Title:

Interlanguage refusals: A cross-sectional study of Thai EFL learners' refusals in English

Author:
Chirasiri Kasemsin

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
School of Education

February 2006

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Department of Foreign Languages, Faculty of Science, Mahidol University and the Royal Government of Thailand for the scholarships which made this thesis possible.

I am indebted to Professor Martin Bygate and Dr. Alice Deignan for their guidance, advice, invaluable comments, and encouragement throughout my study. I have learned so much under their supervision.

I would like to thank Dr. Kasia Jaszczolt, my first tutor in pragmatics, for her advice.

Many thanks go to the student participants, who made the data collection an enjoyable task. I am grateful to the native speaker judges who have provided an invaluable source of data. This study would never have been possible without your contributions.

I acknowledge with thanks the staff at the Department of Foreign Languages, Mahidol University, for their assistance. Special thanks go to Mr. Maurice Broughton and Dr. Chantarat Hongboontri.

I would like to thank Hendon, Yumi and Su Yon for their support and company. Our time together in Leeds will always be cherished.

Thanks go to Thai students at Leeds Sugalya, Pittaya, Suntharee, Pomme, Tunk, Menn and Job for persuading me to take some time off and making it enjoyable.

I am grateful to Margaret Taylor, Liz Lister and family for their kind support, friendship, prayers and encouragement. Thank you so much for being there for me.

A million thanks to Saengduen Sangbua-ngarmlom and Tammy Traitongyoo for their encouragement, company, sense of humor, patience, IT support and for the friendship we have fostered over the years; to Sarita Vichiennet, Jiranthara Sriouthai, Anant Thanadumrongsak for the friendship that has never succumbed to distance; to Siwapon Ittiwattanakorn for being my best friend. Thank you for the laughter and tears that we have shared.

Very special thanks go to Tony Chantornvong for his love, company, encouragement and patience. So much has happened during my course of study but his love remains unchanged.

I am grateful to my late father who fostered interest in language, languages and the ways people do things with words. He is missed enormously during my PhD.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother for her prayer, unconditional love and support which have and always will sustain my life. She is the first person who introduced me to pragmatics and linguistic politeness, and has always been my inspiration. I gratefully acknowledge the sacrifice she made during my PhD journey.

This thesis is dedicated to, with love and gratitude, my mother Radeekon M. Kasemsin.

Abstract

Using the speech act of refusals and formulaic language as focuses of analysis, this thesis aims to explore whether or not grammatical proficiency and development is distinct from pragmatic proficiency. The data were collected from 36 Thai EFL learners at three proficiency levels: low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced, using four open role-plays. The role-plays were designed to incorporate different combinations of sociolinguistic variables of power and distance, as expounded in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. The data were analyzed from two perspectives: pragmatic and lexico-grammatical. In the pragmatic analysis, the data were segmented into refusal moves and interactional function categories. Drawing on politeness theories of face-saving, the analysis focused on a comparison of the learners' use of refusal moves, the pragmatic orientation of their refusal moves in refusal episodes and face-saving manoeuvres. The lexico-grammatical features of the data were analyzed in terms of their formulaicity. Sixteen native speakers of English were asked to identify formulaic sequences in the role-play transcription. The formulaic sequences identified were tallied, analyzed in terms of proportion, frequency and variety, and compared across the three proficiency levels. The analyses show that 1) the pragmatic orientation of refusal moves of the learners at the three proficiency levels was similar but 2) that the use of refusal moves to mitigate the force of refusals was slightly different across the levels; 3) the overall language produced by the advanced learners had the highest proportion of formulaic language, but 4) in the lexicalizations of refusals the low-intermediate learners used more formulaic language than the other two groups. The results indicate that the pragmatic aspects of the learners' refusals seem to be independent of their proficiency level while the way they used formulaic language in the role-plays and in the lexicalizations of refusals are related to proficiency level.

List of Abbreviations

CA	Conversation Analysis
DCT	Discourse Completion Test
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
FTA	Face-threatening act
IELTS	International English Language Test System
L1	First language/Native language
L2	Second language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TL	Target language
TOEFL	Test of English as Foreign Language

List of Figures

List of Tables

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Situating the Study

This study is situated in the field of interlanguage pragmatics, which concerns the use and development of language learners' speech act ability. Like the majority of interlanguage pragmatic research, this study is an empirical one. It addresses specifically the relationship between pragmatics and the lexico-grammatical quality of refusals to requests in an EFL context. Although this study is centred on the aspect of use, the investigation can also shed light on the developmental aspect of interlanguage pragmatics.

To address the issue, data are gathered from request-refusal role-plays performed by Thai EFL learners at three proficiency levels: low-intermediate; intermediate and advanced. Brown and Levinson's face-saving politeness theory (1987) is used as a framework for designing a representative range of situations in which refusals to requests can occur, although this study does not intend to explore and establish politeness norms of refusals to requests.

The analyses focus on a comparison of sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic aspects of the learners' language use. The sociopragmatic analysis involves comparing the learners' choice of refusal moves and face-saving manoeuvres across the proficiency levels. The pragmalinguistic analysis involves comparing the formulaic sequences language the learners at the three levels use in their role-plays and lexicalizations of refusal moves.

Although I do not intend to investigate absolute norms of correctness against which the data from the learners will be judged, data from a spoken English language corpus (the Bank of English) are used in places to compare pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic aspects of the learners' use of formulaic language with native speakers' use. This does not mean that the native speaker corpus is used as a model of absolute correctness. Rather, the corpus is used for the purposes of comparison and illustration.

1.2 The Context of the Study

Like other EFL contexts, Thailand has been using notional/functional and communicative syllabi (for example Wilkins 1976; Widdowson, 1978) which have been influenced by speech act theory since the 80's. However, my experience as a teacher suggests that in practice, the teaching of English from primary level to tertiary level has been grammatically oriented and has offered limited opportunity for communicative activities in the classroom. More recently, attempts have been made to encourage communicatively oriented classroom and a task-based approach has been implemented in schools and universities.

Thai students might be expected to have some knowledge of the linguistic forms of refusals and the contexts in which the forms can be used. This is because refusals are among the acts listed in the functional and communicative EFL syllabi used in Thailand. Within the syllabi used in schools across the country, refusals of different initiating acts such as requests, offers and suggestions are a subject of teaching and presented in the forms of conventional expressions. For instance, "no way", "I'm sorry but..." or "I'm afraid I can't", are presented as expressions for refusals in EFL textbooks widely used in the country such as *Blueprints* (Abbs and Freebairn, 1991), *Headway* (Soars and Soars, 1996) and *Interchange* (Richards et al., 1997). Learners at higher levels, especially university students, are introduced to the skills of participating in arguments and debates which, to some extent, are conceptually related to refusals. University students can also choose English for business as electives and, in these courses, refusals are also a feature such as in business talks and in reciprocal letters. However, activities to interact in the classroom for most Thai EFL learners are limited.

The participants in this study are 36 EFL undergraduate and postgraduate students at two public universities in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. To be admitted to a public university requires the students to pass the national entrance exam, and English is a compulsory subject for the exam. With regard to their learning history, half of the participants claim to have studied in a communicatively oriented class at some point in their education background. All of the participants report that they have more than one means of accessing English such as English radio programmes, cable TV which shows English-speaking films or computer games, and they use these regularly.

In sum, it could be said that the participants have had exposure to English and how to perform refusals in English. This study, then, investigates the aspects of language use that the learners are assumed to know within their expressive capacity.

1.3 Rationale

This study was conducted for three main reasons. The first is that there is a need for more empirical evidence to contribute to our understanding of a relation between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics. To date, there have not been many studies that attempted to make a link between learners' interlanguage grammar and pragmatic ability. Our understanding of the issue seems to be based on additional or by-product observations in research into learners' speech act performance. For instance, it has been pointed out, among other things, that learners' use of non-target like pragmalinguistic features in speech act strategies is likely to be due to their developing grammatical competence and lexicon (e.g., Takahashi and Beebe, 1987; Cohen and Olshtain, 1993; Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1996; Maeshiba et al., 1996; Bardovi-Harlig, 1999).

Because most of the studies have looked at learners' production of speech acts in comparison with that of native speakers, we do not know much about the extent to which interlanguage grammar and pragmatics interact in speech act production in the development of the target language pragmatic competence. In her proposal of research agendas in interlanguage pragmatics, Bardovi-Harlig (1999) suggests that a cross-sectional study that compares language use of learners at different proficiency levels can shed light on how learners at each level use their interlanguage system to index pragmatic meanings. This can in turn inform us of the interaction between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics in the course of pragmatic development. Based on Bardovi-Harlig's suggested research area, this study aims to investigate refusals to requests performed by low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced EFL learners so as to contribute to our understanding of the issue.

The second reason for the study is concerned with the nature of refusals. The speech act is a focus of investigation because refusals and concomitant face-saving manoeuvres are complex. Refusal studies and interlanguage refusal studies in English, Thai and other languages (Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Beebe and Cummings, 1996; Panphotong, 1999; Turnbull and Saxton, 1997; Gass and Houck, 1999; Sairhun, 1999;

Turnbull, 2001; Nelson et al., 2002a, 2002b) have shown that refusals can be expressed explicitly or implicitly, through a long pause or silence, and consist of different face-saving strategies. Also, in studies that look at refusals in stretches of turns, it has been shown that refusals can trigger another attempt from the interlocutor, leading to elaborations of refusals and shifts in the way the speaker expresses his refusal intention. That is, there are grounds for considering it worthwhile to investigate the management of refusals beyond the analysis of individual refusal utterance.

The third reason is that there seems to be a gap in interlanguage pragmatic research in incorporating attention to the use of formulaic language. There have been few studies that looked at formulaic aspects of learners' language in speech act production, while a consensus has been reached that formulaic language plays an important role in adults' pragmatic competence (Coulmas, 1981; Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992; Kasper and Schmidt, 1996). More generally it is believed that the language use of native speakers of any language consists of a large proportion of words that are stored together and produced as chunks rather than individually constructed by linguistic rules every time. In other words, language is seen as a formulaic-creative continuum (Pawley and Syder, 1983; Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992; Weinert, 1995; Wray, 2000, 2002). In line with this view, studies in refusals (Takahashi and Beebe, 1987; Beebe et al., 1990; Turnbull and Saxton, 1997) and conversational routines (Aijmer, 1996) have shown that the lexicalizations of refusals feature a range of formulaic expressions or routines that are associated with refusals. Therefore, it is interesting to explore learners' use of English formulaic language in request-refusal role-plays including what may be their own varieties of formulaic language which can possibly illuminate their developing grammar and lexicon as well as their ability to use formulaic language to fulfil pragmatic functions.

Overall, my motivation for the thesis is the extent to which interlangauge grammar and interlanguage pragmatics interact in the performance of refusals. This is a contribution to research into whether or not grammatical proficiency and development are distinct from pragmatic proficiency.

1.4 Research Aims and Research Questions

Following the rationale explained in 1.3, this study has two main aims:

1. To investigate the pragmatic quality of refusals of requests performed by low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced learners.
2. To explore a possible relationship between interlanguage grammar and interlanguage pragmatics at three proficiency levels in terms of use of formulaic sequences.

To this end, the study will be guided by the following research questions:

1. To what extent do refusals to requests performed by Thai EFL learners at three proficiency levels differ in terms of sociopragmatic aspects?
2. What is the relationship between English language proficiency and pragmatic ability across three groups of learners, as seen in the use of refusals?
3. To what extent do the overall language and lexicalizations of refusals produced by the learners at three proficiency levels differ in terms of formulaic aspects?

Focusing on the sociopragmatics of refusals, the first question seeks to compare the learners' use of refusal moves including the ways they combine and adjust refusal moves in response to requests. The first question also covers the pragmatic orientation of refusal moves in each situation, that is whether the learners' refusals are more oriented towards the refusal goal or towards face-saving and relation preserving-concerns.

The second question deals with a possibility that there could be a disparity of proficiency level and pragmatic ability across the three levels. For instance, some learners might be pragmatically successful in their request-refusal interaction despite being less linguistically proficient, while some may use grammatically accurate forms but the forms may not be pragmatically effective in a given situation. It is hoped that my attempt to explore combinations of the proficiency levels in Thai EFL learners will provide evidence for possible scenarios in the development of grammatical and pragmatic proficiencies in an EFL context (Kasper and Rose, 2002).

In the third question, formulaic aspects of lexico-grammatical features are studied. This question seeks to compare the formulaic language that the learners at three levels use in the role-plays and in refusals, in terms of proportion, frequency and variety. It also seeks to explore whether the learners' proficiency level has an effect on their use of formulaic language.

Overall, it is hoped that the attempt to answer these research questions will help illuminate the relationship between interlanguage grammar and interlanguage pragmatics in an EFL context. It is also hoped that answers to these questions can constitute further answers to more general questions asked in the teaching and learning of pragmatics: do learners need to learn the pragmatics of the target language independently of the grammar? Alternately, is the pragmatic proficiency waiting for the grammatical proficiency to reach a level where it can emerge?

1.5 Overview of Research Methodology

To group EFL learners into the three proficiency levels—low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced), a C-Test was administered. The low-intermediate and intermediate learners are undergraduates and the advanced are postgraduates. This is because the postgraduates have passed standardized tests such as TOEFL and IELTS which help confirm their high proficiency level.

Four open role-plays which elicited requests and refusals were used as data gathering tools. The sociolinguistic constraints, i.e., power and social distance between the requesters and refusers, which were used in the design of the role-plays, were based on Brown and Levinson's framework (1987). The role-plays were piloted with ESL learners at different levels to make sure they were accessible to the less proficient learners.

Data were transcribed using conversation analysis conventions (Nofsinger, 1991). They were then assigned refusal move categories which were developed from earlier refusal studies (Beebe et al., 1990; Turnbull, 2001; Barron, 2003). There were two coders working with the data: myself and another Thai PhD candidate in linguistics who has EFL teaching experience, and interrater reliability was sought.

To investigate the learners' use of formulaic language, 16 experienced native speaker teachers of English were asked to identify formulaic language in the transcriptions. A concordancing study of the Bank of English (Spoken British English subcorpus) was used as a supplementary method to illustrate ways in which learners' forms and use of formulaic sequences may be different from those of the native speakers of British English.

1.6 Overview of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The present chapter provides an orientation of the thesis, including the researcher's motivations, research aims and research questions and overview of the methodology. In Chapter Two, relevant notions from speech act theory, politeness theory, and conversational analysis are discussed to develop the theoretical framework of the research. The issue of a relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics are discussed in Chapter Two along with relevant studies in language acquisition and interlanguage pragmatics that look at formulaic language of learners. Details of participants, the use of open role-plays as a data collection method and the pilot studies are explained in Chapter Three. Chapter Four focuses on the process of analyzing role-play data and formulaic language data. The methodology for analyzing and categorizing refusals and other acts that were found in the role-plays are described. Chapter Five presents an analysis of the pragmatics of refusal moves in the four role-plays across the three groups of learners. This includes the analysis of role-play structures and the combinations and adjustments of refusal moves in response to persistent requests. These analyses address the first research question which seeks to compare the sociopragmatic texture of the data across three proficiency levels, and constitutes an answer to the second question which is about possible combinations of English language proficiency level and pragmatic ability in the learners. Chapter Six addresses the third question which seeks to compare formulaic aspects of the data. The analyses of the formulaic language used in the role-plays and in the lexicalisations of refusals are presented in the chapter. Results from the pragmatic and lexico-grammatical analyses are then summarized and discussed in Chapter Seven. Finally, in Chapter Eight, the conclusion, considers the strengths and the limitations of the present study as well as implications and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2

Pragmatics, Interlanguage Pragmatics and Interlanguage Refusals

2.0 Introduction

To investigate the pragmatic and lexico-grammatical qualities of Thai EFL learners' refusals in extended conversation, it is necessary to consider theoretical and empirical work in a number of relevant areas, as follows: pragmatics as theory of language use, speech act theory, politeness theory, conversation analysis, empirical studies in interlanguage pragmatics that suggest a relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics, studies of refusals in the field of interlanguage pragmatics and lastly formulaic language.

2.1 Pragmatics

In this section, "pragmatics" is discussed in order to provide a theoretical background of interlanguage pragmatics and to define some of the concepts and terms that will be used throughout the thesis.

2.1.1 Definition

Defining "pragmatics" is itself a contentious issue in the field of pragmatics, giving rise to various views. Traditionally, pragmatics is taken as the study of language usage, as opposed to semantics or the study of meaning. However, this definition does not seem to account for all the topics that have been researched in the field of pragmatics.

In his discussion of the definition issue of pragmatics, Levinson (1983) points out different definitions of pragmatics the key elements of which include 'context', 'appropriateness or felicity' and 'grammatically encoded aspects of context'. Nevertheless, Levinson suggests that none of these is sufficient on its own in defining pragmatics. He then proposes:

> The most promising are the definitions that equate pragmatics with 'meaning minus semantics', or with a theory of language understanding that takes context into account, in order to complement the contribution that semantics makes to meaning (p.32)

That is, Levinson seems to suggest that context is a central element in pragmatics and that pragmatics accounts for non-literal meanings. He also argues further that pragmatics is a component that *interacts* (emphasis added) with syntax and semantics (p.34).

Mey (1993: 315) defines pragmatics as perspective: "the societally necessary and consciously interactive dimension of the study of language". This definition gives a broad view of pragmatics, emphasizing its role in social interaction.

Another attempt to define pragmatics is Crystal's definition which is more specific and suggests the areas of investigation within the field.

> [Pragmatics is] the study of language from the point of view of users, especially 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 (1997:301)

As Kasper and Rose (2002) explain, pragmatic meanings arise from the speaker or writer's choice of linguistic forms to convey a force or certain effect, e.g., politeness, on the hearer or the reader. The choices are governed by sociocultural rules or social conventions which can be partly universal and partly genre or activity-specific.

Likewise, Thomas (1995) defines pragmatics as "meaning in interaction", highlighting the effects of what is said and what is written on the recipients. Crystal's definition bears some similarity to those proposed by Levinson, Mey and Thomas in that they all emphasize the interactiveness and context dependence of pragmatics. However, Crystal's definition offers a more user-centered view of pragmatics and reflects areas of research in interlanguage pragmatics, as we shall see in section 2.5. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, Crystal's definition is used as a starting point from which I shall develop the scope of the literature review.

2.1.2 Pragmatics and Grammar

Because the present study aims to investigate the extent to which grammar and pragmatics are related in interlanguage refusals, it is useful to consider how the two

components are related from the perspective of pragmaticists. Two terms — "pragmalinguistics" and "sociopragmatics"— which suggest a relationship between pragmatics and grammar, and pragmatics and sociology are then discussed in this section.

2.1.2.1 Pragmalinguistics and Sociopragmatics

Leech proposes a distinction between "pragmalinguistics" and "sociopragmatics" (1983) which indicates two dimensions of pragmatics. Pragmalinguistics refers to the domain of pragmatics that is related to grammar or linguistic features. According to Leech, pragmalinguistics "can be applied to the more linguistic end of pragmatics— where we consider the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions" (ibid.: 11). Sociopragmatics is the domain of pragmatics that is related to sociology or culture-specific conditions on language use. This is illustrated in figure 2.1.

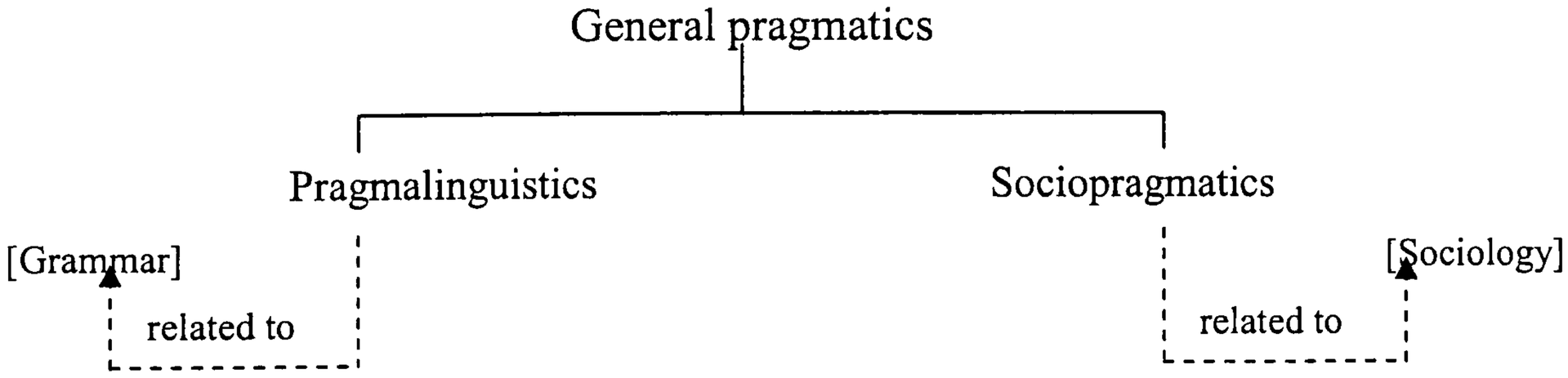


Figure 2. 1 Model of general pragmatics and its components

Reproduced from Leech (1983:11)

The application of the two terms is seen in Thomas' study of cross-cultural pragmatic failures (1983). Thomas argues that the terms provide a more fine-grained analysis of language learners' pragmatic failures. "Pragmalinguistic" errors result from learners or non-native speakers' choosing the right speech acts but using incorrect linguistic forms. For example, in the data set of the present study, an EFL learner's expression of apology which prefaces his excuse is "I very regret to tell you that my boss is busy". The underlined expression contains a pragmalinguistic error: the

learner's expression is grammatically incorrect but it is pragmatically effective in the sense that it conveys the learner's speech act and mitigation intentions.

"Sociopragmatic" errors are associated with using inappropriate speech acts as a result of a mismatch between native language sociocultural rules and those of the target language. For instance, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993b,1996) report that in academic advising sessions, their ESL students used information eliciting questions as an indirect rejection strategy where more direct rejections and explanations for the rejections to the advisors' suggestions would have been more effective and more appropriate.

Studies in interlanguage pragmatics also adopt Leech and Thomas' distinction between pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics in investigations of language learners and non-native speakers' use and acquisition of pragmatic competence in the target language. That is, the two terms mark a boundary where pragmatic aspects of learners' developing language interact with interlanguage grammar or with their socio-cultural conventions in both L1 and the target language.

In this study, the two terms will be referred to in the analysis of pragmatics of refusal moves in Chapter Five and lexicalizations of refusal moves in Chapter Six.

2.2 Speech Act Theory

In this section, I attempt a brief review of speech act theory as a theory of language use, in order to provide part of the theoretical background for this study and to contextualize refusals as a speech act. The historical and philosophical issues of speech act theory are not discussed here.

2.2.1 Austin's Framework

The observation that people do things with words and what is said or written has effects on the recipient was a seminal point in the history of pragmatics and is central to this study. The development of this fundamental idea has led to speech act theory (Austin, 1962). For example, "it's raining" may be taken as a refusal to "let's go out and have some drinks", as a request for an umbrella or as a statement that describes the current state of affairs.

Austin used the term "performatives" to account for linguistic features which indicate that an act is being performed through an utterance. For instance, the "performative" verb "refuse" in the utterance "I hereby **refuse** to grant permission to the company to use my personal data". The effect of the utterance is that it forbids the company to use the speaker or writer's personal data.

The study of naturally occurring data suggests that what we say or write does not usually contain performatives, yet the utterances may still have effects on the audience or the reader (Levinson, 1983). Austin proposed three levels of sense which explain how utterances are taken:

Locution—unambiguous, explicit meaning of an utterance
Illocution—performing an act through an utterance
Perlocution—the effect the utterance may have on the recipient of the utterance

Central to speech act theory is "illocution". This is because it suggests that there is no one-to-one correlation between what is said or written and the speaker/writer and hearer/reader have to work out the social meaning of utterances in communication. "It's hot in here" can be used as an example to illustrate Austin's categories. The utterance may have the literal meaning (locution or proposition of the utterance) or a request to open the window, which is the illocutionary act.

Among the three senses, illocution is most discussed in the literature of pragmatics (Levinson, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987; Thomas, 1995; Yule, 1996; Grundy, 2002) and interlanguage pragmatics, or the study of learners or non-native speakers' performance of speech acts in the target language (e.g., Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Beebe et al., 1990; Cohen and Olshtain, 1993; Rose, 2000) The present study is interested in how EFL learners perform refusals as a communicative action in the target language.

2.2.2 Searle's Framework

Searle's framework of speech act theory (1969, 1975) is built on Austin's work. Searle elaborates and systematizes Austin's concepts of performatives and categories of

speech acts. He also proposes the notion of "indirect speech acts" which addresses the issue of illocutionary force initiated by Austin.

Searle's first contribution is the explanation of a link between an "illocutionary force indicating device" (IFID) and illocutionary force. That is, the illocutionary force of an act can be indicated by linguistic features that are conventionally linked to the force. For instance, "I'll pick up the children after school" is taken as a promise because the promised action (picking up the children) is going to take place in the future and this is marked by the modal "will".

Searle (1969:66-67) also expands Austin's felicity conditions into "propositional content", "preparatory conditions", "sincerity conditions" and "essential conditions". To make this relevant to the present study, let us look at the conditions that must be in place for a request and a refusal to requests. Searle does not discuss the conditions extensively with reference to refusals when compared to requests; however, for the purposes of this study, the conditions for a refusal to requests are developed, based on Searle's conditions for a request to be performed appropriately. This is shown in table 2.1.

Table 2. 1 List of conditions in the performance of request and refusal to requests

Conditions		
	Request	Refusal to requests
Propositional content	Future act (A) of the hearer (H)	Future act (A) on (H/requester)
Preparatory	Speaker (S) believes that H can do the act (A)	S (refuser) thinks a refusal is not what H(requester) wants
Sincerity	S wants H to do A	S wants H to know that S will not do A
Essential	Counts as an attempt to get H to do A	Counts as an attempt to stop A (what is asked of S)

The information in table 2.1 suggests that a refusal to requests is essentially a "directive" because the refuser is conveying his/her intention to get the requester to withdraw the request.

Searle also posits that illocutionary force is usually conveyed indirectly; hence, the concept of indirect speech acts. According to Searle, the illocutionary force of an utterance may not be associated with the form typically associated with the force or

function. For example, "would you mind waiting outside for a moment?" is a request in an interrogative form. The speaker is being indirect with his request instead of saying "wait outside" or "I request you to wait outside".

To some extent, the forms used in indirect speech acts are conventional or idiomatic, which make utterances recognizable as indirect speech acts. "Would you mind +VP" is an example of conventional expressions associated with indirect speech acts. Upon hearing the expression, the English-speaking hearer normally takes the utterance as request.

Other utterances that do not carry conventional, formulaic or idiomatic forms may pose some problems, such as miscommunication or misunderstanding, for the hearer/reader in working out the illocutionary forces. Contextual clues and felicity conditions are sometimes vital to the hearer/reader in figuring out the illocution of what is said or written, and these may be culture-specific. This might be a problem for language learners or non-native speakers because they have to work out the pragmatic meanings that are conveyed indirectly or go beyond the literal meanings of utterances and that for them are not conventionally attached to a specific linguistic form.

Although speech act theory in both Austin and Searle's frameworks provides an important observation on language use, especially the illocutionary force and the mapping between linguistic forms and pragmatic meanings of utterances, there are some drawbacks. That is, the theory does not account for speech acts in stretches of discourse or naturally occurring speech acts which appear more complex than speech acts expressed in single utterances. In this study, it is hoped that the use of refusal elicited from open role-plays may contribute to the theory and may be applied to English language learning and teaching.

2.3 Politeness as Facework

The section gives a review of Brown and Levinson's face-saving politeness theory (1987) which is another central topic of investigation in pragmatics and interlanguage pragmatics. This section also outlines how the theory is used in this study.

Brown and Levinson's theory is developed from studies in anthropology and from speech act theory. The theory is, in essence, centered on the concepts of "face" and "face-threatening acts". "Face" is the public self-image that everyone wants to claim for themselves. Face consists of "positive face" which refers to the wants to be approved of by others and "negative face" which refers to the wants to be free from any imposition (ibid.:61-62).

In interaction, some acts or illocutionary forces of utterances are considered intrinsically face-threatening (FTA). For instance, a request offends the hearer's negative face because the act puts pressure on the hearer to do something. Another example is a refusal which threatens the positive face-want because it suggests that the refuser does not care about or give what the interlocutor wants.

Brown and Levinson posit that interactants are willing to maintain the face wants of each other and choose linguistic means to satisfy face-wanting ends. Therefore, if an interactant wants to perform a face-threatening act, s/he will want to minimize the face-threat with redressive action or face-saving strategies (1987: 69). However, if there is a need to do the face-threatening act on record or with maximum efficiency, the interactant can do so without any redressive action.

Redressive actions or face-saving strategies are divided into two types according to the aspects of face being attended to—positive or negative face (ibid.:70). Positive politeness is concerned with solidarity and common ground between the speaker and the hearer. Examples of positive politeness strategies include attending to the interlocutor's wants, seeking agreement with the interlocutor and giving the interlocutor sympathy or understanding. Negative politeness is avoidance-based. Negative politeness strategies indicate the speaker's acknowledgement of the interlocutor's negative face wants. Examples of negative politeness strategies include apologizing, stating the FTA as a rule and being (conventionally) indirect. Circumstances determining choice of strategies and strategies for doing FTAs are shown in figure 2.2 overleaf.

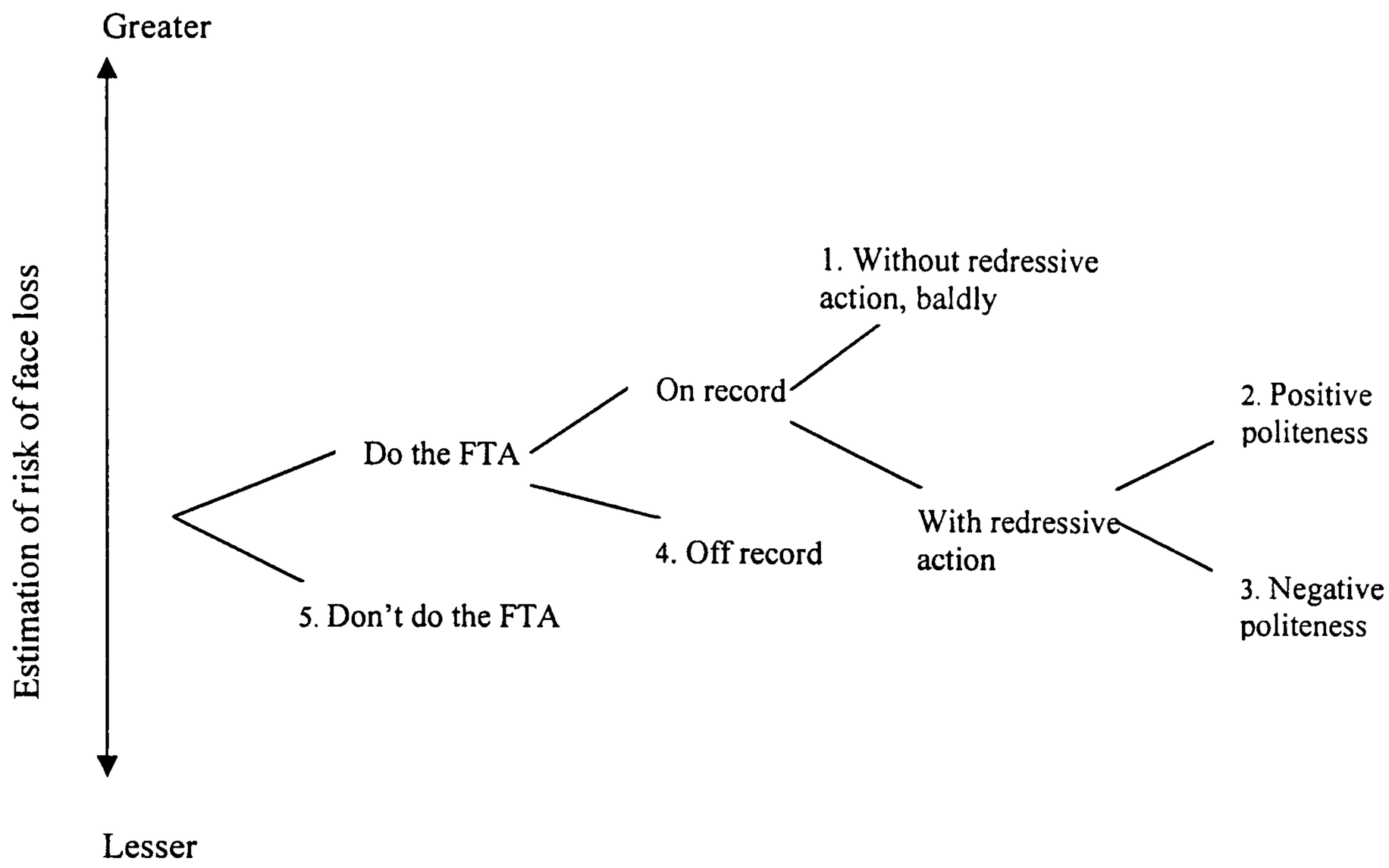


Figure 2. 2 Circumstances determining choice of face-saving strategies and possible strategies for doing face-threatening acts

(Reproduced from Brown and Levinson, 1987: 60)

Numbers 1-5 in figure 2.2 refer to the ranking of strategies to perform an FTA in relation to the estimated degree of face loss. If there is a high degree of face loss, the speaker may choose not to do an FTA at all. If the speaker goes off record by using devices such as hints, he avoids committing himself to the FTA. If the speaker goes on record, his intention to the FTA is clear to the hearer. The speaker can choose to give face to the hearer by using redressive action, attending to the hearer's positive or negative face wants. The strategy number 1 ("without redressive action") refers to the speaker's performing the FTA directly or unambiguously.

According to Brown and Levinson, there are three sociological variables involved in an interactant's assessment of seriousness of an FTA —power, social distance and ranking of imposition. Brown and Levinson claim that these variables exist in every culture although there is a degree of variation in the perception of ranking of imposition across cultures.

Politeness theory has been applied in interlanguage pragmatic and second/foreign language use research. Studies have been carried out to investigate the impact of the variables on language learners' performance of face-threatening acts and compare learners' politeness strategies with those produced by native speakers of both L1 and target languages (e.g., Wolfson, 1983; Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984; Nelson et al., 2002a, 2002 b).

While proponents of the theory believe that the concepts of face and facework are among pragmatic universals in all human interaction, there are criticisms made by researchers working with linguistic politeness in different languages. These concern particularly Brown and Levinson's claims of universal validity of their conceptualizations for positive and negative faces and concomitant face-saving strategies. For instance, Matsumoto (1988) and Gu (1990) argue that Brown and Levinson's model is unable to account for Japanese deference-based register or honorific system and Chinese politeness which encode the social register and social places of the interlocutors.

This study did not set out to test the validity of Brown and Levinson's claims in the Thai context, or to address the universal status of sociological variables or the validity of the face varieties. Rather, the concepts of face and facework are taken as pragmatic universals that adult interactants are assumed to have, and on this assumption this study is based. Brown and Levinson's theory is used as a framework for a selection of contextual factors in the design of data gathering tools and this will be elaborated further in Chapter Three (p.65).

Face-saving strategies explained in Brown and Levinson's theory are also used in the categorization of refusals in this study. In particular, the theory provides a useful list of face-saving strategies and implies a relationship between linguistic forms and meanings in facework such as syntactic structures of conventionally indirect speech acts, particularly in British and American English data. For these reasons, the theory provides a point of departure for this investigation of the interlanguage grammatical features that Thai EFL learners use in facework in request-refusal role-plays.

2.4 Conversation Analysis

Generally speaking, while speech act theory is concerned with conceptualizing levels of utterance meanings and the conditions in which speech acts are to be performed successfully, the concern of conversation analysis (CA) is how acts are identified, understood, and paired in naturally occurring conversation. Although CA originates in sociology, the aim of the approach is not to analyze social order *per se* but rather to account for the methods by which members of society make sense of social interactions and social order (Schiffrin, 1994:232). This section reviews some concepts and studies in CA framework that are relevant to refusals. The concepts from CA that are important here are adjacency pairs and dispreferred second pair parts.

2.4.1 Adjacency pairs

The notion of "adjacency pairs" is based on the hypothesis that some conversational actions tend to occur in pairs, consisting of a first pair part and a second pair part (e.g., greeting-greeting, question-answer or request-refusal), which are produced by different speakers (Schegloff and Sacks, 1974). This is illustrated in example 2.1 below. The conversational actions that form the first and second pair parts are in the left margin. The letter "F" stands for a female speaker and "M" for a male speaker.

Example 2.1 (my own field notes from an episode in *Sex and the City*)

Invitation	1	M1:	Carrie (.) would you like to go to the Brown Sugar?
Refusal	2	F1:	oh:: hhh I'd love to but I can't leave my friends (.)
Suggestion	3	M1:	how about all of us going there together
Question	4	F1:	are you sure? =
Answer	5	M1:	= yeah
Acceptance	6	F1:	that'd be great

There are three adjacency pairs in the scripted conversation above. The first one is "invitation-refusal" in lines 1 and 2. Because of the refusal, the male speaker who initiated the conversation modified his invitation by giving a suggestion in line 3 which forms the first pair part of "suggestion-acceptance". However, as illustrated, the pair does not occur adjacent to each other. There are "insertion sequences" in between the

suggestion (line 3) and the acceptance of suggestion (line 6) which form another adjacency pair "question-answer".

Second pair parts or response turns, as seen in lines 2, 4 and 6 in example 2.1, can be further explained in terms of "preferred" and "dispreferred responses" which are characterized by their structural organization. It is the dispreferred second pair part in conversation that is relevant to refusals.

Dispreferred seconds tend to be marked by certain features that make them more structurally complex than preferred seconds: they are usually prefaced (e.g., by apologies, agreement/appreciation tokens before the actual response) and delayed (e.g., by pause or hesitation, markers like "oh", "uh" or "well", or by insertion sequences—questions for clarification or request for more information). These features usually accompany and mitigate the head act, e.g. rejection, refusal, or disagreement (Levinson, 1983: 333-335; Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984). As illustrated in example 2.1, the female speaker's refusal in line 2 features the marker "oh" and an expression of appreciation "I'd love to" which prefaces her reason—the central refusal component in this case.

To summarize, example 2.1 illustrates how some acts in conversation are understood and structured together. It also illustrates some of the characteristics of dispreferred seconds which are relevant to refusals.

2.4.2 Refusals in Conversation Analytic Framework

This section reviews account of refusals offered by CA studies. I also attempt to show the structural, pragmatic and linguistic complexities of refusals in extended conversation. This is to show the relevance for this study of refusals as a dispreferred second pair part.

2.4.2.1 Structural and Pragmatic Complexities

As mentioned in the previous section, refusals are classified as dispreferred second pair parts and are usually marked with dispreferred features which surround the central refusal component within the turn. Moreover, refusals can come with or without an "account" or explanation for why the speaker is refusing. This is illustrated in example 2.2 Refusal components are in brackets.

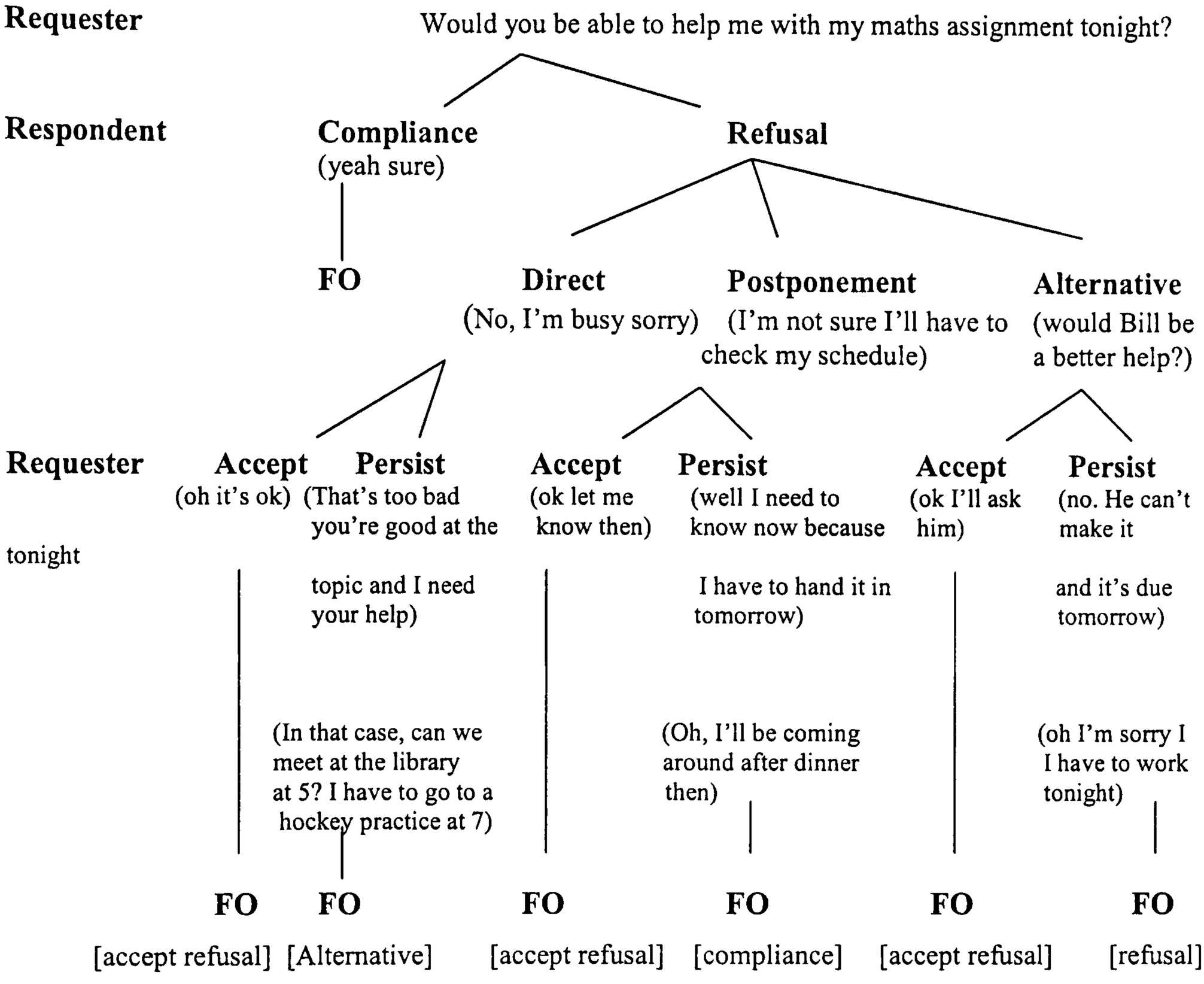
Example 2.2 Levinson (1983: 333-334; original data in Atkinson and Drew, 1979)

A: Uh if you'd care to come and visit a little while this morning I'll give you
a cup of coffee

B: hehh well that's awfully sweet of you,
((DELAY))((MARKER))((APPRECIATION))
I don't think I can make it this morning
((REFUSAL or DECLINATION))
.hh uhm I'm running an ad in the paper and-and uh I have to stay near the phone
((ACCOUNT))

The example shows that refusals are a complex linguistic action, consisting of many components which help mitigate the illocutionary force of the refusal. The refusal itself is internally mitigated by the use of the parenthetical modal "I don't think".

In extended conversation, refusals can be both structurally and pragmatically complex. Delayed response, accounts, and implicit refusals, e.g. silence, repetition of what is said, or request for alternatives, may trigger the interlocutor's attempt to seek clarification and negotiate for a logical outcome. To illustrate the complexity of refusals in extended conversation, let us look at possible scenarios of a request-refusal conversation in figure 2.3 overleaf.



FO = Final Outcome

Figure 2. 3 Possible scenarios of request-refusal conversation

Modified from Gass and Houck (1999:8)

The diagram shows that refusals can be expressed in different ways—directly ("no") or indirectly through proposal of alternative or postponement. Perhaps the most important implication of the diagram is that there is recursiveness, as refusals can lead to a further attempt. That is, refusals, both direct and indirect, can trigger another request attempt leading to negotiation which can bring about different outcomes. The diagram also suggests that the inferring process can occur: "would Bill be a better help?" is taken as an indirect refusal as seen in the following acceptance of refusal or a persistent request.

The recursiveness of requests and refusals in the diagram is in contrast with the examples discussed in speech act theory and politeness theory which are usually single utterances. It will be shown that recursiveness is an important feature of my data.

2.4.2.2 Lexico-grammatical Complexity

A number of CA studies related to refusals (e.g., Nofsinger, 1991; Drew and Heritage, 1992; Turnbull and Saxton, 1997) have found that refusals can display a high degree of lexico-grammatical complexity. The refusals in these studies contained modal expressions and modifiers which have mitigating functions, e.g., "I *don't know*, I'm not *really* into that", "I *don't think* I'*d be able* to do that.", and "that's *awfully* sweet of you but I *don't think* I can make it".

The structural and linguistic complexities of refusals described in CA studies can be accounted for by face-saving politeness. That is, as a face-threatening act, a refusal can be performed with or without linguistic redressives such as on record refusals "no", or "no way". In the case of redressives, the refuser may attend to the interlocutor's face wants by using negative or positive politeness strategies. The dispreferred features are considered as the speaker's attempt to do facework when performing a refusal. The dispreferred marker "well", "oh" or elongated fillers can be explained in Brown and Levinson's framework: the features communicate the speaker's attempt to convey reluctance to perform the face-threatening act. Likewise, apologies, which are typically used as a preface to the central refusal component, convey the speaker's attendance to the interlocutor's negative face, communicating his intention not to impinge on the interlocutor. Appreciative tokens, e.g., "I'd love to, but…", can be explained in Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategy of "avoid disagreement". Because of these linguistic politeness strategies and insertion sequences between the initiating act and refusal as illustrated in figure 2.3, refusals in extended conversation tend to be structurally and pragmatically complex. If the CA and face-saving politeness perspectives on refusals are taken together, we may say that to perform a refusal can be a pragmatic challenge for a language user.

To summarize, descriptions of sequences of conversational actions and adjacency pairs in CA studies show that refusals are a complex act which can be expressed in different ways and consist of

- delaying devices
- prefaces
- palliatives or pseudo-agreement tokens
- central refusal component
- accounts
- an extended series of turns

These features have pragmatic or face-saving functions; however, it appears that not all features need to be present in every refusal. They can occur in different combinations, within one turn, or across turns. These descriptions of refusals in CA frameworks are used as a way to identify refusals in the data set of this study as we shall see in Chapter Four.

Now that the theoretical frameworks central to pragmatics and to my study have been reviewed, I would like to move on to interlanguage pragmatics and interlanguage refusals, the research themes of which are influenced by the frameworks in pragmatics.

2.5 Interlanguage Pragmatics

This section is concerned with the definition of interlanguage pragmatics as a field of study, its scope of inquiry and the position of the present study in interlanguage pragmatic research.

2.5.1 Definition

Interlanguage pragmatics, like pragmatics itself, is a field of diversity. It is interdisciplinary in nature and has been approached from many theoretical backgrounds, such as language socialization, speech act theory and socio-cultural theory (Kasper and Rose, 2002)

For the purposes of this study, the narrow definition of interlanguage pragmatics proposed by Kasper and Dahl (1991) is used. Interlanguage pragmatics refers to "the

investigation of non-native speakers' comprehension and production of speech acts and the acquisition of L2 related speech act knowledge" (ibid.:215). "Speech act knowledge" in the definition of interlanguage pragmatics refers to the knowledge of linguistic forms to perform speech acts in the target language, contextual constraints governing the choice of forms and the interpretation of illocutionary force of utterances.

Interlanguage pragmatics shares common interest with other types of research into second/foreign language use and second language acquisition (SLA). Indeed, the issues explored in the field of interlanguage pragmatics are to a large extent similar to those investigated in second language use: speech act production and comprehension in a second/foreign language, and in SLA: universal grammar, universal pragmatic competence, and language transfer.

2.5.2 Interlanguage Pragmatic Research Areas and Position of the Present Study

A large body of interlanguage pragmatic research has been concerned with learners and non-native speakers' production and comprehension of speech acts (House and Kasper, 1981; Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984; Eisenstein and Bodman.,1986; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Koike, 1989; Cohen and Olshtain, 1993), perception of sociological variables and politeness value of speech acts in the target language (Bardovi-Harlig and Dörnyei, 1998) and with cross-cultural pragmatic failures (Thomas, 1983; Edmonson and House, 1991).

There are fewer studies that directly address the acquisition or development of speech act ability (e.g., Ellis, 1992; Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1993b and 1996; Rose, 2000; Barron, 2003). Recently, attempts have been made to look at the developmental aspect of interlanguage pragmatics and link it with SLA theory. Kasper and Schmidt (1996:154-165) provide a list of questions addressing the developmental issues of interlanguage pragmatics.

1. Are there universals of language underlying cross-linguistic variation and, if so, do they play a role in interlanguage pragmatics?
2. How can approximation to target language norms be measured?
3. Does the L1 influence the learning of a second language?

4. Is pragmatic development in a second language similar to first language learning?
5. Do children enjoy an advantage over adults in learning a second language?
6. Is there a natural route of development, as evidenced by difficulty, accuracy or acquisition orders or discrete stages of development?
7. Does type of input make a difference?
8. Does instruction make a difference?
9. Do motivation and attitudes make a difference in level of acquisition?
10. Does personality play a role?
11. Does learners' gender play a role?
12. Does (must) perception or comprehension precede production in acquisition?
13. Does chunk learning (formulaic speech) play a role in acquisition?
14. What mechanisms drive development from stage to stage?

Of relevance to the present study are questions 1 and 13. With regard to question 1, although this study does not address the question directly, nor is it a cross-linguistic investigation of refusals, it is based on an assumption that the concept of politeness as facework operates in interaction and that the concept is a part of pragmatic universals adult interactants have (Brown and Levinson, 1987). "Universals" here do not strictly follow Chomskyan view of innateness or innate knowledge of linguistic universals which learners use in their study of L2. Rather, "universals" as in pragmatic universals are conceptualized as a body of implicit knowledge that is acquired through human experience and is subject to cultural variation and elaboration. Taking the notion of "universals" as a point of departure, this study aims to explore the extent to which the notion of face and face-saving manoeuvres as pragmatic universals play a role in interlanguage refusals performed by adult learners at three proficiency levels. This will suggest implications for the development of pragmatic competence with regard to the ability to perform refusals.

With regard to question 13, although this study does not address the question directly or investigate the issue of how chunks or formulaic sequences are acquired in an EFL context, refusals elicited from the three groups of learners are looked at in terms of formulaic aspects. It is through an analysis of formulaic language in learners' refusals that I hope to contribute to our understanding of the role of formulaic language in interlanguage refusals. The analysis will aim to provide an empirical basis for our understanding of learners' use of formulaic language in performing refusals as well as

of other speech acts that tend to occur in request-refusal interaction, and suggest implications for the role of formulaic language in interlanguage pragmatic development.

In addition to Kasper and Schmidt's opening of interlanguage pragmatic development research agendas, Bardovi-Harlig (1999) argues that to understand learners' development of pragmatic competence in the target language, the learners' interlanguage system needs to be investigated in relation to their use of certain pragmalinguistic features in speech act patterns. Bardovi-Harlig then proposes some research agendas to broaden the scope of inquiry of developmental interlanguage pragmatics which can be summarized as follows (ibid.: 706-707):

1. Expanding learner populations to include beginners and modifying elicitation procedures appropriately
2. Implementing cross-sectional studies in which development can be studied across levels of proficiency
3. Instituting longitudinal studies when possible
4. Integrating the investigation of the development of interlanguage grammar with investigations of emergent pragmatic competence

The present study takes Bardovi-Harlig's argument, particularly points 2 and 4 as the point of departure. As an interlanguage pragmatic study, the project focuses on the domain of use, but with the aim of connecting the domains of use and development. In so doing, the relationship between interlanguage grammar and interlanguage pragmatics in EFL learners' performance of refusals is also investigated. The study uses a cross-sectional design to compare pragmatic and lexico-grammatical qualities of refusals elicited from learners at three proficiency levels—low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced. It is hoped that a cross-sectional design involving three groups of learners will shed some new light on the development of interlanguage pragmatics and interlanguage grammar in an EFL context.

2.6 Interlanguage Grammar and Pragmatics

Because my study sets out to investigate the issue of a relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics through refusals to requests, it is necessary to look at investigations of the interaction between the two components in the interlanguage pragmatic literature.

Observations from interlanguage pragmatic studies that investigate speech act strategies of learners at different proficiency levels suggest that there seems to be a relationship between grammar and pragmatics. Findings from the studies that look at advanced learners in comparison with native speakers of the target language reveal that the learners have the grammar to perform a wide range of linguistic actions but their realizations, i.e. grammatical structures and word choice, and choice of strategies are not always appropriate or grammatically correct (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986; Beebe et al., 1990; Edmonson and House, 1991; Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1993b; Barron, 2003).

In their study of L2 pragmatic awareness, Bardovi-Harlig and Griffin (2005) found that their high-intermediate and low-advanced ESL students were able to identify sources of pragmatic infelicities, such as the lack of explanation in refusals, the lack of an alerter or downgrader in requests, and an overuse of polite forms, in video-taped scenarios once the teachers identified the problematic utterances for the students. Without any explicit instruction, the students were able to repair the pragmatic infelicities through role-plays which were based on the scenarios although their corrected versions still sounded non-native like in form and in content. This seems to suggest that the students are already aware of the pragmatic concept of politeness and express it using their interlanguage grammar, which may result in forms that differ from native use of the target language.

Studies that compare speech act realizations of less proficient learners with those of higher proficiency learners and native speakers of the target language have shown that less proficient learners have the same range of speech act strategies as the other two groups but the learners tend to use more direct (Takahashi and Beebe, 1987) and simpler expressions of speech acts (Maeshiba et al., 1996) in terms of average frequency count of strategy type. For example, in their study of pragmatic transfer of

refusal patterns, Takahashi and Beebe (1987) found that their lower proficiency Japanese ESL learners used "I can't" and "no", which were classified as direct refusals, more frequently than the higher proficiency ESL learners who used more refusal adjuncts and statements of positive opinion such as "I would like to help you …", and expressions of gratitude, "I really appreciate your offer".

Few studies have looked at speech act ability in beginners. Schmidt (1983) and Koike (1989) reported evidence of readily available pragmatic ability in their adult participants who were pragmatically effective in speech act production (Schmidt, 1983) and comprehension (Koike, 1989).

To summarize, there seem to be two contrasting scenarios emerging from the findings. On the one hand, the studies that investigate highly proficient learners show that learners' proficiency seems to enable indirect speech act strategies which are usually syntactically complex but, as Bardovi-Harlig (1999, p. 686) comments, a high level of grammatical proficiency does not always guarantee pragmatic success. On the other hand, findings from less proficient adult learners suggest that pragmatic effectiveness, in terms of use and comprehension, does not seem to be totally dependent on grammar (e.g., Schmidt, 1983; Koike, 1989; Bardovi-Harlig and Griffin, 2005).

Taking a developmental perspective, Kasper and Rose (2002) discuss further the relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics in two scenarios:

1. Pragmatics precedes grammar
2. Grammar precedes pragmatics

According to Kasper and Rose, the seemingly contrasting scenarios in the relationship between the two components are likely to have arisen because researchers have looked at learners at different proficiency levels. That is, studies that concentrate on adult learners at lower proficiency level provide evidence for the development of pragmatics, or sociopragmatics—the knowledge of what to say in interaction— in particular, which precedes L2 grammatical development. Studies that focus on more proficient learners reveal that the learners still have problems producing target-like lexicalizations of speech acts and choosing target-like speech act strategies. Further empirical research investigating this issue is therefore needed. In the following subsections, the two scenarios are reviewed with particular reference to adult learners so as to contextualize

this study, which looks at adult EFL learners at three lexico-grammatical proficiency levels.

2.6.1 Pragmatics-precedes-grammar Scenario

The first scenario is suggested by evidence of the primacy of pragmatics in adult learners. Interlanguage pragmatic studies (Schmidt, 1983; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986; Koike, 1989) suggest that adult learners have acquired pragmatic universals through their native language and culture, thus putting their pragmatic knowledge ahead of grammatical knowledge in the target language. Kasper and Rose propose a Universal Pragmatic Principle which consists of a list of proposed universal aspects of sociolinguistic, discourse and pragmatic competencies which adult interactants of all language and cultural backgrounds are assumed to have (2002:163-165). Proposed pragmatic universals that are relevant to the present study include the implicit knowledge of and ability to use:

- speech acts ("doing things with words") or the illocutionary acts including the felicity conditions (Austin,1962; Searle, 1969 and 1975)
- turn-taking mechanisms (Sacks et al., 1978)
- politeness as mutual face-saving strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987)
- routines or formulaic linguistic units in recurrent situations (Coulmas, 1981; Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992; Aijmer, 1996; Wray, 2002).

One of the studies that report evidence for the primacy of pragmatics in adult learners with reference to these features is Schmidt's longitudinal study (1983) of a Japanese male speaker's acculturation in an untutored environment. The researcher found that the participant displayed "interactional competence" in his conversation with native speakers of English using ungrammatical utterances to perform a wide range of speech acts, such as "sitting?" when offering a seat, so that he could take part in interaction.

Eisenstein and Bodman's studies (1986 and 1993) also corroborate the hypothesis that pragmatic universals are already established in adult speakers. In both

studies, Eisenstein and Bodman looked at the expressions of gratitude of advanced non-native speakers and native speakers of American English. The researchers found that their non-native speakers had grasped the concept of intensifying their expressions of gratitude or politeness strategies although the expressions contained grammatical mistakes such as wrong word order, wrong word choice and "misused/mangled" idiom (1986:175). For instance, "I very appreciate", "I'll pay back you" contained grammatical mistakes at the level of word order, and "this is thing what I've wanted thank you" was not an idiomatic expression. Although these pragmalinguistic features did not sound target-like, they conveyed effectively the appropriate, or to be more specific, the politeness value of the expressions.

With regard to speech act comprehension, Koike (1989) found that her beginning learners of Spanish were able to recognize the illocutionary force of requests and apologies through pragmatic markers and routines such as "por favor" or "please" despite their limited proficiency. Koike's findings suggest that the pragmatic concept of illocution may have been readily available in adult learners, making it possible for the learners to map routines onto their speech act functions.

Because the present study includes EFL learners at three proficiency levels and investigates their face-saving maneuvres and use of formulaic sequences in request-refusal conversation which fit in the list of pragmatic universals stated above, it is interesting to see whether the analyses would reveal any results consistent with the studies that fall into the pragmatics-precedes-grammar scenario.

2.6.2 Grammar-precedes-pragmatics Scenario

Observations from studies that concentrate on advanced learners provide evidence for the grammar-precedes-pragmatics scenario in interlanguage pragmatics. In this scenario, learners have a high level of grammatical proficiency that enables them to produce language in a pragmalinguistically or sociopragmatically non-target-like way.

Relevant to refusals are Takahashi and Beebe (1987) and Beebe et al's studies (1990), which looked at the issue of pragmatic transfer in EFL and ESL Japanese learners of high and low proficiency levels. The researchers found that the more proficient learners, the EFL and ESL groups, showed knowledge of lexico-grammatical

structure but their lexicalisations of refusals seemed pragmalinguistically non-target-like such as "I never yield to temptation" and "I am deeply honored by your invitation, but…". The authors' findings imply that the learners have acquired a certain level of proficiency which enables them to use complex language but they had not yet mastered target-like pragmalinguistic features.

Another example of studies that report this scenario is Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's longitudinal study of academic advising sessions of advanced ESL students and native speakers of American English (1990, 1993b). The researchers found that over an academic year the ESL learners approximated the native speakers in terms of speech act choice to structure the sessions. The learners increased their use of self-initiating suggestions, and their rejections became fewer compared to the first session. Nevertheless, the pragmalinguistic qualities of their suggestions were still different from those of the native speakers. While the native speakers used a range of modals (e.g. "would" or "could"), progressive expressions (e.g., "I was thinking…") and hedges to soften their suggestions, the learners did not. Although the learners' suggestions were grammatically well-formed, the pragmatic quality of the suggestion was different from that of the native speakers. The grammatical features they used appeared to have an aggravating function, rendering their suggestions more forceful, as example 2.3 shows.

Example 2.3 Advisor and an ESL student (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1996, p.186)

Advisor:	what were the other courses you were thinking of taking?
Student:	I <u>just decided</u> on taking the language structure…field method in linguistics"

According to the researchers, the student's response in the example was pragmatically different from that of the native speakers because of the modifier "just" and past tense "decided" made his/her response sound too assertive, while the native speakers used past progressives such as "I was thinking of taking…" in their responses to the same question.

The researchers then suggest that the advanced learners seem to have acquired the core meanings but the pragmatic aspects of grammatical features like modality remain to be learned (1993b and 1996).

From the same studies, there was evidence of interlanguage grammar that enabled non-target-like sociopragmatic use. Although the learners used fewer rejections of the advisors' suggestions over the semesters, they still used information questions as an indirect rejection/refusal when a more direct strategy would have been more sociopragmatically appropriate or effective.

To summarize this section, the two scenarios reviewed in 2.6.1 and 2.6.2 indicate that the relationship between learners' interlanguage grammar and pragmatics is complex and seems to interact with proficiency levels. Kasper and Rose (2002) give an overview of the relationship:

> Putting the evidence on early and later acquisitional stages together, it appears that…early [adult] learners have acquired the L2 grammatical means to express already existing pragmatic categories, whereas later learners have to tease out the pragmatic meanings to which their now available L2 grammatical knowledge can be put. (p.190)

It could be said that Kasper and Rose's comment paves the way for further empirical studies of the relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics in different proficiency levels. This is the direction of the present study.

2.7 Studies of Refusals in Interlanguage Pragmatics

This section provides a review of how refusals have been studied in interlanguage pragmatics. The studies can be classified into four themes: 1) cross-linguistic comparison of refusal strategies; 2) pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic transfer; 3) learners' development in their ability to perform refusals in the target language; and 4) research methods in the study of interlanguage refusals. I will discuss some of the results of the studies in order to contextualize the present study in the field of interlanguage refusals. A suggestion to be made in this review section is that a cross-sectional investigation into learners' use of formulaic language in refusals could be

considered as another approach to understanding a relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics from the production and development perspectives.

2.7.1 Refusals in Interlanguage Pragmatics

Before I move onto the four research themes, it might be helpful to begin with an overview of refusals as compared to other speech acts studied in interlanguage pragmatics.

Compared to requests and apologies, there have been fewer studies of learners' or non-native speakers' performance of refusals; however, refusals have received sustained attention in interlanguage pragmatics because of its linguistic and pragmatic complexities. As described in section 2.4.1 above, while refusals are usually associated with saying 'no', it can be argued that the speaker's refusal intent can be realized in different ways and in an extended conversation, refusal intent can be expressed and elaborated in stretches of turns or can even be inferred from responses that implicitly convey the speaker's refusal intent. Taking the conversation analytic, discourse and linguistic views together, it could be said that to perform refusals successfully, particularly in a foreign language, requires a fairly high level of linguistic and pragmatic ability. Thus, refusals are among the speech acts that have been studied in various themes and in various L1s. Table 2.2 below gives a summary of studies that have investigated refusals.

Table 2. 2 Interlanguage pragmatic studies with a focus on refusals

Study	Theme & Initiating acts	L1	L2	Proficiency	Data collection method
Takahashi & Beebe (1987)	Pragmatic transfer (ESL & EFL); Requests, invitations, offers and suggestions	Japanese	American English	Low and High	Written discourse completion test
Beebe et al. (1990)	Pragmatic transfer (ESL & EFL); Requests, invitations, offers and	Japanese	American English	Low and High	Written discourse completion test

	suggestions				
Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993b)	Development of pragmatic competence; Suggestions	Various	American English	Advanced	Observation of natural data in institutional settings (advising sessions)
Morrow (1995)	Effect of instruction on pragmatic development; Requests, invitations and offers	Various	American English	Intermediate	Pre and Post tests (role-plays)
Beebe and Cummings (1996)	Comparison of telephone conversation and written completion test in native speakers; Requests	American English	N/A	N/A	Telephone conversation and written discourse completion test
Houck and Gass (1996)	Comparison of elicitation methods	Japanese	American English	N/A	Open role-plays; video recordings and written discourse completion test
Liao and Bresnahan (1996)	Cross-linguistic comparison of refusal strategies to requests	Mandarin	American English	N/A	Written discourse completion test and rating scales for the degree of directness
Sasaki (1998)	Comparison of discourse completion test and role-plays in EFL context; Requests, invitations, offers and suggestions	Japanese	English	N/A	Written discourse completion test and role-plays
Gass and Houck (1999)	Cross-cultural interaction strategies	Japanese	American English	Intermediate and upper intermediate	Open role-plays and video recordings
Sairhun (1999)	Pragmatic transfer; Requests, invitations, offers and	Thai	English	N/A	Written discourse completion test

	suggestions				
Turnbull (2001)	Comparison of elicitation methods; Requests	American English	N/A	Native speakers	Telephone conversation; written discourse completion test; close role-plays
Nelson et al. (2002a&b)	Cross-linguistic refusal strategies	Egyptian Arabic	American English	Native speakers of both languages	Oral discourse completion test
Robinson (1992)	Processing issues involved in production of refusals	Japanese	American English	N/A	Written discourse completion test, verbal protocol while the participants were completing the test, and introspective interviews
Barron (2003)	Development of L2 pragmatic competence; Offers	Irish English	German	N/A (undergraduate Irish learners of German)	Written discourse completion test, pre and post questionnaires and retrospective interviews

The table shows that of the 14 studies of interlanguage refusals, almost half attempted to address the issues of transfer and development of pragmatic competence while the others address production or use aspect of interlanguage refusals. In the subsections to follow, these studies are reviewed according to their themes and methods used.

2.7.2 Cross linguistic/Cross-cultural Use of Refusals

Like other cross-linguistic speech act studies, research in cross-linguistic refusals aims at determining the extent to which the use of refusal strategies is similar or different in two languages and investigating factors that affect such similarities or differences. The studies in this theme deal with competent or native speakers' use of refusals. The research objective fits into a more general framework of intercultural communication studies (Gumperz, 1982; Scollon and Scollon, 2001), which speculate that communicative norms, interaction behaviours, and perceptions of self and context vary from one language community to another and that these variations are likely to cause miscommunication in intercultural contexts.

These similarities and differences are detected through a comparison of types of refusal strategies and refusal adjuncts, degrees of directness, and frequency of strategies used in relation to context that is, power, social distance between the interlocutors, and

weightiness of the initiating act. English is usually the target language and has been studied in relation to Japanese (Takahashi and Beebe, 1987; Beebe et al., 1990), Egyptian Arabic (Nelson et al., 2002a, 2002b) and Mandarin Chinese (Liao and Bresnahan, 1996).

Two important findings emerge from these studies. First, language users' perception of interlocutor status, which is closely associated with sociocultural background, plays a significant role in the refuser's choice of strategies, especially degree of directness (Liao and Bresnahan, 1996; Beebe et al., 1990). For example, the American respondents in Beebe et al.'s study used indirect strategies in most situations, while the Japanese tended to employ direct strategies when refusing a lower status interlocutor and indirect strategies when refusing a higher status interlocutor. The researchers suggested that the perception of status could differ in the two cultures; that is, the Japanese tend to be more sensitive to high and low status than the Americans.

The second finding as aspect of the nature of refusals: the speech act is found to be involved with multiple strategies across the languages under investigation. That is, refusals can be composed of an apology or an expression of regret like "I'm sorry, followed by an excuse such as "I have other plans", or a combination of other indirect strategies such as statement of agreement, an offer of alternative, or postponement. In section 2.7.5, I will discuss this finding again from a methodological perspective and show that length and complexity of the speech act vary as a result of methodology.

Status sensitivity and complexity of refusals shown in this research theme seem to suggest that appropriate use of the speech act in any language requires a high level of pragmatic competence. In the following subsection, we will see how researchers have studied learners' refusals and how refusal conventions in the native language influenced learners' production of refusals in the target language.

2.7.3 Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic Transfer from L1 to L2

It is perhaps necessary to briefly discuss what "transfer" means before discussing studies in this research topic. Odlin (1989:27) defines transfer as "the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired". Transfer

then can result in omission, addition, changes in order, or alternative ways of expressing a given meaning.

In interlanguage pragmatics, it is often assumed that learners may transfer their L1 communicative norms and sociocultural knowledge in their use of L2 speech acts, often giving rise to intercultural miscommunication or pragmatic failures (Richards and Sukwiwat, 1983; Thomas, 1983; Marriot, 1995). Put differently, interlanguage pragmaticists are particularly interested in negative transfer, which is exclusively associated with linguistic and/or cultural differences between learners' L1 and L2.

2.7.3.1 Pragmalinguistic Transfer of Refusals

In their 1990 study, Beebe and her colleagues tested the hypothesis that Japanese ESL learners transfer their L1 refusal strategies into English, by comparing three data sets elicited from 3 groups of participants, 20 Japanese native speakers, 20 Japanese ESL learners, and 20 American English native speakers. The participants were asked to complete a discourse completion test that had been designed to elicit refusals to 3 requests, 3 invitations, 3 suggestions and 3 offers. The data were coded in terms of semantic formula – a word, a phrase or sentence which meets a particular semantic criterion or strategy (Olshtain and Cohen, 1983:20), and analysed in order, frequency and content of semantic formulas that constitute refusals.

The researchers' hypothesis was confirmed: the learners were found to transfer their Japanese refusal strategies in terms of order, frequency and content when refusing someone of higher status. With regard to order of semantic formulas, the learners' refusals to requests, invitations and offer were strikingly similar to those of the Japanese respondents. In terms of refusals to suggestion, the baseline data, i.e., L1 and L2, were very similar in terms of order and, therefore negative transfer was not evident. It was possible that the two languages might be similar in this pragmatic aspect, so there might be positive transfer or transfer which did not result in errors.

Through a frequency count of each semantic formula, transfer was evident in learners' highly frequent use of the apology formula in their refusals to higher-status requesters, which appeared to resemble the pattern of Japanese native speakers and

contrast sharply with that of the Americans: Japanese native speakers 90%, learners 85%, and American native speakers 40%.

According to the researchers, although learners did not literally translate the Japanese apology, their frequently used "I'm sorry" seemed to suggest that pragmatic transfer in terms of the need to fill the apology slot might have taken place (1990:61). Moreover, when refusing invitations, offers, and suggestions made by higher and lower status interlocutors, the learners were found to resemble the Japanese NSs in that both groups offered alternatives much more frequently than the American NSs. The researchers then suggested that the learners could probably transfer the sensitivity to hierarchy of status, high vs. low, in Japanese culture into their use of English refusal strategies.

According to Beebe and her colleagues, their content analysis of semantic formulae seemed to provide clear evidence of pragmatic transfer because it could reveal differences within the same formula. For instance, the semantic formula of excuse was used throughout the three groups; however, the content of excuses found in the Japanese native speakers and learners' refusals to invitations were similar in that it seemed vague or less specific in details, which sharply contrasted with the American responses. Also, the researchers found that the learners' content of excuses such as "I never yield to temptation" sounded more formal than those found in the American data. It should be noted that the Japanese ESL participants were fairly proficient in English. Two questions, which are central to my research, arise as to 1)whether it was their proficiency that enables them to use non-target like refusals and 2) to what extent the proficiency is related to pragmatic quality, that is characteristics of language use that indicate a balance between performing a face-threatening speech act and attending to interpersonal relationship and face wants of both interactants of learners' refusals.

2.7.3.2 Sociopragmatic Transfer of Refusals

Although no study has been conducted to investigate directly sociopragmatic transfer of refusals, there has been one report about how native culture influences the production of refusals. In her study of introspective methodology in interlanguage pragmatics, Robinson (1992) had 12 Japanese females think aloud as they were completing a

discourse questionnaire featuring refusals to requests and invitations (see 2.7.5.1, p.42). Immediately after the think-aloud task, the researcher interviewed each respondent regarding the content of their refusals and utterances from their verbal report.

Sociopragmatic transfer was detected, among other things, in the participants' reporting of thought processes. According to the researcher, one of the respondents reported that she had difficulty refusing due to her family training, which required a woman to comply with requests so as to maintain social harmony (ibid.:56). Furthermore, the interviews revealed that other participants experienced difficulty in their decision-making as they found it necessary to preserve social ties (ibid.:52-53).

Studies of transfer of refusals have shown that learners'/non-native speakers' refusals are to some extent influenced by their native pragmatic and sociocultural knowledge, rendering learners' speech act patterns different from those of native speakers of L2. It is not surprising, then, for some interlanguage pragmatic scholars to speculate about the role of pragmatic transfer in learners' approximation to L2 communicative norms, which can be considered as an indicator of learners' pragmatic development. I now turn to this research theme.

2.7.4 Refusals in Interlanguage Pragmatic Development

2.7.4.1 Correlation between Pragmatic Transfer and Proficiency Level

In their 1987 study, Takahashi and Beebe attempted to test the hypothesis that there will be more pragmatic transfer among higher proficiency learners than among students at lower levels. The hypothesis was based on their observation that less proficient learners are not equipped with sufficient linguistic resources to transfer the complexities of their L1 rules of talk into their L2 performance. The researchers argued that pragmatic transfer is different from morpho-syntactic transfer, in that the former will occur at a later stage or when learners became more proficient, and that amount of pragmatic transfer will decrease in very advanced learners because they will probably achieve near-native pragmatic ability (1987:137). "Development of pragmatic competence" in Takahashi and Beebe's study seems to be judged in terms of approximation to the target language refusal pattern, as can be seen in the comparison between learners' refusals and those of the native speakers. Thus, it can be inferred

from their study that the amount of pragmatic transfer in learners' responses could indicate the extent to which they are moving towards native-like refusal, the seemingly desirable stage of development in the researchers' view.

Takahashi and Beebe (1987) employed a discourse completion test as their sole research method (see 2.7.5.1, p.42). Refusals were elicited from 20 Japanese native speakers, 20 Japanese ESL, 20 Japanese EFL and 20 Americans. Within the learner groups, a cross-sectional investigation was conducted to investigate any correlation between amount of transfer and proficiency level: refusals of 10 undergraduates and 10 graduates, who represented approximate proficiency levels, were compared. The hypothesis was confirmed in the ESL data, but rejected in the EFL group. That is, more transfer was evident in the content and tone of refusals produced by the more proficient ESL, and this seemed to be attributable to the learners' word choice, which was made possible by their linguistic proficiency. For instance, one of the high level respondents used "I have to *apologize* for not being able to come to your party" (p.152, their italics), which looked like a transliteration from the Japanese strategy and sounded unidiomatic in the target language.

Takahashi and Beebe's study raises two questions concerning the significance of selecting prospective participants and about their study design. First, the researchers chose the participants by the approximate-proficiency level criterion, placing the undergraduate students in the lower proficiency and postgraduates in the higher proficiency groups. The criterion may be valid in the EFL context, but the reliability of the study would have been improved if the researchers had administered a placement test to ascertain difference in proficiency levels, regardless of whether it is a foreign or second language learning environment.

Second, even though refusals of the two levels were compared in terms of amount of transfer, the researchers discussed only the number of the situations in which transfer took place. Qualitative analysis, that is, the content analysis in terms of tone, level of formality, and lexical items that constitute semantic content did not seem to have been conducted within the two levels. Rather, refusals of both groups were grouped together and compared qualitatively with the American data set. Thus, we have some reason to suspect that the data analysis was not in agreement with the design, or

that the design was not a true cross-sectional design. As a result, it is possible that there may have been other qualitative differences in pragmatic transfer between two groups of learners, which might have shed new light on the learners' interlanguage refusals.

2.7.4.2 Longitudinal Development

Like Takahashi and Beebe, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993b, 1996) viewed learners' pragmatic development as approximation to native-like use of speech acts. However, transfer was not the focus of Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's study. Rather, the authors focussed on advanced ESL learners' changes in the use of rejections and refusals to advisors' suggestions over an academic year. Their longitudinal study revealed that learners acquired the ability to manage the advising session speech event by using more self-initiated suggestions and fewer rejections, yet their rejections continued to differ from those of native speakers in terms of content. For example, in terms of content, they provided inappropriate reasons to justify their rejections such as a lack of interest in a suggested course. In terms of politeness value, the learners' rejections were more direct and less hedged when compared to those of the native speakers. As a result, the learners' refusals tended not to be accepted or to provoke a strong reaction from the advisor and, in the researchers' view, the learners became less successful in negotiation with their advisors compared to the American students. The authors suggested that the learners attained pragmatic development at the macrolevel which referred to the ability to perform appropriate speech acts in an institutional setting, but their microlevel pragmatic competence, which covered pragmalinguistic features or linguistic features that index the speakers' illocutionary force, might develop at a later stage.

Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's finding appears to be consistent with Takahashi and Beebe's work (1987) in that the content of refusals produced by fairly advanced learners still appeared to be non-target like, and that the grammatical and lexical features displayed in their refusals seemed to be partly responsible for such deviation. Following this scenario, one may suspect that learners do not achieve pragmatic proficiency at the same rate as grammatical proficiency. That is, as evidenced in the two studies, the learners' refusals were lexico-grammatically well formed, but the

resultant pragmatic force did not seem to be appropriate. Referring to Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's 1993b longitudinal study, Bardovi-Harlig (1999, p.686) suggested that the learners might not have acquired the pragmatic aspects of the lexical and grammatical features used to constitute their speech act strategies, resulting in an imbalance between grammatical and pragmatic proficiency. Therefore, it is possible that learners' development of pragmatic competence may be affected by their developing grammatical competence.

Barron (2003) traced the development of German EFL learners' ability to perform refusals of offers during a year abroad. Her findings indicated that the learners increased the use of pragmatic routines associated with mitigating the force of refusals of offers such as expressions of gratitude, combinations of downtoners and hedges, over the period of observation although their refusals were not target-like in some cases.

Taking the studies in this theme as the point of departure, this study addresses the issue of a possible relationship between grammar and pragmatics in interlanguage pragmatic development by looking at refusals performed by learners at different proficiency levels and comparing them in terms of pragmatic moves and formulaic aspects.

2.7.5 Data Collection Methods in Interlanguage Refusals

This section provides a review of studies that specifically looked into effects of data gathering tools on refusal. Studies mentioned in earlier sections are also to be reviewed again in terms of the methods the researchers used to elicit refusals. The methods to be discussed are discourse completion tests, role-plays, natural data and think-aloud protocol. It should be noted, however, that methodological issues in interlanguage refusals and how refusals were collected in the present study will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

2.7.5.1 Discourse Completion Test

Discourse Completion Test or DCT is perhaps the most extensively used in interlanguage refusals as well as interlangauge pragmatics research. A written DCT

item usually features a brief description of situation information such as status of interlocutors) and a dialogue, which is usually the initiating act such as requests or invitations. The following turn is left blank and the dialogue is closed by a reply to the blank turn. The respondents are asked to fill in what they would say if they were in the given scenario. Normally, the word "refuse" is not stated in the questionnaire items. In oral DCTs, each scenario is read to the respondents and their reply is recorded. The adaptability of DCTs can be seen in Nelson et al.'s works (2002a, 2002b), in which they developed an oral version of DCT to accommodate the diglossic nature of Arabic.

The use of DCT, in both written and oral formats, in refusal research has proved to be useful in three ways. First, variables can be systematically manipulated across DCT items enabling the researchers to identify possible effects of the variables on the elicited refusal patterns. This consistency between variables and test items also facilitates a comparison of refusal strategy types used by different groups of participants. For example, the equal distribution of the status variables such as high vs. low status, and eliciting acts such as requests, suggestions, invitations and offers throughout the questionnaire in Beebe et al's study (1990) allowed the researchers to determine the extent to which interlocutor status affected the refusal strategies across the three groups. Second, the 'sandwiched' structure of DCTs, which consists of a stimulus speech act, a refusal, and a response of refusal, ensures that the speech act under investigation will be elicited. Third, since a DCT is a type of questionnaire, it can be administered with a large number of participants and reproduced in different languages making it possible to elicit refusals from L1 and L2 and learners and analyse them in terms of inferential statistics. DCTs therefore have been frequently used in cross-linguistic refusals and pragmatic transfer research.

However, there are some problems in using DCTs as a data elicitation method. DCTs can be criticized for three reasons. To begin with, it seems likely that DCTs are unable to capture the complexity of refusals found in authentic conversation. For example, Beebe and Cummings (1996) compared refusals gathered from a written DCT and telephone conversations and found that DCT data featured less varied semantic formulas and were far less complex. According to the researchers, the authentic refusals led to negotiation between the requester and the refuser: the caller, in response to

refusal, repeatedly requested or adjusted her requests hoping that the person would agree to help in a conference which was used as the request scenario. The refusers also repeated and justified their refusals throughout the course of conversation. Moreover, Houck and Gass (1995) and Gass and Houck (1999) found that some of their Japanese ESL participants opted for silence or repeated the previous turn such as the request, invitation, or offer made by the interlocutor. According to the researchers, silence and repetitions of what was said is considered as a type of indirect refusal or avoidance strategy. The constrained nature of DCTs did not allow the respondents to use other strategies that could have been considered as indirect refusals. In other words, the method enabled the researchers to address the question of similarity and difference in the use of refusal strategy at the single turn level, but whether or not the organization and modification of refusal strategies, which appear in stretches of discourse, differ in two languages could not be answered by using DCTs.

Second, DCTs neglected the interlocutor's reaction. It is true that a rejoinder features in each DCT item, but its primary purpose is to create a context in which a refusal should be uttered. The response turn does not indicate how the interlocutor would interpret and react to the refusal strategy. This is seen in Takahashi and Beebe (1987) and Beebe et al's studies (1990). While DCTs could help the researchers answer the questions of amount of transfer and variables that affect learners' transfer, the DCT data were unable to show anything about possible effects of the deviated refusal patterns on the interlocutors' comprehension e.g., whether they cause misinterpretations of the refusers' intentions, or trigger the interlocutors' attempt to seek clarification.

Third, DCT refusals may be affected by planning time the participants or learners' approach to the questionnaire. In the cross-linguistic refusal studies mentioned above (except Nelson et al., 2002a and 2002b), the respondents were allowed plenty of time to complete the questionnaires. It is then possible that the evident transfer of complicated native norms of refusals such as "I am deeply honoured by your invitation, but…" (Beebe et al. 1990) could be partially enhanced by planning time, which could be related to the "waffle phenomenon" found in learners' speech patterns elicited from written DCTs (Edmonson and House, 1991). Furthermore, in their study of variation of DCT formats based on the scenarios in authentic discourse, Bardovi-Harlig and

Hartford (1993a) compared two types of DCTs designed to elicit students' rejections to advisors' suggestions. The first format featured only situational description, while the second one contained a description of the situation and a prompt in each item. The native speaker respondents showed little difference across the two questionnaire types whereas the students showed greater difference. The influence of the format was evident in the change of semantic formulae and naturalness of talk such as the use of hedges and discourse markers that resembled the native speakers' rejections. Therefore, it is clear that different designs of DCTs elicit different responses from non-native speakers, and this could be detrimental to the reliability of a given study if the method is not carefully developed.

2.7.5.2 Role-plays

The lack of interactiveness of DCTs is not a problem for role-plays. This is because open role-plays allow the participants to modify their refusal strategies in response to initiating acts and carry out the conversation to its logical end.

Houck and Gass (1996) and Gass and Houck (1999) found that refusals in role-plays performed by native speaker hosts and ESL learners displayed more strategies than those found on DCTs such as avoidance strategies like silence or repeated questions, and revealed interactive features such as negotiation for an alternative when one party did not wish to comply with the request and recycling of requests and refusals. In both studies, refusals came in multiple turns spreading throughout the role-play interaction, allowing the researchers to see how the learners adjusted their refusal strategies in response to the native speaker interlocutor's reaction. It should be noted also that straightforward transfer of Japanese refusal strategies was not evident in the role-play data. Rather, the learners seemed to have relied on certain semantic formulae such as regret, excuse or direct "no", and, in subsequent turns, tried out different strategies to make themselves understood and to maintain new social ties. These were abilities that would not have surfaced if a DCT had been used.

Another advantage of using open-ended role-plays as a research method is that the researchers can still manipulate contextual variables while gathering interactive and more complex refusals co-constructed by both interlocutors. However, the systematic

control of variables can be limited because it is not possible for the participants to perform as numerous role-play scenarios as in DCTs.

Regarding the disadvantages of the method, the most evident is the likelihood that role-plays could generate redundant conversation. Sasaki (1998) and Turnbull (2001) addressed the methodological issues in refusals by comparing data gathered from DCTs and role-plays and found that role-play refusals were unnaturally lengthy in some situations: there was evidence of strategy recycling but it did not bring about further negotiation between the two parties. The other drawback of open-ended role-plays is the possible task effect on learners. Like DCTs, role-plays involve hypothetical situations, which may pose some imaginative challenge to learners and result in performance limitations. Houck and Gass (1996) and Gass and Houck (1999) were seemingly aware of this disadvantage as they constructed their scenarios on the learners' authentic experience as international students in American host families. However, in my view, some of the situations, or content of initiating acts, were rather extreme such as asking learners to go bungee jumping with the host, or offering to do a punk hairstyle. While the scenarios elicited, as intended, refusals, the learners' psychological load could have hindered their speech act performance. This will be elaborated further in Chapter Three.

2.7.5.3 Naturally Occurring Data

As mentioned in the DCT section, naturally occurring refusals are generally more complex and interactive than refusals elicited from questionnaires. To date, there have been two refusal studies that used authentic discourse: Beebe and Cummings (1996, telephone conversation) and Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993b) which analyzed data from observation of advising sessions.

The strength of natural data is that participants' production of refusals is less constrained compared to DCTs or role-plays. For example, in Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's study (1993b), both American and ESL students used rejections to control their schedules. Nevertheless, differences between the two groups of participants at the level of strategy type and content were played out in stretches of turns. The differences were very likely to be attributable to their own linguistic and pragmatic abilities rather

than their different approaches to the task. For instance, despite their use of direct strategies, the American students used more credible contents that justified their rejections to the advisors' suggestions to take a course such as schedule clashes or lack of availability, rendering the rejections acceptable in the advisors' view. On the other hand, the ESL students used indirect rejection strategies by repeating the suggestions, asking for more information about the course, for instance, "Is it difficult?" The use of questioning strategy is a sociopragmatic aspect of refusals and rejections that is not usually found in DCTs. Moreover, the use of authentic discourse allowed the researchers to see the effect on the interlocutor, which could function as a context for interpreting the force of a rejection as successful or unsuccessful. Acceptance of the students' rejections could be seen in the advisor's subsequent turn displaying agreement message, for example, "oh, okay", while unsuccessful rejections usually triggered longer responses and a series of explanations from the advisors. Accordingly, the analysis of naturally occurring refusals in Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's study was conducted in terms of a "rejection episode", which began when a student started rejecting, both implicit and explicit rejections, and ended when his advisor explicitly accepted the rejection or abandoned the suggestion by giving a new piece of advice (1993a, p. 288). Quite evidently, refusals gathered in an authentic discourse are far more complex than DCT refusals and give us a better insight into the actual use of the speech act strategies.

Using authentic discourse may have some disadvantages because the occurrence of refusals may not be always predictable as it would be in DCTs or role-plays and it may be very difficult to gather data from L1 to trace evidence of transfer. The first drawback can be alleviated by narrowing down the context of talk or investigating institutional talk as can be seen in Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford's study (1993b). Beebe and Cummings (1996) have demonstrated the possibility of gathering authentic refusals through telephone conversation. The researchers called and asked their participants to help in a conference at short notice, expecting the participants to refuse. The researchers were able to elicit refusals which were more complex than those elicited from written DCTs, involving hedges, modifications of refusal strategies and negotiation between the requesters and the refusers.

2.7.5.4 Think-aloud Method

The think-aloud method differs from the above methods in that it is process-oriented while the others are product-oriented. Of particular relevance to refusals is Robinson's study (1992) in which the method was used to probe into the participants', 12 female Japanese speakers of English, thought process while they were completing DCT items designed to elicit refusals. The method has proved to be effective in revealing the complexity in planning and formulating refusal strategies, which was partly due to a clash between L1 cultural upbringing and the necessity to refuse in each DCT item.

It also seems likely that the think-aloud method could reflect the constraint a DCT placed on the participants: the questionnaire did not allow them to employ other speech act strategies than refusals or even opt out of conversation. Furthermore, process-oriented methods like verbal protocol as well as a retrospective interview can assist the researchers in exploring learners' awareness of their performance, which in turn could illuminate how their use of L2 refusal strategies is related to their interlanguage system.

2.7.6 Summary

To summarize section 2.7, I have reviewed interlanguage refusal studies of four main types: cross-linguistic comparison of refusal strategies; pragmatic transfer, developmental pragmatics; and comparison of data elicitation techniques. The relationship between learners' developing grammar and pragmatics is evident in the transfer and development themes which provide a useful background of the present study. Based on the review, an observation can be made regarding the linguistic features of refusals investigated in the earlier studies. The features tended to be studied as a single word, for instance, the performative verb "to apologize" and a range of modals and intensifiers. The native speakers of the target languages and the learners' use of these features were compared and information about development or transfer was inferred from the comparison (an exception is Barron, 2003). The present study takes a step further, investigating formulaic aspects of learners' refusals. Through a comparison of formulaic aspects of refusals performed by three groups of EFL learners, it is hoped that the study will contribute to our understanding of linguistic quality of

interlanguage refusals, particularly the role of formulaic language. This is the focus of the next section.

2.8 Formulaic Language

Formulaic language is a vast field and it has been approached from different perspectives such as corpus work (for example Sinclair, 1991; Moon, 1998; Biber et al., 2004), language proficiency (Howarth, 1998) and language acquisition (Hakuta, 1974; Weinert, 1995; Wray, 2000). Formulaic language has become a topic of great interest because corpus work has shown that a large part of language consists of sequences of words that are formulaic, or words that are apparently glued together, stored in fixed or partially fixed chunks and used as wholes. For example, there are *idioms* and *fully fixed expressions* such as "by and large" and "long time no see". *Phrasal verbs* such as "get along with" "make an appointment", and "take a seat" are sometimes also considered to be formulaic language, as well as *partially fixed sentence stems*, e.g., "to be sorry about/for something", "I wonder if …", and *conversation routines*, e.g., "could you do me a favour?", "how are you?" "sorry to interrupt" .

It has been generally accepted the use of formulaic language is one of many linguistic abilities a native speaker has (Coulmas, 1981; Pawley and Syder, 1983; Willis, 1990; Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992; Foster, 2001). From a pragmatic perspective, native speakers use formulaic sequences to fulfill pragmatic functions: context or situation – specific expressions (House and Kasper, 1981); speech act and conversational routines (Aijmer, 1996); gambits and politeness routines (Edmonson, 1983). Formulaic language is therefore considered to be an important part of native speaker's pragmatic competence as well as their linguistic repertoire (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996).

In the following subsections, I will look into the issue of determining which combinations of words are formulaic and the role of formulaic language in interlanguage pragmatics. This will help contextualize the use of formulaic language as a focus of investigation in the present study.

2.8.1 Determining Formulaicity

As mentioned in the previous section, it is widely believed that the lexicon of a native speaker of any language is made up of fixed and partially fixed sequences of words that are used as single choices and shared by every one in his or her speech community as well as novel combinations of words that are constructed according to grammatical rules (Sinclair, 1991). However, when it comes to the issue of definition, there seems to be a divergence of opinion among scholars, resulting in an abundance of terminologies and ways of determining formulaicity. Weinert (1995:182) observes, "while labels vary, it seems that researchers have very much the same phenomenon in mind".

For Sinclair (1991), Weinert (1995), Wray (2000, 2002) and others currently working in this field, 'formulaic' has a far wider meaning than the well-known categories of idioms, fixed expressions and collocations. For these researchers, a 'formulaic' sequence or string of words is generally characterized by its

- manners of storage and production
- frequency
- institutionalized or conventional use

According to the proponents of a wider understanding of formulaicity, these characteristics distinguish formulaic language from novel, freely-formed expressions. With regard to the first characteristic, manners of storage and use, formulaic sequences appear to be stored and used together as whole chunks, which may or may not always be fully fixed together, and chunks which are not fully fixed including patterns with open slots or partially fixed sentence stems.

In corpus work, the second characteristic, how frequently a word string is found and how frequently it co-occurs with other words can indicate the formulaicity of the word string, whether at a narrower level such as idioms, fixed expressions and collocations or at a wider level such as patterns with open slots. There are, however, many word strings that are recognized as formulaic although they are not frequently used, e.g. "Long live the King/Queen" (Wray, 2002:30). This can be explained by the third characteristic—conventional use. That is, for a sequence of words to be

considered formulaic, it usually has an institutionalized or conventional use which makes it recognizable by the members of a speech community.

With regard to the purpose of my study, narrow understandings of formulaicity such as idioms and fixed expressions do not seem to suffice. This is because this study aims to explore the formulaic aspects of request-refusal role-plays in which conventional expressions related to the two speech acts are bound to occur. For example, it is to some extent predictable that the expressions "I wonder if I could ….", "I'm sorry", and "Could you please + VP" will occur in the role-plays. These expressions are not fully fixed like idioms or limited to collocations, yet they seem to fit into the observation of formulaic language as a part of a native speaker's lexicon. Moreover, because this study investigates learners' language, it is possible that sequences of words that appear to be the learners' varieties of fixed or partially fixed sequences of words may be found in the data. These sequences may not be idiomatic or collocationally well-formed in English but they are important to this study because they suggest the lexico-grammatical parts of learner's language, and some of these sequences might be relevant to the learners' lexicalizations of refusals. Therefore, a broader understanding of formulaicity is needed in this study.

Wray's working definition (2000, 2002) captures the importance of formulaic sequences for reception, production, and for learner language, and my understanding is based on this. She defines formulaic sequences as

> a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar (2000: 9)

However, in practicality, it is not always possible to access directly the storage and the retrieval processes. Rather, these are inferred from the linguistic features of the sequences. For instance, the linguistic forms of "thank you for + NP", "why don't you + VP" and "the more….the more…" or "the less…the less" render the strings recognizable as formulaic sequence; the linguistic forms of the sequences are shared by native speakers of English and English-speaking people and the sequences appear to be stored together and used as wholes rather than being made up word by word at the time of use.

Wray's definition gives a broad and inclusive framework for determining which sequences are formulaic. It covers fixed, collocationally fixed sequences, sentence stems, and sequences of words that might be learners' varieties of formulaic language, which are relevant to my study. However, as explained above, it is not possible to apply the "storage" and "retrieval" elements in the definition to the identification of formulaic sequences in this study. This may cause some difficulties or confusion to the native speaker judges. Therefore, her definition is modified for the purposes of this study: the processes of storage and retrieval are omitted. The modified definition of formulaic sequences used in this study is

> a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be used as wholes rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar.

The modified definition still retains the inclusiveness of Wray's definition and suggests a broad understanding of formulaicity.

The term "formulaic sequences" and formulaic language will be used throughout this study, covering other terms such as "prefabricated chunks", "lexical bundles" or "chunks" that refer to similar phenomenon although, as Wray (2000) suggests, each term has its own theoretical implications. This study takes formulaic sequences as an analytical unit rather than addressing the theoretical issues of formulaic language and these different implications are not explored here.

2.8.2 Formulaic Language in Interlanguage Pragmatics

In interlanguage pragmatics, there have not so far been many studies that investigate the role of formulaic sequences in the aspects of use and development, while it is generally accepted that that formulaic sequences play an important role in speech act realizations both native speakers and language learners (for example Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992; Kasper and Schmidt, 1996; Terkourafi, 2002) as well as in the development of pragmatic competence in the target language (for example Barron, 2003).

Findings and observations from the few studies that have been carried out suggest that

- adult learners use formulaic expressions to fulfill pragmatic functions effectively but not in a lexico-grammatical native-like way (Schmidt, 1983; Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986). For example, "I very appreciate" in the lexicalization of the speech act of thanking was reported in Eisenstein and Bodman's study (1986).
- learners use a greater variety of conversational routines after explicit teaching (House, 1996) or after exposure to the target community (Barron, 2003).
- beginners seem to rely on formulaic language in their speech act realizations although the pragmatic functions are not always native-like (Scarcella, 1979 cited in Kasper and Rose, 2002 and Barron, 2003). For instance, in Scarcella's 1979 study, the beginners used "can you please" in every request situation while the native speakers would have used different formulaic expressions which indicated appropriate level of politeness in different situations.
- advanced learners do not always use grammatically correct or target-like formulaic expressions (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1986, 1993).
- even when learners have mastered a high level of grammatical proficiency, lexico-grammatically complex formulaic expressions, for instance, a bi-clausal request "I wonder if you could possibly…", are still not used in their written or spoken speech act data. Syntactically simpler formulaic expressions, such as "could I/could you +VP, parentheticals "I think and "I know", tend to be used throughout period of observation (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1996; Takahashi, 2001).

Two inferences can be made from the findings and observations in the above list. The first is that formulaic sequences seem to be an important resource for learners at all levels as they enable them to perform speech acts, and express politeness and modality.

The second inference is to do with proficiency level and the use of formulaic language. That is, the variety of formulaic sequences learners use in speech act realizations increases according to proficiency level. However, a high proficiency level does not imply that learners use a similar range of formulaic sequences to native

speakers in terms of linguistic forms and pragmatic functions. Sociopragmatically or pragmalinguistically non-native-like versions of formulaic sequences are reported in these studies. This seems to suggest that an expansion of formulaic language storage and the ability to map forms of formulaic sequences onto their pragmatic functions are important to the development of pragmatic competence in the target language, and cannot be taken for granted.

While the aforementioned studies look at the quality of language in learners' pragmatic performance longitudinally (for example Barron, 2003) or compare learners' language with those produced by the native speakers (for example Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1996), not many studies compare quality of language, particularly in the formulaic aspects, produced by learners at different levels (exceptions are Trosborg, 1995 and Takahashi, 1996).

It should be noted also that most of the studies cited in the list above look at formulaic sequences in requests and apologies. The exceptions are Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1996) and Barron (2003) who studied rejections to suggestions and refusals to offers respectively. The present study, therefore, takes a step further by investigating formulaic language in refusals produced by EFL learners at three levels so as to contribute to the research of formulaic language in interlanguage pragmatics.

2.9 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, speech act theory, politeness theory and the conversation analytic framework have been reviewed so as to provide a background for the present study which applies these theoretical frameworks to the context of interlanguage pragmatics. The status of refusals in these frameworks has also been reviewed and their complexities, which may be a challenge for language learners, have been highlighted. These justify the present investigation of interlanguage refusals and provide a useful framework for data collection and analysis. In the latter part of the chapter, arguments have been made for taking formulaic language as a focus of analysis because the findings and observations in earlier studies indicate that refusals often contain formulaic expressions, suggesting a potential area of investigation. Issues in the field of

formulaic language have also been considered in this chapter, particularly the issue of determining formulaicity because it is important to know what to look for in the data set before stretches of language can be identified as formulaic sequences. For the purposes of this study, an inclusive definition of formulaic sequences was chosen to be the framework and modified for practical reasons. The modified definition is applied to the identification of formulaic sequences in the data base, which will be discussed in Chapter Four.

The central messages that arose from the discussion of these theoretical frameworks and empirical studies are that the relationship between grammar and pragmatics was noticed quite early on but a few studies have addressed this issue directly and that there seems to be a gap in interlanguage pragmatic research with regard to learners' use of formulaic language to fulfill pragmatic functions and the role of formulaic language in the development of pragmatic proficiency. These issues help contextualize my study, and in the next chapter I will explain the methodology I used to explore them.

Chapter 3

Methodology I: Data Collection

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an account of the study design and data collection method that were used to address the following research questions: 1) to what extent do refusals to requests performed by three levels of learners differ in terms of sociopragmatic aspects?; 2) to what extent do the language and lexicalizations of refusals differ in terms of formulaic aspects? To compare the pragmatic and formulaic aspects of refusals across the three levels, a cross-sectional design was used, and this is first explained in section 3.1. Then, in 3.2.1, data collection methods used in interlanguage pragmatic research, are discussed with reference to their strengths and weaknesses. Next, a justification for open-role-plays, which were used as the main data collection method, and their effect on data are presented in 3.2.2. The pilot study, the recruitment of participants, the procedures for data collection, and transcription of data will be explained in sections 3.2.3, 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 respectively.

3.1 Cross-sectional Study Design

In this section, a justification for a cross-sectional design is given. How the design helped structure the present study is also explained.

This study used a cross-sectional design because of a correspondence between the attributes of the design and the research questions. A cross-sectional design, sometimes referred to as a pseudolongitudinal design (Kasper and Schmidt, 1996:150), allows the researchers to collect and compare data from participants at different developmental stages or proficiency levels (Cook, 1993:34). Because the research questions seek to find differences in terms of pragmatic and formulaic aspects of refusals produced by EFL learners at three proficiency levels, the scope of inquiry was compatible with a cross-sectional design which can structure the study of

performance of learners at different levels. That is, a cross-sectional approach offered a control over variables, which, in this study, were proficiency level, and ensured that the same method was used to collect data from different groups of learners. This way, data can be compared across the groups and the answers to the research questions can be established.

3.2 Research Methodology

3.2.1 Research Methods in Interlanguage Pragmatics

Research methods have been an important issue to the point of even becoming a research theme in interlanguage pragmatics because of the wide range of methods used in the field. Kasper and Dahl (1991) described this methodological diversity and classified research methods in interlanguage pragmatics according to "the constraints they impose on the data: the degree to which the data are predetermined by the instrument and the modality of language use subjects/informants are engaged in" (p. 216). Figure 3.1 shows their characterisation of interlanguage pragmatic data collection methods.

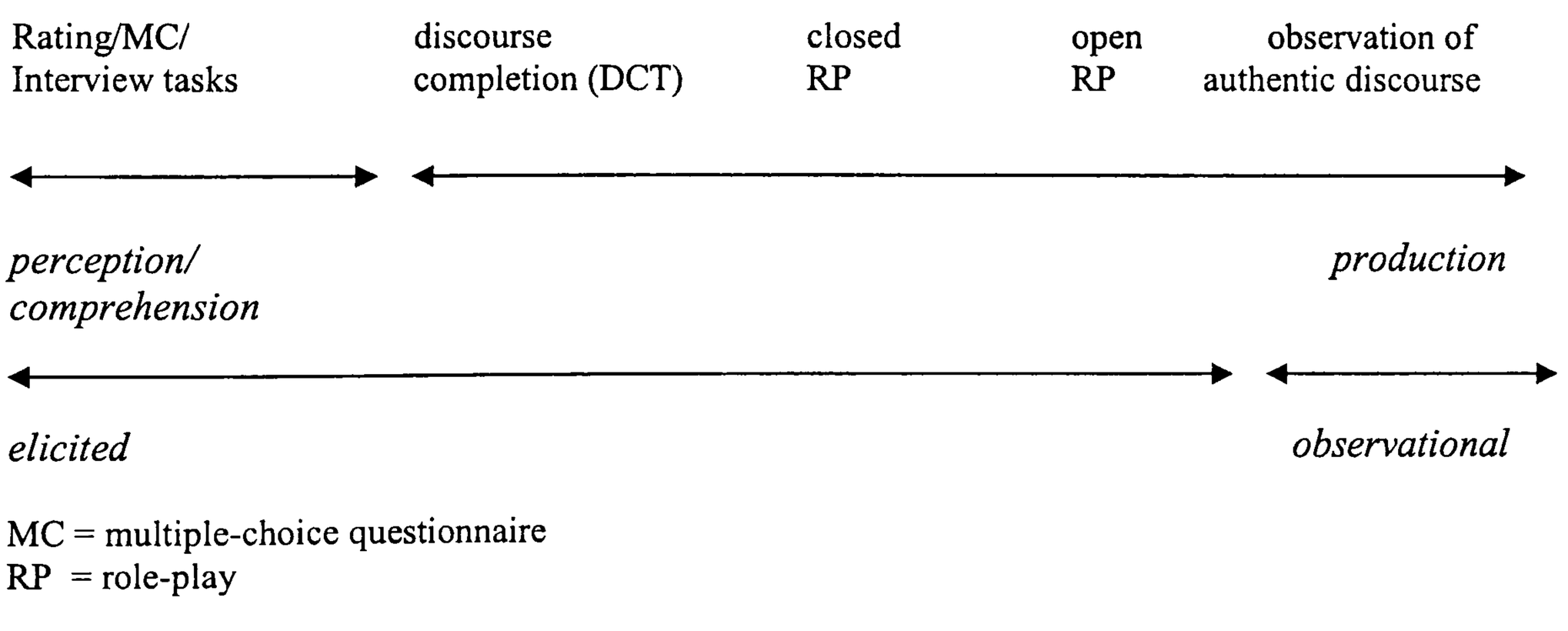


Figure 3. 1 Data collection methods in relation to modality of language use and degree of control on data

(Reproduced from Kasper and Dahl, 1991:217)

In figure 3.1, the methods on the left-hand side of the continuum—rating tasks, multiple-choice questionnaires and interviews—give information about the

participants' perception and comprehension of pragmatic features under inquiry such as ESL learners' understanding of indirectness and level of politeness. However, of particular relevance to this study is the right-hand side of the continuum, which consists of less constrained methods that gather production data from the participants. These include open role-plays and observation of authentic discourse.

Open role-plays are made up of scenarios which range from everyday situations to specially designed topics that can appear very imaginative (Klippel, 1984; Ladousse, 1987). Role-cards are essential materials to role-plays; the cards tell the students who they are going to be and which situation they are in. The cards give the learners background information they need to draw on when doing a given role-play. Open role-plays, unlike closed role-play, let the students construct and close their conversation and in the way they like, which is usually based on mutual agreement from both parties.

In terms of their application to interlanguage pragmatic research, open role-plays offer researchers some degree of constraint over the participants' production of pragmatic features. In contrast, observational studies obtain data from natural settings and pose no constraint on the participants, as shown in figure 3.1. In spite of this apparent advantage, there can be some unintentional effects arising from the presence of the researchers.

To summarize, while there are a range of data collection methods for interlanguage pragmatic researchers to choose from, each method has its own effect on speech act data and has different strengths and weaknesses. It seems that an appropriate method is the one that can help the researchers to tackle the research questions. Having taken these into consideration, I chose open role-play as the data collection method. This is explained in section 3.2.2 below.

3.2.2 Open Role-plays as Data Collection Method

Open role-plays were employed in this study because they correspond with the research questions in that while allowing the learners to carry on their conversation and adjust their contributions, they enabled the introduction of sociolinguistic factors into the roles, which, in this study, are power and distance between the requesters and

refusers. In this way, it was possible to place the participants at three proficiency levels in similar situations and elicit data accordingly for pragmatic and lexico-grammatical analyses. Thus, open role-plays were preferred to authentic discourse, which imposes no deliberate contextual variables on data.

The second reason open role-plays were chosen was that they allow refusals to be expressed and managed at length so as to capture the kinds of interactional complexities which are shown in the studies that investigate naturally occurring data. As discussed in section 2.4.2 in Chapter Two (p.19), studies in refusals show that refusals are usually expressed over a number of turns and comprise different acts—apologies, excuses or justifications, or requests for information from the interlocutor. Open role-plays allow the participants to co-construct their context and negotiate their way to the end of the talk. This then provides the room for the dynamics of turn-taking, understanding checks, reactions from the interlocutors or feedback from the requester upon hearing the refusal, the development of refusal messages and the modification of linguistic forms of the speech act in stretches of discourse (Kasper and Dahl, 1991:228).

In contrast, as shown in figure 3.1 above, DCT and closed role-plays, which can be defined as "oral" version of DCT, impose a high degree of constraint on speech act production. The methods do not allow the participants to modify their messages or to use face-saving manoeuvres, which are characteristics of natural data and data elicited from open role-plays. This different impact of elicitation techniques on the target speech act was exemplified in Beebe and Cummings' (1996) comparison of refusals gathered from a written DCT and telephone conversations, as discussed in section 2.7.5.1 of Chapter Two (p.42). That is, open role-plays provide an interactionally and linguistically richer data source when compared to DCT and closed role-plays.

The third reason for the use of open role-plays was that the range of response types found in open role-play data, according to studies that looked into methodological issues in interlanguage pragmatics, are similar to that found in authentic discourse. In his appraisal of pragmatic elicitation methods, Turnbull (2001) compared refusals to requests elicited from written and oral DCTs, open role-plays

and authentic discourse. He noted that refusals elicited from the two versions of DCTs differed greatly from those gathered from open role-plays and naturally occurring refusals in terms of types of acts the participants used to accomplish refusals. A wider range of acts were found in open role-plays and natural refusals, such as "hold" that is, chunks or sentences that the speaker used to buy time in replying to the requests—"hold on a second. What do I have next week?", and "deferral attempts" such as "Can I get back to you?". Also, similar types of acts and structure of head refusals were detected in open role-plays and natural data. Therefore, it could be said that open role-play data seem to be closer to what we can expect from naturally occurring data.

Despite the aforementioned advantages, open role-plays have some drawbacks too. However, in this study, attempts have been made to minimize any possible negative impact of the methodology on the data. Perhaps the most evident drawback has to do with the possibility that open role-plays, which usually place the participants in hypothetical situations, may pose some excessive imaginative challenges onto the participants; so, it is possible that their actual performance could be undermined (Kasper and Rose, 2002). To cope with this disadvantage, three out of four scenarios in this study allowed the participants to act as themselves—university students—in familiar contexts with situational and visual clues (see also 3.2.2.2) while in one situation the participants had to be a secretary and a site manager of a condominium, a university's residence hall for international staff and students.

To minimize the psychological load and imaginative challenge that open role-plays may have posed on the learners, I arranged two informal meetings with the participants before actual data collection date. The purpose of the meetings was to establish rapport between the researcher and the learners and between the learners themselves as well as to provide opportunity for them to do some open role-plays and discussion activities although they had done open role-plays before in high-school and in English classes.

The second drawback is that role-plays, unlike authentic discourse, do not have actual consequences. As Gass and Houck noted, "...we are left with the question of the degree to which role-plays really mirror the linguistic behavior of

individuals in the particular setting established by the researcher" (1999, p.29). It seems to be virtually impossible to solve this problem because it is intrinsic to role-plays, but a careful design of role-plays, a pilot study, a thorough revision of the pilot study, and visual clues may help to minimize the problem. The quality of the speech acts elicited is then likely to be an adequate reflection of that recorded in authentic discourse although the outcomes of conversation may not always be similar to those found in authentic negotiation between the requesters and the refusers.

To summarize, open role-plays have their advantages and disadvantages, some of which can be minimized. Nevertheless, the advantages of the method were being able to structure the data collection and address the research questions accordingly. That is, because the questions dealt with refusals produced by many participants and the interactional features of refusals, open role-plays seemed to be the most appropriate choice of data collection method.

3.2.3 Pilot study

Because the present study aims to compare the pragmatic and lexico-grammatical qualities of the request-refusal role-plays performed by EFL learners at the three proficiency levels, it was necessary to design role-plays that elicited both speech acts from the learners, and, to some extent, made the learners feel justified to be persistent in their speech act goals. This was to elicit the pragmatic aspects of the talk which included modifications of requests and refusals in stretches of turns and face-saving manoeuvres.

In this section, two pilot studies are reported so as to show how the design of the role-plays was developed before I proceed to the role-plays that were used in the main study.

3.2.3.1 First Pilot Study

In order to construct request-refusal role-play scenarios that were familiar to Thai EFL learners, I contacted some Thai EFL university students via email and had informal interviews with Thai ESL students at the University of Leeds, asking them about the real-life situations in which they had recently refused and requested as well as the situational contexts. Examples of the questions included "who was the

interlocutor?, "what did you and the interlocutor say in your refusals/requests?, "what was said in response to the refusals/requests?", and "was there any negotiation between you and the interlocutor?. The students who shared with me their request and refusal scenarios were not the participants in the main study. Their accounts were used to design open role-plays. Some scenarios in Ladousse (1987) were also adapted as an addition to the situations compiled from the correspondences and informal interviews.

Four open role-plays used in the first pilot study were:

I "Can I join your group?"

A university student is dealing with his/her close friend's request to join his/her report/experiment group. However, the group is already full and the work is going to finish very soon. Therefore, it is very likely that the student is going to refuse the friend.

II "How shall we deal with the Pyramids?"

Two university students are discussing their report project on the Pyramids. One student prefers gathering information from the library and archive and asks the other to do the library search together. The other student prefers the Internet searches and would like to work at home.

III "At the lost property office" (adapted from Ladousse, 1987)

A tourist, who has lost his camera, is talking to a customer advisor at the lost property office of a rail station. The tourist gives an accurate description of the camera but fails to provide his photo ID to the customer advisor, as he left his passport in the hotel safe. According to the office's rule, an ID is needed for the return of the lost item. The tourist's train will be leaving in 10 minutes and the tourist desperately needs his camera.

IV "After an earthquake" (adapted from Ladousse, 1987).

There was an earthquake on a Pacific Island. A government geologist is talking to the representative of the inhabitants. The geologist urges everyone to evacuate the island immediately because an aftershock is looming, but the inhabitants do not want to.

It should be noted that I did not use the word "refusal" in the role-cards so as to avoid potential biases in the data.

The purposes of the pilot study were

- to see if the four role-plays would generate a substantial amount of requests and refusals
- to test the accessibility of the role-plays and their impact on the production of speech acts
- to obtain feedback from the pilot participants for further revision of the role-play design.

Six people agreed to participate in the pilot work: two Thai PhD students, two Korean MA students, and two Thai ESL students. All of the participants were undertaking their courses at the University of Leeds. Their English language proficiency levels varied. The first four could be classified as low-advanced students because their proficiency scores ranged from 6-6.5 on IELTS score band and 254-256 on computer-based TOEFL. The other two were language students and their IELTS score was 4.5.

The pilot data were collected on two different days but the procedures were similar. The role cards were given individually and the roles were swapped in one role-play after another. That is, student A in the first role-play would act as B in the next task so that each student had two turns at requesting and two at refusing. Each pair were allowed 10-15 minutes to familiarize themselves with the roles and asked to let me know when they were ready. Before starting each role-play, the participants checked their understanding of the situational description and I answered the questions to the participants individually. Apart from when questions that were potentially related to the situational description and mutual understanding of the role-play context were asked, I explained to both participants. After each role-play, there

was a two-minute break. At the end of the last role-play, there was an informal interview with each participant to obtain their feedback on the role-plays and provide an opportunity for them to reflect on their performance.

The role-plays generated a substantial amount of talk from the two pairs. The shortest role-play was 3 minutes and the longest was approximately 8 minutes. The role-plays revealed interesting interactional features such as elaboration of requests and refusals, and linguistic features such as speech act routines and syntactic complexities of justifications of refusals. However, the second role-play (the Pyramids) elicited more suggestions and rejections than requests and refusals.

There were also three main problems I encountered during the pilot work. First, some students were not familiar with the activity of role-plays and did not stick to the roles even though ample time was allowed and opportunity to ask about the roles was provided. It could be that the situational description was not detailed and specific enough for participants of all backgrounds.

The second problem was that the students were reluctant to start the conversation. Two of them explained that they were a bit confused because the description in the second and the fourth role-plays did not specify which party was to talk first.

The third problem was that the last task "after the earthquake" did not generate many refusals from both interlocutors and, according to the participants, the roles and the situation were too hypothetical to enact. Further, three participants commented that they were not familiar with the situation in the role-play "at the lost property office", in which a customer adviser at the lost property desk was supposed to refuse to return the camera to the tourist who claimed to be the owner. Thus, it was necessary that the designs of the role-plays were revised and another pilot conducted to re-assess the revised data collection tools.

3.2.3.2 Second Pilot Study

Due to the problems encountered in the first pilot study, I made major changes in the design of the role-plays. The first one was the use of sociological factors involved in interactants' assessment of the degree of face-threat and use of politeness strategies as

described in Brown and Levinson's theory (1987). According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 74-76), weightiness of a face-threatening act (W) is a result of the interactants' calculation of power (P), social distance (D) and ranking of imposition (R), which can all be culture-specific. In this study only P and D were taken as factors in the design of role-plays because they are likely to be less subjective than R. In my view, R and resultant W are susceptible to perception and assessment of individuals and therefore can be quite subjective in the design of role-plays.

Power (P) and social distance (D) were used to create possible situations in which refusals to different interlocutors could occur. The two factors were distributed evenly to four role-plays. The symbols + and – were used to indicate the asymmetry between the requester and the refuser in each role-play situation. For instance, the sociological factors between two close friends were P-, D-. That is, they are of equal status and the distance between them is very minimal.

Another change I made was to replace the problematic role-plays. The role-play "after the earthquake" was replaced with "stranger at the door" which was adapted from a role-play situation used in Gass and Houck's study of interlanguage refusals performed by American native speakers and Japanese learners (1999). The situation was that a student in an apartment had to refuse access to a stranger who claimed to be a friend of the host who was not at home at the moment. In this role-play situation, the power and distance between the requester and the refuser were P-, D+.

The role-play "at the lost property office" was replaced by "at the undergraduates' computer room", designed by the researcher, in which a student had to refuse a teaching assistant who wished to use the room after hours (P+, D-).

The role-play "can I join your group?" (P-, D-) remained unchanged, and, to balance out the distribution of the variables, "how shall we deal with Pyramids" had to be replaced by "meeting the condominium manager" in which a secretary had to refuse a resident who requested an immediate meeting with the manager who was in the middle of a meeting (P+, D+).

The last major change made was that description of roles and situations were more detailed and visual clues were provided as extensively as possible. Prompts were also provided for the requesters to tackle the problem of reluctance to start.

The second pilot study was smaller in scale; the revised set of role-plays was piloted with only four participants who represented two extremes of proficiency levels—two advanced EFL PhD candidates and two low-intermediate language students who had just arrived in the UK from Thailand. The procedures were similar to those conducted in the first pilot study.

In terms of amount of data, the role-plays elicited at least two request-refusal exchanges from the two pairs. That is, no participants gave up their speech act goals in the first exchange; however, the advanced participants persisted in their requests and elaborated their refusals more than the low-intermediate speakers, as seen in a greater amount of talk and more request-refusal exchanges. This showed that the revised role-plays were accessible to the low-intermediate participants. In the follow-up interviews, three participants said they felt slightly nervous and the other one was very nervous in the first role-play; however, they all became relaxed with the rest of the role-plays and commented that the situations and roles were not too hypothetical to identify with.

The second pilot work showed that the new set of role-plays was ready to use in the main study; however, it was necessary that the participants feel ready to enact the assigned roles. I then decided to have two sessions of informal meetings and warm up activities for the main study participants so as to reduce potential "spoken test-like" effects.

3.2.4 Design of Role-plays: the Main Study

The role-plays used in the main study were those that had been re- piloted, and, in this section, they are explained. The role-cards for the learners are shown in Appendix I (p. 230).

Role-play I Can I join your group?

P-, D - (status equal, close relationship)

A university student is dealing with his/her close friend's request to join the student's report/laboratory experiment group. The student's group is already full and the report/experiment is almost finished. The student therefore has to refuse or come up with some excuses in response to the friend's request.

Role-play II Stranger at the door

P-, D + (status equal, distant relationship)

A university student is a guest of an exchange student. The host has been out for a while and the student is alone in the apartment. Another student (requester) knocks on the apartment's door. He/she says that he/she is a friend of the host and asking to come in and wait for the host. The guest student is aware that some of the flats in the building and in the neighbourhood have been burgled, and so has to refuse access to the stranger.

Role-play III Meeting the condominium manager

P +, D + (status unequal, distant relationship)

A resident of the university's international condominium (requester) has been trying to have a meeting with the site manager to complain about the quality of the pool water. Today the resident comes to the manager's office to talk to him directly; however, the manager is in a meeting with university administrative staff and the secretary has to refuse the resident.

Role-play IV At the undergraduates' computer room

P +, D- (status unequal, close relationship)

A university student who looks after the computer room/learning centre for undergraduate students has to deal with a request from a teaching assistant who is also a PhD student. The teaching assistant desperately wants to use the room because the computers at the postgraduate centre are temporarily unavailable. It is very likely that the student is going to refuse the request.

3.2.4.1 Contextual Clues for the Participants

It was shown in my discussion of methods in interlanguage pragmatics and pilot study that participants' familiarity with role-play scenarios is important in their role enactment. This would help reduce the cognitive loads they have to bear while performing speech acts. Therefore, contextual and visual clues were provided as extensively as possible to the participants in the main study.

Different versions of role-cards were prepared to make the scenarios sound more realistic and accessible to the participants who were in different majors and universities. In role-play I, two different course names and details of assignments were provided so as to give more reference points to the participants' disciplines—science and humanities.

In role-play II, there were two versions of role-cards. Each version had the name and the location of the apartment which was well-known to the students at each university campus. This was to give contextual and visual clues to the students.

In role-play III, which was probably the most challenging tasks for the students because the assigned roles were quite distant from their own identities, the name of the condominium or residence hall for international staff was provided along with the administration chart of the management team as resource materials for the requesters and refusers. Also, the diary of the manager was given to the secretary, who was the refuser. In both universities where I collected data, there are condominiums or residence halls for international staff and exchange students, and their sports facilities are open to the university students. Social events of the two universities are often held at these places. Therefore, it was likely that the students in the main study had some reference points when performing this role-play situation.

The computer rooms in role-play IV were not something new for the students in the two universities because there are computer facilities for undergraduates and postgraduates in each faculty of the two universities. Students are assumed to be familiar with the rules and regulations for using these facilities, including the opening hours.

3.2.5 C-test and Proficiency Level

A C-test was administered to prospective participants so as to measure and classify them into three proficiency levels: low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced. This was so as to avoid the effect Takahashi and Beebe noted in their 1987 cross-sectional study of pragmatic competence development. The researchers admitted that the approximate-proficiency level criterion, undergraduates versus postgraduates, was not applicable to their EFL participants, who were EFL Japanese students in Japan, because their hypothesis of a positive correlation between proficiency and amount of transfer in refusals was confirmed in the ESL group but rejected in the EFL group: there was virtually no difference in the refusals produced by the less proficient, who were undergraduates, and the more proficient, who were postgraduates. As the researchers noted:

> We did in fact gather data from these two groups *but were not able to ascertain a proficiency difference between them*—at least not from our pragmatic data. It could be that pragmatic competence is not significantly affected by just a few years' difference in school in the EFL context. Or it could be that pragmatic competence in general is affected, but that something so conversational as refusals is not, (p.149, my italics)

A C-test is any cloze test in which a part of missing words is given. Parts of words and the frequency of omitted words are variable. A C-test is usually used to measure the test-takers' language proficiency and thus fulfill the purpose of this study.

The C-test used in this study is a version of a C-test. It consisted of four short self-contained passages of varied topics. The second half of every second words of each passage was deleted while its first and last sentences remained complete. All of the passages were taken from Dörnyei and Katona's study (1992) because the four passages had already been tested for validity with Hungarian EFL undergraduate students (English major) and their results indicated that the tests were not too difficult for the students. Their context was roughly similar to mine in that more than half of the participants were also first and second year EFL university students, although their major was not English.

The four passages contained 81 items (see Appendix II, p. 233). The range of scores that divided the prospective participants into different levels was determined before the test was administered. The low-intermediate level was defined by the score range of 50% - 55% and the intermediate 63%-68%. The advanced participants were those who scored over 92%. To form the advanced participants, postgraduate students were recruited specifically and their proficiency level was measured twice. The participants being postgraduate students, their TOEFL or IELT scores, which are a requirement for entry to postgraduate programs at the two public universities where data collection took place, were taken as the first measurement. Their scores on the standardized tests had to be well over 560 and on the TOEFL and well over 6.5 on the IELT score band. Then the prospective participants in the advanced group had to take the C-test to double check their level and ensure differences proficiency levels across the three groups.

3.3 Selection of Participants

Three proficiency levels—low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced—were used as variables in this study. This did not mean that there are only three stages of English language development for Thai EFL learners. The three levels were selected in this cross-sectional study for two reasons: potential linguistic differences in the performance of refusals, and accessibility of role-plays for the less proficient learners. Firstly, it was likely that data elicited from the low-intermediate learners, considered as one extreme, were going to show some differences in terms of formulaic features when compared with the data from the advanced learners, who were at the other extreme of the proficiency continuum. The intermediate level was chosen as a level in between the two extremes for further comparison of possible linguistic differences: whether the data produced by the intermediate learners differed from those gathered from the low-intermediate and the advanced was worth exploring. This is because if there were not any differences found between the levels, it could be inferred that the quality of language and pragmatics of refusals to requests performed by the learners in the EFL context was not affected by differences in proficiency level. It may also be

inferred that differences in the pragmatic and linguistic aspects of the speech act might not be easily distinguished across proficiency levels in the EFL context.

Accessibility was the second factor: low-intermediate learners were determined as the lowest appropriate level of proficiency for this study because their linguistic resources, despite being limited, still enabled them to perform the open-ended role-play tasks, which were used as data collection methods in this study. Despite the fact that high-beginners were also a possible proficiency level to work with, they were not chosen because the tasks, as described in 3.2.4, seemed rather too linguistically challenging for them, and the cognitive load they had to bear was likely to depress their performance of refusals. Also in terms of amount of data, it seemed likely that the high-beginners would produce too little to analyze compared to what could be expected from the more proficient learners.

An announcement had been made 8 weeks before data collection to obtain responses from potential participants at two public universities in Bangkok, Thailand. In the announcement, the research area, a C-test to recruit people at three levels, maximum length of data collection procedures and payment were stated. It is important to say that the words "refusals" and "requests" did not appear in the announcement nor did the words "low-intermediate", "intermediate" and "advanced". Only degree level—postgraduate and undergraduate— were specified. The purpose of this was to encourage students at various levels to participate and to make the research project sound less intimidating, especially for the less proficient. For those who scored between the percentages, they were informed that their scores did not fit in the levels required by the research project, and it did not mean that they did not score well in the test.

As far as ethical issues are concerned, this study did not pose any disadvantages to the participants. I made it clear to prospective participants in the announcement that the research project had no connection with any research being conducted at the English/Foreign Languages Department in their university and it was not going to affect the English courses they were taking. All of the participants were assured anonymity and protection of their contact details; their names were replaced with participants' ID. For instance, the ID code "L1F" refers to the first low-

intermediate female speaker in the group. Moreover, once the participants finished the role-plays, they were informed of the objectives of the study that is, refusals to requests, and were asked if they would let their recorded performance be analyzed. If the participants agreed, they signed a consent form (see Appendix III, p. 235) and received a mobile top-up voucher or a book voucher worth 200 baht, which was around 3 GBP, as a token of appreciation.

There were around 50 students who were interested in participating and took the C Test; however, it was not possible to get 36 participants (12/level) in one round due to the fact that there were too many students in the high-intermediate score range and few in the advanced. The low-intermediate and intermediate groups were filled first. Nevertheless, I had four spare participants in each of the two groups in case any pair dropped out or in case there were clashes in schedule, which of course happened. It took more time to find 12 participants for the advanced group and I had to approach postgraduate students in their classes because there were not many people interested in participating.

3.3.1 Participants

As mentioned in Chapter One (p.2), the participants in the main study were 36 Thai EFL students from two public universities in metropolitan Bangkok. Twenty four of the participants were undergraduate students, who formed the low-intermediate and intermediate groups, and the other twelve were postgraduate students, who formed the advanced group. Their majors were science and humanities other than English. The postgraduate participants were pursuing graduate programs in humanities, social sciences, and engineering. Seven out of 12 postgraduates majored in English in their undergraduate studies.

The majority of the participants (27 people) had never been to an English speaking country. For those who had been to an English speaking country (1 low-intermediate participant, 4 of the intermediate participants and 4 advanced participants), the average length of stay was 1 month. Most of the participants, except for two low-intermediate and two intermediate participants, had been taught by native speakers of English at some point in their language learning. The undergraduate

participants were required to take two compulsory English courses, integrated skills and academic English. English was the medium of instruction for the postgraduate participants, yet they used Thai outside the classroom. The average length of studying English as a foreign language of the participants was 14 years.

3.4 Data Collection Procedures

3.4.1 Pre-data collection procedures

In order to make the participants feel less nervous about performing the role-plays and taking part in the study, I had informal meetings with them prior to actual data collection.

Once the participants were notified that they were going to participate in the project, they were asked to pair up with another student in the same group so as to reduce the potential stress of doing the assigned role-plays with a stranger. If they were unable to form a pair, I helped pair them up with other students in the group. After that, I arranged three time slots for each pair: two were for informal meetings and warm-up activities and the other one was for data collection. Each pair was asked to come to the warm-up sessions together to get used to spoken tasks especially open role-plays. In each session, there were at least two pairs of participants, regardless of their level, doing spoken activities with their partners and conversing with me in English. The activities were selected from Klippel (1984), and *Cambridge Skills for Fluency Speaking 3* (Collie and Slater, 1992). None of the activities were related to refusals; the nearest to the speech act would be expressions of disagreement (see Appendix IV, p. 236). The warm-up sessions also provided an opportunity to try the recording machine, a minidisk recorder, and see if there was any technical problem.

3.4.2 Actual Data Collection

Data were collected from one pair and one role-play at a time. Each pair of speakers was allowed 10-15 minutes to read each role-card and prepare their role-play; however, they were not allowed to talk to each other. They were allowed to ask me if they had any difficulty understanding the role and situational description, e.g.

vocabulary or status of the speaker. There was a 10 minute break after the first two role-plays. At the end of data collection, each participant was asked to fill in their details and learning history and was told that the research was about refusals to requests.

Data were first collected with the low-intermediate and the advanced participants although there were only 6 advanced participants at the time of the first phase of data gathering. Then, the data were transcribed and attention was paid to responses to requests. Aspects of differences and similarities in the role-plays produced by the two groups were noted, for example, the number and variety of apology tokens and length of role-plays. This was to make sure that there were some aspects of differences especially in terms of lexico-grammatical features, at least in the data elicited from the two extreme proficiency levels. Next, I continued collecting data from the intermediate and the rest of the advanced participants.

3.5 Transcribing Role-Play Data

All 72 role-plays were transcribed using simplified conversation analytic transcription conventions (Nofsinger, 1991, see Appendix V p. 242). By "simplified transcription", I mean detailed transcription of prosody or intonation was not attempted. Only a question mark was used to capture rising intonation as featured in yes-no questions and understanding and confirmation checks. Contractions were used in the transcription but did not give a full reflection of connected speech. Transcribed role-plays were then duplicated into two identical data sets or corpora: one was for an analysis of lexico-grammatical features, which were looked at in terms of formulaic aspects, and the other was for an analysis of refusal moves. This will be explained further in Chapter Four.

3.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the justifications for a cross-sectional design and open-ended role-plays as the main data collection method. These can be considered the key features of this study because they enabled the investigation of complex

refusals performed by the learners at different proficiency levels. With the study design and the method, it was possible to achieve a certain degree of balance between the need to place the three groups of the learners under similar refusal scenarios and the need to take into account the dynamics of request-refusal interaction. The designs of the role-plays and pilot studies were also explained. This stresses the importance of conducting a pilot study in speech act production research that uses interactive elicitation methods like role-plays. As discussed, role-play scenarios and roles that are too imaginative and too distant for the participants to identify may not be an effective method to elicit speech acts, which in turn affects the reliability of the study. In the second half of the chapter, the procedures of recruiting the participants and gathering data were explained. Finally, data transcription is reported. In the next chapter, I will explain in more detail the methodology of analyzing data in pragmatic and lexico-grammatical aspects.

Chapter 4

Methodology II: Data Analysis

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a methodology for the analysis of the sociopragmatic qualities of the learners' refusal moves. The chapter begins with a discussion of how refusals were identified and categorized in this data set with reference to previous studies. The next section discusses how other acts in the role-play data were identified and classified. I then describe the process of coding data and how interrater reliability was achieved. Coded data are presented so as to explain how they were analyzed. The notion of "refusal episode", which was used as a larger unit of analysis, is also explained. The second half of the chapter focuses on a methodology for identifying formulaic sequences. This includes how native speaker judges were recruited and how the identification task was carried out.

4.1 Identifying Refusals in Open Role-plays

It was argued in Chapter Three (see p. 58) that refusals gathered from open role-plays are probably as close as we can get to authentic refusals without using naturally occurring data, on the grounds that they can elicit complex realizations of the speech act within the dynamics of conversation. This seems to be the case in this data set, which shows evidence of features found in natural discourse. The four role-plays allowed refusals to be expressed and modified in extended contexts, suggesting that the learners in this study were able to use different acts to convey their refusal intent and were able to adjust their responses to the requesters' reaction. They also used face-saving and interactional features, which are known to be integral to natural spoken language (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In addition to these complexities, refusals in this data set often stretched over a number of turns. As a result of these features, however, the task of analyzing the role-play data is not as straightforward as it might be

in written and oral completion tests, where refusals can often take the form of a single utterance sandwiched between an initiating act and a reply to the refusal.

In this data set, three indicators were used to identify refusals: 1) the form of expression used to convey the illocutionary force of an utterance, i.e. the speaker is performing an act via an utterance, which made it recognizable as a refusal; 2) the interlocutor's apparent interpretation of utterances in context; and 3) features of dispreferred responses as described in studies of conversation analysis. While it could be argued that prosodic factors, especially intonation, could be another way of recognizing the function of utterances, I did not use these to identify refusals because they are outside the scope of my study. However, I did rely on intonation when transcribing certain aspects of the data. Specifically, intonation was more likely to be used to signal declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory functions than to carry the meaning of refusals per se. This is reflected by the use of question marks or exclamation marks in the transcriptions. In the following paragraphs, I explain how each of the three main indicators was used to identify refusals with examples from my data set.

The first indicator is the linguistic forms of utterances. Oftentimes, the function of an utterance is immediately interpretable because its linguistic forms explicitly indicate or are conventionally tied with the function. These are sometimes called "illocutionary force indicating devices" (Levinson 1983: 238). For instance, in the case of refusals, the verb "to refuse" as in "I refuse to do X" and the negative modal "cannot" as in "I can't help you" render the utterances recognizable as the speaker's negative ability to do what is requested. Thus, overt illocutionary force indicating devices are one form of indicators that could be used in the identification of refusals.

However, according to speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969), an action is not always performed explicitly; other linguistic forms can be used to perform an action. This is the case in many refusals in my data, so other means of identifying them are needed. One of these is the interlocutor's interpretation. That is, whether the utterances in question can be identified as refusals depends on how they are understood in context, which is manifested in subsequent turns. Data extract 4.1 below illustrates how the requester's reaction to what was said as a response to his request is helpful in

identifying a refusal. The requester's reaction is in italics and identified refusals are in bold. I7M and I8F are the learners' IDs, which refer to their proficiency level, learner's number, and gender respectively.

Extract 4.1 Intermediate speakers (report)

I7M = Requester

I8F = Refuser

24	I7M:	that's too bad (.) so (.) I (2.0) is it hard for you to let me in your group?
25	I8F:	**um: it's very hard to decide because this group is not only my uh me** (.)
26		**it's have another two people um: yes I want I want to help you** (.) **ok maybe**
27		**tomorrow I will ask my friends but I don't know** (.) **uh they will ok or not**
28	I7M:	(3.0) *it's ok I understand thank you for your help me*
29	I8F:	ok I'll try

Although the utterances in lines 25-27 were not an overt declaration of her unwillingness nor a conventionally formulated refusal, I7M's reaction in 28, which was an attempt to let I8F out of the seemingly awkward situation ("*it's ok I understand…*"), makes it clearer that I7M interpreted I8F's response as a refusal. Furthermore, I8F's commitment to ask for help in line 29 ("*ok I'll try*") suggests that the request was not being granted at the time of the conversation. Thus, it is quite clear that I8F's utterances in 25-27 are a refusal which consisted of different acts.

The third way that helped in recognizing refusals in this data set is a description of features of dispreferred second pair parts in a conversation analytic framework (see section 2.4, p. 18) which are related to the interlocutor's interpretation of previous utterances and to sequences of conversational actions that make up the context of talk.

It could be argued that these signs of dispreferred seconds alone are sufficient to convey a refusal message. Once a request is made, the requester expects a relevant response that is an acceptance or a refusal. Upon hearing the signs of dispreferred second pair parts instead of an immediate acceptance of request, the requester can probably infer that an acceptance is causing the speaker trouble and that a refusal is being projected implicitly. This is because in conversation the interactants' inferential process is working all the time, normally enabling them to understand each other even though what is said may be under- or over-stated (Grice, 1967; Levinson, 1983). Extract 4.2 from my data illustrates this conversation mechanism.

Extract 4.2 Low-intermediate speakers (stranger)

L12F = Requester

L11F = Refuser

8 L11F: oh I think you can't because um Leo not appear here and Leo don't
9 tell me about you (.) please come back again? ((rising intonation))
10 L12F: oh NO I am so TIRed the traffic is very BAD I want to go inside may I
11 come in please?
12 L11F: **um::**
13 L12F: *can you help ME*

L11F's elongated filler "um::" in line12 as a response to L12F's request in the preceding turn was probably signaling L12F that her request was unlikely to be granted. This is reflected in L12F's additional request attempt in line 13. Hence, I decided that delay markers and prefaces would be considered as functionally equivalent to refusals and accounted for in the categorization system. Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993b), Turnbull and Saxton (1997), Gass and Houck (1999) and Turnbull (2001) have also noted the same phenomenon and include these features as integral parts of their categorization of rejections and refusals in extended talk.

Extract 4.3 gives another example of features of dispreferred seconds which can be interpreted as the first sign of a refusal.

Extract 4.3 Intermediate speakers (stranger)

I6F= Requester

I5F = Refuser

5 I6F: my name's Janya uh: he he invite me to have dinner
6 I5F: **dinner?=**
7 I6F: =in in the evening
8 I5F: **um:** (3.0) **I'm sorry he he's not here now**

In line 6, I5F's repetition of part of I6F's request ground seemed to have two functions: a confirmation check and a delaying or time buying device. However, if we look at the sequence of utterances which make up the context, I5F's "dinner?" seemed to fulfill the latter purpose because in line 8 her refusal intent becomes more explicit—a long pause

followed by an apology to mitigate an account of refusal. Thus, lines 6 and 8 are counted as refusals in this role-play conversation.

To some extent, the framework for identifying refusals in the present study is similar to that used by Turnbull and Saxton (1997) and Turnbull (2001) in their studies of the modality and social psychology of refusals to requests; however, there are some differences that should be mentioned here.

Turnbull and Saxton count "a requestee's overall contribution to talk in which a request is made and refused" (Turnbull 2001: 41) as a refusal, which can occur across a number of turns. For instance, "Can you tell me more about the study? Sorry. I'd love to but I'm working then so I don't think I can make it. Thanks anyway. Bye" is identified as a refusal to the request to participate in a psychology experiment. In my study, the concept of a refusal as a "response" to a request is retained; however, not all utterances produced by the requestee in response to a given request are identified as refusals. Instead, what counts as a refusal begins at the first sign of unwillingness, including covert, implicit unwillingness such as the aforementioned delaying devices and prefaces, as seen the examples 4.2 and 4.3 above, and ends when the requester withdraws or when a mutually agreed conclusion has been reached. Therefore, pre-closing and leave-taking turns such as "OK then. Thank you. Bye" contributed by the refuser are not included as refusals. Rather, they are taken as a part of the interactants' mutual attempt to carry on with their facework and bring the conversation to an end. Although the definition of refusals in my study may not be as broad as Turnbull and Saxton's, it is still broad enough to cover a range of elements that the learners might use which could help discriminate between more and less proficient speakers.

4.2 Classifying Refusals: Analytical Categories

Once refusals were identified in the data set, I classified them for analytical purposes. This section discusses classification systems in earlier refusal studies and their usefulness and relevance to my data set. I then present the classification system used in this study, which is based on the "move" or semantic content of utterances that fulfill a

particular pragmatic function. This draws on previous systems with some alterations. I now would like to discuss how refusals have been classified in earlier work.

4.2.1 Categorization of Refusals in Previous Studies

Attempts have been made to classify ways in which people convey refusals. One of them is Rubin's (1983, original version 1976), where she presented different ways of saying "no" which she claimed were found in many cultures. Her categorization was based not only on a form-function relation inherent to refusals ("negation" in her terms) but also perceived social and cultural values that underlay the speaker's choice of what and how s/he said no. Rubin's classification of the speech act of refusal is as follows (p.12-13).

1. Be silent, hesitate, show lack of enthusiasm
2. Offer an alternative
3. Postponement
4. Put the blame on a third party
5. Avoidance
6. General acceptance of offer but giving no details
7. Divert and distract the addressee
8. General acceptance with excuses
9. Say what's offered is inappropriate

Rubin's categorization gives us a glimpse of the complexity of refusals to offers, to requests, to invitations and to suggestions; the speech act can be realized in different ways which go well beyond saying 'no'. However, there is one caveat: Rubin's classification was drawn from her collection of examples of refusals in different cultures and observations in sociolinguistic studies. We have little information as to how refusals were recognized in those data sources. This could affect the general reliability of the classification system from the perspective of an applied linguist.

Another categorization system and perhaps the most well-known one in interlanguage refusal research is that of Beebe et al. 1990 (original version Takahashi and Beebe, 1987). Their system was also adjusted and used in other interlanguage refusal studies (for example Beebe and Cummings, 1995; Sairhun, 1999; Nelson et al., 2002a, 2002b; Barron, 2003).

Beebe et al's basis for the classification of refusals was the notion of "semantic formula", which the researchers defined as a word, a phrase, or a sentence used to

perform refusals (Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1993b; Cohen, 1996). In their scheme, semantic formulas were grouped into two headings: direct and indirect refusals. In addition to these, there were adjuncts to refusals or expressions that co-occur with refusals but which did not function as a refusal when standing alone. The categorization is presented below in figure 4.1.

I. Direct
   A. Performative (e.g., "I refuse")
   B. Nonperformative statement
      1. "No"
      2. Negative willingness/ability (e.g., "*I can't*", "*I don't think so*")

II. Indirect
   A. Statement of regret
   B. Wish (e.g., "*I wish I could help you*")
   C. Excuse, reason, explanation
   D. Statement of alternative
   E. Set condition for future or past acceptance
   F. Promise of future acceptance
   G. Statement of principle (e.g., "*I never do business with friends*")
   H. Statement of philosophy
   I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (e.g., threat, self-defense, request for help, empathy and assistance by dropping or holding the request)
   J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal (e.g., lack of enthusiasm or indefinite reply)
   K. Avoidance
      1. Nonverbal (e.g., silence, do nothing or physical departure)
      2. Verbal (e.g., topic switch, repetition of part of request, postponement and hedging)

Adjuncts to refusals
1. Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement
2. Statement of empathy
3. Pause fillers
4. Gratitude/appreciation

Figure 4.1 Full listing of classification of refusals and examples used in Beebe et al's study (1990:72-73)

Beebe et al's classification bears a general resemblance to Rubin's, both of which reflect the complexity of refusals of different initiating acts. However, Beebe et al's

system differs in that it was built to account for refusals elicited from written discourse completion tests where the identification of refusals was straightforward.

Because it has been considered to be reliable and comprehensive, Beebe et al's system has become well-established and has been extensively used to categorize data in cross-linguistic refusal studies. Nevertheless, some researchers have argued for additional categories (for example Morrow, 1995; Gass and Houck, 1999) and for the omissions of some categories (Nelson et al., 2002a, 2002b) to account for different data types, different methodology and different initiating acts. For instance, Gass and Houck (1999) videotaped the role-plays between their participants, who were American hosts and ESL Japanese students. They found that the refusers, the students, used back channel behavior and non-verbal behavior such as head movements to reinforce their messages differently from the native speakers, which, oftentimes, caused misunderstandings in the students' expression of refusals. In addition to these, acts might also be expected to be more fragmented in speech and presumably this would not be covered in Beebe et al's system.

In his study of pragmatic elicitation techniques for refusals to requests, Turnbull (2001) had two sets of categorizations for open role-plays: 1) acts that occurred in refusals and 2) types of refusal of compliance. Turnbull arrived at these two sets because of the broad criteria by which he identified refusals. According to his framework, every utterance produced by the requestee was counted as a refusal and the head refusal itself, or "refusal of compliance" in his terms, can be expressed in different ways.

Turnbull's categorization is given in full here because of its relevance to my study: both studies investigate refusals to requests and use open role-plays. Figure 4.2 overleaf shows the two sets of categorization in his study. Examples of utterances are in italics.

Categorization of acts that occurred in refusals

1. Apology
2. Acceptance of apology
3. Acceptance of compliance
4. Acceptance of refusal
5. Acceptance of thanks
6. Confirmation
7. Deferral Attempt
8. Endorsement
9. Excuse
10. Hold
11. Pre-closing
12. Positive regard
13. Request for confirmation
14. Refusal of compliance (or "head refusal")
15. Request for information
16. Supplying of information
17. Thanks

Types of refusal of compliance

1. Negate request ("*No I don't think so*")
2. Indicate unwillingness ("*Then I guess I would prefer not to do it*")
3. Performative refusal ("*Then I'll have to say no*")
4. Negated ability ("*I just couldn't make it that early*")
5. Identify impeding event/state ("*Oh but I have to work on that day*")

Figure 4.2 Categorization of acts that occurred in refusals and types of refusal of compliance in Turnbull's study (2001: 49, 54)

A strength of Turnbull's categorization system is his inclusion of interactional features such as "hold" ("*hold on a second, I'll just look*"), "deferral attempt" ("*can I get back to you?*") and request for confirmation" ("*7 in the morning?*") that the refusers used in the role-plays. This gives some useful elements for a framework for further studies because, as I have discussed in Chapter Three and section 4.1 of this chapter, these features are integral to conversation, particularly to negotiation between the requester and the refuser.

In terms of categories for refusals of compliance, we can see some similarities between Turnbull's and Beebe et al.'s systems as well as Rubin's. For example, Turnbull's "indication of unwillingness" is equivalent to Beebe et al's "negative willingness". His "impeding event/state" is also similar to "excuse/reason" in Beebe et al's categorization. A slight difference between the two systems is that Turnbull distinguishes "negated ability" from "indicate unwillingness" while Beebe et al. consider the two categories as conveying the same meaning and group them together under the label of "negative ability/willingness". Beebe et al's categorization subsumes Turnbull's; all of the refusal categories on Turnbull's list are found in Beebe et al's.

To a large extent, the classification systems used by both Beebe et al. and Turnbull are capable of accounting for my data. Most utterances identified as refusals in my data could fit in Beebe et al. and Turnbull's categories. However, I did not adopt Turnbull's categorization system in my study because of the difference between his definition of refusals and mine. While Turnbull made a distinction between acts that the refuser performed in expressing his/her refusal intent and the head refusal (or refusal of compliance), I did not do so, as explained in section 4.1 above. Nor did I take all utterances produced by the refuser as refusals.

Because of its general reliability and comprehensiveness as discussed at the beginning of this section, I decided to adapt Beebe et al's scheme, which embraces Turnbull's types of refusals of compliance (his second level of classification) as well as many of the acts that he recognizes as occurring in refusals. Rubin's system was not chosen because it was not based on a first-hand data source and the categories were not able to accommodate my data set.

An advantage of adapting Beebe et al's scheme is that it is possible to compare the results with those of other refusal studies. However, I had to make some adjustments because there were not many instances of some categories. Also, some of Beebe et al's categories were omitted because they were not found in my data. Section 4.2.2 below addresses the process of adjustment to the categories in detail.

4.2.2 Categorization of Refusals in the Present Study

This section presents the categorization of refusals in this study which uses the notion of "move", referring to the semantic content of utterances, as a basis of categorization. The system contains a categorization of refusal moves and a set of interactional features associated with refusals.

4.2.2.1 Segmentation of Refusals: Moves

In section 4.1, I showed that the size of identified refusals varied, ranging from minimal vocalizations (e.g., elongated fillers) to a long turn which consisted of different acts. An immediate problem arose as to how complex refusals, or refusals that contained two or more acts in one turn, could be segmented for categorization. To tackle this problem, the notion of move, a term originating in discourse analysis, is modified and used in this study.

The term "move" was introduced in the early work of discourse analysis (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981; Edmonson, 1981). According to discourse analytic tradition, utterances can be segmented into units or utterance units which correspond to at least one unit act or move. Further, each move has a specifiable function, such as opening move, answering move or follow-up move (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:26-27).

In the present study, the notion "move" is modified and defined as a *minimal utterance unit that is able to fulfill a pragmatic function.* Thus, a "refusal move" refers to an utterance unit that is used to convey the speaker's refusal intent. The boundary of each refusal move is judged by its semantic content. Refusal moves can accompany one another to constitute a refusal to request. There is at least one move that functions as a central declination component while the others usually mitigate the face-threat of the refusal (e.g. expression of regret, explanation and proposal of alternative). For instance, let us look at data extract 4.4 overleaf, which illustrates a long turn of refusal that is divided into moves. The boundary of each move is indicated by brackets [ ] and the coding of refusal moves is marked in boldface in the left margin.

Extract 4.4 Low-intermediate speaker (stranger)

Requester = L6F

Refuser = L5F

	6	L6F	yeah I think so (.) I've never seen you too but I'm so tired
	7		you know there is traffic jam (.) I want – oh can I go uh go in?
Apology	8	L5F:	[I'm afraid] [I cannot] [coz he he didn't tell me about this] and
Neg + Reason1	9		[right now he didn't um and right now he is going outside]

Elements in L5F's utterances in lines 8 and 9 were identified as refusals which consist of different moves. By looking at the semantic content of the utterances and their functions, I segmented them into moves. The first one is an apology ("*I'm afraid*"), a preface to the statement of negative ability ("*I cannot*") which carries a central illocutionary force of refusal. The other two refusal moves are reasons or explanations why the speaker had to refuse the request to enter the apartment and wait for the host. These moves altogether convey L5F's refusal intent and attempt to be cooperative while being non-compliant.

Following the definition of "move" proposed above, I distinguished utterances that could be segmented into refusal moves from fillers or delaying markers such as "oh", "uh::" or "well" which were, in general, pragmatically associated with the speakers' expression of refusals and in some cases pragmatically equivalent to refusals. These were classified as "interactional features associated with refusals" as opposed to refusal moves. This distinction was made because the pause fillers and markers did not fit in the definition of move which refers to the semantic content of an utterance. That is, the fillers and markers were not semantically transparent although they helped the interlocutor to figure out the speaker's intent.

The modified definition of "move" still retains the original concept of an utterance unit that can be used to fulfill a speech act function. What is different is its particular reference to the speech act of refusals. It should be noted that I do not have a theoretical motivation rooted in discourse analysis for my adoption and modification of the term "move". It is modified for practical purposes. The notion "move" is used to segment identified refusals into analytical units and to avoid terminological confusion with the term "semantic formula". Conceptually speaking, the term "move" in this study is similar to Beebe et al's "semantic formula" in that both are centered on an

utterance meaning which fulfills a particular function. Both "semantic formula" and "move" reflect the complexity of refusals: refusals can be expressed in a combination of semantic formulas and refusal moves can accompany each other. Both "semantic formula" and "move" are used as a basis for the categorization of refusals, enabling the researchers to look at the content and linguistic features in each category. However, the term "move" is preferable for my purposes. This is because the other part of my analysis is to do with the use of formulaic sequences in the participants' corpus, as we shall see in Chapter Six, and if the term "semantic formula" were used, it could be confused with formulaic sequences. In contrast, the modified version of "move" does not seem to be misleading: it does not have an implication of an utterance being a formula or being formulaic.

4.2.2.2 Categories of Refusal Moves

In this subsection, my categorization of refusal moves is explained and presented along with a set of features that are pragmatically associated with refusals but are not given the status of "move". In this data set, there were instances of elongated fillers that occurred as a response to requests and functioned as a refusal, as judged by the interlocutor's reaction. For instance, an elongated filler was recognized as a refusal when the requester made another request attempt upon hearing the filler as a response to a request. The elongated filler helped indicate that the requestee was having a problem complying with the request, leading the requester to repeat or modify the request.

In 4.2.2.1, I have discussed how identified refusals were segmented into moves, or into the semantic content of utterances that fulfil a pragmatic function. Segmented refusals were then categorized according to their moves. As mentioned earlier, refusals in my data set resembled those in Beebe et al's categorisation system which was also meaning based. Therefore, category labels in my study were taken from Beebe et al's study wherever the description of their categories was able to accommodate adequately refusal moves in my data set. The labels adopted from Beebe et al's scheme are "*negative ability/willingness*", "*apology/regret*", "*proposal of alternative*" and "*reason*".

The definitions of some categories as well as their labels were changed slightly to accommodate refusal moves that emerged from my data. I shall now explain how and where such alterations were made which were necessary for four categories. First, "*repetition of part of request/info elicit question*" were sub-categories of Beebe et al's "*avoidance*", but in my categorisation, I had "*repetition of part of request/information elicit question*" as a separate category of refusal move. I did not use the category "avoidance" because it assumed an underlying strategic motivation of the refuser. The label "*repetition of part of request/information elicit question*" is a more precise description of what the refuser was doing in response to a request.

Second, I used the label "*pseudo-agreement*" instead of Beebe et al's "*positive opinion/agreement*" to account for utterances, the semantic content of which was the speaker's attempt to express his/her wants to comply with the request followed by the coordinator "but" which might be considered as a refusal marker such as "yes but…" or "I want to help you but…". The reason for this alteration was that a label that covered both the speaker's agreement and the 'but' was needed, but Beebe et al's "positive opinion/agreement" was not functionally precise enough. Beebe et al. classified "*positive opinion/agreement*" as an adjunct to a refusal, which alone did not constitute a refusal, because they did not include the coordinator 'but'. Therefore, the term "*pseudo-agreement*" seemed more pragmatically accurate. Pseudo-agreement is a negative politeness strategy in Brown and Levinson's framework (1987). However, in my categorization. the label refers to semantic content of the utterances that fulfill the function of prefacing a refusal rather than a distinction between positive or negative politeness.

The third point of alteration was to do with the label and definition of "*postponement*". In Beebe et al's system, "*postponement*" came under the category "*avoidance*". Instead, I singled out "*postponement*" and made it a category that covered the utterances that indicated the speakers' attempt to postpone their compliance to a request by promising or by agreeing to comply with the request in the future. Because there were quite a few occurrences of postponement moves in the data set, the category is more inclusive than Beebe et al's original "*postponement*", subsuming also their "*promise of future acceptance*" and "*acceptance that functions as a refusal*".

Utterances that expressed postponement were categorized as a type of refusal move in role-play conversation, because the method posed no actual consequence of postponement: the speaker may have opted for postponement to bring the conversation to an end after a series of request-refusal exchanges.

The fourth and last category to which some alterations were made was "*appeal for empathy*". In Beebe et al's scheme, it was a subcategory of "*attempt to dissuade the interlocutor*" along with "*threat*" and "*request for help*". I did not adopt Beebe et al's category in its entirety because I did not find utterances that fit in the other sub-categories which could convey a general sense of "*attempt to dissuade the interlocutor*".

In addition to the aforementioned alterations, I added "*alignment*" to my classification of refusal moves because there were none of these in Beebe et al's scheme. "*Alignment*" refers to utterances that convey the speaker's attempt to minimise any discrepancy or conflict arising in the conversation, particularly from the fact that the request was not being granted.

Table 4.1 below shows a full listing of categories of refusal moves in the present study and examples from the data set. Utterances that fit in each category of refusal move are underlined.

Table 4.1 Categorization of refusal moves and examples from data

Categories of refusal moves	Description/Gloss	Examples
1. *No*		"no::"
2. *Negative ability/willingness*		"I'm sorry I can't do that" "I don't think so"
3. *Reason*	The speaker's explanation of why a refusal is being made.	"this is not my place you know" "but you're not an undergrad student"
4. *Apology/regret*		"I'm sorry he not want to be disturbed" "I'm really sorry because I have to close the computer room …"
5. *Proposal of alternative*		"I think you can go to the apartment under floor and come back again" "I will help you but uh let we go

		to the computer building your work there because this room is for only um undergraduate…."
6. *Pseudo agreement*	The speaker's expression of his/her willingness to comply with the request or to agree with the proposed action followed by 'but' which indicates the non-compliant intent. The category subsumes tokens of disclaimer as well. Disclaimers were found only twice in the whole data set so have categorized under this label.	"I really want to help you but I have to say sorry" "I want to help you but I can't"
7. *Repetition of part of request*; *Information elicitation*	Questions the requestee asks the requester which mark a first sign of refusal. These questions contribute to structural complexity of refusals to requests.	"me?" "my group?" "but but why do you want to change your group?"
8. *Postponement*	Promise, half-hearted agreement to comply with the request once a particular condition is met.	"I will talk to my group member and will tell you" "ok I will ask them and I will answer your question tomorrow ok?"
9. *Appeal for empathy*		"yes it's my duty (.) could you please uh understand?"
10. Alignment	Face-saving feature that is integral to performance of refusals: solidarity maintenance; the speaker's attempt to resolve discrepancies or problems arising in the conversation.	"…I think you and your group should should see your advisor to discuss about your problem and ask her what what should you do I think it can make you work together better (.) because at first my group had some problem too but (.) after I saw the professor I I and the other can work very well and my report is almost done"

In addition to the refusal moves listed in table 4.1 above, there are interactional features which, in this data set, were found to be pragmatically connected to refusals. The first category is the "elongated fillers" which suggest the speaker's hesitation to go on with his/her turn. In this data set the features were found to function as a preface to other refusal moves. There were two occurrences of elongated fillers that were functionally the equivalent of refusals, as seen in additional request attempts made by the interlocutor. Extract 4.5 illustrates this pragmatic function of elongated fillers.

Extract 4.5 Low-intermediate learners (report)

Requester = L5F

Refuser = L6F

31 L5F: …so please uh let me join your group first and
32 L6F: um::
33 L5F: it's uh the report is due next week

The second category is "dispreferred second markers" such as "oh" and "well". These markers preface other refusal moves. They indicate the speaker's reaction to a request such as hesitation or surprise, suggesting that the speaker may be thinking of something else rather than compliance, which could have been done more or less immediately, as illustrated in extract 4.6 below. The dispreferred markers are underlined.

Extract 4.6 Intermediate learners (stranger)

Sample a) Requester = I2F

Refuser = I1F

27 I2F: oh so many people out (.) people there (.) can I come come in the room?
28 I1F: oh
29 I2F: please

Sample b) Requester = I10F

Refuser = I9F

11 I10F: so can can I go inside and wait for him
12 I9F: well (.) I think he's coming back in twenty minutes could you please waiting outside?

In Beebe et al's scheme, these features, as shown in the extracts above, were classified as adjuncts to refusals, which, according to the definition proposed by the researchers, did not constitute a refusal when standing alone. However, in my study, there were instances of elongated fillers that were pragmatically equivalent to refusals, and the features illustrated in extracts 4.5 and 4.6 were found to be integral to the data and pragmatic aspects of refusals. Thus, they were given the status of interactional features pragmatically associated with refusals instead of adjuncts to refusals.

To summarize, the categorization system of refusals in my study is based on the notion of "move", which is modified from "moves" or utterance units in discourse analytic studies. The system in this study consists of two sets of categorizations: refusal moves and dispreferred features which are known to be integral to refusals. The categories of refusal moves are adapted from those in Beebe et al's system.

4.3 Interactional Function Categories

Even though refusals were the main focus, other acts and interactional features were bound to occur in the role-plays. These acts and features are important to the present investigation because they reflect the pragmatics of request-refusal interaction which involves adjustments of request and refusal moves and negotiation of a mutually agreed outcome. Hence, in addition to the tasks of identifying and classifying refusals, these acts and interactional features needed to be identified for the purposes of coding and analyzing pragmatic qualities of refusal moves. In this section, I describe how they were recognized and categorized.

4.3.1 Identifying Acts as Functional Categories

Like refusals, other speech acts that the participants used to perform the four role-plays were recognized by 1) an illocutionary force indicating device (Searle, 1962: 2) the interlocutor's interpretation of utterances and surrounding sequences of utterances. I adopted a conversation analytic perspective on the data, and used illocutionary force indicating devices and evidence of the interlocutor's understanding of utterances as a preliminary data analysis tool in making sense of the transcription. Data extract 4.7 illustrates how these indicators were used in combination to identify different acts.

Extract 4.7 Advanced speakers (computer)

A2F = Requester

A1F = Refuser

Alerter	1	A2F:	Suda ((A1F's name)) oh it's VERY good to see you here
Info elicit Q	2	A1F:	what happen
Answer (RQ	3	A2F:	you know I have to work (.) I have to hand in my work to the

Ground)	4		Modern Language Journal you know and I have to correct
	5		some part of it (.) ((flipping paper) and my –
Continuer	6	A1F:	uh huh I see you need to use a computer
Confirm ground	7	A2F:	ye:::s oh God it's very important you know it's very urgent uh-
+ Info elicit Q	8		are you closing now?
Answer	9	A1F:	yeah in five minutes you know
Request	10	A2F:	oh my goodness you know (.) can you spare me for half an hour?

The utterance in line 1 was labeled "alerter" because A1F did not seem to take it as a greeting; the reply "*what happen*" seemed to suggest that the speaker had a different interpretation of "*oh it's VERY good to see you here*", probably sensing that A2F's requestive move was going to be projected. This was shown clearly in lines 5 and 6, where A1F figured out rightly A2F's request intention and A2F's response in line 7 confirmed the interpretation. Let us now turn to the utterance in line 8. Its linguistic form, subject verb inversion, is a question. However, in terms of pragmatic function, it was an information eliciting question or a preparatory question which the requester used to check the conditions necessary for a request. This interpretation seems right because the request "*can you spare me half an hour*?" emerged in line 10.

Acts and interactional features found in the data set were labeled according to their pragmatic functions. The labels were taken from the description of adjacency pairs, insertion sequences and the analysis of the structure of conversation in CA studies, such as "summons-answer" "greeting-greeting", "request-refusal/acceptance" or "question-answer" (Schegloff, 1972; Levinson, 1983; Heritage, 1984). These were then grouped together under the categories of interactional function—an inclusive categorization consisting of all the acts that appeared in the role-plays except refusals. This is because refusals had their own classification system, which have been presented in tables 4.1 above.

In a semi-natural data set like the one in the present study, a large number of speech acts are usually involved. For instance, when a requester persists in his/her speech act goal, he/she may choose to elaborate the request, cajole or appeal to the refuser. Pragmatically speaking, these adjustments of requests may put pressure on the refuser to comply with requests in different ways and these may affect the refuser' choice of refusal moves. For instance, in response to these modified requests, the refuser may feel compelled to justify his/her refusal, give an alternative or ask for

agreement from the requester. This may lead to a sequence of information – eliciting question and answers, or a sequence of suggestions and rejections. Also, it is possible that the pragmatic use of these acts and interactional features may be related to proficiency level, which is relevant to the scope of the first research question. Therefore, a complex categorization system, in addition to that of refusals, was needed. Table 4.2 provides a full listing of interactional function categories, in no particular order, along with a description of each one and examples from the data set.

Table 4.2 Interactional function categories, description of categories and examples from data.

Interactional function categories	*Description*	*Examples*
1. Summons	A call for attention which can be verbal or non-verbal (e.g. a knock on the door or a telephone ring).	"((knocking)) hello" "Ratana are you in there?"
2. Answer to summons	A response to summons.	L12F: ((knocking)) L11F: I'm coming ((opening the door))
3. Information eliciting question	A feature by which the speaker asks for more information. Functionally speaking, it could be a preparatory question for a request; the requester may use this act to assess the situation or build shared background knowledge for a further request move.	L2M: Is closing room-is it closing soon? L1F: yes it is closing soon A9F: yes but but he invited me to pack um his baggage to (.) move to (.) the new apartment A10F: oh: and do you know when he come back?
4. Answer	An act by which the speaker responds to the earlier question. The answer could function as a request ground or a first sign of refusal.	I2F: is everything ok? I1F: um:: (.) not really good I2F: oh why? I1F: um: I have a big problem with my project (.) with my report you know (*I1F's request was gradually projected*) I8F: oh my friend Leo uh I have an appointment with him is he uh here now? I7M: no he's not here now (.) he never tell me that he have a me-he has someone to met today (*I7M's answer to I8F's question*

		was later repeated and used as a reason for his refusal to I8F's request to enter the apartment)
5. Greeting	In this data set, greetings occur in the beginning of the role-plays; the participants greet each other to open their talk. A response to greeting could develop into a request ground.	L1F: how are you? L2M: alright I'm fine thank you and you L1F: I'm not fine (L1F = Requester)
6. Alerter	An act by which the requester signals his/her upcoming request or request ground.	"...ah I've got a problem to talk to you" "hi Taniya can I talk for a few minutes?
7. Request	An act by which the speaker asks the interlocutor to do something.. Requests can be persistent and were marked so in the process of coding. "Persistent request" refers to requests that were repeated for the third time despite previous refusals. The content of requests can be specific as well as underspecified which was bracketed in the process of assigning categories.	"how about the experiment can I join your group?" "…so I need your help" (underspecified content)
8. Elaborated request	A request that is more detailed than the prior one. Usually a request is elaborated by additional request grounds.	"but um you know what I really need to see him today because tomorrow I'm not gonna be available I need to work and do many things (.) also I have to clean my room and see friend and everything (.) I really need to see him today"
9. Appeal	An act by which the requester asks for assistance from the interlocutor.	I2F: so sorry so (.) sorry I1F: you don't help me I2F: I want to [help you] I1F: [oh I really] need your help
10. Minimised request	The requester's attempt to reduce the weightiness of his/her request.	"can you help me uh I I need to work very much uh I I just use it uh for a few minutes"

11. Rejection/disagreement	A response to offer, statement of alternative, or suggestion. It is an act by which the speaker shows his/her disagreement with what has been offered, proposed or suggested. It suggests the speaker's unwillingness to accept the offer, suggestion or alternative action being proposed.	A4F: ….well I think you can leave your message = A3F: = MESSage well well well L12F: but you know Sairung I know you for years I11F: it's not that point
12. Offer	An act by which the speaker shows his/her willingness to do something for the interlocutor.	"…I will treat you after that" "what the work that isn't done I can help you (.) I'm pleased to write the conclusion"
13. Acceptance of offer/suggestion/alternative	The speaker's agreement to take or follow the action proposed by the interlocutor.	L10F: um: uh let me see (.) uh ok I will take your problem to consult with my members L9F: sounds GREAT (.) THANK YOU…"
14. Acceptance of refusal	The requester's agreement to withdraw his/her requestive move.	"okay okay goodbye"
15. Compliance of request	The speaker' agreement to perform the action requested of him/her.	"ok let me think it's hard for uh pick you um (.) in this room now um because ((3.0)) um ok ((sigh)) come on in"
16. Thanking	The speaker's expression of gratitude.	"thank you very much" "thank you"
17. Acceptance of thanks	A response to thanking; an act by which the speaker acknowledges prior expression of gratitude.	"you're welcome"
18. Leave-taking	An act by which the speaker says good-bye. An integral part of the speaker's attempt to end their talk but it is not necessarily present in every role-play conversation.	I8F: ok good bye I7M: bye
19. Understanding/Confirmation check	The speaker asks for confirmation of his/her understanding of what has been said earlier.	A4F: oh I'm sorry I don't really know when it's gonna be over but I think in (.) in about two hours A3F: two HOURS?

		"I have to pay for it right?"
20. Asking for agreement	The speaker asks the interlocutor if s/he would accept the proposed action. Possible answers include an agreement/acceptance or a rejection.	"...I think it's uh a couple of days in a couple of days we'll finish our work (.) is that ok for you?"
21. Cajoling	This refers to the requester's attempt to persuade the interlocutor to comply with the request; the requester's attempt to manipulate the relation between the two speakers.	"but you know Sairung I know you for years" "come on it won't be that bad"
22. Continuer	An interactional feature by which the speaker acknowledges his/her receipt of what the interlocutor has just said. A "go ahead" or a signal of comprehension. This category subsumes back channels.	"yeah" "oh ok" "uh huh"
23. Summarising	An interactional feature by which the speaker highlights the main message or the gist of the turn as a part of attempt to make him/herself understood.	" um: it's very hard to decide because this group is not only my uh me (.) it's have another two people um: yes I want I want to help you (.) ok maybe tomorrow I will ask my friends but I don't know (.) uh they will ok or not
24. Cut-off	The speaker's *emphasis* on his/her intention to no longer engage in the conversation.	"I'm sorry ok I'm closing the room now see you later then"

Even though the categories presented in table 4.2 look very detailed, they are needed to account for the sociopragmatic richness of the discourse produced during open role-plays. These acts and features enabled a detailed comparison of 1) the choice of acts the learners used to construct the context of their role-plays, and 2) the modifications of speech act moves in stretches of turns. The comparison helped reveal if the use of these acts and interactional features was related to the learners' proficiency levels, which would constitute the answer to the first research question.

4.4 Coding Data

Using the categorization systems of refusal moves and interactional functions, two raters independently coded all of the data: the researcher and another Thai PhD student in linguistics who is also an EFL instructor. Data extract 4.8 overleaf shows how interactional function and refusal move categories were assigned to the data. The boundary of each category is indicated by brackets [ ]. The categories are on the left hand side and refusal moves are in bold.

Extract 4.8 Advanced speakers (computer)

A12F = Requester

A11F = Refuser

Req (persist)	4	A12F:	but there's nobody here so [I can – maybe I can just use it and no one]-
Apo + Neg +	5	A11F:	oh [I'm sorry to say that Taniya] but [I think that um I can't let you
Alt (1)	6		use the computer now] [can you just go to the doctoral learning
	7		center?]
Rej + Reason	8	A12F:	[NO] [because someone is using that computer] and [she's busy] so
(elaborated)	9		[I decided to go – to come here]
Alt (2) + Apo	10	A11F:	but [I think there are other centers that you can use] (.) [I'm really sorry
Reason (1,	11		about_this] but um: (.) [it's about time too because it's now five thirty]
elaborated)			

The two sets of coded data were then compiled and the interrater reliability rate was calculated by using the formula below (Kim and Hall 2002, p. 336).

$$\frac{\text{Total number of codings agreed upon among two raters x 100}}{\text{Total number of agreed codings + total number of disagreed codings}}$$

The initial interrater reliability was 94.79%, 94.87% and 86.57% in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora respectively. In discussion, the two raters concurred that the advanced corpus was the most complicated one to code. The advanced participants produced longer turns consisting of two or more acts fulfilling different pragmatic functions. Also, there were many insertion sequences within adjacency pairs in the advanced corpus. This may account for why the number of disagreements was highest in the advanced corpus.

In our revision of the coding, the other rater and I discussed the disagreements and asked a native speaker of English who was pursuing her Master's degree in TESOL and had some teaching experience in Thailand to comment on the disagreements. Her comments were used as a final decision in the process of coding. The other rater and I co-coded the data until all of the disagreements were resolved.

4.5 Episodes

In addition to the categorization of refusal moves and interactional functions, episodes were used as units for an analysis of refusals in extended talk. The notion of episode used in this study was adopted from Gass and Houck's study (1999), which investigates non-native refusals elicited from open-ended role-plays. Their definition of episode consists of two parts (1999:57):

1. An episode is bounded on one side by an eliciting act (in this case, a request) and on the other by either dialogue not directly related to the eliciting act or a recycling of the eliciting act.
2. An episode must include some kind of response (e.g., in the form of a perceived refusal or acceptance) directed at or relevant to the opening eliciting act.

Episodes have been discussed elsewhere particularly in discourse analysis. Van Dijk (1982) defined episodes as "coherent sequences of sentences of a discourse, linguistically marked for beginning and/or end, and further defined in terms of some kind of 'thematic unity" (ibid.:177). In van Dijk's framework, episodes are considered to be semantically and psychologically relevant units forming parts of a whole which together involve sequences of events. Furthermore, while being integral parts of a whole, episodes should have some relative independence within the whole sequence.

Gass and Houck's notion of episode is similar to that of van Dijk in that episodes in both frameworks have a clear boundary and can stand alone while being conceived of as part of a whole interaction (Gass and Houck 1999:56). However, Gass and Houck's definition of episodes has no psychological implications, nor does it

involve a sequence of events. This is because the researchers look at episodes within one encounter only, such as an offer-refusal encounter.

Gass and Houck's notion of episode was adopted here because it could capture interactional aspects of request-refusal encounters. That is, in an episode, one could see development and shift in the use of refusal moves. For example, reasons for a refusal may gradually develop from underspecified to more specific, or the refuser may express his/her negative ability first and then a proposal of alternative within one episode. Thus, episodes were considered "macro" units of analysis within which refusal moves or "micro" analytical units could be investigated.

Let us now consider extract 4.9 which illustrates two episodes of refusals to requests. The first episode which is marked by a request begins in line 9 and the second, marked by another request attempt, begins in line 21. The extract is from the fourth role-play involving an undergraduate student who worked part-time as an assistant to the computer technician at a computer cluster for undergraduate students. The requester was a research student and a teaching assistant who had taught the refuser last semester. The cluster was going to close shortly but the requester had to find a computer to work on because s/he had a deadline to meet. The computer cluster for research students was temporarily unavailable. The arrow → indicates the beginning of an eliciting act, a request in this study which also marks the boundary of each refusal episode. It should be noted that there was no other rater involved in the process of assigning the boundary of each refusal episode.

Extract 4.9 Advanced speakers (computer)

A2F = Requester

A1F = Refuser

Episode 1		
RQ (30 mins)	9	A2F: → oh my goodness you know (.) can you spare me for half an hour?
Neg willingness	10	A1F: it's very risky indeed because –
Info elicit Q	11	A2F: really (.) what is it?
Ans— Reason 1 (responsibility)	12	A1F: it's my special job you know –
Reaction to RF	13	A2F: oh::
Elab. Reason 1+ 2 (allowance)	14 15	A1F: yeah it's uh you know (.) it's the only chance I can get er you know special pocket you know

Reaction to RF (exclamation)	16	A2F: but (.) oh God
Rep neg willing	17	A1F: you know it's very risky for me because um you know I have to close
	18	the room on time (.) otherwise um if the
	19	A2F: [a ha]
+ elab reason 1	20	A1F: stock is lost or something is missing I have to take responsibility
<u>Episode 2</u>		
Minimized RQ (5 min)	21	A2F: → how about you know five more minutes
Rep part of RQ	22	A1F: five more minutes?
Rep minimized RQ	23	A2F: *yeah you know just (.) oh goodness just five minutes*
Compliance with minimized RQ	24	A1F: I-I-I know I trust you you know five minutes not more than that
Negotiation (10 min) + ((sigh)) empathy to Ref	25	A2F: *God (.) you know I'll try I'll try you know in this ten minutes I'll try but*
	26	((sigh)) *oh God I-I-I-I understand that you have to close it on time*
Alt 1(central library)	27	A1F: yes yes and-and how about the central library? (.) you can use the computer there
Rej alt 1 + reason (diskette)	28	A2F: they do not allow me to get the diskette in-in-in-in the center-er
	29	the computer center you know-
Compliance (10 min) + **RQ for certainty**	30	A1F: okay but you have to promise me after ten minutes you have to move
Acceptance + Asking for alt	31	A2F: → alright okay uh you know in case I cannot- in case I cannot finish it
	32	in ten minutes from now can—do you know some place else- you know some somewhere else to – for me to finish my work?

The first refusal episode began with A2F's request in line 9 "*can you spare me half an hour*". The first refusal of the episode was in line 10, a negative willingness move which evolved into a refusal reason the content of which is job responsibility. Also, within this episode, it is possible to see the elaboration, shift, and repetition of refusal moves. In lines 14-15, A1F elaborated her reason 1 (responsibility) in response to the reaction of the requester ("*oh::*") and gradually shifted to reason 2 (allowance) which was related to reason 1. A1F's repetition of her negative willingness in line17 ("*you know it's very risky for me…*") gives a different pragmatic force in her delivery of refusal. Because A2F's reaction to previous refusal moves was quite emotional ("*but* (.) *oh God*"), A1F attended to the requester's face by repeating her expression of unwillingness and elaborating the main reason why she was unable to comply with the request. This way, I could be said that A1F gains the credit of being cooperative while clarifying her refusal intent to the requester. This episode ended when A2F resumed another request attempt—this time minimizing her request goal.

The second episode begins with the minimized request in line 21("how about you know five more minutes?"). In this episode, we can see a shift in the use of refusal moves and the refuser's change of mind as a result of negotiation. In response to the request, A1F used "*repetition of part of request*", probably to gain time to think about her next move. The requester's exclamation and appeal in line 23 (illustrated in italics) led to the refuser's compliance with the minimized request. The requester then did not withdraw right away but rather continued to negotiate with A1F to use the computer room for another ten minutes, as seen in lines 25-26 (illustrated in italics). The refuser, then, came up with a proposal of alternative which seems to be used to solve the tension arising between the interlocutors. In the first refusal episode, we do not see this move; the refuser expressed her unwillingness and set of reasons as initial refusal moves. The alternative was, however, rejected in line 28. As a result, the refuser complied with the request and the negotiated time (10 minutes), yet she asked the requester for a definite outcome of the negotiation which led to another episode as marked by an arrow in line 31.

The example shows that episodes help to make visible, in action, any elaboration and shift in the use of refusal moves in relation to the adjustment of requests in extended talk. Refusal moves, then, could be analyzed in episodes, allowing the researcher to gain an insight into the role-play structures and to detect patterns of refusal moves in each role-play situation. From this perspective, episodes seem useful units of analysis that go a long way towards accounting for the richness of refusals elicited from open role-plays.

4.6 Identifying Formulaic Sequences

With the lexico-grammatical features being studied in terms of formulaic sequences, the first task was to define what formulaic sequences were. Given the definition, it was possible to proceed to the task of identification, which, in this study, was carried out by 16 native speaker informants. The method and procedures in identifying formulaic sequences replicated Foster's study (2001), in which spoken tasks produced by native speakers and non-native speakers under different planning conditions—planned versus

unplanned conditions—were compared in terms of lexicalized sequences, which is Foster's term for formulaic sequences.

4.6.1 Working Definition and Criteria

As explained in section 2.8 of Chapter Two (p. 52), Wray's working definition of formulaic sequences has been modified for the purposes of this study. Formulaic sequences are not grammatically made up word by word; rather, they are stored in memory and used as whole to fulfill a particular communicative purpose.

The identification of formulaic sequences in this data set being carried out by native speaker judges (see 4.6.4 below), I made the collective definition sound more accessible by listing some terms commonly used in the field of phraseology to give the informants *some* ideas about combination of words they were going to look for. These included conversational routines (Aijmer, 1996), phrasal lexemes, prefabricated chunks, conventionally formulated expressions, fixed and idiomatic expressions (Moon, 1998), and subsumed fully fixed and partially fixed expressions that is, patterns with open slots. The theoretical framework behind each term, however, was not explained because it was not a major concern in the identification task. The list of terms and examples was given for a practical reason only.

An additional criterion was the learners' versions of formulaic sequences. Each judge was asked to use their teaching experience to label what they considered as the EFL speakers' varieties of formulaic sequences, even when the sequence was not be totally conventionally formulated or formulaically native-like. For example, "*I don't sure*" and "*are you mind if...*" could be considered formulaic despite not being native-like or conventional.

4.6.2 Guidelines and Instructions

An introduction letter and an attached page of guidelines and instructions were sent to each prospective informant (see Appendix VI, p. 243). The documents inform the native speaker judges of the research area, definition of formulaic sequences used in the research, criteria and examples of formulaic sequences, steps to follow when

identifying sequences, time commitment and request for revision. Each informant was asked to work alone when assessing and identifying formulaic sequences and revise their identification. The interval between the first identification and the revision was one week.

4.6.3 Corpora

In order for each NS informant to be able to concentrate on a manageable corpus size and revise their identification, the main corpus (19,067 words, excluding fillers; contractions were counted as one word) was divided into three sub-corpora according to the level—low-intermediate, intermediate, and advanced. However, the proficiency levels were not specified on the corpora. Instead, the corpora were numbered; hence, sub-corpora 1, 2 and 3. In each sub-corpus, there were two columns: the right column was transcription of the four role-plays performed by 12 participants in each level; the left column was for the informants' comments in cases of uncertainty, borderline examples or potential lexicalised sequences in their opinion. The names of each role-play, such as "At the undergraduates' computer room", were given so as to give the judges an overall understanding of the context and perhaps facilitate the task of detecting formulaic sequences in relation to situations in which they were used.

4.6.4 Native Speakers' Intuition as an Approach to Identify Formulaic Sequences

4.6.4.1 Methodological Issues

Formulaic sequences can be identified by two methods: computer search and intuition. Native speaker intuition was used here because the method should enable the participants' varieties of formulaic sequences, which might not recur in the corpus, to be detected.

Using native speakers' intuition as an approach to identify formulaic sequences has been subject to criticism because it can be arbitrary and susceptible to variation and inconsistency (Wray 2002: 20). Unlike computer searches, native speakers may not be able to read through a large corpus and pull out what they perceive as formulaic sequences and this can result in inconsistency and unreliability of identification.

However, Foster (2001) came up with some measures to cope with these problems and the procedures in her study were replicated here. That is, to make the identification task feasible and to enable the informants to revise their judgment, the corpus was divided into three sub-corpora according to the levels: low-intermediate (4685 words); intermediate (5647 words); and advanced (8735 words). In addition to this, each judge was allowed a week's interval between their first and second analyses of the given sub-corpus so as to reduce the effects of stress and fatigue caused by the reading of the data. It is also possible that revising their judgment may enable the native speakers to spot some other formulaic sequences that had not been detected in the first reading. This should give sequences gathered from revised identification greater consistency and reliability than unrevised results.

According to Foster, another way to deal with the problems of inconsistency and concomitant unreliability is to recruit native speakers "whose intuition is shaped by professional experience and who therefore have a good understanding of what is required of them"(2001: 81). In the present study, native speakers had ELT professional experience, preferably with Thai EFL learners and those with a background in applied linguistics to be informants. Thanks to their educational and professional training, such native speakers are likely to have linguistic awareness which can be helpful in their judgment as well as in recognizing the Thai learners' varieties of formulaic sequences.

Furthermore, the problem of variation in assigning the boundary of identified formulaic sequences was alleviated, to some degree, in this study by having five informants work with each sub-corpus and a using a majority decision. That is, in each sub-corpus only sequences identified by at least three out of five informants were counted and included in my analysis. In Foster's study, there were seven informants working with a corpus size of 20,000 words and the researcher used only sequences identified by five native speakers or more.

Using native speaker intuition has proved to have another advantage. Native speakers are able to recognize formulaic sequences that may not be frequently used but are actually a part of their formulaic lexicon. Following this observation, it could be said that frequency might not be useful as a criterion in deciding whether a sequence or a string of words is formulaic in a given corpus. If the frequency criterion is applied to

a computer search, formulaic sequences that occur only once are not going to be counted. In this study, variety of formulaic sequences being one of the analytical focuses, attention had to be paid to formulaic sequences that were found only once as well as recurring ones. Therefore, native speaker intuition was the preferred method here.

4.6.4.2 Recruiting Native Speaker Informants and Distributing the Corpora

Prospective informants were contacted by email and attachments, containing a letter of introduction, guidelines and criteria. I contacted nineteen people altogether, because three people declined later due to other commitments of their time, and one participant finished half of the given corpus, thus requiring another to carry on with the rest. The sixteen native speakers are instructors of English or applied linguists. All have at least a master's degree in ELT or Applied Linguistics, with one specializing in young learners. Nine are EFL instructors: eight judges have had teaching experience with Thai EFL learners and one is an EFL instructor in Germany. The rest are EFL instructors and lecturers in ELT/TESOL at universities in Britain. Seven of the sixteen informants are native speakers of American/Canadian English, and the rest are native speakers of British English or Irish English.

Once they agreed to participate in the research, each of them was given a sub-corpus, which had been shuffled, according to the order of agreement to participate. That is, the sub-corpora were given out to each informant regardless of his/her academic expertise or familiarity with Thai EFL students. This way, there was virtually no bias in distributing the sub-corpora.

4.6.5 Compiling Formulaic Sequences Identified by the Informants

Once sub-corpora were returned from the informants, their analyses were compiled in a master corpus of each proficiency level (e.g. low-intermediate master corpus). Then, each formulaic sequence identified by each informant was marked by slanting lines. Here is an extract from one of the three master corpora:

Extract 4.10 Advanced learner corpus

N: ///I'm looking for/// Mr. Duncan
T: um ////he's not in/ /right now//// he's in the – an important meeting
N: what time will he be back
T: ///I'm not sure/// because this is very important and Mr. Duncan may have some issue to talk in the meeting um what what is your business here?
N: I'm the representative of the residents in this condominium and I will not leave this office until I get the answer from Mr. Duncan that he'/ll /do something/ (.) about/ the swimming pool
T: ok (.) so ///would you take a seat/// and (.) /////would you like//// some coffee or tea //or something/?

And, as mentioned in 4.6.4.1, only formulaic sequences identified by majority decision, i.e., marked by at least three slanting lines, were counted for analysis. More samples of the master corpus are included in Appendix VII (p. 245).

4.6.5.1 Problems

Two awkward problems persisted: inconsistency within individuals and doubts. Certainly using a majority decision could alleviate the inconsistency across informants, but there emerged the problem of inconsistency within individuals. This happened with frequently used sequences. That is, a few informants did not identify every occurrence of a particular formulaic sequence they had spotted earlier; for instance, not all instances of "I think" were identified by the same rater. This certainly affected the frequency count of some formulaic sequences and the resultant proportion of formulaic sequences in a given corpus.

The second problem was that of uncertainty. This was revealed through comments the informants wrote in the right hand column of their assigned corpus. They noted their doubts e.g. "possibly?", "could be?", or "with or without *but*?" next to the sequences they were unsure of, yet they finalized their decision and identified them as formulaic. For example, in the advanced corpus, three native speakers reported that they were not sure if "thank you for your help" would be counted as one sequence or only "thank you for" should be enough, that is, a formulaic sequence with an open slot. However, their final decision was "thank you for your help" and the sequence was included in analysis because it was identified by three out of five native speakers.

In a way, these two problems are interesting and deserve investigation in their own right rather as problems inherent to intuition. This is because the task of detecting formulaic sequences, either by computer search or intuition, is by no means

straightforward. This study did not set out to look at the problems which emerged during data collection; however, it would be interesting for future research to investigate how native speaker intuition is drawn on and the discrepancies found in perception of formulaic language.

4.7 Bank of English

The Bank of English is a collection of over 400 million words from contemporary, naturally occurring British, American and Australian Englishes. It is the property of Harper Collins Publishers. Fifty-nine million words is available online by subscription. This study used a sub-corpus of the 59 million words, the spoken British English component.

The sub-corpus, "ukspok", which has approximately 9 million words, was a source of reference to cross-check the pattern of use of some sequences in the target language. Put differently, a concordancing study of the "ukspok" sub-corpus was a supplementary method that enabled me to look at the same formulaic sequences in my data set and in native speakers'. This way, it was possible to detect some pragmatic deviation or non-native-like use of formulaic sequences in my data and explain them in the light of the Bank of English data. However, it should be stressed that this study did not set out to compare the quality of language of the Thai learners with that of the speakers in the "ukspok" sub-corpus.

4.7.1 Word String Search

For some search strings, I quoted all occurrences in the sub-corpus when the number of occurrences was quite small, less 25, and the extended contexts of the strings were similar to those in the four role-plays. For search strings with more than 25 occurrences, the random selection command was applied. Then, I used an extended context search and chose only the examples of the contexts that closely resemble to those in the role-plays.

4.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the categorization system of refusals in this data set, based on the notion of "move". Other acts and interactional features that were found in the role-plays were assigned interactional function categories. The purpose of the detailed categorization was to reflect the dynamics of request-refusal interaction. I also explained how the notion of episode was used to detect any adjustments of refusal moves in stretches of turns. Clearly, refusals gathered from the open role-plays were complex and refusals in this data set shared some similarities with those found in earlier study. Extracts from the data set were given to show how the data were coded and how an analysis of refusal moves was conducted. The second half of the chapter dealt with the methodology for the analysis of formulaic sequences. Details of the native speaker judges, the procedures of data collection, and problems encountered were reported. In sum, the topics covered in this chapter give an account of how complex speech act data and problems in identifying formulaic sequences were dealt with. These provide a methodological framework for analyses of the pragmatic and lexico-grammatical aspects of interlanguage refusals in the next two chapters.

Chapter 5

A Pragmatic Analysis

5.0 Introduction

This chapter reports an analysis of the pragmatic use of refusal moves. The aim of the analysis is to discover whether the sociopragmatic behavior of the learners is influenced by their English proficiency level. This is to address the first and second research questions:

1. To what extent do refusals to requests performed by Thai EFL learners at three proficiency levels differ in terms of sociopragmatic qualities?
2. What is the relationship between English language proficiency and pragmatic ability across three groups of learners, as seen in the use of refusals?

The analysis is qualitatively-oriented, focusing on 1) the structure of role-plays; 2) the major refusal moves used; 3) the way refusal moves were combined and adjusted in episodes; and 4) the pragmatic orientation of refusal moves—that is, whether the learners adjusted their refusal moves towards refusal goals or interpersonal concerns.

5.1 Structure of Request-Refusal Role-Plays

In this section, the first step of an analysis of pragmatic aspects of the role-plays is presented. The focus is now on a comparison of the structure of role-plays according to the learners' proficiency levels. The structures are analyzed in terms of the acts the speakers used to make up the role-plays. In the following paragraphs, the process of analysis is explained and the results reported.

As explained in Chapter Four (p.100), refusal episodes were used as a larger unit of analysis so as to enable us to detect any adjustments of requests and refusals. To analyze the structures of the role-plays, the coded data were put in four tables according to the situations. In each table, the coded data were put into rows and columns: each row stands for an entire role-play performed by each pair whose lexico-grammatical

proficiency level is shown in the far left hand column. Each column represents a refusal episode found in each role-play.

Table 5.1 illustrates the tabulation of coded data from role-play IV (computer) performed by six pairs of learners at the three levels. The data were selected from the first pair of each level. Refusal moves are marked in boldface.

Table 5. 1 Refusal episodes of role-play IV selected from the first pairs of speakers in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced groups

Speakers	Episode 1	Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5	Episode 6	Outcome
L2M&L1F (Req) (Ref)	L2M: Info elicit Q (preparatory) L1F: Answer L2M: RQ + ground L1F: **Apo + reason 1 (closing time)**	L2M: RQ L1F: **'no no no"** L2M: Info elicit Q (relation manipulation) L1F: **Answer (acknowledge relation) + reason 2 (lose job) Elaborate reason 2 + apo** L2M: Understand check L1F: Answer	L2M: Cajoling L1F: **Neg + apo + postponement (tomorrow)** L2M: Rej postponement + Info elicit Q ("other places"?) L1F: Answer L2M: Info elicit Q (seeking a definite answer) L1F: Answer L2M: Info elicit Q (seeking a definite answer) L1F: Answer (*"I'm not sure"*) L2M: Info elicit Q (seeking a definite answer) L1F: *Answer (Inability to give info)* + **apo + cut off + apo**	L2M: RQ (appeal) L1F: **Apo + neg** L2M: Acceptance of RF			Req accepted RF & withdrew
I2F &I1F (Req) (Ref)	I2F: Greeting + RQ I1F: **Apo**	I2F: RQ ground + RQ I1F: **Apo + reason 2**	I2F: RQ ground +RQ I1F: **Reason 3 (closing time)**	I2F: Rej alt1 + reason (RQ ground) I1F: **Pseudo**			Req withdrew (accepted RF)

	+ neg + reason 1 (turned off com)	**(undergrad only)**	**+ alt 1 (alt place) + reason (open till late)**	**agr + neg + reason 4,5 (advisor, lose job)** I2F: Accept of RF I1F: **Apo** I2F: (withdraw RQ)			
A2F&A1F (Req) (Ref)	A2F: Greeting + Alerter A1F: Info elicit Q (picked up greeting as a pre RQ) A2F: RQ ground A1F: Completed RQ ground	A2F: Elaborated RQ ground + Info elicit Q (assessing situation) A1F: *Answer (closing in 5min)* A2F: RQ (30 min) A1F: **Neg willingness** A2FL Info elicit Q A1F: **Answer—reason 1 responsilbility** **Elaborate reason 1 + 2 (allowance)** A2F: Reaction to RF (exclamation) A1F: **Rep neg willingness + elaborate reason 1**	A2F: Minimized RQ (5 min) A1F: **Repetition of part of RQ (5 min?)** A2F: Repetition of minimized RQ A1F: Compliance with minimized RQ A2F: Negotiation (10 min) + empathy to Ref A1F: **Alt 1 (central library)** A2F: Rej alt 1 + reason (diskette) A1F: Compliance with (10 mins) + RQ for certainty	A2F: Acceptance + Asking for alt + appeal A1F: **Alt 2 (shop near market)+ reason (short walk)** A2F: Acceptance of alt 2 A1F: *Offer to accompany Req* A2F: Confirmation check A1F: Answer A2F: Acceptance of offer + alignment			Req accepted alt2 and Ref's offer to take Req to a com café outside campus

The tabulation of coded data provided a visual presentation which enabled comparisons of the use of refusal moves and the way refusal moves were combined, from the first refusal episode to the last, across levels. Also, this visual presentation made visible the structures of the four role-play situations. Types of refusal moves, other acts and features in the interactional function categories for each level were counted and compared. Two findings emerged:

1. The learners, regardless of their proficiency levels, used a similar range of acts in structuring their request-refusal encounters in the four situations.
2. Slight differences lay in the number of adjacency pairs such as request-refusal, suggestion/proposal of alternative-rejection, or question-answer which contributed to the length of refusal episodes and the length of role-plays. These seemed to be between levels: the advanced speakers used slightly more adjacency pairs in structuring their role-plays than the low-intermediate and intermediate learners.

Let us now look at the findings in detail. The first finding is a qualitative similarity in the types of act the learners used to construct the role-plays. The learners across the three levels used summon-answer and greeting-greeting pairs of acts to begin their role-plays. These were followed by information eliciting questions and answers which the learners used to help build shared background knowledge and assess the situation before making a request or refusal. To illustrate this finding, let us look at the data in the table 5.1 again. In the first part of the first episode, greetings and information questions were used by every pair, as quoted below in extract 5.1 a) – c) which is duplicated from the data presented in table 5.1. Coding of refusal moves is marked in boldface.

Extract 5.1 First part of the first episode in role-play IV (computer)

Sample a) Low-intermediate learners

L2M: Info elicit Q (preparatory)
L1F: Answer

Sample b) Intermediate learners

I2F: Greeting + RQ
I1F: **Apo + neg + reason 1 (turned off com)**

Sample c) Advanced learners

A2F: Greeting + Alerter
A1F: Info elicit Q (picked up greeting as a pre RQ)
A2F: RQ ground
A1F: Completed RQ ground

From the second episode onwards, the learners at all levels also used a fairly similar range of acts. Requests were elaborated with request grounds or minimized. Appeals were used after two or more requests were rejected. Refusals were expressed in different moves and "reason" was used by every refuser in every situation, either as a main refusal component or as a supportive move. Take the data in table 5.1 as an example again. The three requesters randomly selected from the three groups of learners were similar in their requestive moves. They either minimized or elaborated their requests once the first attempt was not successful in the first refusal episode. The refusers, regardless of their lexico-grammatical proficiency levels, used "apology", "negative ability/willingness", "reason" and "alternative" in response to requests. This is shown in extract 5.2 a) – c), which is duplicated from the data illustrated in table 5.1. Coding of refusal moves is marked in boldface.

Extract 5.2 Second episode of role-play IV (computer)

Sample a) Low-intermediate learners

L2M: RQ
L1F: **'no no no"**
L2M: Info elicit Q (relation manipulation)
L1F: **Answer (acknowledge relation) + reason 2 (lose job)**
Elaborate reason 2 + apo

Sample b) Intermediate learners

I2F: RQ ground + RQ
I1F: **Apo + reason 2 (undergrad only)**

Sample c) Advanced learners

A2F: Elaborated RQ ground + Info elicit Q (assessing situation)
A1F: *Answer (closing in 5min)*
A2F: RQ (30 min)
A1F: **Neg willingness**
A2F: Info elicit Q
A1F: **Answer—reason 1 responsilbility**
Elaborate reason 1 + 2 (allowance)
A2F: Reaction to RF (exclamation)
A1F: **Rep neg willingness + elaborate reason 1**

I now would like to turn to the second finding that emerged from the analysis of the structures of the role-plays. Despite structural similarities across the levels, the length

of role-plays as measured by the average number of refusal episodes in each situation differed slightly across the three levels, as shown in table 5.2 below. This was partly attributable to the requesters' degree of persistence and the refusers' concomitant adjustments of refusal moves.

Table 5. 2 Average number of refusal episodes the learners at three lexico-grammatical proficiency levels produced in each role-play situation

Level	Role-play I (report)	Role-play II (stranger)	Role-play III (manager)	Role-play IV (computer)
Low-intermediate	2.5	3.67	3.33	3.83
Intermediate	3	3.67	3.33	3.16
Advanced	3.83	3.83	4.33	4.83

The table shows that the advanced speakers produced more refusal episodes. This is probably because their higher proficiency level enabled them to do so. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the less proficient did not persist in their speech act goals or engage in negotiation. There were instances of low-intermediate and intermediate speakers who produced more talk. However, these seemed to be an individual rather than a group phenomenon. That is, there were two pairs of intermediate learners (I1F and I2F, I11F and I12F) and only one pair of low-intermediate learners (L5F and L6F) who produced more refusal episodes than their peers.

So far, I have reported two findings concerning the qualitative similarity and quantitative difference in the structure of role-play conversation. The findings constitute part of an answer to the first research question that seeks to determine the extent to which refusals to requests performed by the three groups of learners differ in terms of pragmatic quality. Let us now turn to the overview and the outcomes of the role-plays which will pave the way for the next step of analysis, which looks at the learners' pragmatic use of refusal moves in episodes.

5.2 Outcomes of the Role-plays

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the pragmatic aspects of the 72 role-plays, including the outcomes or the concluding points of the role-plays, before I proceed to the analysis of each role-play situation.

In general, the learners were engaged in two or more refusal episodes, as shown in table 5.2 in the previous section, and adjusted the content of their requests and refusals as they progressed to a new episode. Also, there were instances of the speakers' changes of mind, which were possible because they were allowed to express their refusals and requests in full context, as illustrated in extract 5.3. The coding of refusal moves appears in boldface in the left hand margin. The utterances that indicate the refuser's change of mind are underlined.

Extract 5.3 Low-intermediate learners (computer)

L10F = Requester

L9F = Refuser

Info elicit (condition)	4	L9F:	uh:: how long do you spend the time for do this
Answer	5	L10F:	I think (.) not over one hour
Neg + reason 1	6	L9F:	one hour I think you cannot because this room close
(closing time)	7		at five thirty
React to refusal	8	L10F:	hey ((frowning)) –
Neg + apo	9	L9F:	but now just only uh I think you cannot I'm sorry
Minimized request	10	L10F:	oh come on I I will hurry up maybe thirty minute only ok?
Condition	11	L9F:	um: um maybe you –ok I'll try to give you and uh ok
	12		hurry up? If it's too late it's not good
Accept condition	13	L10F:	ok I will hurry
Compliance with	14	L9F:	ok uh uh can can I help you? Maybe it's earlier (.) may
request	15		I help you?
	16	L10F:	yeah

The extract shows that although L9F, the refuser, conveyed the first sign of refusal through an information-eliciting question in line 5 and through a combination of moves in lines 6-7 and 9, she changed her mind later. This is likely to be because L10F minimized her request in line 10, asking if she could use the computer facility for 30 minutes instead of one hour, which L9F previously refused in line 6.

Let us now look at the outcomes. In this data set, there were five types of outcomes: compliance, noncompliance, compliance with a request other than the main request, postponement, and acceptance of an alternative which was either proposed by the

refuser or mutually negotiated. Table 5.3 below shows the number of occurrences of the five outcomes in each situation and in each group of learners.

Table 5. 3 Types and number of occurrences of outcomes found in the four role-play situations performed by the three groups of learners

Role-play Situations	I (report)			II (stranger)			III (manager)			IV (computer)			Total
Proficiency Level	L	I	A	L	I	A	L	I	A	L	I	A	
Outcomes													
Compliance	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	3	1	1	-	9
Non-compliance	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	3	3	1	11
Compliance with other request	-	-	-	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Postponement	4	4	3	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	16
Alternative	2	2	2	3	3	1	3	1	3	2	2	5	29
Total	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	72

The table shows that there were only 9 out of 72 role-plays the outcome of which was compliance to requests, while 11 role-plays ended with "non-compliance", which suggests the refusers' persistence in their speech act goal. There were 16 role-plays that ended with the refusers' postponement. Compliance to a request other than the main request was found in 7 role-plays and in the Stranger situation only (role-play II). Almost half of the role-plays ended with the requesters' acceptance of alternatives proposed by the refusers. There were 29 occurrences of this type of outcome and it was found in every role-play situation.

The occurrences of "compliance with the other request", "postponement" and "alternative" as outcomes of the role-plays may reflect the refusers' efforts to compromise or compensate for their noncompliance. Take the outcomes of role-play I as an example. None of the learners across the levels persisted in their non-compliance in role-play I. In this situation, the refusers had to refuse a close friend (P-, D-). One

advanced learner (A2F) changed her mind and complied with the request. The majority of the refusers across the levels (4 low-intermediate, 4 intermediate and 3 advanced learners) shifted their refusal moves to postponement, which generated a further series of questions for a definite outcome and answers, leading to a mutually agreed outcome. As explained in Chapter Four (p. 89), "*postponement*" was classified as an indirect refusal because the role-plays did not have actual consequences. Two of the refusers each group used alternatives, which brought the request-refusal conversation to an end. Thus, when refusing an intimate who was persistent in his/her requests, the refusers, regardless of their proficiency levels, were similar in that they attempted to negotiate with the requester to reach a compromise.

Another observation can be made regarding a possible relation between the nature of the outcomes in the other three situations and the learners' proficiency levels. Take, as an example, role-play IV (Computer), in which the requester was a higher status and knew the refuser quite well. Half of the low-intermediate and intermediate learners persisted in non-compliance, while only one advanced learner did. The majority of the advanced speakers (5 out of 6 pairs) engaged in negotiation as a result of the refusers' proposal of alternatives, which brought their conversation to an end.

Another similar example is role-play II (Stranger). It was the only situation which had "compliance to the other request" as the outcome. However, this seemed to be a pattern particularly with the advanced learners: 5 out of 6 refusers complied with the requests to call the host but did not let the requesters enter the flat until the host arrived. It is possible that the advanced learners' lexico-grammatical proficiency enabled them to engage in extended negotiation for a mutually agreed outcome.

To summarize, the majority of the learners in the three groups did not comply with the requests, yet they seemed to have compensated for their refusals as seen in their compliance with another request and the requesters' acceptance of alternative or postponement as concluding points of the role-plays. In the next section, I will present an analysis of the pragmatic use of refusal moves in detail, situation by situation (see Appendices I and VIII, p. 230 and p.250 for a full description of the situations, role-cards and transcribed role-play data respectively).

5.3 Pragmatic Use of Refusal Moves

This section reports an analysis of the pragmatic use of refusal moves. The analysis concerns the way the learners adjusted their refusal moves and management of facework in the four situations. The analysis and data are presented in tables and extracts from the data base.

5.3.1 Role-play I (Report)

As shown in table 5.3, we have seen that there was a pattern in the final outcome of role-play I performed by the participants at all levels. That is, none of them continued to refuse towards the end of talk. This was probably because the refusers had to refuse a close friend and felt compelled to adjust their refusal moves to minimize face threats of refusals to the requesters' negative face wants – the wants to enjoy their freedom of action – and positive face wants—the wants to be accepted at least by the refusers (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

We now look at the refusers' choice of refusal moves in the role-play situation. In the first episode, the learners at all levels were similar in their choice of refusal moves. They all used "reason" either as a single move or in combination with "apology", "negative ability", "pseudo-agreement", "postponement" and "alternative". To illustrate, let us look at the extracts 5.4-5.9, which are taken from the first and fourth pairs of learners in each group. Coding of refusals appears in the left hand margin.

Extract 5.4 Low-intermediate learners

L1F = Requester

L2M =Refuser

Info Q	6	L2M:	what's problem
Answer-RQ ground	7	L1F	yes I have problem I can't-I cannot get along with my group
	8	L2M:	oh ((softly))
RQ	9	L1F:	I'm join in your group in labo-laboratory biology II ((rising intonation))
Apo+Reason1	10	L2M:	oh I'm sorry the report in almost done (.) sorry

Extract 5.5 L7F = Requester

L8F = Refuser

Info Q	6	L8F:	oh why not ((pause)) who is your partner lab
Answer-RQ ground	7	L7F:	my partner lab is Sunya (.) I don't know he don't work (.)
RQ	8		can I join with your group?
Apo + Alt 1	9	W:	oh yeah uh but I'm afraid that my group is uh is al-full and my team can finish the report but can I help you to do the report?

Extract 5.6 Intermediate learners

I1F = Requester

I2F = Refuser

Answer-RQ ground	21	I1F:	yeah I have personal problems and I can't work with them
	22	I2F:	oh
RQ	23	I1F:	so I wonder if if you mind if I want to to um (.) join your group
Neg willingness	24	I2F:	oh I I think that is not convenient for uh (.) for you to join in
	25		our group be –
Info Q	26	I2F:	why NOT?
Apo+ Reason 1	27	I1F:	I'm sorry (.) sorry for being uh because uh (.) our group is finishing
	28		is uh preparing to work and we will finish the report next week (.)
	29		and I have an appointment with Baramee this evening at (.)seven
	30	I1F:	so
Apo	31	I2F:	so sorry so (.) sorry

Extract 5.7 I7M = Requester

I8F = Refuser

RQ	24	I7M:	that's too bad (.) so (.) I (2.0) is it hard for you to let me in your group?
Hedge+	25	I8F:	um: it's very hard to decide because this group is not only my uh me (.)
Reason 1	26		it's have another two people um: yes I want I want to help you (.) ok
Postponement	27		maybe tomorrow I will ask my friends but I don't know (.) uh they will ok or not
Accept	28	I7M:	(3.0) it's ok I understand thank you for your help me
	29	I8F:	ok I'll try

Extract 5.8 Advanced learners

A1F = Requester

A2F = Refuser

RQ	26	A1F:	so um: I came here to ask you that whether you have a free seat
	27		for me to join in or something?=
Preface	28	A2F:	=actually um:: uh-
RQ	29	A1F:	can I ask the teacher to add er additional member?

Pseudo-agree	30	A2F:	you know PERsonally I:: would be (.) happy to to work with you
Reason 1	31		but you know what my group (.) me and my friends in the group and
	32		I ah: uh almost you know almost finish the the report –

Extract 5.9 A7F = Requester

A8M = Refuser

Answer--RQground	24	A7F:	yes I really want your help [um]
	25	A8M:	[ok]
RQ	26	A7F:	is it possible if I join your group ?
Postpone	27	A8M:	um: I have to ask my friends first I don't know whether they
reason 1	28		will give a permit or not because you know some ideas in the text
summarizing	29		and in report are quite necessary and quite confidential I don't know
	30		whether they will be glad to to welcome you or not but at least I'll ask
	31		[first]

In the second episode, which was structured around another request attempt, two pairs of low-intermediate learners (L7F&L8F and L11F&L12F) and one pair of the intermediate learners (I7M&I8F) ended their conversation. The requesters in these pairs either accepted the alternatives proposed in the first episode or accepted the refusals and withdrew, as illustrated in table 5.3 above. The rest of the speakers in the three levels shifted their refusal moves so as to be more supportive to the requesters. Half of the low-intermediate and intermediate learners and two advanced learners (A4F and A8M) started proposing alternatives in this episode, the contents of which suggested the refusers' attempt to compromise with the requesters. For instance, "I know someone in other group and I will try uh to speak with them for you ok?" was an alternative proposed by L10F.

"*Alignment*" and "*pseudo-agreement*" moves were also used in the second episode. In using these two moves, it may be suggested that the refusers were attending to the requesters' positive-face wants or self-esteem, for example "sorry I want to help you but I can't" (I2F). Table 5.4 overleaf shows the refusal moves the three groups of speakers used in the second episode.

Table 5. 4 A comparison of the second episode of role-play I performed by the low-intermediate and intermediate learners

Level	Pair 1	Pair 2	Pair 3	Pair 4	Pair 5	Pair 6
L	L1F: RQ L2M: *Filler – 'uh'* L1F: Elaborated RQ L2M: **Apo + neg + complete alt 1 (advisor)** L1F: Reject alt 1 (reason = already followed alt 1) L2M: **Neg**	L3F: Acceptance of offer = RQ (definite content) L4M: **Rep of part of RQ (me?)** L3F: Confirm token ("yeah") L4M: **Reason 1,2 (group consent, tired)** L3F: "um::: L4M: **Alt 1 (asking for an alt solution)** L3F: Rej alt 1 + thanking L4M: **Attending to RQ's feeling + Disclaimer + neg ability + Alt 2 (help with the report)**	L5F: Rej postponement + RQ (seeking a definite answer) L6F: **Elongated filler** L5F: RQ ground L6F: **Reason 1 (almost done)**	End	L9F: Appeal (for help) L10F: **Alt 1 (promise to talk with another group) + Apo** L9F: RQ ground (persistent; relation manipulation) L10F: Acknowledge relation (agreement)+ **Neg + Apo**	End
I	I1F: Appeal I2F: **Pseudo-agree (interrupted)** I1F: Appeal I2F: **Pseudo-agree (interrupted)** I1F: Appeal I2F: **Apo + pseudo-agr + neg+ reason 2 (lack of consent)**	I3F: Acceptance of RF + Asking for alt I4F: Alt (not self-initiated) I3F: Asking for further agreement I4F: Disagreeing + reason I3F: Rejection + reason I4F: **Elaborate alt (suggestion) +** ***Alignment*** I3F: Acceptance of alt + thanking	I5F: Minimized RQ (offer of help) I6F: **Rej of offer + alt 1 (offer to help with the report)+ Info elicit Q (leading to nego)** I5F: Answer I6F: **Elaborate alt 1 (getting another one to do the work)**	End	I9F: RQ (more specific content) + ground I10F: **Info elicit Q (avoidance)** I9F: Answer—RQ ground + RQ I10F: **Alt 1 (ask advisor) + postponement (setting condition)**	I11F: Hedge (Rej) + info elicit Q + Offer of help (minimizing RQ) I12F: **Reason 2 (almost done)** I11F: "*really*?" I12F: **Repetition of reason 2 + repetition of postponement**
A	A1F: Minimized RQ A2F: **Postponement (setting a condition—advisor) + Pseudo agr + reason 2 (lack of consent from gr**	A3F: RQ 2 (underspecified) A4F: **Alt 1 (advice from the advisor)**	A5M: RQ (more specific) + offer of help (minimizing Wx of RQ)+ ground A6M: *Empathy token (Alignment)*	A7F: RQ A8M: **Pseudo-agr + postponement + Alt 1 (offer of help)**	A9F: RQ2 A10F: Acceptance (allowing Req to discuss with the group members)	A11F: Acceptance of postponement + RQ 2 (to be contacted) A12F: **Elaborated postponement** + Compliance with RQ 2

	members) A1F: Rej postponement (Met the condition) A2F: Continuer					

Table 5.4 above shows that the refusers in the advanced group, like the low-intermediate and the intermediate, seem to be showing solidarity towards the requesters. This is seen in their elaboration and adjustments of refusal moves. Those who used "*postponement*" in the first episode (A8M and A12F) elaborated their postponement in the second episode with reasons for the postponement which were "other-oriented" or attribution of blame. This is illustrated in data extract 5.10. The elaborated postponement which is in lines 20-22 is marked in boldface. Coding of requests and refusals appears in the left hand margin.

Extract 5.10 Advanced learners

Requester = A11F

Refuser = A12F

Info Q +	18	A11F:	um: but do you think there's a chance with me (.) is there anything
Offer (minimize)	19		I can do to help (.) with the report?
Elaborated	20	A12F:	um I think **the other members might** (.) **might I said might take**
Postpone (other-	21		**you in our group because you know our paper is going to be done**
oriented reason)	22		**very soon** so maybe there is something a little bit of something that
	23		you can do
Offer (minimize)	23	A11F:	you know if there's anything that I can do for the report just tell me
+ Info Q for	24		and please let me know and um as soon as possible
definite outcome			

In the third episode, the majority of the low-intermediate learners used "*postponement*" as a last resort. This is different from the majority of the refusers in the advanced group, who used the refusal move in the first two episodes, as shown in table 5.4, and engaged in a negotiation of the postponement in the third episode. A comparison of the third refusal episode of the learners across the three groups is shown in table 5.5 overleaf.

Table 5. 5 A comparison of the third refusal episode of role-play I performed by the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced learners

Level	Pair 1	Pair 2	Pair 3	Pair 4	Pair 5	Pair 6
L	L1F: RQ (persistent) L2M: **Postponement**	End	L5F: RQ (persistent) (for a definite acceptance) L6F: **(delayed (5.0)) reason 2 (lack of advisor's permission)** L5F: Rej + reason L6F: **Hedge + postponement (clarify the condition)**	End	L9F: RQ ground + Minimized RQ L10F:**Postponement (talk to her gr members)** L9F: Acceptance of postponement + offer of help (minimize Wx of RQ) L10F: Acceptance of offer+ **Rep Postponement**	End
I	I1F: RQ2 (talk to gr members) I2F: **reason 2**	End	Info elicit Q by both parties = negotiation of alt 1	End	I9F: Info elicit Q (about the other members, assessing situ) I10F: Answer Accepting alt 1 & postponement	I11F: Alignment + RQ 2 (ask the other members) I12F: Compliance with RQ2
A	A1F: RQ2 (for the gr consent) A2F: Compliance Req aligning with Ref & inviting Ref for a drink	A3F: Rej alt 1 + reason + RQ (repeated) A4F: *Info elicit Q (condition)* A3F: Answer A4F: Compliance with RQ (agreed to help)	A5M: RQ ground + Repetition of RQ A6M: **Pseudo-agr** A5M: Thanking A6M: **Postponement (setting a condition)** A5M: Continuer ("*ah okay*") A6M: **Elaborated postponement + Reason 2 (lack of consent) + Repetition of reason 1(almost done)**	A7F: RQ A8M: **Pseudo-agr + postponement Alt 1 (offer of help)**	A9F: RQ2 A10F: Acceptance (allowing Req to discuss with the group members)	A11F: Acceptance of postponement + RQ 2 (to be contacted) A12F: Compliance with RQ 2

The data in table 5.5 above shows that "postponement" seems to be the move that brought the role-plays to a concluding point for most of the pairs.

There was only one pair of intermediate learners who proceeded to a fourth episode. Like her peers, I2F used "postponement" to bring the conversation to an end. Three advanced pairs of learners moved on to the fourth refusal episode and were engaged in negotiation for a definite outcome (question-answer sequences) as a result of the refusers' postponement and proposal of an alternative in the first and second episodes. This is shown in table 5.6 below.

Table 5. 6 Fourth refusal episode of role-play I performed by the advanced learners

Level	Pair 1	Pair 2	Pair 3	Pair 4
I	I1F: Appeal (interrupted) I2F: **Apo** I1F: Appeal (complete) I2F: **Postponement (will talk to gr members)**	End	End	End
A		A3F: RQ 2 (more specific) A4F: **Apo + neg + reason 1,2 (different topic, almost done)** **Alt 2 (help with report)**+ Asking for agreement A3F: Disagreeing + Appeal A4F: **Elaborate Alt 2** A3F: Confirmation check A4F: Reply A3F: Acceptance of alt 2	A5M: RQ 2 (ask gr members) A6M: Compliance with RQ 2 (promise) A5M: RQ for definite outcome + ground A6M: **Repetition of postponement 2** A5M: RQ for a definite answer A6M: Answer A5M: Acceptance of postponement 1 & 2	A7F: Rej alt 1+ RQ (persistent) A8M: **Alt 2 (suggestion)** A7F: Rej alt 2 A8M: **Disclaimer + Alt 3 (advisor) + reason 3 (potential conflict) + rep alt 3** A7F: Accept alt 3

A6M's postponement and A4F and A8M's shift of reasons and alternatives seem to suggest that the learner was attending to the needs of the requesters, probably to minimize potential tension which could have arisen from their refusals in the earlier episodes. Moreover, if we look at the third and fourth episodes, shown in tables 5.5 and 5.6, together we can see that the advanced learners also showed a pattern of alternative-rejection, elaboration of alternative/another alternative - rejection sequences. This pattern went on until a mutually agreed outcome was reached that is, either acceptance of postponement or acceptance of alternative in the fourth episode. Because of this pattern, the request-refusal exchanges in the advanced group were more complex than those found in the other two groups.

5.3.1.1 Summary of Role-play I Analysis

We may now put together the observations about the use and pragmatic orientation of the refusal moves in the three groups of speakers. It could be said that the learners at all levels were similar in their pragmatic orientation of refusal moves in role-play I: the learners shifted the content and types of refusal moves towards relation-preserving concerns. The low-intermediate and intermediate learners adjusted their refusal moves supportively as seen in a shift from "*apology*" and "*negative ability*" to "alternative" and "*postponement*". Although the sequence of refusal moves the advanced learners used was slightly different to those of the other two groups, the advanced learners adjusted their moves supportively. This is seen in their elaboration of "*reason*", "*postponement*" and shift in the content of alternatives and reasons in the second and subsequent episodes. Half of the learners in every group were also similar in their use of the positive-politeness moves "*pseudo-agreement*", "*disclaimer*" and "*alignment*". This seems to suggest that they engaged in facework despite differences in lexico-grammatical proficiency. The results of the analysis of role-play I, therefore, indicate that the sociopragmatic aspects of refusals to the close friends' requests seem to be independent of the learners' English proficiency level.

5.3.2 Role-play II (Stranger)

In role-play II, the refusers had to refuse a status equal who claimed to be a friend of the host (P-, D+). The requesters and refusers were total strangers and the host was not in the apartment. In this situation, the participants at all levels were similar in that they adjusted their refusal moves to convey firm refusal intent.

In the first episode, the majority of low-intermediate and intermediate used "*reason*" a supportive move for "*negative ability*" or as a central refusal component. Unlike the speakers in the other two groups, the advanced did not use "*negative ability*" in their first refusal attempt. However, "*reason*" was used by every advanced learner and half of them used "*reason*" followed by "*alternative*". Extracts 5.11-5.16 illustrate these similarities and differences across the three groups of learners.

Extract 5.11 Low-intermediate learners

L4M = Requester

L3F = Refuser

Info Q(RQ)	6	L4M:	and where is Leo?
Answer	7	L3F:	he comes out for buy something
RQ ground	8	L4M:	it's a tragedy (.) look at me I'm so tired (.) hungry and I want
RQ	9		to get into your house
Reason 1	10	L3F:	but I don't know-but I don't know ((pointing at L4M))
Understand check	11	L4M:	you said (.) you can't let me come uh go in?
Postpone	12	L3F:	I think wait I think wait for Leo come back here

Extract 5.12 L10F = Requester

L9F = Refuser

RQ	11	L10F:	may I come in? please
Apo	12	L9F:	oh I'm sorry [you know / I'm Leo's] friend
RQ ground	13	L10F:	
Uptake	14	L9F:	really? =
Uptake	15	L10F:	= yeah
Reason 1,2	16	L9F:	but I think it's uh I don't know you and I'm afraid something is yeah (.) you know

Extract 5.13 Intermediate learners

I4F = Requester

I3F = Refuser

RQ ground+RQ	5	I4F:	he invite me to have dinner at at his apartment (.) can I come
	6		in to wait him
Info Q	7	I3F:	are you his friend?
Answer—RQ ground	8	I4F:	yes (.) he he is a son of my father's friend
Elong.filler + postpone	9	I3F:	um:: uh: could you wait a minute let me call to ask Leo
Reason 1	10		because uh recently there is a burglary in this apartment and =

Extract 5.14 I10F = Requester

I9F = Refuser

RQ ground	5	I10F:	actually he had – I have an appointment with him at six
	6		o'clock but I'm twenty minutes late

reason 1	7	I9F:	so (.) but I think I think he didn't talk about you or any
	8		appointment with you
Info Q (assessing situ)	9	I10F:	so do you know where he is?
Answer	10	I9F:	um: (3.0) he's going out for – he's going out to supermarket to buy some (.) food

Extract 5.15 Advanced learners

A4F = Requester

A3F = Refuser

Answer—RQ ground	17	A4F:	I'm I'm Penpan his father is my you know father's best friend
	18		and I know he's uh he's just got he's he's an exchange student
	19		from Singapore right?
Answer	20	A3F:	oh yeah
Framing RQ ground	21	A4F:	yeah you know I know him
Reason 1 +Alt1 + Reason2	22	A3F:	well he's now going to the supermarket buy buying something
	23		well he'll be back in a few minutes so it'll be better if you um
	24		go for a walk and be– and <u>please come back later</u> I'm not
	25		sure if you're um Leo's friend

Extract 5.16 A10F = Requester

A9F = Refuser

Greeting +Info Q (RQ)	3	A10F:	hi I'm Waree I'm looking for Leo
Answer—**Reason1**	4	A9F:	Leo um he's not here (.) who are you?
Answer—RQ ground	5	A10F:	um: I'm his friend he invited me for the meal and
Rep reason 1	6	A9F:	oh really but he's not now here I'm Leo's friend
	7	A10F	W: [um]
Alt1	8	A9F:	[could you] please come back again?

Data in extracts 5.11-5.16 show that "*reason*" was an essential move in the first episode. However, a slight difference is seen in the use of "*alternative*". Extracts 5.11-5.14 show that the low-intermediate and intermediate learners did not propose any alternative in the first episode while the advanced learners did as illustrated in extracts 5.15 and 5.16. The content of alternatives proposed by the advanced speakers was identical as seen in lines 22-23 in extract 5.15 and line 8 in extract 5.16, and this was not stated in the role-cards.

In the second episode, the majority of the requesters across the levels elaborated their requests by providing more request grounds and referring to their relationship with the host. There is some degree of similarity in the refusers' use of refusal moves across the levels. This is seen in the use of reasons, the content of the reasons and the content of

alternatives. The reasons that the refusers of all levels used were a) the speakers' guest status; b) the fact that the requesters were strangers; c) security; and d) a lack of information about additional guests.

With regard to the content of alternatives, the learners at all level used the same tactics:

a) asking the requesters to wait elsewhere/outside (L1F, L5F, I1F, I9F, and A7F)

b) asking the requester to come back again (L11F, A1F, A3F)

These similarities are shown in table 5.7 below.

Table 5. 7 Second refusal episode of role-play II performed by the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced learners

Level	Pair 1	Pair 2	Pair 3	Pair 4	Pair 5	Pair 6
L	L2M: RQ ground + RQ L1F: **Elongated filler + repetition of alt 1 (wait elsewhere)** L2M: Info elicit Q (confirmation check) L1F: Answer L2M: Disagreeing (RQ ground) L1F: **Pseudo-agr + alt 1 (elaborated)+ Apo** L2M: Acceptance of alt 1 L1F: **Apo**	L4M: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) L3F: Answer L4M: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) L3F: Answer L4M: Appeal + Acceptance of RF + RQ 2 (leave message for the host) L3F: Compliance with RQ 2	L6F: (admitting that both were strangers) RQ ground + RQ L5F: **Apo + neg + reason 1,2 (no info, absence of the host)** L6F: Info elicit Q (assessing the situation) L5F: Answer + **Alt 1 (wait outside)**	L8F: RQ ground + RQ L7F: **Reason 2 (absence of host) + neg** L8F: RQ ground L7F: **Alt 1 (calling Leo)** L8F: Acceptance of alt 1	L10F: RQ ground L9F: **Reason 1,2 (stranger, security)**	L12F: Rej alt 1 (come back again) + RQ ground + RQ L11F: **Elongated filler**
I	I2F: Empathy + RQ ground + RQ I1F: **Alt 1 (wait at the coffee shop)** I2F: Rej alt1 + RQ (persistent) I1F: **Pseudo-agr + neg + reason 1 (guest status)** **Repetition of reason 1 (burglary + security)**	I4F: RQ2 (water) I3F: Compliance with RQ2	I6F: Acceptance of alt1 + RQ2 (contact) I5F: Compliance with RQ2	I8F: RQ + ground I7M: **(delayed(3.0)) reason 1,2 (no info, guest status)**	I10F: RQ I9F: **Alt 1 + reason (wait & will be back soon) Reason 2 + (stranger)** I10F: Proving own identity I9F: Confirmation check I10F: Answer (confirm identity) I9F: Compliance with RQ	I12F: RQ I11F: **Hedge + reason 2,1 (guest status, no info)** I12F: RQ ground I11F: **Repetition of reason 1** I12F: Continuer

A	A2F: RQ A1F: **Hedge + reason 3 (guest status)** A2F: RQ ground A1F: **Elaborate reason 2 (burglary, security)** A2F: Continuer A1F: **Elaborate alt 1 (come back) + supportive move** A2F: Rej alt 1 A1F: **Apo**	A4F: RQ ground + RQ A3F: **Preface "well"** A4F: Elaborated RQ ground (identity) + <u>self-initiated alt 2</u> (call host) A3F: **Pseudo-agr + reason 2 (stranger) + Neg + Rep alt 1 (come back again)**	A6M: RQ ground A5M: **Repetition of part of RQ ground + elongated filler**	A8M: RQ A7F: **Apo + neg +reason 1,2 (security, stranger)** A8M: RQ ground (proving identity) A7F: **Elaborated alt 1 (wait outside)** A8M: Understanding check A7F: **Elaborated alt 1 (further)** A8M: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) A7F: Answer A8M: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) A7F: Answer A8M: Confirmation check A7F: Answer + **Repetition of alt 1**	A10F: RQ ground + RQ A9F: **Apo + reason 1 (security)** A10F: Info elicit Q (assessing situation A9F: Answer (why Ref was there) A10F: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) A9F: Answer	A12F: RQ ground + Minimized RQ A11F: **Appeal for empathy + reason 1,2 (burglary +stranger)+ Apo**

Although the majority of the refusers of all levels offered and elaborated alternatives, the content of the move was not requester-benefited or for solidarity-maintaining purposes as it was in role-play I. Rather, the alternatives tended to benefit the refusers, redirecting the requesters to wait elsewhere and come back again due to security issues and absence of the host, as used by L5F, I1F and A3F. To minimize the force of the alternatives, the refusers used "*reason*" to support their decision.

Also, the coded data in table 5.7 show that there are instances of compliance to another request, as seen in the second and third pairs, and compliance to the main request in the fifth pair of the intermediate group. The former case seems to suggest that the refusers maintained the initial refusal intent yet attempted to balance the refusal and interpersonal goals.

In the third episode, half of the low-intermediate and intermediate groups as well as two pairs in the advanced group ended their conversation. For the rest of the speakers, the requesters repeated their requests (L10F, L12F and A8M), appealed for assistance from the refusers (L6F, L4M), minimized their requests (A10F) and cajoled the refusers (I2F). In response to persistent requests, the refusers at all levels used "*reason*" and "*alternative*" to convey their refusal intent, elaborating and shifting the content of the two moves.

Two requesters in the advanced group (A2F and A12F) and one in the intermediate group (I8F) made another request: the first two asked the refusers to contact the host so as to confirm that the requesters were invited to the host's place while I8F asked the refuser to leave a message for the host and withdrew her request. This led to the compliance of the local request goal in these pairs. In table 5.8 below, the learners' refusal moves in the third refusal episode are compared across the groups.

Table 5. 8 Third refusal episode of role-play II performed by the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced learners

Level	Pair 1	Pair 2	Pair 3	Pair 4	Pair 5	Pair 6
L	End	L4M: Complaint + Acceptance of RF + RQ 2 (leave message for the host) L3F: Compliance with RQ 2	L6F: RQ ground (appeal) + RQ L5F: **Neg + apo**	End	L10F: RQ (persistent) + cajoling + ground L9F: **Pseudo-agr + reason 2,3 (security, not host) + Alt 1 (offer to relay message)**	L12F: Persistent RQ L11F: **Elaborate alt 1 (wait elsewhere and come back again)** L12F: Continuer L11F: **Apo**
I	I2F: Cajoling I1F: **Repetition of reason 3 (stranger)** I2F: RQ ground (proving identity—responding to the stranger & security conditions) I1F: **(delayed(2.0)) minimizing alt 1**	End	End	I8F: Acceptance of RF + RQ2 (message) I7M: Compliance with RQ 2	End	I12F: Self-initiated alt 1 I11F: **Elaborate the alt 1 (contact the host)**
A	A2F: RQ 2 (contact the host) A1F: Understanding	A4F: Rej alt 1(interrupted) A3F: *Alt3 (based on alt 2; Ref*	A6M: RQ ground A5M: *Info elicit Q*	A8M: Rej of alt 1 (reason) + RQ A7F: **Apo + elaborate**	A10F: Minimized RQ A9F: **Elaborate alt 1 (wait**	A12F: RQ 2 (asking Ref to call host) A11F:

	check A2F: Elaborated RQ2 A1F: Compliance with RQ2	*asking Req to call host* A4F: Acceptance of alt 3	A6M: Understanding check A5M: Answer + understanding check A6M: Answer A5M: Info elicit Q A6M: Answer A5M: **Reason 1 (absence of the host)+** Understanding check A6M: Answer A5M: Info elicit Q (name) A6M: Answer A5M: **Repetition of the answer + Neg willingness + reason 2 (guest status) + alt 1(wait elsewhere & come back) + reason 3 (privacy)**	**reason 1 (security)**	**downstairs) + rep reason 1+ Apo**	Compliance with RQ 2

There were three pairs of speakers in the low-intermediate group, and two each in the intermediate and advanced groups who proceeded to a fourth episode. This resulted from persistent requests and rejections of the proposed alternatives in the previous episode. In response, the refusers across the levels were similar in that they adjusted refusal moves to confirm their refusal intent. Expression of negative ability and direct "*no*" were seen in the low-intermediate (L5F and L11F) and intermediate (I1F) groups. The advanced learners maintained their refusal intent by repeating their reason (A5M) and elaborating the alternative (A7F). These are shown in table 5.9.

Table 5. 9 Fourth refusal episode of role-play II performed by the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced learners

Level	Pair 1	Pair 2	Pair 3	Pair 4	Pair 5	Pair 6
L	End	End	L6F: RQ 2 (water) + RQ 1 L5F: **(delayed) compliance with RQ2 + neg (RQ1)** L6F: Info elicit Q	End	L9F: **Repetition of alt 1** L10F: RQ ground (persistent) L9F: **Pseudo-agr + reason 1**	L12F: Minimized RQ L11F: **NO**

			L5F: **Apo** L6F: Info elicit Qs L5F: Answer L6F: Info elicit Q L5F: **Answer + alt 1 (elaborated)** L6F: acceptance of alt 1		**(stranger) + Apo + understanding checking + Alt 2 (come back again)**	
I	I2F: rej alt 1 (same reason) + RQ I1F: **neg + apo** I2F: accepting alt 1	End	End	End	End	I12F: RQ2 (call the host inside the apt) I11F: Info elicit Q (condition for compliance) I12F: Answer I11F: Confirmation check I12F: Elaborated answer I11F: **Repetition of reasons 2,1**
A	End	End	A6M: RQ ground + RQ A5M: **Repetition of part of RQ + repetition reason 3** **Modification alt 1 (water)**	A8M: RQ ground + RQ 2 (drink) A7F: **Elaborated alt 1 + reason** (*"you don't have to stand"*)	End	End

There were only five pairs of learners in the three groups who continued to a fifth episode. One low-intermediate learner changed her mind and let the requester come in (L9F), while another one (L11F) persisted in her refusal. The rest of the refusers complied with the other requests but insisted that the requesters wait outside the apartment. This is illustrated in table 5.10 overleaf.

Table 5. 10 Fifth refusal episode of role-play II performed by the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced learners

Low-intermediate	Low-intermediate	Intermediate	Advanced	Advanced
L10F: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) L9F: Compliance (change of mind)	L12F: RQ (appeal) + RQ ground (relation) L11F: **Reason 3 + elaboration (burglary + security)** L12F: Acknowledging reason 3 L11F: **Repetition of alt 1**	I12F: Appeal + Cajoling I11F: Compliance with RQ 2 + Confirmation check (condition) I12F: Answer-agreement to follow the condition) I11F: Compliance with RQ 1 [calling the host using the phone outside the apt]	A6M: RQ 2 (coffee) A5M: Compliance with RQ2	A8M: RQ ground + RQ 2 A7F: Compliance with RQ 2 (but wait outside)

5.3.2.1 Summary of Role-play II Analysis

To summarize the analysis of role-play II, the majority of the refusers across the levels adjusted their refusal moves towards refusal goals. "*Reason*" and "*alternative*" were essential refusal moves in this role-play situation because they were used by every refuser and elaborated or shifted throughout the episodes to convey the refusers' intent. These similarities suggest that differences in proficiency level had little influence on the sociopragmatic behavior of the learners in this scenario. That is, when refusing a status equal who the refusers did not know, the refusers, regardless of their proficiency level, may have found it justified to maintain their refusal intent with minimal facework. This could be seen in the content of alternatives which did not seem to benefit the requesters and the repetition of reasons. Five out of six requesters in the advanced level asked for a local goal after two or three refusal episodes and this resulted in "*compliance to other request*" as a final outcome, in contrast to the majority of outcomes in the low-intermediate and intermediate groups. Another finding emerges from the analysis: the refusers across the levels used similar content of alternatives despite the fact that alternatives were not provided in the refusers' role-cards. A possible explanation would be that the refusers at all levels reacted to the situation in the same way because they shared similar contextual and cultural knowledge. This, again, seems to indicate that the

sociopragmatic texture of this role-play situation is not affected by the differences in English proficiency level.

5.3.3 Role-play III (Manager)

In the third situation, the refusers enacted the role of a secretary to the manager of a university residential hall for international staff (P +, D +). The requesters played the role of the resident representative who wished to meet the manager.

The participants at all proficiency levels were similar in their use of refusal moves in the first episode. From the second episode onwards, they adjusted their refusal moves to attend to the needs of the requesters who were of higher status.

In the first refusal episode, all of the refusers in the three groups used "*reason*" as the central refusal component. The majority of the refusers in each group used refusal moves in this sequence "*Apology*" + "*Reason*", as illustrated in extract 5.17 taken from a pair in each group. The boundary of each move is indicated by brackets [ ] and coding of refusal moves appears in the left hand margin.

Extract 5.17 Role-play III (manager)

Low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced speakers

Req	1	L11F:	excuse me Ms. I want to see Mr. Duncan
Apo + Reason 1	2	L12F:	oh **[I'm sorry] [Mr. Duncan is in very important meeting]**and **[he asked not to be disturbed]** um:: and **[I don't know when the meeting is over]**
Reason 2 + Reason 3			
Req	2	L5F:	oh ((inaudible)) I want to see Mr. Duncan
Apo + Reason 1	3	L6F:	**[sorry]** (.) **[now he is in an important meeting]**
Req	2	A7F:	yes I want to see Mr. Duncan is he -
Apo + Reason 1	3	A8M:	uh: **[I'm sorry] [Mr. Duncan is having a meeting a very important meeting]**

In the second and subsequent episodes, four low-intermediate learners and all of the intermediate and advanced learners elaborated their requests stressing the urgency of the water quality problem in the swimming pool. In response to persistent requests, the refusers at all levels adjusted their refusal moves supportively as seen in their elaboration

of reasons and proposals of alternatives. For example, one refuser explained further the meeting obligation of the manager and another persuaded the requester to fill out a complaint form and leave his/her contact details. The alternatives the participants across the levels proposed seem to have benefited the requesters although the contents varied from one refuser to another.

Also, the moves "*pseudo-agreement*" and "*postponement*" were used from the second refusal episode onwards and their use was not specific to any one group of learners. Pragmatically speaking, these moves had compensatory functions which helped mitigate the face threat posed by central refusal messages, which were expressed through "*negative ability*" or "*reason*" in the first episode. Table 5.11 shows a comparison of the second and subsequent refusal episodes from the second and the fourth pairs of learners across the three proficiency levels.

Table 5.11 Role-play III refusal episodes performed by three pairs of speakers in low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced groups

Speakers	Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4
L3F & L4F (Req) (Ref)	L3F: Elaborated RQ L4M: **Reason 2 (no info) + info elicit Q** L3F: Answer—RQ ground L4M: **Postponement (will tell manager)**	L3F: Info elicit Q (assessing situ) L4M: Answer ("I don't know") L3F: Acceptance of postponement	End
L5F & L6F (Req) (Ref)	L5F: RQ L6F: **Elongated filler** L5F: RQ ground (urgent) L6F: **Elaborate reasons 1,2 (imp meeting, no disturb) + alt 1 (offer of help)**	L5F: Rej reason (persistent RQ) L6F: Info elicit Q (part of alt 1) L5F: Answer—RQ L6F: **Elongated filler** L5F: Repetition of RQ L6F: **Alt 2 (wait)**	L5F: RQ L6F: **Elaborate reason 2 + rep of alt 2** **Elaborate alt 2 (wait for a break)** L5F: Self-initiated alt 3 (call his mobile) L6F: **Pseudo-agr + reason 2 (no disturb) + alt 2** L5F: Acceptance of alt 2
I3F &I4F (Req) (Ref)	I3F: Rej alt 1 + RQ+ ground I4F: **Postponement + Neg + rep of postponement (will tell manager)** I3F: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) + RQ ground— I4F: Answer I3F: Threat I4F: **Pseudo-agr + reason 1+rep postponement**	I3F: Pseudo agr (yes but) + RQ ground I4F: **Elaborate postponement + alignment** I3F: (leaving contact number) + summarizing RQ &threat I4F: *Alignment* ("*I'm sure...deal with the problem immediately*") I3F: Accept postponement and leave contact detail	End

I5F & I6F (Req) (Ref)	I5F: RQ ground I6F: **Alt 2 (make an appointment)** I5F: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) I6F: *Answer (inability to give info)* **+ postponement (will tell manager) + elaborate alt 1 (leave contact detail and wait to be contacted)** I5F: Acceptance of alt 1 + RQ for definite outcome I6F: *Elaborate postponement and alt 1 (taking contact details)*	End	End
A3F & A4F (Req) (Ref)	A3F: RQ A4F: **Rep reason 1 + elaboration + alt 1 (message)** A3F: Rej alt 1 A4F: **Postponement** A3F: Rej postponement + RQ ground A4F: **Empathy + alt 2 (offer of help)** A3F: Understanding check A4F: Answer + Info elicit Q (part of alt 2) A3F: Answer—RQ ground A4F: Understanding check	A3F: Answer—Elaborated RQ ground + RQ A4F: **Empathy + Alt 3 (wait)** A3F: Rej alt 3+ threat A4F: Compliance (contact manager right away)	
A7F&A8M (Req) (Ref)	A7F: Rej alt 1 (Repetition of RQ) A8M: **Rep reason 1 + apo + alt 2 (wait)** A7F: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) *A8M: Answer (inability to give info)* **+ elaborate alt 1 (message and fill in complaint form)**	A7F: Rej alt 1 (Repetition of RQ) + ground A8M: **Elaborate alt 1 (compliant form) + reason 2 (manager may not come back this afternoon)** A7F: Rej alt1	A7F: RQ A8M: **Rep reason 1 + apo + rep alt1** A7F: Rej alt1 A8M: Info elicit Q + alt 2 (take notes of problems) Answer Ref taking notes Series of info elicit Q & answers apo+ compiled with RQ

The data in table 5.11 show that the learners at all levels adjusted their refusals to attend to the requesters' wants although the combination of refusal moves they used was different. With regard to the similarity in refusal moves adjustments, L6F, I6F, A4F and A8M all shifted their alternatives in response to modified requests. The use of reasons and repetitions of reasons also helped the refusers to justify their alternatives and postponement, making it clear to the requesters that it was necessary for the refusers not to comply with the requests. These were accompanied by "*apology*" (A8M), "*pseudo-*

agreement" (L6F and I4F) and "*empathy*" (A4F), which mitigated the face-threat of the alternatives and postponements. Extract 5.18, which is taken from the second and third episodes of A7F and A8M, illustrates this face-work mechanism. Coding of refusals is marked in boldface and an arrow → indicates the beginning of a refusal episode.

Extract 5.18 Advanced speakers

Requester = A7F

Refuser = A8M

Rep reason1 + apo	22	A8M:	um: he is having a very important meeting I apologize for this
+ alt 2 (wait)	23		so why don't you just ah wait a little bit longer and he may be –
Info Q	24	A7F:	and what time he will be in?
Answer	25	A8M:	I'm don't – uh – I don't know because there are a lot of important
(*inability to give*	26		staff who came to attend this meeting so why don't you write a
info) + **elaborate**	27		complaint and when he comes back you'll get –
Alt 1			
RQ(interrupted)	28	A7F:	um [I want to see]
	29	A8M:	[his permission] ((softly)) uh yes
RQ Rej Alt1	30	A7F:	→ I want to see him I don't want to leave a message
Elongated filler	31	A8M:	um:
RQ ground	32	A7F:	because I (.) I complaint to him for many many times but
	33		nothing um
Elaborate Alt1	34	A8M:	um so uh yes I saw your complaints uh file of complaints of
	35		residents so if he (.) comes back quite late in the night uh late at night
	36		so what would we do? so why don't you write a complain a new
	37		complaint uh you know in in case he will not come back –
Rej Alt 1+RQ	38	A7F:	→ no no no no I want to see him
Uptake	39	A8M:	ok um:
RQ	40	A7F:	could could you tell him that I'm waiting for him here?
Rep reason1+ Apo	41	A8M:	he's having a very important meeting I apologize for this (.) he
appeal + rep Alt 1	42		ordered me not to interrupt and if I get fired, do you help me? So it
	43		will be better if you write a complaint (.) ok I will record it and report
Rej Alt1	44	A7F:	=no no no no
Info Q + Alt2	45	A8M:	ok so while waiting (.) could you tell please tell me what your
	46		problems are (.)because I will bring this to inform Mr. Duncan in
	47		the meeting (.)

While repeating "reason 1" (meeting obligation) in line 22, A8M elaborated his suggestion that the requester fill in a compliant form as an alternative solution to the problem and provided another reason to support his suggestion in lines 34-37: *"...so why don't you write a complaint a new complaint uh you know in in case he will not come back"*. In response to A7F's rejection and another request in line 38, A8M reiterated the

reason "meeting obligation" as well as his proposal. It could be said that A8M's repetition of the reason emphasizes the necessity of his refusal, and his repetition of the alternative shows that he was trying to attend to A7F's needs, thus compensating for his refusals.

5.3.3.1 Summary of Role-play III Analysis

A comparison of refusal moves used by the three groups of learners in role-play III shows that the learners' proficiency level did not seem to affect the sociopragmatic qualities of the data. The learners at all levels were similar in their choice and combination of refusal moves in the first episode. In the second and subsequent episodes, the refusers in the three groups used different combinations of refusal moves but these did not seem to be related to their lexico-grammatical proficiency levels. In terms of pragmatic orientation of refusal move adjustments, the refusers were similar across the groups. While maintaining their refusal intent, the learners offered help, suggested alternative solutions to the requesters' problem, and elaborated the reasons for their refusals. Thus, it could be said that when refusing a higher status acquaintance, the refusers, regardless of their proficiency levels, are all showing an attempt to balance between refusal and interpersonal goals.

5.3.4 Role-play IV (Computer)

In the fourth role-play situation, the refusers were undergraduate students who were responsible for opening and closing the faculty's undergraduate computer room. The requesters were of higher status and used to be teaching assistants in the refusers' classes (P+, D-).

In this situation, the majority of the refusers were similar in that they adjusted their refusal moves towards social relation concerns while maintaining the refusal intent. "*Apology*", "*negative ability/willingness*", "*reason*" and "*alternative*" were key refusal moves which were used by every refuser across the levels. "*Apology*" was the main mitigating move, which half of the low-intermediate and intermediate speakers used in every episode.

In the first refusal episode, "*reason*" was an essential refusal move; all of the refusers in the three groups used the move as a central refusal component or as a supportive move, that is, to explain why the refusal was being made. This is illustrated in extract 5.19, samples a)-c), which are taken from the first refusal episode produced by the third pair in each group. The refusal moves are in boldface and their boundary is indicated by brackets [ ]. Coding of refusal moves is marked in boldface in the left hand margin.

Extract 5.19 Low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced speakers

Sample a)

Req	3	L6F:	um can I use the computer right now?
Apo + Neg	4	L5F:	**[I'm afraid] [you cannot]** (.) **[because uh I have to** (.)
Reason 1	5		**logging off the computer and** (.) **the other devices]**

Sample b)

Req	4	I6F:	yeah can you help me to use the computer at here
Apo + Neg	5	I5F:	**[I'm so sorry]** [**it's now um**: ((2.0)) **twenty five past five and my**
Reason 1	6		**room will close at half past five]**

Sample c)

Req	4	A6M:	can I use the computer in this room now?
Filler + **Reason1**	5	A5M:	[OH::] **[you know it's time to to shut the room]** and you know
Neg (interrupted)	6		**[I cannot but -]**

From the second episode onwards, all the requesters in the advanced group and the majority of the intermediate (four out of six) and low-intermediate (five out of six) persisted. Interestingly, some of the requesters in every level (L2M, L6F, I12F, A10F and A12F) used "*presupposition manipulations*" when their first requests were not successful. "*Presupposition manipulation*" is a positive politeness strategy classified in Brown and Levinson's system (1987:122). The strategy refers to the speaker's use of address forms that presupposes the familiarity in the relationship between the hearer and him/her. Using this strategy, the speaker can soften the degree of face-threat of his/her request. To illustrate how the refusers responded to persistent requests and manipulation of the relationship between them, let us look at the data extracts 5.20 – 5.22, which are taken

from three pairs of learners, one from each group. The refusal moves are in boldface and the requesters' manipulation of the relationship are italicized and underlined.

Extract 5.20 Low-intermediate learners

L6F = Requester

L7F = Refuser

Info elicit Q	17	L6F:	um actually ((1.0)) um: *you know I've ever seen you on last term I was*
(Manipulation)	18		*a teacher – teaching assistant do you remember me?*
Uptake	19	L5F:	really
RQ	20	L6F:	can you help me a minute?
Answer to Q#17	21	L5F:	let me think about it (.) YES I see you are my teaching assistant (.)
(Acknowledge)	22		in (.) last semester
Elaborate RQ	23	L6F:	yes I just wanna check a little bit and print it just not much just only ten minutes here you can wait it for me? plea:se
Neg + Reason2	24	L5F:	but ((sigh)) I think **I cannot because I have to close the room in five minutes**

Extract 5.21 Intermediate learners

I12F = Requester

I11F = Refuser

Req	12	I12F:	but please it's very important
Reason 3	13	I11F:	but the teacher who appoint this this job on me she trusts me so much
(advisor)	14		and and I don't wanna be
Manipulation	15	I12F:	but *you know Sairung I know you for years*
Rejection	16	I11F:	it's not that point
Req	17	I12F:	please
Rejection	18	I11F:	that that doesn't matter
Cajole (offer)	19	I12F:	please I will treat you after that
Alt 1 (alt place)	20	I11F:	maybe you can you know there are some computer stores out there
+ reason	21		it it I don't think it doesn't take so much time to you know to you to
(walking distance)	22		travel there and to use them there –

Extract 5.22 Advanced learners

A12F = Requester

A11F = Refuser

Cajole (offer1)	18	A12F:	oh I'll buy you dinner
Rej offer +reason2	19	A11F:	NO this is not the point the point is that my advisor trusts me
Offer 2	20	A12F:	I'll take you home too
Rej offer2+	21	A11F:	no no no I can't I I risk losing this job which I cannot because I need

Reason3+Appeal	22		some money to to buy textbooks please understand me
Cajoling	23	A12F:	won't be that bad
Rej+reasons3,2,5	24	A11F:	it IS that ba:d because of my reputation my advisor and then my JOB
RQ	25	A12F:	if you close the door no one sees it
Elaborate Alt2	26	A11F:	maybe you'd better just go to some Internet café
Appeal	27	A12F:	you're so MEAN I don't have any time
Appeal+Neg will	28	A11F:	please understand (.) this is my standpoint (.) I will not yield to your –
Manipulation	29	A12F:	*please you're my friend*
Rej+reason6+ Appeal empathy	30	A11F:	that's personal stuff and this is professional please understand

The data extracts show that the refusers rejected the requesters' attempt to manipulate the relation between the refusers and the requesters (lines 24 in 5.20, lines 16 and 18 in 5.21, and lines 21, 24 and 28 in 5.22). The refusers made it clear that they were unable to let the requesters use the computer despite knowing the requesters quite well.

In addition to the data extracts 5.20 – 5.22, the refusers across the levels used other positive-face oriented moves such as "*appeal for empathy*" and "*pseudo-agreement*" in response to persistent requests from the third episode onwards. Also, all of the refusers in the three levels shifted the content of their reasons, explaining the necessity to close the computer room on time and the risk of losing their jobs. Moreover, the majority of the requesters in the low-intermediate and intermediate groups and all of the advanced requesters proposed alternatives which functioned as compensatory moves, mitigating the illocutionary force of refusals and minimizing any potential tension that could have arisen due to the refusals in the previous episodes. To illustrate the similar ways in which learners performed remedial facework while expressing their refusal intent, let us look at a comparison of data from six pairs of learners in table 5.12. The data are taken from the third to the fifth refusal episodes of two pairs of learners in each group.

Table 5. 12 Role-play IV refusal episodes performed by three pairs of learners in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced groups

Speakers	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5
L4M & L3F (Req) (Ref)	L4M: RQ L3F: **Apo + reason 2 (lose job)** L4M: Understanding check L3F: **Elaborate reason 2**	L4M: Cajoling L3F: **(delayed(4.0)) Apo (intensified)**	L4M: RQ L3F: **Pseudo agr + neg**
L5F & L6F (Req) (Ref)	L6F: Rej postponement + RQ L5F: **Apo + reason 3(lose job) Alt 1 (offer of help)**	L6F: Minimized RQ (10 mins) L5F: **Neg + reason 2**	L6F: Minimized RQ (5 min) L5F: Info elicit Q (condition) L6F: Answer (show the work)

	L6F: Info elicit Q (relation manipulation) L5F: Answer		L5F: **Apo + neg + reason 4 (too much work) + elaborate alt1** L6F: Acceptance of alt 1
I2F & I1F (Req) (Ref)	I2F: RQ ground +RQ I1F: **Reason 3 (closing time) + alt 1 (alt place) + reason (open until late)** I2F: Rej alt1 + reason (RQ ground) I1F: **Pseudo agr + neg + reason 4,5 (advisor, lose job)** I2F: Acceptance of RF I1F: **Apo** I2F: (withdrawing RQ) Letting RF off the hook	End	End
I12F & I11F (Req) (Ref)	I12F: RQ (persistent) I11F: **Reason 3 (advisor)**	I12F: Cajoling (relation manipulation) I11F: **Rej of the manipulation** I12F: Cajoling (offer of treat) I11F: **Alt 1 (alt place) + reason (within walking distance)**	L12F: RQ L11F: **Rep reason 1** L12F: RQ ground L11F: **Elaborate alt 1 (offer to accompany) + reason 3,4 (lose job, book allowance)** L12F: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) L11F: Answer L12F: Understanding check L11F: Answer – **offer to accompany and subsidize the printing fees + rep of reason 3**
A8M & A7F (Req) (Ref)	A8M: Minimized RQ (just print) A7F: **Reason 2 (turned off com & printer) + elaborate (take time to boost)**	A8M: Appeal A7F: **"no"** A8M: RQ ground A7F: **Appeal for empathy + reason 3 (lose job)** A8M: Info elicit Q (assessing situation) A7F: Answer	A8M: RQ for alternative A7F*: Alt 2 (computer center)* A8M: Understanding check A7F: Answer A8M: Acceptance of alt 2
A10F & A9F (Req) (Ref)	A10F: RQ for alternative for alt A9F: *Alt 1 (dept)* A10F: Rej of alt 1 + reason A9F: **Rep reason 2 (stating it as a 'rule')** A10F: "oh::" A9F: **(overlapping) apo + pseudo agr + reason 3 (lose job)**	A10F: RQ for another alt *A9F: Alt 2 (common room)* A10F: Understanding check A9F: Answer (elaborated alt 2) A10F: Rej of alt 2 + reason A9F: **Alt 3 (outside campus)** A10F: Acceptance of alt 3	End

As shown in table 5.12, the content of alternatives and reasons the requesters across proficiency levels used were similar:

a) alternative place outside campus (I2F, I11F, A9F)

b) job responsibilities and commitment to the job which was recommended by the advisor (L3F, L6F, I1F, I11F, A7F, and A9F)

That the learners, regardless of their proficiency levels, used the same tactics is probably because they were familiar with situational and contextual resources such as the rules and regulations of the computer room, or alternative places around the campus where a printing service was available and which were open until late. Presumably, the reasons and alternatives rendered the refusals sound and pragmatically effective.

I now would like to turn to qualitative differences in the way learners mitigated their refusal moves in this role-play. The first difference is the use of "*apology*". Half of the low-intermediate and intermediate refusers used the move as the main mitigating strategy in every episode. The extracts 5.23 and 5.24 illustrate the learners' use of the move.

Extract 5.23 Low-intermediate learners

Sample a) *L1F*

16 I1F: my job is um um sometimes uh (.) sometimes have person report of the
17 teacher (.) I open computer is overtime oh **I'm sorry**

23 oh oh I'm worried I can't you use computer **sorry sorry** (.) I think you use
24 computer tomorrow?

Sample b) *L3F*

9 L3F: **I'm sorry** sir (.) but I lose I lose the work

14 (4.0) **I'm sorry sorry very much**

Sample c) *L5F*

4 L5F: **I'm afraid** you cannot (.) because uh I have to (.) logging off the computer
and (.) the other devices

11 ((2.0)) **I'm really so sorry** because if (.) I (.) if I don't close the room right now
12 (.) um maybe I will lose my job =

Extract 5.24 Intermediate learners

Sample a) *I1F*

2 I11F: oh **I'm really sorry** *Ajarn* Jirapa
[teacher/instructor in Thai]

7 **I'm so sorry** I don't want to fail you but this computer cluster is just for (.)
8 undergraduate students

Sample b) *I3F*

4 I3F: oh **I'm really sorry** because I have to close the computer room in time
5 at five thirty

8 oh **I'm really sorry** because if I uh don't close the computer room in time
9 I will lose my job and the (.) my ad – my advisor will blame me

Sample c) *I9F*

4 I9F: **I'm very sorry** because it's it's to – it's five twenty five and I have to close it
5 in five minutes

11 uh **I'm really sorry** but I can't because if I close the door (.) late I will
12 be punished

The intensified apology tokens in the extracts above seem to suggest that the low-intermediate and intermediate learners implemented the concept of mitigation through the use of apology and intensified apology which appear pragmatically effective in this situation although some of the tokens may sound non-target like, such as L5F's "I'm really so sorry".

The advanced learners, as shown in table 5.12, mitigated their refusals with other refusal moves than "*apology*"; they elaborated reasons by stating the refusal as a rule and proposed alternatives. Although the majority of the advanced learners, A3F, A7F, A9F and A11F, used "*apology*" to mitigate their refusals, they did not use it in every episode, while the majority of the low-intermediate and intermediate learners did. A possible explanation for this slight difference in the use of "*apology*" as a mitigation is that the advanced learners may have had the linguistic capacity to express their mitigation intent as seen in the elaboration of reasons and alternatives.

Only in the advanced group, were there instances of alignments between the requesters and refusers. For example, the majority of the refusers in the advanced group offered to accompany the requesters to alternative places and three requesters invited their interlocutors for dinner or a drink afterwards, as illustrated in data extract 5.25 lines 29 and 31.

Extract 5.25 Advanced learners

29	A3F:	I know I know that (.) **how about um going to my my apartment instead**
30		just only fifteen minutes by walk from university?
31	A4F:	oh
32	A3F:	and then **you can use my computer and we can chat afterwards**
33	A4F:	oh great (.) ok let's go ((collecting paper))

5.3.4.1 Summary of Role-play IV Analysis

The analysis shows that the sociopragmatic aspects of refusals in this role-play situation are similar across the three levels, suggesting that the learners' proficiency level does not seem to have an influence on their pragmatic use of refusal moves. The refusers at all levels oriented their refusal moves towards interpersonal relations although they did not comply with the requests. This is seen in the learners' use of direct "*no*" and "*negative ability/willingness*" move, which was combined with other face-preserving moves such as "*pseudo-agreement*", "*apology*" and "*appeal for empathy*". A possible explanation for this sociopragmatic similarity of refusal moves across the levels would be that the learners were aware of the weightiness of the request, and, according to the assigned role, they were responsible for the general safety of the computer cluster and committed to the job, which were recommended by their advisors. Moreover, the requesters were of a higher status and have known the refusers for some time. These were likely to make the learners, regardless of their proficiency level, feel that they were justified to refuse and feel obliged to engage in facework at the same time; hence, the similarity in the sociopragmatic aspects of the data.

5.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, analyses of refusal moves in each role-play situation have been presented. The analyses were conducted to tackle the first and second research questions, which seek to explore possible differences in the sociopragmatic quality of the data and any possible disparity between the learners' proficiency level and their ability to perform refusals. These have been studied in terms of the pragmatic use of refusal moves, and whether these differences are related to their proficiency levels. In so doing, the data were

segmented into two sets of analytical categories: refusal moves and interactional function categories. Data coded into refusal moves and interactional functions were then analyzed in terms of refusal episodes so as to detect patterns of refusal moves.

In terms of the structure of the role-plays, the learners in the three groups were similar in their choice of acts that structured the role-plays. Nevertheless, there were differences in the average number of refusal episodes, which increased according to the learners' proficiency level. However, it does not mean that the more the learners talked the more effective the conversation was. The advanced learners were more persistent than the low-intermediate and intermediate and engaged in longer negotiation, which typically consisted of the following adjacency pairs:

(A) Rejection – Proposal of alternative
  (a) Rejection – Elaboration of alternative
  (b) Another alternative – Rejection/Acceptance of alternative
(B) (Modified) Request – Elaboration of Postponement/Reason
(C) (Modified) Request – Repetition of Postponement/Reason
(D) Confirmation check/Information eliciting question – answer

The analysis of the pragmatic use of refusal moves shows that there was a similarity in the pragmatic orientation of refusal moves across the three levels, suggesting that the sociopragmatic aspects of the data has not been influenced by the learners' English proficiency level. The learners at all levels adjusted their refusals towards relation and status-preserving goals in role-plays I (report), III (manager) and IV (computer) and towards refusal goals in role-play II (stranger). In other words, the learners at all levels showed similar reactions towards the role-play situations and this seems to be independent of their proficiency level. The results can be summarized as follows:

<u>Role-play I</u>

The majority of the low-intermediate and intermediate learners
Apology + Negative ability + Reason → (Elaboration or Shift) Reason→ Alternative or Postponement

The majority of the advanced learners
Postponement + Reason → Elaboration or Shift of Reason, Elaboration of postponement → Alternative or Repetition of postponement

Mitigating moves used by speakers at all levels: Apology, pseudo-agreement and alignment

Role-play II

The majority of the low-intermediate and intermediate learners
Negative ability + Reason (s) → Shift of reason, Alternative → Repetition, Elaboration of alternative

The majority of the advanced learners
Reason (s) + Alternative → Shift of reason, Repetition, Elaboration of alternative → Negative ability, Repetition of reason + Elaboration, Shift of alternative → Compliance with the other request

Mitigating moves used by speakers at all levels: Apology

Role-play III

Reason (s) → Elaboration, Shift of reason (s) + Alternative or Postponement → Elaboration of Alternative or Postponement → Compliance (half of the advanced learners)

Mitigating moves used by speakers at all levels: Apology, Pseudo-agreement and Alignment

Role-play IV

Negative ability, "No" + Reason → Elaboration, Shift of reason + Alternative → Elaboration, Shift of reason + Elaboration, Shift of Alternative + Negative ability → Elaboration, Shift of reason + Elaboration, Shift of Alternative + Negative ability

Mitigating moves used by speakers at all levels: Apology (intensified in 70% of the learners), Pseudo-agreement, Appeal for empathy

In each role-play, however, there were local differences in the patterns of refusal moves which seemed to be related to the speakers' proficiency levels. That is, the majority of the low-intermediate learners used "*apology*" and "*negative ability*" more often than the intermediate and the advanced learners in every role-play situation. The advanced learners used "*apology*" more often when refusing a higher status with greater social distance in role-play III.

If the results are taken together, we have the answer to the research questions: the learners' sociopragmatic quality of refusals to requests was similar across the three

proficiency levels, indicating that EFL proficiency level does not seem to influence the sociopragmatic aspect of the speech act, at least in this data set. Although there are slight differences in the degree of recursiveness of adjacency pairs that made up negotiations, preparatory and remedial facework, which seems to be related to proficiency level, these did not seem to cause drastic differences in the politeness values of the learners' refusals. However, it is worth stressing that the generalizability of the results may be limited to because the data base comprises only six pairs of speakers in each proficiency level.

With the first research question answered, I now would like to turn to investigate the third research question, which concerns differences in the lexico-grammatical features of interlanguage refusals and provides the focus for the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Lexico-grammatical Analysis

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents analyses of lexico-grammatical aspects of role-play performance in general and of refusals in particular produced by the three groups of participants. The aim of the analyses is to address the third research question:

> 3. To what extent do the overall language and lexicalizations of refusals produced by the learners at three proficiency levels differ in terms of formulaic aspects?

The analyses presented in this chapter are a part of the overall purpose of the thesis that investigates the issue of a relation between pragmatics and lexico-grammatical quality of refusals to requests in Thai EFL learners. With regard to the procedures of the analyses, sixteen native speakers of English were asked to identify formulaic sequences in the data set, using the modified definition (see p. 52 and p. 104). The sequences identified were then compared across the three levels in terms of proportion, frequency and variety. The next step was for the formulaic sequences that occurred in the lexicalizations of refusal moves to be analyzed in further detail and compared across the levels. Also, as by-products of the analysis, learners' varieties of formulaic sequences are presented and compared with the Bank of English Corpus in order to illustrate some of the ways in which learners' varieties can differ from native speakers' formulaic sequences.

6.1 Proportion of Formulaic sequences

As explained in section 3.5 of Chapter Three (p. 74), the transcription of 72 role-plays was divided into three sub-corpora according to the proficiency levels of the participants. Hence, there were low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora.

Next, the sub-corpora were randomly distributed to 16 native speakers, all of whom had language teaching experience and half of whom were familiar with Thai EFL students. The informants were asked to identify formulaic sequences, which were defined as continuous or discontinuous sequences of words that appear to be memorized and used as wholes rather than individually made up according to grammatical rules (p.52).The informants were also asked to include what they considered to be the learners' variants of formulaic sequences. Data from the informants were then collated in a master corpus and each formulaic sequence identified was put in slanting lines. Only the formulaic sequences that had been identified by 3 or more of the five informants, which is the acceptance rate in the present study, were included in the analyses (see Appendix VII p. 245 for sample pages of the corpora).

Of course, there remains the possibility that some formulaic sequences were not detected because the corpus was not large enough to trace some formulaic sequences that individual learners used repeatedly—a criterion for a sequence of words to be considered formulaic. However, the identification task carried out by the 16 native speaker informants provided an invaluable source of data; learners' varieties were identified and these are going to be presented in section 4 of this chapter.

To address the question of whether there was a difference in terms of proportion of formulaic sequences in the three corpora, it was first necessary to find the proportion of formulaic sequences in each corpus. In so doing, the number of words inside formulaic sequences accepted by the majority decision in each corpus was counted. For example, let us look at data extract 6.1 from the master corpus where identified formulaic sequences were in slanting lines.

Extract 6.1 Intermediate learners (report)

I1F = Requester

I2F = Refuser

19	I1F:	so /////I wonder if//// if ////you mind /if//// I want to to um (.) join your group
20	I2F:	oh I I think that is not convenient for uh (.) for you to join in our group be –
21	I1F:	//why NOT//?

The formulaic sequences that were included in the analysis were "I wonder if" and "you mind if" because they were identified by three or more informants as shown by the number of slanting lines. Then the number of the words inside the two formulaic sequences was counted; in this case, each one contained three words.

Once all of the words inside the formulaic sequences identified by the majority decision were counted, they were calculated as a percentage of the total number of words in each corpus. This is shown in table 6.1. The letters L, I and A stand for low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced respectively.

Table 6. 1 Proportion of formulaic sequences identified in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Corpus	Total number of words	Number of identified formulaic sequences	Number of words inside formulaic sequences	Words inside formulaic sequences as % of total words
L	4685	197	479	10.22%
I	5647	240	669	11.85%
A	8735	445	1250	14.31%
	19067			

As seen in table 6.1, the amount of talk increased according to the proficiency level. The low-intermediate learners produced less talk than the intermediate, 4685 words compared to 5647 words, and the advanced learners produced far more talk (8735 words) than the other two groups.

It can also be seen that the proportion of formulaic language gradually increased according to the proficiency level. The low-intermediate learners, who produced the least amount of talk, also used the smallest proportion of formulaic language in their role-play performance when compared with the learners in the other groups. This was seen in 10.22% of formulaic language in the low-intermediate corpus. The talk produced by the intermediate learners included a slightly larger amount of formulaic language than that found in the low-intermediate corpus: 11.85% compared to 10.22%. The advanced learners used the highest proportion of formulaic language: 14.31% compared to 11.85% and 10.22% in the other two corpora in their role-plays.

Having found that the language produced by the three groups of learners differed in terms of the proportion of formulaic language, the proportion of formulaic language in each corpus was tested with chi-square to see if the difference was likely to be chance or not. This is shown in table 6.2.

Table 6. 2 Cross-tabulation of proportion of formulaic sequences identified in the three corpora and chi-square test results

Crosstab

Count

		INOUT		
		IN	OUT	Total
CORPUS	A	1250	7485	8735
	I	669	4978	5647
	L	479	4206	4685
Total		2398	16669	19067

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	50.193(a)	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	50.757	2	.000
N of Valid Cases	19067		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 589.22.

The chi-square test shows that there was a significant difference in the proportion of formulaic language between the highest and lowest proficiency groups which was unlikely to be due to chance.

6.2 Frequency and Variety of Formulaic sequences

This section reports a frequency and variety analysis of formulaic sequences in the three corpora. This provides a breakdown of the proportion analysis because it looks at the types of formulaic sequences and number of occurrences in each corpus. The purpose of the frequency and variety analysis is to find out if the participants' use of formulaic language differs in these aspects.

In this step of the analysis, all of the formulaic sequences identified in the three corpora were included. The number of formulaic sequences identified in each corpus was broken down into "formulaic sequence types" and, following Foster (2001), into number of occurrences of each type or "tokens". Then formulaic sequence types were categorized into three frequency bands: formulaic sequences found only once, 2-4 times and recurrent ones: 5 or more occurrences. These bands behind the three categories were inevitably arbitrary. As Foster notes (ibid.:92), it was not possible to give a definite criterion of how "often" a formulaic sequence should occur for it to be considered "often" in a given corpus. In Foster's study, the criterion for a recurrent sequence was that it was found 7 times or more in each of the four sub corpora (NS planned, NS unplanned, NNS planned and NNS unplanned), which added up to about 20000 words. In my study, there were very few formulaic sequences that occurred more than 7 times. Formulaic sequences identified tended to cluster in the frequency bands of 2-4 times and 5 times or more. Therefore, it was felt that the sequences that were used 5 times or more in each sub corpus were enough to be considered recurrent.

Next, the number of tokens in each frequency band was calculated as a percentage of the total number of formulaic sequences identified in each corpus. This way, it was possible to show how much each frequency band accounted for the total number of identified formulaic sequences—whether it was formulaic sequences that were found only once, 2-4 times, or were recurrent in the sense defined above.

The frequency breakdown also indicated the variety of formulaic sequences used in each corpus. That is, if a large proportion of formulaic sequences were found only once, this would suggest a large variety of formulaic sequences used by the learners in a given corpus. On the other hand, if a high percentage of tokens of formulaic sequences were found 5 times or more, this would indicate that the learners in that corpus used a small number of types of formulaic sequences repeatedly in their role-play performance. The results of frequency and variety analyses of formulaic sequences in the three corpora are shown in table 6.3 overleaf.

Table 6. 3 Frequency and variety of formulaic sequences in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Corpus	No. of formulaic seq identified	Sequences found only once			Sequences found 2-4 times			Sequences found 5+ times		
		No. of types	No. of tokens	% of total	No. of types	No. of tokens	% of total	No. of types	No. of tokens	% of total
L	197	40	40	*20.3*	17	40	*20.3*	9	117	*59.4*
I	240	64	64	*26.67*	40	93	*38.75*	11	83	*34.58*
A	445	158	158	*35.5*	49	127	*28.54*	8	160	*35.96*

Table 6.3 shows that there was a difference in the distribution of formulaic sequences in the three frequency bands across the corpora. In the low-intermediate corpus, more than half (59.4%) of 197 formulaic sequences were accounted for by 9 formulaic sequences which were used repeatedly. In the intermediate corpus, it was the formulaic sequences found 2-4 times that formed the largest proportion of formulaic sequences (38.75%), followed by those that were found 5 times or more (34.58%). In the advanced corpus, those that were found only once and those recurring 5 times or more shared a roughly equal proportion of formulaic language, 35.59% and 35.81% respectively.

The distribution of formulaic sequences in the three frequency bands helped indicate the variety of formulaic sequences in each corpus too. According to the breakdown of formulaic sequences in table 6.2, the learners' use of formulaic sequences in the three corpora was also different in terms of variety. That is, the low-intermediate learners' use of formulaic sequences did not seem varied, as seen in their repeated use of 9 formulaic sequences which accounted for more than half of the total formulaic sequences identified in the corpus.

The intermediate learners used a slightly more varied range of formulaic sequences than the low-intermediate learners. This was reflected in the percentage of the formulaic sequences that occurred only once in the intermediate corpus which was slightly greater than that of the low-intermediate, 26.67% versus 20.3%.

The advanced learners showed both variety and repetition in their use of formulaic sequences, as seen in a roughly equivalent proportion of the formulaic sequences that were found once, 35.5%, and those that were found 5 times or more, 35.96%. Compared to the low-intermediate and intermediate learners, the advanced

used a wider variety of formulaic sequences in their role-play performance. This was seen in the percentage of the formulaic sequences that occurred only once in the advanced corpus, 35.5% or 158 of 445 formulaic sequences, which was greater than those in the two corpora. Eight formulaic sequences accounted for 35.96% of all formulaic sequences in the advanced corpus.

6.2.1 Recurring Formulaic sequences in the Three Corpora

As one might expect, the results in table 6.3 in the previous page suggest that the low-intermediate learners seemed to have a limited pool of formulaic language. More than half of the 196 formulaic sequences (59.18%) were made up of 9 recurring sequences:

right now	(6 times)
I'm afraid	(6 times)
I want to …	(7 times)
Can I help you	(9 times)
you know	(9 times)
Thank you	(9 times)
I'm sorry	(16 times)
Can I …	(19 times)
I think	(36 times)

We can see that the majority of the 9 sequences were speech act routines and had pragmatic functions in the request-refusal role-plays. "Can I…" and "I want to …" are request routines/formulae and it is not surprising that they were used quite often in this data set.

Of particular relevance to refusals are "I'm sorry" and "I think". The former is a conventional expression of an apology and was frequently used in combination with other refusal moves to mitigate the force of the central refusal component, as illustrated in data extract 6.2. The sequence is in bold and the central refusal move is in italics.

Extract 6.2 Low-intermediate learners (manager)

L11F = Requester
L12F = Refuser

9	L11F:	don't you call Mr. Duncan for me please?
10	L12F:	**I'm sorry** I (.) *I can't do you want* (.) I think you can leave your message

11 I will tell him after he come back he come back from meeting

Also the low-intermediate learners used "*I'm sorry*" as indirect refusal or internally mitigated refusal component. This is shown in extract 6.3.

Extract 6.3 Low-intermediate learners (stranger)

L10F = Requester
L9F = Refuser

10 L10F: may I come in please?
11 L9F: oh **I'm sorry** you know

"I think" was used as a phrasal downtoner to soften refusal moves such as "negative ability/willingness", "proposal of an alternative", and "reason". Data extracts 6.4 and 6.5 illustrate the downtoning function of the formulaic sequence.

Extract 6.4 Low-intermediate learner (report)

18 L2M: oh I'm sorry *I can't* (2.0) uh I can't take you uh **I think** you
19 should talk to teacher

Extract 6.5 Low-intermediate learner (stranger)

16 L5F: I can give you some water but **I think** I – I'm not- I don't
17 let you go inside until he's come back

Like the low-intermediate learners, the intermediate learners tended to use some sequences repeatedly. A large proportion of formulaic language in the corpus was composed of formulaic sequences found 2-4 times and recurrent ones, 38.75% and 34.58% respectively. The recurrent formulaic sequences in the intermediate corpus were made up of 11 types, most of which, like those found in the low-intermediate corpus, were speech act routines. There were four types of formulaic sequences that were different from those appearing in the low-intermediate list and they are in italics.

Good morning	(5 times)
I think	(5 times)
I'm really sorry	(5 times)

I'm sorry	(5 times)
Can I help you	(6 times)
I understand	(6 times)
Thank you very much	(6 times)
I don't know	(7 times)
Can I…	(8 times)
Thank you	(15 times)
you know	(15 times)

It is interesting to note that the recurrent formulaic sequences in the intermediate corpus displayed the use of adverbial modifiers as in "I'm really sorry" and "thank you very much". There was no occurrence of "I'm really sorry" in the low-intermediate corpus and "thank you very much" was used three times only.

Relevant to refusals are apology routines such as "I'm sorry" and "I'm really sorry". Like the low-intermediate, the intermediate learners used apology routines to mitigate the force of their refusals. This is illustrated in data extract 6.6. The central refusal message is in italics and the apology routine is in bold.

Extract 6.6 Intermediate learners (stranger)

L2F = Requester

L1F = Refuser

33	L2F:	can I have uh some rest in the room please?
34	L1F:	*I can't* **I'm really sorry**

I now would like to turn to the advanced learners. The results suggest that they had the largest repertoire of formulaic sequences because, among the three groups of learners, they used the highest proportion of formulaic sequences that occurred only once. However, the results indicate that the advanced students also used eight types of formulaic sequences repeatedly. Like those found in the two corpora, the recurring sequences in the advanced corpus were speech act routines and fillers which had pragmatic and discoursal functions. The recurrent formulaic sequences that were different from those appearing in the other two corpora are in italics.

Come in	(6 times)
I think	(14 times)

I want to	(6 times)
I'm sorry	(8 times)
Thank you	(6 times)
Thank you very much	(10 times)
You're welcome	(5 times)
you know	(105 times)

According to the above breakdown, we can see that more than half of the 160 tokens of recurrent sequences were accounted for by just one sequence ("you know", 105 tokens). The formulaic sequence was used as an appealer to evoke understanding and assistance from the hearer and as filler. Extract 6.7 illustrates "you know" used as an appealer in a refusal attempt.

Extract 6.7 Advanced learners (report)

A7F = Requester

A8M = Refuser

35	A7F:	but now I can think only one way to solve this problem (.)
36		that I want to join your group
37	A8M:	um: so (.) before you come to my group I think you should go
38		back and solve the problem (.) the problem **you know** is from your two two friends

The data extract shows that A8M, the refuser, was trying to refuse A7F's persistent request in line 36 by giving an alternative act. A8M used "*you know*" as a part of his elaboration of the alternative, evoking the requester's understanding of the situation. That is, he was trying to explain that the problem had nothing to do with the refuser or the requester and that the proposed alternative would be a better way out for the request rather than assistance from the refuser.

A speculation can be made regarding the advanced learners' use of "you know". It is possible that the learners may have used the sequence for a fluency maintaining purpose while the less proficient learners paused. To illustrate, let us consider data extracts, 6.8 and 6.9, from advanced and low-intermediate learners.

Extract 6.8 Advanced learner (report)

34	A2F:	I know I know but **you know** um uh uh it's fine for me if if we go
35		to the teacher and he allows us to to **you know** add your name in
36		our group (.) it would be fine for me but I don't know about the others **you know**

Extract 6.9 Low-intermediate learner (manager)

13 L6F: but she she told me it very important for company (.) if (.) don't want
14 anyone to disturb him right now (.) you can (.) I can help you

However, this remains a speculation because the fluency issue was not one of the objectives of this study. Pauses in the speech produced by the learners were not measured and compared across the three groups.

If the above observations are taken together, there seems to be a relationship between the learners' proficiency levels and the amount as well as range of formulaic language they used in the role-play performance. The advanced learners used more formulaic language than the other two groups of learners. However, the results also suggest that all of them, especially the low-intermediate learners, relied on a limited number of formulaic sequences, most of which were speech act routines.

The relationship between proficiency level and the use of formulaic language seems to suggest two possibilities. First, it is possible that the amount of talk, which increased according to proficiency level, might be a result of the number and variety of formulaic sequences, which also increased according to proficiency level. The second possibility is that the relationship may operate the other way round: the size of repertoire of formulaic sequences, which can be inferred from the number, frequency and variety of formulaic sequences found in each corpus, might give rise to the greater amount of talk or output.

To summarize, the analyses in this section show that the language produced by the learners at three lexico-grammatical proficiency levels differs in terms of formulaic aspects. This sheds light on the learners' interlanguage. The next step in investigation of interlanguage and interlanguage refusals is to look at the lexicalizations of the speech acts in the three corpora and the appropriateness of the formulaic sequences the participants used. This is the focus of section 6.3.

6.3 Formulaic Sequences and the Lexicalizations of Refusals

In this section, an analysis of formulaic language in the lexicalizations of refusals is reported. The analysis set out to investigate formulaic sequences the learners used to express their refusal intent and the extent to which the three groups of learners differed in their lexicalizations of the speech act. Three specific research questions were posited to guide the analysis:

1. Do lexicalizations of refusal moves generally consist of formulaic sequences?
2. Do some types of refusal move consist of a higher proportion of formulaic sequences?
3. Do the three corpora show different proportions of refusals and formulaic sequences in refusal moves?

6.3.1 Question One: Formulaic sequences in Lexicalizations of Refusal Moves

To address the first question, I explored formulaic sequences in the lexicalizations of each refusal move in each subcorpus (low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced). There were ten types of refusal move in the categorization of refusal moves as units of analysis (see Chapter Four, table 4.1 p.90); however, I excluded "no" because it did not contain a combination of words—a criterion of a formulaic sequence. Utterances coded under the same category of refusal move were then grouped together along with the learners' identification, role-play situations and line numbers in which they were found. This is illustrated in table 6.4 in which utterances coded "pseudo-agreement" are listed. The data are randomly selected, for an illustrative purpose, from the actual collection of all utterances coded under this refusal move. Utterances that carried the pseudo-agreement function are marked in boldface.

Table 6. 4 Extracts of data in the category of "pseudo-agreement"

Yes but he don't want anyone disturb him	L6F RP3 #38
I see but it's not safe for some—you get someone in my – Leo's room …	L9F RP2 #19
Yeah I would like to join you my group you know um but (.) um but I have other member….	L12F RP1 #9
I want to but I can't	I1F RP2 #24
Sorry **I want to help you but** (.) I can't help	I2F RP1 # 40
Um **for me it's no problem but** I'm not sure whether…	I12F RP1 #12
You know er:: **PERsonally I: would be happy to work with you but** you know what…	A2F RP1 #30
I don't mean to be rude but listen (.) I don't know who you are…	A3F RP2 #30

Next, I checked the utterances in each refusal move against the master corpus, in which formulaic sequences had been identified, to locate the formulaic sequences agreed by the majority decision in the utterances. The cross-checking showed that there were:

1) Formulaic sequences that were conventional/formulaic lexicalizations of refusal moves including the learners' variants of conventionalized sequences. This kind of formulaic sequence helped indicate the pragmatic function of an utterance. For instance, "*I'm really sorry*" is a conventional lexicalization of an apology which is one of the refusal moves found in this data set.
2) Formulaic sequences that were lexicalizations of refusal move contents; they were propositional. This kind of formulaic sequence constituted an indirect refusal move. For instance, "*it's time to to shut the room*" was a part of the refuser's reason for his/her refusal.
3) Formulaic sequences that were syntagmatically associated with the lexicalizations of refusal moves adding certain pragmatic qualities to the refusal moves such as "*you know the thing is I really don't know when exactly he's gonna get out*".

The three observations provide an answer to the first question: lexicalizations of refusal moves are done with formulaic language. We also know that the formulaic sequences found in refusal moves operated at different levels, ranging from formulaic lexicalizations of refusal moves themselves to those that were syntagmatically related to refusal moves. The three kinds of formulaic sequences will be looked at in detail in the following subsections

6.3.1.1 Conventional lexicalizations of speech acts

As discussed in the literature review and methodology chapters (p. 19-22 and p.76), the speech act of refusal is complex because it can be expressed in many ways and consists of different acts. This was seen in this data set. The refusers used the speech acts of apology, offer, suggestion, and proposal of alternative in expressing their refusal intent. Regarding the lexicalizations of these acts which were integral to the delivery of refusals, the refusers across the three corpora used conventional expressions or speech act routines. Table 6.5 below shows the conventional lexicalizations of apology found in the three corpora and examples from data.

Table 6. 5 Formulaic lexicalizations of speech act of apology and their number of occurrences in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Identified formulaic sequences	Examples	L Corpus	I Corpus	A Corpus	Total
I'm sorry (including "I'm sorry but")	I don't think so I'm sorry [L5F, stranger #13]	16	5	5	26
I'm very sorry	I'm very sorry I'd like to help you (.) but if I allow… [A9F, computer #26]	1	1	1	3
I'm really sorry	I can't I'm really sorry [I1F, stranger #43]	-	5	2	7
I'm so sorry	I'm so sorry it's not um: twenty five past five and my room will close at half past five [I5F, computer #5]	1	3	1	5
I'm really so sorry	I'm really so sorry because if (.) I (.) if I don't close the room right now… [L5F, computer #12]	1	-	-	1

I'm sorry to say sorry to say	oh I'm sorry to say that Taniya but I think that um I can't let you use the computer now (.) see um my advisor recommends this job to me [A11F, computer #5-6]	-	-	2	2
I'm really sorry about this	…I'm really sorry about this but um: (.) it's about time too becuz it's now five thirty [A11F, computer #12-13]	-	-	1	1
I'm very sorry about	oh I'm very sorry about that (.) you know [A1F, stranger #33]	-	-	1	1
I'm afraid (including "I'm afraid", "I'm afraid not" and "I'm afraid you can't")	Um I'm afraid not because this room is closed at five – half past five [L7F, computer #3]	6	1	3	10
It's a pity	oh (.) it's it's a pity (.) I (.) I and my group were uh will be will be finish the report [I4F, report #12]	-	1	-	1
I apologize for this	um: he is having a very important meeting I apologize for this so why don't you… [A8M, manager # 22]	-	-	3	3

The table shows that the low-intermediate learners used "I'm sorry" and "I'm afraid" more often than the refusers in the other two corpora. This is not surprising given the fact that "I'm sorry" and "I'm afraid" are among the recurrent formulaic sequences in the low-intermediate corpus. In contrast, the intermediate and especially advanced learners used a wider range of formulaic lexicalizations of apology as seen in their use of intensifiers "so", "very" and "really" and the performative verb "to apologize". This corresponds with the results of the formulaic sequence variety analysis presented earlier in section 6.2 of this chapter. Also, there is an instance of a different pragmatic use of the sequence "It's a pity" (I4F). This is going to be explained further in section 6.4.

In addition to apology routines, the refusers in this data set used suggestion and offer routines in their lexicalization of "proposal of alternative" move. However, it should be noted that, in the process of analysis, deciding which formulaic sequences were lexicalizations of the speech acts of *offer* or *suggestion* was not as straightforward task as wish *apology*.

A degree of subjectivity, which is probably influenced by the effect of EFL teaching, learning environment and input from EFL textbooks, was inevitably involved in my decision making. For instance, "how about + NP?", "can I help you (+VP)?",

"would you like +NP/ to +VP?" are usually presented as suggestion and offer routines in EFL textbooks. This influence of teaching and learning was evident in this data set: the refusers, regardless of their proficiency levels, used the routines in making a suggestion or an offer and these were recognizable for me because the participants and I shared the same L1 and learning context. Therefore, in this data set, the formulaic sequences were counted as lexicalizations of the two speech acts. Table 6.6 shows conventional lexicalizations of suggestions and offers found in the three corpora along with examples from data.

Table 6. 6 Formulaic lexicalizations of offers and suggestions and their number of occurrences in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Identified formulaic sequences	Examples	L Corpus	I Corpus	A Corpus	Total
Can I help you	Oh yeah but I'm afraid that my group is full and my team and finish the report but can I help you to do the report [L8F, report #10]	2	1	-	3
Can I help you with something	But can I help you with something other (.) like other things [I12F, report #15]	-	1	-	1
Can you leave a message	Can you leave a message and I will tell him later [I12F, manager # 15]	-	1	-	1
Why don't you	But …[account] why don't you go to main computer institute? I think it will be open until eight pm [I1F, computer #12]	-	2	2	4
How about How about this	Yes yes and and how about the central library (.) you can use the computer there [A1F, computer #27]	-	-	4	4
Would you like Would you like to + VP	Ok would you like to leave a message? [A8M, manager #18]	-	-	3	3

Table 6.6 shows that the low-intermediate students used only one offer routine "can I help you", while the intermediate and the advanced students used a slightly greater range of formulaic sequences. However, the sample is too small to make any further observations regarding the use of the speech act routines and the refusers' proficiency levels.

Let us now turn to the speech act of request. The refusers expressed their "proposal of alternative" and "appeal for empathy" moves through requests. For example, in response to the request to enter the apartment while the host was away, a

refuser asked the requester to wait elsewhere such as "*can you please wait outside*?". The analysis of formulaic sequences in the three corpora shows that the refusers at all levels used the speech act of *request* when proposing alternatives and appealing for empathy from the interlocutors. However, the low-intermediate refusers did not use conventional lexicalizations of the speech act, as judged by the native speakers working with the low-intermediate corpus. In the intermediate and advanced corpora, the refusers used few conventional lexicalizations of requests in the two refusal moves. For example, in the computer situation A11F said "*can you just go to the PhD learning centre*?" and A9F, in her appeal for empathy to a stranger said "*please understand* (.) *this is not my place*".

To summarize, in expressing their refusal moves, the refusers in the three corpora used the speech acts of apology, offer, suggestion, and request. However, the distribution of the formulaic sequences that were conventional lexicalizations of the four speech acts differed across the corpora. Apology routines were used more frequently in the low-intermediate corpus: the low-intermediate refusers seemed to use "I'm sorry" and I'm afraid" more often than the intermediate and advanced, who used a greater variety of apology routines. This corresponds with the frequency and variety analyses of formulaic sequences in section 6.2. However, there were only a small number of occurrences of formulaic lexicalizations of offers, suggestions and requests, so it is not possible to make a connection between the refusers' proficiency level and their use of these speech act routines.

6.3.1.2 Formulaic lexicalizations of refusal move contents

The second kind of formulaic sequences found in refusal moves in the three corpora consists of formulaic lexicalizations of refusal move content. Being propositional, this kind of formulaic sequence is found in the lexicalizations of the contents of "reason", "proposal of alternative", and "pseudo-agreement/disclaimer" moves.

Formulaic sequences found in the "reason" move were formulaic lexicalizations of obligations, rules and regulations which the refusers used to justify their refusal intent. Table 6.7 below shows the formulaic sequences and their number of occurrences in the three corpora.

Table 6. 7 Formulaic sequences found in the lexicalizations of the contents of the "reason" move in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Identified formulaic sequences	Examples	L Corpus	I Corpus	A Corpus	Total
I'm not sure whether/if /that	"for me it's no problem but I'm not sure whether my my other friends will ok or not so I can't confirm this …." [I12F, report #12-13] "I'm not sure that they will let you join us" [A6M, report #32]	-	2	3	5
I don't sure	"…and we work together very well I don't sure if you come if you come to my group…I don't sure how they think" [I4F, report #13-15	-	2	-	2
I don't know	"….I don't know who you are and I'm not sure that you are really his friend" [A7F, stranger #18]	-	-	1	1
I don't know about	"…it would be fine for me but I don't know about the others you know" [A2F, report #36]	-	-	1	1
I don't know whether	"…I don't know whether they will give a permit or not because you know…" [A8M, report #27]	-	-	1	1
I don't want	"…well mm because inside is very messy and I don't want other people to see the stuff inside you know" [A5M, stranger # 26-27]	-	-	1	1
He's not in right now	"um he's not in right now he's in the – an important meeting" [A12F, manager #2]	-	-	1	1
It's time/it's about time	"OH:: you know it's time to shut the room and you know I cannot…" [A5M, computer #5] "but um: it's about time too because it's now five thirty" [A11F, computer #13]	-	-	2	2
Turned off	"but I have turned off the printer and I will be fired if I o-open overtime" [L7F, computer #7]	1	2	-	3
Start all over	I turned off all the printers already (.) I think it will take more than five minutes you know to start all over…" [I11F, computer #9-10]	-	1	-	1

The formulaic sequences shown in the table indicate that the variety of formulaic sequence types in the lexicalizations of "reason" increased according to the refusers' proficiency levels. The low-intermediate students used only one formulaic sequence type while the advanced group used the widest range of formulaic sequence types in their lexicalization of refusal reasons. Interestingly, there was an instance of a learners' version of formulaic sequences in the intermediate corpus. An intermediate learner (I4F) used "I don't sure", which was her variation of "I'm not sure". She used this variation throughout in her expression of uncertainty and inability to provide the requested information.

The second refusal move which contained formulaic sequences in its content is *pseudo agreement/disclaimer* – a move containing the agreement token including the connector "but" which signals a contradictory message—a refusal component in this case. The formulaic sequences in the content of this move and their number of occurrences in the three corpora are presented in table 6.8 below.

Table 6. 8 Formulaic sequences found in the lexicalizations of the "pseudo-agreement/disclaimer" move in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Identified formulaic sequences	Examples	L Corpus	I Corpus	A Corpus	Total
I think so	I think so [that they're good friends] but I cannot [L10F, report #22]	1	-	-	1
I see	I see it's important but I can't [L3F, computer #16]	2	-	-	2
I understand	Oh I understand but but he's in the meeting and and I think ….. [I4F, manager # 24]	-	1	1	2
I know	Okay okay I I know I understand BUT you know the thing is… [A2F, manager #40]	-	-	1	1
I would like to/I'd like to	Yeah I would like to join you my group you know um but … [L12F, report #9]	1	-	1	2
I really want to	Oh I really want to help you but I can't you know [I1F, computer #15]	-	1	1	2
If you want to	Yes yes yes if you want to but you know … [A2F, manager #15]	-	-	1	1
No problem	Um for me no problem but I'm not sure whether…	-	1	-	1

	[I12F,report #12]				
It doesn't mean (that)	it doesn't mean that I don't want to help you but it will be better… [A8M, report #40]	-	-	1	1
I don't mean to be rude	I don't mean to be rude but listen (.) I don't know who you are… [A3F, stranger #30]	-	-	1	1
I don't want to	it doesn't mean that I don't want to help you but it will be better… [A8M, report #40]	-	-	1	1

Once again we can see that the advanced learners used more varied formulaic sequence types in their lexicalizations of refusal move contents than the other two groups. This is probably because the advanced learners were engaged in longer negotiation, and the "pseudo-agreement/disclaimer" move such as "*I don't mean to be rude but listen…*" or "i*t doesn't mean that I don't want to help you but…*" was used to address the facework and ease the escalating tension between the requesters and refusers. As reported in Chapter Five (p. 148), the requesters and refusers in the advanced group appear to be more persistent in their speech act goals.

The third refusal move which featured formulaic sequences that were formulaic lexicalizations of its content is "proposal of alternative". There were few instances of formulaic sequences in this move and most of these were found in the advanced corpus (e.g., "*maybe you can have uh make an appointment with him tomorrow is it ok?*", A10F). There was one instance in the low-intermediate corpus ("*Leo don't tell me about you (.) please come back again*" (rising intonation), L11F) and none was found in the intermediate corpus.

To summarize, formulaic sequences as propositional content of refusal moves were found in "*reason*", "*pseudo-agreement/disclaimer*" and "*proposal of alternative*" moves. Overall, the number of this kind of formulaic sequence increased according to the proficiency level of the learners. The advanced learners used a larger number of propositional formulaic sequences than those found in the other two corpora and the low-intermediate learners used very few formulaic sequences in the lexicalizations of the refusal move contents.

6.3.1.3 Formulaic sequences syntagmatically associated with lexicalizations of refusal moves

The third kind of formulaic sequences found in the lexicalizations of refusal moves is those syntagmatically associated with refusal moves, adding certain pragmatic qualities to refusals. The formulaic sequences in this set include those that function as downtoners, emphasizers, phrasal modals, appealers and signalers. Some formulaic sequences appeared to have more than one pragmatic function. As discussed in the spoken discourse literature (for example Edmonson, 1981; McCarthy and Carter, 1997), some sequences are known for their multifunctionality. For instance, "you know" can be a hedge, a cajoler, an appealer, a signaler or a filler, depending on the context and the researcher's interpretation. However, it is not the purpose of this study to investigate the pragmatic functions of the formulaic sequences in detail. The five functions mentioned above are the labels used in the categorization of lexical phrases that fulfill pragmatic functions in interlanguage pragmatic studies (e.g., House and Kasper, 1981; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Barron, 2003). The labels from previous interlanguage pragmatic studies are adopted here because they can accommodate all of the formulaic sequences that syntagmatically accompanied refusal moves in my data set. The definition of each pragmatic function and examples from data are shown in table 6.9 below.

Table 6. 9 Listing of pragmatic functions of formulaic sequences syntagmatically associated with the lexicalizations of refusal moves

Pragmatic functions	Description	Examples
Downtoners	Formulaic sequences used to soften the speaker's messages; moderate the force of messages (House and Kasper, 1989; Barron, 2003)	"he not tell me he appointment with you um I don't know <u>I think</u> you wait you wait he come back" [L1F, stranger #13-14]
Emphasizers	Formulaic sequences used to highlight what the speaker considers significant in the messages (Deignan, 1996)	"um he's not in <u>right now</u> he's in the – an important meeting" [A12F, manager #2]
Phrasal modals	Formulaic sequences used to hedge, indicate vagueness, necessity and probability	"but he didn't tell me anything and <u>I'm not sure</u> you know it's not my place" [I11F, stranger #28]

		"I don't know it's not my place and he you know he doesn't – didn't tell me anything…" [I11F, stranger #13]
Appealers	Formulaic sequences employed to evoke understanding and assistance from the hearer (Barron, 2003)	"oh I really want to help you but I can't you know" [I1F, computer #15]
Signalers	Formulaic sequences used to signal or preface something unpleasant to the hearer	Okay okay I I know I understand BUT you know the thing is I don't know when exactly he is going to get out…" [A2F, manager #40]

The checking of coded data against the NSs' identification of formulaic sequences in the three corpora shows that the variety of this set of formulaic sequence increased according to proficiency level. That is, there were 5 types of formulaic sequence that added pragmatic qualities to refusals in the low-intermediate corpus and 6 and 13 types in the intermediate and advanced corpora respectively. The formulaic sequences and their number of occurrences in each corpus are presented in table 6.10 along with examples from data. Their pragmatic functions are in brackets.

Table 6. 10 Listing of formulaic sequences syntagmatically associated with refusal moves and their number of occurrences in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Identified formulaic sequences	Examples	L Corpus	I Corpus	A Corpus	Total
I think (Downtoner) (Phrasal Modal)	"ah:: um um I think you should um wait him for counter restaurant uh I think he don't tell me…" [L1F, stranger #17-18] "why don't you go to main computer institute? I think it will be open until eight pm" [I1F, computer #12-13]	12	4	2	18
I think we'd better (Downtoner)	"uh: I think we'd better ask for permission form the teacher…" [I10F, report #23]	-	1	-	1
You'd better (Phrasal modal)	"maybe you'd better just go to some Internet café" [A11F, computer #26]	-	-	1	1
You know (Appealer)	"OH:: you know it's time to to shut the room and you know I cannot…" [A5M, computer #5]	4	1	34	39

As you know (Appealer)	"I'm really sorry as you know I'm a girl and I am here alone…" [A7F, stranger #35]	-	-	2	2
Right now (Emphasizer)	"if I don't close the room right now (.) um maybe I will lose my job" [L5F, computer #12-13]	2	-	2	4
Here alone (Emphasizer)	"…and I am here alone so I don't want to let anyone in" [A7F, stranger #35]	-	-	1	1
I don't know (Phrasal modal/Hedge)	"I don't know maybe you might come back" [A1F, stranger #19]	1	2	1	4
Are you mind if? (Downtoner) [*Consultative device* in interlanguage request coding scheme e.g., Blum-Kulka et al., 1989]	"ok ok ok I think I can help you (.) uh a little bit but uh are you mind if I (.) you give me your report and I will arrangement it and return to you later" [L4M, report #30-32]	1	-	-	1
Is it ok if…? (Downtoner)	"could you please wait outside for um—he's gonna be here soon so is it ok if you just wait outside?" [A5M, stranger #23]	-	-	1	1
Do you think…? (Downtoner)	"um: I'm not so sure um: do you think you can come back later on? [A111F, stranger #9]	-	-	1	1
I'm not sure/I'm not so sure (Phrasal modal/Hedge)	"but he didn't tell me anything and I'm not sure you know it's not my place" [I11F, stranger #28]	-	1	1	2
If you like (Downtoner)	"…I can I can take your company if if you like (3.0) because it's five it's almost five thirty and I don't wanna lose this job" [I11F, computer #27-28]	-	2	-	2
It will be better/It would be better if…. (Phrasal modal)	"it doesn't mean that I don't want to help you but it will be better if you go to consult with your advisor I mean our advisor…" [A8M, report #40-41]	-	-	3	3
The thing is (Signaler)	"Okay okay I I know I understand BUT you know the thing is I don't know when exactly he is going to get out…" [A2F, manager #40]	-	-	1	1
The most important thing is (Signaler)	"But the MOST important thing is I have to told my my group" [A6M, report #28]	-	-	1	1

The breakdown of formulaic sequences of this kind and their number of occurrences indicate that the advanced learners used more types of formulaic sequence to soften their alternatives and reasons, as well as to signal to the requesters that a refusal was being made. Also, it is interesting to note that a variant of a formulaic sequence in this kind was found in the low-intermediate corpus. L4M used "*are you mind if*...?" which was the learner's version of "do you mind if..." to soften his proposed alternative.

In the process of analyzing formulaic sequences syntagmatically associated with refusal moves, individual differences in the use of formulaic sequences were detected in the intermediate corpus. There was only one learner (I11F) who contributed to the variety of formulaic sequences types in this set. She used 4 out of 6 formulaic sequences types found in the data ("*I don't know*", "*if you like*", "*I'm not sure*" and "*you know*"). In the other two corpora, the use of formulaic sequences of this kind did not seem speaker-specific.

I would now like to summarize the answer to the first specific question. Lexicalizations of refusal moves generally consist of formulaic sequences which can be further classified into three kinds: formulaic sequences that were speech act routines; formulaic sequences that were lexicalizations of refusal move contents; and formulaic sequences that were syntagmatically associated with refusal moves. The sub-analyses of the three kinds indicate that in general the advanced learners used a greater variety of formulaic sequences in their lexicalizations of refusal moves than the low-intermediate and intermediate. The low-intermediate used few formulaic sequences repeatedly—two apology routines, "I'm sorry" and "I'm afraid", and the phrasal downtoner and phrasal modal "I think"— in their lexicalizations of refusal moves. Compared to the low-intermediate learners, the intermediate learners used slightly more varied formulaic sequences in their refusal moves and did not seem to have used any particular formulaic sequences repeatedly in their linguistic realization of refusal moves. Also, a few instances of learners' version of formulaic sequences in refusal moves were found in the low-intermediate and intermediate corpora, while none were found in the advanced corpus.

6.3.2 Question Two: Proportion of Formulaic sequences in Refusal Moves

Central to the second question is the speculation that some refusal moves have a stronger tendency to be expressed formulaically in this data set. The answer to this question is related to the answer to the first question. That is, in 6.3.1 we have seen that formulaic sequences featured in the lexicalizations of many refusal moves and fulfilled different functions, ranging from conventional lexicalizations of speech acts to formulaic sequences that added pragmatic functions to refusals. As a result of the breakdown of formulaic sequences in the lexicalizations of refusal moves, it was found that "apology" contained the highest proportion of formulaic sequences in the data set followed by "proposal of alternative" and "pseudo-agreement".

Besides the conventional expression "sorry", the rest of the utterances coded "apology" were expressed formulaically in the three corpora. And, as I have shown in 6.3.1, the advanced learners used a wider variety of formulaic sequences in expressing their apologies. The refusal move "proposal of alternative" consisted of conventional lexicalizations of suggestions and offers as well as formulaic sequences syntagmatically associated with the speech acts, functioning as downtoners and appealers. "Pseudo-agreement" contained formulaic sequences at the content level, but the proportion of formulaic sequences in this refusal move was highest in the advanced corpus: 8 out of 12 utterances coded "pseudo-agreement" were formulaically lexicalized.

Although every refuser of all levels used the move "reason", the lexicalizations of their move did not consist of many types of formulaic sequences and the number of occurrences of formulaic sequences was not high, i.e., 1 or 2 times. Thus, it is possible to say that the move tended not to be lexicalized formulaically in this data set, although it was an essential move in the four role-play situations.

6.3.3 Question Three: Proportion of Refusals and Formulaic sequences in Refusal Moves across the Three Corpora

The third question seeks to compare the proportion of language involved in refusals with the formulaic sequences in the lexicalizations of refusal moves across the three corpora. To find out how much language in refusals accounted for the whole talk, I

counted the number of words involved in refusals in each corpus and calculated it as a percentage of the total number of words. The results of the tally in the three corpora are presented in table 6.11 below.

Table 6. 11 Proportion of refusals in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Corpus	Total number of words	Number of words in refusals	Words in refusals as % of total words
L	4685	1772	37.82%
I	5647	1710	30.28%
A	8735	2868	32.83%

The results in table 6.11 show the low-intermediate corpus had the highest proportion of refusals although it was the smallest corpus among the three: 37.82% of the total words in the corpus pertained to refusals. The intermediate corpus had the lowest proportion of refusals, 30.28%. The amount of language directly involved with refusals increased slightly in the advanced corpus, 32.83%. The results suggest that the proportion of the utterances directly involved in refusals did not increase according to the learners' proficiency level. That is, while the advanced learners produced more words, the proportion of those directly related to refusals remained constant.

I would now like to turn to the second part of the question, which is exclusively about formulaic language in refusals. To find out the proportion of formulaic sequences in the lexicalizations of refusal moves in each corpus, I counted the number of words inside the formulaic sequences that pertained to refusal moves and calculated this as a percentage of the number of words inside all formulaic sequences. The results of this calculation are shown in table 6.12 overleaf.

Table 6. 12 Proportion of formulaic sequences in refusal moves in the low-intermediate, intermediate and advanced corpora

Corpus	Number of identified formulaic sequences	Number of words inside formulaic sequences	Number of formulaic sequences in refusal moves	Number of words inside formulaic sequences in refusal moves	Words inside formulaic sequences in refusal moves as % of words inside all formulaic sequences
L	197	479	74	168	35.07%
I	240	669	66	193	28.85%
A	445	1250	138	400	32.00%

The results in table 6.12 indicate that the low-intermediate corpus had the highest proportion of formulaic sequences in refusal moves, 35.07%. This is followed by the advanced corpus: 32% the formulaic sequences found in the corpus pertained to refusals. The intermediate corpus had the lowest amount of formulaic sequences in refusal moves that is, 28.85%.

If the results in tables 6.11 and 6.12 are taken together, it can be seen that the low-intermediate learners, although they produced the least talk as measured by total number of words in the corpus, had the highest proportion of refusals in their talk and the lexicalizations of their refusals contained a greater proportion of formulaic language than the intermediate and advanced learners. The intermediate learners had the smallest proportion of refusals in their talk and also used the lowest amount of formulaic sequences in their refusal moves.

The advanced learners, who produced more talk than the other two groups, had a slightly smaller proportion of words directly related to refusals than the low-intermediate. This is likely to be because the advanced learners were engaged in preparatory and remedial facework, featuring long sequences of greetings, pre-closings and leave-takings, which contributed to the overall number of words in the corpus. Also, it is possible that the advanced learners, with increased lexico-grammatical proficiency, were able to express themselves more in the role-plays and use formulaic language to perform different linguistic actions, thus reducing the proportion of words used for refusals and the proportion of formulaic language directly related to refusals.

Furthermore, if the results in this section and the results from the analysis of overall proportion of formulaic sequences presented in section 6.1 are taken together, we can see a contrasting scenario. As shown in section 6.1, the low-intermediate corpus had the lowest number of formulaic sequences among the three corpora—10.22% compared to 11.85% and 14.31% in the intermediate and advanced corpora respectively. However, when it comes to refusals, the low-intermediate corpus had the highest proportion of language pertaining to refusals and the lexicalizations of refusals contained the highest amount of formulaic language. A possible explanation for the high proportion of formulaic sequences in refusal moves in the corpus would be that the low-intermediate learners more frequently used the "*apology*" move, which was formulaically expressed.

To summarize section 6.3, the analyses show that the linguistic realizations of refusals are, to some extent, formulaic. "*Apology*" and "*proposal of alternative*" moves were expressed more formulaically than the other refusal moves in this data set. The three corpora also showed differences in the amount of formulaic language in the lexicalizations of refusals. The advanced learners used a greater range of formulaic sequences in their linguistic realizations of refusal moves. However, the low-intermediate learners used a few formulaic sequences more frequently in their lexicalizations of refusal moves, and their repeated use of the formulaic sequences contributes to the highest proportion of formulaic sequences in refusals when compared with those of the intermediate and advanced learners. This seems to suggest that the low-intermediate learners were more dependent on a limited range of formulaic language when performing refusals.

6.4 Learners' Varieties and Pragmatic of Use of Formulaic sequences in Refusal Moves

This section is a by-product of the lexico-grammatical analyses. In the process of coding data and compiling formulaic sequences identified by the native speaker judges, I spotted some learners' varieties of formulaic sequences and pragmatic use of formulaic sequences which seemed different from native speaker use. The instances of

learners' versions of linguistic forms and pragmatic use of formulaic sequences found in the corpora were checked against the Bank of English, a corpus of contemporary, naturally occurring English (see section 4.7, p.109), which served as a baseline data set in my study. This is because the study did not set out to conduct a cross-linguistic analysis; role-play data from native learners of English was not part of the data collection procedures. The formulaic sequences in this section and their pragmatic of use are reported as additional observations on the data.

The learners' versions of formulaic sequences can be classified into two types:

1. Formulaic sequences that are lexico-grammatically native-like but pragmatically deviant/inappropriate in terms of use.
2. Formulaic sequences that are lexico-grammatically non-native-like but pragmatically appropriate in terms of use.

These will be explained in the following subsections.

6.4.1 Native-like Forms but Different Pragmatic Use

There are four formulaic sequences that are lexico-grammatically native-like but the learners used them differently at the pragmatic level. The formulaic sequences are "I'm so sorry", "it's a pity", "it's hard for me" and "you're welcome".

In the refusal to request context, "I'm so sorry" seems too emotional for an expression of regret/apology. To support this observation, I would like to provide examples of "I'm so sorry" taken from my data set, as illustrated in extracts 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12 and compare them with some extracts from the Bank of English in the subcorpus of spoken British English.

Extract 6.10 Intermediate learners (computer)

5	I2F:	but I have to use the computer now because I have uh to send (.) to hand
6		in the paper to the editor (.) can you help me?
7	I1F:	I'm so sorry I don't want to fail you but this computer cluster is just for (.)
8		undergraduate students

Extract 6.11 Intermediate learners (computer)

4	I6F:	yeah can you help me to use the computer at here
5	I5F:	I'm so sorry it's now um: ((2.0)) twenty five past five and my room will close
6		at half past five

Extract 6.12 Advanced learners (manager)

1	A3F:	hi uh I want to see Mr. Duncan is he here or not
2	A4F:	oh I'm so sorry he's in a meeting he's not here right now

6. 13 Extracts from the Bank of English

ukspok, string search "so+sorry"

1of just saying <ZF1> I'm<ZF0>I'm so sorry to hear <tc text=pause>that MX had
2 are so good. <M04> I was so sorry when he decided to retire and er I
3 horrible and erm <M01> Oh I'm so sorry FX. <F01> Yeah. And everything he
4 didn't say anything.<M01>Oh I'm so sorry. <F01> Er <ZF1> th they're <ZF0>
5 his.You know I mean <M01> Oh I'm so sorry. <F01> <tc text=sighs> So I'm just
6 it. <F01> Yeah. Yeah. <M01> I'm so sorry. <F01> I can't think of anything in
7 <tc text=laughs> <M01> Oh I'm so sorry. <F01> <tc text=tuts> Oh well there
8 of it. <M01> Mm. Mm.Oh I'm ever so sorry. <F01> Mm. Never mind. How are you?
9 Yes well <ZF1> I'm s <ZF0> I'm so sorry we're going crazy here. What I'm
10 used to be.<M01> No.<F01> Er I'm so sorry. <M01> Erm could you just er pick
11 ago <M01> Oh. <F01> oh dear I'm so sorry.<M01> I don't know <ZGY> <F01> Erm
12 And I've said to FX I'm ever so sorry about that I owe you an apology
13I usually turn up saying I'm ever so sorry I forgot it or Here's a bit of my

The extracts above have been randomly selected, yet they represent to a large extent the pragmatic function of the formulaic sequence and provide a benchmark for a comparison between native and non-native use of the sequence. In extracts 1-8 and10-12, the native speakers used "I'm so sorry" to express their deep regret or sympathy as a response to previous utterances expressing misfortune. To illustrate further, more context of one of the citations is shown:

Context of **11** (female speaker 1 and male speaker 1)

F1: oh Gosh I'm terribly sorry what was her name again she died
a couple of years ago
M1: oh
F1: oh dear I'm so sorry
M1: I don't know

And, in citations 9 and 13, the sequence is used as a preface to a declaration of an unpleasant topic/news. These aspects of pragmatic use seem to indicate that the native speakers did not use "I'm so sorry" as a preface to a head refusal or utterances that convey refusal intent. On this evidence, therefore, the learners' pragmatic use of the formulaic sequence is nonnative-like. One possible explanation would be that the

learners might have not been aware of the pragmatic effect of "so" as an adverbial modifier, which could be quite subtle for foreign language learners despite their high level of proficiency; the learners might have equated "so" with other adverbial emphasizers such as "very", "terribly" or "really" and used them interchangeably, according to grammatical rules, to intensify their apology.

Extract 6.14 shows the context of use of "it's a pity" which is linguistically native-like but its use in 6.14 does not seem non-native-like.

Extract 6.14 Intermediate learners (report)

11	I3F:	can I can I come to join your group
12	I4F:	oh (.) it's <u>it's a pity</u> (.) I (.) I and my group were uh will be will be
13		finish the report (.) recently and we work together very well I don't
14		sure if you come if you come to my group the other will (.) have a
15		problem about you I I don't sure how how they think

The context shown in 6.14 indicates that the I4F was trying to express her regret intent through "it's a pity" which constituted an indirect refusal. However, I4F's use of "it's a pity" in line 12 as a response to the request in line 11 was pragmatically different from those of native learners of English. A word string search was made to find out more about the context of use of "it's a pity" in spoken English and this is shown in 6.16. The 15 occurrences of "it's a pity" were randomly selected from 62 occurrences in the whole "ukspok" subcorpus.

6.15 Extracts from the Bank of English.

ukspok, string search "so+sorry"

1<F01> Mm. Yeah yes it will. That's a pity if they don't like noise. <F02>
2both ends of the country we've got a Pity Me. <M04> <tc text=laugh> <M01>
3Mm. You <F02> And I just think it's a pity that they couldn't have <ZF1> han
4<F0X> That's a nuisance I mean it's a pity you couldn't have got them first.
5 to donor insemination. That's a pity. That doesn't mean you shouldn't be
6 rrival in Birmingham which was a pity. <M01> Yeah <ZF1> and <ZF0> and this
7see <M01> Yes yes. It's <F01>it's a pity <M01> Yes. <F01> But she's been very
8 <M01> Yeah. <F01>I just feel what a pity I had to be the catalyst <M01> Oh
9 t do it. <F0X> Mm. <F01> So it's a pity really with three <M0X> It is. <F0X>
10 it had to happen that way. It's a pity that we you know we had to had have
11as often as they used to do er is a pity or er does <ZF1> has <ZF0> has that
12re working towards <M01>Isn't it a pity that we're losing this or There's no
13hold it because I think almost it's a pity not to have MX here. He perhaps
14 <F01> Mm <F02> that area. I it's a pity really 'cos you tend to the centre
15 Yeah. <tc text=pause>Does seem a pity though <M01> <ZF1> I <ZF0> I'm <F02>

The extracts in 6.15 show that in spoken English, the native learners of English use "it's a pity" or "what a pity" to convey their regret and disappointment about an event or a situation. The pragmatic use of the sequence in 6.15 does not suggest that the speakers are trying to express their regret as a response to an initiating act. This is different from I4F's use of the sequence in 6.14.

The next formulaic sequence is "it's hard for me", which I7M used to express his unwillingness to comply with request. This is shown in extract 6.16.

Extract 6.16 Intermediate learners (computer)

8	I8F:	can you waiting for me?
9	I7M:	it's hard for me to let you do this (.) uh: if there's some someone uses this
10		overtime I may lose my job and (.) um: what I do now?

"It's very hard to (decide)" also another sequence containing the adjective "hard" that was used to express the speaker's reluctance to comply with request but it was not identified as a formulaic sequence by the informants' majority decision.

Extract 6.17 Intermediate learners (report)

24	I7M:	that's too bad (.) so (.) I (2.0) is it hard for you to let me in your group?
25	I8F:	um: it's very hard to decide because this group is not only my uh me (.)
26		it's have another two people

However, I ran a word string search "hard to" and found that the word string "(ADV) hard to + VP" occurred 440 times in the spoken British English subcorpus which is quite frequent for a corpus size of about 1 million words.

The two sequences containing "hard" illustrate the learners' pragmatic use of the adjective in conveying their problems, unwillingness or reluctance in doing what is requested of. This pragmatic use of the two sequences found in my data set differs from the native learners' use found in the subcorpus as shown in extract 6.18. Again, the citations are randomly selected.

6.18 Extracts from the Bank of English.

```
1        <F0X> And I it's really hard to think you know what is difficult
2it<tc text=pause> it <ZF0> it's hard to describe what happened but
3something that makes it erm a bit hard to look at from a hundred million '
4do it. <M01> Mhm. <M02>We tried very hard to get them to do it erm oh and er
5toilets and stuff the bathrooms it's hard to figure out how to work things
6          okay. That's so it's very hard to disentangle it from course
7not very nice and you c It's really hard to find someone who seriously wants
8 extra to look at <F02> It's very hard to convince <F01> rather than being
9Okay. <M02> That it's er er er very hard to er kind of explain er the er mean
10two <F01> Mhm <F02> that it's very hard to quote him. But he has proven it
11in your year who are trying really hard to become popular <F07> FX is a bit
12Right<M01>I mean at that age it was hard to tell anyway <F01> That's right
13that there is <ZF1> it's <ZF0> it's hard to detect where this locus is <F01>
14           <M01> Mm <F01> Er it's hard to decide whether they should go to a
```

The citations in 6.18, especially line 14, suggest that the native speakers use the sequence "it's (ADV) hard to +VP" at the propositional or locutionary level. An extended context of line 14 is given below to show a more detailed context of use of the sequence.

Context of **14** (female speaker 1 and male speaker 1)

```
F01:    cos they used to tell me who to get in touch with.
        But then when he left there we had to go and look at
        different schools and it's hard to make a decision
M01:    Mm
F01:    Er it's hard to decide whether they should go to a
        mainstream school or a special school and all this sort of thing.
        You've got to you know make these decisions yourself and it's
        you could do with somebody to talk to
```

It is clear from the context of line 14 that the speaker used "it's hard to decide" to express a literal meaning. If we compare this context of use with those shown in 6.16 and 6.17, we can see that the learners used the phrases "it's hard for me" and "it's very hard to decide" at the illocutionary level. That is, I7M and I8F were performing an implicit refusal, conveying that they were having a problem complying with the requests.

The last example is "you're welcome" and its context of use in the data set is shown in 6.19.

Extract 6.19 Intermediate learners (report)

1 I6F: hi Rawee ((opening the door for R))
2 I5F: hi Janya
3 I6F: you're welcome sit down please

Although I6F's "you're welcome" is lexico-grammatically native-like, her use of the sequence is not native-like. I6F used it as a part of her greeting to I5F; however, data from the Bank of English indicate that the sequence is used as an acceptance of thanks. Also, even though "welcome" is used as a greeting, it may not seem pragmatically native-like in the context of 6.19: a greeting to a close friend who was in the same hall of residence. This is because "welcome" is usually a greeting for someone who has just arrived from somewhere such as "welcome home" or "welcome to London" and the formulaic sequence "you're welcome" is usually used in a reply to thanks such as "that's ok you're welcome".

6.4.2 Non-native like Forms but Pragmatically Appropriate Use

This subsection presents a collection of examples of formulaic sequences that are non-native like but effectively fulfilled a pragmatic function. It should be noted that the formulaic sequences in this type were found in the low-intermediate and intermediate corpora only. The formulaic sequences are shown along the speakers and role-play situations in table 6.13 below. The formulaic sequences are underlined.

Table 6. 13 Examples of lexico-grammatically non-native like formulaic sequences in the three corpora

Formulaic sequences	Examples from data set
What happen	L7F: hi Wanpen ah: I want to tell you I have some worry thing that I thinking all night L8F: oh what happen [L8F, report # 4]
What's happen	L5F: but I think I – I'm not- I don't let you go inside until he's come back L6F: what's happen [L6F, stranger # 18]
	A: as you know I (.) couldn't get along well with my members in the laboratory P: um: what's happen?

	[I8F, report #11]
Are you mind if…	"ok ok ok I think I can help you (.) uh a little bit but uh <u>are you mind if</u> (.) you give me your report and I will (.) arrangement it and return it to you later" [L4M, report # 30-31]
I don't sure	M: can I can I come to join your group W: oh (.) it's it's a pity (.) I (.) I and my group were uh will be will be finish the report (.) recently and we work together very well <u>I don't sure</u> if you come if you come to my group the other will (.) have a problem about you I <u>I don't sure</u> how how they think [I4F, report # 15-16]
	M: um: ok but how about can you uh estimate can you uh give me time when he finish his meeting W: <u>I don't sure</u> and I don't waste your time (.) can I show you around around (.) [I4F, manager #8]
Thank you for your kind	M: ok uh your suggestion is quite well for me (.) <u>thank you for your kind</u> (.) I will go to see the advisor [I3F, report #36]
Let's we go	R: <u>let's we go</u> (.)[there and] help you do your work [I5F, computer #14]
Thank you for your help me	A: (3.0) it's ok I understand <u>thank you for your help me</u> [I7M, report #28]
What I do now?	P: can you waiting for me? A: it's hard for me to let you do this (.) uh: if there's some someone uses this overtime I may lose my job and (.) um: <u>what I do now</u>? [I7M, computer #10]

As mentioned earlier, the examples listed in table 6.13 were found in the low-intermediate and intermediate corpora only. This seems to suggest that the learners in the two groups knew what they wanted to say but the incorrect or non-native-like linguistic forms were results of their proficiency level. In other words, it can be inferred from the examples that the learners, despite their lower proficiency level which may have enabled non-target-like linguistic forms, managed to fill in the sociopragmatic slots of request-refusal role-plays as seen in the pragmatically appropriate use of the formulaic sequences.

Another speculation that can be made would be that the non-target-like linguistic forms of the sequences were results of inaccurate memorizations of the formulas. This might be a part of expanding lexicon or fossilization in the process of language learning.

6.5 Chapter Summary

The lexico-grammatical analyses presented in this chapter provide the answer to the third research question: the quality of language produced by the three groups of learners differs in terms of formulaic aspects and that the differences are related to their proficiency levels.

The overall proportion of formulaic language and variety of formulaic sequences in the total corpus that is, including all the learners' speech and not just refusals increased according to the learners' proficiency level. However, the learners at all levels were similar in that they used a small number of formulaic sequences repeatedly, most of which were speech act routines.

With regard to the formulaic language used specifically in refusals, the results show a different scenario. The low-intermediate learners used a higher proportion of formulaic sequences in their lexicalizations of refusal moves than the learners in the other two groups, probably because they used apology routines repeatedly as a main mitigating move. Although the advanced learners used a smaller proportion of formulaic language in their refusals, they used a wider variety of forms of formulaic sequences when compared to those found in the data from the other two corpora. Also, the advanced used a larger number of formulaic sequences syntagmatically associated with refusals. The results suggest that the advanced learners had the largest repertoire of formulaic sequences among the three groups although the low-intermediate learners used the most formulaic sequences in refusals.

The learners' use of formulaic sequences has also been reported and discussed in relation to the patterns found in the Bank of English data. The learners' data suggest that the advanced learners still need to fine-tune their use of formulaic sequences at a pragmatic level. There were instances of non-native-like use of formulaic sequences found in the corpus although the sequences were lexico-grammatically well-formed. On the other hand, instances of formally incorrect but pragmatically effective use of formulaic sequences, which were found only in the intermediate and low-intermediate corpora, suggest that while the two groups of learners were able to fill the sociopragmatic slots of request-refusal role-plays, the forms they used were not correct,

probably because of their developing language or inaccurate memorization of the formulaic sequences. The results of the lexico-grammatical analysis suggest a relationship between proficiency level, learners' use of formulaic language and interlanguage pragmatics. In the next chapter, these results and relevant issues will be discussed.

Chapter 7

Discussion

7.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to offer interpretations of the results reported in Chapters Five and Six in relation to the research questions focusing on the pragmatic and lexico-grammatical aspects of the refusals as performed by the learners at the three proficiency levels. This chapter first reviews the results briefly. Then, interpretations of the results will be discussed in terms of each of the research questions. The chapter will argue that universal pragmatic competence seems to operate in adult language learners. It will also discuss the role of formulaic language in the learners' performance of refusals. It finally argues that lexico-grammatical proficiency seems to be related to the EFL learners' use of formulaic language.

7.1 Overview of the Results

The purpose of this section is to provide a brief overview of the results from the analyses of pragmatic and lexico-grammatical aspects of the learners' language and refusal moves before I proceed to the discussion.

7.1.1 Similarities in the Structure of Role-plays and Pragmatic Orientation of Refusal Moves

The qualitative analyses of the structure of role-plays and the pragmatics of refusal moves revealed that the learners used a similar range of acts in their performance of the four role-play situations, regardless of their proficiency levels. That is, at all levels of proficiency, most of the requesters used information eliciting questions which functioned as preparatory questions for the requests. The questions were followed by answers, thus forming the question-answer adjacency pairs in the beginning of the role-plays. The majority of the refusers across the groups then proposed alternatives to

compensate for their refusals and these were followed by rejections from the requesters, forming suggestion-rejection adjacency pairs. Slight differences were seen in the degree of recursiveness or recycling of the acts, which appears to be related to proficiency level. All of the advanced learners engaged in longer sequences of preparatory and remedial face-work which always consisted of the following adjacency pairs

- greeting-greeting
- question-answer
- leave-takings

and generally consisted of

- suggestion-rejection
- offer-refusal
- invitation-refusal

These pairs of acts account for the difference in amount of talk across the three groups. The number of words and average number of refusal episodes in each role-play situation increased according to the learners' proficiency levels.

Let us now turn to the similarity in the pragmatic orientation of refusal moves. The pragmatic analysis of refusal moves showed that the learners at all levels of proficiency adjusted their refusal moves similarly in each role-play situation. That is, at all levels, the learners adjusted their refusals towards solidarity and status-preserving concerns in three out of four situations (I - report, III - manager and IV - computer) and towards refusal goal in one situation (role-play II - stranger). The similarities in the pragmatic orientation of the refusal moves show that the learners attempted to balance refusal and interpersonal goals when refusing a higher status (role-plays III and IV) and an intimate (role-play I). However, when refusing a status equal who they did not know (role-play II), the learners at all levels adjusted their moves towards imposition.

To illustrate the similarity in the learners' attempt to balance between refusal and relation-preserving goals, let us consider extracts 7.1-7.3 from role-play I (report) performed by three pairs of learners at each of the three proficiency levels. The coding of refusal moves appears in boldface in the left hand margin.

Extract 7.1 Low-intermediate speakers (report)

Requester = L11F

Refuser = L12F

Pseudo-agr + reason 1,2 (lack of consent almost done)	9 10 11 12	L12F:	yeah I would like to join you my group you know (.) um but I have other member (.) two people in my group (.) I must ask I must ask them um: and my report is almost done (.) up to you um:
Accept RF	13 14	L11F:	okay I see you don't worry that (.) I think I go to other group because you have (.) you have your member of group
Attend RQ	15	L12F:	ok um are you worried about this?
Letting RF off the hook	16	L11F:	((2.0)) little (.) um don't worry thank you
Leave-taking	17	L12F:	ok take care bye

Extract 7.2 Intermediate speakers (report)

Requester = I1F

Refuser = I2F

Pseudo-agree	36	I2F:	I want to help [you but]
RQ ground	37	I1F:	[I can't] finish my work if I can't change a group
	38	I2F:	oh
Persist RQ	39	I1F:	please
Apo + pseudo-agr + neg+ reason 1 (lack of consent)	40 41	I2F: I1F:	sorry I want to help you but (.) I can't help (.) I don't know what what my friends in my group will accept you or not

Extract 7.3 Advanced speakers (report)

Requester = A7F

Refuser = A8M

RQ	26	A7F:	is it possible if I join your group ?
Postponement reason 1, 2 (lack of consent) (confidential) summarizing	27 28 29 30 31	A8M:	um: I have to ask my friends first I don't know whether they will give a permit or not because you know some ideas in the text and in report are quite necessary and quite confidential I don't know whether they will be glad to to welcome you or not but at least I'll + ask[first]

The three data extracts show that although there are slight differences in the combination or order of the moves and the linguistic realizations of refusal moves, the refusers at the three levels used similar moves: "reason" and "pseudo-agreement". The

latter move, which was used by L12F and I2F, directly attends to the positive face wants of the requesters or the wants to be accepted at least by the refuser (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In addition, the reasons the three learners used were similar in terms of content and this seems to indicate the speakers' attempt to mitigate their refusals. That is, the 'attribution of blame' in their reasons shows that the speakers were trying to make it clear to the requesters that the reason for the refusals came from a third party and the requests were somehow beyond the control of the refusers.

There seems, however, to be a consistent pattern in the differences of order of use and combination of refusal moves in each situation. For instance, in role-play I (report), the low-intermediate and intermediate learners used "postponement" as a last resort move after having tried "apology", "pseudo-agreement" "reason" and "proposal of alternative" in the previous episodes. The advanced learners, in contrast, used the refusal move early on that is, in the first or second episode, in combination with "reason". These differences might be attributable to the learners' proficiency levels but this remains a speculation because the data set is not large enough to make that claim. Despite these local differences, the learners' adjustment of refusal moves from the first to the last refusal episodes showed that the pragmatic orientation of the adjustments was similar across the levels. The learners all showed their attempt to mitigate their refusals in response to persistent requests and seemed to have attended more to interpersonal concerns when refusing both a person of higher status and a close friend.

The results of the pragmatic analysis of refusal moves are important because they suggest that general proficiency levels seem to have little effect on the sociopragmatic aspects of interlanguage refusals, at least in this data set. The learners, despite their differences in proficiency level, showed a consistent similarity in their mitigation of refusal intent and pragmatic orientation of refusal moves in the four situations. There were, however, minor differences in the degree of persistence and combination of refusal moves. Given that the data set includes only six pairs of learners representing each proficiency level, it is not possible to claim that the differences were level-specific. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that the differences appear consistent and, therefore, further study in a similar theme and on a bigger data base are needed to make a substantial claim. Also, it should be noted that the results do not suggest that

one group was more successful than the others. This is because there were no absolute norms of correctness in the use of refusal moves in this study.

7.1.2 Differences in the Lexico-grammatical Aspects

The results to be summarized in this section were obtained from descriptive statistics which indicated surface differences in the formulaic aspects of the language produced by the three groups of learners.

7.1.2.1 Proportion of formulaic language and proficiency levels

The results from a comparison of the proportion, frequency and variety of formulaic sequences found in the three corpora suggest that there is a relationship between the proportion and variety of formulaic language and the learners' lexico-grammatical proficiency levels. The proportion and variety of formulaic sequences increased according to level. Because the analyses of proportion, frequency and variety of formulaic language were based on those used in Foster's study (2001), the results from her study and mine can be compared. Generally speaking, the advanced learners in my data set were similar to Foster's native speakers in that their language contained a higher proportion and a wider variety of formulaic language than the language produced by the other two groups. The two studies are compared in detail in section 7.2.3.2 below.

7.1.2.2 Formulaicness of the lexicalizations of refusals

The analysis of language in refusal moves revealed that the lexicalizations of refusals are to some extent formulaic in this data set (see p.163). The study distinguished three kinds of formulaic sequences in the lexicalizations of refusal moves: formulaic sequences that were speech act routines pragmatically integral to refusals; formulaic sequences that were the content of refusal moves; and formulaic sequences that were syntagmatically associated with refusals. Also, the analyses showed that "*apology*", "*proposal of alternative*" and "*pseudo-agreement*" moves tended more to be formulaically expressed than the refusal moves.

7.1.2.3 Use of formulaic language in the lexicalizations of refusals

Quantitative comparisons of the proportion of formulaic sequences and the proportion of formulaic sequences directly related to refusals in the three corpora showed that the proportion of formulaic language in refusals did not increase according to proficiency level. The results indicate that the low-intermediate learners used the highest proportion of formulaic language in their lexicalizations of refusals although they had the lowest overall proportion of formulaic language.

7.1.3 Overall Picture

If the above results in sections 7.1 and 7.2 are taken together, we can see an overall picture of interlanguage refusals from both pragmatic, particularly sociopragmatic, and lexico-grammatical perspectives. That is, the learners, despite the difference in their proficiency levels, showed similarities in the pragmatic orientation of refusal moves in each situation. In short, the learners' proficiency level seems to have affected the formulaic aspects of the data rather than the pragmatics of refusal moves.

From the pragmatic perspective, the range of refusal moves the learners in the three levels used was similar: "*reason*" was an essential refusal move in this data set and it was used in combination with other moves. The learners' proficiency levels seem to have an effect on the elaboration of refusal moves especially "*reason*", "*postponement*" and "*proposal of alternative*". With increased proficiency, all of the advanced learners elaborated their refusal moves and engaged in extended sequences of negotiation in response to persistent requests.

From the lexico-grammatical perspective, the language produced by the learners at the three levels differed significantly according to the chi-square test results. It can be inferred from the differences that there seems to be a relationship between the learners' proficiency levels and their repertoire of formulaic language. This inference is based on the observation that with increased proficiency, the intermediate and advanced learners used a higher proportion and a wider variety of formulaic sequences in their role-play performance than the low-intermediate learners. However, when it comes to the lexicalizations of refusals, the proportion of formulaic language in refusals did not increase according to the proficiency levels. The low-intermediate learners used a

higher proportion of formulaic language in their refusals perhaps because they had a limited pool of formulaic language; they relied on a smaller number of formulaic sequences and used them repeatedly in the lexicalizations of refusal moves, particularly "*apology*", which was pragmatically integral to the expression of refusals, to make themselves understood.

Although the proportion of formulaic language in refusals produced by the advanced learners was slightly lower than that of the low-intermediate learners, the variety of formulaic sequences in the advanced learners' refusals was higher than that of the low-intermediate and intermediate learners, suggesting that the advanced learners had a greater repertoire of formulaic language. Among the three groups of learners, the intermediate used the lowest proportion of formulaic language directly related to refusals. This is probably because, as their creative linguistic and expressive capacity increased, they were able to produce more words but their repertoire of formulaic language related to refusals might not have caught up with the increased expressive ability. Alternately, it is possible that the intermediate learners used their interlanguage creatively producing their own varieties of formulaic language which might not have been detected by the native speaker judges.

7.2 Discussion of the Results

In this section, I will discuss the results of the two analyses which constitute the answers to the research questions. The results from the pragmatic analysis lend support to the hypothesis of the primacy of pragmatics in adult learners, which has been documented in previous studies of second language acquisition and interlanguage pragmatics. Also, the low-intermediate learners' reliance on formulaic language in their delivery of refusal intent seems to support a general observation of the role of formulaic language in language learning and interlanguage pragmatics, especially in the less proficient learners. However, based on the results from the lexico-grammatical analyses, I would like to argue that formulaic language is likely to be a useful resource for the learners at all levels; its role does not seem to be limited to being the stepping stone for the low-intermediate learners. Let us now turn to the discussion.

7.2.1 Question One: To what extent do the refusals performed by the learners at three proficiency levels differ in terms of sociopragmatic aspects?

The results of the analysis of the pragmatics of refusal moves provide an answer to the first research question. That is, the refusals performed by the learners were similar in terms of sociopragmatic quality despite the differences in their proficiency levels: the learners showed a pattern in adjusting their refusal moves towards solidarity and status preserving concerns when refusing someone of a higher status and a close friend, and towards refusal goals when refusing a stranger of equal status. In other words, differences in proficiency levels had little effect on the pragmatic aspects of the data. The learners seem to know what they wanted to say to construct their request-refusal role-plays as seen in their similar choice of linguistic actions. Also the learners, regardless of their proficiency levels, tried to mitigate their refusals with a similar range of moves.

Although the less proficient—that is, the low-intermediate and intermediate—and the advanced learners showed slight differences in the sequence and combination of refusal moves, these differences were at a micro level and did not seem to render the learners' refusals pragmatically inappropriate in this data set. The majority of the low-intermediate and intermediate learners relied on "apology" in their mitigation of refusals while the advanced used a wider range of moves and elaboration of refusal moves to achieve the mitigation purposes. This difference, however, did not mean that one group of speakers was more pragmatically effective than the others because, as mentioned earlier, there were no absolute norms of pragmatic effectiveness in this study. What seems to be important here is that the learners all showed the ability to mitigate their refusals despite the differences in their proficiency levels and the combination of refusal moves.

7.2.2 Question Two: What is the relationship between English language proficiency and pragmatic ability across three groups of learners, as seen in the use of refusals?

The answer to the second research question is related to that of the first one presented in the section above. The similarity in the sociopragmatic aspects of the refusals performed by the learners at the three proficiency levels presented in the above section suggests that the learners' pragmatic ability to perform refusals to requests seems to be independent of their English language proficiency level. That is, there seems to be disparity between proficiency level and this aspect of pragmatic ability, and this is evident in the low-intermediate and intermediate groups. A possible explanation for the different combinations of proficiency level and pragmatic ability in the use of refusals in the three groups of learners is that the learners already had pragmatic knowledge, especially the concept of face-saving politeness, and implemented it in the request-refusal role-plays. This is the focus of the following subsection.

7.2.2.1 The Role of Universal Pragmatic Competence

The role of universal pragmatic competence needs to be considered here as a part of the discussion of the first and second research questions because the results support the hypothesis that adult language users have already acquired universal pragmatic competence and bring it to the learning of pragmatics in another language.

The similarity in the pragmatic aspects of the data suggest that the learners at all levels have the concept of facework or mitigation in interaction, which was put to work in the role-plays, although they differed in the lexicalizations of the refusal moves or other linguistic features used to express politeness. The concept of politeness as a mutually face-saving strategy and sociocultural variability associated with refusals and facework are thought to form part of universal pragmatic competence, which is shared by every culture as a part of being human (Brown and Levinson 1987).

Therefore, it can be argued that the learners, adult interactants, have already acquired the concept of face-saving politeness through their L1 or native culture and that this body of knowledge in pragmatic universals was put into use despite the learners' limited proficiency in the target language. When performing communicative

tasks in the target language, the learners were likely to benefit from this universal pragmatic competence, although their lexico-grammatical proficiency may not enable them to fully express what they intended to in a target-like way.

An observation can be drawn from the findings in the previous interlanguage refusals studies that looked into Thai (Panphotong, 1999, 2001, Sairhun 1999) and American English (e.g., Beebe et al. 1990) that there are some similarities in the refusal strategies to requests in the two languages. These include the use of reasons, apologies, negative ability/willingness, and positive opinions (or "pseudo-agreement" in this study). It is likely, then, that the Thai participants benefited from these sociopragmatic similarities, or similarities in the choice of appropriate linguistic actions to perform in a given situation (Thomas 1983).

However, because of the lack of baseline data in Thai, it is not possible to look into the issue of transfer in this study. That is, it remains a speculation that the use of some refusal moves and the contents of some moves may have been a result of pragmatic transfer. For instance, it is possible that the learners might have transferred content of the "pseudo-agreement" move from Thai into English. L2M's "… *I want to help you but…*" and A7F's "*I really want to help you but…*" were among many instances of pseudo-agreement tokens found in the data set. These expressions seem to be a transfer from the Thai expressions of positive opinion/willingness which are usually used as a preface to refusals to requests as found in Sairhun's study (1999) of pragmatic transfer of refusals in Thai EFL students. Let us now look at the expression in Thai and its transliteration into English.

ko yak ja chuay cing cing tae

(particle-want- to- help- really-but)

The intensifier "cing cing" in the expression is semantically equivalent to "truthfully" or "really" and it is often used to indicate the speaker's sincerity. In Thai, the intensifier collocates with an expression of apology or an expression of wish. It could be said that the expression was used to fill the sociopragmatic slot for a preface to a refusal, although the content may not sound native-like.

The findings that the learners' proficiency levels had little effect on the sociopragmatics of refusals seem to corroborate the findings about the role of universal pragmatic competence in adult learners reported in previous second language acquisition and interlanguage pragmatic studies (Schmidt, 1983; Koike, 1989; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993; Bardovi-Harlig and Griffin, 2005). Those studies reported a gap between the development of grammar and pragmatics in adult language learners or the "pragmatics-precedes-grammar scenario" (Kasper and Rose, 2002, p. 163). It was found that the adult learners were able to perform pragmatically appropriate actions although the utterances they produced were not grammatically correct and did not sound native like.

In her study of comprehension and performance of requests and apologies in the beginners of Spanish as a foreign language, Koike (1989) made an observation regarding the role of universal pragmatic competence in the participants who were adult learners

> "…since the grammatical competence cannot develop as quickly as the already present pragmatic concepts require, the pragmatic concepts are expressed in ways conforming to the level of grammatical complexity acquired" (p.168-169)

"Pragmatic concepts" in Koike's study refer to the concepts of mitigation and politeness, which were also found in my study. Both her findings and mine suggest that proficiency levels in the target language do not affect the adult learners' attempt to engage in interactional aspects of communicative activities like request-refusal role-plays. However, the learners' proficiency levels may make the learners' refusals sound non-native-like or lexico-grammatically inaccurate. This is reflected in every group of speakers in my data, but especially the low-intermediate group. To support this argument, let us look at two data extracts overleaf which illustrate the low-intermediate learners' attempt to mitigate their refusals despite limited lexico-grammatical proficiency. Coding of refusal moves is on the far left and marked in boldface. The arrows indicate utterances that mitigate the illocutionary force of refusals.

Extract 7.4 Low-intermediate learners (report)

Requester = L3F

Refuser = L4M

Reason 1,2	22	L4M:	join the group uh this time I must (.) ask my friend to change
(group consent, tired)	23		a group and now I uh I am very tired and I don't want to do it again
	24	L3F:	um::
(Req) Alt →	25	L4M:	*what the other way?((rising intonation))*
Rej	26	L3F:	oh no no no ((3.0)) thank you

Extract 7.5 Low-intermediate learners (computer)

Requester = L2M

Refuser = L1F

Cajoling	22	L2M:	nobody know what I use the computer (.) have only you and me
Neg+ Apo →	23	L1F:	oh oh I'm worried I can't you use computer sorry sorry *(.) I think you*
Postpone	24		*use computer tomorrow?((rising intonation))*
Rej + Reason	25	L2M:	you um oh no tomorrow is deadline

In 7.4 (line 25), L4M was asking if the requester was thinking of any alternative way to sort out her problem. He shifted his refusal moves from "reason" to "request for an alternative" which showed his concerns to L3F. Likewise, in 7.5, L1F's postponement "*I think you use computer tomorrow*" seems to suggest that L1F did not want to sound too blunt in her refusals (line 23). Although "*what the other way*" and "*I think you use computer tomorrow*" may not be grammatically correct or sound target-like, the utterances seem pragmatically effective and indicate that the learners were trying to put the concept of facework into use within their expressive capacity, i.e., using simpler syntactic forms.

The claim being made here—that proficiency levels have little effect on the range and adjustments of refusal moves—may need to be treated with reservations. This is because there were no beginners in this data set and therefore we cannot see the effect of proficiency on the performance of refusals in the early stage of learning. This certainly suggests a further area of investigation in interlanguage refusals.

It appears that there is a gap between lexico-grammatical and pragmatic knowledge especially in the less proficient learners. Nevertheless, the low-intermediate

managed to perform refusals and express their face-saving intent and formulaic language appears to be central to help them to engage in the facework. This is the next part of the discussion to which I now would like to turn.

7.2.3 Question Three: To what extent do the refusals performed by the learners at three proficiency levels differ in terms of lexico-grammatical aspects?

In this section, the results from the lexico-grammatical analysis which provide the answer to the third research question are discussed in light of a relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics. "Grammar" in this study refers to the lexico-grammatical and formulaic aspects of the linguistic knowledge in the target language; phonological aspects of the learners' language are excluded. Also, it should be noted that formulaic language in this study is seen from the interlanguage pragmatic perspective; the focus of the discussion is not going to be on formulaic language *per se* or the acquisition of formulaic language in EFL learners.

To begin with, let us look at the answer to the question. The results from the analysis of lexico-grammatical qualities of the learners' language show that the learners' use of formulaic language differed in their overall performance and in the lexicalizations of refusals. These differences seem to be related to their proficiency levels. While the proportion of all formulaic language increased according to proficiency level, the analysis of the formulaic language in refusals showed a contrasting scenario. That is, the low-intermediate learners used a higher proportion of formulaic language in their lexicalizations of refusals than the other two groups. This suggests that the low-intermediate learners, the least proficient in this data set, were more dependent on formulaic language in their expression of refusal intent. The results also suggest that the learners at the three proficiency levels have different patterns of use of formulaic language. These are discussed in the following subsections.

7.2.3.1 Effect of Proficiency Level on the Use of Formulaic Language

The answer to the third research question suggests that the learners' lexico-grammatical proficiency levels had an effect on the learners' use of formulaic language. Increased proficiency seems to have enabled the intermediate and the advanced learners to

lexicalize a wider range of linguistic actions in the preparatory and remedial facework. Also, increased proficiency enabled the learners to use a larger proportion of formulaic language in their role-play performance. However, as mentioned earlier, there was a contrasting scenario in this data set when it comes to the use of formulaic language in the linguistic realizations of refusals. The proportion of formulaic language in the learners' refusals did not increase according to proficiency level.

A possible explanation for the differences in the use of formulaic language in the role-plays and refusals performed by the three groups of learners would be that formulaic language seems to be a useful resource for the learners at all levels but, at different levels of proficiency, the learners' expressive capacity and their formulaic language repertoire might not be developing at the same pace. I would like to argue further that these differences can shed light on a relationship between learners' lexico-grammatical and pragmatic ability. Let us now begin with the discussion of the low-intermediate learners.

Low-intermediate Learners

The low-intermediate learners' dependence on formulaic language in their lexicalizations of refusals corroborates the observations in the studies of interlanguage pragmatics (e.g., Blum-Kulka et al., 1989 and Rose, 2000), second language acquisition (e.g., Krashen and Scarcella, 1978; Schmidt, 1983; Ellis, 1992) and formulaic speech (Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992). That is, formulaic language, especially basic conversation routines and speech act routines, provides a "useful entrance point" to the less proficient learners (Wray, 2000, p. 463) when doing communicative tasks. Although it can be inferred from the results of the overall proportion of formulaic was smaller than those of the other two groups, the repertoire seemed to be sufficient to enable them to perform linguistic actions such as apologies, suggestions and offers of alternatives which were pragmatically integrated into the delivery of refusal intent in the four role-play situations.

A factor that may account for the high proportion of formulaic language directly pertaining to refusals in the low-intermediate corpus is the nature of the role-plays. It is possible that the pragmatic aspects of the request-refusal role-plays summoned the use

of conventional expressions which were considered as formulaic sequences in this study. Although the low-intermediate learners may not have been able to elaborate their refusals as much as the advanced learners did, it could be argued that they were able to 'play safe' with the repeated use of the speech act routines, particularly apology routines and the one-word-conventional expression "sorry", and a few types of downtoners and phrasal modals. In other words, the formulaic language repertoire of the low-intermediate learners seems to have been a useful resource for the learners to achieve both illocutionary force and politeness value despite their limited linguistic capacity. Of course, this does not mean that the learners' use of the formulaic sequences was always native-like. There were some instances of non-target-like use of formulaic sequences found in the low-intermediate corpus.

Moreover, the frequent use of "I think" (36 occurrences in a corpus size of 4,685 words) as phrasal downtoner and phrasal modal in the low-intermediate corpus seems to support the argument above. The low-intermediate learners relied on the formulaic sequence to fulfill the mitigation purposes in their refusals although, in this data set, it was impossible to tell whether the low-intermediate learners overused "I think" in their refusals and concomitant facework because there were no absolute measures of correctness or optimal use of formulaic sequences . The learners' frequent use of "I think" corresponds with the findings reported in other interlanguage pragmatic studies that investigated learners' use of modality in extended discourse (Kärkkäinan, 1992; Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig, 2001). According to these studies, learners at lower proficiency level seem to rely on parentheticals and lexical forms such as "I think" and "I know" to mark their intent. This was probably because the phrases were routinized and were salient enough for the learners to pick up. Also, as Kasper and Rose comment, "I think" has been reported to be used frequently by less-proficient learners of different language backgrounds and this was likely to be because of its "extra-sentential position" and "low-processing costs" (2002, p.181).

Another possible explanation for the dependence on formulaic language in the low-intermediate learners in their refusals is that the use of formulaic sequences was likely to facilitate the understanding of both the speakers and the hearers. Formulaic sequences especially those that were speech act routines were often in EFL classrooms

or presented in EFL textbooks. This was likely to provide a mutual understanding between the learners who were at the same proficiency level and shared a similar learning environment. It could be said that the use of speech act routines and some phrasal downtoners is another 'play-safe' communication strategy for the learners. The formulaic sequences facilitated understanding and simultaneously minimized the face threat of refusals.

Intermediate Learners

According to the lexico-grammatical results, the intermediate learners used a smaller amount of formulaic sequences in their expression of refusals when compared to the other two groups although the overall proportion of formulaic language in their talk was greater than that of the low-intermediate learners.

It can be inferred from the results that with increased proficiency, the intermediate learners were able to express themselves more. They were able to produce more words and used a larger number of formulaic sequences to fulfill pragmatic (i.e., performing linguistic actions required in the role-plays) and discourse functions in their talk. Nevertheless, with an analytical focus as specific as refusals, it was possible that the intermediate learners may have used creative language in their refusals which was not identified as formulaic by the informants. This may explain why the proportion of formulaic language directly related to refusals in the intermediate corpus was less than those of the low-intermediate and advanced corpora.

This "creative language" or "creative capacity" (Weinert, 1995) in the intermediate learners may have been there because of their increased proficiency level. To support this line of argument, let us look at two extracts from the refusals of two intermediate learners. The extracts 7.6 and 7.7 illustrate refusals that seem to have been built by grammatical rules and the use of lexical items that was not yet fine-tuned to the target language, i.e., still sounding non-native like. Utterances coded as refusals are marked in boldface and the formulaic sequences identified by the informants are underlined.

Extract 7.6 Intermediate learners (report)

23	I1F:	so <u>I wonder if</u> if <u>you mind if</u> I want to to um (.) join your group
24	I2F:	oh I **I think that is not convenient for** uh (.) **for you to join in**
25		**our group** be –
26	I1F:	<u>why NOT</u>?
27	I2F:	**<u>I'm sorry</u>** (.) **sorry for** being uh **because** uh (.) **our group is finishing**
28		**is uh preparing to work and we will finish the report next week** (.)

Extract 7.7 Intermediate learners (report)

24	I7M:	<u>that's too bad</u> (.) so (.) I (2.0) is it hard for you to let me in your group?
25	I8F:	um: **it's very hard to decide because this group is not only my uh me** (.)
26		**it's have another two people**

In the two extracts, we can see that the learners' refusals did not contain formulaic language as much as the requests (lines 23, 26 in 7.6 and line 24 in 7.7). I2F's utterances in the lines 24-25 are grammatically correct and pragmatically effective as an expression of unwillingness. Likewise, I8F's "*It's very hard to decide...*" is grammatically correct and constitutes an indirect refusal (unwillingness). However, we can see that the rest of I8F's utterance (lines 25-26) is not grammatically correct yet appears to be pragmatically effective in the sense that the utterances show I8F's attempt to justify her refusal.

It has been suggested elsewhere (Ellis, 1992; Weinert, 1995; Wray, 2002) that intermediate learners may have reached the unpacking stage where they have become more productive in their language use and seem to rely less on target-like formulaic language or chunks when producing their versions of formulaic language. With regard to refusals, the data from intermediate learners in this study seems to corroborate the observation. That is, the learners used less amount of formulaic language in their refusals when compared to the other two groups. It could be that with increased proficiency, the intermediate learners attempted to align with the requesters, elaborate their reasons and postponement, which, according to the lexico-grammatical analysis (Chapter Six), tended not to be expressed formulaically in this data set.

As I have explained at the beginning of this section, another interpretation of the results from the intermediate learners is that the learners may have used their versions of formulaic sequences in their refusals that were not recognized by the informants. Because this study presents a snapshot of their language use—a data base of four role-

play situations focusing on one aspect of pragmatic ability—it is possible that the corpus is too small for the informants to detect any recurrent sequences that can be considered formulaic for individual learners. For instance, "*it's very hard to decide…*" could be formulaic for I8F; the learner may have memorized the sentence frame "it's + ADJ + to + VP" and tried to use it productively (i.e. integrating the adverbial modifier "very"). In other words, the sentence frame might have been a part of I8F's formulaic repertoire but it was not identified as a formulaic sequence in this data set. Certainly, there is a need to investigate further, preferably in a longitudinal study with a larger corpus size, the language produced by intermediate learners to see if there is any consistency in the results with regard to the lexicalization of refusals.

The instances of formulaic sequences that were non-target-like in forms such as "*let's we go*", "*what I do now*", "*I don't sure*" presented in Chapter Six (table 6.13, p. 185) seem to support the speculation that the intermediate learners may have tried to unpack the sequences or memorized the sequences incorrectly and used them in a non-target-like way that is, as their own versions of formulaic sequences. Therefore, there is some reason to suspect that the creative capacity of the intermediate learners in this data set may have been at work and also that the learners may have used their varieties of formulaic sequences that were not spotted because the corpus size was not big enough to trace the recurrence of the formulaic sequences.

Advanced Learners

The lexico-grammatical results of the advanced learners show that overall the learners used a higher proportion and a wider variety of formulaic sequences in their role-plays and than the other two groups. Nevertheless, the proportion of formulaic language in refusals did not increase according to proficiency level; the advanced learners used fewer formulaic sequences in their refusals than the low-intermediate learners. Why might this be so?

A possible explanation for the seemingly contrasting scenario for the advanced learners would be that their expressive capacity and formulaic language repertoire, which increase with proficiency, enabled the learners to use formulaic language to perform a wider range of linguistic actions, engage in extended preparatory and

remedial facework and organize the coherence of their talk. This wider distribution of formulaic language may have reduced the proportion of the formulaic language used in the lexicalizations of refusals in the advanced corpus. What seems to be consistent throughout in the advanced corpus is the variety of formulaic sequences used in refusals and in the overall role-play performance. This seems to suggest a larger repertoire of formulaic language and the ability to use formulaic sequences to fulfill pragmatic and discourse functions in the role-plays, as illustrated in extract 7.8 below. The extract is taken from the beginning of role-play I (report). Coding of refusal moves and interactional functions are in the left-hand margin and the formulaic sequences agreed by the majority decision of the informants are underlined.

Extract 7.8 Advanced learners (report)
Requester = A1F
Refuser = A2F

Summons	1	A1F:	((knocking))
Answer	2	A2F:	who's there
	3	A1F:	here's Suda
	4	A2F:	come in the door is open
Greeting	5	A1F:	oka:y (.) hi Ratree how are you today
Answer	6	A2F:	fine:: but tiring (.) I'm very tired up reports after reports-
Uptake	7	A1F:	yeah I know
Elaborate #6&Q	8	A2F:	ya know the same thing same old thing (.) how about you
Answer—RQ	9	A1F:	oh I have a serious problem about my report as well
ground	10		[you know]
Uptake	11	A2F:	[really]
RQ ground	12	A1F:	about the civilization subject you know I have to deal with uh- the
	13		World War II report you know
	14	A2F:	aha-
	15	A1F:	yeah
Understand chk	16	A2F:	you mean the Western Civilize right
Confirm	17	A1F:	yes and (.) I I came to you because of this problem you know-
Uptake	18	A2F:	yeah yeah aha
Preparatory Q	19	A1F:	I wanna ask you that um is your group already full
Rep part of Q	20	A2F:	My group?
Confirm	21	A1F:	yes
Hedging	22	A2F:	(.) uh ACtually yeah (.) maybe
RQ ground	23	A1F:	I kinda have a problem with my with my friends in my group
	24		[you know]
	25	A2F:	[aha]
Elaborate RQ gr	26	A1F:	yeah I I think we can't get along with each other you know
	27	A2F:	uh-huh
RQ	28	A1F:	so um: I came here to ask you that whether you have a free seat
	29		for me to join in or something?=
Preface +	30	A2F:	=actually um:: uh-
Elong fillers			

Extract 7.8 shows that the advanced learners were able to pad out their conversation with a wide range of formulaic sequences in the greetings (lines 2-10), request ground (lines 12 and 23) as well as question-answer sequences (lines 16-17).

Another important point regarding the advanced learners' use of formulaic language is that the results in my study seem to corroborate the findings about advanced learners' use of "prefabricated language", "routines" or "chunks" documented in other studies of second language acquisition and interlanguage pragmatics. It has been observed that the advanced learners, especially in a tutored environment, still struggle to sound target-like at a detailed level, such as linguistic realizations of speech acts, modality, as well as target-like formulaic sequences, although in some studies that investigated the development of pragmatic competence in ESL learners (for example Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford, 1993b and 1996) the learners' sociopragmatic ability may have approximated that of the target language community.

In the present study, instances of unidiomatic use of language were found in the advanced corpus. These include "*it's the only chance I can get er special pocket you know*" (A1F, for "pocket money" or extra money"), "*...but if you want to know deeper information*" (A7M). The examples are grammatically well-formed but not collocationally target-like. From these instances of language use, it can be inferred that the advanced learners may still need to fine tune their language use at the level of collocation. It could be said that the subtlety of collocations may remain another problem for the advanced learners in approximating a target-like command of language (Howarth, 1998; Schmitt, 2000) although their formulaic language repertoire and expressive capacity increased according to the proficiency level.

To summarize, the learners' proficiency level seems to be related to the degree of their dependence of formulaic language in the lexicalizations of refusals. The results discussed above are important because they suggest that proficiency level interacts with the use of formulaic language and that formulaic language is useful for all levels in their role-play performance. The low-intermediate learners seem to have used a few formulaic sequences repeatedly in their lexicalizations of refusals, probably because they had a limited pool of formulaic language and expressive capacity. As proficiency

increased, the repertoire of formulaic sequences expanded and expressive capacity increased. The intermediate learners produced a larger number of words and used a higher proportion of formulaic language than the low-intermediate learners. In the advanced level, the increased proficiency and communicative capacity seemed to have caught up with the expanded formulaic language repertoire, thus increasing the proportion of formulaic language in their role-play performance and variety of formulaic sequences in refusals. However, in every corpus, it is possible that the learners may have produced their own varieties of formulaic sequences or used language that was built by their presumably developing lexico-grammar which might have not been detected. A larger data base may be needed to attest consistency in the pattern of formulaic language use in interlanguage refusals.

7.2.3.2 Comparison of Results with Foster's Study

Because I adopted the methodology for analyzing formulaic language from Foster's study (2001), it is interesting to compare the results of my study with those of Foster.

The higher proportion of formulaic language in the advanced corpus when compared to the other two groups was reminiscent of Foster's comparison of the formulaic qualities of the language produced by the native speakers of English and the non-native speakers in a planned and unplanned conditions of discussion tasks. The native speakers used a higher proportion and greater variety of formulaic language in their discussion tasks than the non-native speakers in both conditions although, with planning time, the native speakers used a lower proportion of lexicalized language, which is Foster's terms for formulaic language, and increased the variety of lexicalized sequences in their talk.

If the results in Foster's study are compared to mine, it can be seen that the advanced learners were approximating Foster's native speakers in terms of formulaic language repertoire and lexico-grammatical proficiency. That is, it can be inferred from the results that the advanced learners' formulaic language repertoire increased along with their lexico-grammatical proficiency. The increased proficiency level seems to catch up with the expanded pool of formulaic sequences, enabling the learners to produce more words in their role-plays and use formulaic language to fulfill both

pragmatic and discourse functions. The learners seem to be moving towards a target-like way of language use, as illustrated in Foster's study, in the sense that there was an increase in the proportion of formulaic language in their talk when compared to the less proficient learners.

7.2.3.3 Patterns of Language Use in Refusals Performed by Three Proficiency Groups

Based on the discussion in the previous sections, a tentative pattern of language use in the lexicalizations of refusals by the learners at three proficiency levels can be drawn.

I would like to argue that the pattern of language use in refusals presented in table 7.1 below, despite being tentative and based on an exploratory study, can inform research into the developmental aspects of interlanguage pragmatics.

Table 7. 1 Patterns of language use in the linguistic realizations of refusals in the three groups of learners

Level (stage)	Pattern	Examples
Low-intermediate	Reliance on speech act routines and phrasal modals that do not require grammatical adjustments; simplified mitigation	"sorry sorry sorry" "I'm sorry" "I think you should wait"
Intermediate	More lexico-grammatically complex formulaic sequences; the proportion of formulaic language in the performance of refusals was lesser than the low-intermediate and advanced; similar use of speech act routines and phrasal modals; learner's versions of formulaic sequences were found	"I'm so sorry", "it's a pity", "I don't sure" "I think we'd better" "I'm not sure whether"
Advanced	Increase in the variety and lexico-grammatically complexity of speech act routines and formulaic sequences syntagmatically associated with refusals and politeness; longer stretches of utterances used in the modifications of reasons and other compensatory moves; few instances of pragmatically deviated or grammatically incorrect or non-target-like utterances	"I don't mean to be rude but…" "I'm very sorry about…" "it'll be better if…" "I hope you don't mind…"

It is not surprising to note that there is an expansion in the lexicon of the learners. This corresponds with the patterns of requests drawn from longitudinal (e.g. Ellis, 1992) and cross-sectional studies (e.g., Rose, 2000). What seems to be consistent in these studies

and in mine is that as proficiency increases the learners use more complex syntactic structures in their speech act realizations. For instance, Ellis and Rose, in their studies of requests in ESL and EFL schoolchildren, found an increase in the use of bi-clausal requests such as "I wonder if you could...." and supportive moves such as reasons for the requests in the more proficient learners (Rose, 2002) or as the learners progressed (Ellis, 1992).

The use of intensifiers in the intermediate and advanced learners which rendered the formulaic sequences found in the corpus more lexico-grammatically complex seems consistent with the observations from previous studies in refusals. With regard to proficiency level, Takahashi and Beebe (1987) and Beebe et al. (1990) noted that their EFL and ESL participants in the higher proficiency level overused intensifiers in the lexicalizations of "apology" semantic formula. The data in my study corroborate this observation although it is not possible to be conclusive about how often the "apology" move should have been used or whether the learners overused the move in this data set.

The advanced learners' use of a wider range of modals and phrasal modals such as "might', "maybe" and "it would be better if..." appears consistent with the findings from Turnbull and Saxton's (1997) study of modality that native speakers of English used to mitigate the face-threat of refusals. Although the modals listed in Turnbull and Saxton's study are larger in number than those found in the advanced corpus of my study, it could be inferred that the advanced learners seem to be approximating the native speakers in Turnbull and Saxton's study in the sense that they used a wider variety of modals to fulfill mitigating functions in their refusals than the other two groups.

As mentioned in section 7.2, the low-intermediate learners relied on "I think" as the main phrasal modal to soften the force of their refusals. Three learners also used the modal "must" to indicate necessity or obligation that justifies their refusals e.g., "*sorry oh I must close it - the computer room um five...*", L1F. This is consistent with Gass and Houck's (1999) observations: their less proficient learners used the modal in their reasons for refusals. Although the advanced learners used various modals and phrasal modals in their refusals, they did not use "must" at all. Instead, "have to" was used as in "*...because you know I have to close the room on time*", A1F.

In this section, I have attempted to show the pattern of language found in the lexicalizations of refusals across the three groups of learners which indicates an increase in lexico-syntactic complexity of language use. I agree with Maeshiba et al.'s (1996) observations in their study of apology.

> It is difficult to say whether the pattern [of use of lexical downgraders which increases according to proficiency level] truly reflects a development of pragmalinguistic competence or merely an extension of the learners' lexical repertoire (p. 160).

This means that an acquisitionally motivated longitudinal investigation of the quality of language in refusals is needed to obtain a more complete picture of interlanguage refusals and to ascertain whether differences in the pattern of language use are attributable to developmental stages.

7.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter has been concerned with a synoptic view of the results from pragmatic and lexico-grammatical analyses and interpretations of the results. The main findings of the study are

1. Refusals performed by the learners at three proficiency levels are similar in terms of pragmatic aspects, which cover the range of acts that structure the role-plays and the pragmatic orientation of refusal move adjustments in response to persistent requests.
2. Slight differences are seen in the extended preparatory and remedial facework and these seem to be related to proficiency level: the advanced engaged in longer sequences of acts that have the preparatory and compensatory functions in the role-plays.
3. The formulaic quality of the speech produced by the learners differs across the levels in terms of proportion, variety and frequency. The proportion and variety of formulaic language used in the role-plays increases according to proficiency level.

4. The low-intermediate learners used more formulaic language in their lexicalizations of refusals than the other two proficiency groups, but the lexico-grammatical complexity of formulaic sequences increases according to level.

The similarity in the pragmatic aspects of the data suggests that lexico-grammatical proficiency level seems to have little effect on the learners' choice of refusal moves and the way they mitigated their refusals in intracultural communication using the target language. The learners seem to have put the existing pragmatic knowledge of facework in their request-refusal interaction regardless of their proficiency level. This highlights the role of the already existing pragmatic knowledge in adult learners and the supports the argument for the role of already established pragmatic competence.

The differences in the proportion and variety of formulaic sequences used in refusals suggest that formulaic language is important for the learners at all levels, not just the low-intermediate learners because it interacts with the learners' proficiency and expressive capacity at least in their request-refusal interaction. The increase in the size of formulaic language repertoire and ability to map formulaic language onto sociopragmatic slots according to the proficiency levels seems to be promising for the EFL learners because it shows a pattern approximating the native speakers' repertoire of formulaic language and pragmatic competence. The discussion ends with suggestions for further research into the role of formulaic language in the development of pragmatic ability, particularly the ability to perform refusals.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The overall objective of this study was to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between EFL learners' proficiency level and interlanguage pragmatics. Specifically I investigated refusals to requests and use of formulaic language. In my exploration of the issue, I used a cross-sectional design which structured a comparison of the qualities of the language and the use of refusals of learners at the three proficiency levels. With regard to methodological issues, I argued for the use of open role-plays as the data collection method because they can capture the dynamics of refusals and modifications of refusals and the initiating acts which are usually found in authentic discourse. Also, I have argued that by taking formulaic language as an area of investigation, it was possible to draw inferences regarding the relationship between learners' language and their pragmatic ability. Arguments for using native speakers' intuition as a way to identify formulaic sequences were also made on the grounds that frequency should not be the only criterion that determines formulaicity in this study, and that learners' versions of formulaic sequences are detectable, given the teaching experience and linguistic expertise of the native speaker judges.

The analyses of pragmatic and formulaic aspects of the data reveal two major findings with regard to the relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics:

1. The sociopragmatic aspects of interlanguage refusals seem to be largely independent of proficiency level.

2. The effect of proficiency level is more evident in the pragmalinguistic aspects of interlanguage refusals and overall role-play performance.

These findings can be considered contributions to interlanguage pragmatic research because they provide empirical evidence for the ways in which interlanguage grammar and pragmatics interact in the performance of refusals. The findings lend support to the hypothesis of the primacy of pragmatics, particularly, sociopragmatic ability, in adult

learners. The relationship between the proficiency level and pragmalinguistic ability found in this study suggests that proficiency is an important condition for language learners' expressive capacity and ability to engage in extended preparatory and remedial facework associated with requests, refusals and other speech acts integral to the role-plays although the pragmalinguistic features the learners at the three levels used are not always target-like.

Both scenarios of the relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics that are discussed in the literature, "pragmatics-precedes-grammar" and "grammar-precedes-pragmatics", were found in this study. Although it is not possible to speak of a definite pattern of how the two scenarios are related or compatible in this study, the findings suggest that the first scenario is seen in the sociopragmatic aspects and the second scenario seems to be reflected in the pragmalinguistic aspects of the data across the three groups of learners.

This observation is, of course, limited to one aspect of pragmatic ability and to one context of learning. Further research is, therefore, needed to support the findings and observations in this study and provide more evidence to the growing body of research into the issue of the relationship between interlanguage system and interlanguage pragmatics.

8.1 Strengths of the Study

There are three aspects of this study which can be considered as strengths in the exploration of the issue of the relationship between interlanguage grammar and interlanguage refusals. These aspects are 1) the inclusion of the less proficient learners; 2) the complexity of refusals to requests; and 3) the focus on formulaic language.

8.1.1 Inclusion of Less Proficient Learners

Although this study did not investigate beginners, it included the low-intermediate learners who represented the lowest proficiency level in the data base. Their inclusion broadened the scope of investigation of the issue, partly because learners at low-intermediate level have been studied less when compared to advanced learners. It was possible to study the interaction between proficiency level, pragmatic and formulaic

aspects of learners' language in learners at different proficiency levels. The analyses showed that the less proficient learners' attempts to mitigate the force of refusals and attend to facework were apparently not influenced by their proficiency level. This finding, which provides evidence of the already established pragmatic knowledge in adult learners, would not have been established if the less proficient learners had not been included.

The inclusion of the less proficient learners also enabled me to study instances of creative language use, most of which were found in the low-intermediate and intermediate corpora. These certainly shed light on the learners' expansion of the lexicon and their mappings between linguistic forms and pragmatic functions.

8.1.2 Complexity of Refusals

The second strength of this study is that it investigated refusals that were expressed in stretches of turns in full contexts, hence linguistically and pragmatically complex refusals. The complex data enabled me to study in detail the face-saving manoeuvres and other sociopragmatic features used by the learners at the three proficiency levels. The adjustments and recursiveness of refusals and the other acts found in the role-plays, as well as their pragmatic effects, which were a part of the complex database, also allowed me to make a connection between the learners' proficiency level, their expressive capacity and pragmatic ability. The results of the analyses of pragmatically complex refusals to requests contribute to our understanding of the sociopragmatic aspects of interlanguage refusals and their interaction with learners' proficiency level, providing stronger evidence to support the hypothesis of the primacy of pragmatics in adult learners.

The lexico-grammatical analysis presented in Chapter Six benefits from the linguistically complex data gathered from the open role-plays. Because of the linguistically rich data, it is possible to make a claim with regard to the effect of proficiency level on the learners' use of formulaic language and propose a tentative pattern of language use in refusals across the three proficiency levels. This contributes to interlanguage refusal studies and paves the way for further research that take pragmatic routines or formulaic sequences in refusals as an object of study.

8.1.3 Focus on Formulaic Language and Learners' Versions of Formulaic Sequences

Taking formulaic language in request-refusal role-plays and in the lexicalizations of refusals as an analytical focus, this study broadens the scope of inquiry of interlanguage refusals. The results from the lexico-grammatical analysis shed new light on pragmalinguistic ability of EFL learners, suggesting ways in which the learners at different proficiency levels used formulaic language. The results also lend support to the belief that formulaic language has an important role to play in the development of pragmalinguistic ability, or the ability to use formulaic language to perform speech acts.

As argued in Chapter Four, the use of native speaker judges proved to be useful because the learners' varieties of formulaic sequences were detected. The inclusion of these varieties in the analysis was also useful because the use of these formulaic sequences suggest the ways in which the learners memorized and used their linguistic repertoire to fulfill pragmatic functions. This certainly helps illuminate the relationship between interlanguage grammar and pragmatics from a formulaic perspective.

To summarize, the three aspects of the study help broaden our understanding of learners' language and the ways in which interlanguage grammar and interlanguage pragmatics interact at different proficiency levels. The use of refusals expressed in full contexts and the focus on formulaic language and learners' versions of formulaic sequences account for the depth of the pragmatic and linguistic analyses and enable us to see a bigger picture of interlanguage refusals, from both sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic angles.

8.2 Limitations of Study

While this study has a number of strengths summarized above, there are also some limitations. The first limitation to consider is that the results of this study are based on one aspect of refusals only — refusals of requests. Although refusals of requests gathered from the role-plays were complex and revealed interesting sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic features, it is possible that refusals of other initiating acts such as

suggestions, offers, and invitations may display some other different qualities, particularly in terms of sociopragmatic and formulaic aspects.

The second factor is that this study used a small data base, consisting of six pairs of learners in each proficiency level. While this allowed the researcher to compare the pragmatic and lexico-grammatical features of the data in the three groups of learners in detail, the results may need to be treated with caution.

As argued earlier, the use of an interactive data gathering method like open role-plays generated a linguistically and pragmatically rich data base. While the recordings of the learners' role-play performance reveal the interactional features associated with requests and refusals, the lack of visual data gave rise to some difficulties in interpreting and coding the data. That is, if the role-plays were videotaped, the video recordings would have provided visual clues for the process of analysis. However, the lack of video data in my study is a trade-off. Having limited time to recruit and get to know the participants, I was unable to select only participants who were willing to be videotaped. Also, it is possible that the use of video might appear intimidating for some participants. There was, therefore, a degree of tension in deciding which data collection methods were going to be used.

8.3 Suggestions for Future Research

The strengths and limitations being explained and taken into consideration, some suggestions for future research can be made. A cross-sectional study that investigates refusals produced by a larger number of participants in each proficiency level is certainly needed to support the findings in this study and to generalize the findings. High beginners may also be included to expand the range of proficiency levels investigated; however, modifications of role-plays or other data collection methods are needed to make them accessible to the less proficient participants.

Longitudinal studies in interlanguage refusals that take formulaic language as an object of investigation seem to be a promising research area. This is because the design allows the researcher to collect a larger corpus of learners' language from an early stage of learning. It is possible, then, to study in detail the extension of formulaic lexicon and

the learners' ability to map the forms and pragmatic functions of formulaic sequences over the period of study. Also, with a longitudinal design, it is possible that some idiosyncratic formulaic sequences in refusals could be detected. This is likely to be able to bridge the gap that remains in our understanding of the relationship between developing language and pragmalinguistic ability.

As explained above, the use of video recording could be useful for further research especially those using interactive data collection methods. Of course, this should not put the participants under the pressure of being videotaped which can detriment their performance and possibly the quality of data.

Finally, as argued early on in this study, the use of sequential analysis and refusal episodes as larger units of analysis have proved to be useful in studying the sociopragmatic aspects of refusals to requests. By using a conversation analytic framework, future research may well gain new insights into the complexity of refusals in extended talk and how learners at different proficiency levels construct the context of refusals to different initiation acts.

8.4 Pedagogical Implications

There are a number of implications for teaching that emerge from this study. The first one to consider is the possibility that teachers may take advantage of the already existing knowledge of politeness as facework in learners and raise pragmatic awareness of learners through spoken as well as written activities. Communicative activities which feature refusal scenarios with different configurations of sociopragmatic variables and initiating acts can be assigned to learners so as to provide opportunities for learners to put their knowledge of facework into use and try out different face-saving maneuvers. This also provides opportunities for teachers to highlight the learners' attempt to express their face-saving intents and comment on the pragmatic values of their refusal move adjustments. During these communicative activities, formulaic sequences that are pragmatically associated with refusals and mitigation of face-threat can be taught to help the learners to express existing sociopragmatic as well as face-saving categories.

Second, it is clear from the findings that there is an increase in the proportion and variety of formulaic language according to proficiency level but this does not mean that the learners' use of formulaic sequences is always target-like. Learners' varieties of formulaic sequences are useful because they show teachers what learners have learned and what they have not yet mastered. This can be applied to EFL teaching by introducing learners a variety of forms of formulaic sequences, their core meaning, pragmatic meanings and context of use through role-plays or other communicative activities. Also, learners' varieties of formulaic sequences can be discussed in the classroom. For instance, the sequence "are you mind if +VP" and its context of use found in this data set can be discussed with reference to citations from a database collected from native speakers of English. This is to encourage learners to notice what seems to be different or inappropriate between their versions of formulaic sequences and those of native speakers, both in terms of linguistic forms and pragmatic use. To make the input more salient, teachers may ask learners to proofread their tasks or listen to their conversation again and focus can be placed on accuracy and pragmatics of use of formulaic sequences found in the tasks.

Third, to encourage an expansion of lexicon and ability to use language to fulfill pragmatic functions appropriately, thus reducing the gap between grammar and pragmatics in the EFL context reported in this study, the use of modal expressions as mitigating devices in the delivery of refusals can also be discussed in classroom. The frequent use of "I think" in the low-intermediate learners, as shown in the lexico-grammatical analysis, can be discussed in terms of the context of use and pragmatic functions so as to avoid the overgeneralization or overuse of the modal expression. Although the advanced learners used a wider range of modal expressions in their refusals, it is necessary that input relating to these is sustained and extended and that other modal expressions are added in classroom activities along with an explanation of their pragmatic functions.

8.5 Concluding Remarks

Through the analyses presented in this study, we have seen different layers of interaction between interlanguage grammar and interlanguage refusals. It appears that the learners were able to use their interlanguage to express the sociopragmatic categories of request-refusal interaction and that formulaic language is a useful resource. The results also suggest that the pragmalinguistic aspects of the target language, as far as refusals are concerned, remains an important learning task for the learners at all levels. These provide some insight into the development of grammar and pragmatics and give a basis for teaching and learning of pragmatics of the target language. It is hoped that the findings of this study will be useful for future research into the relationship between grammatical and pragmatic development.

Bibliography

Abbs, B., & Freebairn, I. (1991). *Blueprint Students' Book One*. London: Longman.

Aijmer, K. (1996). *Conversational Routines in English*. London, New York: Longman.

Atkinson, J.M, & Drew, P. (Eds.). (1979). *Order in Court: The Organization of Verbal Interaction in Juridical Settings*. London: Social Sciences Research Council.

Atkinson, J.M., & Heritage, J. (1984). *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Austin, J.L. (1962). *How to do Things with Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bardovi-Harlig, K. (1999). Exploring the interlanguage of interlanguage pragmatics: A research agenda for acquisitional pragmatics. *Language Learning*, 49(4), 677-713.

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Dörnyei, Z. (1998). Do language learner recognize pragmatic violations? Pragmatic versus grammatical awareness in instructed L2 learning. *TESOL Quarterly,* 32(2), 233-262.

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Griffin, R. (2005). L2 pragmatic awareness: Evidence from the ESL classroom. *System*, 33, 401-415.

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Hartford, B.S., (1993a). Refining the DCT: Comparing open questionnaires and dialogue completion tasks. In L. Bouton &Y. Kachru (Eds.), *Pragmatics and Language Learning Monograph Series,* 4, 143-165.

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Hartford, B.S., (1993b). Learning the rules of academic talk: A longitudinal study of pragmatic development. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 15, 279-304.

Bardovi-Harlig, K., & Hartford, B.S. (1996). Input in an institutional setting. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 18, 171-188.

Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in Interlanguage Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Beebe, L.M., Takahashi, T., & Uliss-Weltz, R. (1990). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. In R.C. Scarcella., E.S. Andersen & S.D. Krashen (Eds.),

Developing Communicative Competence in a Second Language (pp. 55-73). New York: Newbury House.

Beebe, L.M., & Cummings, M.C. (1996). Natural speech act data versus written questionnaire data: How data collection method affects speech act performance. In S. M. Gass & J. Neu (Eds.), *Speech Acts across Cultures: Challenges to Communication in a Second Language* (pp. 65-86). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Cortes, V. (2004). *If you look at…*: Lexical bundles in university teaching and textbooks. *Applied Linguistics,* 25(3), 371-405.

Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., & Kasper, G. (1989). *Cross Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Norwood: Ablex.

Blum-Kulka, S., & Olshtain, E. (1984). Request and apologies: A cross-cultural study of speech act realization patterns. *Applied Linguistics,* 5(3), 196-213.

Brown, P. & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, A.D. (1996). Developing the ability to perform speech acts. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 18(2), 253-267.

Cohen, A.D. & Olshtain, E. (1993). The production of speech acts by EFL learners. *TESOL Quarterly*, 27(1), 33-56.

Collie, J. & Slater, S. (1992). *Cambridge Skills for Fluency: Speaking 3*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cook, V. (1993). *Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition.* New York: Palgrave.

Coulmas, F. (Ed.). (1981). *Conversational Routine: Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned speech*. The Hague: Mouton.

Coulthard, R. M., & Montgomery, M. (Eds.). (1981). *Studies in Discourse Analysis.* London: Routledge.

Crystal, D. (1997). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* (2nd Edition). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Deignan, A. (1996). Pragmatics and lexical analysis. In J. Field, G. Angus, & M. Peacock (Eds.), *Insights* (pp. 33-38). Kent: IATEFL.

Dörnyei Z., & Katona, L. (1992). Validation of the C-test amongst Hungarian EFL learners. *Language Testing*, 9(2), 187-206.

Edmonson, W. & House, J. (1991). Do learners talk too much? The waffle phenomenon in interlanguage pragmatics. In R. Philipson, E. Kellerman, L.S. Selinker, M. Sharwood-Smith & M. Swain (Eds.), *Foreign/Second Language Pedagogy Research* (pp. 273-286). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Eisenstein, M., & Bodman, J.W. (1986). "I very appreciate": Expressions of gratitude by native and non-native speakers of American English. *Applied Linguistics*, 7(2), 167-185.

Eisenstein, M., & Bodman, J.W. (1993). Expressing gratitude in American English. In G.Kasper & S. Blum-Kulka (Eds.), *Interlanguage Pragmatics* (pp.64-81). New York: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (1992). Learning to communicate in the classroom: A study of two learners' requests. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 14, 1-23.

Foster, P. (2001). Rules and routines: A consideration of their role in the task-based language production of native and non-native speakers. In M. Bygate, P. Skehan & M. Swain (Eds.). *Researching Pedagogic Tasks* (pp.75-93). London: Longman.

Gass, S.M., & Houck, N. (1999). *Interlanguage Refusals: A Cross-cultural Study of Japanese-English.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gass S.M., & Neu, J. (Eds.). (1996). *Speech Acts across Cultures: Challenges to Communication in a Second Language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Grice, H. P. 1975. Logic and Conversation. In P. Cole & J.L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics: Vol. 3. Speech acts* (pp. 41-58). New York: Academic Press.

Grundy, P. (2000). *Doing Pragmatics*. London: Arnold.

Gu, Y. (1990). Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14(2), 237-257.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hakuta, K. (1974). Prefabricated patterns and the emergence of structure in second language acquisition. *Language Learning*, 24(2), 287-297.

Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity.

Houck, N. & Gass, S.M. (1996). Non-native refusals: A methodological perspective. In S.M. Gass & J. Neu (Eds.), *Speech Acts across Cultures: Challenges to Communication in a Second Language* (pp.45-63). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

House, J. (1996). Developing pragmatic fluency in English as a foreign language: Rountines and metacognitive awareness. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 18, 225-252.

House, J., & Kasper, G. (1981). Politeness markers in English and German. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational routines*: *Explorations in Standardized Communication Situations and Prepatterned Speech* (pp.157-185). The Hague: Mouton.

Howarth, P. (1998).Phraseology and second language proficiency. *Applied Linguistics*, 19(1), 24-44.

Kärkkäinen, E. (1992). Modality as a strategy in interaction: Epistemic modality in the language of native and non-native speakers of English. In L.F. Bouton & Y. Kachru (Eds.), *Pragmatics and Language Learning* (monograph series vol.3, pp. 197-216). Urbana, IL: Division of English as an International Language, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Kasper, G., & Blum-Kulka, S. (Eds.). (1993). *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kasper, G., & Dahl, M. (1991). Research methods in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 13, 215-247.

Kasper, G., & Rose, K.R. (Eds.). (2002). *Pragmatic Development in a Second Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kasper, G., & Schmidt, R. (1996). Developmental issues in interlanguage pragmatics. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 18,149-169.

Kim, D., & Hall, J.K. (2002). The role of an interactive book reading program in the development of second language pragmatic competence. *The Modern Language Journal*, 86(3), 332-348.

Klein-Braley, C. (1997). C-tests in the context of reduced redundancy testing: An appraisal. *Language Testing*, 14, 47-84.

Klippel, F. (1984). *Keep Talking: Communicative Fluency Activities for Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koike, D.A. (1989). Pragmatic competence and adult L2 acquisition: speech acts in interlanguage. *The Modern Language Journal*, 73(3), 279-289.

Krashen, S.D., & Scarcella, R. (1978). On routines and patterns in language acquisition and performance. *Language Learning*, 28(2), 283-300.

Ladousse, G. P. (1987). *Role Play*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leech, G. N. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Levinson, S.C. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liao, C., & Bresnahan, M.I. (1996). A contrastive pragmatic study on American English and Mandarin refusal strategies. *Language Sciences,* 8/3-4, 703-727.

Maeshiba, N., Yoshinaga, N., Kasper, G., & Ross, S. (1996). Transfer and proficiency in interlanguage apologizing. In S. M. Gass & J. Neu (Eds.), *Speech Acts across Cultures: Challenges to Communication in a Second Language* (pp. 155-187). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Marriot, H.E. (1995). 'Deviations' in an intercultural business negotiation. In A. Firth (Ed.), *The Discourse of Negotiation: Studies of Language in the Workplace* (pp. 247-268). Oxford: Pergamon.

Matsumoto, Y. (1988). Reexamination of the universality of face: Politeness phenomena in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 12, 403-426.

McCarthy, M., & Carter, R. (1997). *Exploring Grammar of Spoken English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mey, J.L. (1993). *Pragmatics: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Morrow, C. (1995). *The pragmatic effects of instruction on ESL learners' production of complaint and refusal speech acts*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.

Moon, R. (1998). *Fixed Expressions and Idioms in English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nattinger, R.J. & DeCarrico, J.S. (1992). *Lexical Phrases and Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nelson, G.L., Carson, J., Al Batal, M., & El Bakary, W. (2002a). Cross-cultural pragmatics: Strategy use in Egyptian Arabic and American English refusals. *Applied Linguistics*, 23(2), 163-189.

Nelson, G.L., Carson, J., Al Batal, M., & El Bakary, W. (2002b). Directness vs. indirectness: Egyptian Arabic and US English communication style. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26, 39-57.

Nofsinger, R. E. (1991). *Everyday Conversation*. Newbury: Sage.

Ochs, E. (1996). Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. In J.J. Gumperz & S.L. Levinson (Eds.), *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity* (pp. 407-437). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Odlin, T. (1989. *Language Transfer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olshtain, E., & Cohen, A.D. (1983). Apology: A speech-act set. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp.18-35). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Panphotong, N. (1999). Thai ways of saying 'no' to a request. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Linguistic Politeness, Chulalongkorn University, December.

Panphotong, N. (2001). Thai ways of saying 'no' to a request. *Manusya*, 4(2), 63-76.

Pawley, A., & Syder, F.H. (1983). Two puzzles for linguistic theory: nativelike selection and nativelike fluency. In J.C. Richards & R.W. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and Communication* (pp.191-226). London: Longman.

Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessment: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In J.M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of Social Action* (pp. 57-101). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards , J.C., Hull, J., & Proctor, S. (1997). *Interchange Students' Book.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J.C., & Sukwiwat, M. (1983). Language transfer and conversational competence. *Applied Linguistics*, 4(2), 113-125.

Robinson, M.A. (1992). Introspective methodology in interlanguage pragmatics research. In G. Kasper (Ed.), *Pragmatics of Japanese as Native and Target Language* (Technical Report 3, pp. 27-82). Honolulu: University of Hawai'I at Manoa, Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center.

Rose, K.R. (2002). An exploratory cross-sectional study of interlanguage pragmatic development. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*. 22: 27-67.

Rubin, J. (1983). How to tell when someone is saying 'no' revisited: In N. Wolfson & E.Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp. 10-17). Cambridge, MA.: Newbury House.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E.A., & Jefferson, G. (1978). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction* (pp.7-55). New York: Academic Press.

Sairhun, T. (1999). *English refusal strategies of Thai learners of English as a Foreign Language: A study of pragmatic transfer*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok Thailand.

Salsbury, T., & Bardovi-Harlig, K. (2001). "I know your mean, but I don't think so." Disagreements in L2 English. In L.F. Bouton (Ed.), *Pragmatics and Language Learning* (monograph series vol.10, pp.131-151). Urbana-Champaign, IL: Division of English as an International Language, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Sasaki, M. (1998). Investigating EFL students' production of speech acts: A comparison of production questionnaires and role plays. *Journal of Pragmatic,* 30, 457-484.

Scarcella, R. (1979). On speaking politely in a second language. In Yorio, et al. (Eds.), *On TESOL '79: The Learner in Focus*. (pp. 275–287). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Schegloff, E.A. (1972). Sequencing in conversational openings. In J.J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics* (pp. 346-380). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Schegloff, E.A., & Sacks, H. (1974). Opening up closings. In R. Turner (Ed.), *Ethnomethodology: Selected readings* (pp. 233-264). Baltimore: Penguin.

Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to Discourse*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Schmidt, R. (1983). "Interaction, acculturation and the acquisition of communicative competence." In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language acquisition* (pp. 137-174). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schmitt, N. (2000). *Vocabulary in Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scollon, R. & Schollon, S.W. (2001). *Intercultural Communication*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Searle, J. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J. (1975). Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole & J.L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics: Vol. 3. Speech acts* (pp.59-82). New York: Academic Press.

Sinclair, J. (1991). *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sinclair. J. & Coulthard, M. (1975). *Towards and Analysis of Discourse: the English Used by Teachers and Pupils*. London: Oxford University Press.

Soars, L., & Soars, J. (1996). *New Headway English Course Intermediate Students' Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Takahashi, S. (2001). Role of input enhancement in developing pragmatic competence. In K. Rose & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Pragmatics in Language Teaching* (pp.179-199). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Takahashi, T., & Beebe, L.M. (1987). The development of pragmatic competence by Japanese learners of English. *JALT Journal,* 8, 131-155.

Terkourafi, M. (2002). Politeness and formulaicity: evidence from Cypriot Greek. *Journal of Greek*, 3, 179-201.

Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics*, 4, 91-112.

Thomas, J. (1995). *Meaning in Interaction. An Introduction to Pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Trosborg, A. (1995). *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Turnbull, W. (2001). An appraisal of pragmatic elicitation techniques for the social psychological study of talk: The case of request refusals. *Pragmatics*, 11(1), 31-61.

Turnbull, W., & Saxton, K.L. (1997). Modal expressions as facework in refusals to comply with requests: I think I should say 'no' right now'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 27,145-181.

Van Dijk, T. (1982). Episodes as units of discourse analysis. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk* (pp. 177-195). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Weinert, R. (1995). The role of formulaic language in second language acquisition: a review. *Applied Linguistics*, 16(2), 180-205.

Widdowson, H.G. (1978). *Teaching Language as Communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. (1987). *English Speech Act Verbs: A Semantic Dictionary*. Sydney and Orlando: Academic Press.

Wilkins, D.A. (1976). *Notional Syllabuses: A Taxonomy and Its Relevance to Foreign Language Curriculum Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Willis, D. (1991). *The Lexical Syllabus: A New Approach to Language Teaching*. London: Collins ELT.

Wolfson, N. (1983). An Empirically based analysis of complimenting in American English. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp. 82-95). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Wray, A. (2000). Formulaic sequences and second teaching: Principle and practice. *Applied Linguistics*, 21(4), 463-489.

Wray, A. (2002). *Formulaic Language and the Lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Appendix I: Role-cards

Design of the role plays

Four role-play scenarios are based on the distribution of two social constraints: power (P) and distance (D) between interlocutors, which affect the interlocutors' choice of face-saving strategies when performing face-threatening speech acts (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The design of the role-plays is as follows:

I P-, D - (status equal, close relation)

II P-, D + (status equal, distant relation)

III P +, D + (status unequal, distant relation)

IV P +, D- (status unequal, close relation)

Role play I (P-, D -) Can I join your group?

Role card for student A

You are an undergraduate student in a science program. You are worried about your laboratory experiment report, which is an important part of the course Biology II. This is because you did not get along well with the other two group members. The report is far from complete and it seems that the three of you cannot work together. It is due next week. You know that the maximum number of group members is 3, but you think your friend, B (you can use your friend' actual name), can help you. You and B stay in the same student hall , so you called B this morning and told him/her that you're going to talk with him/her in his/her room in the evening. You are going to ask B if you can join his/her group and work hard for the new group.

You are knocking B's door

Role card for student B

You are an undergraduate student in a science program. It's now 7 pm. You are having a break and waiting for A, a close friend of yours. A called you this morning and asked to see you in your room. A sounded worried. Is it because of her study? Family? Boy/girlfriend?

You would like to see A as well because you've been working on the last part of a laboratory experiment report, which is an important part of the course Biology II. It's tiring, but you're happy with it because you and the other two group members have been working together very well. The report is almost done. You are sure your team can finish it before the deadline (next week).

You hear someone knocking the door. It must be A.

**The other version of the role-cards is for the humanities students. The subject "Biology II" is replaced by "Western Civilization" which is a compulsory subject of the students in humanities in both universities where the data collection took place.

Appendix I: Role-cards (continued)

Role play II **(P-, D +)** **Stranger at the Door**

Role card for student A

Leo, your classmate from Singapore, invited you to his apartment (Sasana Apartment, Rama VI Road) for a meal. You are now in his place preparing a Thai dish and he went out to a nearby supermarket to buy some more ingredients for his Singaporean dish. When he comes back you two will have dinner together and talk about life in Bangkok.

The doorbell rings. You look through the hole and see a stranger. You open the door halfway.

Role card for student B

Leo, your friend of Singapore who is studying at a university in Bangkok, invited you to his apartment (Sasana Apartment, Rama VI Road) for a meal at 6 pm. It's now 6.20. You know you're late. You've been on a bus and the traffic is very bad. You're very tried and hungry. You need to go inside and have some rest.

You rang the bell but the person who answered the door is not Leo.

**In the other version of the role-cards, the name of the apartment is Pathumwan Place which is not far from the other university. The purpose of this modification is to provide situational clues for the participants who are in different universities in different districts of the city.

Role play III **(P +, D +)** **Meeting the Manager**

Role card for student A

You are the representative of residents in Sasin Residence, the hall of residence for international students and staff of your university. Recently the quality of the water in the swimming pool has turned bad. Many people including you have become sick and their hair turned greenish. You have made several complaints but so far nothing has happened. Everyone is upset. You want to talk to the site manager, Mr. Duncan, yourself. You are now in his office. Ask to see Mr. Duncan.

Role card for student B

You are the secretary to Mr. Duncan, the site manager of Sasin Residence, the hall of residence for international students and staff of your university. Your boss is in an important meeting with the university administrative team, and he asked not to be disturbed. You don't know when the meeting is over. You see a resident coming into the office. Greet him/her and offer help.

**In the other version of the role-cards for the participants in the other university, "Sasin Residence" is replaced by "MUIC Condominium" which provides an accommodation and sports facilities to the international students and staff of the university.

Role play IV **(P +, D -)** **Can I use the computer here?**

Role card for student A

You are an undergraduate student at the Science Faculty. You also work as an assistant to the computer technician at the Faculty computer cluster, which is for undergraduate students only. You advisor (you can use your advisor's real name) recommended this job to you because s/he trusts you and you can have some money to buy textbooks.

You job is to open and close the cluster at 7.30 a.m. and at 5.30 p.m. from Monday to Saturday and turn on the burglar alarm after closing the room. You will lose your job if there is a report on students' misuse of computers and after-hours users.

It's not 5.25 p.m. You start logging off the computers and turning off the printers, getting reader to close the room. Then you hear someone walking towards you. It's B (you can use his/her real name), a doctoral student at the Chemistry Department. You know him/her quite well because he/she was a teaching assistant in your Chemistry laboratory classes last semester.

Role card for student B

You are a postgraduate student at the Chemistry Department. You have a paper to hand in to the New Scientist's editors, and you need to correct some parts and print it out to proofread for the last time. The deadline is tomorrow. However, in your work station, your colleague is using the computer facilities and she seems to be very busy.

It's now almost 5.30 p.m. You then decide to go to the Faculty's undergraduate computer cluster to use the computer there. You're entering the room and you see A (you can use his/her real name). You know him/her quite well because he/she was in your Chemistry laboratory classes when you were a teaching assistant last semester.

Can I use a computer here? I need to work.

**There are three versions of the role-cards for this role-play. In the other two versions, "Faculty of Science" is replaced by "Faculty of Arts" and "Faculty of Political Science". The names of the department and the academic journal or magazine in student B's role-card are also modified accordingly. Hence, "Department of French" and the "*Modern Language Journal*", and "Department of International Studies" and "The *Economist*".

Appendix II: C-Test

The C-Test below is taken from Dörnyei and Katona's study (1992). The purpose of the test is to measure the proficiency level of the participants and divide them into three groups according to proficiency level.

Instructions

Read three texts below. Fill in the missing letters for each word in the given space (each line stands for ONE letter). You have 25 minutes to complete this task.

Example: My name is Jane. I'm t_ _ oldest ch_ _ _ in m_ family. I've g_ _ two sis_ _ _ _ and th_ _ brothers.

You complete:

My name is Jane. I'm the oldest child in my family. I've got two sisters and three brothers.

I Fitness has been defined in relation to a concept called physical work capacity. This relates to how much work the body can do. A per_ _ _'s fitness c_ _ be deter_ _ _ _ _ in a labor_ _ _ _ _ by loo_ _ _ _ at h_ _ much ene_ _ _ they c_ _ produce o_ a cy_ _ _ ergometer wh_ _ cycling a_ a spe_ _ _ _ heart ra_ _, or o_ an athl_ _ _ _ track b_ looking a_ how f_ _ they c_ _ run i_ a set ti_ _. Fitness c_ _ also b_ understood in rela_ _ _ _ to a num_ _ _ of compo_ _ _ _ _ such a_ endurance, flexi_ _ _ _ _ _, strength a_ _ power. You need to be fit to

play many of our most popular sports such as soccer, hockey and tennis.

II There is a third factor besides farming and herding in the spread of man-made deserts: deforestation. The progre_ _ _ _ _ destruction o_ the Th_ _ _ World's st_ _ _ of tr_ _ _ is dama_ _ _ _ not on_ _ in d_ _ regions: every_ _ _ _ _ it occ_ _ _ it c_ _ accelerate t_ _ decay o_ the so_ _ and red_ _ _ its capa_ _ _ _ to fe_ _ people. It can reduce rainfall and lead to drought.

III The tradition of dressing in costume for Halloween has both European and Celtic roots. Hundreds o_ years a_ _, winter w_ _ an unce_ _ _ _ _ and frigh_ _ _ _ _ _ time. Food supp_ _ _ _ often r_ _ low a_ _, for t_ _ people w_ _ were afr_ _ _ of t_ _ dark, t_ _ short da_ _ of win_ _ _ were fu_ _ of wo_ _ _. On Halloween, wh_ _ it w_ _ believed th_ _ ghosts ca_ _ back t_ the wo_ _ _, people tho_ _ _ _ that th_ _ would enco_ _ _ _ _ ghosts i_ they le_ _ their ho_ _ _. To av_ _ _ being recog_ _ _ _ _ by th_ _ _ ghosts, peo_ _ _ would we_ _ masks wh_ _ they le_ _ their ho_ _ _ after da_ _ so th_ _ the gho_ _ _ would mis_ _ _ _ them f_ _ fellow spi_ _ _ _. On Halloween, to keep ghosts away from their houses, people would place bowls of food outside their homes to prevent them from attempting to enter.

Appendix III: Consent Form

Thai version

1. ข้าพเจ้า นาย/นางสาว _____ นิสิต/นักศึกษา คณะ_____ มหาวิทยาลัย _____ มีความประสงค์เข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยของ นางสาวจิรสิริ เกษมสินธ์

2. ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมให้ผู้วิจัยใช้ข้อมูลของข้าพเจ้าในการทำวิทยานิพนธ์

ลงชื่อ

_____

วันที่ _____

English Translation

1. I agree to participate in the research project of Miss Chirasiri Kasemsin, a PhD student at the University of Leeds, UK.

Signed _____

Date _____

Faculty_____

University_____

2. I understand that the recordings and information I provide will be analyzed in the research project.

Signed _____

Date _____

Appendix IV: Warm-up Activities

The communicative activities presented in this appendix were used in the warm-up sessions. The purpose of the sessions was to get the participants and the researcher to know each other and to help the participants to become less tense when doing spoken activities. The activities are presented according to the order of use.

I. Activities from Klippel (1984)

Questions and answers

4 Identity cards

Aims *Skills* – speaking (writing)
Language – questions about personal data
Other – introducing someone else to the group, getting to know each other

Level Intermediate

Organisation Pairs

Preparation As many identity cards as there are students (see Part 2)

Time 10–30 minutes

Procedure *Step 1:* The students are grouped in pairs (see No. 10 *Groupings* for ideas) and each of them receives a blank identity card.

Step 2: The two students in each pair now interview each other in order to fill in the blanks on the identity card.

Step 3: Each student introduces his partner to the class using the identity card as a memory aid.

Variations *1:* The paired interviews can be conducted without identity cards. Each student must find out those things from his partner which he thinks are important or interesting.

2: The task 'Find out five things about your partner that one could not learn just by looking' can be given before the interviewing starts.

3: Each student draws a portrait on the identity card. All the cards are exhibited on the classroom wall.

4: If these interviews are done at the beginning of a course or seminar a question about individual expectations can be added.

5: With a very simple identity card this activity is suitable for beginners as well. An appropriate card might look like this.

Example:

name:	three things I like:
family:	
hobbies:	three things I don't like:
something I'd like to do:	

teacher. She calculates the total rank of each item by adding up all the rank numbers given. The item with the lowest number is considered the most important one by most students, the one with the highest number the least important.

Step 2: Meanwhile the students are given another copy of the handout, and they sit down in small groups and attempt to find a common ranking for the items. Group results are then compared with the overall result of individual ranking.

Variations *1:* Step 2 can be omitted and a general discussion can follow Step 1 directly.

2: Other questions can be worked on in the same way.

50 Desert island (1)

Aims *Skills* – speaking
Language – giving and asking for reasons, making suggestions, agreeing and disagreeing, if-clauses
Other – imagination, fun

Level Beginners/intermediate

Organisation Pairs, class

Preparation None

Time 10–20 minutes

Procedure *Step 1:* The teacher tells the class about the situation and sets the task:

'You are stranded on a desert island in the Pacific. All you have is the swim-suit and sandals you are wearing. There is food and water on the island but nothing else. Here is a list of things you may find useful. Choose the eight most useful items and rank them in order of usefulness.

a box of matches
a magnifying glass
an axe
a bottle of whisky
an atlas
some metal knitting-needles
a transistor radio with batteries
a nylon tent
a camera and five rolls of film
ointment for cuts and burns
a saucepan
a knife and fork
20 metres of nylon rope
a blanket
a watch
a towel
a pencil and paper

Work with a partner. You have 8 minutes.'

on simulations: Davison and Gordon 1978, *Learning for Change* 1977, Taylor and Walford 1978; on simulations in foreign language teaching: British Council 1977, Herbert and Sturtridge 1979, Jones 1982.

111 Telephoning

Aims *Skills* – speaking (writing)
Language – insisting, interrupting, directing the conversation, hesitating, expressing uncertainty
Other – improvisation, flexibility in using the foreign language

Level Intermediate/advanced

Organisation Pairs

Preparation Role cards (see Part 2)

Time 15–20 minutes

Procedure *Step 1:* The class is divided into two teams (A and B) and each team into sub-groups of three to five students. Each A-group receives a copy of an A-role card, each B-group a copy of a B-role card (see Part 2). The students in each group work out some phrases which they could use in the telephone conversation indicated on the role card.

Step 2: One person from an A-group and one from a B-group act the telephone conversation in front of the group. Up to four more pairs give their version as well. This procedure is repeated with different role cards.

Variations With advanced students the preparation phase may be shorter, i.e. two students draw an A-role card and a B-role card, respectively, think of what they could say for one minute and then act the telephone conversation.

112 TV interview

Aims *Skills* – speaking, writing
Language – describing something, (present simple) questions, introducing someone
Other – thinking about the ideal family

Level Intermediate/advanced

Organisation Groups of four to six students

Preparation None

Time 20–30 minutes

Telephoning

You are Robin

A You are in a hurry because you are going out in half an hour and want to wash and dry your hair beforehand. Your phone rings.

You are Francis/Frances

B You and your boy or girlfriend have just split up and you desperately need someone to talk to. You ring up your friend Robin.

You are Gene/Jean

A You are studying for an important exam next week and are just struggling with a difficult book. When you think that you have just worked out what one chapter means the phone rings. You know you have to go back to your book quickly so as not to forget what you worked out.

You are Nick/Nicky

B You have just come home from the most fantastic weekend trip you have ever had. You went to a log cabin on a lonely lake with some other students. There you did your own cooking, lots of sports and had a party every night. You are really eager to tell your friend all about it so you ring her or him up.

You are Ricky

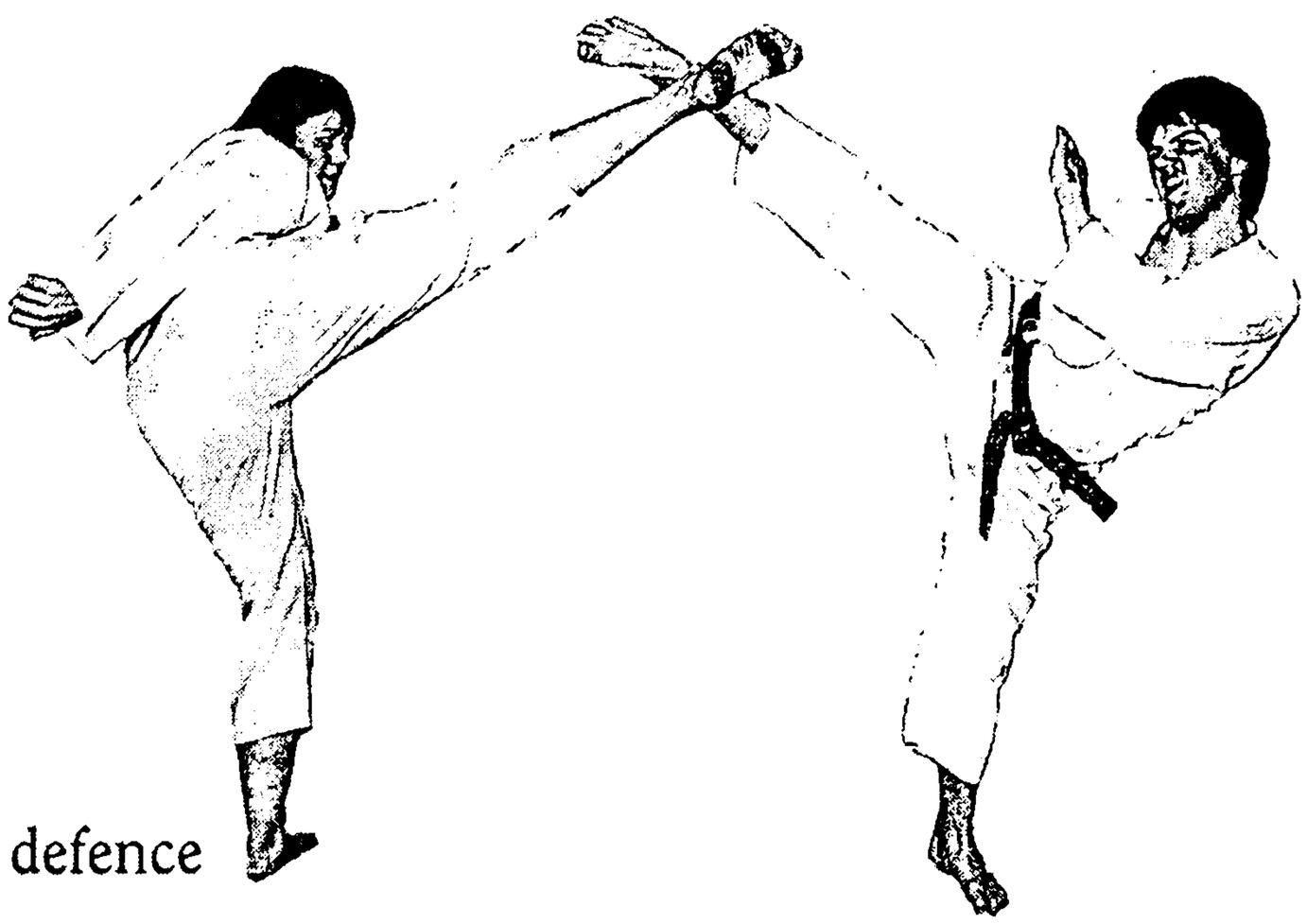
A You are in the kitchen baking a cake as a surprise for your parents. Your parents will be home in two hours. The phone rings.

You are Mrs Fletcher

B You are 75 years old and have sprained your ankle. It is very difficult for you to walk. You need someone to do some shopping for you. And you really would like to tell the young man or girl who lives on the top floor in your building all about your fall. You ring him or her up.

7 Dangerous situations

Self defence and coping with danger



1 Self defence

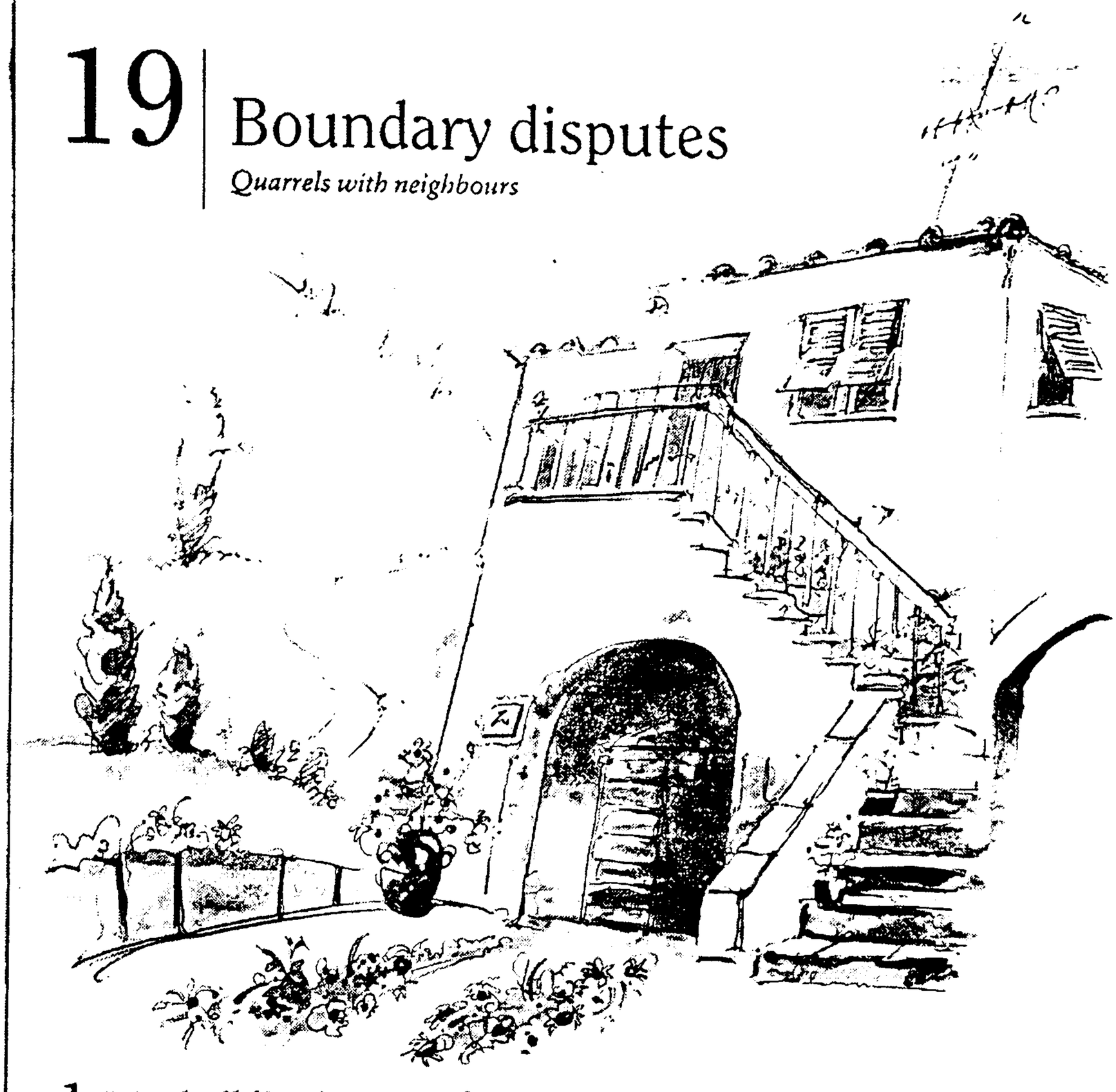
Are you able to defend yourself in a dangerous situation?

YES	NO
If your answer is yes, find a student who also said yes, and discuss how you defend yourself. Have you studied some form of martial art, like karate? Did you learn how to fight and defend yourself as a child? Are you physically strong? Have you had to defend yourself recently?	If your answer is no, find a student who also said no and discuss what you would do in a dangerous situation. Would you run away? . . . try to talk your way out of danger? . . . shout for help? Have you ever studied some form of martial art, like karate? Do you carry anything, like a whistle, in case of emergencies? Have you been in a dangerous situation recently?

Now change partners. If you are a 'yes', talk with a 'no' and compare your reactions to these questions.
What about your teacher?

19 Boundary disputes

Quarrels with neighbours



1 We shall live in peace for the next ten years

Sit in groups of four. Imagine that you are four good friends. You've been living in flats in a large city and you decide to move to the country, buy a house and live together.

In your groups, imagine the situation. Talk about how you would feel. What kind of house and garden would you like? How would you spend your free time? Can you all agree?

Appendix V: Transcribing Conventions

The transcription symbols used in this thesis are explained below. They are adopted from Nofsinger's system (1991:167-169) which is based on the original system devised by Jefferson and explained in more detail in Atkinson and Heritage (1984).

Symbol	*Meaning*
....	Ellipses indicate talk omitted from the data extract.
[ ]	Square brackets between lines indicate the beginning ([) and the end (]) of overlapping talk.
(0.4) nearest	Numbers in parentheses represent silence measured to the tenth of a second
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicates a short, untimed silence, generally less than two- or three-tenths of a second.
=	Equal signs are latching symbols. When attached to the end of one line and the beginning of another, they indicate that the later talk was "latched onto" the earlier talk with no hesitation.
NO	All-uppercase letters represent noticeable loudness.
Oh: uh:::	Colons indicate an elongated syllable; the more colons, the more the syllable or sound is stretched.
Wait a mi-	A hyphen shows a sudden cutoff of speech.
((laughing))	Double parentheses enclose transcriber comments.
Come back again? Alright. Well,	Punctuation marks are generally used to indicate pitch level. The question mark represents rising pitch (not necessarily a question); the period indicates a drop in pitch; and the comma represents a slight rising-falling pitch
1 A3F: 2 A4F:	Speakers are identified by letters and numbers, and each line of the data extract is numbered

Appendix VI: Information for Native Speaker Judges

Identifying formulaic language in EFL learners' role-play performance

Dear Colleagues,

You have been asked to participate in a research project which looks at linguistic and pragmatic qualities of Thai EFL learners' role-play performance. Your contribution would be an attempt to identify what seem to be formulaic sequences in the learners' corpus. Please follow the guidelines and instructions on the following page.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me. Thank you for your time and assistance.

Best regards,

Chirasiri Kasemsin

Chirasiri Kasemsin
Research student in TESOL
School of Education
University of Leeds, UK

C.Kasemsin@education.leeds.ac.uk

Guidelines and instructions

Criteria for formulaic sequences

I use the term "formulaic sequences" to refer collectively to a sequence of words that are fully or partially fixed, rather than individually constructed to convey a particular meaning. We may have encountered fairly similar phenomena in language use under the following terms

- Prefabricated chunks
- Conventionally formulated expressions
- Idiomatic expressions
- Phrasal lexemes
- Conversational routines

For example, "Thank you", "I'm sorry", "you're welcome" or "at the end of the day"

- Patterns with open slots (e.g., "would you + [verb phrase]?", "I was wondering if + [noun phrase]")

The above terms can be used as fundamental criteria in identifying formulaic sequences in the learners' corpus. However, there are some additional criteria that should be borne in mind due to the fact that learners may not be totally accurate in their production of the language.

- The sequence or combination of words in question may not be grammatically correct or fully idiomatic/conventional in English. They can be considered formulaic sequences if you feel that they are learners' "version" of formulaic language. Please include them. (e.g., "I don't sure", "what's happen", or "thank you for your kind).

Instructions

Attached is a corpus of role-plays performed by Thai EFL learners. Please read it through and follow the steps below.

1. Without consulting anyone, identify formulaic sequences by placing slanting lines/ /, or if you prefer, using a highlight pen, which would indicate the boundary of each sequence.
2. If you have any comments to make, please write in the right hand column (e.g., in the case of borderline examples or uncertainty)
3. If you are able to, please revise your identification without consulting anyone. Please indicate also whether you have revised.

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Appendix VII: Samples of Master Corpus

Formulaic sequences identified by each native speaker judges were compiled in the master corpus. Each formulaic sequence identified is marked in slanting lines / / Only formulaic sequences marked three times or more were used in the analysis.

Low-intermediate Learner Master Corpus

Line no.	Learners (Task I: Can I join your group?)
1	W: hello
2	P: hi Pranee ((pause)) ah: //I want to// tell you I have some worry thing that I thinking all night
3	W: oh/////what happen/////
4	P: my friend my partner lab I can't do work with them
5	W: oh //why not// ((pause)) who is your partner lab
6	P: ((laugh)) my partner lab is Sunya (.) ///I don't know/// he don't work (.) //can I// join with your group?
7	W: /oh yeah/ uh but ///I'm afraid that/// my group is uh is al-full and my team can finish the report but ///can I help you/// to do the report?
8	P: ((sigh)) ((3.0)) ////it's okay//// ////I think/// but if you not uh: ////I think//// I can do myself
9	W: ((2.0)) only one?
10	P: yes but sometimes I want to ask you about Biology II because /I don't want to/ talk to my lecturer
11	W: /oh yes / ////I think////I can help you to- about the experiment report /let's to do/-////let's go// /to/ dothis now
12	P: okay

Line no.	Learners (Task I: Can I join your group?)
1	W: ((knocking))
2	T: ((opening the door))
3	W: //hello/ ////how are you/////?
4	T: yeah /////I'm fine// //and you/////?
5	W: I'm not I have many problems with my laboratory experiment report in my own group and /I'm very worried about/ it //can I help// – ////can you help me////? =
6	T: = yeah what is your problem?
7	W: yeah ////I think//// my own group my partners don't understand me and isn't enjoy in my own group um if /I want to/ change my group with you (.) ////can I//// enjoy //can I// enjoy your group? =
8	T: = oh ////I'm afraid// not// because my group is full and cannot exchange anymore
9	W: oh ((softly))=
10	T: =yeah ////I'm sorry////–
11	W: //what can I do// I I cannot repair uh do do uh with my own group well um /do you/ don't have any way to help me?
12	T: um maybe other group I will – I know about – I know someone in other group and I will try uh to speak with them for you ok? but my group is – uh ////I'm sorry////
13	W: //I know// but I did (.) want to talk with you before um I think you're good and you're my close friend
14	T: /////I think so///// but I cannot
15	W: [REALLY]
16	T: [////I'm sorry////]
17	W: please because I have a BIG problem now and (.) can ////can you//// busy with me just once?
18	T: um: uh ///let me see/// (.) uh ok I will /take/ your problem /to consult with/ my members

19	W: sounds GREAT ((screaming)) ////THANK YOU//// and uh /what can I do/ for your group um when I enjoy your group?
20	T: ///I think/// if you join my group I'll give you to uh conclusion (.) the experiment
21	W: ok I'll do well
22	T: BUT uh (.) I cannot uh (.) I cannot confirm you that you can enjoy my group (.) I must /take/ your problem /to consult with/ my group
23	W: ok I will I will wait for you talk with your partner before and ///I think/// it's (.) well/////thank you very much /////
24	T: okay

Intermediate Learner Master Corpus

Line no.	Learners (Task I: Can I join your group?)
1	J: hi Rawee ((opening the door for R)
2	R: hi Janya
3	J: ////you're welcome//// /sit down/ please
4	R: ///thank you///
5	J: ///do you want to/// take some water (.) or anything?
6	R: I don't hungry but (.) I have something ((2.0)) //do you know// (.) my biology group is um::
7	J: you /have a problem/ about your biology group?
8	R: yes um you know Nathinee and Kesinee?
9	J: yeah
10	R: first /I think/ it (.) ////I don't know//// but um I uh NOW we can't work together (.) not that we talk they don't know anything but Kesinee help me do but she she she /don't worried about/ report it must be sent in the next week and (.) I see your group is uh okay um ///do you mind if/// um (.) um will you let me join the group
11	J: ok ok um my work almost done (.) so /I think/ uh my member group can do it to finish
12	R: so ///what can I do for/// your group? ((1.0)) what the work that isn't done I can help you (.) ///I'm pleased to/// write the conclusion
13	J: ((looking stressed)) no thanks /I think/ I can help you to /to uh do your job/ um ((3.0)) um ((2.0)) ok deadline is on the next week ///what about/// your job?
14	R: my job is conclusion and uh uh some graphics uh graphs
15	J: um: I I have uh the friend who can help you
16	R: oh
17	J: he very experts
18	R: what is her uh //what is his name//?
19	J: um Chan
20	R: ///thanks a lot/// Janya =
21	J: = uh I will tell him to help you
22	R: //thank you// and I will see him and you tomorrow=
23	J: =yeah yeah I will take him to meet you tomorrow
24	R: um:: //thank you// now /////let's go///// for some dinner?
25	J: ok

Turn no.	Learners (Task I: Can I join your group?)
1	T: ((knocking)) ////can I come in////
2	S: yes (.) ////take a seat////
3	T: ////thank you//// (.) /what are you doing/?
4	S: I'm //I'm having a break// I have done ///a lot of/// my report so I'm too tired and then ///I would like to/// ///have a break///
5	T: really? So: you you said that you have done //a lot of// report right?

6	S: yes
7	T: um ///what about/// the report World War II (.) have you finished it?
8	S: //not yet// but nearly finish
9	T: really? uh actually I'm having some problem with the report
10	S: what is it?
11	T: um: ((sigh)) well (.) ///may I ask/// how many members in your group //right now//?
12	S: yes uh /there are three of us/
13	T: three of us (.) ////I wonder if//// the: the teacher will allow me to have a group of four or five or more than three
14	S: ///I don't know///
15	T: actually /I have some problem/ because my my friends which belong to the same group they (.)// /I'm afraid/// we cannot finish the work in time because we cannot /////get along/// each other //very well
16	S: um um uh: (.) how far have you done (.) your report?
17	J: very little we just come and talk about who who is going to do what but there is no progress exactly um: //can I// join your group?
18	S: uh: /////I think we'd better///// ask for permission from the teacher and if she said ok then you probably join us
19	T: really? and ///what about/// the members the other two members what – who are they?
20	S: uh they are Onjira and Kadewadee (.) //I don't think// they will /have any problem/ working with you
21	T: yes so I think we have to ask permission from teacher
22	S: oh and if you are join us join our group then the two members/// how about/ /them/?
23	T: so /////we'd better /////talk to them before we go to see the teacher
24	S: ok
25	T: /////thank you very much/////
26	S: /////you're welcome/////

Advanced Learner Master Corpus

Line no.	Learners (Task I: Can I join your group?)
1	((knock knock))
2	R: ///who's there///
3	S: here's Suda
4	R: ////come in//// the door is open
5	S: oka:y ((pause)) hi Ratree /////how are you today/////
6	R: fine:: but tiring (.) I'm very /tired up/ /reports after reports/-
7	S: yeah I know
8	R: //ya know// the same thing ///same old thing/// (.) ////how about you////
9	S: oh I have a serious problem about my report ///as well// ////you know/////
10	R: [really
11	S: about the civilization subject ///you know/// I have to ///deal with/// uh- the World War II report ////you know////
12	R: aha-
13	S: yeah
14	R: ///you mean/// the Western Civilize right
15	S: yes and (.) I /I came to you/ because of this problem ////you know////-
16	R: yeah yeah aha
17	S: ///I wanna/// ask you that um is your group already full
18	R: My group?
19	S: yes
20	R: (.) uh ACtually yeah (.) maybe
21	S: /////I kinda/// ///have a problem with//// my with my friends in my group ///you know///
22	R: [aha
23	S: yeah I //I think// /we can't ///get along with/// each other/ ///you know/// so um: I came

	here to ask you that whether you
24	R: [a ha]
23	have a free seat for me to ///join in/// //or something//?=
25	R: =actually um:: uh-
26	S: /can I/ ask the teacher to add er additional member?
27	R: ///you know/// PERsonally //I::/ would be (.) happy to// to work with you/ but ////you know what//// my group (.) me and my friends in the group and I ah: uh almost ///you know/// almost finish the the report- yeah and-
28	S: [really] ///I can make it///
29	R: /I know/ I know but ////you know//// um uh uh///it's fine/ for// me if if we go to the teacher and he allows us to to ///you know/// add your name in our group (.) it would be fine for me /but ///I don't know/ about/// the others //you know//
30	S: yes actually I have talked to the teacher already ///you know///
31	R: a-ha
32	S: so this time /may I/ uh may you talk to another friends of your group for me
33	R: yeah ///I think so///
34	S: tell them I can do all the typing ///you know///
35	R: uh huh /maybe it will not be a problem/ ///you know/// if I can get those two people which uh who you already know
36	S: =yeah=
35	R: =///you know/// and we can talk together
37	S: who is the other member of your group
38	R: Sath and Teuy
39	S: yeah /I think/ ///it wouldn't /be a problem//// because I have already known Sath and //I'm very /close to/// Teuy
40	R: okay so maybe um you do all the typing and and maybe //a little part of// presentation or or ///something like that///
41	S: yeah I can ///deal with/// that
42	R: ///I think/// we can solve this problem
43	S: yeah
44	R: a ha
45	S: Well ///you want something to drink/// outside together
46	R: yeah ///that //would be great///// because I have been working on this report ///you know/// /all day/ and I'm very tired=
47	S: =yeah ok great ///let's go////
48	R: ///let's go///
Line No.	Learners (Task I: Can I join your group?)
1	M: ((knocking))
2	P: ///come in///
3	M: um (.) //can I/ /talk to you/ //for /a few minutes/////?
4	P: ///of course/// (.) //are you having a problem with// your class Biology class?
5	M: yeah /as you know/ about bi-biology (.) actually uh (.) ///you know/// /I have a problem uh with/ my colleagues she uh they don't – didn't help me to um to do experiment um: //I don't know// how I should ////get a long with/// them/
6	P: uh-huh ((2.0)) um you're working //in group// yeah?
7	M: yeah but /last time/ //as you know// that they they left my work – they left that work and let me do it alone
8	P: uh-huh
9	M: so /I need your help//
10	P: ////I think//// ////in this case//// you //may have to/ ask/ the professor whether you can change your partner (.) or maybe=
11	M: =but //I don't want to// but I don't want our lecturer to know that I have a problem with my group /so //that's why// I'm asking for/ your for your favor
12	P: oh what' is your topic for the report?
13	M: about photosynthesis
14	P: oh ///I know/// //I know// that
15	M: really?
16	P: yes //I can /help you out/// (.) you can uh see me after class or /you can just/ (.) ////call me//// (.)

	////call me up//// and /I'll ////help you out/////
17	M: ////how about//// the experiment //can I// join your group?
18	P: oh: (.) /////I'm afraid// you can't/// because we're working in different topics and /we're almost finished/ with our work and (.) well /I think/ my work is gonna finished sooner than yours so after I finish my work I'll /go and help you out/ (.) I think it's uh ///a couple of/// days /in ///a couple of/// days/ we'll finish our work (.) ///is that ok for you///?
19	M: ///a couple of/// day?
20	P: yeah
21	M: ///my God/// it's almost my due date too (.) /what should I do then/? my friends also left me
22	P: oh //in this case// well ((pause)) my work is almost finished ////you know/// my part we divide it up into sections and my part's almost finished um maybe tomorrow I
23	M: [oh:]
22	P: ///[can]/help you out//// ?
24	M: tomorrow
25	P: yeah
26	M: /that would be/ perfect oh /would you be free/ – /will you be free/ in the afternoon tomorrow?
27	P: oh (.) yes YES yes /.I don't have/ class/ in the afternoon
28	M: yeah perhaps –
29	P: I have only one in the morning
30	M: yeah perhaps (.) I will ask uh the lecturer //to book a room// for an hour and perhaps we can uh make an experiment together
31	P: yeah ////that's a good idea////
32	M: yeah
33	P: ok
34	M: /glad for your help/ /////thanks a lot/////
35	P: ////you're welcome//// ///you're welcome/// you're my friend ////you're welcome////

Appendix VIII: Samples of Coded Data

The following transcribed data are taken from the first and the last pairs of learners in each group.

Low-intermediate Learners

Line no.	Learners (Role-play I: Can I join your group?) Sarita (L1F) and Jira (L2M)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	S: ((knocking)) hello	Greeting
2	J: oh hey Sarita	Greeting
3	S: how are you?	Greeting (Info elicit Q)
4	J: alright I'm fine thank you and you	Greeting (answer to the Q + info elicit Q)
5	S: I'm not fine	Answer—RQ ground
6	J: what's problem	Info elicit Q
7	S: yes I have problem I can't-I cannot get along with my group	Answer—RQ ground
8	J: oh ((softly))	Continuer
9	S: I'm join in your group in labo-laboratory biology II ((rising intonation))	RQ
10	J: oh I'm sorry the report in almost done (.) sorry	**Apo + reason (1, almost done) + apo**
11	S: oh	"oh" (disappointed)
12	J: I think you can can	**Alt 1** (interrupted)
13	S: um uh uh I want to I want to come in your group	RQ (persistent)
14	J: uh	Filler
15	S: uh (2.0) in time I'm writing the report (.) the report is far from	RQ (elaborated w/ground)
16	finish (.) I not enjoy in two members (.) um I want to come in	
17	your group	
18	J: oh I'm sorry I can't (2.0) uh I can't take you uh I think you	**Apo + neg + alt 1 (advisor)**
19	should talk to teacher	
20	S: oh	"oh" (disappointed)
21	J: for your problem uh	**Finishing alt 1**
22	S: I speak the teacher the teacher the teacher suggests I talk you	Reject alt 1 (reason = already followed –RQ ground)
23	J: oh the teacher tell you?	Understanding checking

24	S: yes the teacher talk about your arrangement	Elaborating # 21
25	J: uh I can't I can't accept you to my (.) group	**Neg**
26	S: please please please	RQ (persistent)
27	J: I will talk to my group member and will tell you	**Postponement**

Line no.	Learners (Role-play I: Can I join your group?) Chada (L11F) and Pan (L12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	C: ((knocking))	Summon
2	P: yeah	Answer
3	C: are you wake up? I'm Chada	
4	P: yes come in	
5	C: oh I have some problems I want you-I think you can help me (.)	Alerter + RQ ground
6	you know Dr. Suda want me to send my laboratory experiment report	RQ
7	next week then I ha:v-I have to um I can't to work in the class then	
8	and I want you to give me join with your group	
9	P: yeah I would like to join you my group you know (.) um but I have other	**Pseudo-agr + reason 1,2 (lack of gr consent, almost done)**
10	member (.) two people in my group (.) I must ask I must ask them um:	
11	and my report is almost done (.) up to you um:	
12	C: okay I see you don't worry that (.) I think I go to other group because	Acceptance of RF
13	you have (.) you have your member of group	
14	P: ok um are you worried about this?	**Attending to RQ's problem (alignment)**
15	C: ((2.0)) little (.) um don't worry thank you	Letting RF off the hook
16	P: ok take care bye	Leave-taking

Line no.	Learners (Role-play II: Stranger at the door) Sarita (L1F) and Jira (L2M)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	J: hello	Greeting
2	S: hello	Greeting
3	J: is Leo here?	Info elicit Q (preparatory Q)
4	S: yes Leo is here but ((pause)) now he go to the supermarket	Answer

5	J: oh	Continuer ("oh")
6	S: why?	Info elicit Q
7	J: Leo (.) I'm a friend of Leo-I'm Leo's friend he's he (.) he	Answer—RQ ground
8	date me (.) to have meal in this evening	
9	S: I don't know sorry I ((3.0)) um I think you wait you wait him	**Hedge + apo + alt 1 (wait elsewhere)**
10	for the um counter of restaurant (.) he tell me he told me that um	**+ info elicit Q**
11	appointment to you?	
12	J: again please	RQ for repetition
13	S: he not tell me he appointment with you um I don't know I think	**Repeating (clarifying) #9-11**
14	you wait you wait he come back um:	
15	J: oh (.) sorry that I-I-I-I- am in traffic jam I'm very tired and	RQ ground + RQ
16	hungry can I wait him here?	
17	S: ah:: um um I think you should um wait him for counter restaurant	**Elongated filler + repetition of alt 1**
18	uh I think he tell me um uh::	
19	J: Leo don't tell you about me?	Info elicit Q (confirmation check)
20	S: no he don't tell he don't tell he go to the market about=	Answer
21	J: =I think he should tell you because he date me	Disagreeing (RQ ground)
22	S: um um I understand um but I think you wait at counter of	**Pseudo-agr + alt 1 (elaborated)+**
23	restaurant about about ten minutes he come back ((2.0))sorry sorry	**Apo**
24	sorry um I think I think um sorry sorry	
25	J: I think I will wait Leo at restaurant	Acceptance of alt 1
26	S: sorry	**Apo**

Line no.	Learners (Role-play II: Stranger at the door) Chada (L11F) and Pan (L12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	P: ((knocking))	Summon
2	C: ((opening the door))	Answer
3	P: OH where is Leo?	Info elicit Q
4	C: um Leo moving out of this apartment to buy something at nearby	Answer
5	supermarket	

6	P: OH who are you? I am Leo friend (.) he invite me to his apartment	Info elicit Q + RQ
7	for meal at six pm ((pause)) um may I come in please?	
8	C: oh I think you can't because um Leo not appear here and Leo don't	**Neg + reason 1,2 (absence of host, lack of info) +**
9	tell me about you (.) please come back again? ((rising intonation))	**Alt 1 (come back again)**
10	P: oh NO I am so TIRed the traffic is very BAD I want to go inside may I	Rej alt 1 + RQ ground + RQ
11	come in please?	
12	C: um::	**Elongated filler**
13	P: can you help ME	RQ (persistent)
14	C: um I think you can (.) I think you can uh go to the apartment under	**Elaborate alt 1**
15	floor and come back again	**(wait elsewhere and come back again)**
16	P: oh okay okay	Continuer
17	C: I'm very sorry	**Apo**
18	P: ok one minute ok	Minimized RQ
19	C: no:: ((sigh))	**NO**
20	P: why you don't let me go inside I'm Leo friend	RQ (appeal) + RQ ground (relation)
21	C: oh this this place have uh burglaries you know I think I I think I I	**Reason 3 + elaboration (burglary + security)**
22	I don't-I feel safe here	
23	P: okay ((softly))	Acknowledging reason 3
24	C: you can come back again	**Repetition of alt 1**
25	P: okay okay goodbye	Acceptance of RF

Line no.	Learners (Role-play III: Meeting the condominium manager) Sarita (L1F) and Jira (L2M)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	J: good morning	Greeting
2	S: morning	Greeting
3	J: can I help you?	Offer of help
4	S: are you Mr. Duncan	Info elicit Q (preparatory Q)
5	J: oh sorry Mr. Duncan is busy this time but you can leave message for him	**Apo + reason 1 (busy) + alt 1 (message)**
6	S: if if if I wait Mr. Duncan if I wait Mr. Duncan you think (.) you think –	
7	are you think?	
8	J: oh sorry sorry I cant' understand what you mean(.) you talk	
9	S: um (.) I want to see Mr. Duncan I want to meet Mr. Duncan	RQ

10	J: yes yes	
11	S: um he::	
12	J: you you date him before?	Info elicit Q (condition for compliance)
13	S: I date him I date him I date him today um um I'm representative of	Answer (previous appointment) + RQ ground
14	resident in the international condominium I want to tell him	
15	I want I want to him change water in the pool it have bacteria	
16		**Postponement (will let manager know)**
17	J: ok I will told him	Rej postponement (no)
18	S: OH no no I I not go to come back I not come back um today I I meet	+ appeal
19	Mr. Duncan oh (.) you look at hair hey look at hair ((touching her lock))	**Apo**
20	J: sorry sorry	RQ (appeal)
21	S: um um it cause my ache my stomach ache um (.) the water in the pool has	
22	bacteria um um it's not clean um oh you ((pause)) you look at the water	
23	in the swimming pool it has green color (.) oh it's so bad	Apo
24	J: sorry you can okay I (.)	RQ
25	S: can you help me plea::se? I want to meet Mr. Duncan	**Alt 2 (make an appointment)**
26	J: okay this day at 5 pm you come again	
27	S: oh oh	**Ask for agreement**
28	J: oh you (.) ok?	Rej alt2 + info elicit Q (assessing situ)
29	S: oh no no no I not wait for five pm ((3.0)) where is he go?	Answer (approx meeting time)
30	J: he has important meeting there	
31	S: mm	
32	J: and I think about 5 pm he finished	'oh' (disappointed)
33	S: oh	**Apo + pseudo agr + neg**
34	J: sorry I want to help you but I can't	Acceptance of alt 2
35	S: ok ok I wait him here today I must meet him	
36	J: ok um you sit down here	
	S: ok thank you	

Line no.	Learners (Role-play III: Meeting the condominium manager) Chada (L11F) and Pan (L12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**

1	C: excuse me Ms. I want to see Mr. Duncan	RQ
2	P: oh I'm sorry Mr. Duncan is in very important meeting and he asked not	**Apo + reason 1,2,3**
3	to be disturbed um:: and I don't know when the meeting is over (.)	**(meeting, no disturb, no info meeting time)**
4	can I help you? Would you like-	
5	C: NO I want to see Mr. Duncan only (.) where is HE?	RQ
6	P: I tell you already he is in a very important meeting he is busy you know ((rising intonation))	**Repetition of reason 1,2**
7	C: no I'm a resident in this condominium and now I have become	RQ (persistent) + ground
8	sick and my hair turned greenish (.) don't you call Mr. Duncan for me	
9	please?	
10	P: I'm sorry I (.) I can't do you want (.) I think you can leave your message	**Apo + neg + alt 1 (message)**
11	I will tell him after he come back he come back from meeting	
12	C: ok you note Mr. Duncan will see my legal claim in tomorrow	
13	P: ok ((sigh))	Threat

Line no.	Learners (Role-play IV: At the undergraduates' computer room) Sarita (L1F) and Jira (L2M)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	J: Is closing room-is it closing soon?	Info elicit Q (preparatory Q)
2	S: yes it is closing soon	Answer
3	J: can I use a computer? I need to work	RQ + ground
4	S: say it again?	
5	J: can I use a computer? I need to work	
6	S: um you can use computer um um you can use computer to oh no sorry	**Apo + reason 1 (closing time)**
7	sorry oh I must close it - the computer room um five (.) five point thirty p.m.	
8	J: oh	
9	S: it remains five minutes so	
10	J: oh you can you help me	RQ
11	S: oh no no no	**'no no no"**

12	J: Sarita you remember me?	Info elicit Q (relation manipulation)
13	S: yes I remember you but I-if I-I-I-give to use computer now I will lose	**Answer (acknowledge relation) + reason 2 (lose job)**
14	((pronounced " loss")) my job	
15	J: oh	
16	S: my job is um um sometimes uh (.) sometimes have person report of the	**Elaborate reason 2 + apo**
17	teacher (.) I open computer is overtime oh I'm sorry	
18	J: you mean the computer have record the time close (.) when	Understanding check
19	S: I close the computer room at five point thirty pm	Answer (*misunderstood the checking Q)
20	J: nobody know have only know and me	Cajoling
21	S: say again?	
22	J: nobody know what I use the computer (.) have only and me	
23	S: oh oh I'm worried I can't you use computer sorry sorry (.) I think you use	**Neg + apo + postponement (tomorrow)**
24	computer tomorrow?	
25	J: you um oh no tomorrow is deadline	Rej postponement
26	S: oh	
27	J: you have another computer is not is not is not faculty—do you have	Info elicit Q (other places)
28	computer?=	Answer
29	S: =oh I think I think the Ramathibodi Hospital is have computer	Info elicit Q (seeking a definite answer)
30	J: oh really?	Answer (inability to give a definite answer—alternative places)
31	S: I THINK I'm not sure	Info elicit Q (seeking a definite answer)
32	J: you you have place which sure? I use computer sure	Answer ("I'm not sure")
33	S: um I'm not sure	Info elicit Q (seeking a definite answer)
34	J: what uh where I can use computer sure (.) you know?	**Inability to give info + apo + cut off + apo**
35	S: I don't know sorry sorry now I must close the computer room oh sorry	Appeal
36	J: please help me	**Apo + neg**
37	S: oh I'm sorry I can't help you	Acceptance of RF
38	J: ok	

Line no.	Learners (Role-play IV: At the undergraduates' computer room) Chada (L11F) and Pan (L12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	P: hi Chada (.) can you help me?	Greeting + RQ
2	C: what?	Info elicit (condition)
3	P: um can I use a computer I need to work	RQ (more specific)
4	C: I think not because in five minutes this room is close	**Neg + reason 1 (closing time)**
5	P: is it closing soon?	Info elicit Q (assessing situ)
6	C: in five min	*Answer (closing time)*
7	P: the deadline is tomorrow only 20 min please	Minimized RQ (20 min)
8	C: I think you have important work to do BUT I have a important job to do same	**Pseudo agr + reason 2 (imp job)**
9	P: oh no you can help me	RQ (appeal)
10	C: I think you-I think you have um I think you want to send it tomorrow but I-	
11	P: you can late	
12	C: oh I'm sorry because if my advisor knows I lose my job	**Apo + reason 3 (lose job)**
13	P: oh okay=	
14	C: = please understand me	**Appeal for empathy**
15	P: ok	Acceptance of RF (Req withdrew)

Intermediate Learners

Line no.	Learners (Role-play I: Can I join your group?) Sunee (I1F) and Jirapa (I2F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	S: ((knocking))	Summon
2	J: ((opening the door)) hi Sunee	Answer + greeting
3	S: hi Ji how are you?	Greeting
4	J: I'm fine (.) and you?	Greeting
5	S: yeah	Continuer (lack of enthusiasm "yeah")
6	J: is it ok?	Info elicit Q
7	S: um:: (.) not really good	Answer –RQ ground

8	J: oh why?	Info elicit Q
9	S: um: I have a big problem with my project (.) with my report	Answer –RQ ground
10	you know	
11	J: um what happen	Info elicit Q
12	S: yes ((pause)) um I think I have a problem with my friends	Answer –RQ ground
13	J: uh-hm (.) with uh your group? Your friends in the group?	Info elicit Q
14	S: yes we can't work together well and and (.) I fe – I felt uncomfortable	Answer –RQ ground
15	work with them	
16	J: ooh I I think that this is um a big problem for you I think you your	Alignment
17	friends and you can share idea together well	
18	S: yeah I did it you know but ((sigh)) I I think they don't like me	Pseudo-agreement + RQ ground
19	very much	
20	J: what?	Info elicit Q
21	S: yeah I have personal problems and I can't work with them	Answer –RQ ground
22	J: oh	Continuer
23	S: so I wonder if if you mind if I want to to um (.) join your group	RQ
24	J: oh I I think that is not convenient for uh (.) for you to join in	**Negative willingness**
25	our group be –	
26	S: why NOT?	Info elicit Q (reaction to RF)
27	J: I'm sorry (.) sorry for being uh because uh (.) our group is finishing	**Apo + reason 1 (almost done)**
28	is uh preparing to work and we will finish the report next week (.)	
29	and I have an appointment with Baramee this evening at (.)	
30	seven o'clock	
31	S: so	Continuer
32	J: so sorry so (.) sorry	**Apo**
33	S: you don't help me	Appeal
34	J: I want to [help you]	**Pseudo-agree (interrupted)**
35	S: [oh I really] need your help	Appeal
36	J: I want to help [you but]	**Pseudo-agree (interrupted)**
37	S: [I can't] finish my work if I can't change a group	RQ ground
38	J: oh	
39	S: please	**Apo + pseudo-agr + neg+ reason 1 (lack of consent)**
40	J: sorry I want to help you but (.) I can't help (.) I don't know what	
41	what my friends in my group will accept you or not	

42	S: um can't you talk to them?	RQ2 (discuss with group members)
43	J: um:: (.) I I don't think that they will uh accept you to to	**reason 1**
44	S: you're just the only I left and uh -	Appeal
45	J: sorry so sorry	**Apo**
46	S: and you didn't help me	Appeal
47	J: (5.0) ok I will ask them tomorrow and I will answer your question	**Postponement (will talk to gr members)**
48	tomorrow ok?	
49	S: ok	Acceptance of postponement
50	J: ((laughing))	
51	S: I look forward	
52	J: I will try to give him uh give them uh try to give your information	Elaborate postponement
53	for them that you have a problem with your group (.) to please you	
54	S: uh-huh you're so kind	
55	J: tomorrow	
56	S: thank you	Thanking

Line no.	Learners (Role-play I: Can I join your group?) Sairung (I11F) and Ratana (I12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	S: Ratana are you in there?	Summon
2	R: yes come in	Answer
3	S: um actually I I I have something to talk to you you know about the	RQ ground
4	Western Civilization course	
5	R: okay what's going on	Info elicit Q
6	S: well I'm having a problem with with with my report you know the	Answer—RQ ground
7	World War II report because I can't get along with the other two	
8	Members in my groups so so I'm thinking about you know changing my	
9	group because I I can't talk to the teacher because it's it's the student who	
10	arranged the group you know that and and I'm now asking if you know	RQ
11	if you if you let me join your group	
12	R: um for me it's no problem but I'm not sure whether my my other friends will	**Pseudo-agr + reason 1 (lack of consent)+**
13	ok or not so I can't confirm this I I have to ask them first	**Postponement (will ask gr members)**

14	S: um:=	
15	R: =but can I help you with something other? (.) like other things	**Alt 1 (offer of help)**
16	P: um:: I don't know (.) is there any other group that still lack some some some	Hedge + info elicit Q + Offer of help (minimizing RQ)
17	members because I can't do with the m because we have some problems and	
18	you now it it it didn't even you know much start well we haven't start so much	
19	it's just actually (.) we haven't done actually the half of it and what about your	
20	group (.) how much how ma- how much have you done? Can I help you?	
21	R: um: my report is almost done almost finished	**Reason 2 (almost done)**
22	S: really?	Continuer ("really?")
23	R: yeah almost finished (.) but anyway I will ask my friends [for] tomorrow	**Repetition of reason 2 + repetition of postponement**
24	S: [but but] is there	
25	anything – you know if it's almost done I feel I feel like I am you know I am	Alignment (by Req) + RQ 2 (to ask group members for a definite outcome)
26	just something that you know didn't help anything don't do anything that help	
27	you (.) but please ask your friends first	
28	R: ok	Compliance with RQ 2/ Postponement
29	S: thanks a lot	Thanking (acceptance of postponement)

Line no.	Learners (Role-play II: Stranger at the door) Sunee (I1F) and Jirapa (I2F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	J: ((knocking))	Summon
2	S: who's that? ((opening the door))	Answer—Info elicit Q 1
3	J: I'm Jirapa uh is Leo here?	Answer 1 + Info elicit Q 2 (preparatory Q)
4	S: (4.0) no he's not home	(delayed(4.0)) + answer 2
5	J: where is he (.) he is uh we have an appointment to have a meal uh dinner	Info elicit Q3 + RQ ground
6	together	
7	S: you're Leo's friend?	Info elicit Q4
8	J: yes I'm Leo's friend (.) I'm a student at Silapakorn University	Answer 4
9	S: yes uh Leo went uh to supermarket to buy something um I think he will	Answer 3
10	come home soon=	
11	J: = uh excuse me (.) who uh [who are you]?	Info elicit Q5

12	S: [uh my name is Sunee] I'm Leo's friend	Answer 5
13	J: oh nice to see you	
14	S: yeah	
15	J: um it's ok (.) when will Leo come back? (.) you know?	Info elicit Q6 (preparatory Q)
16	S: um: I've no idea (.) but I think soon	Answer 6
17	J: uh I I think so because uh (.) he has an appointment with me to have dinner	RQ ground + RQ
18	together um: would you mind if I uh come in (.) your room?	
19	S: um: I'm so sorry you know (.) last week the woman in the fourth floor	**Filler + apo + reason 1 (burglary)**
20	have been robbed	
21	J: oh?	Continuer ("oh")
22	S: yes you know and I'm so scared and I can't let strangers (.) get in	**Elaborate reason 1 + reason 2 (stranger)**
23	J: sorry that news (.) but I'm I'm TIRED because I come from Nakhom Pathom	RQ ground + RQ
24	(.) I I want to have some rest in the room	
25	S: why don't you go down to the lobby? There uh is um coffee shop (.) you	**Alt 1 (wait at the coffee shop)**
26	can wait for Leo there	
27	J: oh so many people out (.) people there (.) can I come come in the room?	Rej alt1 + RQ (persistent)
28	S: oh	**"oh"**
29	J: please	RQ (persistent)
30	S: I want to but I can't (.) you know this is this is not my house and	**Pseudo-agr + neg + reason 3 (guest status)**
31	J: uh-huh	
32	S: and as I told you before (.) it's (.) I scared there ((sigh))	**Repetition of reason 1 (burglary + security)**
33	J: absolutely I'm Leo's friend I'm not a stranger you know	Cajoling
34	S: but I don't know you um (.)	**Repetition of reason 2 (stranger)**
35	J: I think I'll show you um my card ((showing S her own ID card)) see	RQ ground (proving identity—responding to the stranger
36	this is Jirapa you see?	& security conditions)
37	S: um: (2.0) it's – I think it's a good idea if you go down to the lobby	**(delayed(2.0)) minimizing alt 1**
38	and wait for Leo there um: I think he's (.) coming	
39	J: but um: so many people there I don't want to (.) to sit in the lobby um:	Rej alt 1 (same reason)
40	uh please	+ RQ
41	S: his uh	
42	J: can I have uh some rest in the room please?	
43	S: I can't I'm really sorry	**neg + apo**
44	J: so ((softly)) it's ok (.) don't worry if I (.) ok I will go to the lobby and go	Acceptance of alt 1
45	and wait for Leo (.) it's ok bye	+ leave taking

46 47	S: bye J: see you again	Leave-taking

Line no.	Learners (Role-play II: Stranger at the door) Sairung (I11F) and Ratana (I12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	R: ((talking while knocking)) hey Leo (.) are you there?	Summon
2	S: excuse me um who are you um Leo's not here he's out but who are you	Answer + Info elicit Q
3	and why you are doing here	
4	R: uh –	
5	S: I am his friend I'm here to help him moving out	
6	R: uh (.) I'm his friend from university of Rangsit and he asked me to have a	Answer—RQ ground
7	dinner with him	
8	S: really but but he he didn't tell me and I'm here alone	**Reason 1 (no info)**
9	R: bu- uh sorry do you know where he is?	Info elicit Q (Req assessing situ)
10	S: he's out to supermarket to buy some more ingredients because we're doing	Answer
11	some some dinner	
12	R: uh can I go inside	RQ
13	S: I don't know it's not my place and he you know he doesn't – he didn't tell	**Hedge + reason 2,1 (guest status, no info)**
14	me anything you know about you coming here	
15	R: but I just talked to him yesterday	RQ ground
16	S: but he DIDN'T TELL me I I don't know	Repetition of reason 1
17	R: oh::	Continuer ("oh::" disappointed)
18	S: can you uh=	<u>Self-initiated alt 1(by RQ)</u>
19	R: =so can I call him?	
20	S: uh maybe you can call him	**Elaborate alt 1 (contact the host)**
21	R: yes	
22	S: so you wanna come in and make a call?	Understanding check (by RF)
23	R: yes because I don't have the uh mobile phone	Confirmation + RQ2 (call the host inside the apt)
24	S: um (.) are you sure you are his friend?	Info elicit Q (condition for compliance)
25	R: YES and (.) he's a son of my father's friend	Answer
26	S: really	Confirmation check

27	R: yes I've known him many years before	Answer (elaborated)
28	S: but he DIDN'T tell me anything and I'm not sure you know it's not my	**Repetition of reason 1,2**
29	place anyway (4.0) but-	
30	R: please believe me	Appeal
31	S: ((sigh)) bu –	
32	R: I'm not a liar okay?	Cajoling
33	S: you seem nice ok but (2.0) but let me think (.) ok ok you can come in oh	Compliance with RQ 2
34	maybe he HAS some you know wireless phone I'll take it and you call	[calling the host using the phone outside the apt]
35	R: ok	
36	S: outside ok?	Confirmation check (condition "outside ok?")
37	R: ok	Answer ("ok")
38	S: ok I'll get the phone	Partial compliance with RQ 1
39	R: thanks	Thanking

Line no.	Learners (Role-play III: Meeting the condominium manager) Sunee (I1F) and Jirapa (I2F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	J: good morning Ms. Sunee may I help you?	Greeting + offer of help
2	S: good morning I need to see Mr. Duncan	Greeting + RQ (acceptance of the offer)
3	J: oh Mr. Duncan is very busy now (.) he has a meeting (.) in the	**Reason 1 (meeting)**
4	conference room	
5	S: um	
6	J: what are you doing?	Info elicit Q (attend to Req wants)
7	S: I will wait for him (.) what time will the meeting is over	(absence of answer) Info elicit Q (Req assessing situ)
8	J: (2.0) oh what happen with you? (.) can can you leave a message for him?	*Info elicit Q (elaborate)* + **alt 1(message)**
9	S: NO (.) I want to see him by myself I need to talk to him about (.) the bad	Rej alt 1 + RQ + ground
10	quality of the swimming pool (.) that make me SICK	
11	J: you're SICK? Now?	
12	S: yeah	

13	J: what happen with you?	Info elicit Q
14	S: look at me (.) look at my arm	Answer—RQ ground
15	J: OH what happen	Info elicit Q
16	S: because of the bad quality of the water in the swimming pool	Answer—RQ ground
17	J: the bad quality of the swimming pool here?	Understanding check
18	S: yes my doctor said there's bacteria in the water (.) and that (.) is the problem	Answer
19	J: oh	Continuer
20	S: and I want to talk to Mr. Duncan for this case	RQ
21	J: I'm sorry to hear that but –	*Empathy*
22	S: I wrote a letter –	
23	J: are you sure that [it's cause your]sickness –	Understanding check
24	S: [but he didn't reply me]	
25	J: are you sure that it causes your sickness (.) cause (.) happen because of the	
26	swimming pool?	
27	S: don't you believe me?	Challenging RF's check ("don't you believe me")
28	J: oh oh I can – [I don't mean] –	Disclaimer
29	S: [you can give a call] to my doctor	
30	J: I don't mean that but (.) um the bad atmosphere –	
31	S: I will wait to see Mr. Duncan anyway	RQ (persistent)
32	J: oh I think it will be BETter if you message for him (.) because I'm not sure	**Elaborate alt 1 + reason2 (no info)**
33	what – when he (.) when will he free from meeting	
34	S: are you sure you only want that?	
35	J: yes (.) I I will tell him about your problem	
36	S: if (.) I don't see Mr. Duncan today (.) I will get my lawyer to make a	Threat
37	legal claim to the condominium	
38	J: ok uh (.) would you mind if uh to meet him after six o'clock in the evening?	Compliance with RQ (appointment at 6 pm)
39	S: ok that sounds good	Acceptance of compliance
40	J: you're convenient that time?	Asking for agreement
41	S: anytime	Answer
42	J: ok I will tell him	Summarizing compliance with RQ
43	S: ok I will come back at that time (.) thank you	Acceptance of compliance + thanking

Line no.	Learners (Role-play III: Meeting the condominium manager) Sairung (I11F) and Ratana (I12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	R: good morning may I help you?	Greeting + offer of help
2	S: um I would like to see Mr. Duncan	Acceptance of offer = RQ
3	R: (.) uh	
4	S: is he is he here?	
5	R: yes but he is now in the meeting and he is ask me not to be disturbed	**Reason 1,2 (meeting, no disturb)**
6	S: (.) um but I have to see him (.) I I need to see him because I I have made	RQ + grounds (it's urgent)
7	some complaints and about the about the swimming pool you know the	
8	quality of the swimming pool (.) it has turned so bad and we're and we	
9	become sick really really sick and we need to see him you know=	
10	R: =uh::	**Elongated filler**
11	S: it it is urgent	RQ ground ("it is urgent")
12	R: what's your name please?	*Info elicit Q*
13	S: Sairung Fasai	Answer
14	R: uh: I can't decide it right now because he's already told me before (.)like I	**Neg + rep of reasons 1,2 + alt 1(message)**
15	told you so ((slowly)) can you leave me a message and I will tell him later	
16	S: how bout how bout will he be in the meeting?	Info elicit Q (Req assessing situ)
17	R: I'm not sure when the meeting is over or do you want to wait? You can	*Answer (inability to give info)*
18	(.) wait here	**+ alt 2 (wait)**
19	S: can I wait here	Understanding check
20	R: yes	Answer ("yes")
21	S: ok ok	Acceptance of alt 2

Line no.	Learners (Role-play IV: At the undergraduates' computer room) Sunee (I1F) and Jirapa (I2F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	J: hi Sunee (.) can I use a computer now?	Greeting + RQ
2	S: oh I'm really sorry Ajarn Jirapa	**Apo**
3	J: really	**+ neg + reason 1 (turned off com)**

4	S: I can't let you use it because I turned off eve – uh computer	
5	J: but I have to use the computer now because I have uh to send (.) to hand	Elaborated RQ
6	in the paper to the editor (.) can you help me?	
7	S: I'm so sorry I don't want to fail you but this computer cluster is just for (.)	**Apo + reason 2 (undergrad only)**
8	undergraduate students	
9	J: yeah I know but um I have a problem (.) I'm I want to use this	RQ ground (=problem) +RQ
10	S: but it's five twenty five and I ha – and I will be have to close (.) I have to	**Reason 3 (closing time)**
11	close the computer cluster at five thirty (.) just five minutes left	**+ alt 1 (alt place) + reason (open till late)**
12	why don't you go to main computer institute? I think it will be open until eight pm	
13	J: oh I I came I came to that place (.) but uh many students use it so (.)	Rej alt1 + reason = RQ ground
14	I I want to (.) I would like to use the computer in this room	
15	S: oh I really want to help you but I can't you know (.) my advisor	**Pseudo agr + neg + reason 4,5 (advisor, lose job)**
16	recommend this job to me and (.) I can't take a risk to lose my job or=	
17	J: =ok ok I see you	Acceptance of RF
18	S: I'm sorry	**Apo**
19	J: ok bye	Letting RF off the hook + leave-taking
20	S: bye	Leave-taking

Line no.	Learners (Role-play IV: At the undergraduates' computer room) Sairung (I11F) and Ratana (I12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	R: hello Sairung can I use a computer? It's very urgent	Greeting + RQ + ground
2	S: but it's it's almost five thirty and you're not an undergrad student	**Reason 1,2 (closing time, undergrad)**
3	R: but please I need to work I have to print out my paper and proofread it	RQ + elaborated ground
4	S: but	
5	R: please	
6	S: but [you know]	**But-** (interrupted)
7	R: [come on]	Cajoling
8	S: it's almost five thirty and and the this room close is closed at five thirty	**Elaborate reason 1 + 2 (turned off com)**
9	sharp and it's it's five minutes left I I turned off all the computer I turned off	
10	all the printers already (.) I think it will take more than five minutes you know	

11	to start all over and and it's just five minutes left	
12	R: but please it's very important	RQ (persistent "please it's very important")
13	S: but the teacher who appoint this this job on me she trusts me so much and	**Reason 3 (advisor)**
14	and I don't wanna be	
15	R: but you know Sairung I know you for years	Cajoling (relation manipulation)
16	S: it's not that point	**Rej of the manipulation**
17	R: please	
18	S: that that doesn't matter	
19	R: please I will treat you after that	Cajoling (offer to treat)
20	S: maybe you can you know there are some computer stores out there it it I	**Alt 1 (alt place)**
21	don't think it doesn't take so much time to you know to you to travel there	**+ reason (within walking distance)**
22	and to use them there –	
23	R: please	RQ (persistent)
24	S: because it's gonna be close and we're talking it's just three minutes left	**Rep reason 1**
25	R: you know the deadline is tomorrow and there is no time left	RQ ground
26	S: but you can still do it this evening at Siam Square or (.) at Maboonkrong	**Elaborate alt 1 (offer to accompany)**
27	I can I can take your company if if you like (3.0) because it's five it's	**+ reason 3,4 (lose job, book allowance)**
28	almost five thirty and I don't wanna lose this job because I have to use the	
29	money to buy my textbooks	
30	R: (2.0) um where is Maboonkrong	Info elicit Q (Req assessing situation)
31	S: it's just five minutes from here you can walk	Answer
32	R: um let me think (.) I have to pay for it right?	Understanding check
33	S: I can pay it for you if you like because I don't wanna lose this job	**Answer– offer to accompany and subsidize the printing fees + rep**
34	R: really?	**of reason 3**
35	S: yes	Understanding check
36	R: ok	Answer

Advanced Learners

Line no.	Learners (Role-play I: Can I join your group?) Suda (A1F) and Ratree (A2F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	((knock knock))	Summon
2	R: who's there	Answer
3	S: here's Suda	
4	R: come in the door is open	
5	S: oka:y ((pause)) hi Ratree how are you today	Greeting
6	R: fine:: but tiring (.) I'm very tired up reports after reports-	Answer (background of RF)
7	S: yeah I know	Continuer
8	R: ya know the same thing same old thing (.) how about you	Elaborate answer (background) + Info elicit Q (a part of greeting)
9	S: oh I have a serious problem about my report as well [you know]	Answer—RQ ground
10	R: [really]	
11	S: about the civilization subject you know I have to deal with uh- the	
12	World War II report you know	
13	R: aha-	
14	S: yeah	
15	R: you mean the Western Civilize right	Understanding check
16	S: yes and (.) I I came to you because of this problem you know-	Answer + RQ ground
17	R: yeah yeah aha	
18	S: I wanna ask you that um is your group already full	Info elicit Q—(preparatory Q)
19	R: My group?	*Repetition of part of Q ("my group?")*
20	S: yes	Confirmation
21	R: (.) uh ACtually yeah (.) maybe	*Answer (hedging)*
22	S: I kinda have a problem with my with my friends in my group [you know]	RQ ground
23	R: [aha]	Continuer (backchannel)
24	S: yeah I I think we can't get along with each other you know	RQ ground
25	R: uh-huh	Continuer (backchannel)
26	S: so um: I came here to ask you that whether you have a free seat for	RQ (specific content)

27	me to join in or something?=	
28	R: =actually um:: uh-	**Preface (actually) + elongated fillers**
29	S: can I ask the teacher to add er additional member?	Elaborated RQ ("pushing")
30	R: you know PERsonally I:: would be (.) happy to to work with you but	**Pseudo agr + reason 1 (almost done)**
31	you know what my group (.) me and my friends in the group and I ah: uh	
32	almost you know almost finish the the report –	
33	S: really I can make it =	Minimized RQ
34	R: =I know I know but you know um uh uh it's fine for me if if we go to the	**Postponement (setting a condition—advisor) +**
35	teacher and he allows us to to you know add your name in our group (.) it	**Pseudo agr + reason 2 (lack of consent from gr members)**
36	would be fine for me but I don't know about the others you know	
37	S: yes actually I have talked to the teacher already you know	Rej postponement =meeting the condition
38	R: a-ha	Continuer
39	S: so this time may I uh may you talk to another friends of your group for me	RQ2 (for the group consent)
40	R: yeah I think so	Acceptance
41	S: tell them I can do all the typing you know	Elaborated RQ2
42	R: uh huh maybe it will not be a problem you know if I can get those two	Acceptance of RQ 2
43	people which uh who you already know=	
44	S: =yeah=	
45	R: =you know and we can talk together	
46	S: who is the other member of your group?	Info elicit Q
48	R: Sath and Teuy	Answer
49	S: yeah I think it wouldn't be a problem because I have already known Sath	Alignment (by RQ)
50	and I'm very close to Teuy	
51	R: okay so maybe um you do all the typing and and maybe a little part of	
52	presentation or or something like that	
53	S: yeah I can deal with that	Alignment (by RF)
54	R: I think we can solve this problem	
55	S: yeah	
56	R: a ha	
57	S: Well you want something to drink outside together?	Inviting (by RQ)
58	R: yeah that would be great because I have been working on this report	Acceptance of invitation
59	you know all day and I'm very tired=	
60	S: =yeah ok great let's go	
61	R: let's go	

Line no.	Learners (Role-play I: Can I join your group?) Nida (A11F) and Taniya (A12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	N: hi Taniya can I talk for a few minutes?	Greeting—alerter
2	T: yes come in ((opening the door))	Continuer
3	N: thank you (.) um: you know about the course Western Civilization? That	Alerter + preparatory Q
4	we're due to hand in the report next week?	
5		Answer
6	T: uh-huh	RQ + ground + repetition of RQ
7	N: um: I kinda wonder whether you can let me join your group becuz my	
8	my group we did not get along very well and um: the report is not done yet	
9	and I'm kinda worried about that (.) do you think it's possible that I can join	
10	the group?	**Elongated filler + postponement**
11	T: um:: maybe I have to ask the other members of the group before I can	**(will ask gr members)**
12	take you in	
13	N: and –	**reason 1,2 (good team work, almost done)**
14	T: because my group we're doing very well and the the paper will be finished	
15	I'm sure that um within like –	RQ for a definite answer
16	N: um when can you tell me that (.) um you'd let me in or not because I I	
17	really need to know that	*Answer (still postponement)*
18	T: um: maybe tomorrow?	RQ for a definite answer + offer of help (minimizing Wx of RQ)
19	N: um: but do you think there's a chance with me (.) is there anything I can	
20	do to help (.) with the report?	**Elaborate postponement**
21	T: um I think the other members might (.) might I said might (.) take you in	(emphasizing uncertainty)
22	our group because you know our paper is going to be done very soon so	
23	maybe there is something a little bit of something that you can do	Acceptance of postponement + RQ 2 (to be contacted)
24	N: you know if there's anything that I can do for the report just tell me and	
25	please let me know and um as soon as possible	Compliance with RQ 2
26	T: okay	Thanking
	N: thank you	

Line no.	Learners (Role-play II: Stranger at the door) Suda (A1F) and Ratree (A2F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	((knocking))	RQ ground
2	S: hi can I help you	
3	R: hi er excuse me is this Leo's apartment?	
4	S: yes it's Leo's apartment	+
5	R: is he here?	RQ
6	S: he's out for a while I think he'll come back here you know maybe in ten	
7	more minutes	**Elongated filler + reason 1 (no info)**
8	R: oh really (.) you know I I made an appointment with him and uh to have a	
9	meal with him you know and uh mind if I come in you know I you know I'm	Reaction to RF (exclamation)
10	lateI have I made an appointment at six [and it's]6.20 you know the	**Reason 2 (security)**
11	S: [yeah]	Reaction to RF (exclamation)
12	R: traffic is really bad and I'm very tired and hungry now you know can I just	**Hedge + alt1 (come back)**
13	come in and-	Appeal
14	S: uh:: let me think of it because um he um he HADN'T told me about you	**Hedge + reason 3 (guest status)**
15	yet you know =	
16	R: =oh God	RQ ground (rej of RF)
17	S: yeah and and these days is very dangerous to let a stranger in you know	**Elaborate reason 2 (burglary, security)**
18	R: aha Jesus	
19	S: I don't know maybe you might come back	
20	R: oh please come on I just got got off the bus[and I just]	Continuer ("oh")
21	S: [I don't] know this is not my place	**Elaborate alt 1 (with reason)**
22	[you know]	
23	R: [he knows]	
24	S: and Leo warned me that there are many burglar here [you know]	
25	R: [alright]	Rej alt 1
26	S: and they can (.) I can trust nobody here[so::]	**Apo**
27	R: [oh]	RQ 2 (contact the host)
28	S: um would you be drinking a coffee outside for a while and get in here	Understanding check

29	again?	Answer + elaborated RQ2
30	um you know[20]more	
31	R: [a ha]	**Acceptance of RQ2**
32	S: minutes so I can guarantee that you'd come back that time=	Elaborated alt 2 (further)
33	R: =twenty more minutes oh Jesus I'm dead then I I I would be dead=	
34	S: =oh I'm very sorry about that (.) you know	
35	R: you know (.) can you just call (.) Leo on the phone?	Acceptance of RQ2
36	S: on the cell phone?	Thanking
37	R: yeah and just ask him you know he might have (.) he usually carry the cell	
38	phone with him and you know	Acceptance of thanks
39	S: okay	Summarizing RQ (persistent)
40	R: you may just call him on the phone and ask him my name is Ratree and	Apo
41	uh:: just ask him that (.) does he (.) did he make an appointment with	Empathy + repetition of RQ
42	Ratree or not	Acceptance of RQ2
43	S: uh-huh so wait a minute [I'll make you a call]	Thanking
44	R: [thank you very much] and if if it is uh a moveable	
45	phone you can come you can pick your phone and come to talk at the door	(for analysis, exclude turns 43-50)
46	S: okay=	
47	R: =please because I wanna go inside now	
48	S: okay I have to apologize for this situation you know=	
49	R: =okay I know I understand but I really wanna go in	
50	S: okay please wait for two minutes I'll make a call now	
51	R: thank you very much	
	((S is making a call from her mobile phone))	

Line no.	Learners (Role-play II: Stranger at the door) Nida (A11F) and Taniya (A12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	N: ((opening the door halfway)) hello	Greeting
2	T: hi uh is this Leo's apartment?	Greeting + Info elicit Q (preparatory Q)

3	N: yes it is who's – uh who are you?	Answer + Info elicit Q
4	T: I'm his friend (.) he invited me um for dinner today (.) is he home?	Answer—RQ ground + Info elicit Q (preparatory Q)
5	N: uh: he's not home right now he's going to supermarket to buy something	Answer + Info elicit Q (identity)
6	uh:: you're friend with Leo from where	
7	T: I'm from another university uh our fathers know each other (.) can can I	Answer + RQ
8	come in please?	
9	N: um: I'm not so sure um: do you think you can come back later on?	**Hedge + alt 1 (come back)**
10	T: uh oh please let me come in because (.) I came from my house and the	RQ ground + minimized RQ
11	traffic was really bad and I'm now very tired and hungry can I (.) just sit on	
12	the couch I won't do anything I just uh sit there quietly waiting for Leo (.) please	
13	N: please understand this is not my place and um we've been – there've been	**Appeal for empathy + reason 1,2 (burglary +stranger)**
14	a lot of burglaries around in this area and (.) I don't think that it is safe to	**+ Apo**
15	open the door fo:r uh a stranger sorry to say that	
16	T: uh could you (.) call Leo in his cell phone just tell him I'm here now	RQ 2 (asking RF to call host)
17	N: ok I'll try that	Compliance with RQ 2
18	T: thank you	Thanking

Line no.	Learners (Role-play III: Meeting the condominium manager) Suda (A1F) and Ratree (A2F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	S: excuse me miss um	Alerter
2	R: yes	Continuer ("yes")
3	S: is Mr. Duncan in his office?	RQ
4	R: oh ah:: I'm afraid he's not in his office now because you know he he's	**Elongated filler + apo + reason 1(meeting)**
5	having a meeting and it's just very very important meeting you know	
6	S: yeah I I think I can wait and um how long does the meeting take?	Info elicit Q (RQ assessing situation)
7	R: oh I I I don't know really um because the meeting is about the	Answer (*inability to give detailed info*)
8	condominium and and you know and the policy and everything you know	
9	about the facilities you know it's it's gonna take a long time	
10	S: you know but my problem is very serious=	RQ ground
11	R: =re:ally	Continuer

12	S: I I think I can wait for him	RQ
13	R: oh it's uh ((sigh))	**("oh it's uh")**
14	S: I think I can wait here until he came out of out of the meeting room	RQ (persistent, decide to wait)
15	R: yes yes if you want to but you know I I assume that this meeting is gonna	**Pseudo-agr + reason 2(length of meeting)**
16	last forever ((smiling)) you know ah:: how 'bout this how 'bout you leave a	**+alt1 (leave contact number)**
17	note oe maybe your phone number and then I will give him as soon as he	
18	comes[out of meeting]	
19	S: [yes you know please] understand me I I thought you can remember me (.)	RQ ground + info elicit Q (building shared background)
20	my name is Suda I I I made lots of appointment with him you know do you	
21	remember me?	
22	R: oh yeah absolutely	Answer (confirmation of info)
23	S: I I have already um given him a note and you know wrote him a letter I I	RQ ground
24	did everything you know	
25	R: OH	Continuer ("OH")
26	S: I I want a little moment you know to see him you know because many	Minimized RQ
27	people in this condominium um	
28	R: uh-huh	
29	S: you know they are not satisfied with the swimming pool quality you know	+ RQ ground
30	R: yeah a ha (.) ah:: you know um I haven't- I have to clarify this to you (.)	**Reason 3 (complaints being dealt with)**
31	your appointment (.) the note your number or or everything are (.) are sent to	
32	Mr. Duncan already you know and and and	
33	S: yes I understand	
34	R: your ((pause)) opinion (.) your complaint about you know things in the	
35	condominium um	
36	S: it HASN'T been fixed yet that's why I'M HERE	RQ ground (complaint)
37	R: yes AND they are now in the meeting (.)and in the meeting they are they	**Elaborated reason 3**
38	are discussing about discussing [about this]	
39	S: [please please] (.) discussion about this?	Understanding check
40	R: yes absolutely yes about the swimming pool about the sauna room	Answer
41	everything about the facility ALL of things that they are having a problem now is	
42	in the meeting and it's gonna be done very soon after the meeting after that you know-	
43	S: yeah I'm glad to hear that you know but actually I would like to see him really	Pseudo agr +
44	R: you know WHAT-	
45	S: could you manage a little bit of his time to see me?	Minimized RQ

46	R: ah:: [you know]	**Elongated filler**
47	S: [just just for a short time]	(finishing minimized RQ)
48	R: okay I'll try how about this (.) ah:: I think this meeting is gonna you know	**Alt 2 (appointment)**
49	finish on uh maybe um you know at six o'clock six pm would it would it be	
50	okay to you like that ?	
51	S: six o'clock yeah anytime today I'm free	Acceptance of alt2
52	R: okay alright how about this you uh leave the note here your number your cell phone	*Elaborate alt 1 &2*
53	number or you know your number at the room anything any number (.) your name	*(leave contact number and wait to be contacted by 6 pm)*
54	here ((pointing at a piece of paper)) and I'll paste it-post it here and when he gets out	
55	of that meeting room and I'll give to him and I'll try my best and I'll try to do	
56	everything to make him phone to you call to you at that moment that he got out – get	
57	out	
58	S: okay um um=	
59	R: =would it be okay?	*+ asking for agreement*
60	S: ye::s but I prefer to be here before six you know just be here before he gets out=	pseudo agr + rej (disagreement, prefer waiting)
61	R: =okay (.) in that case a-ha	
62	S: would it be alright to you?	
63	R yes but you know I I	
64	S: I don't make any noise	
65	R: okay okay I I I know I understand BUT you know the thing is I really	
66	don't know when (.) exactly when he's gonna get out	**pseudo agr (understanding) + reason 4 (no info)**
67	S: it's its' gonna be the same again	
68	R: okay okay let's do it then (.) maybe I will you know at about I'll uh uh at	Appeal
69	about 5 or 10 minutes to six I will check by calling you know or maybe I will	**Alt 3,2 (constantly check the meeting room, contact RQ asap)**
70	snatch ((laughing)) to the door you know and you know just looking through	
71	the key hole whether they are finished or not and I'll call you before six	
72	o'clock and you can come here and meet him in person (.) would it be okay?	
73	S: yes that's very kind of you if you do that of you if you do it for me	
74	R: I'll try it's my duty to you know it's my duty to do my best to to to give	Acceptance of alts
75	service to our customers our clients (.) that would be okay	Alignment
76	S: ok thank you	Thanking
77	R: you're welcome	Acceptance of thanks

Line no.	Learners (Role-play III: Meeting the condominium manager) Nida (A11F) and Taniya (A12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	N: I'm looking for Mr. Duncan	RQ
2	T: um he's not in right now he's in the – an important meeting	**Reason 1 (meeting)**
3	N: what time will he be back	Info elicit Q (RQ assessing situation)
4	T: I'm not sure because this is very important and Mr. Duncan may have	*Answer (inability to give info)*+ Info elicit Q (attending to RQ wants)
5	some issue to talk in the meeting um what what is your business here?	
6	N: I'm the representative of the residents in this condominium and I will not	Answer—RQ ground
7	leave this office until I get the answer from Mr. Duncan that he'll do	
8	something (.)about the swimming pool	
9	T: ok (.) so would you take a seat and (.) would you like some coffee or tea	**Alt 1 (wait)**
10	or something?	
11	N: NO I would like to see him	Rej alt 1 + RQ
12	T: right now?	Understanding check (buying time "right now"?)
13	N: I'd rather see him right now	Answer (reformulation of RQ)
14	T: um you know it's a very important meeting and it cannot be interrupted so	**Elaborate reason 1,2 (imp meeting, no disturb) + rep alt 1**
15	(.) I suggest you'd better sit and wait him here	
16	N: until what time	
17	T: um –	
18	N: I need the answer today	RQ (persistent)
19	T: um I'm sorry I really don't know so you can sit over there and watch TV	**Apo + elaborate alt 1**
20	and when he comes out I'll call you	
21	N: um:: ((3.0)) can you slip any message in the in the meeting room saying	Self-initiated alt2 (bring a note to him in the meeting room)
22	that I'm here and I want to discuss about the polluted pool	
23	T: um: no no because this is very important and I hope you understand –	**Rej alt 2+ reason 1 + appeal for empathy**
24	N: are you sure this is important or he's just avoiding me	Confirmation check
25	T: NO this is really important I can I can give the the the meeting agenda of	*Answer (Clarification (really imp meeting)*
26	Mr. Duncan to you ((handing in a piece of paper)) you can see this is a real	
27	meeting	
28	N: ok ok I'll wait it's it's better be by noon today	Acceptance of alt 1 (wait)
29	T: I I can't guarantee that but it would be better if you wait	**Summarizing RF & alt 1**
30	N: alright	Acceptance of alt 1

Line no.	Learners (Role-play IV: At the undergraduates' computer room) Suda (A1F) and Ratree (A2F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	R: Suda ((calling S's name out loud)) oh it's VERY good to see you here oh::	Greeting + Alerter
2	S: what happen	Info elicit Q (picked up greeting as a pre RQ)
3	R: you know I have to work (.) I have to hand in my work to the Modern	RQ ground
4	Language Journal you know tomorrow	
5	S: uh huh	
6	R: and I have to correct some part of it (.) ((flipping paper) and my –	
7	S: I see you need to use a computer	Ref completed RQ intent
8	R: ye::s (.) oh God it's very you know it's very urgent uh-are you closing now?	Confirm RQ + elaborated RQ ground+ Info elicit Q (assessing situation)
9	S: yeah in five minutes you know	*Answer (closing in 5min)*
10	R: oh my goodness you know (.) can you spare me for half an hour?	RQ (30 min)
11	S: it's very risky indeed because –	**Neg willingness**
12	R: really (.) what is it?	Info elicit Q
13	S: it's my special job you know –	**Answer—reason 1 (responsibility)**
14	R: oh::	
15	S: yeah it's uh you know (.) it's the only chance I can get er you know special	**Elaborate reason 1 + 2 (book allowance)**
16	pocket you know	
17	R: but (.) oh God	Reaction to RF (exclamation)
18	S: you know it's very risky for me because um you know I have to close the	**Rep neg willingness + elaborate reason 1**
19	room on time (.) otherwise um if the	
20	R: [a ha]	
21	S: stock is lost or something is missing I have to take responsibility	
22	R: how about you know five more minutes	Minimized RQ (5 min)
23	S: five more minutes?	**Repetition of part of RQ (5 min?)**
24	R: yeah you know just (.) oh goodness just five minutes	Rep of minimized RQ
25	S: I-I-I know I trust you you know five minutes not more than that	Compliance with minimized RQ
26	R: God (.) you know I'll try I'll try you know in this ten minutes I'll try but	Negotiation (10 min) + empathy to Ref
27	((sigh)) oh God I-I-I-I understand that you have to close it on time ((sigh))	
28	S: yes yes and-and how about the central library? (.) you can use the	**Alt 1 (alt place, central library)**
29	computer there	
30	R: they do not allow me to get the diskette in-in-in-in the center-er the	Rej alt 1 + reason (diskette)

31	computer center you know-	
32	S: okay but you have to promise me after ten minutes you have to move	Compliance (10 min) + RQ for certainty
33	R: alright okay uh you know in case I cannot- in case I cannot finish it in ten	Acceptance + Asking for alt + appeal
34	minutes from now can- do you know some place else- you know some	
35	computer center somewhere else to – for me to finish my work oh my	
36	goodness I really want my personal computer now oh God	
37	S: yeah if you're so hurried like this and um if you want some places you	**Alt 2 (shop near market)+ reason (walking distance)**
38	know personal space where you can do your work very well [you know]	
39	R: [yeah]	
40	S: you can go to Sawang market you know there're-a computer shop that can	
41	you know it's very convenient for you to go there	
42	R: right right ((high pitch)) oh ((pause)) how can I-I-I didn't think of it (.)	Acceptance of alt 2
43	Jesus right right =	
44	S: =you can go there with me because I'm going-I'm heading there as well	*Offer to accompany RQ (probably as a compensation)*
45	R: really	Confirmation check
46	S: I have to buy something at the market	Answer
47	R: a-ha that's good may be you can close it on time now at five thirty	Acceptance of offer + Alignment
48	S: yeah I hope you don't mind about this you know	Alignment
49	R: okay thank you very much	Thanking
50	S: [I really wanna have to] you know	
51	R: oh thank you very much you really help me	
52	S: ((laughing)) okay please wait few minutes let me lock the door	
53	R: alright then we'll go together	
54	S: yeah of course	
55	R: okay	

Line no.	Learners (Role-play IV: At the undergraduates' computer room) Nida (A11F) and Taniya (A12F)	**Refusal moves are marked in boldface**
1	N: hello Taniya	Greeting
2	T: hello can I use a computer here?	Greeting + RQ
3	N: no this is um: the learning center for undergrads only	**"no" + reason 1 (undergrad)**

4	T: but there's nobody here so I can – maybe I can just use it and no one –	RQ
5	N: oh I'm sorry to say that Taniya but I think that um I can't let you use the	**Apo + neg + reason 2,3,1 (advisor, responsibility)**
6	computer now (.) see um my advisor recommends this job to me and I I	
7	have to be responsible about this and um it's only for undergrads	
8	T: but I I just (.) I just need to correct some parts of my paper	Minimized RQ
9	N: can you just go to the doctoral learning center	**Alt 1 (PhD center)**
10	T: NO because someone is using that computer and she's busy so I decided to	Rej alt1 + reason
11	go – to come here	
12	N: but I think there are other centers that you can use (.) I'm really sorry	**Alt 2 (other places) + apo + reason 4 (closing time)**
13	about this but um: (.) it's about time too becuz it's now five thirty	
14	T: oh really (.) so I think you can just close the door and pretend that the	RQ (persistent)
15	center is close and I I um sneak in the computer in the corner	
16	N: oh you have to understand Taniya that I: am responsible for opening and	**Appeal for empathy + elaborate reason 3 (responsibility)**
17	closing the room at the time	
18	T: oh I'll buy you dinner	Cajoling (dinner offer)1
19	N: NO this is not the point the point is that my advisor trusts me	**Rej offer + reason 2**
20	T: I'll take you home too	offer 2 (ride)
21	N: NO no no I can't I I risk losing this job which I cannot because I need	**Rej offer 2 ("no no no") + reason 5,6 (lose job, book allowance)**
22	some money to to buy textbooks please understand me	**+ appeal for empathy**
23	T: won't be that bad	Cajoling
24	N: it IS that ba:d because of my reputation my advisor and then my JOB	**Rej cajoler + reason 3,2 5**
25	T: if you close the door no one sees it	RQ (persistent)
26	N: maybe you'd better just go to some Internet café	**Elaborate alt 2 (Internet café)**
27	T: you're so MEAN I don't have any time	Appeal
28	N: please understand (.) this is my standpoint (.) I will not yield to your –	**Appeal for empathy + neg willingness**
29	T: please you're my friend	Appeal (presupposition manipulation)
30	N: that's personal stuff and this is professional please understand	**Rej appeal – reason 6 (personal vs professional) + appeal for empathy**
31	T: I don't have a computer at home so I have to work here	Elaborated RQ
32	N: I'm sorry ok I'm closing the door now (.) see you some time	**Apo + cut off**
33	T: ok I'll go thanks anyway	Acceptance of RF + thanking
34	N: thank you for understanding	Thanking Req (for understanding)