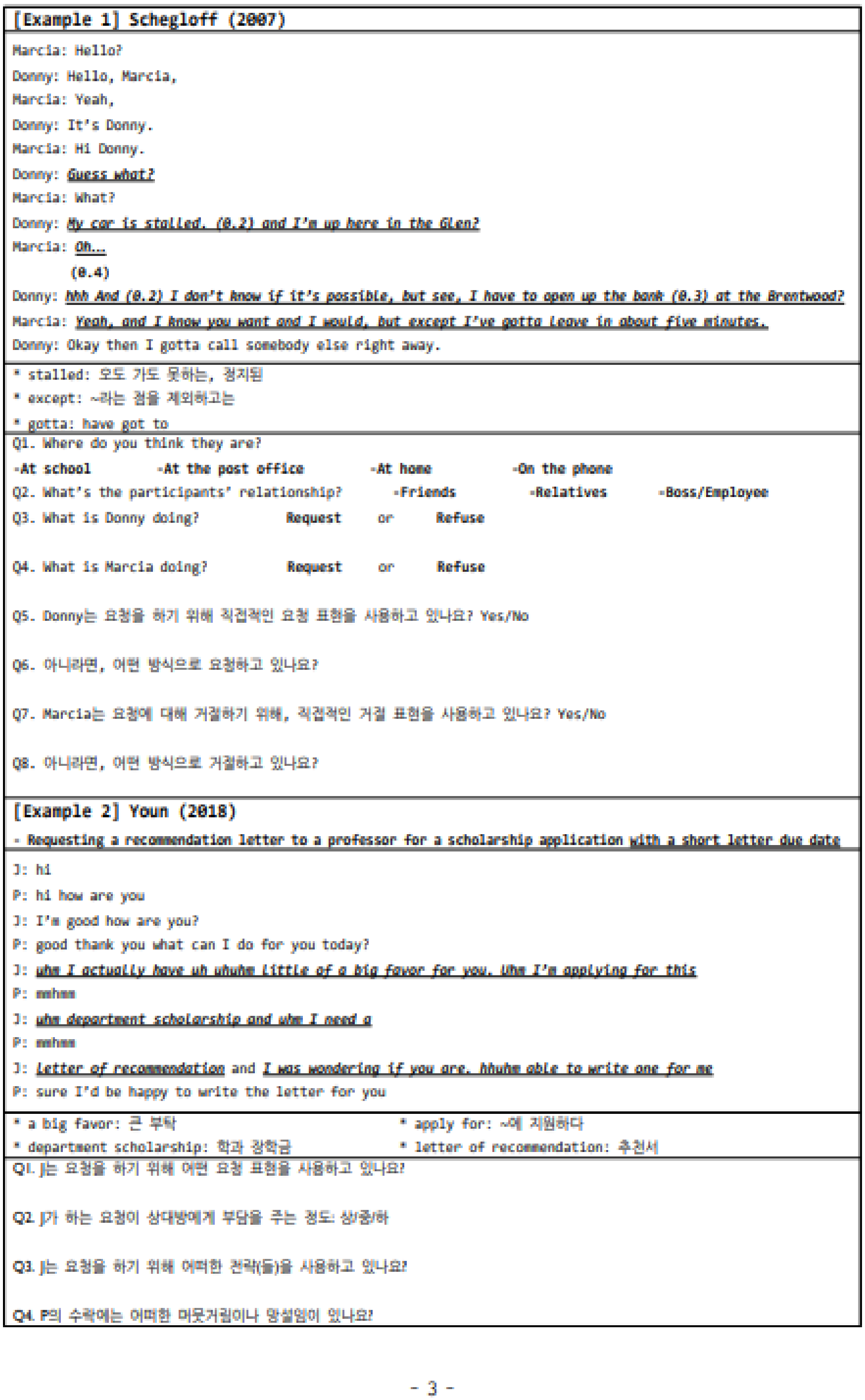
(2) 요청에 답하는 사람:

(3) 요청하는 사람과 요청에 답하는 사람의 관계: 친밀 / 친밀하지 않음

(4) Jack이 엄마의 요청에 바로 거절 했나요? 아니라면, 어떤 식으로 거절 했나요?

(5) Jack이 엄마의 요청에 거절하기 위해 사용한 전략들에는 어떤 것들이 있나요?

- 2 -



[Example 1] Schegloff (2007)

Marcia: Hello?
Donny: Hello, Marcia,
Marcia: Yeah,
Donny: It's Donny.
Marcia: Hi Donny.
Donny: *Guess what?*
Marcia: What?
Donny: *My car is stalled. (0.2) and I'm up here in the Glen?*
Marcia: *Oh...*
(0.4)
Donny: *hhh And (0.2) I don't know if it's possible, but see, I have to open up the bank (0.3) at the Brentwood?*
Marcia: *Yeah, and I know you want and I would, but except I've gotta leave in about five minutes.*
Donny: Okay then I gotta call somebody else right away.

* stalled: 오도 가도 못하는, 정지된
* except: ~라는 점을 제외하고는
* gotta: have got to

Q1. Where do you think they are?
-At school **-At the post office** **-At home** **-On the phone**
Q2. What's the participants' relationship? **-Friends** **-Relatives** **-Boss/Employee**
Q3. What is Donny doing? **Request** or **Refuse**

Q4. What is Marcia doing? **Request** or **Refuse**

Q5. Donny는 요청을 하기 위해 직접적인 요청 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes/No

Q6. 아니라면, 어떤 방식으로 요청하고 있나요?

Q7. Marcia는 요청에 대해 거절하기 위해, 직접적인 거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes/No

Q8. 아니라면, 어떤 방식으로 거절하고 있나요?

[Example 2] Youn (2018)

- Requesting a recommendation letter to a professor for a scholarship application with a short letter due date

J: hi
P: hi how are you
J: I'm good how are you?
P: good thank you what can I do for you today?
J: *uhm I actually have uh uhuhm little of a big favor for you. Uhm I'm applying for this*
P: mmhmm
J: *uhm department scholarship and uhm I need a*
P: mmhmm
J: *letter of recommendation* and *I was wondering if you are. hhuhm able to write one for me*
P: sure I'd be happy to write the letter for you

* a big favor: 큰 부탁 * apply for: ~에 지원하다
* department scholarship: 학과 장학금 * letter of recommendation: 추천서

Q1. J는 요청을 하기 위해 어떤 요청 표현을 사용하고 있나요?

Q2. J가 하는 요청이 상대방에게 부담을 주는 정도: 상/중/하

Q3. J는 요청을 하기 위해 어떠한 전략(들)을 사용하고 있나요?

Q4. P의 수락에는 어떠한 머뭇거림이나 망설임이 있나요?

- 3 -

[Example 3] Al-Gahtani & Rover (2018)

A: *Sorry to bother you. I just need yeah a lot of trouble I don't know. I I got this assignment due tomorrow morning but my laptop is like yeah it's crashed the worst thing I don't know what's happened to it.*
B: Oh that's no °good
A: *Aw yeah the worst. So I was wondering if I could possibly if you has I'd I could borrow your laptop for just like. I just totally need it for a few hours tonight and then I got this thing to do at 9 am.*
B: *Um, well, I got an assignment due myself*
A: oh
B: *at eight. Um probably need a couple of hours but*
A: Wu, it
B: *Do you wanna do you wanna maybe come over and use it afterwards?*

* assignment: 과제 * crashed: 망가진 * due: ~하기로 되어 있는(예정된)
* possibly: 혹시 * totally: 완전히 * afterward: 후에, 나중에

(1) 요청하는 사람:
(2) 요청에 답하는 사람:
(3) 요청하는 사람과 요청에 답하는 사람의 관계:
(4) 요청이 상대방에게 부담을 주는 정도: 상/중/하
(5) A가 B에게 요청을 하기 위해 사용한 표현:

(6) A가 B에게 요청을 하기 위해 사용한 전략(들):

(7) B는 A의 요청을 수락하나요, 거절하나요?
(8) B가 요청에 거절을 하기 위해 사용한 직접적인 표현이 있나요?

(9) B가 요청에 거절을 하기 위해 사용한 전략(들):

Learning Log

- 오늘 수업 시간에 다룬 내용 중, 새로웠거나, 기억에 남는 부분을 적어 보세요.
(예시: 요청을 할 때, 상대방에게 이 요청이 얼마나 부담이 되는가를 고려하여, 다양한 전략을 사용해야 한다.)

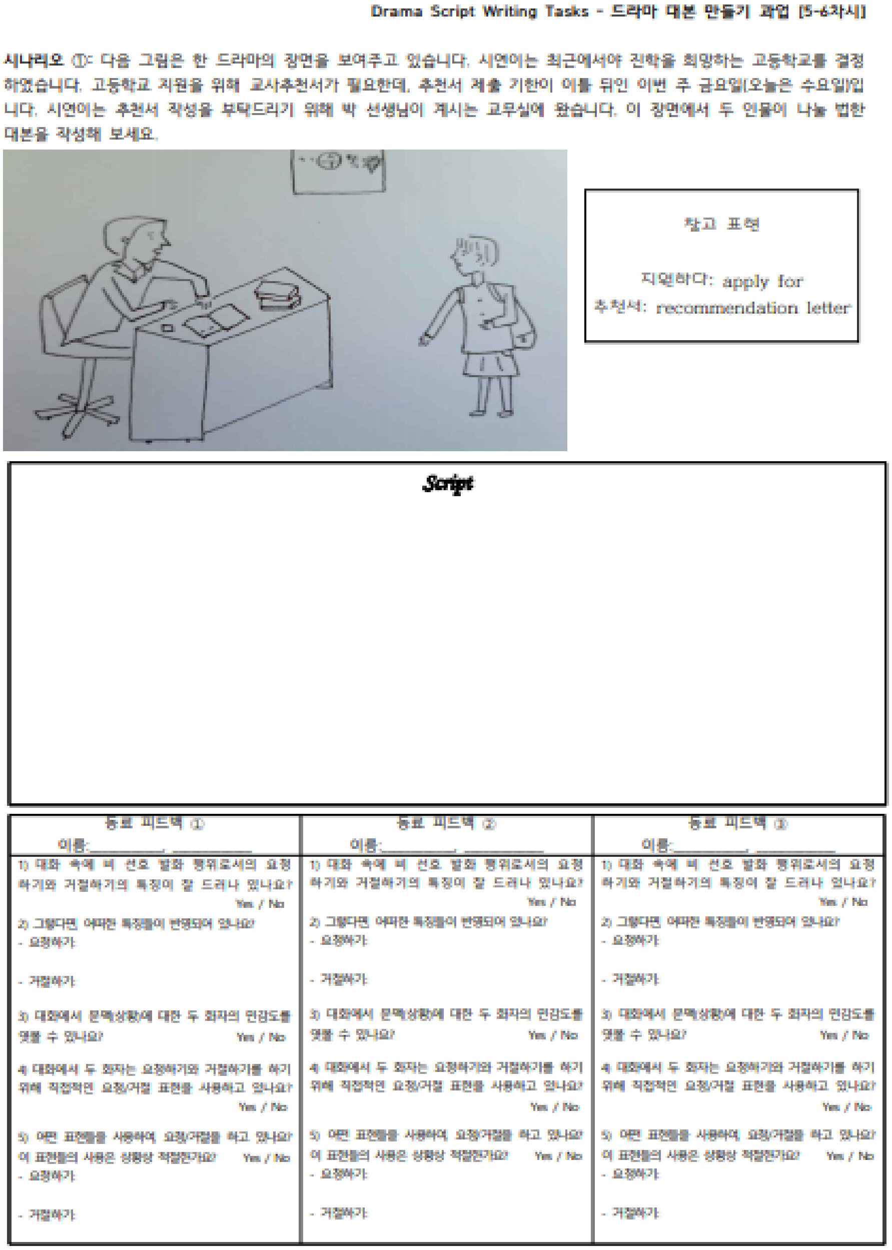
→

→

→

Appendix F

Handouts for Instructional Phase 5-6



Drama Script Writing Tasks - 드라마 대본 만들기 과업 [5-6차시]

시나리오 ①: 다음 그림은 한 드라마의 장면을 보여주고 있습니다. 시연이는 최근에서야 진학을 희망하는 고등학교를 결정하였습니다. 고등학교 지원을 위해 교사추천서가 필요한데, 추천서 제출 기한이 이틀 뒤인 이번 주 금요일(오늘은 수요일)입니다. 시연이는 추천서 작성을 부탁드리기 위해 박 선생님이 계시는 교무실에 왔습니다. 이 장면에서 두 인물이 나눌 법한 대본을 작성해 보세요.

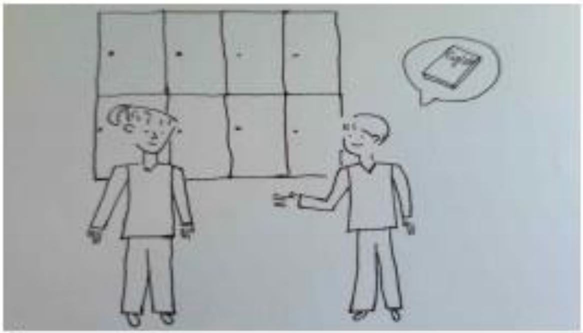
참고 표현

지원하다: apply for
추천서: recommendation letter

Script

동료 피드백 ① 이름:________, ________	동료 피드백 ② 이름:________, ________	동료 피드백 ③ 이름:________, ________
1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:	1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:	1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:

시나리오 ②: 다음 그림은 한 드라마의 장면을 보여주고 있습니다. 지금은 학교 쉬는 시간입니다. 우찬이는 집에 영어 교과서를 두고 와서, 친구인 진우에게 영어 교과서를 빌려 달라고 부탁하러 왔습니다. 이 장면에서 두 인물이 나눌 법한 대본을 작성해 보세요.



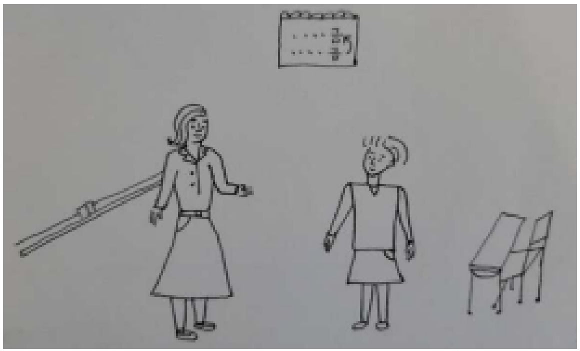
참고 표현

영어 교과서: English textbook

Script

동료 피드백 ① 이름:	동료 피드백 ② 이름:	동료 피드백 ③ 이름:
1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No	1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No	1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No
2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기 - 거절하기	2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기 - 거절하기	2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기 - 거절하기
3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No	3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No	3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No
4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No	4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No	4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No
5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기 - 거절하기	5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기 - 거절하기	5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기 - 거절하기

시나리오 ③: 다음 그림은 한 드라마의 장면을 보여주고 있습니다. 지연이는 다음 주 금요일 영어 시간에 발표를 하기로 되어 있었습니다. 영어 선생님이신 김 선생님께서 지연이에게 다른 학생과 스케줄을 바꿔 이번 주 금요일 영어 시간에 발표를 해달라고 부탁하십니다. 지연이는 이에 거절을 합니다. 이 장면에서 두 인물이 나눌 법한 대본을 작성해 보세요.



참고 표현

발표: presentation
발표하다: give a presentation

Script

동료 피드백 ① 이름:________, ________	동료 피드백 ② 이름:________, ________	동료 피드백 ③ 이름:________, ________
1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여, 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:	1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여, 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:	1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여, 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:

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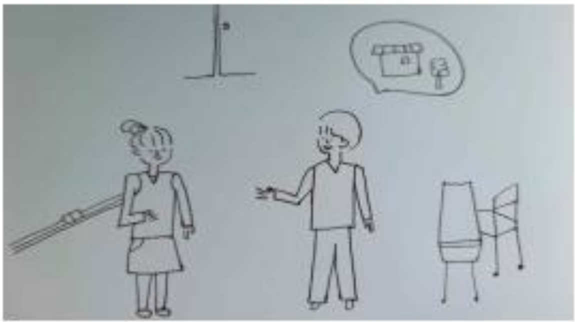


참고 표현

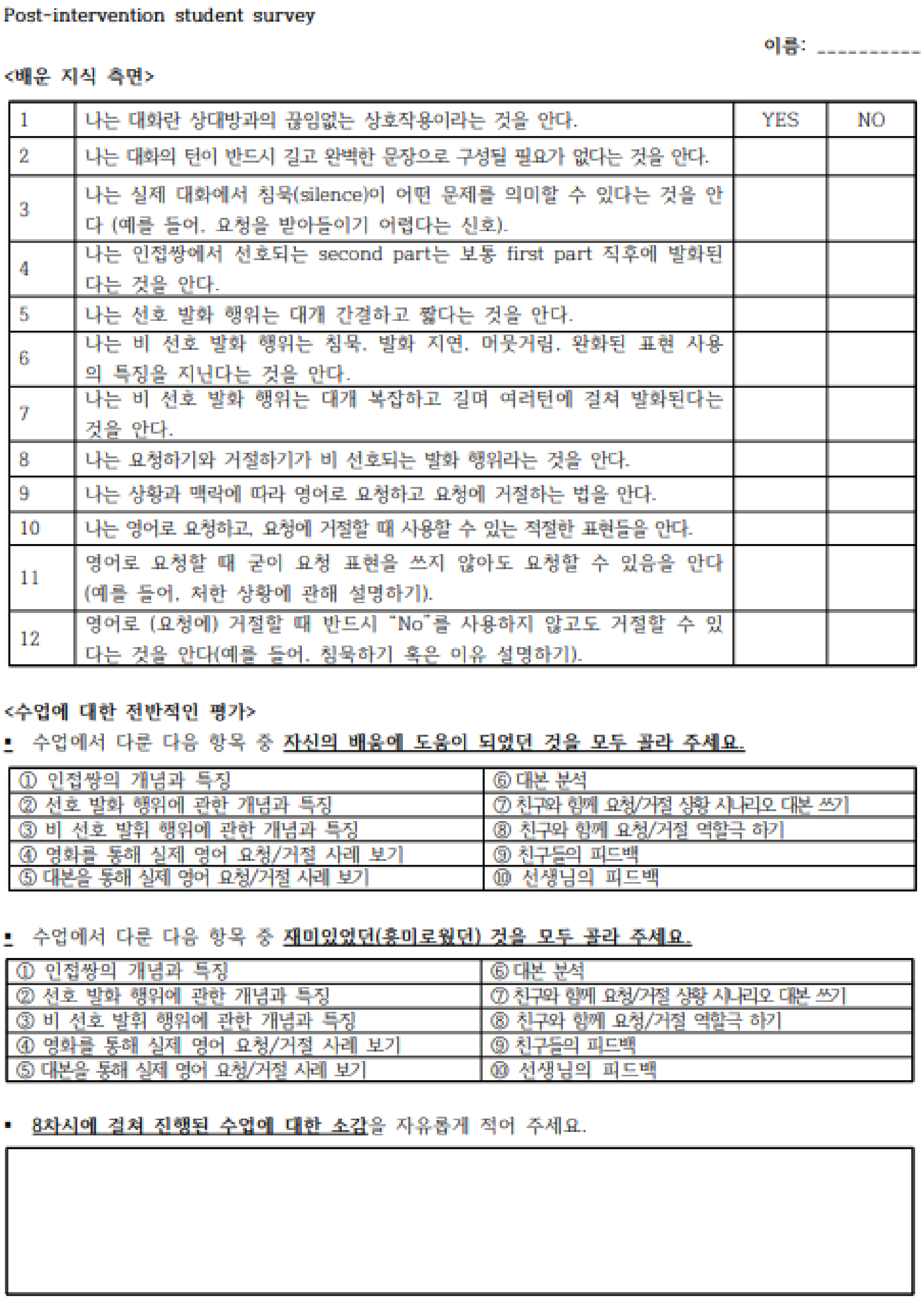
교실을 청소하다: clean the classroom

Script

동료 피드백 ① 이름:	동료 피드백 ② 이름:	동료 피드백 ③ 이름:
1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:	1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:	1) 대화 속에 비 선호 발화 행위로서의 요청하기와 거절하기의 특징이 잘 드러나 있나요? Yes / No 2) 그렇다면 어떠한 특징들이 반영되어 있나요? - 요청하기: - 거절하기: 3) 대화에서 문맥(상황)에 대한 두 화자의 민감도를 엿볼 수 있나요? Yes / No 4) 대화에서 두 화자는 요청하기와 거절하기를 하기 위해 직접적인 요청/거절 표현을 사용하고 있나요? Yes / No 5) 어떤 표현들을 사용하여 요청/거절을 하고 있나요? 이 표현들의 사용은 상황상 적절한가요? Yes / No - 요청하기: - 거절하기:

Appendix G

Post-intervention Student Survey



Post-intervention student survey

이름: __________

<배운 지식 측면>

1	나는 대화란 상대방과의 끊임없는 상호작용이라는 것을 안다.	YES	NO
2	나는 대화의 턴이 반드시 길고 완벽한 문장으로 구성될 필요가 없다는 것을 안다.		
3	나는 실제 대화에서 침묵(silence)이 어떤 문제를 의미할 수 있다는 것을 안다 (예를 들어, 요청을 받아들이기 어렵다는 신호).		
4	나는 인접쌍에서 선호되는 second part는 보통 first part 직후에 발화된다는 것을 안다.		
5	나는 선호 발화 행위는 대개 간결하고 짧다는 것을 안다.		
6	나는 비 선호 발화 행위는 침묵, 발화 지연, 머뭇거림, 완화된 표현 사용의 특징을 지닌다는 것을 안다.		
7	나는 비 선호 발화 행위는 대개 복잡하고 길며 여러턴에 걸쳐 발화된다는 것을 안다.		
8	나는 요청하기와 거절하기가 비 선호되는 발화 행위라는 것을 안다.		
9	나는 상황과 맥락에 따라 영어로 요청하고 요청에 거절하는 법을 안다.		
10	나는 영어로 요청하고, 요청에 거절할 때 사용할 수 있는 적절한 표현들을 안다.		
11	영어로 요청할 때 굳이 요청 표현을 쓰지 않아도 요청할 수 있음을 안다 (예를 들어, 처한 상황에 관해 설명하기).		
12	영어로 (요청에) 거절할 때 반드시 "No"를 사용하지 않고도 거절할 수 있다는 것을 안다(예를 들어, 침묵하기 혹은 이유 설명하기).		

<수업에 대한 전반적인 평가>

- 수업에서 다룬 다음 항목 중 **자신의 배움에 도움이 되었던 것을 모두 골라 주세요.**

① 인접쌍의 개념과 특징	⑥ 대본 분석
② 선호 발화 행위에 관한 개념과 특징	⑦ 친구와 함께 요청/거절 상황 시나리오 대본 쓰기
③ 비 선호 발휘 행위에 관한 개념과 특징	⑧ 친구와 함께 요청/거절 역할극 하기
④ 영화를 통해 실제 영어 요청/거절 사례 보기	⑨ 친구들의 피드백
⑤ 대본을 통해 실제 영어 요청/거절 사례 보기	⑩ 선생님의 피드백

- 수업에서 다룬 다음 항목 중 **재미있었던(흥미로웠던) 것을 모두 골라 주세요.**

① 인접쌍의 개념과 특징	⑥ 대본 분석
② 선호 발화 행위에 관한 개념과 특징	⑦ 친구와 함께 요청/거절 상황 시나리오 대본 쓰기
③ 비 선호 발휘 행위에 관한 개념과 특징	⑧ 친구와 함께 요청/거절 역할극 하기
④ 영화를 통해 실제 영어 요청/거절 사례 보기	⑨ 친구들의 피드백
⑤ 대본을 통해 실제 영어 요청/거절 사례 보기	⑩ 선생님의 피드백

- **8차시에 걸쳐 진행된 수업에 대한 소감**을 자유롭게 적어 주세요.

Appendix H

Conversation-analytic Transcript Symbols (Schegloff, 2007)

(0.0)	Numbers in the parentheses indicate silence in tenths of a second
(.)	A dot in the parentheses indicates a micropause, usually less than 0.2 second
[ ]	Brackets indicate the beginning and the end of the overlap
=	Equals signs come in pairs – one at the end of the line and the other at the start of another line, indicating: 1. if the two lines connected by the equals signs are by the same speaker, there was no break in between the two lines other than an overlap breaking the lines 2. if the two lines connected by the equal signs are by different speakers, the second line followed the first without a discernible pause
.	A falling, final intonation contour
?	A rising intonation
,	A continuing intonation
::	A stretch of the sound
word	A stress or emphasis
WOrd	The upper case indicates a particularly loud talk
°	A relatively soft sound
°word°	The word in between the degree signs are markedly soft
-	A cut-off or self-interruption
:	A falling intonation contour
:	A rising intonation contour or an inflection
↑	A sharp intonation rise
↓	A sharp intonation fall
> <	The talk between the signs is compressed or rushed
< >	The talk between the signs is markedly slow
hhh	Hearable aspirations representing laughter, breathing, and so on
(hhh)	An aspiration within the parentheses indicate the emergence of an aspiration in between the boundary of a word
.hhh	An inhalation
(( ))	Double parentheses indicate mark transcriber's descriptions of events
(word)	An uncertain transcription, representing a possibility
LH	Left hand
RH	Right hand
HS	Head shake
HSs	More than one head shakes

국문초록

화용 능력의 발달은 효과적인 의사소통을 위해 필수적이다. 화용적 오류는 문법적 오류와는 달리 의사소통에 있어 더욱 심각한 문제를 불러일으킬 수 있으며 상대 발화자에게 부정적인 인상을 심어줄 수 있기 때문이다. 그러나 화용 능력은 무엇을, 어떻게, 어느 상황에서 말하는지에 대한 지식을 종합적으로 요구하므로 특히 제2언어 학습자가 화용 능력을 갖추는 일은 어려우며 이러한 능력을 실시간으로 상호작용하는 상황에서 발휘하기는 더욱 벅찬 일이다.

제2언어 화용론 분야의 연구들은 제2언어 학습자들의 화용 능력을 많은 횡단 및 종단 연구를 통해 탐구하였다. 대부분의 연구는 학습자들이 화행을 어떻게 이해하고 발화하는지에 초점을 두었으며 가장 활발히 연구된 화행은 요청하기와 거절하기이다. 연구의 결과, 목표 언어를 수행하는 데에 있어 학습자와 원어민이 공통적으로 공유하는 특징들이 있는가 하면, 학습자만이 지닌 화용적 실패로 이어질 수 있는 특징들도 발견되었다. 한편 몇몇 연구에서는 학습자들이 화행을 준비하고 수행하는 과정에서 어떠한 인지적 처리과정을 거치는지 살펴보았는데 그 결과 학습자들은 자신의 화용 의도를 전달하는 데에 있어 많은 어려움을 지니고 있음이 밝혀졌다. 이러한 연구들의 결과로 말미암아 화용 교수의 중요성이 대두되었으며 또한 화용 교수의 효과가 입증되었다.

최근의 화용 교수 연구들은 화용 능력을 갖추기 위해 필요한 수많은 요소 중 어떤 것을, 누구에게, 언제, 어떻게 가르치는 것이 효과적인지 탐구하고 있다. 그럼에도 불구하고 이러한 연구들이 갖는 한계점은 대부분의 연구가 어른 학습자들을 대상으로 진행되었다는 점과 목표로 하는 화용 요소가 화행을 수행하기 위

한 형식(form)에만 초점을 두었다는 점이다. 또한, 데이터 수집을 위해 사용된 도구는 담화 채우기 시험과 같은 실용성에 기반을 둔 도구여서 학습자들이 실제로 상호작용 속에서 화행 의도를 어떻게 수행하는지에 대한 탐구는 어렵다는 점이다. 마지막으로, 많은 제2언어 학습자들을 대상으로 화용 교수 연구가 진행되었음에도 불구하고, 한국인 영어 학습자들을 대상으로 한 화용 교수 연구는 매우 적은 실정이다.

본 연구는 화용 능력의 중요성과 기존 연구들의 한계점을 바탕으로 대화분석 기반 화용 교수를 통해 제한적인 언어적 능력을 지닌 한국인 중학교 영어 학습자들의 화용 능력이 어떻게 발달되는지 탐구하였다. 총 14명의 학습자들은 2주동안 8차시의 수업을 통해 두 개의 화행에 대한 화용 교수를 받았다. 화용 교수를 통해 학습자들은 대화분석(Conversation Analysis)의 기본적인 개념을 배우고 한국어와 영어의 요청하기와 거절하기를 비교해봤으며 실제적인 입력(input)을 받았다. 또한 드라마 대본 짜기 과업과 개방형 역할극을 통해 화행을 연습하고 피드백을 받았다. 학습자들은 교수 전, 후에 두 화행에 대한 개방형 역할극을 수행하였으며 이를 통해 교수 효과를 입증하고자 하였다. 또한, 개방형 역할극 수행 직후 회고형 구두 보고를 실시하여 학습자들이 교수 전, 후에 지니고 있는 상위 화용 인식을 살펴보았다. 학습자들이 역할극에서 수행한 발화는 대화분석 틀에 입각하여 분석하였으며, 학습자들의 구두 보고는 화용언어, 사회어용에 관한 주의로 분류하여 분석하였다.

요청하기 역할극을 분석한 결과 화용 교수를 받기 전 학습자들은 요청하기를 함에 있어 전형적이지 못한 대화 순서를 보였고 요청이라는 메시지를 전달하는 데에만 몰두해 있는 양상을 띄

었으며 맥락을 고려한 요청하기를 하는 데에 어려움을 겪고 있었다. 교수의 결과 대부분의 학습자들은 실시간으로 이루어진 상호작용 속에서 요청을 지연시킬 줄 알게 되었으며 맥락을 고려한 화용언어를 사용할 수 있게 되었다. 한편, 학습자들의 요청에 대한 거절하기 역할극을 분석한 결과 맥락에 상관없이 이유 설명하기와 미안함 표시하기가 거절 전략으로 가장 빈번하게 사용되고 있었으며 이러한 전략들보다 앞선 위치에 직접적이고 노골적인 거절 표현이 사용되고 있었다. 교수의 결과 학습자들은 실시간으로 이루어진 상호작용 속에서 맥락에 적절하고 다양한 거절 전략을 사용할 수 있게 되었으며 거절을 대화 상의 뒤편으로 지연시킬 줄 알게 되었다.

학습자들의 상위 화용 인식을 교수 전에 살펴본 결과, 모국어로부터 전이된 사회어용적 인식을 지니고 있음이 드러났다. 또한, 몇몇 학습자들의 경우 제한적인 화용언어 지식과 언어 지식으로 말미암아 자신의 화용 의도를 전달하는 데에 어려움을 겪고 있었다. 교수 후, 학습자들의 문맥에 대한 민감성은 증가하였으며 화용언어 지식도 향상되는 양상을 보였다. 또한 영어 능숙도가 높은 학생, 화용적 메타 인지를 교수 전부터 지니고 있었던 학생들의 경우 교수로부터 더욱 견고한 도움을 받음이 밝혀졌다.

위와 같은 결과를 바탕으로 본 연구는 화용 교수의 효과를 학습자들의 수행과 수행 이면의 향상된 지식을 통해 밝혔으며 이를 토대로 비교적 낮은 영어 능숙도를 가진 학생들에게 제공할 수 있는 화용 교수의 방향을 제시한다.