

博士学位論文（東京外国語大学）
Doctoral Thesis (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

氏名	三浦 愛香
学位の種類	博士（学術）
学位記番号	博甲第 263 号
学位授与の日付	2019 年 2 月 12 日
学位授与大学	東京外国語大学
博士学位論文題目	コーパス語用論：異なる習得段階にある日本人英語学習者による要求の発話行為を弁別する基準特性の特定

Name	Miura, Aika
Name of Degree	Doctor of Philosophy (Humanities)
Degree Number	Ko-no. 263
Date	February 12, 2019
Grantor	Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, JAPAN
Title of Doctoral Thesis	Corpus Pragmatics: Exploring Criterial Pragmalinguistic Features of Requestive Speech Acts Produced by Japanese Learners of English at Different Proficiency Levels

**Corpus Pragmatics: Exploring Criterial Pragmalinguistic
Features of Requestive Speech Acts Produced by Japanese
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2018

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総合国際学研究科 博士後期課程 言語文化専攻

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Yukio Tono, for his considerable encouragement, constant guidance and support, and invaluable advice and comments during the course of the study. I am also very grateful to the other members of my thesis committee, Professor Masashi Negishi, Professor Asako Yoshitomi, and Professor Hiroshi Sano at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, as well as the external examiner, Professor Yoshiyuki Notohara at Doshisha University. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Mariko Nomura for checking and replicating annotations and giving me insightful comments in revising the annotation schemes.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Takashi Yamamoto, for his constant support and encouragement.

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Abstract

The current study aims to conduct a study on interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) with the use of a learner corpus, and attempts to prove how a learner-corpus-based study can contribute to the field of ILP. In order to fulfill the main objective, the author attempts to extract the criterial pragmalinguistic features of the requestive speech acts produced by Japanese learners of English at different proficiency levels (or the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages [CEFR] A1, A2, and B1 learners). The methodology of the study is to manually identify and annotate the linguistic patterns of requests in the shopping role-play tasks of the National Institute of Information and Communications Technology Japanese Learner English (NICT JLE) Corpus, drawing on the coding scheme developed in the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989).

In ILP, collecting data via written elicitation tasks called Discourse Completion Tests/Tasks (DCTs) has been a predominant methodology to date. Although this methodology is advantageous in controlling social parameters involved with participants' roles and situations in given tasks, it has been criticized for not providing data that represent learners' actual speech act performance in real situations. Naturally occurring spoken data such as learner corpora, on the other hand, can provide a quantitative source in terms of clarifying the developmental transition of learners' pragmatic competence and re-examining the findings derived from the past studies.

Applying some amendments to the CCSARP coding scheme to fit it into the target spoken learner data, the author classifies the identified requests into direct strategy, conventionally indirect strategy, and not-classifiable depending on the choice of linguistic features; for example, desire (e.g., want) is classified as direct, and ability/permission

(e.g., can) is classified as conventionally indirect.

However, the author confronts various challenges of merging a corpus-based study with ILP, in terms of mapping the forms and functions of the requests, especially produced by lower-level learners who tend to manifest underdeveloped speech acts. The present study adopts the following resolutions to tackle these challenges: first, to exclude the identification of non-conventionally indirect requests, which do not exhibit the requestive realizations in surface forms; second, to exclude the assessment of the learners' sociopragmatic competence, regarding the appropriateness and politeness of their requests; third, to add a newly developed annotation scheme to identify the functions of the requests in order to overcome the task effects among learners at different proficiency levels; and finally, to add a newly developed annotation scheme to determine the degree of the grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of the requests in order to highlight the differences in performance among learners at different proficiency levels.

The current study confirms that the finding that the ratio of conventionally indirect strategies increases and that of direct strategy decreases as the proficiency improves is correspondent with those of non-corpus-based studies conducted by researchers such as Trosborg (1995), Hill (1997), Rose (2000, 2009), and Flores Salgado (2011), who also adopted the CCSARP coding scheme for their classifications. In fact, the distributions of each linguistic pattern determining the requestive strategy are varied across the functions of the requests even within the same proficiency level. For example, A1 and A2 learners tend to produce more conventionally indirect strategies, especially exhibiting *ability/permission* to ask for permission to test items, when formulaic expressions are available at their disposal, as in "Can I try it on?" The examination of request data from the NICT JLE Corpus allows the author to extract criterial or characteristic pragmalinguistic features that contribute to not only a re-examination of

past studies but also a distinction and determination of the pragmalinguistic competence of learners at different proficiency levels, profiling what the learners can actually do pragmatically at each level.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
ACTFL	American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
BNC	British National Corpus
CANCODE	Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CEFR-J	CEFR-Based Framework for English Language Teaching (ELT) in Japan
CLC	Cambridge Learner Corpus
COPT	cartoon oral production task
COREC	Corpus Oral de Referencia de Español en Contacto
DAMSL	Dialogue Act Markup in Several Layers
DART	Dialogue Annotation and Research Tool
DCT	discourse completion test or task
EFL	English as foreign language
ELT	English language teaching
EPP	English Profile Programme
ESOL	English for speakers of other languages
HKCSE	Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IFID	illocutionary force indicating devices
ICE-GB	British component of the International Corpus of English
ILP	interlanguage pragmatics
ITAs	internal teaching assistants
LLC	London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English
MC	multiple questionnaires
MICASE	Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English
NICT JLE	National Institute of Information and Communications Technology Japanese Learner English
NLP	Natural Language Processing
OPI	oral proficiency interview
OPIC	Oral Proficiency Interview by Computer
POS	part-of-speech
PROBE	Pragmatics of Business English

SLA	second language acquisition
SPAAC	Speech-Act Annotated Corpus for Dialogue Systems
SST	Standard Speaking Test
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
T2K-SWAL	TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language Corpus
TELC	The European Language Certificates
UAMCT	UAM CorpusTool

Chapter 1. Introduction

This chapter describes the rationale and objective of the current interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) research, which aims to examine requestive speech acts produced by Japanese learners of English at different proficiency levels using a spoken learner corpus. The chapter begins by introducing the theoretical background of ILP with focus on speech act theory and the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP). It provides an overview of the methodology adopted in this research, which includes modifying the CCSARP and creating multi-layered annotation schemes to extract the criterial pragmalinguistic features of learners at different proficiency levels. The second half of the chapter outlines the thesis. Chapter 2 reviews the literature and Chapter 3 presents the preliminary studies on learner-corpus-based pragmatics. Chapter 4 introduces a series of research questions that are based on the extant literature and the author's preliminary studies. Chapter 5 describes the methods used in this study. Chapter 6 presents the results and discussion. Chapter 7 provides concluding remarks.

1.1 Rationale and Objective of the Research

The present study aims to explore the criterial pragmalinguistic features of the requestive speech acts produced by Japanese learners of English at different proficiency levels. The author investigates the shopping role plays in the National Institute of Information and Communications Technology Japanese Learner English (NICT JLE) Corpus, comparing the learner data across the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) A1, A2, and B1 levels.

Speech act theory, which was founded by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969; 1976), has been applied to the examination of English as a Foreign Language (EFL)

learners' acquisition and development of pragmatic competence in an extensive body of researches on interlanguage pragmatics (ILP). Based on the classical speech act theory, the pioneering work, or the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP), was conducted by Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989). This work articulated the differences between the choices of linguistic patterns realized in terms of the conventionality of requestive speech acts among speakers of different languages and dialects, as well as the differences between native speakers and non-native speakers. Their coding scheme drawing upon the analyses of large-scale data collected via Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs) has been extensively adopted in ILP to date, and the current study is not an exception.

The present study should be notable for applying the CCSARP scheme to the investigation of learner corpora. Although Archer, Culpeper, and Davies (2008) noted the possibility of using the CCSARP coding scheme to conduct manual annotations of the corpus, there has been a relatively small number of researches involved with corpus-based ILP. One study among this small number is that of Kaneko (2004), who investigated 76 learners at lower and higher intermediate proficiency levels from the NICT JLE Corpus. In contrast, the present study intends to clarify the overall picture of the requestive speech acts produced by 68 A1 learners, 114 A2 learners, and 66 B1 learners in the same corpus, with full manual annotations.

The author employs a methodology of incorporating the identification of the functions and the grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of all utterances into the analyses of requestive speech acts. The reason for this is that the adoption of the CCSARP coding scheme without any amendments does not perfectly fit into the target learner data in the current study. The background is as follows. Primarily, the CCSARP coding scheme is nothing more than the outcome of the systematic pragmalinguistic classification of the

large-scale data of requestive speech acts that were collected from strictly controlled written elicitation tasks, or DCTs. In order to achieve their goal “to establish patterns of request [...] realizations under different social constraints across a number of languages and cultures” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 12), they implemented their experimental designs by controlling sociopragmatic variation, cross-cultural variation, and interlanguage variation; their DCTs contained eight request situations with varying degrees of social distance and dominance between the speaker and hearer. Thus, the project researchers compared patterns in the requestive realizations of “native and nonnative varieties” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 12), but did not investigate and compare the developmental features exhibited by the learners at different proficiency levels from low to high.

In the target data of the current study, which are composed of role-play tasks of the interview test called the Standard Speaking Test (SST), the learners (or test-takers) are required to voluntarily and autonomously participate in the shopping role play as customers, probably with limited intervention by the interlocutors unless the learners do not provide sufficiently ratable utterances. Therefore, the functions of the requestive speech acts become more varied than those of the written products elicited in the CCSARP. In fact, in the SST, B1 learners are given a negotiation task, while A1 and A2 learners are given a general purchasing task, which may contribute to the creation of requests with different functions depending on each task. This would also lead to the learners’ different choices of linguistic patterns in their requests. Therefore, in the later chapters, the author outlines how multi-layered annotation schemes were constructed in the present study, for example, how the CCSARP was revised and how additional annotation schemes were newly developed in order to extract the pragmalinguistic features of the requests produced by learners at different proficiency levels.

Granger (2002) pointed out the advantage of learner corpora since larger amounts of quantitative data on naturally occurring language can provide more generalizable conclusions and help researchers avoid introspective insights, in comparison with experimentally controlled research methods such as the DCTs. For example, based on her research, which was a part of the CCSARP, Blum-Kulka (1991) arrived at a conclusion by distinguishing three stages of the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic development of learners; however, her description of the stages seems rather introspective without the support of any quantitative data. Therefore, the present study can play the role of re-examining the intuitive aspects of past studies by providing evidence from a learner corpus reflecting what learners actually said in real (or quasi-natural) situations. Re-examining classical pragmatic theories is an important role of corpus-based pragmatic studies, as Adolphs (2008), Clancy and O’Keeffe (2015), Vyatkina and Cunningham (2015), and De Felice, Darby, Fischer, and Peplow (2013) noted. The rationale for extracting the criterial pragmalinguistic features of the requests produced by learners at different proficiency levels is to prove that learner corpora can actually contribute to ILP in a significant way. Pragmatics is concerned with the speakers’ intended meaning that sometimes cannot be realized in surface linguistic forms, while corpus linguists can retrieve the linguistic patterns that are only realized as surface forms. Bearing this in mind, the author attempts to show what can or cannot be done to clarify the pragmatic competence of EFL learners by resorting to the learner data provided by corpora.

To explore the criterial pragmalinguistic features of requests, the present study draws on the concept of *criteriality* (Hawkins & Filipović, 2012, p. xiii). The concept of the criteriality of retrieved linguistic features plays a crucial role in proving how learner corpora can provide supplementary evidence to support the introspective

insights of researchers in the past. According to Hawkins and Filipović (2012), criterial features are “properties of learner English that are characteristic and indicative of L2 proficiency at each of the levels and that distinguish higher levels from lower levels” (p. 11). They further distinguished the criterial features that are “transitional” from those that are not (p. 16, 20). “Transitional features” can be found at “the first level at which it is attested and becomes criterial” (p. 20); for example, if the criterial features appearing at the B1 level persist through the B2 and C1 levels, the properties found at the B1 level are considered to be transitional ones. Additionally, if the criterial features are only unique to a particular level, they are also treated as transitional ones. Hawkins and Filipović (2012) also referred to “positive criterial features” (p. 20) and “negative criterial features” (p. 25). “Positive criterial features” are “the correct linguistic properties of English that have been acquired at a certain L2 level and that generally persist all higher levels” (p. 20), while “negative criterial features” refer to “incorrect properties or errors that occur at a certain level or levels and with a characteristic frequency” (p. 25). It should be noted that Hawkins and Filipović (2012) defined criterial features in terms of “their characteristic frequency” (p. 25), as well as the presence or absence of errors in the features, the proficiency level at which the features appear, or whether the features persist through to the higher levels. They intended to “specify the reference levels in the CEFR for English” (p. xiii) in a project called the English Profile Programme (EPP). Their intention included identifying “a set of linguistic features that will add the necessary specification to CEFR’s functional descriptors for each of the levels” (p. 6). To fulfill their aim, they investigated the Cambridge Learner Corpus (CLC) to extract the criterial features that “can be used as diagnostics of proficiency at the individual learner level” (p. xiii) so that examiners can “make their practical assessments” (p. 6) with more “improved diagnosis and validation in examining” (p. 16) such as in the Cambridge English for Speakers of Other Languages

(ESOL) examinations, of which the CLC consists. The results of their investigation are also beneficial for practitioners, theoreticians, and even examinees or learners, as they offer insight into “the kinds of functions that the CEFR defines” (pp. 15-16).

1.2 Organization of the Thesis

The present thesis consists of seven chapters, along with the appendices, which contain the definitions, descriptions, and examples of the coding schemes developed by the author. The current section briefly outlines the contents from Chapter 2 to Chapter 7.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature regarding the speech act theory in pragmatics, the CCSARP, corpus pragmatics, and ILP. As summarized in section 2.1, the theoretical background of the speech act theory, founded by Austin (1962) and Searle (1976), is described. Basic pragmatic notions such as the illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs) of speech acts and the indirectness or conventionality of requests are also described. The issue of politeness is also discussed in terms of requestive speech acts. Then, the pioneering project called the CCSARP is described, referring to the findings derived from the major studies on requestive speech acts conducted in the project. A discussion of a series of recent criticism of the CCSARP follows. The chapter goes on to review how corpora have been applied to pragmatic studies, addressing the pros and cons of each field; one of the main issues of merging corpus linguistics and pragmatics is the treatment of the mismatch between forms and functions. Further, several recent corpus pragmatic studies, especially concerning the issue of annotations, are reviewed. Following that, the history of ILP, which is the main focus of the current study, is described by reviewing various research methodologies including a classical data

collection method, the DCTs. Finally, past studies on the requests produced by learners at different proficiency levels based on the CCSARP are described. Their findings of requestive realizations are compared in terms of the choices of requestive strategies such as direct and conventionally indirect strategies, in addition to linguistic features modifying the requests such as internal and external modifiers.

Chapter 3 reviews a series of learner-corpus-based pragmatic studies conducted by the author, which are the preliminary studies to the present doctoral study. Section 3.1 first describes the method of analyzing the NICT JLE Corpus, explaining the structure and contents of the SST, of which the NICT JLE Corpus is composed, and the alignment of the SST with the CEFR levels by referring to the past studies discussed by the author. Next, how the author attempted to change the research methodologies of corpus interlanguage pragmatic studies to tackle the various obstacles confronted is outlined. The first approach discussed is the form-to-function analysis, extracting predetermined pragmatic features such as the discourse markers of *I mean* and *I like*. Since the author encountered difficulties in matching the forms and functions of these markers retrieved from the NICT JLE Corpus, as most of them are usually multifunctional, the author changed her approach to the function-to-form analysis. The pragmalinguistic features of requestive speech acts were manually identified and annotated in the learner data, following the CCSARP coding scheme. However, this category-based approach also proved to implicate various limitations; for example, the CCSARP coding scheme does not perfectly fit into semi-naturally occurring spoken data, which exhibit interactional features such as repetitions, repairs, and interruptions by the interlocutors, and learner data, which contain a great deal of learner-specific features including errors, incomplete sentences, confirmations of the interlocutors' utterances, and sentence structures influenced by the learners' first language. Therefore, the author added newly developed

annotation schemes to identify the functions and grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of all of the learners' utterances. A combination of the multi-layered annotation schemes allowed the author to extract cross-schematically the target requestive speech acts in terms of different functions and different degrees of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability. Finally, the author attempted to evaluate the degree of politeness or appropriateness of the requestive speech acts that the learners produced in terms of their choices of linguistic patterns, namely, the pragmalinguistic features. However, results of the assessment survey on 10 native-speaking and 10 Japanese-speaking respondents involved with tertiary English education in Japan did not yield significant agreement rates. Therefore, the author decided that the present doctoral study should only focus on the pragmalinguistic competence, rather than the sociopragmatic competence, of Japanese learners of English by examining their requestive speech acts.

Chapter 4 is composed of the present doctoral study's theoretical background, purpose, limitations, overview of the annotation structure, and rationale for using shopping role-play interactions in the NICT JLE Corpus. The chapter concludes with a series of research questions addressed by the present study. First, discussing the theoretical background of the current study, the author compares traditional pragmatics to corpus pragmatics, and compares the methodology of DCTs to that of learner corpora in ILP. The advantages and drawbacks of the two competing theories and the two competing methodologies are highlighted, along with suggestions of how they can supplement one another. Then, the author describes the purpose of the current research and addresses some limitations, such as the exclusion of analyzing sociopragmatic competence from the study and the effects of task differences on the choices of the requestive strategies of learners at different proficiency levels. Despite these limitations, the author attempts to discuss the advantages of analyzing the shopping role-play

interactions in the NICT JLE Corpus for extracting the criterial pragmalinguistic features of the requests produced by learners at different proficiency levels. Constructing the multi-layered annotation schemes is one of the efforts made to tackle these limitations.

Chapter 5 discusses the methods of the current study. The target subjects, the structure and rules of the originally built-in annotated tags in the NICT JLE Corpus, the annotation tool (the UAM CorpusTool), and the overall picture of the annotation schemes for request, function, and grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability are described. In this chapter, the issue of the segmentation and boundaries of utterances is also discussed, referring to how researchers in the past have dealt with this issue, especially when annotating spoken corpora. Then, the final part of the chapter is devoted to discussing the reliability of the annotations, referring to how the annotation schemes were revised and how the annotations were refined. The annotation checker was involved with mainly two stages: a random check of the annotations and replication of the annotations. Unfortunately, it was revealed that the agreement rate between the author and checker in terms of the replicability of the function and grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations was not as high as the author expected.

Chapter 6 presents the results and discussion, answering the research questions in this study. The results of the chi-square tests are reported in response to each research question to determine any significant differences among the learners at different proficiency levels. Research Question 1 is involved with exploring the functions of the whole utterances produced by the learners. Statistical results of the utterances with the functions of *dealing with transaction* and *communication for transaction* are presented, in terms of their distributions and frequencies in learners across the three different proficiency levels. The findings derived from the requests with different functions among learners at three proficiency levels indicate that B1 learners, who were given a negotiation

task, performed significantly different from A1 and A2 learners, who were given a general purchasing task. Research Question 2 concerns the degree of the grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of learners' utterances. The ratios of segments annotated as *high* and *low* (further divided into *coherent*, *slightly incoherent*, and *incoherent*) produced by learners across different proficiency levels are contrasted. Research Question 3 addresses the results of the main focus of the study: extracting the pragmalinguistic features of the requestive speech acts produced by learners at different proficiency levels. First, the overall statistical results, consisting of the ratios of requestive strategies (i.e., *direct*, *conventionally indirect*, and *not-classifiable*), are reported, detailing the distributions and frequencies of the linguistic patterns that the learners chose to produce in their requestive *head acts* and *internal modification*. In addition to describing the interactional features accompanying the head acts of requests, the author reveals findings derived from the cross-schematic extractions of functions and grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of the produced requests. Finally, the author summarizes the criterial pragmalinguistic features distinguishing A1 learners from A2 learners, referring both to statistically confirmed significant differences and non-statistically confirmed but characteristic differences based on quantitative results.

Chapter 7 first summarizes the findings by answering the series of research questions reported in Chapter 6, and then offers an overall discussion and conclusion, limitations of the present study, and implications for future studies in interlanguage pragmatics and L2 pedagogy. The author discusses how the corpus-based present study can contribute to interlanguage pragmatics by facilitating a re-examination of past studies through its supplementary corpus evidence extracted from the NICT JLE Corpus. The author adds the statistical and descriptive outcomes derived from the present study to the developmental stages of Kasper and Rose (2002), who summarized the results of

longitudinal studies on a small number of ESL subjects, and to the work of Blum-Kulka (1991), who describes the introspective transition in her study approach on learner development based on the CCSARP. Further, the author discusses the advantages of applying the CCSARP, with some amendments, to corpus-based studies in ILP, as it can greatly contribute to the re-examination of past studies by allowing researchers to achieve a more generalizable and statistically valid overview of learners' development of pragmalinguistic competence. After addressing the limitations of the research methodologies, the author concludes the present doctoral study by summarizing its methodological implications, such as the provision of a list of the recurrent pragmalinguistic features of requests produced by learners at different proficiency levels for future studies, including those in the area of Natural Language Processing (NLP). Pedagogical implications are also addressed in terms of the added insight into the functions for the CEFR descriptors and applications to classroom instruction, including a guidance on autonomous learning, as the retrieved pragmalinguistic choices made by learners at different proficiency levels can be a great resource for second language acquisition.

Chapter 2. Review of Literature

This chapter reviews the literature and is divided into six sub-sections. Subsection 2.1 provides an overview of the chapter. Subsection 2.2 discusses *speech act theory* (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969, 1976) and its relevance to the field of pragmatics by introducing various important notions, such as *illocutionary force-indicating devices* (IFIDs) and *conventionality*, which highlights the gap between the surface forms of utterance and actual intended meaning. Subsection 2.3 describes politeness in requests and, in particular, the notion of *face-threatening acts*. Subsection 2.4 reviews the influence of the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) on analyzing speech act realization patterns and refers to methodologies that are based on the Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs). Subsection 2.5 presents the recent trends of corpus pragmatics and discusses how the researchers tackled various challenges with corpus annotation faced when assigning the functions to utterances whose surface forms remain mismatched. Subsection 2.6 reviews studies on interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) with a focus on various data collection methods including DCTs, role play, and learner corpora. In particular, it details research whose methods are in line with those of the current study. These include Trosborg (1995), Hill (1997), Rose (2000; 2009), Flores Salgado (2011), and Al-Ghahtani and Alkahtani (2012), who apply the CCSARP coding scheme to investigate the requests of learners at different proficiencies.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature that is crucially related to the present doctoral research. First, the theoretical background of speech act theory is described. Speech act theory was developed under linguistic philosophy by Austin (1962) and Searle

(1969; 1976), who discussed the *illocutionary force indicating devices* (IFIDs) of speech acts. The theory later included the notion of *indirectness* or *conventionality*, discussed in terms of *pragmatics* by scholars such as Blum-Kulka (1989), Culpeper and Haugh (2014), and so on (see section 2.2). These scholars referred to the gap between the *surface* forms of the speaker's utterance and the *actual intended meaning*. Focused on *requests*, speech act theory is further explained in terms of *politeness*, mainly based on the *face-threatening acts* (FTAs) developed by Brown and Levinson (1987) and concerned with *sociological factors* such as *relative power*, *social distance*, and the *ranking of the imposition* between a speaker and a hearer (see section 2.3). The dichotomy between *pragmalinguistics* and *sociopragmatics* made by Leech (2014) is also important in terms of conducting corpus-pragmatic research on learners' pragmatic development.

Next, the *Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project* (CCSARP) is reviewed (see section 2.4). The CCSARP was conducted by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), and has been the most influential study on the *cross-cultural and intralingual variation of speech act realization patterns of request and apology*. They used *Discourse Completion Tests* (DCTs), which seemed to be the easiest and most effective data collection method, allowing researchers to collect various language patterns of the target speech-act strategies from a vast number of subjects with different language backgrounds (i.e., native speakers of different languages and dialects, and learners of different languages) and to easily control the various social parameters involved with participants' roles and situations in given tasks. The main objective of the project was to investigate the *universality* of politeness phenomena across languages and cultures, as well as to find implications concerning second language speakers' acquisition of effective communicative skills without committing pragmatic failures. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) were concerned with three different variabilities, including *sociopragmatic variation*,

cross-cultural variation, and *interlanguage variation*. The CCSARP coding scheme of requestive speech acts, on which the present study draws, is then detailed; in this scheme, requestive *head acts* are divided into *direct*, *conventionally indirect*, and *non-conventionally indirect* strategies, based on the speakers' choice of linguistic features (see section 2.4.3). Afterwards, several studies in the CCSARP are introduced; Blum-Kulka and House (1989) investigated cross-cultural variation in different situations among the different languages of native speakers (see section 2.4.4.1), and Faerch and Kasper (1989) conducted a study on ILP focusing on Danish learners of English and German, in comparison with native speakers of three languages (see section 2.4.4.2). Finally, criticism of the CCSARP in recent studies is described, in terms of the *categorizations* of strategies and linguistic patterns (see section 2.4.5.1) and the treatment of *politeness* (see section 2.4.5.2).

The next section, 2.5, reviews how corpora have been applied to pragmatic studies. As discussed by Adolphs (2008), facilitating the systematic examination of the large-scale digital records of naturally occurring data, corpora allow us to re-examine the intuitive aspects of traditional pragmatics based on invented examples from native speakers' utterances. First, differences in the approaches of analyzing texts and discourse between pragmatics and corpus linguistics are described. In pragmatics, the *horizontal-reading* methodology, which examines the contexts wherein utterances occur and the actual intended meaning of speakers in a longer stretch of discourse, is common. On the other hand, the *vertical-reading methodology*, based on the automatic retrieval of the lexical forms realized in concordance lines, is predominant in corpus linguistics. Therefore, researchers who intend to merge corpus linguistics and pragmatics would encounter various challenges such as the mismatch between *forms* and *functions*, and laborious and time-consuming annotations (see section 2.5.1). Next, the pioneering

studies on the corpus-based analyses of native speakers' speech acts such as those of Aijmer (1996) and Adolphs (2008) are introduced (see section 2.5.2.1). Although fully automatic annotation is not possible in corpus-pragmatic studies, semi-automatically annotated speech-act corpora, which are primarily based on carefully planned manual annotations, are possible; some of these corpora are introduced (e.g., Leech & Weisser, 2003; Seto, 2013; 2016; De Felice et al., 2013; see section 2.5.2.2). Though most of the researchers who adopted semi-automatic annotation dealt with native speakers' spoken data and the written data of fairly advanced learners of English, their studies have given insightful suggestions for highlighting the difficulties associated with *learner spoken* data in the present study. The difficulties involve not only how interactional features pertaining particularly to spoken data (e.g., repetitions, repairs, hesitations, and interruptions by the interlocutor) are treated but also how the requests made by lower-level learners (e.g., lexically and grammatically unsuitable choices of requestive forms and socially inappropriate speech act performance) are treated.

The final section, 2.6, reviews *interlanguage pragmatics (ILP)*, starting with how it was developed from *empirical pragmatics* and *cross-cultural pragmatics* (Kasper, 1996), which are subdisciplines of pragmatics, into the broader category of *second language acquisition (SLA)* (Vyatkina & Cunningham, 2015). The methods of data collection in ILP, such as *DCTs*, *role plays*, and *naturally occurring data* including *learner corpora*, are described (see section 2.6.2). The DCT is the most predominant method since it is easy to control various social variables and elicit the target linguistic forms that researchers want to collect. Via role plays, researchers can collect and examine learners' spoken data with interlocutors similarly to how they would in natural settings. Regarding naturally occurring data, longitudinal and cross-sectional approaches are described. Learner corpora composed of learners at different proficiency levels allow

researchers to investigate the learners' use and development of speech acts. However, each method has its drawbacks and advantages; thus, some examples of the past studies with different methods are compared.

Finally, the past studies that investigated the requestive speech acts of learners at different proficiency levels based on the CCSARP coding scheme are described (see section 2.6.3). Trosborg (1995) and Hill (1997) adopted the DCT method, Rose (2000, 2009) and Flores Salgado (2011) used cartoon oral production tasks (COPTs), and Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani (2012) employed the open role-play method. In addition to Hill (1997), Takahashi and Dufon (1989) and Kaneko (2004) investigated Japanese learners of English. Except for Kaneko (2004), who examined the negotiation role plays of 76 upper intermediate learners from the NICT JLE Corpus, no studies have dealt with learner corpora. The findings regarding proficiency levels in these studies indicated a tendency in learners at higher levels to use indirect strategies more frequently than they do direct strategies, which is similar to the results of native speakers. These studies also found a more frequent production of direct strategies by lower learners, except for Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani (2002) and Takahashi and Dufon (1989).

2.2 Speech Act Theory

According to Crystal (1997), pragmatics is defined as “the study of language from the point of *users*, especially of the *choices* they make, the *constraints* they encounter in using language in *social interaction* and the *effects* their use of language has on *other participants* in the *act of communication*” (p. 301; italics added). Rintell and Mitchell (1989) noted that “When studying the speech acts performed by language learners, a number of different research questions could be asked,” referring to “the

variety of strategies observed in the target language environment” (p. 249). This chapter describes how speech act theory has been developed in the field of pragmatics.

While semantics deals with “all aspects of the literal meaning of sentences and other expressions,” “pragmatics is concerned with the conditions according to which speakers and hearers determine the context- and use-dependent utterance meanings” (Searle, Kiefer, & Bierwisch, 1980, p. x). According to Searle et al. (1980), “the theory of speech acts starts with the assumption that the minimal unit of human communication is not a sentence or other expression, but rather the performance of certain kinds of acts, such as making statements, asking questions, giving orders, describing, explaining, apologizing, thanking, congratulating, etc.” (p. ix). Speech act theory originates in the field of linguistic philosophy, notably in Austin (1962) and Searle (1969; 1976).

Before reviewing various studies focusing on learners’ production of requestive speech acts, which is the main focus of the present study, this section aims to briefly review the philosophical origins of speech act theory, which lead to the notions of *directness* and *indirectness*, *conventionality* and *politeness theory* in pragmatics. Theory founder Austin’s book *How to Do Things with Words* was published in 1962, two years after his death (Huan, 2009). Based upon the assumption that “utterances can be described in terms of the actions they perform” (O’Keeffe, Clancy, & Adolphs, 2011, p. 84), speech act theory offers an approach to “the functional value of utterances rather than the form of utterances” (Seto, 2016, p. 1).

The first important notion Austin (1966) introduced is a distinction between *performatives* and *constatives* (Archer, Aijmer, & Wichmann, 2012, p. 35; Huan, 2009, p. 1000). “Performatives are utterances which are used to do things for performing acts” (Huan, 2009, p. 1000), while constatives are utterances or assertions, which are statement-making utterances (Archer et al., 2012, p. 35). According to Archer et al. (2012, p. 35), “I

[hereby] apologize” is an example of performatives as *hereby* can be inserted. On the other hand, “I like apples” is not a performative but a constative sentence since it is impossible to insert *hereby*. Thus, Austin (1969) claimed that there is a set of conditions for a performative to be successful, which he called *felicity conditions* (pp. 14-15). Seto (2016) illustrated that an utterance “I order you to release the prisoners” can only be successful under the felicity conditions which indicate “circumstances where the speaker has legitimacy authority over the hearer and the hearer will obey the order given” (p. 18) (see Archer et al., 2012, p. 37; Levinson, 1983, p. 229; Huan, 2009, p. 1001).

However, Austin later abandoned his distinction between performatives and constatives as most constatives are actually used to perform speech acts just like performatives (Archer et al., 2012, p. 37; Huan, 2009, p. 1002; O’Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 85). For example, O’Keeffe et al. (2011) illustrated an interaction as follows:

A: Is Sally still in hospital?

B: No she’s home.

Although *No she’s home* is treated as a constative sentence according to Austin’s first distinction, the utterance can be Speaker B’s warning to Speaker A if “A had an argument with Sally and did not want to see her,” when A was about to visit the house (p. 85).

Austin revised his theory and claimed that “all utterances, in addition to meaning whatever they mean, perform specific acts via the specific communicative force of an utterance” (Huan, 2009, p. 1002). Thus, he introduced three kinds of acts accomplished by each utterance: a *locutionary* act, an *illocutionary* act, and a *perlocutionary* act (Archer et al., 2012, p. 37; Huan, 2009, p. 1002; Levinson, 1983, p. 236; O’Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 85). A locutionary act is the physical act of producing an utterance and its apparent meaning. An illocutionary act is the intended meaning of the utterance. A perlocutionary act is the effect achieved through the locution and illocution.

The communicative intentions a speaker conveys through their utterances are speech acts such as requests, apologies, refusals, complaints, and thanking. *Illocutionary force indicating devices* (IFIDs) is a term coined by Searle (1969, p. 30), which means “the formal devices of an utterance used to signal its illocutionary force” (Culpeper & Haugh, 2014, p. 168). In English, the devices are “word order, stress, intonation contour, punctuation, the mood of the verb, and the so-called performative verbs” (Searle, 1969, p. 30). Searle (1976) developed Austin’s theory, and presented classification of speech acts as follows. Table 2.1 summarizes a description by Archer et al. (2012, pp. 39-40).

Table 2.1

A typology of speech acts made by Austin (1962) and Searle (1976)

Austin		Searle	
Category	Examples	Category	Examples
Verdictives (cf. Searle's declarations)	estimating, reckoning or appraising	Declarations: declaring the verdict that something is the case	judges sentencing offenders, priests baptizing a child, etc.
Exercitives (cf. Searle's directives)	appointing, voting, ordering, advising, warning	Directives: getting the hearer to do something	asking, ordering, commanding, requesting, begging, pleading, praying, entreating, inviting, permitting, advising
Commissives (cf. Searle's commissives)	N/A	Commissives: committing him/herself to do some future act	promises, pledges, vows
Behavitives (cf. Searle's expressives)	apologizing, congratulating	Expressives: expressing a psychological state towards the hearer	thanking, congratulating, apologizing, condoling, deploring, welcoming
Expositives (cf. Searle's assertives)	"I reply," "I argue," "I concede," etc.	Representatives (or assertives) – expressing the speaker's belief that something is true	stating, suggesting, boasting, complaining, concluding, deducing

The important concept to be noted in speech act theory is a distinction between *directness* and *indirectness*. In speech act theory, "the same act can be performed either

directly or indirectly” (Achiba, 2003, p. 7). In direct strategies, a speaker’s intentions are conveyed explicitly because “the propositional content (sentence meaning) of the utterance is consistent with the speaker’s intent” (p. 7). On the other hand, indirect strategies are implicit because the propositional content of the utterances is not identical with the speaker’s meaning. For example, the locution of the statement *can you pass me the salt* is a simple question about the ability of the hearer to pass the salt. However, it can also have an illocutionary force as a requestive speech act. Whether the statement is interpreted as a request depends on the hearer’s interpretation of the speaker’s implied meaning from the surface meaning. Following the concept of *conversational implicature* deriving from Grice’s *Cooperative Principle*, the process of inferring the meaning of indirect utterances “can only be successful if the listener co-operates” (O’Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 88).

Following the claim of Searle’s IFID description (1969), the previous utterance *can you pass me the salt* is regarded as an example in which the illocutionary force is not directly reflected in the sentence form. Culpeper and Haugh (2014) pointed out that “in present-day English there is frequently a mismatch between sentence type and speech act” (p. 168). They summarized those phenomena in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Sentence type and speech act examples: correspondent and mismatching (Adapted from Culpeper and Haugh, 2014, p. 168)

Sentence type	Example	Speech act	Correspondent or mismatching
Imperative	<i>Finish your homework!</i>	Command	Correspondent
Interrogative	<i>Have you finished your homework?</i>	Question/inquiry	Correspondent
Declarative	<i>My homework is finished.</i>	Assertion	Correspondent
Imperative	<i>Pass me the salt.</i>	Request	Corrsespondent
Interrogative	<i>Can you give me the salt?</i>	Request	Mismatching
Declarative	<i>This could do with a little salt.</i>	Request	Mismatching

In explaining the notion of IFIDs, Searle (1969) actually noted that “in actual speech situations, the context will make it clear what the illocutionary force of the utterance is, without its being necessary to invoke the appropriate explicit illocutionary force indicator” (p. 30), as shown in the mismatching declarative example *this could do with a little salt* in Table 2.2. According to O’Keefe et al. (2011), “indirectness in speech acts occurs when the locution does not fully determine the illocutionary force of the same utterance” (p. 88). Blum-Kulka (1989) illustrated an example *the kitchen seems to be in a bit of a mess* with a context that this occurred in a conversation between roommates, and the hearer was the last to use the kitchen (p. 40). Although the literal meaning of these two utterances does not convey any requests to the hearer, the hearer will successfully interpret the illocutionary force of the speech act by inferring the speaker’s intention and

referring to contextual and co-textual knowledge and experiences. According to Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992), “many indirect speech acts are unconventional, with no particular associated form, a great many others, however, are highly conventionalized, and take the form of lexical phrase sentence builders” (p. 48). Therefore, the examples starting with *can you* are categorized as *conventional indirect speech acts*, and the examples such as *this could do with a little salt* and *the kitchen seems to be in a bit of a mess* as *non-conventional indirect speech acts* (Blum-Kulka, 1989).

Drawing on Searle (1976), Blum-Kulka (1982) explained *conventionality*, stating that “certain forms habitually used to perform certain acts become the conventional ways for performing these acts” (p. 32). Thus, as mentioned before, the sentence *can you pass me the salt* is immediately recognized as a request rather than a literal question about the hearer’s ability to pass the salt (O’Keefe et al., 2011, p. 87). Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) listed examples from Searle’s *conventional indirect speech acts*: “Can/could you hand me the salt?,” “I would like you to go now,” “I want you to do this for me,” “I’d rather you didn’t do that,” “Would you mind not making so much noise?,” and “Would you like some help?” (p. 49). In sum, *conventional indirectness* is different from *non-conventional indirectness* in terms of pragmatic ambiguities (Blum-Kulka, 1989). Requests can be made using different levels of *directness*, and the study of speech acts provides a useful means of relating linguistic form and communicative intent (Achiba, 2003).

However, it should be noted that there has been disagreement among researchers on the status of direct and indirect speech acts, including the issues of how indirect speech acts work and a scale of directness, as Aijmer (1996) and Culpeper and Haugh (2014) discussed. The next section will describe how direct and indirect requestive speech acts were classified and investigated in the CCSARP, on which the present study

draws as its research methodology.

Speech act theory has been criticized by many researchers (e.g. Levinson, 1983; Leech, 1983). Archer et al. (2012) and O’Keeffe et al. (2011) discussed several problems concerning Searle’s classification of speech acts (1969; 1976), especially by examining authentic examples from corpora and referring to the recent research trend. First, the speech acts have “fuzzy boundaries” so that the utterance “the window is open” can be a request or just a statement (Archer et al., 2012, p. 40). Second, speech acts can overlap in some of their functions. For example, “let’s just have a look at this” can be one of *commissives* “if the speaker commits himself or herself to an action” or *directives* “since they also include the hearer” (O’Keeffe et al., 2011, pp. 92-93). In addition, Archer et al. (2012) noted a criticism of the focus on single sentences without concerning the context, giving the example *thank you* which can have several functions. *Thank you* can sometimes become “apologetic thanks” (p. 40), and can be used in either accepting offers or rejecting offers (p. 41). Analyzing speech acts only from the speaker’s point of view has also been criticized. Instead, for example, Tsui (1994) took an approach of discourse analyses to speech acts, and was concerned with both speaker’s action and addressee’s, and made a taxonomy of so-called *discourse acts*.

Finally, this section reviews Stubbs (1983)’s critical discussion on speech act theory. He argued that “the examples which are typically discussed by Searle and others are invented data, not attested and naturally occurring” (p. 487). His view should be noted as the current study deals with corpus pragmatics in which “invented and isolated sentences” (p. 485) in pragmatic theories are challenged with corpus evidence (see section 2.5). Stubbs (1983) emphasized the importance of “naturally occurring” data, noting that “despite the fact that the theory seems to emphasize language as social action, it has largely ignored actual language in use” (p. 485). His publication was in the early 1980’s

before the application of corpora into pragmatics was flourished, and he is now one of the pioneering scholars who has conducted a number of studies on discourse and text in the field of corpus linguistics (see the recent publications such as Stubbs, 2016).ⁱ

2.3 Politeness Theory and Requests

According to O’Keeffe et al. (2011), politeness is one of the most researched areas in pragmatics, a proof of which can be found in the extensive number of titles (over 1,200) in Watts (2003)’s bibliography. The theories and models proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), Leech (1983), Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Spencer-Oatey (2000; 2008), Watts (2003) and Culpeper (2005), who proposed a framework of impoliteness, are notable examples. In terms of Japanese politeness, Ide (1982; 1989; 1993) and Usami (2002) should be mentioned. See O’Keeffe et al. (2011), Archer et al. (2012), Leech (2014), and Culpeper and Haugh (2014) for a recent overview of theories or models of politeness.

This section does not fully cover various politeness theories to date, but briefly reviews Brown and Levinson (1987)’s classical model, on which many researchers in pragmatics have drawn, and the concepts particularly related to requests. Brown and Levinson published *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use* (1978, reprinted in 1987), which has been the most influential model (Leech, 2014; O’Keefe et al., 2011). They expanded Goffman’s metaphor of *face*, and defined it as “the public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for himself” (p. 63). They developed a theory of politeness that centers on FTAs, of which requests are one type (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 11).

The notion of *face* includes two opposing notions: *positive face* and *negative*

face. Positive face refers to our need to enhance our positive image, such as the need to be acknowledged by others and accepted as part of a group. Negative face refers to our need or desire to become independent and free from actions imposed on by others (O’Keeffe et al., 2011). Politeness strategies are used to satisfy these two *face* needs, according to Brown and Levinson (1987). An FTA is a communicative act performed by the speaker that may threaten the hearers’ *face* (either *negative* or *positive*, or both). With respect to requestive speech acts, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) explained that the “hearer can interpret requests as intrusive impingements on freedom of action, or even as a show in the exercise of power; speakers may hesitate to make the request for fear of exposing a need or risking the hearer’s loss of *face*” (pp. 11-12). The request is a pre-event where the speaker imposes on the hearer by requesting a future effort from the hearer, and in order to compensate for the speaker’s imposition on the hearer, the speaker manipulates the use of mitigation in requests (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Brown and Levinson (1987) referred to “three sociological factors which are crucial in determining the level of politeness which a speaker (S) will use to an addressee (H): these are relative power (P) or H over S, the social distance (D) between S and H, and the ranking of the imposition (R) in doing the face-threatening act (FTA)” (p. 15). To illustrate their points, Brown and Levinson (1987) presented a diagram that shows the degree of “estimation of risk of face loss” (p. 60) (see Figure 2.1). Leech (2014) quoted this diagram in order to illustrate “ordered bottom-up strategies according to the estimated increase of risk of face threat” with the following examples (p. 33). For instance, “Give me a lift to the station” is an example of the “bald on-record” strategy, which is the most direct (p. 33). “Give me a lift to the station—there’s a dear” shows a positive politeness as it contains “an endearment to boost H’s positive face” (pp. 33-34). “Could you possibly give me a lift to the station?” reduces “the face threat by mitigating the force of the imposition” as negative politeness (p. 34).

The “on-record” request “is conventionalized as having the force of a directive,” whereby “off-record politeness” is illustrated by a hint such as “Oh dear, I’m late for my train again” or “Are you driving to the station, by any chance?” (pp. 33-34).

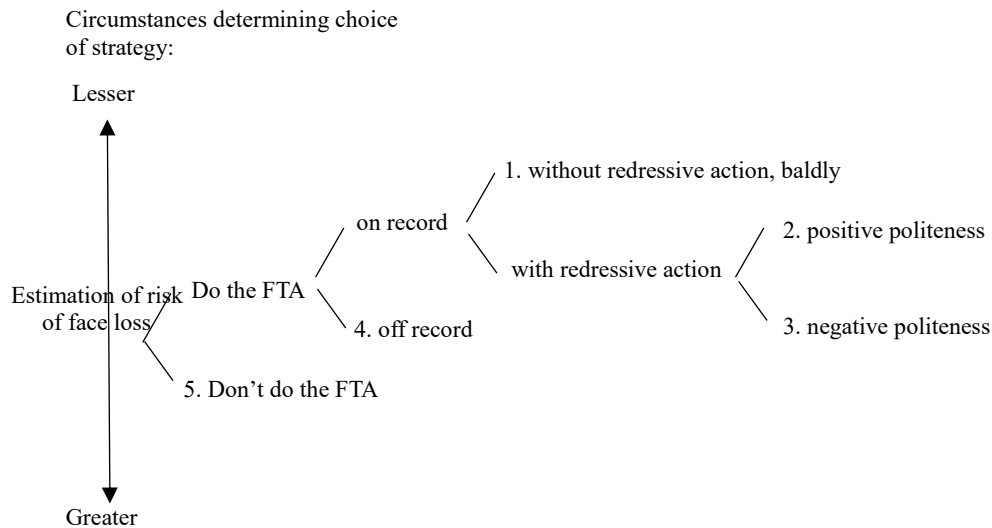


Figure 2.1. Brown and Levinson’s strategies for avoiding a face-threatening act (Taken from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 60).

In his study, Leech (2014) summarized the eight characteristics of politeness, and this section introduces four of them as follows (pp. 4-8; italics added by Leech).

(1) Politeness is *not obligatory*. People can be nonpolite: they normally will not behave politely unless there is a reason to be polite (even if the reason is somewhat vague, such as following convention).

(2) There are varying *gradations* of polite and impolite behavior.

(3) There is often a *sense of what is normal*, recognized by members of society, as to how polite to be for a particular occasion.

(4) How far politeness will occur, or whether it will occur at all, *depends on the situation*.

Referring specifically to politeness in the English language in the context of an English-speaking culture, Leech (2014) stated that English, with its many ways of conveying requests, is one of the languages that favor indirectness in requests the most (p. 134). In English, “a number of lexicogrammatical means” exist with “varying degrees of opportunity for noncompliance”; for example, yes-no questions starting with “Could/Can/Would/Will you...” have a function of “rendering a request” (p. 135), as “English-speaking cultures give prominence to neg-politenessⁱⁱ” (p. 134). Thus, in relation to cultural differences and ILP, he even stated that “From a cross-cultural perspective, it is generally held that English-speaking cultures place more weight on the autonomy of the individual than do most other cultures, so that avoidance of direct imposition on the hearer in directives [...] shows especially elaborate development in English” (pp. 14-15). If learners fail to show enough neg-politeness, they are likely to leave the other person (i.e. a hearer) “with a sense of grievance (‘taking offence’) which may lead to “social disharmony” (p. 12).

Finally, according to Leech (2014), politeness should be discussed from two different subdomains: “pragmalinguistics,” which is “oriented to linguistic realizations of politeness,” and “sociopragmatics,” which, on the other hand, concerns “the social and cultural determinants of politeness” (p. 13). As shown in the formula “Could you X” as a request showing neg-politeness, pragmalinguistics is a study about “the range of lexicogrammatical resources of the language, their meanings, their degree of pragmaticalizationⁱⁱⁱ, their frequency, and how they are deployed as linguistic strategies of politeness” (p. 14). Pragmaticalization is especially evident in English, compared to Spanish, where “such conventionally indirect formulae are less conventionalized, and less frequently used” (Leech, 2014, p. 14; citation from Blum-Kulka et al, 1989, pp. 47-49). On the other hand, sociopragmatics concerns “the various scales of value that make a

particular degree of politeness seem appropriate or normal in a given social setting” (p. 14).

In this study, however, the author mainly examines the pragmalinguistic competence of Japanese learners of English retrieved from a spoken corpus, but does not intend to discuss the issue whether learner production was successful or appropriate in terms of politeness, by observing their sociopragmatic competence. With the current research method, the study does not expand the scope but instead focuses on exploring “how the pragmalinguistic resources of a language enable cultural values to be expressed” (Leech, 2014, p. 15). Of course, it is ideal to study both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competences as Leech (2014) proposed that “they are both *facets* of pragmatics” and “are not to be studied in isolation from one another” (p. 15). The rationale of the current study avoiding the analysis of sociopragmatic competence is more detailed in the review of the author’s studies (see Chapter 3).

2.4 The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP)

2.4.1 The Overview of the CCSARP

2.4.1.1 The goal of the project: Exploring cross-cultural and intralingual variations of speech act realizations

The present doctoral study adopts the coding scheme that was designed by researchers involved in the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Before finalizing the project, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) reported the overview and theoretical background of the project, stating that “the goals of the project are to compare across languages the realization patterns of two speech acts – requests and apologies – and to establish the similarities and differences between native

and non-native speakers' realization patterns in these two acts in each of the languages studied within the project" (p. 196). This project dealt with cross-cultural and intralingual variations across eight different languages including Hebrew, Danish, British English, American English, German, Canadian French and Austrian English, as well as variation between native and non-native speakers (Blum-Kulka, 1987; Flores Salgado, 2011; Blum-Kulka et al., 1984). The empirical perspective of the CCSARP was emphasized since "the rich data yielded in a variety of language allows us then to reconsider theoretical notions such as directness and indirectness" (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 3). The method and the number of subjects involved in this project are described in section 2.4.3.

2.4.1.1.1 Challenging the issue of universality

According to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), the project researchers aimed to challenge the issue of universality: "to what extent is it possible to determine the degree to which the rules that govern the use of language in context vary from culture to culture and from language to language?" (p. 196). The rationale behind this is that they aimed to find implications to second language speakers who need to communicate effectively without committing pragmatic failures, apart from "an excellent grammatical and lexical command of the target language" (p. 196). They were concerned with three types of variabilities: "situational variability," "cross-cultural variability," and "individual, native versus non-native variability." The first variability is related to "social constraints embedded in the situation" including requests addressed to people of different social statuses. The second variability is involved with cultural differences "within the same set of social constraints," and the third one is concerned with differences in "personal variables such as sex, age, or level of education," as well as differences between second

language speakers and native speakers (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984, p. 197).

2.4.1.2 Three types of revised variabilities: sociopragmatic variation, cross-cultural variation, and interlanguage variation

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) published a book, titled *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*, after the project was completed. They revised the three types of variabilities discussed by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) as follows: “sociopragmatic variation” (i.e., “the effect of social variables on the realization patterns of given speech acts within specific speech communities”), “cross-cultural variation” (i.e., “the similarities and differences in the realization patterns of given speech acts across different languages, relative to the same social constraints”), and “interlanguage variation” (i.e., “the similarities and differences in the realization patterns of given speech acts between native and non-native speakers of a given language, relative to the same social constraints”) (pp. 12-13).

2.4.1.2.1 Sociopragmatic variation

In Chapter 1 of the book *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984)’s “situational variability” is further discussed from a “sociopragmatic view” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, pp. 3-5). “The degrees of social distance and power between participants” are important factors, but the relative importance and other situational factors, including personal variables (e.g., age), type of request goal (e.g., permission), setting (e.g., private/public) and medium (e.g., oral/written) may be subject to cultural variation (p. 4). For example, “directness tends to rise with increase in familiarity, as well as with the transition from the public to private domain” (p. 4). They aimed to clarify “the ways language is used to perform certain speech acts with the social

and situational variables that potentially affect their use” (p. 5).

2.4.1.2.2 Cross-cultural variation

Cross-cultural variability is also an important notion as “clashes between different interactional styles can lead to intercultural miscommunication” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 5). Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) reviewed several cross-cultural studies by Tannen (Greek culture vs. American culture) (1981) and Gumperz (British-English and Indian-English speakers in England) (1982), and generalized their findings by stating that miscommunication is attributed to “differences in systems of conversational inference and cues for signalling speech acts which combine to form the culture’s distinctive interactional style” (pp. 5-6).

The reason why the CCSARP researchers challenged pragmatic universality, or “the universality of politeness phenomena across languages and cultures,” is that a number of past studies revealing culturally specific features of discourse concluded that “speech communities tend to develop culturally interactional styles” without sufficient empirical investigation, according to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989, p. 7). Challenging this conclusion, the CCSARP aimed to “show that there are certain pragmatic regularities underlying requestive and apologizing behavior in all the languages examined” (p. 9). Blum-Kulka and his associates were in line with Leech (1983), who noted that “‘the Japanese are more modest than the British’ or ‘the British are more tactful than the Americans’ only make sense if we relativize them to pragmalinguistic strategies such as strategies of indirectness, and the norms observed in the performance of these strategies in different speech communities” (p. 231).

2.4.1.2.3 Interlanguage variation

Finally, in terms of “interlanguage variation,” Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) maintained that “methods of data analysis employed in the CCSARP are clearly suitable for investigating the development of learners’ speech acts competence and performance” (p. 11). Although “interlanguage pragmatics,” or the extensively researched subject of interlanguage including “learners’ pragmatic and discourse knowledge,” has been increasingly investigated since the 1980s, the CCSARP is definitely the pioneering project that conducted “more theoretical and empirical studies” aiming to “discover how learners do things with words in a second language” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 9). Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) even intended to solve the central issue of second language acquisition research: the question of “which aspects of nonnative language development are universal and which are language-specific” (p. 10). They criticized previous empirical studies in ILP for tending to focus on communication rather than learning, such as the notions of “pragmatic interference” (i.e., “the influence of the learners’ native language and culture on their second language speech act performance”) and the “sociopragmatic failure” and “pragmalinguistic transfer” caused by “transferability” (i.e., “learners’ perception of what can be successfully transferred from their native language [and culture]”) (pp. 10-11). Although the CCSARP did not deal with the developmental aspect, its researchers assumed that future developmental studies could test their generalized hypotheses about the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge.

2.4.1.3 Summary of the CCSARP

To sum up, the project goal was “to establish patterns of request and apology realizations under different social constraints across a number of languages and cultures, including both native and nonnative varieties” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 12). As

discussed in the section on *politeness theory* in the previous section, many requestive speech acts can be *face-threatening* (Brown & Levinson, 1987), calling for a speaker's *redressive* action in order not to risk the hearer's loss of face. The project attempted to make a breakthrough in documenting an extensive number of speakers' choices from abundant linguistic options that are available for requesting behavior as well as these speakers' performances (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 12).

2.4.2 Method and Subjects in the CCSARP

The Discourse-Completion Test (DCT) was adopted in the CCSARP in order to collect a large sample of two specific speech acts in seven different languages. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) admitted that “ideally, all data should come from ‘natural’ conditions” (p. 13), referring to the ethnographic methods in the field studies. However, using the written elicitation techniques that were more experimentally controlled, the researchers aimed to obtain more stereotyped responses so that they could compare cross-cultural aspects and interlanguage phenomena (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 13).

In the DCT, script dialogues were presented in different social settings that involved elements such as the social distance between the participants and their statuses relative to one another. As the following example shows, respondents were asked to complete the dialogue, filling a missing turn, which was likely the target speech acts that the researchers wanted to elicit. Co-textual cues for the speech acts were also provided. Although both requestive and apologizing speech acts were investigated in the CCSARP, the current section only describes the requestive version as follows.

(a) At the University

Ann missed a lecture yesterday and would like to borrow Judith's notes.

Ann: _____

Judith: Sure, but let me have them back before the lecture next week.

(Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 14)

Half of the questionnaires contained eight situations to elicit requests, and “Dominance (social power) and Social Distance (familiarity)” were varied as follows. SD stands for social distance, and x and y in the Dominance represent participants in the interaction.

Table 2.3

Request situations, social distance, and dominance in the DCT (Adapted from Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, pp. 14-15)

Request situations	Social Distance	Dominance
Kitchen: A student asks his roommate to clean up the kitchen the latter had left in a mess the night before.	-SD	$x = y$
Street: A young woman wants to get rid of a man pestering her on the street.	+SD	$x = y$
Notes: A student asks another student to lend her some lecture notes.	-SD	$x = y$
Ride: A student asks people living on the same street for a ride home.	+SD	$x < y$
Information: An applicant calls for information on a job advertised in a paper.	+SD	$x < y$
Policeman: A policeman asks a driver to move her car.	+SD	$x > y$
Extension: A student asks a teacher for an extension on a seminar paper.	-SD	$x < y$
Lecturer: A university professor asks a student to give his lecture a week earlier than scheduled.	-SD	$x > y$

As for the native-speaking group, there were 1,088 subjects in total, comprised of 227 Australian English speakers, 94 American English speakers, 100 British English speakers,

131 Canadian French speakers, 163 Danish speakers, 200 German speakers, and 173 Hebrew speakers living in Israel. To keep their social backgrounds as homogeneous as possible, the subjects were all university students with an equal numbers of males and females in each language group. The total number of non-native speakers was 858, including 434 learners of English (200 from Denmark, 34 from the United States, and 200 from Germany), 200 German learners from Denmark, and 224 Hebrew learners from Israel. The DCT was translated into the seven languages and administered to informants in each country.

2.4.3 The CCSARP Coding Scheme

The initial stage of coding identifies the core of the request sequence, represented as (b) *Head Acts* in Tables 2.4 and 2.5, as the minimal unit that realizes the request. In isolating the head act, the following parts are also identified: (a) *Alerters* and (c) *Supportive Moves* (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 17, pp. 275-276). The following tables show example sentences with definitions for each part. Alerters include title (e.g., “Professor”), surname, first name, endearment term (e.g., “Honey”), offensive term (e.g., “Stupid cow”), pronoun, attention getter (e.g., “hey,” “excuse me,” “listen”), and combinations of the above (p. 277).

Table 2.4

Alerter and Head Act

(a) Alerter	a term of address or attention getter	(b) Head Act	the minimal unit that realizes the request; the core of the request sequence
<i>Excuse me,</i>		<i>could you give me a lift to town?</i>	

Table 2.5

Head Act and Supportive Move

(b) Head Act	(c) Supportive Move	a unit external to the request, which modifies its impact by either aggravating or mitigating its force
<i>Could you clean up this mess?</i>	<i>I'm having some friends over for dinner tonight.</i>	

The example of “I’m having some friends over for dinner tonight” functions as a *mitigating* supportive move. On the other hand, an example of an *aggravating* supportive move is “or I’ll call the police” after the head act and “Stop bothering me” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 276). It should be noted that if a supportive move occurs on its own without having a requestive head act, the hint becomes a head act.

The second stage of coding identifies whether the *dominant perspective* of the request is from the hearer, the speaker, both participants, or impersonal (none of these) (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The previous example of “Could you give me a lift to town?” is hearer-dominant (p. 19, 278)

Table 2.6

Types of request strategies, prototypical forms, and examples

Category	Strategy types	Prototypical forms	Examples
Impositive ^{iv}	Mood derivable	imperative, infinite forms, elliptical sentence structures	<i>Leave me alone.</i>
	Explicit performatives	an illocutionary verb	I am <i>asking</i> you to move your car.
	Hedged performatives	modal verbs, verbs expressing intention	I <i>must/have to ask</i> you to clean the kitchen right now. <i>I'd like to/wanted to ask</i> you to present your paper a week earlier.
	Obligation statements (written as locution derivable)	obligation	You'll <i>have to/should/must/ought to</i> move your car.
	Want statements	desire	<i>I'd like to</i> borrow your notes for a little while.
Conventionally indirect strategy	Suggestory formulae	suggestion	<i>How about</i> cleaning up the kitchen? <i>Can</i> I borrow your notes?
	(Query) preparatory	ability, willingness, and possibility	<i>Could</i> you possibly get your assignment done this week?
Non-conventionally indirect strategy	Strong hints		<i>You have left the kitchen in a right mess.</i>
	Mild hints		<i>You've been busy here, haven't you?</i>

Next, “the level of directness by which the request is realized” (Blum-Kulka et al., p. 278) is identified by classifying head acts into nine strategy types (p. 18, 278).

According to Blum-Kulka and House (1989), the first request strategy types such as *mood derivable*, *explicit performatives*, *hedged performatives*, *obligation statements*, and *want statements* are grouped into the *impositive* category (p. 123). Thus, *suggestory formula* and *preparatory* are labelled as *conventionally indirect strategy*, and strong and mild hints as *hints* or *non-conventionally indirect strategy*, as Table 2.6 shows.

In the fourth stage, the linguistic features that modify the head act of the request are identified. These modifications are of two types: *internal modification* and *external modification*. Internal modification modifies the head act internally, and can be broken down into three subtypes: *syntactic downgraders*, *lexical and phrasal downgraders*, and *upgraders* (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 281). Downgraders are used to reduce the impositive force of the request by means of syntactic or lexical choices.

There are eight types of syntactic downgraders listed in the CCSARP coding manual: *interrogative* (e.g., “*Can I borrow your notes?*”), *negation of a preparatory condition* (e.g., “*You couldn’t give me a lift, could you?*”), *subjunctive* (e.g., “*Might be better if you were to leave now*”), *conditional* (e.g., “*I would suggest you leave now*”), *aspect* (e.g., “*I’m wondering if I could get a lift home with you,*” contrasted with “*I wonder if ...*”), *tense* (e.g., “*I wanted to ask you to present your paper a week earlier,*” contrasted with “*I want to ask you...*”), *conditional clause* (e.g., “*I was wondering if you could present your paper a week earlier than planned*”), and combinations of the above (e.g., “*I was wondering if I couldn’t get a lift home with you*”) (p. 282). The rule of identifying syntactic downgraders is whether they are optional in the given context, and whether they have a mitigating function in context.

Lexical and phrasal downgraders are also identified if they are “optional additions to soften the impositive force of the Request” (p. 283). Examples are *politeness marker* (e.g., “*Clean the kitchen, please*”), *understater* (e.g., “*Could you tidy up a bit?*”),

hedge (e.g., “It would fit much better *somehow* if you did your paper next week”), *subjectivizer* (e.g., “I’m afraid you’re going to have to move your car”), *downtoner* (e.g., “Could you *possibly/perhaps* lend me your notes?”), *cajoler* (e.g., “You know, I’d really like you to present your paper next week”), *appealer* (e.g., “Clean up the kitchen, dear, *will you?/okay?*”), and combinations of the above.

Upgraders have a function of “increasing the impact of the request” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 285). They include items such as *intensifiers* (e.g., “The kitchen is in a *terrible/frightful* mess”), *commitment indicators* (e.g., “I’m *sure/I’m certain/surely/certainly* you won’t mind giving me a lift”), *expletive* (e.g., “Why don’t you clean that *bloody/damn* mess up?”), *time intensifier* (e.g., “You’d better move your car *right now/immediately!*”), *lexical uptoner* (e.g., “Clean up that *mess!*”), *determination marker* (e.g., “I’ve explained myself *and that’s that!*), *repetition of request* (e.g., “Get lost! Leave me alone!), *orthographic/suprasegmental emphasis* (e.g., “Cleaning the kitchen is *your* business!!!”), *emphatic addition* (e.g., “Go *and* clean that kitchen!”), *pejorative determiner* (e.g., “Clean up *that* mess (there!)”), and combinations of the above (pp. 285-286).

While syntactic and lexical downgraders or upgraders modify the head act internally, supportive moves do the same externally. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) listed six mitigating and three aggravating supportive moves (pp. 287-288). The first six items are *preparators* (e.g., “I’d like to ask you something...”), *getting a precommitment* (e.g., “*Could you do me a favor?* Would you lend me your notes from yesterday’s class?”), *grounder* (e.g., “Judith, *I missed class yesterday.* Could I borrow your notes?”), *disarmer* (e.g., “*I know you don’t like lending out your notes,* but could you make an exception this time?”), *promise of reward* (e.g., “Could you give me a lift home? *I’ll pitch in on some gas*”), and *imposition minimizer* (e.g., “Would you give me a lift, *but only if you’re going*

my way”). Aggravating supportive moves are *insult* (e.g., “You’ve always been a dirty pig, so clean up!), *threat* (e.g., “Move that car *if you don’t want a ticket*”), *moralizing* (e.g., “If one shares a flat one should be prepared to pull one’s weight in cleaning it, so get on with the washing up!”), and combinations of the above.

2.4.4 Findings and Implications of the CCSARP

The present section reviews the findings of the CCSARP, especially focusing on cross-cultural variation and ILP. Blum-Kulka and House (1989) conducted a study on cross-cultural variation, comparing requests made in different situations across different language groups. As regards ILP, Faerch and Kasper (1989) investigated Danish learners of English and German as well as different groups of native speakers. Their study is described in this section. As Rintell and Mitchell (1989) compared requests collected from learners of English as a second language (ESL) with those from native English-speaking subjects, their findings will be reviewed in the section on ILP. They compared two different methods: the CCSARP-based written vs. oral DCTs.

2.4.4.1 Cross-cultural variation: Comparison of request strategies in different situations across different languages spoken by native speakers (Blum-Kulka & House, 1989)

Blum-Kulka and House (1989) compared the request strategies in five situations across five different groups: native speakers of Hebrew, Canadian French, Argentinian Spanish, Australian English, and German. The situations were the *Ride*, *Notes*, *Lecturer*, *Kitchen*, and *Policeman* (see Table 2.3). The distribution of three different strategies (i.e., *impositive*, *conventionally indirect*, and *non-conventionally indirect*) was investigated. According to Blum-Kulka and House (1989), “all languages

vary their requests by situation, but differ in specific choices within each situation” (p. 133).

The impositives were the most frequently used in the Policeman situation, followed by the Kitchen, Lecturer, Notes, and Ride situations. The biggest cross-cultural variation was found in the Kitchen situation, where “the proportion of impositives ranges from 11.6% in Austrian English to 74.4% in Argentinian Spanish” (Blum-Kulka & House, 1989, p. 127). Conversely, the production of conventionally indirect strategies showed a decrease from the Ride situation to the Policeman situation. Notes was the situation where the highest agreement among the subjects of all language groups was achieved, in contrast with Kitchen and Policeman. Australian English showed the lowest degree of situational variation in the use of conventional indirectness. Finally, the use of non-conventionally indirect strategies (i.e., hints) varied across situations.

Australian English was the least direct language among all, having less than 10% as impositives, 80% as conventionally indirect, and 8% as hints (i.e., non-conventionally indirect). The finding suggested that the Australian English speakers tended to show “highly scripted, routinized request behavior” (Blum-Kulka & House, 1989, p. 134) as suggestory formulae (e.g., “How about...?”) and query preparatory (e.g., “Can/Could I...?”) were frequently chosen. However, Blum-Kulka and House (1989) argued that “a culture’s preferred level of indirectness does not predict the degree to which its members will tend to use internal modifiers” (p. 139). In fact, the German group showed the highest degree of internal modification (56.5%), exceeding the Australian English group (48.5%). To summarize the tendencies of directness, the Austrian English speakers were the least direct, followed by the Canadian French, German, Hebrew, and Argentinian Spanish speakers (Blum-Kulka & House, 1989, p. 149).

Finally, it should be noted that Blum-Kulka and House (1989) admitted the

need for “naturally occurring situated talk” (p. 152) in addition to the DCT. They concluded that “it would be premature to offer a general model that would account for all the intricate ways in which cultural, context external and context internal factors interact to determine choices of requestive behavior” (p. 151).

2.4.4.2 Interlanguage pragmatics: Investigation of Danish learners of English and German in comparison with native speakers of Danish, German, and English (Faerch & Kasper, 1989).

Faerch and Kasper (1989) investigated the request realizations of 400 Danish learners of English and German with other language speakers of Danish, German, and English, totalling 463 subjects. The least sensitive group to situational constraints was the native speakers of British English who employed *preparatory* as a type of conventionally indirect strategies, ranging from 78% and 99% across five situations (Kitchen, Notes, Ride, Policeman, and Lecturer). In contrast, a group of Danish German learners showed different distributions in the use of conventional indirectness. For example, only 15% of preparatory was used in the Policeman situation, compared to other situations where the proportions ranged from 60% to 91%.

Faerch and Kasper (1989) drew conclusions from the comparison of their findings with those of other interlanguage studies while referring to “the question of universality and specificity in interlanguage users’ request realization” (p. 245). First, they discussed the learners’ tendency towards “verbosity”^v. The interlanguage-specific features, which might be “overcomplex and overelaborate” (p. 245), are characterized by the learners’ more frequent use of politeness markers, syntactic downgraders, and supportive moves. Thus, according to Faerch and Kasper (1989), the intermediate learners’ tendency as “a universal trend” had been described by past researchers in relation to “the

principle ‘the more the better’ as an implementation of a playing-it-safe strategy.” (p.245). For example, the intermediate learners’ tendency towards “‘complete responses’, i.e., of repeating (part of) their interlocutors’ initiating act when this is not functionally motivated, instead of using shorter and more efficient procedures, such as ellipsis” (p. 245) and the learners’ “preference for propositional explicitness” (e.g., “Would you like to drink a glass of wine?”), instead of “shorter and more implicit modes of expression” (e.g., “How about a glass of wine?”), which native speakers would prefer more (p. 245). Faerch and Kasper (1989) discussed the universality of interlanguage based on their findings of the intermediate learners’ verbosity, in reference to “overelaboration” in discourse, characterized by “more uptaking gambits, or hearer back-channel signals” (p. 245). The intermediate learners tried to make themselves understood with their restricted competence more than the very advanced or native speakers.

2.4.5 Criticism of the CCSARP

O’Keeffe et al. (2011) described the CCSARP as “the best-known research project” in the area of pragmatics across languages and cultures (p. 107). However, evident in Kasper and Rose (2002)’s reference to the CCSARP as the “(in)famous” project (p. 90), there have been several critical remarks about the project. The current section summarizes critical views proposed by Culpeper and Haugh (2014) and Leech (2014). Their comments are useful in developing the coding scheme for the present study while drawing on the CCSARP, especially for the treatment of the naturally occurring data collected in the NICT JLE Corpus. Despite its shortcomings, the CCSARP coding scheme has been modified and applied in numerous past studies on the requests and apologies made by language learners at different levels of proficiency. Some of the past researches on the requestive speech acts of second language learners will be reviewed in

the section on ILP (see section 2.6).

2.4.5.1 Criticism of categorizations

Conventionality is an important issue in the CCSARP when categorizing requests into different strategies. However, based on their respective empirical studies, Aijmer (1996) noted that “the distinction between conventionalized and non-conventionalized indirect speech act is fuzzy” (p. 197), while Wierzicka (1991) claimed that the distinction between these types should be abandoned (see the section on corpus pragmatics, 2.5.2.1, for more details).

Leech (2014) pointed out that some classifications and distinctions of the *head acts* and *modifications* in the CCSARP are rather vague. Problematic issues can be found in the distinction between *strong hints* and *mild hints*, and the treatment of the *if-clause* in “I was wondering if you could present your paper a week earlier than planned” as a *conditional clause* (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 283) rather than as a *subordinate interrogative clause*, which are categories based on different linguistic levels (e.g., *past tense* as grammatical, *willingness* or *permission* as semantic, and *suggestory formula* as pragmatic) (Leech, 2014, pp. 267-268). Thus, Leech (2014) argued that “What/How about X,” “Why don’t you/we X,” “Why not X” and “Let’s X” should be added to the category of suggestion, although they “can hardly be classified as polite”; rather, they are treated as “an illocutionary confidence trick” (p. 138). In addition, some of the “‘non-conventional’ requests can actually be highly conventionalized (pragmaticalized)” according to Leech (2014, p. 142). For example, “Got a pen?” is treated as a non-conventional indirect request as it indicates “If you’ve got a pen, please lend it to me,” but it is actually highly conventionalized (Leech, 2014, pp. 142-143).

Although Culpeper and Haugh (2014) admitted the contribution of the

CCSARP to the concept of *indirectness* in the study of speech act realizations, they criticized the notion of *supportive moves*, by stating that the CCSARP's research "has been overly preoccupied with head acts" (p. 171). Culpeper and Haugh (2014) maintained that "the mere presence of a supportive move (without a head act) can be enough to trigger the inference that a request is being performed (the support move alone in the above example could have been interpreted as a request)" (p. 171). In fact, their remark seems to contradict with the definition developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989): "the supportive moves, when occurring on their own, can be raised to the status of requestive Head Acts" (p. 276). Culpeper and Haugh (2014) indicated that there are some features in naturally occurring conversations which do not fit the classification developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), including "elliptical" phrases (Culpeper & Haugh, 2014, p. 276).

2.4.5.2 Treatment of politeness

Another important critical issue is the treatment of politeness in the CCSARP-based researches. According to Leech (2014), "the CCSARP coding scheme and its more recent variants are not ideal for investigating politeness, even for requests" (p. 267). While Blum-Kulka et al. (2014) grouped both "could you" and "can't you" in the same category of *questions with downtoners*, Leech (2014) claimed that "*can't* is [more] distinctly face-threatening" than "*could*" in English (p. 268). Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) claimed that "there is a strong need to empirically test the possibility that notions of politeness are culturally relativized, namely, that similar choices of direct levels, for example, carry culturally differentiated meanings for members of different cultures" (p. 24). Referring to Wierzbicka (2003)'s study on the different values placed on "distance" between Anglo-Saxon and Polish cultures, Culpeper and Haugh (2014) challenged the idea of grouping subjects merely according to the same language groups, by stating that

“levels of directness in making requests are not necessarily used or perceived in the same way by all members across different contexts” (p. 172).

2.5 Pragmatics and Corpus Linguistics

Recently, there has been an increase of studies merging corpus linguistics and pragmatics according to Rühlemann and Aijmer (2015), who noted that both fields have actively begun “exploring their common ground” (p. 1). This is particularly evident after Romero-Trillo (2008) proposed the concept of “a mutualistic entente,” which “intends to go beyond the limits of both disciplines to shed light on their intricate relationship” (p. 1). Romero-Trillo (2008) mentions the underlying rationale for his edited book:

Pragmatics and corpus linguistics have not only helped each other in a relationship of mutualism, but, they have also made common cause against the voices that have derided and underestimated the utility of working with real data to elucidate the patterns of language use. (Romero-Trillo, 2008, p. 1).

According to Adolphs (2008), “when pragmatic and functional theories of language and associated methods of analysis were first developed, the technology to capture and store large samples of spoken discourse in digital format was not yet available” (p. 1). With the recent compilation of language corpora, researchers have gained access to a large collection of naturally occurring data (O’Keeffe et al., 2011). Adolphs (2008) stated as follows:

It has become possible to re-examine the possible relationship between lexico-grammar, utterance function and discourse context, and to explore possible patterns in this relationship which are not external to the discourse, but which can be described through recurrence of choices at these three levels (Adolphs,

2008, p. 1).

Corpus linguistics naturally tends to concentrate on “forms (e.g., text and co-text) at the expense of the (situational, sociological and cultural) dynamics of context, particularly at the local, micro level” (Archer et al., 2008, p. 614). The current section describes how it has actually been difficult to apply a corpus-based approach to pragmatics, and how the difficulties have been overcome in several recent studies, especially focusing on the assignment of annotations to speech act realizations in corpora. Most of the speech act studies to be described were conducted in spoken corpora except for a few that focused on written corpora such as the study by De Felice and Deane (2012).

2.5.1 The Difficulties of Applying a Corpus-Based Approach to Pragmatics

Rühlemann (2010) stated that “it becomes clear that the relationship between pragmatics and corpus linguistics is not unproblematic” (p. 289) (see also Rühlemann, 2011). As mentioned in the section on speech act theory, although semantics only deals with “all aspects of the literal meaning of sentences and other expressions,” “pragmatics is concerned with the conditions according to which speakers and hearers determine the context- and use-dependent utterance meanings” (Searle et al., 1980, p. x). Hence, the research into the investigation of the disparity between linguistic forms and meanings in context is in the field of pragmatics, as explained in the previous section on speech act theories and the CCSARP. Therefore, in pragmatics, the context “in which an utterance is being made” is necessary in “determining speaker meaning” (Rühlemann, 2010, p. 288).

However, “corpora record text, not meaning, and they record context crudely” (Rühlemann, 2010, p. 289). Therefore, in corpora, it is difficult to explore how a speaker’s intended meaning to the hearer is realized in particular linguistic forms, as the functions

of speech act expressions and conversational implicatures are not necessarily equivalent to the surface meaning.

Therefore, corpus-based research on the nature of the relationship between linguistic forms and functions was relatively scarce (Adolphs, 2008; Knight and Adolphs, 2008; O’Keeffe et al., 2011). From the viewpoint of discourse analysis, Thornbury (2010) maintained that, although “features of discourse such as its linking devices, discourse markers and instance of lexical repetition” can be tracked with corpus tools, they are simply “surface features” (p. 275), citing Baker (2006)’s claim that “a great deal of corpus-based discourse analysis is still focused at the lexical level” (p. 174). According to Thornbury (2010), “corpus linguistics is more comfortable handling *co-text* than it is *context*” (p. 270). Co-text is “a short span of a few words within one single text” (p. 271). On the other hand, context is “the situational, interpersonal, and cultural knowledge that interactional participants share” (Clancy & O’Keeffe, 2015, p. 235).

Thornbury’s description of context and co-text is related to the dichotomy of two approaches in analyzing texts and discourse: the “horizontal-reading methodology in pragmatics (P)” and the “vertical-reading methodology in corpus linguistics (CL)” which Rühlemann and Aijmer (2015, p. 3, 8) proposed (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3). “Given the dependence on context, pragmatic research has methodologically relied on the analysis of small numbers of the texts where careful ‘horizontal reading’ is manageable, that is, where large and often whole texts are received and interpreted in the same temporal order in which they were produced and received” (p. 3). On the other hand, “the vertical-reading methodology can best be illustrated using the KWIC (key word in context) format, also referred to as concordance line display, where the word under scrutiny (the node word) is located in, and retrieved from, all the texts in the corpus in which it occurs and aligned in the centre of the concordance lines” (pp. 6-7). Therefore, focusing on the number of

occurrences in the concordance lines extracted from the corpus, “the outcome of a corpus linguistic vertical analysis is typically a frequency list” (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 7).

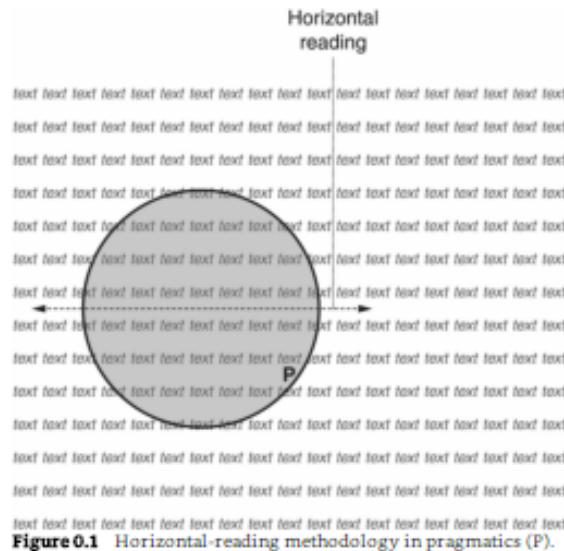


Figure 0.1 Horizontal-reading methodology in pragmatics (P).

Figure 2.2. The horizontal-reading methodology in pragmatics (P) (Taken from Rühlemann and Aijmer, 2015, p. 3).

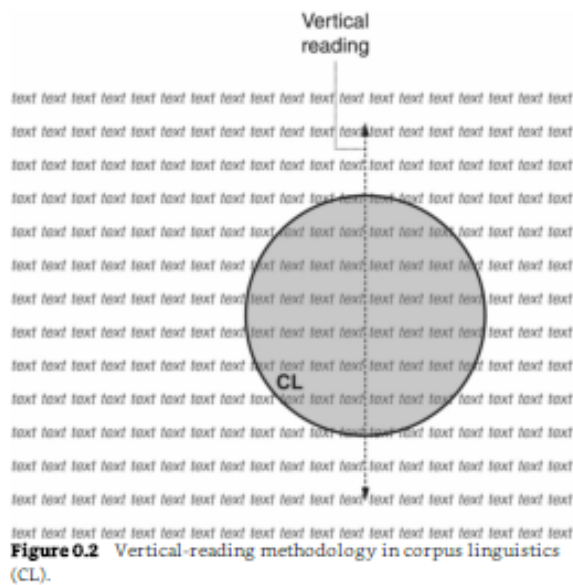


Figure 0.2 Vertical-reading methodology in corpus linguistics (CL).

Figure 2.3. The vertical-reading methodology in corpus linguistics (CL) (Taken from

Rühlemann and Aijmer, 2015, p. 8).

According to Rühlemann and Aijmer (2015), “most typically, corpus-pragmatic research investigates vertical and horizontal analysis in some way” (p. 9). There are two ways of analysis identified in corpus pragmatics: “function-to-form” and “form-to-function.” First, in the “function-to-form” analysis, “lexical words or constructions which previous pragmatic analyses have shown to have recurring pragmatic functions” are taken from corpora (p. 9). The examples include *well* and *you know* as discourse markers (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 9), and *Why don't you X* (Adolphs, 2008, p. 2) as a conversational routine linked to a particular speech act such as suggestion. Then, “the researcher can examine the use of the forms in context” and can “examine the functions the target items fulfil in the concordance lines (horizontal reading)” (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 9).

In contrast, the “function-to-form” analysis literally starts with a function, and then investigates the forms used to perform it (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 9). It should be noted that corpora provide only surface forms, but the function itself cannot be retrieved unless it is annotated. In fact, “for most pragmatic phenomena there is no one-to-one relationship between form and function” (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 10). Archer et al. (2008) also argued that “investigating individual forms is unproblematic, but investigating a collection of forms that represent, for example, a particular speech act leads to the problem of establishing which forms constitute that collection” (p. 616). The speech acts are not necessarily realized by explicit speech act words such as performatives. As researchers resort to “manual readings” (Archer et al., 2008, p. 616), corpus-based pragmatic studies have tended to focus on quantitative analyses of speech acts which are fixed or *conventionalized* speech acts but not usually *non-conventionalized* speech acts

(see Aksan & Mersinli, 2015). Only a small number of studies seem to have challenged the corpus-based investigation of the non-conventionality of speech acts (see Garcia, 2015).

Rühlemann and Aijmer (2015) provided a diagram which presents the integrated-reading methodology underlying corpus-pragmatic research (see Figure 2.4). Clancy and O’Keeffe (2015) summarized that corpus pragmatics deals with the surface observations of lexico-grammatical patterns such as collocation or semantic prosody, but also has moved beyond these to take into account the participants, situations, purposes, and so on.

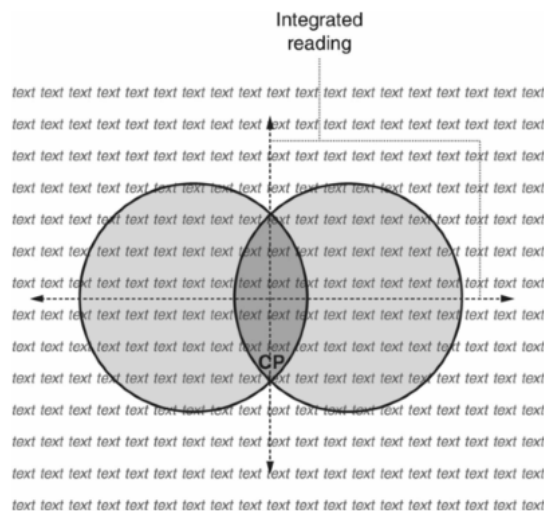


Figure 0.3 Integrated-reading methodology in corpus pragmatics (CP).

Figure 2.4. The integrated-reading methodology in corpus pragmatics (CP) (Taken from Rühlemann and Aijmer, 2015, p. 12).

In order to retrieve speech acts from corpora, a manual search for instances of pragmatic features is a prerequisite, as mentioned before. Archer et al. (2008) noted that “manual- or semi-automated annotation is the only route for comprehensive pragmatic research” (p. 615). Manual tagging is of course time-consuming, but it is vital to interpret

a particular function of a speech act expression based on the context (Adolphs, 2008). It is also true that researchers often tend to make their classifications “partly based on intuition” (Adolphs, 2008, p. 8), as it is necessary but not always easy to infer the various contexts of utterances in the corpus (Romero-Trillo, 2008). Therefore, generally, in corpus-based analyses, “pragmatic annotation is not yet widely used,” as “manual implementation of tags (which is time- and resource-intensive) is unavoidable” (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 11). Besides, automatic tagging often lacks precision and leads to “the form-function mismatch” (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 11).

In addition, O’Keeffe et al. (2011) noted that “spoken corpora are few, compared to written corpora, and those that are available may not be designed in such a way that suits the study of pragmatic features” (2011, p. 33). In fact, not many spoken corpora have been available for pragmatic analysis as it is difficult to compile spoken corpora (Adolphs, 2008). Although the needs of multi-modal corpora, which provide relevant information (i.e., prosody, facial features, and gesture) for pragmatic meaning to be determined and even disambiguated, have been discussed in some recent corpus-pragmatic studies (such as Adolphs, 2008; Adolphs & Knight, 2010; Garcia, 2015), most “spoken corpora are based on transcriptions made from audio recordings” (Rühlemann, 2010, p. 289), requiring approximately ten hours to transcribe one hour of talk, which typically consists of approximately 10,000 to 15,000 words (O’Keeffe et al., 2011). Furthermore, “in transcribing spoken discourse, researchers need to make decisions concerning the amount of detail to be included in the written record” including “textual, prosodic, gestural and environmental elements” (Adolphs & Carter, 2013, p. 68).

The drawbacks of the application of corpora to the field of pragmatics may have led to a general skepticism about corpora exploration focused on extended discourse stretches. Traditional pragmatics has been discussed in terms of “invented examples of

utterances based on native speakers' intuitions" to support a division between form and function (Adolphs, 2008, p. 18, 21). However, the nature of corpora can actually supplement this intuitive aspect. Corpora now allow us to re-examine the researchers' initial analysis of speech act expressions (Adolphs, 2008, p. 8).

In recent years, in order to overcome the difficulties with applying larger corpora to pragmatic analyses, small specialized corpora have been attracting the attention of pragmatic researchers who intend to investigate texts in specific genres and settings (Ruhí & Aksan, 2015). Koester (2010) maintained that large and balanced corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC) are useful in providing insight into the lexico-grammatical patterns of a language as a whole, but not in offering insight into the patterns of language use in particular settings. Smaller specialized corpora should be beneficial for corpus-pragmatic research if they are "target[ed] and set up to reflect contextual features" (Koester, 2010, p. 67). Conducting her pragmatic study on a 43,000-word-corpus, Garcia (2015) also noted that "small corpora that target specific contexts may be better suited for pragmatic analysis because it is more likely that the researcher would know contextual information such as the roles of the speakers and the situations in which they are interacting" (p. 46; see also p. 47).

In summary, corpus pragmatics is defined as "a methodological framework that allows for the interpretation of spoken or written meaning, with an emphasis on providing empirical evidence for this interpretation" (Clancy and O'Keeffe, 2015, p. 235). The use of corpora allows researchers to "re-evaluate more traditional frameworks for assigning functions to utterances" (Adolphs, 2008, p. 90). Therefore, the important role of spoken corpora in pragmatic investigations cannot be ignored. The next section reviews some pioneering work in corpus-based pragmatic research, especially focusing on speech acts.

2.5.2 Corpus-Based Pragmatic Research

Although corpus pragmatics is a young field, various publications including major handbook series have described the birth of the field, especially focusing on pragmatic theories and features such as speech acts, discourse (or pragmatic) markers, and so on (Aijmer & Rühlemann, 2015; Archer, et al., 2008; Clancy & O’Keeffe, 2015; Gisle, 2011; Rühlemann, 2010; 2011). A growing number of pragmatic-corpus studies have been conducted to date (see Aijmer & Rühlemann, 2015; Gisle, 2011; Rühlemann, 2011; Romero-Trillo, 2008; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016).

The present section starts with the description of the founding studies of corpus pragmatics on speech acts by Aijmer (1996) and Adolphs (2008). Then, the section goes on to describe several past researches, the development of annotation schemes, as well as speech act realizations in corpora (of native and non-native speakers), which the present study targets.

2.5.2.1 Corpus pragmatics studies on speech acts: Aijmer (1996) and Adolphs (2008)

One of the earliest studies to be described is Aijmer (1996)’s study on discourse markers and conversational routines in relation to speech acts derived from a spoken corpus called the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC) from the 1960s and 1970s. Aijmer (1996) investigated the features of *conversational routines and ritualization* of speech acts including thanking, apologies, requests and offers, and discourse markers. She analyzed data containing surreptitious or non-surreptitious face-to-face conversation, public discussions and interviews, telephone calls, public unprepared commentary, and public prepared oration (e.g., lectures), totaling 87 different texts (p. 6). In terms of requestive strategies, she identified 18 types such as *ability*,

consultation, willingness, want, need, obligation, appropriacy, wh-question, hypothesis, appreciation, permission question, possibility, preference, performative, state, naming, existence, and others (pp. 132-133). The total number of requests identified in the LLC is 465, including the most frequent patterns such as 132 items of ability (e.g., *can you...*), 80 want (e.g., *I would like to...*), and 80 permission question (e.g., *may I.../ let me...*) patterns. In her study, Aijmer discussed that “indirect requests can be analysed as fixed elements or patterns which have become standardized and linked directly to certain communicative functions” (p. 196). She concluded her requestive study, stating that “the distinction between conventionalized and non-conventionalized indirect speech act is fuzzy” (p. 197), while referring to Wierzicka (1991), who claimed that the distinction between direct and indirect speech should even be abandoned. Rühlemann and Aijmer (2015) proposed that Aijmer’s study had taken a “form-to-function” approach, as the linguistic features to be searched were predetermined “within a limited amount of linguistic co-text” (Garcia, 2015, p. 30). Garcia (2015) noted that Aijmer’s study was a pioneering work as it provided a catalogue of “the types of lexical items and phrases the speakers use in formulating pragmatic function”; however, Aijmer only analyzed “conventional, straightforward” patterns of speech acts, and did not include “more opaque, or nonconventionally indirect utterances” (p. 30)

Adolphs (2008) examined the speech act verbs of *suggestions* such as *why don't you X* and *how about X*, in order “to illustrate how a close analysis of corpus data can inform pragmatic theories and methodologies” (p. 43). She used the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE). She attempted to present “a shift in focus from literal versus non-literal interpretations of speech act expressions to the development of functional profiles based on corpus evidence” (p. 131). Thus, she observed that there are several kinds of interpersonal markers including modal verbs,

hedges and vague language frequently accompanying particular speech act expressions, for example, *just* preceding *why don't you X*. She found a typical pattern from the corpus evidence: “Why don't you + (downtoner) + frequent verb form set (sometimes describing another speech act) + 3rd person pronoun” (p. 64). The distribution of the *questions* and *suggestions* function of *why don't you X* was also calculated in terms of the speaker relationship category: “intimate,” “socio-cultural,” “professional,” “transactional” and “pedagogic” (p. 65). As a result, the prototypical function was a suggestion, and it occurred most frequently in intimate relations. She linked this result to the traditional semantic and pragmatic perspectives, noting that “[*why don't you X*] challenges the current behaviour of the addressee by proposing a certain line of action,” “while at the same time it does not impose on the immediate hearers” (p. 65). Rühlemann and Aijmer (2015) stated that “Adolphs’ analysis places a heavy emphasis on context, not only the larger context in which conversations took place, but also the immediate discursive context that is dynamic and reflective of speakers’ shifting goals,” “recognizing the difficulty in analyzing speaker meaning from written transcripts of spoken language” (p. 30).

2.5.2.2 Corpus pragmatic studies on speech acts: How they are annotated

According to McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006), “corpus annotation can be achieved fully automatically, by a semi-automatic interaction between human being and the machine, or entirely manually by human analysts” (p. 33). Archer et al. (2008) noted that “unlike grammatical annotation, pragmatic annotation cannot be fully automated, though tagging can be computationally-assisted” (p. 637).

First, some semi-automatically annotated speech act corpora should be

described. Among the listed pragmatically annotated corpora, Leech and Weisser (2003)'s Speech-Act Annotated Corpus for Dialogue Systems (SPAAC), which contains telephone task-oriented dialogues, should be introduced as a notable example of speech act annotation (McEnery et al., 2006). Task-oriented (or driven) dialogues are "where two interlocutors need to work together to achieve a particular task," such as transporting goods by train to various places (Weisser, 2015, pp. 84-85). SPAACy is an XML-compliant tool which Weisser (2003) developed. This tool is not fully automated, but "help[s] human analysts to annotate speech acts semi-automatically" (McEnery et al., 2006, p. 41). In Leech and Weisser (2003)'s study, two types of telephone dialogues provided by British Telecom and Trainline.com were annotated with 40 tags such as *accept*, *acknowledge*, *answer*, *answer elaborate*, *appreciate*, *bye*, *complete*, *confirm*, *correct*, *direct*, *echo*, *exclaim*, and *greet*, in terms of the following dimensions: *segmentation* (e.g., utterances, C-units and discourse markers), *syntactic form* (e.g., declarative, yes-no questions), *topic or subject matter* (e.g., location, name, day), *mode* (e.g. deixis, probability, reason), and *polarity* (e.g., positive, negative) (see Archer et al., 2008; Leech & Weisser, 2003; McEnery et al., 2006; Weisser, 2003). Weisser (2015) recently presented a guideline and overview of how "pragmatic annotation is more complex than other types of annotation due to the fact that it needs to take into account levels above the word and may have to refer to contextual information" (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 15). Weisser (2015) applied his own tool called Dialogue Annotation and Research Tool (DART) to several task-driven dialogues and the Switchboard Corpus (i.e., American telephone conversations), and compared it to other schemes such as Dialogue Act Markup in Several Layers (DAMSL). Weisser (2015) concluded that DART is better in modeling "the different levels of speaker authority or equality associated with particular roles in an interaction" than DAMSL (p. 108). Therefore, he assumed that it

would be possible to overcome the problem of “contextual specificity of particular speech acts via suitable inferencing strategies” (p. 108). For example, it would help to “identify whether a suggestion should perhaps be interpreted as an order if the speaker is in a position of authority” and help to “gain further insights into different levels of directness and politeness” (p. 108).

Seto (2013; 2016) investigated speech acts in the business sub-corpus of the Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English (Prosodic) (HKCSE (Prosodic)), by using a computer mediated program called SpeechActConc designed by Chris Greaves. According to Cheng (2012), this program first requires the user to manually input the speech act annotation. Then, it is “capable of automatically identifying annotated speech acts in a corpus, displaying information about each speech act and concordancing speech acts” (Seto, 2013, p. 119). Seto (2013; 2016) annotated speech acts drawing on several taxonomies presented in the four different previous researches including Leech and Weisser (2003) (see Seto, 2016, p. 77). After a number of revision processes, he predetermined 69 of the most relevant speech acts to be analyzed in the target corpus, such as “apology,” “confirm,” “invite,” “thanks,” “threat,” and so on (p. 78). He retrieved the relative frequencies of the occurrence of different speech acts, as well as the co-occurrence of speech acts in an automated way. Across six different genres of business communication (i.e. meetings, telephone and conference calls, informal office talks, service encounters, Q&A sessions, and interviews), he found similarities not only in the number and category of unique speech acts but also in the frequency and co-occurrence of different speech acts.

Garcia (2015) is a notable scholar who conducted a “line-by-line” analysis to identify speech acts (especially directives in Searle’s category) in the L1 English spoken language component from the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) 2000

Spoken and Written Academic Language Corpus (T2K-SWAL). She attempted to analyze “naturally occurring, indirect speech acts” (p. 29) which cannot be done thoroughly using corpus-based lexical search methods. The data analyzed contained 42,797 words from audiotaped recordings of conversations within three different situations: service encounters, office hours, and study groups in a university setting. A “line-by-line” reading of the conversations was also described as a “bottom-up” identification of speech acts as follows: “speech acts were identified in context while the researcher simultaneously read through transcripts and listened to audio recordings of the conversation” (p. 32). After the identification of speech acts, each utterance was assigned a code to represent one of the following 10 types: *requesting*, *giving advice/suggestion*, *giving a warning*, *asking permission*, *putting on hold*, *granting permission*, *giving a correction*, *requesting payment*, *giving directions/instructions*, and *repeating request* (p. 33). A total of 2,000 speech act utterances were analyzed for linguistic and contextual features with corpus tools. Garcia found that requests and suggestions were the most frequent functions in directive speech acts, and that requests occurred with the greatest frequency in service encounters. Interestingly, although the use of the modal verb *can you* was regarded as one of the common conventional realizations of requests, it did not constitute a high proportion in her study. Variety of patterns such as *would* (e.g., “I’d like some information about bus passes”), *need* (e.g., “I just need to pay second session tuition”), and *want* (e.g., “I want to pay my dorm rent”) were found. She also referred to many non-conventional cases, noting that “the act of requesting is so implicit within the situation that the speaker does not use any linguistic cues to indicate that a request is being attempted” (p. 40). Below is an example. In the following extract, the students’ utterance is “a simple statement but in fact has the illocutionary force of a request” according to the response made by the service provider who regarded the utterance as a request (p. 40).

Extract 8

STUDENT: Financial aid sent us down to get a direct deposit form.

SERVICE PROVIDER: Okay, right over here at student accounts at those two windows.

Garcia (2015) concluded that with this bottom-up methodology applied to naturally occurring language, researchers can make decisions about “whether contrived, intuition-based ideas of speech act realizations are trustworthy or not, while at the same time having the capability to describe their actual use more accurately” (p. 46).

Another researcher who adopted a “line-by-line” analysis of speech acts is Koester (2002). In order to give pedagogical implications in English language teaching (ELT), she attempted to reveal how speech acts can be realized in a small spoken corpus containing 66 conversations totaling 34,000 words between colleagues at workplaces within different situations and locations in the USA and Britain. Referring to McCarthy (1998), she pointed out that speech acts are likely to be taught when a simplified list of certain linguistic formulae in pedagogical situations is provided without important contextual clues. For example, a teacher will simply teach a list of direct and indirect phrases such as “you should,” “why don’t you...,” “If I were you I’d...,” and “you ought to” as giving-advice speech acts, rather than teach appropriate situations for every phrase, in relation to “social distance and power” (Koester, 2002, p. 168). Koester also proposed that “first of all it is important to know more about the sociolinguistic context: who is speaking to whom about what” (p. 173), arguing that speech acts should not be taught in isolation from any discourse contexts (p. 169). In the analysis, the performatives (i.e., *agree, suggest/suggestion, apologize*) and metalinguistic verbs and nouns (i.e., *discuss,*

talk, and *conversation*) of the transcripts of two workplace conversations were examined as two types of speech acts: giving advice and giving directives. She found that direct speech acts were infrequent in the target corpus, and that in fact so many of them seemed to cause problems and conflicts in discourse. She also noted that “devices such as performatives and metalanguage make the discourse more direct and explicit, and therefore occur particularly in discourse that is forceful and argumentative” (Koester, 2002, p. 172) so that meta-statements such as “I have a question” should be important “to signal what type of discourse one wishes to engage in,” especially in workplace conversations (p. 178). With her “line-by-line” analysis of corpus evidence, expanding from only a search for specific lexical items, Koester (2002) confirmed Thomas (1984)’s insights regarding speech acts in authentic data: “in unequal encounters, performatives were used only in critical situations when dominant speakers wished to assert their authority” (Koester, 2002, p. 172) and “the inappropriate use of [them] can result in cross-cultural ‘pragmatic failure’” (p. 177).

Other examples of the studies that have explored pedagogical implications of speech acts from corpus evidence are as follows. Campoy-Cubillo (2008) presented several spoken corpora and explained how they can be applied to teaching of requests in the classroom. Maynard and Leicher (2007) manually annotated the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE) (for MICASE, see Simpson-Vlach and Leicher, 2006). They devised an inventory of 25 linguistic/pragmatic functions and discourse features (p. 109), and among them, they annotated 12 pragmatic tags such as *advice*, *assigning homework*, *directives*, *disagreement*, *narratives*, *requests*, and so on. They aimed to develop the annotation scheme which should be useful for other teachers of academic English.

Reinhardt (2007; 2010) investigated the directive language use of internal

teaching assistants (ITAs), who “tutor undergraduates on homework problems, prepare them for tests, and answer questions on behalf of a supervising professor” at a North American university (2010, p. 94), and compared the results with data from MICASE, comprising transcriptions of 152 academic speech events such as advising sessions, lectures and office hours produced by academic professionals. The learner data are called ITACorp. According to Vyatkina and Cunningham (2015), Reinhardt’s study is categorized as one of the “category-based studies,” taking a mixed approach of quantitative and qualitative methods, in comparison with “word-based studies,” which are a predominant approach in corpus-based studies on ILP (p. 286). His research started with a quantitative analysis: to retrieve the most and least frequent constructions ordered by log-likelihood to examine the most overused and underused by learners, compared to those by academic professionals. The learners’ overused items included “you can,” “you had better,” and “you should,” whereas “you could,” “you want to,” and “I would” were underused by professionals (p. 98). After presenting individual variation in these directive languages in the two corpora, he further conducted a qualitative analysis of three individuals comprising a post-course interview, a written assessment of directive awareness, a biographical survey, and a survey on attitudes towards teaching authority (p. 102). He attempted to “consider how the learner profiles provide insight into the development of academic professional identity” (p. 104), for example, by observing that a Thai learner’s “near-expert use of mitigators” accompanied by an imperative “you want to” could be attributed to the learner’s perception of authoritarian and egalitarian styles depending on different academic situations in his native country (p. 103). Observing sociocultural factors such as the learners’ duration of stay in US, educational history and the development of academic and professional identity, the study indicated “important implications for intercultural pragmatics” (Vyatkina and Cunningham, 2015, p. 298).

Corpus-based speech act studies to date can also be found in various areas. According to Clancy and O’Keeffe (2015), one of the most fruitful areas is historical corpus pragmatics which consists of the diachronic or historical study of speech acts such as those done by Archer and Culpeper (2003) and Kohnen (2015). García Vizcaíno (2007) conducted a contrastive study between Spanish and English. By extracting pragmalinguistic features from pragmatically tagged corpora, that is, the BNC and a Peninsular Spanish Spoken Corpus (Corpus Oral de Referencia de Español en Contacto) (COREC), she investigated linguistic politeness both quantitatively and qualitatively. An example of research into languages other than English is the study of Aksan and Mersinli (2015), who examined the Turkish National Corpus. It was possible for them to retrieve pragmalinguistic features directly from the concordance lines of the corpus, since Turkish is an agglutinative language in which “the majority of requestive expressions are morpho-syntactic forms” (p. 183). Therefore, they predetermined requestive forms to be searched in the corpus, based on the CCSARP. They observed that direct and conventionally indirect strategies such as mood derivables, explicit performatives, hedged performatives, want statements, suggestory formulae, and so on, contributed to politeness. However, it should be noted that they excluded non-conventionally indirect strategies from their analysis (e.g., hints), which require a contextual annotation with detailed manual readings and a consensus between annotators.

Finally, a series of speech act research into automatic annotated corpora with NLP techniques should be reviewed, although it still seems that only written corpora can make it possible. De Felice and Deane (2012), De Felice et al. (2013), and De Felice (2013) analyzed a business email corpus called the EnronSent email corpus (i.e., native data) and the corpus of TOEIC® e-mail tasks (i.e., learner data). In the context of the Pragmatics of Business English (PROBE) project, they first manually annotated speech

act information in the corpus, and then refined the existing speech act taxonomies, developed the detailed annotation guidelines for future users, trained an automatic tagger on the manually annotated *gold standard* and evaluated the tagger accuracy (Vyatkina & Cunningham, 2015, p. 299). They attempted to develop “a comprehensive approach to the automated scoring of the TOEIC e-mail task” (De Felice & Dean, 2012, p. 46) and to “assess how well traditional distinctions relate to real-world, naturally occurring data” by comparing their refined taxonomies with “theoretical linguistic representations of speech act categories” (De Felice et al., 2013, p. 71). Their speech act classification scheme is closely aligned to traditional speech act theories by Austin and Searle, but simply contains only seven broad categories such as “direct request,” “question-request,” “open-question,” “first person commitment,” “first person expression of feeling,” “first person order,” and “other statements (second and third person),” since their aim was to design a “viable,” “clearly documented and replicable” scheme (De Felice et al., p. 79). Their standpoint should be significantly important for future corpus-pragmatic researchers. De Felice et al. (2013) pointed out that “a very detailed classification scheme can lead to data sparseness” and that a very complex one can be time-consuming for the annotator training and the annotation task, which might increase the rate of “errors and confusion” (p. 79). In order to obtain a high inter-annotator agreement, which eventually turned out to be the average Cohen’s kappa of 0.67, “all data was coded manually by one researcher, and a subset was coded by two additional annotators,” and “the discrepancies were resolved by the main researcher” (Vyatkina & Cunningham, 2015, p. 299). It was revealed that the higher agreement was obtained for the resulting tagger, compared to human annotators, at the average kappa of 0.78, especially in requests and direct speech acts, but commitments and indirect speech acts turned out to be ambiguous.

However, it should be noted that the aforementioned corpora contain only

written learner data produced by fairly advanced learners of English. When it comes to the studies dealing with spoken corpora, and especially the ones investigating the speech act performance of learners with low proficiency like the present study, “devising a ‘basic reference model’ and acting as a kind of ‘gold standard,’ would be a significant challenge” (Archer et al., 2008, p. 638). The section on methodology in the present study will demonstrate how the author attempts to overcome the difficulties in building multi-layered annotation schemes of requestive speech acts in a learner corpus, which may be interactionally incomplete, socially inappropriate, and grammatically unsuitable. Thus, spoken data from role plays contain speakers’ dysfluency and interruptions by the interlocutor, which may lead to the problem of segmentation (see Archer et al., 2008 for the issue of segmentation^{vi}).

Nevertheless, future researchers of corpus pragmatics should be aware of the following needs proposed by Archer et al. (2008) as guidelines:

The need to devise an annotation scheme in relation to one’s research goals, the need to be systematic enough to ensure replicability (and, by so doing, ensure its usefulness to others), the need to balance delicacy of categorisation with the ability to fill categories with a statistically meaningful quantity of members, and so on (p. 638).

Rather than cling to the practice of devising annotation schemes that meet their personal research objectives, researchers should fully refine annotation schemes in order to increase replicability and application to other settings and contexts, so that their achieved research results can interface with one another.

2.6 Interlanguage Pragmatics (ILP)

2.6.1 The Definition and Overview of ILP

ILP started with comparative studies between learners (or non-native speakers) and native speakers (Bardovi-Harlig, 1999). Kasper (1996) noted that most of the ILP research had been based on comparisons between learners' and of "native speakers' linguistic action and interaction, conducted mostly in the disciplinary traditions of empirical pragmatics, especially studies of speech acts, cross-cultural pragmatics, and interactional sociolinguistics," which means that "none of which [the studies] has an immediate link to SLA" (pp. 145-146). Around the 1990s, the topics in ILP, which were borrowed from those of native speakers, included "nonnative speakers' perception and comprehension of illocutionary force and politeness," "their production of linguistic action," "the impact of context variables on choices of conventions of means and forms" and so on (pp. 145-146). The representative of such studies can be said to be the CCSARP conducted by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). The only exception which did not draw on the topics of native speakers was the investigation of the pragmatic transfer from L1 to L2 (e.g., Kasper, 1992; Takahashi, 1993; 1996), according to Kasper (1996).

In the late 1990's, Bardovi-Harlig (1999) argued that "the study of how L2-speech act knowledge is acquired is more of a desideratum than a reality" (p. 678), referring to what was previously discussed by Kasper (1992; 1996). Following her paper on pragmatic transfer (Kasper, 1992), Kasper (1996) stated that the great majority of a substantial body of studies on ILP "focuses on L2 use rather than development" (p. 145). The majority of studies on ILP are in line with Kasper and Dahl (1991), who provided a definition of ILP "as the investigation of nonnative speakers' comprehension and production of speech acts, and the acquisition of L2-related speech act knowledge" (p. 215).

Amongst studies on ILP, which now arrive in great numbers as well as variation in their research perspectives and methods, the aforementioned paper by Bardovi-Harlig (1999) should be noted, since she proposed the expansion of ILP to include acquisition, and presented the research agenda as follows:

Expanding learner populations to include *beginning-level learners* and modifying elicitation procedures appropriately; implementing *cross-sectional studies* in which acquisition can be studied *across levels of proficiency*; instituting *longitudinal studies* when possible; and integrating the investigation of the development of *interlanguage grammar* with investigations of *emergent pragmatic competence* (pp. 706-707; italics added).

ILP is now “situated within second language acquisition (SLA research)” (Vyatkina & Cunningham, 2015, p. 282), and is defined as the area which investigates “how L2 learners develop the ability to understand and perform action in a target language” as “pragmatic development” (Kasper & Rose, 2002, p. 5). Besides, Vyatkina and Cunningham (2015) noted that we are now able “to learn more about how L2 learners develop their abilities to communicate effectively and appropriately in specific social settings by investigating and exploring the various texts housed in learner corpora” (p. 282).

2.6.2 Methods of Data Collection in ILP

As reviewed earlier in the section on *politeness*, pragmatic competence is composed of *pragmalinguistic* competence and *sociopragmatic* competence (Chang, 2011; Kasper & Roever, 2015; Leech, 2014). To date, a number of studies have investigated learners’ pragmatic competence focusing on requests produced by learners of English with various methods of data collection in relation to learners’ comprehension

(or perception) as well as their production, for example, *multiple choice (MC) questionnaires, rating scales, role plays, discourse completion tasks (DCTs)*^{vii}, and authentic discourse such as *ethnographic data in the field studies* and *learner corpora* (see Beebe & Cumming, 1996; Kasper & Dahl, 1991; Kasper, 2000; Kasper & Rose, 2002; Kasper & Roever, 2005; Leech, 2014; Schauer, 2009).

In the current section, three major data collection methods in production studies are reviewed. First, the section reviews *DCTs*, which have been the most typically used method in ILP to date, followed by *role plays* and *learner corpora* as naturally occurring data, both of which are the type of resource on which the present study draws. As the advantages and disadvantages of the predominant method, that is, *DCTs*, have been discussed in comparison with those of other methods by many researchers, some of these comparison studies will be briefly reviewed. Finally, the section further discusses the effectiveness of learner corpora in ILP.

It should be noted that the current review does not include research into learners' comprehension^{viii}, for example, how learners assess varying degrees of requestive politeness, since examining the development of sociopragmatic competence is beyond the scope of the present study. The rationale of the present study's exclusion of sociopragmatics is discussed in one of the latest studies by the author (Miura, 2017), which explored the question of whether learners' requestive speech acts are assessed in terms of appropriateness and politeness, and will be reviewed in Chapter 3 (see section 3.4.2.5.)

2.6.2.1 Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs)

A DCT is a type of "stimulus-driven production task" (Leech 2014, p. 252) to elicit responses from subjects in given scenarios, whether it is an oral, written or

“Multimedia Elicitation Task” (Schauer, 2009). Various patterns of speech acts are elicited through a DCT in which subjects are instructed to read or listen to a description of a situation and asked to say aloud or write what they would say in that situation (Archer et al., 2012). According to Rintell and Mitchell (1989), the DCT is used “to get at the linguistic strategies available to speakers to perform requests” and “allows the elicitation data from a large sample of subjects relatively easily, and seems to effectively control the contextual variables important to the study” (p. 250). More detailed classification of the DCT method is given by Kasper (2000) and Beltrán Palanques (2015).

DCTs have often been used as a typical method of data collection in research on speech acts (Adolphs, 2008), including studies on Japanese learners of English: Fukushima (1990)’s survey on 36 Japanese university sophomores’ performance of offers and requests in comparison with that of native speakers; Takahashi (1996)’s request study on 142 male college students’ transferability of L1 pragmatic competence into an L2; Cole and Anderson (2001)’s longitudinal study on requests by 35 high school students in Japan; and Akutsu (2012)’s study examining requests produced by 45 undergraduates of economics who ranged from TOEIC 350 to 650, and so on.

Similarly, Schauer (2009) investigated the developmental process of request strategies among 17 German learners of English studying abroad in an L2 context, using an original multimedia elicitation task. The examples of written DCT-based request studies of other learners of English are also found in Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986) as part of the CCSARP, Economidou-Kogetsidis (2009) and Woodfield and Economidou-Kogetsidis (2010) on Greek learners, and so on. Rose (2000; 2009) administered a cartoon oral production task (COPT) to children in Hong Kong.

Kasper and Rose (2002) pointed out the advantages of the DCTs, by stating that the collection of data from elicitation tasks and the subsequent classification of

learners' preferences for request strategies based on the CCSARP coding scheme have been popular among researchers investigating the speech acts of learners *at different proficiency levels*, sometimes comparing them with those of native speakers. The representative studies using this methodology include Trosborg (1995), Hill (1997), Rose (2000; 2009) and Flores Salgado (2011), which should provide the present study with useful insights. The findings of these studies suggested that lower learners tend to use more direct strategies (e.g. the use of *want*), but as their proficiency develops, they tend to use more conventionally indirect strategies (e.g. the use of modal verbs *can*), and their performance becomes similar to that of native speakers. Moreover, higher learners tend to present more external modifications such as supportive moves.

However, Archer et al. (2012) claimed that “elicited data is [*sic*] not ideal, mainly because people do not necessarily know what they would actually say or do in a real situation” (p. 15). Leech (2014) also criticized the DCT method as involving “artificial exercise, not producing authentic discourse” (p. 252), as Rintell and Mitchell (1989) previously admitted that it is hard to tell how representative the contents written by subjects on a discourse completion test are of “what they [the subjects] actually say in spontaneous conversations” (p. 250). To date, the reliability and validity of DCTs have been debated and compared with those of other methods by many researchers. These comparison studies will be discussed in further detail after the section on role plays (see section 2.6.2.3).

2.6.2.2 Role plays

The second method of data collection is role plays, which can be *open* or *closed* (Schauer, 2009; Leech 2014). According to Rintell and Mitchell (1989), “the advantages of this method are that the subjects have the opportunity to say what and as

much as they would like to say, and their spoken language is thought to be a good indication of their ‘natural’ way of speaking” (pp. 250-251). From the viewpoint of researchers, therefore, the method of role plays allows them to “determine which linguistic elements and formulae are employed by learners in different situational conditions and with different types of interlocutors” (Schauer, 2009, p. 67). The difference between open and closed role plays is whether “the course and outcome of the interaction is predetermined” or not (Schauer, 2009, p. 67). In the latter, the interlocutor tries to initiate the participants’ responses based on given standards. Kasper (2000) addressed the drawback of role plays, by stating that they “can be quite taxing even for fluent speakers because in absence of an external supporting context, role play participants have to create a context ongoingly” (p. 17). Thus, pragmatic analyses of role plays require more difficult and time-consuming categorization or “coding” of responses than those of written DCTs (Leech, 2014, p. 245). The study by Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani (2012) is one of those that have adopted the open role-play method for the investigation of Saudi learners of Australian English at different proficiencies.

2.6.2.3 The debate on the reliability and validity of DCTs

2.6.2.3.1 Comparison studies of DCTs and other methods

One of the earliest studies debating the reliability and validity of DCTs is Rintell and Mitchell (1989)’s study on the use of DCTs, with a focus on request and apology and closed role plays as part of the CCSARP. Other comparison studies, not limited to ILP studies and the English language, have been conducted by a number of researchers: Beebe and Cummings (1996) compared the DCTs administered to a group of 11 native English-speaking teachers and the telephone conversations collected from another group of 12 teachers; Sasaki (1998) compared requests and refusals made by 12

Japanese university students at three different proficiency levels via production questionnaires (i.e. DCTs) and role plays; Golato (2003) conducted a conversation analytic study of the differences between the compliment responses collected from DCTs and a 6-hour corpus of telephone and face-to-face conversations in German; and Yuan (2001) compared compliments and compliment responses in south-western Mandarin taken from written DCTs, oral DCTs, field notes, and recorded conversations. As one of the recent studies, Beltrán Palanques (2015)'s study compared role-play tasks and interactive DCTs to elicit apologies, by investigating 16 female Catalan- and Spanish-speaking graduate students who were learners of English at the CEFR B2.1.

The findings of the studies conducted by Rintell and Mitchell (1989), Sasaki (1998), Schauer and Adolphs (2006), and Flöck and Geluykens (2015) are particularly useful for the present study's investigation of role-play interactions based on a learner corpus.

First, as part of the CCSARP, Rintell and Mitchell (1989) compared the responses of apologies and requests elicited from written DCTs with those elicited in oral role-play situations, by investigating the data collected from learners of ESL and native English-speaking subjects. A total of 60 ESL university students of various languages were involved in the experiment, and 29 of them responded to the written questionnaire while 21 participated in role plays. Thirty-seven native English-speaking subjects were also given the same tasks; 23 of them were given a written task, and 14 were given an oral task.

First, as regards the length of the utterance, it was found that longer responses were produced in the role plays than in the written DCTs, the former "having more and longer supportive moves, as well as hesitations and restatements" (p. 266). This tendency was more evident in learners than in natives. Rintell and Mitchell (1989) attributed this

to the “lack of fluency and lack of certainty about appropriateness that characterizes the learner” (p. 267). In order to clarify his or her point, “the learner uses a phrase, then begins anew or uses a second phrase, albeit redundant” (p. 266). In addition, the learners may have tried to sound “adequately polite” in a face-to-face role play with the experimenter (p. 266).

Second, direct strategies in the written data were more frequently produced than in the oral data by both the learners and native speakers. Thus, in situations where the speaker asked “the addressee to perform an obligatory action,” direct strategies such as *imperatives* and *obligations* were the typical requestive forms (p. 269). For example, in the Kitchen and Policeman situations (see Table 2.3), 37.9% and 39.3% of the learners’ requests in the written data were imperatives and obligations, respectively, while 19% and 22.7% in the oral data were imperatives and obligations, respectively. In the remaining situations where the speaker sought “a favour from the addressee” (i.e. Notes, Ride, and Lecture), *query preparatory* patterns as conventionally indirect strategies including “would you,” “could you,” and “would you mind” were frequently produced (p. 269). According to Rintell and Mitchel (1989), the reason why direct forms were less frequent in the oral production than in the written could again be attributed to the research methodology. In given situations, the subjects had to have a face-to-face interaction with the experimenter, so that some of them seemed “less comfortable using such direct language,” compared to the DCTs, where the subjects could freely choose the language “without the discomfort that may arise in a personal interaction” (p. 269). They concluded that oral role plays elicited a more “authentic face-to-face encounter,” which means that the requests elicited in this method were likely more natural than those in the written DCTs (p. 270).

Referring to the previous research done by Rintell and Mitchell (1989), Sasaki

(1998) also noted that “role plays induced longer responses” (i.e. more authentic data) than written DCTs, due to “the interactive nature of role plays” (p. 457), including “repetitions and hesitations, which are typical in oral data” (p. 466). Thus, learners tended to show more and longer *alerters* (e.g. “Excuse me” or “Hello”) in their requests, probably “in order to get the interlocutor’s attention” (p. 466). Comparing two data collection methods, Sasaki (1998) observed intra-participant variants; for example, some of the participants switched strategies in an opposite direction (i.e. direct to indirect) during the two methods.

Schauer and Adolphs (2006) should also be noted, since they compared native speakers’ expressions of gratitude elicited by a DCT with those in a five-million-word corpus of spoken English called the CANCODE. While the DCT provided “a controlled contextual environment” in which “a great variety of interactional formulaic sequence categories” was observed, the corpus data enabled them to examine the use of expressions of gratitude in “additional situational contexts” and “conversational turns” (p. 131).

As one of the latest studies, Flöck and Geluykens (2015)’s study observed a significant difference in the *directive* speech acts collected under different conditions: (i) elicited written data via DCTs with scenarios of low social distance and low power relation, and (ii) non-elicited written data of business letters, which are a part of the Antwerp Corpus of Institutional Discourse, and (iii) spontaneous spoken data from the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB). A total of 235 directive speech acts based on the CCSARP coding scheme were selected randomly from each data set. It was observed that there were significant differences between the data sets, in which conversations and letters showed a similar proportion of *direct* strategies (55-59%) and *conventionally indirect* strategies (38-40%), while 5% of *direct* strategies and 92% of *conventionally indirect* strategies were produced in the DCTs. They emphasized

the importance of quantitative research based on the corpora of authentic speech across data collection methods and discourse genres.

2.6.2.3.2 A summary of the advantages and weaknesses of the DCT method

As mentioned in the previous section, Rintell and Mitchell (1989) proposed that DCTs *do* “present controlled contexts for collecting linguistic data representing a range of strategies elicited from many subjects,” but *do not* precisely elicit responses that reflect “realistic” spoken language (p. 250).

Beebe and Cummings (1996)’s thorough summary of the advantages and weaknesses of DCTs should also be noted. The following are their reasons why DCTs are a highly effective research tool:

- 1) A *large* amount of data is gathered *quickly*;
- 2) An *initial classification* of semantic formulas and strategies that will likely occur in natural speech is created;
- 3) The *stereotypical, perceived requirements* for a socially appropriate response are studied;
- 4) Insight into the *social and psychological factors* that are likely to affect speech and performance is gained;
- 5) The *canonical shape* of speech acts in the minds of the speakers of that language is ascertained (p. 80; italics added).

The following are features that the DCTs do *not* give, as regards “natural speech or even unselfconscious, elicited speech” (p. 80):

- 1) *Actual wording* used in *real interaction*;
- 2) The range of formulas and strategies used (some, like *avoidance*, tend to be left out);

- 3) The length of response or the number of *turns* it takes to fulfil the function;
- 4) The depth of *emotion* that in turn qualitatively affects the tone, content, and form of linguistic performance;
- 5) The number of *repetitions* and *elaborations* that occur;
- 6) The actual rate of occurrence of a speech act – e.g., whether or not someone would *refuse* at all in a given situation (p. 80; italics added).

Some recent publications such as Archer et al. (2012), who provided an introductory overview of pragmatics, and O’Keeffe et al. (2011) and Leech (2014), both of whom discussed pragmatics with the perspective of corpus linguistics, actually acknowledged the usefulness of DCTs as follows: “elicited data can be a useful guide to the range of resources available to speakers, and can provide the *starting point for systematic study of naturally occurring data*” (Archer et al., 2012, p. 15; italics added); “without this methodology, it would have been difficult if not impossible to conduct such research because some *speech acts are very difficult to ‘obtain’* in any other way” (O’Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 23). Leech (2014) admitted that the DCT methodology is convenient in “produc[ing] a large amount of closely targeted data with comparatively little effort, as compared with other instruments” sufficiently capable of achieving “significant results” with “a number of relevant variables (such as respondents’ age, gender, and L1 background; power, distance, and cost-benefit variables in the DCT items)” (p. 253).

2.6.2.4 Naturally occurring data

Naturally occurring data as the third method can be investigated with two approaches: *longitudinal* and *cross-sectional*. Schauer (2009) stated that “longitudinal

studies follow the progress of a particular group of learners over a certain period of time, whereas cross-sectional studies compare data collected from two distinct learner groups that differ according to their proficiency in the target language or the length of time spent in the L2 environment” (p. 34) (see more details in Kasper and Rose, 2002).

2.6.2.4.1 Longitudinal method

As longitudinal studies, the studies of Ellis (1992) and Achiba (2003) observed a relatively small number of L2 learners’ pragmatic development in real situations in natural everyday environments over a certain period of time (Schauer, 2009). Ellis (1992) investigated two immigrant boys in a British school over a period of four to six school terms. In the beginning of the period, direct requests were mainly produced, while in the last term, the use of conventionally indirect strategies considerably increased. Thus, the boys’ production developed from formulaic expressions such as *Can I have...?* to more expanded and complex strategy types with other verbs. Achiba (2003) observed her daughter, who was 7 years old, over a period of 17 months in Australia, where the subject was more highly exposed to native speakers, compared to the situation in Ellis (1992)’s study. First, the daughter showed direct patterns such as imperatives like *Keep going*, suggestory formula like *Let’s...*, and conventionally indirect patterns such as *Can I ...?* and *Can you...?* In the second stage, she became able to use other strategies such as suggestory formula like *Why don’t you...*, followed by the third stage when her requests manifested the use of obligation, such as *You have to*, and willingness, such as *Will you...?*. In the final stage, *Could you...?* and *Would you...?* were produced.

Based on the works of Ellis (1992) and Achiba (2003), Kasper and Rose (2002)^{ix} presented the five stages of requests (see Table 2.7). Their description of characteristics such as “imperatives” (Stage 2), “conventional indirectness” (Stage 3),

“mitigation” (Stage 4), and “complex syntax” (Stage 5) originate from the CCSARP coding scheme.

Table 2.7

Five stages of requests based on the longitudinal studies (Kasper and Rose, 2002, p. 140 [based on Achiba (2002) and Ellis (1992)])

Stage	Characteristics	Examples
1. Pre-basic	Highly context-dependent, no syntax, no relational goals	“Me no blue,” “Sir.”
2. Formulaic	Reliance on unanalyzed formulas and imperatives	“Let’s eat breakfast.”
3. Updating	Formulas incorporated into productive language use, shift to conventional indirectness	“Can you pass the pencil please?”
4. Pragmatic expansion	Addition of new forms to pragmalinguistic repertoire, increased use of mitigation, more complex syntax	“Could I have another chocolate because my children – I have five children.”
5. Fine-tuning	Fine-tuning of requestive force to participants, goals and contexts	“You could put some blue tack down there.”

Finally, Schmidt (1983) should be mentioned as one of the earliest studies examining adult learners. He examined a Japanese male learner of English in Hawaii for three years. Without having had a formal English instruction in Japan, the subject only

produced conventionally indirect patterns such as *Can I...?* and suggestory formulae such as *Shall we go...?*. His use of non-conventionally indirect hints was not successfully comprehended by Americans because some of the hints seemed to be transferred from Japanese. Politeness marker *please* appeared in his early stage of development.

2.6.2.4.2 Cross-sectional method: Learner corpora

2.6.2.4.2.1 Learner corpora and SLA

Granger (2002) highlighted the importance of the Computer Learner Corpora (CLC)^x in investigating learner language as they produce more generalized conclusions from larger amounts of quantitative data of naturally occurring language. She noted that “much current SLA research favours experimental and introspective data and tends to be dismissive of natural language use data” (Granger, 2002, p. 5). Learner corpora of various languages have been compiled so far, and they are now the major resource in the study of interlanguage, allowing researchers to explore learner language with different variables such as “diverse mother tongues, ages, levels of competence, and other variables involved in the study of interlanguage” (Leech, 2014, p. 270). Leech (2014) mentioned the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) as one of the pioneering learner corpora. Adolphs (2008) also noted that the context-sensitive descriptions of pragmatic function in a corpus of spoken discourse should be important for ELT as a “shift in focus towards a communicative approach” (p. 133).

2.6.1.4.2.2 Learner corpora and ILP

As explained in the section on corpus pragmatics, pragmatics is traditionally based on introspective research methods with invented examples, but corpora have made

it possible to confirm the theories with real-life language use (Vyatkina & Cunningham, 2015, p. 283). There are a growing number of ILP studies based on learner corpora (see Callies, 2013; Vyatkina & Cunningham, 2015). In ILP, learner corpora are mainly cross-sectionally examined.

As mentioned before, studies based on DCTs or elicitation tasks have been criticized for not representing the features found in naturally occurring interactions. Ellis (1994) highlighted the importance of “unplanned language use” in “naturalistic settings” (p. 82). Surprisingly, even Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), who conducted the CCSARP based on DCTs, stated, “ideally, all data should come from ‘natural’ conditions” (p. 13), referring to the ethnographic methods in field studies, before the advent of the corpora of naturally occurring spoken data^{xi}.

Granger (2002) argued that studies based on a limited number of subjects make research results difficult to generalize. Some small-scale studies of ILP research based on DCTs may fall in a category favoring “experimental and introspective data” that “tends to be dismissive of natural language use data” (Granger, 2002, p. 5). In line with Granger (2002), Callies (2013) noted that limitations with the DCTs can be overcome by learner corpora, because the latter “provide results that may be viewed as more reliable, valid, and generalizable across populations without the lack of authenticity and replicability that often arises from the use of other types of data” (p. 16).

Therefore, an alternative and useful resource to overcome this difficulty is learner corpora, which include data from a larger number of speakers. Learner corpora produce more generalized conclusions from the analyses of larger amounts of quantitative data that can generate more reliable frequency results, indicating what is most likely to occur in natural language use by L2 learners (Granger, 2002).

By taking a corpus-based approach to the field of ILP, it is easy to extract

concordance lines from the large-scale data and examine lexical behaviors, such as *discourse markers* (or *pragmatic features/markers*). Learner corpora allow researchers to “systematically examine lexico-grammatical patterns and syntactic structures that are part of the grammar of conversation on a broad empirical basis” (Callies, 2013, p. 17). Thus, the investigation of discourse markers is one of the most recent and major areas of corpus-based ILP, such as those of Aijmer (2004), Buysse (2012; 2014), Fung and Carter (2007), Gilquin (2008), Lam (2009), Müller (2004; 2005), Polat (2011), Romero-Trillo (2002), and Shimada (2014).

Nevertheless, corpus-based ILP is a relatively new approach, and researchers must overcome several difficulties. First, Leech (2014) addressed the issue of the availability of spoken learner corpus, noting that “resources tend to be much smaller and more limited than written learner corpora” (p. 271). Second, as reviewed in the section on corpus pragmatics (see section 2.5.1), spoken corpora “may not be designed in such a way that suits the study of pragmatic features” (O’Keeffe et al., 2011, p. 33). The investigation of speech acts especially requires researchers to *manually* identify the pragmatic features of speech act expressions, as well as interpret particular functions based on the context, since “we can search a corpus only for language forms, not for functions” (Adolphs, 2008, p. 9). Thus, in order to assess learners’ sociopragmatic competence, we need to deal with social judgements of politeness by considering not only the words in the utterances and their meanings, but also the occurring contexts, the prosody, and word stress (Leech, 2014).

These obstacles likely led many previous researchers to adopt DCTs or similar elicitation formats for the investigation of speech acts (Adolphs, 2008), as DCTs may be the easiest method for controlling “contextual parameters” (Kasper & Roever, 2005, p. 325). Granger actually (2002) admitted “the difficulty of controlling the variables that

affect learner output in a non-experiment context,” while emphasizing that “much of non-corpus-based SLA research tends to be based on a relatively narrow empirical base” (p. 5).

As is true for the author of the current study, ILP “investigators are faced with a range of *theoretical and methodological issues*, most notably the ambiguity of pragmatic categories and pragmatic annotation, the primacy of context and the nature of the production data” (Vyatkina & Cunningham, 2015, p. 283). The challenges associated with the use of spoken corpora in investigating the pragmatic competences of learners and how the author overcame the difficulties in building multi-layered annotation schemes of requestive speech acts are described in the methodology section (see Chapter 5).

2.6.3 The Application of the CCSARP Coding Scheme to the Investigation of Requestive Speech Acts of Learners at Different Proficiency Levels

The coding scheme of the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) has been applied to numerous studies with different research methods in ILP (e.g. Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1986; Cenoz & Valencia, 1996; Sasaki, 1998; Barron, 2005; Lundell & Erman, 2012; and many others cited in the present study). As explained in the review section on the CCSARP (see section 2.4), the scheme was originally constructed to compare native and non-native speakers’ requests cross-linguistically and to identify requests and categorize them into *direct*^{xii}, *conventionally indirect*, and *indirect* strategies, depending on the choices of linguistic and syntactic patterns. However, Al-Gahtani and Roever (2011) argued that the DCTs based on the CCSARP coding scheme do “not easily accommodate modeling of sequential organization” and that the “frequency counts of strategies cannot capture this information and do not allow researchers to see systematic

differences in *how* interactants use interactional devices, only in how often they use them” (p. 45). Instead, their Conversation Analysis (CA)-based approach takes into account “the role of the interlocutor and the fundamentally co-constructed nature of conversation” (p. 45).

This section reviews the major research into pragmatic competences of learners at different proficiency levels that uses and modifies the coding scheme developed by the CCSARP. The studies conducted by Trosborg (1995), Hill (1997), Rose (2000; 2009), Flores Salgado (2011), and Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani (2012) are discussed in detail. These researchers worked with learners’ speech acts, and sometimes compared them with native speakers’ data. The findings of these studies generally indicated that learners at higher proficiency levels tend to produce more indirect strategies, similar to those of native speakers, than lower learners do.

2.6.3.1 Trosborg (1995)’s DCT-based study on Danish learners of English at different proficiency levels in comparison to native speakers

First, Trosborg (1995)’s DCT-based study should be noted as she coded learner data in a similar fashion to the CCSARP. She investigated the communicative acts of requesting, complaining, and apologizing produced by Danish learners of English at various levels of competence and native speakers of English, using role-play material to elicit learner participation. There were five groups of participants: (i) secondary school students aged 16 to 19, (ii) high school students aged 18 to 20, (iii) university students and business school students aged 20 to 30, (iv) native speakers of English aged 20 to 35, and (v) native speakers of Danish aged 20 to 35. It should be noted that “no proficiency tests were undertaken of any of the group” (p. 138), but the groups of learners differed in age and the length of study of English in the former Danish educational system. The

number of participants was not mentioned in the study. Trosborg (1995) noted that “120 conversations were analysed for the occurrence of request strategies,” as well as for “dominance and social distance” (p. 226). The findings suggested that learners at higher proficiency levels use similar strategies to those used by native speakers, especially in terms of the use of syntactic modification, such as conditional sentences in a conventionally indirect strategy.

2.6.3.2 Hill (1997)’s study on Japanese learners of English at different levels of proficiency

Hill (1997)’s study is one of the earliest cross-sectional studies on the pragmatic development of Japanese learners of English. He investigated requests produced by three groups of Japanese male university undergraduates and one group of native speakers with the use of the DCT. He divided the Japanese subjects into three levels of general English proficiency based on a cloze test. Each group was composed of 20 subjects, totaling 80 subjects. He designed the DCT in a fashion where situations were involved with high imposition and where social distance was depicted by the interlocutor being a stranger to the subjects with two levels of status or power: equal status (student to student) and higher status (student to professor) on campus. He investigated the request strategies in terms of level of directness, internal modification, and external modification. As a result, in terms of the use of direct strategies, although native speakers showed only 1.9% in both situations of high and low impositions, the low proficiency group showed 46.6%, the intermediate group showed 23.5%, and the advanced group showed 12.9%. He attributed the tendency of using more direct strategies toward equal-status interlocutors even at the advanced level to L1 interference, by referring to the Japanese language data, in which the proportion of direct strategies was 82% toward equal-status

interlocutors. In contrast, native speakers showed 90.4% in terms of conventionally indirect strategies, followed by 85.6% from the advanced, 73.8% from the intermediate, and 53.4% from the low-level learners. Japanese subjects at any level used fewer conventionally indirect patterns when addressing equal-status interlocutors, which was the opposite of the result concerning a group of native speakers. Thus, the use of internal modification was less frequent than that of the native speakers, although it again increased with the proficiency development. Syntactic downgraders were mainly used, and even overused by advanced learners, while lexical or phrasal downgraders and upgraders were underused. He described the Japanese subjects as following “skewed pragmatic development” (p. v), due to the lack of linguistic means as well as an instructional effect from the teaching of English in Japanese schools.

2.6.3.3 Rose (2000; 2009)’s studies on primary and secondary school students in Hong Kong

Rose (2000; 2009) conducted a series of cross-sectional research on requests and apologies produced by primary and secondary school students in Hong Kong. In both studies, he administered COPTs, which contained compliment-response scenarios generated from the questionnaires he collected beforehand, to elicit the responses. In 2000, he examined primary school students at three different levels: (i) a group named P-2, consisting five students aged 7, (ii) P-4, containing five students aged 9, and (iii) P-6, consisting five students aged 11. Thirty items (i.e. 10 each for requests, apologies, and compliment responses) were selected to make single-frame cartoons. All scenarios differed in social status. For example, 15 scenarios showed an equal status between a speaker and hearer, while in another 15 scenarios, the hearer was dominant. The most frequent strategy overall was conventional indirectness with the use of *can* or *may*,

constituting more than 70%. However, there were differences between the groups: 35.4% for the P-2 group, 85.7% for P-4, and 96.8% for P-6. The ratio of directness was the most frequent in the P-2 group, constituting 11.6%. Rose (2000) suggested that this tendency showed a reliance on direct requests in the early stages of pragmatic development, in line with the conclusions of many previous studies. To Rose (2000), the only unexpected result was that the P-2 group was the most frequent in producing *hints*, although the total number was 8, constituting 4%. Although no evidence of situational variation was found across P-4 and P-6, some weak evidence was found in the use of supportive moves produced by P-6. Learners in the P-6 group employed supportive moves, which constituted only 6.9% of their requests, totaling 28 occurrences, for example, “*I don’t know that question. Can you teach me?*” and “*Can you borrow your bicycle to me? I will give back to you at 6 p.m.*” (p. 43). Referring to several past studies on the L1 acquisition of requests, which showed some evidence of “sensitivity to contextual factors” at as early as age 2.5 or 4 (p. 56), Rose admitted that the result did not indicate whether pragmalinguistics preceded sociopragmatics in the early stages of pragmatic development in a second language.

Rose (2009) later attributed the weakness of his first study (2000) to the lack of homogeneity within the same proficiency groups. He conducted a demographic questionnaire regarding subjects’ mother tongue at home, the use of English in school and with foreigners, and the experience of living in English-speaking countries, by modifying his previous research. Rose (2009) investigated three different groups of secondary school students: (i) Form 2, including 13 students aged 13, (ii) Form 4, containing 12 students aged 15, and (iii) Form 5, consisting 14 students aged 17. Again, an overwhelming preference for conventional indirectness across groups was found as 92.1% overall. Directness was most frequently produced by Form 2, but constituting only 6.4%, totaling

10 occurrences. Modals such as *can* and *may* decreased with levels. Only one occurrence of *could* was observed in Form 2 (i.e. 0.8%) and 14 occurrences were observed in Form 4 (i.e. 10.4%), but none was observed in Form 6. Thus, *would* and *would you mind* increased with levels. Form 6 manifested 27.7% of modals such as *would you mind*, while 2.2% was produced by Form 4 and none by Form 2. There was little evidence of sociopragmatic development, except for the increased occurrence of *please* in requests toward higher status hearers, although the occurrence decreased slightly with levels.

2.6.3.4 Flores Salgado (2011)'s study on Mexican learners of English across different proficiency levels in comparison with native speakers

Flores Salgado (2011) compared Mexican learners of English at three different proficiency levels with native speakers in terms of requests and apologies. Her participants were divided into the following groups: (i) a total of 36 undergraduate learners of English Teaching as a Foreign Language at different language levels from Basic (i.e. TOEFL 500 or lower), (ii) Intermediate (i.e. TOEFL 550), (iii) Advanced (i.e. TOEFL 600), (iv) 12 native speakers of American English, and (v) 36 native speakers of Mexican Spanish. In line with the methods in Rose (2000)'s study, the COPTs were administered for elicitation, with 12 different situations with varied power, distance, and degree of imposition. Flores Salgado (2011) modified the CCSARP coding scheme, combined with the scheme presented by Trosborg (1995), and collected a total of 144 requests for each group. As a result, the most frequently produced strategies across all situations and all groups were conventionally indirect strategies (i.e. 64-68% for the Mexican Spanish, Advanced, and Intermediate groups; 82% for the American English group), except for the Basic group which showed the use of conventionally indirect strategies as 31% and the use of direct strategies as 46%. She concluded that even

advanced learners were not pragmatically successful although they had acquired higher grammatical skills, and that basic learners with lower grammatical skills tended to rely more on their L1 pragmatic strategies than intermediate and advanced learners did.

2.6.3.5 Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani (2012)'s role-play study on Saudi high- and low-level learners

Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani (2012) employed the open role-play method, and investigated the requestive speech acts of 24 participants composed of Saudi high- and low-level learners of Australian English and native speakers. A total of 24 male participants (i.e. eight for each group) were given three different role plays with a varying degree of the relative power relationship. Two types of criteria were given to divide high and low learners: TOEFL and International English Language Testing system (IELTS) scores; and the results of a three-paragraph cloze test. High-level learners achieved 6.5 and above, and low-level learners achieved 5.5 or less in IELTS. The three situations differed in terms of social status: (i) “a person asks his housemate to go to the super market and buy some bread,” in which both the informant and conductor have equal social status, (ii) “a student asks his professor to give him the lecture notes from the last lecture,” where the conductor has a higher social status, and (iii) “a tutor asks his student to inform the other classmates that there is no seminar that day,” in which the conductor has a lower social status (p. 20). All role plays were audio taped, and the conductor was played by one of the researchers. Based on the CCSARP coding scheme, they identified the eight most frequent *pre-head act strategies* (e.g., *mild hints, attention getter, greeting, title, first name*), request strategies (e.g., *permission, ability, desire/needs, imperatives*), and *post-head act strategies* (e.g., *gratitude, farewell, grounder, repetition of the request, politeness marker*). They emphasized the importance of analyzing the pre- and post-head

act strategies (i.e. *supportive moves* or *internal* and *external modification*), especially in examining the influence of social variables, which has scarcely been focused on in the field of ILP. Although social variables had an impact on the use of the pre- and post-head act strategies among all three groups, their influence on request strategies was only observed in high-level learners and native speakers. Low-level learners employed only one request strategy, which was either *ability* (i.e. conventionally indirect) or *desire/needs* (i.e. direct) in all social situations, but produced more pre- and post-head act strategies. However, in terms of the use of request strategies, no differences were observed between learners of different proficiency levels. This finding is not consistent with those of other studies involved with requests made by learners of English at different proficiencies such as Hill (1997) and Rose (2000). No non-conventionally indirect strategies were produced by any learners; this result is again inconsistent with that of Trosborg (1995), who found that the ratio of hints increased with growing proficiency among Danish learners at three different proficiency levels.

2.6.3.6 Other cross-sectional studies on requests made by Japanese learners of English

Using subject groups consisting of Japanese learners at various proficiency levels, Takahashi and DuFon (1989) examined role-play interactions produced by nine Japanese female young adults residing in Honolulu with three different proficiency levels based on TOEFL scores^{xiii}. Their findings suggested that as proficiency increased, learners' chosen strategies proceeded from less to more direct, and that the less direct strategies adopted by early learners could be attributed to L1 transfer. These findings can be contrasted with those of Hill (1997)'s DCT research which indicated that Japanese learners used more direct strategies and fewer conventionally indirect ones than native

speakers did, but learners at higher levels of proficiency showed a similar tendency to the native speaker norm.

Kaneko (2004), investigating extracts from the NICT JLE Corpus, examined the types of request strategies used by 76 subjects given a role-play task that required them to negotiate with a landlord, shop assistant, or railway station staff. The subjects were of mid-intermediate to advanced proficiency. The NICT JLE Corpus is composed of written transcripts of an oral interview test called the SST. The details of the corpus will be explained in Chapters 3, as the present study investigates the same corpus. The interviewees (i.e. the learners) were all holistically evaluated and grouped into nine proficiency levels from Levels 1 to 9. Three groups at different proficiency levels were investigated. The lowest group consisted of 10 learners at Level 5, the intermediate group consisted of 16 learners at Level 6 and four learners at Level 7, and the advanced group had three learners at Level 8 and five learners at Level 9. It was observed that the lowest learners did not seem to have acquired enough vocabulary as well as request strategies, and employed a little use of internal modifiers and interrogative sentences; however, they did begin to use *please*. The intermediate learners manifested a wider range of vocabulary, and started to learn direct request strategies, although their performance regarding internal modification was still at the same level as that of the lowest group. The advanced group showed tendencies closest to those of native speakers in terms of producing less direct strategies. They displayed the development of internal modification compared with the lowest and intermediate groups, but the frequency of linguistic items used in the request strategy was lower than that of native speakers due to the lack of an appropriate use of lexico-grammatical features. Kaneko also commented on the overall tendency of the advanced group to have higher frequencies of non-verbal sounds such as *er*, *erm*, and *ah*, which were categorized as the most frequent items of internal modification, compared

with that of native speakers. She observed that these sounds did not function as modification, but occurred as communication strategies when the learner found it difficult to express their own intentions and tried to find words to facilitate being comprehended due to the lack of linguistic competence.

2.6.3.7 A summary of the results made in previous CCSARP-based request studies

In general, in these previous studies, advanced learners tended to perform like native speakers in that they more frequently used indirect strategies, while basic learners used these strategies less frequently (the exceptions are the findings from Takahashi and DuFon [1989] and Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani [2012]). Achiba (2003) pointed out that the claims of these studies vary in terms of “the *extent* to which low proficiency learners make use of direct strategies” (p. 12; italics added).

ⁱ Leech (1983) also noted that “A different kind of confirmation of pragmatic hypotheses can be sought by analysis of CORPUS DATA” in his last chapter on the retrospect and prospect in *Principles of Pragmatics*, regarding “pragmatic principles and maxims” (p. 231).

ⁱⁱ Leech (2014) used “neg-politeness” and “pos-politeness” in order to distinguish his argument from the “negative politeness” and “positive politeness” concepts in Brown and Levinson (1987)’s model of politeness (p. 11).

ⁱⁱⁱ “Pragmaticalization” is the term Leech (2014) technically used. It means “conventionalization or idiomatization” associated with the lexigrammatical form of a sentence (p. 14).

^{iv} In the CCSARP coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al., pp. 273-293), impositive is categorized as one of three requestive strategies, being a “direct strategy.”

^v The term “verbosity” was also discussed by Edmondston and House (1991), who observed “the waffle phenomenon in interlanguage pragmatics” in their study on apology, in relation to the CCSARP-based requestive study of learners conducted by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986).

^{vi} Archer et al. (2008) stated that “segmentation is an essential first stage in preparing data for corpus analysis” (p. 632).

^{vii} Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) named their method the DCT (Discourse Completion Test).

^{viii} See Schauer (2009) and Miura (2017) for a review of studies focusing on learners’ comprehension

and speech acts.

^{ix} It should be noted that in Kasper and Rose (2002), Achiba (2003)'s publication date was written as 2002. Kasper and Rose (2002) actually referred to Achiba (2003)'s *Learning to Request in a Second Language: A Study of Child Interlanguage Pragmatics*.

^x The recent studies on learner corpora are reviewed in Granger, Gilquin, and Munier (2015) and Castello, Ackerley, and Cocchetta (2015). The list of learner corpora is provided by the Université Catholique de Louvain (<https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/learner-corpora-around-the-world.html>) and the bibliography of learner corpus-based studies is updated by the Learner Corpus Association (<http://www.learnercorpusassociation.org/resources/>).

^{xi} However, in the same book edited by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), Rintell and Mitchell (1989) commented on the drawbacks of the ethnographic method, stating that “it is impossible to control the contextual variables” if the researcher aims to “observe many instances of a speech act in the same situational and interpersonal context,” although the method can provide “many contexts in a given language and culture” and “the types of interpersonal situations” (p. 250).

^{xii} In the CCSARP coding scheme, direct strategy is originally named *impositive* category (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). See the review section, 2.4.3, on the CCSARP for more details.

^{xiii} According to Takahashi and DuFon (1989), the subjects were composed of female Japanese students living in Honolulu ranging in age from 19 to 24, and were divided into three groups: Advanced (whose mean TOEFL score was 590), Intermediate (who had a TOEFL score of 534) and Beginners (whose TOEFL scores were not available).

Chapter 3. Previous Studies

This chapter reviews the author's preliminary studies on learner-corpus-based pragmatic analyses that examine learners' pragmatic development. The chapter begins by describing the National Institute of Information and Communications Technology Japanese Learner English (NICT JLE) Corpus, a target learner corpus in this study. Further, it outlines the challenges the author faced in studying corpus pragmatics, particularly when dealing with form-function mismatches. Initially, the author automatically extracted predetermined pragmatic features such as discourse markers, although this form-to-function approach unsatisfactorily determined the actual function of the utterances. Thus, the author manually identified the requestive speech acts from the learner data following the CCSARP coding scheme. However, the author was confronted with challenges when applying the CCSARP coding scheme to the target corpus because it contains various interactional and learner-specific data such as repetitions and errors. Therefore, the author conducted cross-schematic analyses combined with the newly developed annotation schemes to identify the functions and grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of learner utterances. The chapter also reports difficulties faced in determining the degree of politeness in learners' requests while referring to the author's assessment study (Miura, 2017), which suggests excluding learners' sociopragmatic competence attributable to low agreement rates between respondents.

3.1 Overview of a Series of Learner-Corpus-Based Pragmatic Studies Conducted by the Author

Before embarking on the present doctoral study, the author conducted a series

of studies that investigated pragmatic competences across different proficiency levels observed in the NICT JLE Corpus.

This rest of the chapter is organized as follows. First, section 3.2 is devoted to the description of the method of analyzing the NICT JLE Corpus. The following section, 3.3, reviews the earlier studies involved with the automatic extraction of predetermined pragmatic features such as *I mean* and *I like*. In these preliminary studies, the author attempted to take a “form-to-function” approach (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015; see section 2.5.1). However, manually matching the forms and functions of a vast number of retrieved linguistic items proved to be difficult. The retrieval of pragmatic features at the surface level from the corpus seemed only suitable for the “vertical-reading methodology” (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 8; see section 2.5.1). Moving beyond the surface observations and expanding the scope of investigation to the learners’ actual language use in contexts also appeared difficult. For example, it was difficult to determine whether the learners actually managed to employ particular discourse markers effectively in their interactions with the interlocutor or merely tried to “fill a specific discourse ‘slot’” in the negotiation of meaning (Edmondston & House, 1990). Therefore, the author changed her methodology to a “function-to-form” approach (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 9; see section 2.5.1), which is described in the following section, 3.4. Pragmalinguistic features of *requestive speech acts* were manually identified and annotated in the learner data, referring to the neighboring contexts, including the interlocutor’s preceding utterances (i.e., prompting the learner’s production) and following utterances (i.e., responding to the learner’s production), which is the so-called “horizontal-reading methodology” (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 3; see section 2.5.1). Linguistic features were then automatically retrieved based on the annotated categories that the author had deliberately determined. Therefore, the approach was not “word-based,” but “category-based”

(Vyatkina and Cunningham, 2015, pp. 286-287; see section 2.5.2.2). Thus, the multi-layered annotation schemes allowed the author to extract cross-schematically the target linguistic items with specific functions. For example, the author was easily able to extract all the occurrences of the desire verb *want* within direct strategies (via the annotation scheme for requests), determining a particular situation where the learners *requested a discount* (via the annotation scheme for functions), across three different proficiency levels (according to the corpus metadata). The “function-to-form” approach made it possible to apply the “integrated-reading methodology” (Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015, p. 12; see section 2.5.1), a combination of the methodologies of corpus linguistics (i.e., horizontal-reading) and pragmatics (i.e., vertical-reading).

It is ideal to investigate learners’ pragmatic competence from the perspectives of both *pragmalinguistic* and *sociopragmatic competences* (see Leech, 2014; see sections 2.3 and 2.6.2). In the final stage, the author attempted to examine whether politeness can be judged by only referring to pragmalinguistic features out of context, whether sociopragmatic politeness can be assessed, and whether the degree of politeness and the appropriateness of requestive speech acts can be annotated in the learner corpus. However, in terms of assessing politeness, retrieving requestive forms from the corpus was not perfectly ideal for investigating the pragmatic competence of Japanese English as Foreign Language (EFL) learners, as section 3.4.2.5 describes.

3.2 Data: The NICT JLE Corpus

3.2.1 The Standard Speaking Test (SST)

The NICT JLE Corpus contains more than 1 million words in the form of transcripts of approximately 1,200 Japanese EFL learners taking a speaking proficiency test called the Standard Speaking Test (SST). This corpus includes spoken data

(utterances) from both the interviewees (below, the “subjects”) and the interviewers (Izumi, Uchimoto, & Isahara, 2004). The SST is a 15-minute oral interview developed according to the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) protocol of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). The SST has five stages: (1) answering warm-up questions (3–4 minutes), (2) describing a single picture (2–3 minutes), (3) engaging in a role-play scenario with the interviewer (1–4 minutes), (4) narrating picture sequences (2–3 minutes), and (5) answering questions that aim to wind down the subjects’ tension (1–2 minutes).

Although the earlier “form-to-function” analyses described in 3.3 dealt with the learner data from all five stages, the later “function-to-form” analyses of requests including the current study only used the learner data from the role-play sessions.ⁱ There are five topics in the role plays: Invitation, Landlord, Shopping, Travel, and Train. Each topic has two or three difficulty levels: Beginner, Intermediate, and Advanced. The interviewer (i.e., interlocutor) decides which version of a given topic should be used by estimating the interviewee’s (i.e., learner’s) proficiency during their initial interactions in the interview. The author investigated the data of Shopping and some data of Train. In the Beginner and Intermediate levels, the interlocutor played the role of a shop assistant or railway station staff, while the interviewee was given the task of purchasing a particular item as a customer or passenger who visited a shop or train station. The interviewee’s final objective was to purchase a particular item by asking for information about price, quantity, and method of payment. In the Advanced version, the interviewee was given a situation where they had to negotiate a refund or an exchange of the purchased item or train ticket with the interlocutor.

3.2.2 Alignment of the SST and CEFR Levels

The interviewees who took the SST were assessed holistically and grouped into nine proficiency levels: Novice (Levels 1, 2, and 3), Intermediate Low (Levels 4 and 5), Intermediate Mid (Levels 6 and 7), Intermediate High (Level 8), and Advanced (Level 9). The SST levels were determined holistically based on the learners' whole performance assessed from Stage 1 to Stage 5, in terms of "global functions," "text types," "context/content area," and "accuracy" covering skills such as comprehension of interviewer questions, communication with the interviewer, grammatical accuracy, pronunciation, and fluency and delivery (Izumi et al., 2004, pp. 25-28).

Most of the author's recent studies, including this doctoral thesis, used the CEFR rather than the SST proficiency levels, since the CEFR is more commonly used worldwide in the development of coursebooks (Nakatani, 2013) and language tests (Negishi, 2013). The CEFR is also more widely used in other areas, including trainings for language instructors and civil servants in some Asian countries (Aikawa, 2013). In addition, grouping the target learners into fewer, more broadly defined proficiency levels (as in the CEFR system) allows larger numbers of target learners per group. This makes it possible to obtain sufficient numbers of occurrences of extracted pragmalinguistic features to conduct chi-square tests, which require a minimum of five expected values, more likely, enabling the author to determine criterial features.

Table 3.1

The whole distribution of subjects, types, and tokens for each level in the NICT JLE

Corpus

SST Level (CEFR Level)	Proficiency	Subjects	Types	Tokens
Level 1 (Pre-A1)	Novice Low	3	217	1,440
Level 2 (Pre-A1)	Novice Mid	35	1,516	20,788
Level 3 (A1)	Novice High	222	6,025	211,625
Level 4 (A2)	Intermediate Low	482	10,120	606,951
Level 5 (A2)	Intermediate Low Plus	236	8,290	365,330
Level 6 (B1.1)	Intermediate Mid	130	6,867	219,646
Level 7 (B1.1)	Intermediate Mid Plus	77	5,455	139,534
Level 8 (B1.2)	Intermediate High	56	4,981	112,185
Level 9 (B2.1 to C2)	Advanced	40	4,429	85,420

Table 3.1 shows the whole distribution of subjects (i.e., learners), types, and tokens of the production by learners for each proficiency level of the SST and CEFR. SST Level 9 corresponds with CEFR B2.1 to C2, Level 8 with B1.2, Levels 7 and 6 with B1.1, Levels 5 and 4 with A2, Level 3 with A1, and Levels 2 and 1 with those below A1.

The alignment between SST and CEFR is based on the assignment of CEFR rating to the ACTFL assessments (American Council on the Teachers of Foreign Languages, 2018; Tschirner & Bärenfänger, 2012), the alignment of SST with ACTFL

and the CEFR-based framework for ELT in Japan (CEFR-J) (Kaneko & Izumi, 2012), and the description of CEFR and CEFR-J alignment (Tono, 2013). The types and tokens were retrieved by a software called *Analyzer* accompanying the *Nihonjin 1200-nin No Eigo Speaking Corpus* (Izumi et al., 2004).

Tschirner and Bärenfänger (2012) suggested that it is possible to convert the CEFR levels to the OPI and SST levels and vice versa, especially based on the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview by Computer (OPIC) studies. They attempted to assign the CEFR ratings to the OPIC and OPI ratings using the German languageⁱⁱ, following “the benchmarking protocol established by the Council of Europe to link the ACTFL OPI and OPIC to the CEFR”; assignment of ratings was done by six “experienced tester trainers and testers for [T]he European Language Certificates (TELC)” (p. 3). “There are clear correspondences between CEFR and ACTFL ratings at the levels Novice High, Intermediate Low, Intermediate Mid, Intermediate High, Advanced Low, and Superior,” while Advanced Mid and Advanced High each align with two CEFR levels (Tschirner & Bärenfänger, 2012, p. 13). Tschirner and Bärenfänger (2012) affirmed that their findings are relevant not only to German but also to the other languages included in the TELC suite of languages (English among them) because there is high inter-rater reliability across languages among the TELC tester trainers.

However, it should be noted that the assignment of the SST levels to CEFR ratings may not be perfectly reliable. The SST was developed based on the OPI, and adapted to Japanese learners of English in Japan (Izumi et al., 2004). Thus, Kaneko and Izumi (2012) addressed difficulties in the alignment of the SST and CEFR-J, which provides more fine-grained ratings than the CEFR, especially for the Pre-A1, A1, and A2 levels. Kaneko and Izumi (2012) asked six SST evaluators to examine statements in the CEFR-J and assign SST levels to the CEFR-J, but found that SST level 4 should be

extended across the A1 or A2 levels, while SST Levels 6 and 7 should be matched with the same rating, B1.1.

Although the current study followed the alignment for the sake of convenience, more researches should be conducted to clarify whether the assignment of SST levels to CEFR ratings can be applicable to the target learner data, especially the utterances taken from the role-play stage in the NICT JLE Corpus, which do not necessarily represent and may not correspond with the learners' holistic performance assessed by the SST evaluators.

3.2.2.1 The CEFR illustrative scale for “obtaining goods and services”

In order to estimate what the target learners at different proficiency levels in the current study can manage in shopping transactions, the CEFR illustrative scale for “obtaining goods and services” should be described.

According to the latest version of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment: Companion Volume with New Descriptors* (Council of Europe, 2017), “transactional language use” is described as one of the “communicative language activities,” and “obtaining goods and services” is illustrated as the facet of “interaction” among four elements (i.e., perception, production, interaction, and mediation) (p. 31). The CEFR also provides an illustrative scale for “obtaining goods and services” in the domain of “spoken interaction” with other scales such as “information exchange,” “interviewing and being interviewed,” and “using telecommunications.”

The Council of Europe (2017) noted:

Obtaining goods and services mainly concerns service encounters in restaurants, shops, banks etc. Effectively making a complaint appears at B1

and above this level, [*sic*] the scale focuses on following up a complaint or problem and negotiating a solution. Key concepts operationalized in the scale include the following:

- types of situations: from simple, everyday transactions to disputes about responsibility and sensitive transactions in public, professional or academic life;
- getting service: from asking for food and drink to asking detailed questions about more complex services;
- demanding satisfaction; from making a complaint (B1) to negotiating a solution to a dispute or a sensitive transaction.

Figure 3.1 shows an illustrative scale for levels Pre-A1 to C2. When describing the requestive speech acts produced by learners at different proficiency levels, these illustrative scales, as reference, should facilitate the estimation of the standard performance described for each level.

OBTAINING GOODS AND SERVICES	
For the PROSIGN version of this scale click here .	
C2	No descriptors available; see C1
C1	Can negotiate complex or sensitive transactions in public, professional or academic life.
B2	Can cope linguistically to negotiate a solution to a dispute like an undeserved traffic ticket, financial responsibility for damage in a flat, for blame regarding an accident. Can outline a case for compensation, using persuasive language to demand satisfaction and state clearly the limits to any concession he/she is prepared to make.
	Can state requirements and ask detailed questions regarding more complex services, e.g. rental agreements. Can explain a problem which has arisen and make it clear that the provider of the service/customer must make a concession.
B1	Can deal with most transactions likely to arise whilst travelling, arranging travel or accommodation, or dealing with authorities during a foreign visit. Can ask in a shop for an explanation of the difference between two or more products serving the same purpose, in order to make a decision, posing follow up questions as necessary. Can cope with less routine situations in shops, post office, bank, e.g. returning an unsatisfactory purchase. Can make a complaint. Can deal with most situations likely to arise when making travel arrangements through an agent or when actually travelling, e.g. asking passenger where to get off for unfamiliar destination.
	Can deal with common aspects of everyday living such as travel, lodgings, eating and shopping. Can interact in predictable everyday situations (e.g. a post office, a station, a shop), using a wide range of simple words and expressions. Can get all the information needed from a tourist office, as long as it is of a straightforward, non-specialised nature.
A2	Can ask for and provide everyday goods and services. Can get simple information about travel, use public transport: buses, trains, and taxis, ask and give directions, and buy tickets. Can ask about things and make simple transactions in shops, post offices or banks. Can give and receive information about quantities, numbers, prices etc. Can make simple purchases by stating what is wanted and asking the price. Can order a meal. Can say when something is wrong, e.g. 'The food is cold' or 'There is no light in my room.'
	Can ask (face-to-face) for a medical appointment and understand the reply. Can indicate the nature of a problem to a health professional, perhaps using gestures and body language.
A1	Can ask people for things and give people things. Can ask for food and drink using basic expressions. Can handle numbers, quantities, cost and time.
Pre-A1	Can make simple purchases and/or order food or drink when pointing or other gesture can support the verbal reference.

Figure 3.1. The CEFR illustrative scale for “obtaining goods and services” (Taken from the Council of Europe, 2017, p. 87).

3.3 Challenging “Form-to-Function” Analyses: Extraction of Predetermined Pragmatic Features

The current section reviews the author’s earlier studies listed in Table 3.2. In these studies, particular linguistic features with pragmatic functions were predetermined

and automatically extracted from the corpus, in order to examine the pragmatic development of Japanese learners of English. The relative frequencies of different proficiency levels were calculated and compared, which allowed the author to investigate the use and development of pragmatic features pseudo-longitudinally or cross-sectionally.

Table 3.2

A list of the author's previous studies on surface-form extractions of pragmatic features from the NICT JLE Corpus

Publication Date	Analyses	Observed Features	Proficiency Levels
Miura (2009)	Comparing the relative frequencies of each feature across different proficiency levels	<i>I mean, I guess, really, just, maybe, actually, kind of, like, so</i>	SST Levels 1 to 9
Miura (2011)	Attempting to conduct form-to-function analyses of each discourse marker in different types of interactions (monologues, casual dialogues, and role-play dialogues) across different proficiency levels	<i>actually, I guess, well, I mean, kind of, like</i>	SST Levels 3 to 9, and native speakers
Miura (2014)		<i>well, I mean, kind of, like</i>	

3.3.1 Extraction of Predetermined Pragmatic Features Introduced in the Corpus-Based ELT Textbooks from the NICT JLE Corpus (Miura, 2009)

Miura (2009) conducted her initial study investigating the pragmatic features in learner corpora. The purpose of the study was to show pedagogically a gap between the expectations of textbook writers and editors and the actual language use of Japanese EFL learners in the NICT JLE Corpus. The author focused on the pragmatic or

conversational features retrieved from the frequency lists of a large corpus in corpus-based ELT textbooks called the *Touchstone* (McCarthy & Carter, 2005a; 2005b; 2005c; 2006a; 2006b). This series was edited based on research into the Cambridge English Corpus in order to present natural language in authentic texts (McCarthy, 2004; O’Keeffe, McCarthy, & Carter, 2007). Each book of the series features so-called *conversation strategies*, composed of the frequent chunks or multi-word strings retrieved from the corpus, such as hedging, vagueness, discourse marking, the preservation of face, and the expression of politeness, which have pragmatic functions (McCarthy & Carter, 2006; O’Keeffe et al., 2007). A total of 81 different items of conversation strategies with the description of each function are introduced in books for beginners or CEFR A1 learners (i.e., Book 1), high beginners at CEFR A1 and the entry level of A2 (i.e., Book 2), low-intermediate learners at CEFR A2 and the entry level of B1 (i.e., Book 3), and intermediate learners or B1 learners (i.e., Book 4). In this study, Miura (2009) predetermined the following pragmatic features to be investigated in the whole data of the NICT JLE Corpus across nine different proficiency levels, containing 1,281 learners with 47,900 types and 1,762,919 tokens (p. 142): *I mean, I guess, really, just, maybe, actually, kind of, like, and so*. The features were all automatically extracted from the corpus, without any contextual references and task-effect considerations. The overall results indicated that these pragmatic features were rarely produced by basic learners, but tended to be produced more frequently by intermediate learners than upper intermediate and advanced learners. The rough observation of these features in concordance lines suggested that most of them functioned as fillers when “searching for the appropriate expression” (see Fung & Carter, 2007) and “denoting thinking process” (see Müller, 2005). The learners’ use of these features were rather different from what was explained in the textbooks, probably because the learners manipulated their communication

strategies for the negotiation of meaning in order to compensate for their lack of command of the language, or “their lack of vocabulary and productive skills” (Miura, 2009, p. 152). Therefore, it was indicated that intermediate learners had more frequent productions possibly due to their “verbosity” (Faerch & Kasper, 1989), or “the waffle phenomenon,” which Edmondston and House (1990) defined as the “excessive use of linguistic forms to fill a specific discourse ‘slot’ or ‘move,’ i.e. [to] achieve a specific pragmatic goal” (pp. 273-274).

3.3.2 A “Form-to-Function” Analysis of Discourse Markers with Multi-Functionality in Different Interactional Situations (Miura, 2011; 2014)

Following the initial study, in order to observe learner-proficiency differences in the use of pragmatic features, the author examined the use of discourse markers such as *actually* and *I guess* (Miura, 2011), and *well*, *I mean*, *kind of*, and *like* (Miura, 2011; 2014) in the NICT JLE Corpus with a comparison of native speakers’ data, following the classificatory descriptions of discourse markers made by Fung and Carter (2007) and Müller (2004; 2005). As previously mentioned, the NICT JLE Corpus is composed of written transcripts of the SST, which is divided into five different stages. In order to overcome the weakness of the research methodology in the initial study (Miura, 2009), which did not take into account the interactional differences of speech production, the author, in the next studies (2011; 2014), divided the learner data into three different sub-corpora: (i) monologues, where learners were asked to describe the pictures given (including Stages 2 and 4), (ii) casual dialogues, where learners had casual conversations with the interlocutors (including Stages 1 and 5, and follow-up sessions of Stages 2, 3, and 4), and (iii) role-play dialogues, where learners were instructed to conduct role plays simulating particular social situations such as shopping (including Stage 3). Although the

initial study (Miura, 2009) did not investigate the functions of pragmatic features, the subsequent studies (Miura, 2011; 2014) aimed to conduct a “form-to-function” analysis, concerning not only the interactional effects on learner production, but also the classification of the multi-functionality of discourse markers. First, Miura (2011; 2014) resorted to Fung and Carter (2007)’s classification of discourse markers into four functions: interpersonal (e.g., *kind of, like, well, you know, I see*, etc.), referential (e.g., *and, because, but, however, so*, etc.), structural (e.g., *and, finally, first, now, well*, etc.), and cognitive (e.g., *and, like, I mean, well, you know*, etc.). For example, the procedure of the analysis of *well* was as follows: all the occurrences of *well* were retrieved on the basis of the filler tags with which the corpus was already annotated, which allowed the author to exclude the adverbs, adjectives, and nouns of *well*. It was observed that *well* was the most frequently produced by learners at SST Level 8 in role-play dialogues, followed by Level 9 in monologues, but infrequently produced by learners from Levels 3 to 6, as well as by 40 native speakers, in all three situations. The frequent production by intermediate and upper intermediate learners was again assumed to be attributed to their tendency of *verbosity*. Thus, the role-play dialogues produced by Level 8 learners contained approximately 1,800 occurrences of *well* per 100,000 tokens (i.e., approximately 1,300 raw frequencies among 70,404 tokens). According to Fung and Carter (2007), there are mainly three different functions of *well*: interpersonal (i.e., “indicating attitudes” when the speaker cannot answer either yes or no), structural (i.e., “opening and closing of topics” when the speaker wants to change the topic), and cognitive (i.e., “denoting thinking process” when the speaker needs some time before producing the following utterance) (p. 418). However, due to the vast numbers of extracted target features, detailed functional analyses of the aforementioned features were not practically possible.

Further, Miura (2011; 2014) preliminarily attempted to conduct a “form-to-function” analysis, by observing *like*, only focusing on the data of learners at Levels 3, 6, 9 and native speakers. Based on the notion of “optionality,” which means that “[discourse markers] are semantically and grammatically optional” (Fung & Carter, 2007, p. 414) and that “they are syntactically optional and contribute little or no propositional meaning to the utterance that contains them” (Müller, 2004, p. 1158), Miura (2011; 2014) identified the discourse marker, *like*, in the following procedures: (i) retrieved all occurrences of the lexical item, *like*; (ii) manually eliminated the forms of the lexical verb and preposition, *like*, from the target data; (iii) identified the discourse markers, *like*, when they were “optional” and had functions such as “searching for the appropriate expression” (Müller, 2005, p. 208), “making an approximate number or quantity” (p. 210), “introducing an example” (p. 212), “introducing an explanation” (p. 215), and “marking lexical focus” (p. 219).

In contrast with *well*, *like* was the most frequently produced by native speakers in casual dialogues (i.e., 1,600 occurrences per 100,000 tokens), about 1.8 times more than that produced by Level 9 learners, 5 times more than that produced by Level 6 learners, and 17 times more than that produced by Level 3 learners. In contrast, in role-play dialogues, approximately 400 normalized frequencies per 100,000 tokens were produced by native speakers and Level 9 learners, while in monologues, 200 frequencies were produced by these groups. The results indicated that *like* tended to be used in *more casual conversations* especially by advanced learners and native speakers. A detailed functional analysis was again not possible because it was difficult to match the forms and functions of the discourse markers due to their multi-functionality. For example, in “*Like I can get there in like ten minutes or so*” (Miura, 2014), each *like* can have more than one function according to the aforementioned definitions given by Müller (2005), which made

it difficult for the author to determine the functions, since the author had no access to the speakers to confirm the intentions of their utterances.

To summarize, Miura (2009; 2011; 2014) conducted the aforementioned corpus pragmatic studies in order to examine the pragmatic competences of Japanese EFL learners at different proficiencies, focusing on the pragmatic features or discourse markers at the surface level. However, the series of studies indicated the difficulties of conducting “form-to-function” analyses, or identifying and analyzing the functions based on only the extracted surface forms of predetermined linguistic features retrieved from the concordance lines.

3.4 Analyses of Pragmatic Functions in Longer Stretches of Discourse: Extraction of Manually Annotated Requestive Speech Acts

In the next stage, the author attempted to explore the possibilities of expanding the scope of spoken learner corpora from investigations of surface forms (e.g., the lexico-grammatical features of discourse markers) to those of pragmatic functions (e.g., speech act expressions) (Miura, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2016b; 2017; Miura & Sano, 2014). Rather than automatically extract the linguistic items manifesting pragmatic functions from the corpus and then attempt to match the forms and functions (Miura, 2009; 2011; 2014), the author instead attempted to conduct a “function-to-form” analysis, in order to examine the development of pragmatic competences and to explore the pragmatic *criterial features* distinguishing the different levels of proficiency. The author manually annotated requestive speech acts, drawing on and revising the CCSARP coding scheme devised by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). Rather than investigate the whole data, the author extracted only the learner utterances in role-play sessions, where the interlocutor and learner interacted dialogically.

The current section describes how the author attempted to identify and annotate speech act realizations as part of the founding studies to the current doctoral study (see Table 3.3). First, the preliminary studies are reviewed as the pilot annotation of small-scale data using XML tags (Miura & Sano 2014; Miura, 2015a). Second, the development of multi-layered annotation schemes for larger data with a tool called UAM CorpusTool (UAMCT) (O'Donnell, 2012) is reviewed (Miura, 2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2016b). Thus, Miura (2015b; 2017) attempted to explore the possibility of assessing learners' sociopragmatic competences and annotating the degree of politeness in the identified pragmalinguistic features of requests.

Table 3.3

A list of the author's previous studies regarding requestive speech acts in the NICT JLE Corpus

Publication Date	Annotation Schemes	Task	Task Types	The No. of Subjects	Proficiency Levels
Miura (2015a)	Requestive speech acts	Shopping	Basic	23	SST Levels 1, 2, & 3
			Intermediate	20	SST Levels 4 & 5
			Advanced	40	SST Levels 6, 7, 8, & 9
		Train	Basic	10	SST Levels 1 & 2
			Intermediate	30	SST Levels 3, 4, & 5
			Advanced	40	SST Levels 6, 7, 8, & 9
Miura (2015b)	1. Requestive Speech acts	Shopping	Beginner & Intermediate	67	CEFR A1 (i.e., SST Level 3)

	2. Politeness		Intermediate	67	CEFR A2 (i.e., SST Levels 4 & 5)
			Advanced	66	CEFR B1 (i.e., SST Levels 6 to 8)
			Beginner, Intermediate, & Advanced	14	Native speakers
Miura (2015c; 2016a)	1. Requestive speech acts	Shopping	Beginner & Intermediate	68	CEFR A1 (i.e., SST Level 3)
	2. Requestive functions		Intermediate	114	CEFR A2 (i.e., SST Levels 4 & 5)
	3. Requestive naturalness ⁱⁱⁱ				
Miura (2017)	1. Requestive speech acts	Shopping	Beginner & Intermediate	68	CEFR A1 (i.e., SST Level 3)
	2. Requestive functions		Intermediate	114	CEFR A2 (i.e., SST Levels 4 & 5)
	3. Requestive politeness		Advanced	66	CEFR B1 (i.e., SST Levels 6 to 8)

3.4.1 XML Annotations of Requestive Speech Acts in the NICT JLE Corpus (Miura, 2015a)

In a pilot study, Miura (2015a) extracted the role-play interactions of Shopping and Train from 10 subjects at each level (except for Levels 1 and 2, which constituted the smaller number of subjects available in the corpus). Following the coding scheme presented by Flores Salgado (2011), focusing on the CCSARP coding scheme, the extracted learner data were annotated with *head acts* and the *internal* and *external modification* of requestive speech acts. Three types of request strategies were identified:

direct (e.g., imperatives, obligations, elliptical phrases^{iv}, desires, wishes, etc.), *conventionally indirect* (e.g., ability, willingness, suggestory, etc.), and *non-conventionally indirect strategies* (e.g., those having IFIDs, which were not lexically explicit and were categorized as neither direct nor conventionally indirect). Types of request strategies, patterns of direct and conventionally indirect strategies, and types of external modification were quantitatively compared across different proficiency levels among two different tasks. As a result, direct strategies were produced more frequently by lower learners at SST Levels 1 to 5 than by higher learners at Levels 6 to 9. Probably due to the replacement of direct strategies, the use of conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect strategies gradually increased with the increase of proficiency levels. Although no statistical tests were conducted to check for significant differences between proficiency levels due to the small-scale data, the linguistic patterns that were characteristic^v of particular proficiencies were the elliptical phrases produced by learners at Levels 2 and 3 and the desire verbs produced by learners at Levels 4 and 5. Both categories were less frequently produced by higher groups from Levels 6 to 9. Conventional indirectness with ability patterns (i.e., *can* or *could*) was evident from learners at Level 6 and onwards, and willingness and suggestory patterns were infrequent from learners throughout all the levels. As regards external modification, *grounder* patterns, which convey a reason to modify a requestive head act, were especially evident in higher learners (from Level 6 and onwards) during both Train and Shopping tasks. Through this pilot work, it was assumed that the task difference should be considered as one of the effective factors leading to the overall quantitative differences between the different proficiency levels. Thus, in the role-play tasks, the lower learners at Levels 1 and 5 were given a general transaction where the interlocutor played the role of a shop assistant or railway station staff, and the learner played the role of a customer or passenger

whose final objective was to purchase a particular item by asking for information about the price, quantity, and method of payment. These tasks were named either *Beginner* or *Intermediate*. On the other hand, the higher learners at Levels 6 to 9 were given a situation where the learner had already bought a particular item or a train ticket and needed to negotiate a refund or an exchange of the items with the interlocutor. The name of the task was *Advanced*. Therefore, it was assumed that the task difference may have been effective so that the lower learners tended to be more direct because they were not required to redress FTAs when expressing their intention or desire for purchase. However, it was likely that the higher learners tended to opt for conventionally indirect and indirect patterns with more external modifiers, as a given situation required them to be more concessive in negotiating a refund or an exchange of the item. The social distance between the role-playing customer (i.e., learner) and shop assistant (i.e., interlocutor) might have been the same in both the general transactions and the negotiations for a refund or an exchange of items. However, the degree of imposition that the request placed on the hearer (i.e., shop assistant) may have been higher in the negotiations than in the general transaction of purchase, so that the power relations between the customer and shop assistant would have varied according to the types of transaction while shopping.

In these preliminary studies, annotations showing requestive speech acts were manually added to the TXT files of the NICT JLE Corpus, as Figure 3.2 shows. <HA></HA> were closed and open tags for a requestive head act, <RQ dmc="s"></RQ dmc="s"> were tags for when the dominance of the requestive perspective was on the speaker, and <DR></DR> were tags for direct strategy. As the description of the XML formatting and annotation of the NICT JLE Corpus was given in Miura & Sano (2014), after the manual tagging of the pragmatic features, the annotated features were retrieved using Perl, with the script written to retrieve not only the searched tags, but also the whole

utterance wherein the searched tags were contained. This made it possible and easier for the author to examine the neighboring contexts of the target pragmatic features in longer stretches of discourse, while referring to the interlocutors' utterances. Automatic search and retrieval of the surface forms of pragmatic features in Miura (2009; 2011; 2014) allowed the author to extract only a KWIC (Key Word In Context) from the concordance lines with a limited number of words, which seemed less suitable for corpus pragmatic analyses, especially in a “function-to-form” manner.

```

<A>Hello. May I help you, miss?</A>
<B><F>Er</F> yes. <F>Mmm</F> <HA><RQ dmc="s"><DR str="desire"><R unclarity="none">I want
to</R> <SC>I want to</SC> <SC>I want</SC> <F>mm</F> sorry, <F>mm</F> <pause
duration="short"></pause> I want to <F>err</F> watch.</DR></RQ></HA></B>
<A><F>Uhm</F>.</A>
<B><F>Um</F>.</B>
<A>Yes.</A>

```

Figure 3.2. An excerpt from “file00001” with annotations of request strategies (Taken from Miura & Sano, 2014, p. 18).

3.4.2 Revision of the Research Methodologies: Development of Multi-Layered Annotation Schemes with the UAM CorpusTool (Miura, 2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2017)

This section briefly outlines the author's recent studies (2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2017) and describes the outcomes, which suggest what can or cannot be done in the present doctoral thesis as the foundation. Miura (2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2017) updated the research methodology adopted in one of her previous studies (2015b) as follows: (i) divided the target learners into three proficiency groups depending on the type of task given and grouped them according to the CEFR levels, (ii) focused only on the learner

data of shopping role plays, (iii) revised the CCSARP coding scheme to fit into the data described in (ii), and (iv) used the UAMCT to develop the multi-layered schemes.

3.4.2.1 How the CCSARP coding scheme was revised to fit into the target learner data

Before describing how the author revised the CCSARP coding to fit into the NICT JLE Corpus, Rintell and Mitchell (1989)'s study should be described. As mentioned before, they investigated whether learners' speech act data elicited from the role-play method were different from those elicited from the written DCT. In the beginning of their study, although they were part of the CCSARP, they did not adopt the CCSARP coding scheme, but developed their own. Eventually, they found that they should stick to the CCSARP coding scheme with only two additional categories. However, their remarks regarding when they decided to develop their own coding scheme should be useful for the present study. At first, they were afraid that "the CCSARP coding scheme would not be sensitive to *the novel ways in which learners use language*" (p. 253; italics added). Their concern was that the official coding scheme would "obscure the qualitative differences among many of the strategies by grouping them into specific categories." Besides, they wanted to look at the "sequential patterns of all the possible components of the speech acts" (p. 252) in a sequence such as "a conversational opening + one or more justifications + the Head Act + one or more explanations + a second Head Act" (p. 253). However, in the end, they adopted the "official" CCSARP coding scheme as it "does provide a means of differentiating among many types of linguistic choices within each component of the full response," although "it does not anticipate the *novel* utterances of some learners" (p. 253; italics added). These *novel* ways or utterances, which were especially characteristic of lower learners, taken from the NICT JLE Corpus, were in fact

one of the greatest challenges since the CCSARP framework did not fit into the lower learners' requests in the present study. As described in section 2.4.5.1, Culpeper and Haugh (2014) referred to some features in naturally occurring conversation that do not fit the classification developed by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), including an "elliptical" phrase (Culpeper & Haugh, p. 276), which was actually annotated as "non-sentential phrase" in the current study. In fact, requests with non-sentential phrases were particularly evident among the learners at A1 level in the current study (see Table 6.23 in section 6.3.1.1).

In contrast with her previous study (2015a), in which the data were annotated with XML tags, the author's subsequent studies (2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2017) used the UAMCT developed by O'Donnell (2012; 2013) for the entire annotations (see Miura, 2016b for more details). This tool's stand-off markup allows researchers to construct a multi-layered annotation scheme, making manual annotations less laborious than XML annotations (Miura, 2016b). The learner data were divided into three groups: (i) the CEFR A1 (given a Beginner or an Intermediate task), (ii) the CEFR A2 (given an Intermediate task), and (iii) the CEFR B1 (given an Advanced task). The CEFR A1 level contained the learners at SST Level 3, the A2 level contained the learners at Levels 4 and 5, and the B1 level contained the learners at Levels 6 to 8.^{vi}

In order to fit into the learner data, the CCSARP coding scheme was revised, especially in the shopping situations as follows (for the details and overview of the CCSARP, see section 2.4). First, some learner-specific patterns were added to the original category of *direct* strategy: (i) *declarative statement* such as "My size is M" (i.e., the speaker's intention of the utterance was interpreted as his or her desire or request of this particular size of clothes), "I buy it" (i.e., the speaker's intention was interpreted as a request or desire of purchasing some item), and "I try it" (i.e., interpreted as a request or desire of testing some item); (ii) *not-classifiable* such as "Buy it" (i.e., although the

sentence was syntactically incomplete without the subject “I,” the speaker’s intention was interpreted as a request or desire of purchasing some item); and (iii) *yes/no*^{vii} such as “Yes?” (i.e., the speaker’s intention was interpreted as a request due to his or her “Yes” statement with a rising intonation after being offered something by the interlocutor). They were learner-specific data due to unsuitable lexico-grammatical features; however, the author immediately recognized the IFIDs in these linguistic forms through manual readings, so that she annotated them as requestive head acts.

Second, newly developed subcategories were added into the category of *conventionally indirect* strategy by the author, in addition to exclusion of the category of *non-conventionally indirect* from analysis. This was a striking difference in the coding schemes between the author’s earlier study, which purely adopted the CCSARP coding scheme, (2015a) and her later studies (2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2017), which revised the CCSARP to fit into the target learner data. The author annotated non-conventionally indirect strategy only in her earlier study (2015a), but did not in the other studies (2015c; 2016a; 2017). As mentioned in the section on the review of the CCSARP, especially in the part discussing the criticism against the project, Leech (2014) noted that some of the “‘non-conventional’ requests can actually be highly conventionalized (pragmaticalized)” (p. 142). Leech (2014) further described that “*Got a pen?*” (p. 142), which is categorized as a hint (or non-conventionally indirect strategy) in the CCSARP, is “highly conventionalized, in that [...] the indirect interpretation is immediately unavoidably available in context” (p. 143) to be understood as a request. Referring to his claim, to the category of conventionally indirect strategy, the author (2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2017) decided to add linguistic patterns, the so-called (i) *existence* such as “*Do you have any jacket?*,” “*Is there a walking shoes?*,” and “*I’m looking for umm jacket*” (i.e., each of whose surface form is a question or statement asking whether a particular item is existent

or available), (ii) *intention* such as “*I will have it,*” “*I prefer this ten thousand yen,*” “*I decided to buy this one,*” and “*I come to here to see some personal computers*” (i.e., each of whose surface form denotes the speaker’s intention of purchasing a particular item), and (iii) *possibility* such as “*Is it possible to take back this notebook computer today?*” and “*So I’m OK if you um if you give me a red sweater with no no extra money*” (i.e., each of whose surface form is a question or a conditional sentence regarding the possibilities of something). Originally, Miura (2015a) treated the aforementioned patterns as *non-conventionally indirect* strategies since these patterns were not described as either *direct* or *conventionally indirect* strategies in the CCSARP. However, Miura (2015b; 2015c; 2016a; 2017) revised her annotation scheme by (i) adding the aforementioned patterns, which seemed like *conventionalized* requests in shopping role plays, to the category of *conventionally indirect* strategy, and (ii) excluding the category of *non-conventionally indirect* strategy since the IFIDs of *non-conventional* patterns were not explicitly manifested in the surface linguistic forms. For the author, it was easy to identify *conventionalized* requests since their IFIDs were easily recognized in given contexts, especially in reference to the interlocutor’s (i.e., the hearer’s) response to the learner’s (i.e., the speaker’s) utterances. However, it was difficult to identify *non-conventionally indirect* requests since the author had limited access to the contextual information that was likely to facilitate the identification of the IFIDs of non-explicit requests; for example, the prosodies, facial expressions, and gestures of the speaker as well as the hearer. The author also lacked direct access to the actual speakers who provided the data, which could be used to confirm the intentions of their utterances. As written in the section on corpus pragmatics (see 2.5.2), corpus-based studies usually dealt with direct and conventionally indirect strategies as in Aijmer (1996) and Aksan and Mersinli (2015). Garcia (2015)’s study is the only one that included the category of non-conventionally indirect strategies.

Garcia identified speech acts while she “simultaneously read through transcripts and listened to audio recordings of the conversation” (p. 32). She also managed to identify non-conventional requests, in which “the speaker does not use any linguistic cues to indicate that a request is being attempted,” by determining “the illocutionary force of a request” according to the response made by the hearer who regarded the speaker’s utterance as a request (p. 40).

3.4.2.2 The distribution of request strategies and lexical and syntactic patterns across different proficiency levels

In one study, Miura (2015b) compared the requestive speech acts produced by three learner groups with different proficiency levels and 14 native speakers. Each learner group constituted approximately the same number of learners: either 66 or 67. The proportion of *direct* strategies that the A1 group manifested was about 87%, A2 was 79%, B1 was 45%, and the group of native speakers was 54%. The remaining requests belonged to *conventionally indirect* strategies. The increase of direct strategies with the development of proficiency levels was in line with the outcome of past DCT-based studies such as those done by Trosborg (1995), Hill (1999), and Flores Salgado (2011), except for results pertaining to the native speakers’ tendency. It was observed that the group of native speakers exhibited 53.7% of direct and 63.3% of conventionally indirect strategies. This unexpected result should be attributed to the small number of native-speaking subjects, which was approximately five times smaller than the learners’ group (i.e., 14 subjects). Additionally, the task difference was not considered (i.e., four subjects were given the Beginner task, five were given the Intermediate task, and five were given the Advanced task).

In another study, Miura (2016a) expanded the number of target subjects to the

maximum number available in the corpus, and contrasted 68 A1 and 114 A2 learners. A significant difference was found between the A1 and A2 groups according to the chi-square test at the significance level of 0.01 (i.e., $\chi^2 = 15.84$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$, Cramer's $V = .107$). The proportion of direct and conventionally indirect strategies was about 68% and 32% for A1 learners, and 56.9% and 43.2% for A2 learners, respectively. Therefore, with increasing proficiency, the learners tended to use more conventionally indirect strategies than direct strategies.

In these previous studies by the author (2015b; 2016a), the most frequent patterns of direct strategies were the *desire verbs* (e.g., *want*, *would like*, and *need*). According to Miura (2015b), *want* was highly frequently produced by A1 and A2 learners, accounting for about 40% of all requests; however, B1 learners showed only 10% of *want* and 10% of *would like*. *Elliptical phrases* (e.g., “And er ear phone, please”) were the most frequent in A1 learners, constituting 18% of requests (Miura, 2016a), but rarely produced by A2 and B1 learners (Miura, 2015b). Although the *imperative* form was described as one of the most typical patterns representing direct strategies in the CCSARP,^{viii} its ratio was extremely lower (i.e., approximately 10% and lower) than that of the desire verb, *want*, across all proficiency levels and native speakers (Miura, 2015b; 2016a).

According to Miura (2016a), the most frequent subcategories of conventionally indirect strategies was the so-called *existence* in A1 (i.e., 14.1%) and A2 (i.e., 17.5%) learners, followed by *intention* in A1 (i.e., 9.6%) and A2 (i.e., 12.7%) learners, and *ability modals* in A1 (i.e., 7.4%) and A2 (i.e., 10.2%) learners. No significant differences were found between these two groups in terms of the frequencies of *existence*, *intention*, and *ability/permission* at $p < .01$ (i.e., $\chi^2 = .2021^{\text{ix}}$, $df = 2$, $p = .90387$, n.s.). Further, a significant difference was observed only in terms of the *ability/permission* subcategory at $p < .01$ (i.e., $\chi^2 = 9.7$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .196$), but in terms

of the *existence* subcategory (e.g., *Do you have [item]?*, *Is there [item]?*, and *I look for [item]*) and in the *intention* subcategory (e.g., *I will [buy it]*, *I like [item]*, *I decided to [buy it]*, and *I come/am here to [buy it]*). However, features such as *can*, *could*, and *may* were not frequent in both A1 and A2 learners, accounting for only about 10% of the whole requests (Miura, 2015b; 2016a). In contrast, 25% of B1 learners' requests were observed with the use of *ability modals*: 12% of *can*, 12% of *could*, and 1% of *may* (Miura, 2015b).

In summary, the results of the author's previous studies (2015b; 2016a), which suggested the increase of conventionally direct strategies and the decrease of direct strategies, confirmed not only what the past cross-sectional studies reported (Trosborg, 1995; Hill, 1998; Rose, 2000; 2009; Flores Salgado, 2011; Kaneko, 2004) but also what the past longitudinal studies described (Ellis, 1992; Achiba, 2003, Kasper & Rose, 2002), apart from any possibilities of situational and interactional effects caused by the task differences. The observation by past researchers that the performance of advanced learners was similar to that of native speakers (Takahashi & Dufon, 1989; Hill, 1997; Flores Salgado, 2011; Kaneko, 2004) was not confirmed due to the extremely small number of native-speaking subjects and the effects of task difference in this study.

3.4.2.3 Bottom-up identification of the functions of utterances: Function-to-form analyses of requestive speech acts (Miura, 2016a; 2017)

In subsequent studies, Miura (2016a; 2017) developed an annotation scheme to identify the functions of requestive speech acts. The annotation scheme was independent from the scheme for requests based on the CCSARP coding scheme. All the utterances produced by learners were carefully read by the author, and then manually identified and annotated with functions, so that the scheme was constructed in a *bottom-up* fashion. The rationale behind the development of this scheme is that the author

intended to overcome the *task differences* pertaining to different proficiency groups (i.e., the A1 and A2 groups were given a task of general purchase, while the B1 groups were given a negotiation task). The UAMCT allows a cross-schematic extraction of the target features, making it possible to retrieve requestive speech acts and determine the functions. The hypothesis was as follows: if requestive patterns are retrieved in terms of the functions, it may become possible to compare the learner data across different proficiency levels, regardless of which tasks were given (i.e., Beginner, Intermediate, or Advanced).

Miura (2016a) compared the frequencies of the direct and conventionally indirect strategies produced by 68 A1 and 114 A2 learners. A1 learners showed 64.8% of direct and 35.2% of conventionally indirect strategies, while A2 learners showed 52.2% of direct and 47.8% of conventionally indirect strategies. Thus, the learners' utterances were broadly classified into one of two function groups: (i) *dealing with transaction* and (ii) *communication for transaction*. Miura (2016a) investigated the requests in terms of nine different functions: two functions belonging to dealing with transaction (i.e., (a) *expressing their intention to buy a particular item* and (b) *expressing or asking about the item they would like to purchase*) and seven functions belonging to communication for transaction (i.e., (c) *negotiating for a discount*, (d) *asking for bringing an alternative item*, (e) *asking for recommendation*, (f) *asking someone to show an item*, (g) *asking for permission to test an item*, (h) *asking someone to perform something*, and (i) *suggesting*).

As a result, the functions of requests produced by A1 and A2 learners mostly belonged to (a) expressing their intention to buy a particular item (accounting for 33.1% for A1 learners and 30.0% for A2 learners) and (b) expressing or asking about the item they would like to purchase (accounting for 51.2% for A1 learners and 50.2% for A2 learners), which turned out to reflect heavily the nature of the tasks given (i.e., Beginner and Intermediate). The author conducted chi-square tests to determine the effect of the

proficiency difference in the choice of different request strategies in terms of the functions, which had more than five expected values. No significant difference was found between A1 and A2 learners in the choice of direct strategies in functions (a), (b), and (f) at $p < .01$ (i.e., $x^2 = 5.13$, $df = 2$, $p = .07692$, n.s.), as well as in the choice of conventionally indirect strategies in functions (a), (b), and (g) at $p < .01$ (i.e., $x^2 = .31$, $df = 2$, $p = .08564$, n.s.). Function (g) was the only one in which the ratio of conventionally indirect strategies exceeded that of direct strategies. *Ability/permission* patterns such as “Can I try it on?” were frequently produced both by A1 (i.e., 3.5% among 4.5%) and A2 learners (i.e., 3.9% among 4.3%), compared to the direct patterns such as *desire verbs* or *elliptical phrases*, which were frequent in other functions. Learners such as those at the A1 and A2 levels only seemed to manifest a conventionally indirect strategy since “Can I try it on?” was a formulaic expression typically used in testing an item, and may have been intentionally taught at school. However, their preference to conventional forms seemed only limited to this function. Thus, no significant differences between A1 and A2 learners within the same functions suggested that *crierial features* distinguishing A1 and A2 levels should not be explored in terms of the excessive number of fine-grained functions, but in terms of broader categories (see De Felice et al. [2013] who claimed that “a very detailed classification scheme can lead to data sparseness” [p.79], which is also described in section 2.5.2.2).

Although the author’s previous study (2016a) only dealt with A1 and A2 learners, her later study (2017) on B1 learners might highlight the difference between the *lower learners* with a general purchasing task (i.e., A1 and A2 learners) and the *higher learners* with a negotiating task (i.e., B1 learners). According to Miura (2017), one of the most frequent functions was (j) *negotiating for exchange or return belonging to* of (ii) *communication for transaction*, again reflecting the nature of the task (i.e., Advanced).

However, there were no requests with this type of function found at all in the data of A1 and A2 learners. For B1 learners, the distribution of the major linguistic features in function (j) showed that the top-ranked patterns were the desire verbs *would like* (i.e., 21.5%) and *want* (i.e., 18.3%), ability modals *could* (i.e., 19.4%) and *can* (i.e., 10.8%), suggestory *why not* (4%), possibility *is it possible* (3.2%), and willingness *do/would you mind* (3.2%). The overall proportion of direct strategies was 47.3%, and that of conventionally indirect was 52.7%, which indicated a tendency opposite to the results regarding A1 and A2 learners in Miura (2016a). The results concerning B1 learners may be somewhat in line with those of Rose (2009), who investigated how primary and secondary school students in Hong Kong responded to scenarios differing in social status, and concluded that the ratio of *can* decreased with the increase of proficiency levels, but *could* and *would you mind* increased. However, it was impossible to compare B1 learners with A1 and A2 learners, who did not show any requests having the same function. Therefore, it was unclear whether the higher frequency of conventionally indirect strategies was caused by B1 learners' increasing proficiency, or affected by the nature of the Advanced negotiating task, where the imposition of the hearer was higher than in the general purchasing task of Beginner and Intermediate given to A1 and A2 learners.

With a view to extracting pragmalinguistic *criterial features*, the author first intended to compare the frequencies of A1, A2, and B1 learners' requests, specifying the functions of the requests, as mentioned above. The aim was to avoid the effect of task difference on the choice of requestive patterns. It was initially expected that the negotiating function of A1 and A2 learners' requests, such as (c) negotiating for a discount and (d) asking for an alternative item,^x might overlap with the functions of requests made by B1 learners who were given negotiation tasks. However, the result was not what the author expected. Concerning function (c), there were only four out of 32 occurrences

produced by B1 learners. As regards function (d), the total number of occurrences was only 11, and all of them were produced by A1 and A2 learners, while none was found in B1 learners. Therefore, due to the sparse data,^{xi} the identification of requests based on the fine-grained functions did not help to overcome the issue regarding the task difference. Contrary to the author's expectation and hypothesis, it was not possible to cross the boundaries of task differences between "Beginner and Intermediate" (i.e., A1 and A2) and "Advanced" (i.e., B1). In fact, due to the task difference, the distributions of the functions of requests seemed certainly varied. Therefore, the learners given different tasks (i.e., a group of A1 and A2 learners vs. a group of B1 learners) should not be contrasted statistically. It would also be better to avoid solely presenting the overall statistical results calculated from the retrieval of the surface forms of requests without any considerations of their functions. In order to obtain the *critical features* between A1 and A2 learners, the extent to which the functions of requests should be fine-grained can be explored.

To summarize, the author's past studies on extracting requests according to the fine-grained categorization of functions suggested that linguistic forms of requests would vary with their functions to some degree. It is necessary not to rush to attribute the quantitative differences between different proficiency levels to developmental variables or factors, but rather to consider the possibilities caused by the nature of the different tasks, especially for such pragmatic studies as the present study, which highly requires an extensive reference to and consideration of contextual information regarding the relationship between a speaker and a hearer (e.g., power, distance, and cost-benefit variables), interactional types, and social settings.

It is true that the NICT JLE Corpus has been used to explore lexicogrammatical features, syntactic patterns, and pragmatic features or discourse markers as developmental features in cross-sectional research by many researchers (see Izumi, 2011).

Consideration of task differences should also be common to those who attempt to apply corpus data to interlanguage studies. Any researchers who investigate learner corpora, particularly the NICT JLE Corpus, should also be careful when interpreting the overall frequency-based results and deducing the overview of language development or describing the stage of acquisition with statistically obtained *criteria features*, because of task variations given to learners according to different proficiency levels.

Although it seems more difficult to control social variables by restricting the condition of the speaker-hearer relationship and situations in a given task in learner corpora than in the classic and prevalent DCT methods, the aforementioned detailed investigation of requests by developing the schemes delimiting the functions allowed the author to clarify the effects of task differences.

3.4.2.4 Annotation of the naturalness of utterances: Exploration of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of requestive speech acts (Miura, 2015c; 2016a)

Miura (2015c; 2016a) also developed the annotation scheme to categorize each unit of transaction in terms of *naturalness*, which means whether the utterance sounds natural or unnatural to hearers. The term *naturalness* has now been changed to *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* in the current study. This section briefly explains the preliminary version as shown in Figure 3.3. As noted in footnote iii, the term *naturalness* should be debatable, and in fact, in the current doctoral thesis, this annotation has been largely revised and refined by the author after a second check was conducted by an annotation checker and a series of lengthy discussions on the validity and reliability was completed with the annotation checker.

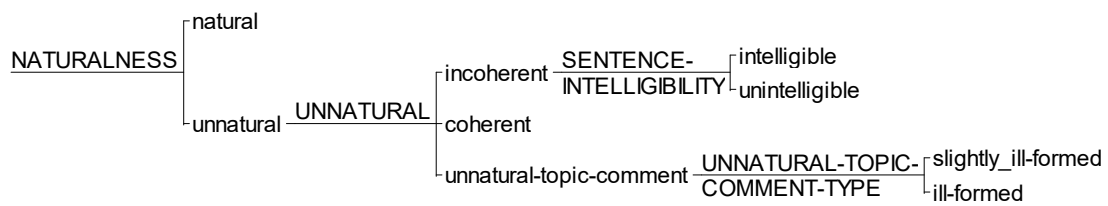


Figure 3.3. The annotation scheme for naturalness (taken from Miura, 2015c).

As shown in Figure 3.3, all utterances were divided into either *natural* or *unnatural*. The former included utterances which were identified as productions with no grammatical (including tense and inflection) and lexical errors, as well as being relevant in a given context. The latter type included (i) *incoherent*, (ii) *coherent*, or (iii) *unnatural topic comment*. A coherent type signified no problems in terms of coherence, despite minor syntactic or grammatical errors, as shown in Figure 3.4. *Incoherent* types were further divided into *intelligible* or *unintelligible*, and *unnatural topic comment* types were subdivided into *slightly ill-formed* and *ill-formed*. The bold sentences in Figures 3.4 to 3.8 show examples of each category.

<A>May I help you, sir?

Yeah. Urr I'd like to I'd like to find I'd like to find a suit.

Figure 3.4. An excerpt from “file00404” (A1 learner given a Beginner task) as an example of *coherent*.

<A>May I help you?
 Oh I want D V D recorder.
 <A>Uh-huh. Erm we have two types of D V D recorder.
 Oh.
 <A>What kind do you want?
 How much? Both
 <A>OK, this one is, let's say sixty thousand yen. And this one is fifty thousand yen.

Figure 3.5. An excerpt from “file00454” (A1 learner given an Intermediate task) as an example of *incoherent* and *intelligible* (Taken from Miura, 2015c).

The utterance “How much? Both” in Figure 3.5 was intelligible but did not respond to the interlocutor’s utterance “What kind do you want?” coherently.

<A>Uh-uhu. O. K. What kind of shoes do you like?
 Ee cheap price and black shoes.
 <A>O K.
 My shoe’s size is twenty seven centimeters.
 <A>O K. We have many here.
 I am I want I wanted I want the um I wanted not many buying shoes. Minor shoes.
 <A>O K.
 I er don’t like sh shoes is same, other people.

Figure 3.6. An excerpt from “file00451” (A1 learner given an Intermediate task) as an example of *incoherent* and *unintelligible* (Taken from Miura, 2015c).

The utterance “I am I want I wanted I want the um I wanted not many buying shoes. Minor shoes” in Figure 3.6 did not respond to the interlocutor’s utterance “OK. We have many here” coherently and was not easily intelligible.

```
<B> Do you have do you have any jacket?</B>
<A>Yeah. We have many kinds of jackets.</A>
<B>Er color is mm brown. Do you have?</B>
```

Figure 3.7. An excerpt from “file00404” (A1 learner given a Beginner task) as an example of *slightly ill-formed unnatural topic comment* (Taken from Miura, 2015c).

In Figure 3.7, the utterance “Er color is mm brown” had a topic-comment structure that was influenced by his or her mother tongue, which was Japanese; however, as it was possible to interpret the speaker’s intention as “Do you have a brown jacket?,” this was categorized as *slightly ill-formed unnatural topic comment*.

```
<A>This is twenty five thousand yen.</A>
<B>Er expensive.
<A>Do you think so?
<B>And er ear phone , please.</B>
<A>Ahh O K. Is this one O K?</A>
<B>Er I’m white color wants</B>
<A>Ahh. Sorry, we have no white color.</A>
```

Figure 3.8. An excerpt from “file01129” (A1 learner given an Intermediate task) as an example of *ill-formed unnatural topic comment* (Taken from Miura, 2015c).

In Figure 3.8, “Er I’m white color wants” could be interpreted as “I want a white one,” but the sentence was not fully structured, and was likely to have been translated from the Japanese language word-by-word. Therefore, it was categorized as *ill-formed unnatural topic comment*.

According to Miura (2016a), the ratios of *natural* utterances of requests were 42.5% in A1 learners and 51.89% in A2 learners, and those of *unnatural* ones were 57.5%

in A1 learners and 48.3% in A2 learners. A significant difference was found between the two proficiency levels at $p < .01$ (i.e., $\chi^2 = 7.94$, $df = 1$, $p = .004837$, Cramer's $V = .8626$). The ratio of *unnatural* utterances decreased with increasing proficiency. The ratios of *incoherent* utterances as well as utterances with a *topic-comment structure* were not high: A1 learners showed 9.2% (i.e., 22 raw frequencies out of 358) and A2 learners showed 2% (i.e., 14 out of 712) of *incoherent* ones, and A1 learners showed 5.6% (i.e., 20 out of 358) and A2 learners showed 2.2% (i.e., 16 out of 712) of *topic-comment structure*.

3.4.2.5 Annotation of the degree of politeness: Exploration of pragmalinguistic politeness and sociopragmatic politeness

Miura (2015b; 2017) attempted to determine the degree of politeness manifested in the requests produced in the NICT JLE Corpus, in terms of both *pragmalinguistics* and *sociopragmatics*. Leech (2014) claimed that *pragmalinguistic* competence and *sociopragmatic* competence cannot be isolated when studying *politeness*. As Kasper (1997) illustrated, pragmalinguistic features are manifested as “pragmatic strategies like directness and indirectness” and as “a large range of linguistic forms which can intensify or soften communicative acts” (Section 1, Paragraph 2). On the other hand, sociopragmatics refers to “the social perceptions underlying participants’ interpretation and performance of communicative action,” which may differ depending on the speakers’ and hearers’ speech communities (Section 1, Paragraph 3).

Leech (2014) noted that the idea that “politeness could be studied or judged out of context” (p. 250) has been rejected by many scholars such as Wierzbicka (1991) and Watts (2003). Giving an example, Leech cited Watts (2003, p. 166)’s claim that “there are no objective criteria for determining politic behavior. There are also no purely subjective criteria, since social practice is always and only interactive” (Leech, 2014, p.

15).

However, Leech (2014) argued that “pragmalinguistic politeness is assessed on the basis of the meaning of the utterance *out of context*” (p. 16). For example, “Lend me your pen,” “Could I borrow your pen?,” and “I wonder if I could just borrow your pen for a moment?” can be ordered according to the degree of politeness with “default interpretations” (p. 17). Leech (2014) conducted an experiment, although he admitted it was a limited questionnaire, in which he asked 45 native speakers of English to judge given speech acts in terms of politeness, with “no explanation of ‘politeness’ ... given” (p. 250). Specifically, Leech asked the native speakers to choose the most and least polite utterances from speech acts that included requests such as “Just hold the line, will you?,” “Could you possibly hold the line for a minute?,” and “Would you hold the line a minute?” Since the overall consensus among the subjects was 89 percent, he concluded that “native speakers ‘know what they are doing’ when asked to grade utterances in terms [of] politeness out of context” (pp. 250-251). Furthermore, Leech (2014) noted that “pragmalinguistic politeness provides an easy entry into the study of politeness: for example, learners of English as a foreign language would be badly served if they were told nothing can be said about the relatively different degrees of politeness associated with the forms of language” (p. 17).

3.4.2.5.1 Exploring the pragmalinguistic politeness of requestive speech acts (Miura, 2015b)

Following Leech (2014), Miura (2015b) attempted to determine the degree of politeness manifested in the requestive forms that the learners chose to produce in the NICT JLE Corpus, without considering any contextual information. Miura (2015b) arbitrarily annotated the degree of politeness in the classification of requestive strategies

made by 67 A1 learners, 67 A2 learners, 66 B1 learners, and 14 native speakers. The author first made an arbitrary classification table that deliberately distinguished the observed linguistic features according to the degree of politeness (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4

An arbitrary classification of the linguistic patterns of requestive speech acts according to the degree of politeness

The Degree of Politeness	Examples of Direct Strategy	Examples of Conventionally Indirect Strategy
Low	<p>You <i>should/have</i> to give me a discount.</p> <p>Show me this jacket, (<i>please</i>).</p> <p>Jacket, (<i>please</i>).</p> <p>I <i>want</i> to/<i>need</i> to/<i>would rather</i> have this jacket.</p> <p>I <i>will</i> take this jacket.</p> <p>I <i>ask</i> you to change this jacket to another one.</p>	<p><i>You can show me that.</i></p> <p><i>Why don't you give/Why not/how about</i> giving me a refund?</p>
Middle	<p>I <i>would like</i> to have this jacket.</p>	<p><i>Can/Could you show me that, please?</i></p>
High	N/A	<p><i>I'm wondering if/I really appreciate if/I hope that</i> I can exchange it.</p> <p><i>Will/Would you show/Do you mind</i> showing me this?</p> <p><i>Is it possible for you</i> to give me a discount?</p>

Figure 12 shows that the degree of politeness became higher as the learners' proficiency increased, and a group of native speakers showed the highest ratio of linguistic patterns with a high degree of politeness. For example, A1 and A2 learners only showed linguistic

patterns with low (i.e., 85.86% and 74.7%) and middle (i.e., 14.14% and 25.3%) degrees of politeness, but no patterns with a high degree of politeness. On the other hand, the patterns with a high degree of politeness appeared in B learners (i.e., 6.46%), while the ratio of those with a low degree of politeness accounted for only 40.31%. It should be noted that the ratio of conventionally indirect strategies did not seem correspondent with the ratio of polite linguistic forms, when contrasting B1 learners and native speakers. Thus, the ratio of conventionally indirect strategies was 44.9% in B1 learners, and 46.3% in native speakers, according to Miura (2015b) (see section 3.4.2.2). On the other hand, the ratio of polite linguistic forms was higher in native speakers (i.e., 28.17%) than in B1 learners (i.e., 6.5%), despite the fact that more than half of the native speakers (i.e., nine subjects out of 14) were given the Beginner and Intermediate tasks, where the requestive force given to the hearers was not as high as in the Advanced task given to B1 learners.

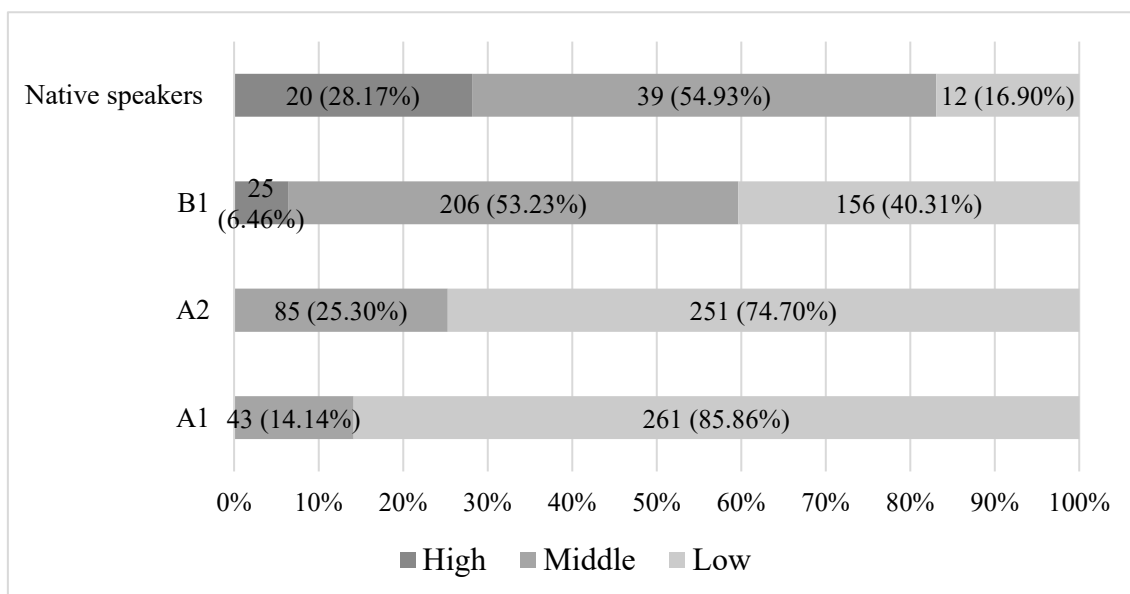


Figure 3.9. The distribution of the linguistic patterns of requests according to the degree of politeness (Taken from Miura, 2015b).

Nevertheless, it was difficult to conclude that A1 and A2 learners were less polite than B1 learners, and that B1 learners were less polite than native speakers, due to data limitations such as task differences between the subject groups and the extraordinarily smaller number of native-speaking subjects. In addition, it should be noted that there are “some exceptional contexts” where pragmalinguistically polite utterances cannot be interpreted as being polite, for example, irony/sarcasm “reverse[s] the normal values of [being] polite and impolite” (Leech, 2014, p. 16). Therefore, requestive forms with an excessively high degree of politeness in a transaction of general purchase (i.e., Beginner and Intermediate tasks) may sound rather ironical or contemptuous.

Finally, being a non-native-speaking ELT practitioner, the author may not have been suitable for judging the degree of politeness in the requestive linguistic patterns produced by learners in the NICT JLE Corpus. The judgment would vary with researchers. More than two annotators should be involved with the judgments, and the inter-annotator reliability should be calculated. Based on significant statistical reliability, the degree of politeness could be annotated in each linguistic pattern of requests. All in all, the author’s sole, arbitrary, and out-of-context judgment of the degree of politeness might have been premature.

3.4.2.5.2 Exploring the sociopragmatic politeness of requestive speech acts (Miura, 2017)

In order to overcome the aforementioned shortcomings of the research methodology in Miura (2015b), which was based on Leech (2014)’s claim that pragmalinguistic politeness could possibly be judged out of context, Miura (2017) attempted to investigate the sociopragmatics of requests with the same data as in the NICT JLE Corpus. In examining Japanese EFL learners’ pragmatic competence, researchers should not ignore sociopragmatic competence since pragmatic competence is composed

of pragmalinguistic competence and sociopragmatic competence, as Leech (2014) claimed. Previous DCT-based ILP researchers^{xii} have also dealt with both competences in their studies.

Despite the fact that most corpus-based pragmatic researchers have only been concerned with pragmalinguistic competence such as “discourse markers,” “modal particles,” and “tag questions,” as Callies (2013) described (p. 17),^{xiii} Miura (2017) attempted to expand her study to explore sociopragmatics in which “the various scales of value that make a particular degree of politeness seem appropriate or normal in a given social setting” are studied (Leech, 2014, p. 14). Sociopragmatic politeness is “a matter of judging politeness in context” (Leech, 2014, p. 17), in contrast with pragmalinguistic politeness. Leech (2014) noted that “social judgments of politeness depend not just on the words used and their meanings but also on the context in which they are used (and also such matters as prosody and word stress)” (p. 17).

In Miura (2017), an online survey was conducted to elicit native and non-native EFL instructors’ assessment of the sociopragmatic competence of Japanese EFL learners. The methodology of “multiple choice (MC)” and “rating scales” as questionnaire-type instruments in ILP, which were designed and aimed to elicit “possible respondent preferences” of the utterances, was adopted in order to examine “the contextual appropriateness of speech act realizations” (Kasper & Roever, 2005, p. 328). In these scaled-response formats, respondents were asked “to assess situational contexts and instances of speech acts” (p. 327).

As mentioned before, the author, being a non-native-speaking EFL instructor, had little confidence in determining whether particular pragmalinguistic features in certain contexts were sociopragmatically appropriate in terms of politeness in the target language. Therefore, groups of native and non-native English language instructors in

tertiary education in Japan, having similar vocational backgrounds to the author, were expected to be suitable for assessing the learners' requests extracted from the NICT JLE Corpus. The aim of the study was not to attempt to achieve consensus among the respondents on the social judgment of politeness with initial trainings. However, by observing Japan-based instructors' general perceptions towards Japanese EFL learners' pragmalinguistic choice for their requests, the study aimed to see whether they would reach an agreement, and if so, how much their agreement would be statistically significant.

Twenty English language instructors (i.e., 10 native speakers and 10 Japanese) were asked to rate the appropriateness of the extracted pragmalinguistic features of requestive speech acts in terms of their politeness in different shopping situations. The subjects contained 10 native-speaking respondents (including nine male and one female) aged from 30s to 60s, and 10 Japanese respondents (including two male and eight female) aged from 40s to 80s.

The online survey was composed of three kinds of situations (i.e., a list of linguistic features with three different requestive functions) (see 3.4.2.3) as follows: (1) *negotiating for exchange or return*, (2) *asking for permission to test an item*, and (3) *expressing their intention to buy a particular item*. In each situation, two types of instructions were given to the respondents: (1) select a response/s that they would like to hear as a shop assistant, and (2) choose the degree of appropriateness for each response from appropriate (i.e., polite enough), a little appropriate (i.e., a little too polite or a little impolite), or inappropriate (i.e., too polite or very impolite). The definitions of politeness or appropriateness were not given, and the respondents were only asked to follow their instincts, while imagining that they were shop assistants, rather than ELT instructors.

First, in the questionnaire, the respondents were given prompts showing the interactions between the customer and the shop assistant. Figures 13 and 14 show the

prompts for three situations.

<p><Shop Assistant> Good afternoon, madam. How can I help you?</p> <p><Customer> Hi. I just bought this shirt. And when I got home, I just realised^{xiv} that it was the wrong size. _____.</p>
--

Figure 3.10. Prompt for Situation (1)^{xv} (Taken verbatim from Miura, 2017).

<p><Shop Assistant> May I help you, ma'am?</p> <p><Customer> Yeah. _____</p>
--

Figure 3.11. Prompt for Situations (2) and (3) (Taken from Miura, 2017).

Then, the respondents were asked to answer a set of two questions, which required them to (i) choose the responses that they liked and (ii) rate the responses. Most of the responses for each situation were taken verbatim from the data of learners and a native speaker in the NICT JLE Corpus, as shown in the following three tables. Tables 3.5 to 3.7 show the SST levels of speakers who produced the utterances (i.e., responses).

Table 3.5

Ten responses for situation (1): Negotiating for exchange or return (Taken from Miura, 2017)

No.	Strategy	Linguistic Feature	Sentence	SST Level
E-1	Direct	Want & IM*: If clause	“So <i>if you can</i> , I really want you to exchange. But <i>is it OK?</i> ”	7
E-2		Desire Would like & IM: If clause	“So, <i>if possible</i> , I’d like to change this one to another, <i>a little bit</i> smaller one.”	6
E-3	Direct & Conv. Indirect	Intention & Imperative please	“I’ll take another shirt, a bigger one. So <i>please</i> exchange it.”	6
E-4		Ability/permission	“So can you exchange it?”	7
E-5		Willingness	“So would you change a shirt?”	6
E-6		Subjectivizer	“I was wondering if I could exchange it for something else.”	Native Speaker
E-7	Conv. Indirect	Subjectivizer & External modification	“I thought I could exchange this into another one. <i>Is that possible?</i> ”	8
E-8		Suggestory	“ Why can’t you exchange it?”	8
E-9		Possibility	“ Would it be possible for me to exchange it to the other size?”	8
E-10	Other		“If it says M, I <i>think I have a right to</i> get that one because <i>I wanted to</i> buy a smaller shirt at first.”	8

Note: *IM stands for “internal modification.”

Table 3.6

Ten responses for Situation (2): Asking for permission to test an item (Taken from Miura, 2017)

No.	Strategy	Linguistic Feature		Sentence	SST Level
T-1	Direct	Desire	Want	“Um I want to try on this shirt.”	3 & 4
T-2		Intention		“I will try on this shirt.”	4
T-3		Ability/ permission	Can	“ Can I try on this shirt?”	3 & 4
T-4	Conv.		May	“ May I try on this shirt?”	3 & 4
T-5	Indirect		Could	“ Could I try on this shirt?”	N/A
T-6		Subjectivizer		“ I am wondering if I could try on this shirt.”	N/A

Table 3.7

Ten responses for Situation (3): Expressing their intention to buy a particular item (Taken from Miura, 2017)

No.	Strategy	Linguistic Feature		Sentences	SST Level
P-1			Want	“Er I want to buy a jacket.”	3
P-2		Desire	Would like	“Er I’ d like to buy a jacket.”	4
P-3	Direct		& IM: please	“Yes. I’ d like to purchase this jacket, please.”	Native Speaker
P-4			Declarative	Purchase	“Uhm Today I buy my jacket.”
P-5	Conv.	Intention		“I’ m here to look for a jacket.”	5
P-6	Indirect	Existence		“Yeah. Ahh I’ m looking a new jacket.”	3
P-7				“OK. I’ m searching a jacket.”	3
P-8	Direct & Conv. Indirect	Desire & Existence	Want	“Thank you. I want to buy a jacket. <i>Do you have that?</i> ”	5

Table 3.8 shows the values of the Coefficient of Concordance, W , regarding the second question (i.e., rating scales) for all three situations. It was found that a significantly high rate of agreement among all respondents was only obtained when judging the requests negotiating for a refund or an exchange of a purchased item in the first situation ($W = .64, p < .0001$); native-speaking respondents showed a higher rate of agreement (i.e., $W = .75$) than Japanese respondents (i.e., $W = .56$). Japanese respondents showed a relatively low agreement on requests asking for permission to test an item in the second situation (i.e., $W = .41$), compared to the native respondents (i.e., $W = .73$). The W values of both respondents for the requests expressing intentions of purchase in the third situation were quite low; Japanese respondents showed only 0.38, and the natives showed 0.47.

Table 3.8

Kendall's coefficient of concordance, W , for three situations (Taken from Miura, 2017)

Situation	Total (Native & Japanese)	Native Instructors	Japanese Instructors
1. Negotiating for Exchange or Return	$W = .64$ df = 9 ChiSq = 115.08 $p < .0001$	$W = .75$ df = 9 ChiSq = 67.42 $p < .0001$	$W = .56$ df = 9 ChiSq = 51.59 $p < .0001$
2. Asking for Permission to Test an Item	$W = .50$ df = 5 ChiSq = 49.77 $p < .01$	$W = .73$ df = 5 ChiSq = 36.34 $p < .01$	$W = .41$ df = 5 ChiSq = 20.49 $p < .01$
3. Expressing Intentions to Buy a Particular Item	$W = .41$ df = 7 ChiSq = 56.87 $p < .0001$	$W = .47$ df = 7 ChiSq = 33.23 $p < .0001$	$W = .38$ df = 7 ChiSq = 26.61 $p = .0004$

Overall, it was difficult to obtain consensus among all respondents in all three situations since Kendall's W should be higher than 0.6 to obtain significant agreement among the respondents. Kendall's W among Japanese respondents did not reach higher than 0.6, while the values among native speakers in the first and second situations were higher than 0.6. The highest value was obtained in the first situation, where the W value was 0.64, and the top ranked polite features were "I was wondering if I could..." (i.e., subjectivizer), "Would it be possible..." (i.e., possibility), "If possible, I'd like..." (i.e., desire), and "I thought I could ... Is that possible?" (i.e., possibility), most of which were conventional indirect patterns with such internal modifiers as *if-clauses*. Then, the ranking based on the values of the weighted average scores were as follows: "If you can, I really want you...", "Can you...?," "Would you...?," "I think I have a right..., I wanted...," "I'll take... So please...," and "Why can't you...?" The results were similar to those of Tanaka and Kawade (1982), who asked 10 Japanese and 10 American respondents to rank-order the various requestive features of "turn down the radio," and found that conventional indirect features such as "I'd appreciate...," "Could...?," "Would you...?," and "Can you...?" were more highly assessed than direct verbs such as *want* and *would like*, imperatives with tag questions such as "will you" and "won't you," "Why don you...?" (i.e., suggestory), imperative and elliptical phrases such as "The radio!" Although the W value for Japanese respondents (i.e., 0.74) was lower than that of the natives (i.e., 0.88), both exceeded 0.6 and showed a high agreement rate among the respondents.

Secondly, B1 learners' requestive forms with a negotiating function were retrieved from the NICT JLE Corpus. Table 3.9 shows the distribution of the linguistic features of requests produced by 66 B1 learners. Out of 93 requestive head acts, the majority was desire verbs, *want* and *would like* (i.e., 37 occurrences), and ability/permission modal verbs, *can* and *could* (i.e., 28 occurrences). *Possibility* (i.e.,

possible as E-9) and *subjectivizer* (i.e., *wonder if* as E-6) were the top-ranked features with the highest values of the weighted average scores (i.e., “Av.” in Table 3.9), but there were four occurrences produced in total. There seemed to be a big gap between the learners’ production and native EFL instructors’ preferences of the types of pragmalinguistic features in their pragmatic awareness. It may be likely that Japanese-speaking instructors should be aware of the need for an explicit teaching of conventional expressions in requests.

Finally, although Leech (2014) indicated the possibility of reaching an agreement on the politeness of requests by referring only to pragmalinguistic features and not contextual features, it seems difficult to verify the validity of his hypothesis and unrealistic to annotate the information regarding sociopragmatic judgments in the NICT JLE Corpus. Therefore, the author arrived at conclusion that the current doctoral study should not expand the scope of the investigation into exploration of the degree of politeness only relying on pragmalinguistic features of the requestive speech acts.

Table 3.9

Distribution of linguistic features of requests in negotiating for exchange or return (Taken from Miura, 2017)

Strategy (Raw Freq.)	Linguistic Feature	Raw Freq.	%	Similar Type (Av.)	
Direct (44)	Desire	want	17	18.28	E-1 (2.05)
		would like	20	21.51	E-2 (2.65)
	Yes/no		2	2.15	N/A
	Imperative	imperative please	1	1.08	E-3 (1.3)
		imperative only	1	1.08	N/A
	Obligation	should	2	2.15	N/A
	Request-verb	ask	1	1.08	N/A
Conventionally Indirect (49)	Ability/ permission	can	10	10.75	E-4 (2.0)
		could	18	19.35	N/A
	Willingness	will you	2	2.15	N/A
		do/would you mind	3	3.23	N/A
	Suggestory	would you	2	2.15	E-5 (1.6)
		why not	4	4.03	E-8 (1.0)
	Subjectivizer	how/what about	1	1.08	N/A
		wonder if	1	1.08	E-6 (2.8)
		appreciate if	1	1.08	N/A
		hope that	1	1.08	N/A
	Possibility	think/thought that	2	2.15	E-7 (2.4)
		possible	3	3.23	E-9 (2.8)
		subjunctive	1	1.08	E-10 (1.0)
Total		93	100		

ⁱ All of the past studies conducted by the author, including the current study, investigated the data from the Shopping role plays, except for Miura (2015a), which preliminarily studied the data of Shopping and Train.

ⁱⁱ In contrast, Martínez Baztán (2008)'s study was involved with the Spanish language.

ⁱⁱⁱ The term "naturalness" is debatable, and has been changed to "grammatical accuracy/discoursal

acceptability” in the current doctoral thesis. “Naturalness” is cited according to the original paper published in Miura (2016a).

^{iv} The category, *elliptical phrase*, is named *non-sentential phrase* in the current doctoral study. See section 1.1.2 in Appendix B.

^v In this stage, the term “characteristic” is used to describe features that are particularly evident in certain proficiency levels, but not “criterial,” as the results were not statistically tested to see whether there were any significant differences between the proficiency levels.

^{vi} For the alignment of the SST and CEFR, see 3.2.2.

^{vii} In the current study, the category *yes/no* is named *yes*.

^{viii} Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) classified an imperative form such as “Leave me alone” as a mood-derivable strategy in the category of *impositive*, which, by most researchers drawing on the CCSARP, is now named as *direct strategy*.

^{ix} In Miura (2016a), the chi-square statistic was incorrectly written as “ $x^2 = 55.52$.”

^x This category was revised in the current study, and actually integrated with the category, “expressing or asking about item,” into a subordinate category, “alternatives.”

^{xi} According to De Felice et al. (2013), “a very detailed classification scheme can lead to data sparseness,” as described in the section on corpus pragmatics (see section 2.5.2.2).

^{xii} As reviewed in the section on interlanguage pragmatics, Trosborg (1995) examined the effects of “dominance and social distance” on the choice of the pragmalinguistic features of requests (p. 226), while Hill (1997) made situations different in terms of the social status power and imposition between interactants. Other researchers include Rose (2000; 2009), making different scenarios in social status, Flores Salgado (2011), demonstrating situations with varied power, distance, and degree of imposition, and Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani (2012), giving role plays with a varying degree of the relative power relationship.

^{xiii} See also Thurnbury (2010, p. 275).

^{xiv} The prompts were given in British English.

^{xv} The response of customers in Figure 3.10 was actually taken verbatim from a subcorpus of the native speakers who took the same interview test in the NICT JLE Corpus.

Chapter 4. Current Research

Chapter 4 first describes the theoretical background, summarizing two competing theories (traditional pragmatics vs. corpus pragmatics) and methodologies (DCTs vs. learner corpora). Following a discussion on the need for learner corpora to supplement intuitive observations of learners' pragmatic development (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1991), the chapter describes its purpose and limitations. Next, it explains the multi-layered annotation scheme used to extract learners' requestive speech acts from shopping role-play interactions in the NICT JLE Corpus. In addition, it discusses the limitations of analyzing sociopragmatic competence and task influence on the choice of requestive strategies. The chapter concludes with three major research questions that are based on the functions and grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of learners' utterances as well as the pragmalinguistic features and strategies of requests.

4.1 Theoretical Background of the Current Study

To broadly summarize the literature review, in theoretical pragmatics, a researcher generally establishes a theory from invented examples based on native speakers' intuitions (Adolphs, 2008; see section 2.5.1). On the other hand, a researcher in corpus pragmatics can confirm the established pragmatic theories with statistical observations of the actual occurrences of the target linguistic patterns or forms from naturally occurring data. Intuitive aspects in traditional pragmatics are supplemented and re-examined by corpus linguists (Adolphs, 2008).

In the current study, with a view to investigating learners' pragmatic competence, the author aimed to overcome the difficulties in matching the forms and functions of requestive speech acts in learner corpora. In ILP, the DCT method, which

originated in the field of empirical pragmatics, has been prevalent. Although the pioneering CCSARP was a large-scale study (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; see section 2.4), most of the past researchers have investigated rather small numbers of subjects: for example, Hill (1997) investigated 20 Japanese subjects for each proficiency group, and Flores Salgado (2011) examined 12 Mexican learners for each proficiency group (see section 2.6.3 for both studies). The researchers attempted to elicit the target data mainly in written formats, which easily allowed them to control the contextual parameters involved with the participants and tasks. They were concerned with the effect of social factors such as power, status, and distance between the speakers and hearers on the choice of the linguistic forms of requestive speech acts. Using an open role-play method, as an alternative to the DCT, Takahashi and DuFon (1989) examined three subjects for each proficiency group, and Al-Gahtani and Alkahatani (2002) investigated eight participants for each proficiency group (see section 2.6.3 for both studies).

From the standpoint of corpus pragmatics, the author attempted to examine the data derived from a learner corpus, which were composed of semi-naturally spoken data, by reviewing the results derived from the past studies using DCTs and role plays. Table 4.1 shows a summary of two approaches: traditional pragmatics and corpus pragmatics in a theoretical discipline of pragmatics; and DCTs and learner corpora in ILP.

Table 4.1

Comparison between traditional pragmatics and corpus pragmatics, and DCTs and learner corpora.

	Theoretical Discipline of Pragmatics	
	Traditional Pragmatics	Corpus Pragmatics
Theory	Establishing a theory	Confirming an established theory in traditional pragmatics
Examples	Invented examples based on native speakers' intuitions	Frequently observed extracts from naturally occurring data
	Interlanguage Pragmatics	
	DCTs	Learner Corpora
Data collection method	Elicited data from mainly written formats	Naturally occurring spoken data
Data size or subject numbers	Mostly small-scale	Mostly large-scale
Variable controllability	Controllable variables with already fixed contextual parameters	Difficult-to-control variables, easily affected by tasks, subjects, interactional features, and social situations

4.2 Purpose of the Current Research

The objective of the present doctoral study was to investigate learners' *pragmalinguistic competence* by examining the speech act realizations of requests identified in a spoken learner corpus. As the target corpus contains learner data at different levels of proficiency, the current study also intended to explore *criteria features*. Chi-square tests were conducted to determine the effect of proficiency difference on the choice of request strategies and pragmalinguistic features. Features that report significant

differences in occurrences among the proficiency levels are considered *critical*. This corpus-based study investigated how Japanese learners of English develop their *pragmalinguistic* competence using a *cross-sectional* method.

4.3 Limitations of the Current Study Based on the Series of Past Studies Conducted by the Author

4.3.1 Excluding Sociopragmatic Competence in the Analysis

Drawing on the outcomes obtained from the previous study (Miura, 2017), the present author decided to deal with pragmalinguistic features, rather than sociopragmatic features in the current corpus-based pragmatic study.ⁱ

The figure below shows the overall framework of the author's past studies, which attempted to reveal the pragmatic competences of Japanese learners of English by looking at requestive speech acts in the NICT JLE Corpus (see Figure 4.1). As described in sections 3.1 to 3.4, learners' requestive speech acts were investigated in terms of pragmalinguistic competence and sociopragmatic competence, which constitute pragmatic competence (see Leech, 2014). While learners' pragmalinguistic competence was investigated by statistically examining the distribution of the various linguistic realizations of different requestive strategies, their sociopragmatic competence was assessed by 10 native-speaking and 10 Japanese EFL teachers in tertiary education in Japan, who had a similar teaching background to that of the author. The author attempted to annotate the degree of politeness in the categories of the linguistic features of requestive speech acts; however, the judgment survey on sociopragmatic competence did not show a high enough agreement rate among the respondents to be used for corpus annotation. Miura (2017) suggested that it seems unrealistic to annotate the information

regarding sociopragmatic judgments in the NICT JLE Corpus. The author’s past studies highlighted the difficulties in merging corpus linguistics and pragmatics, especially in the area of interlanguage studies.

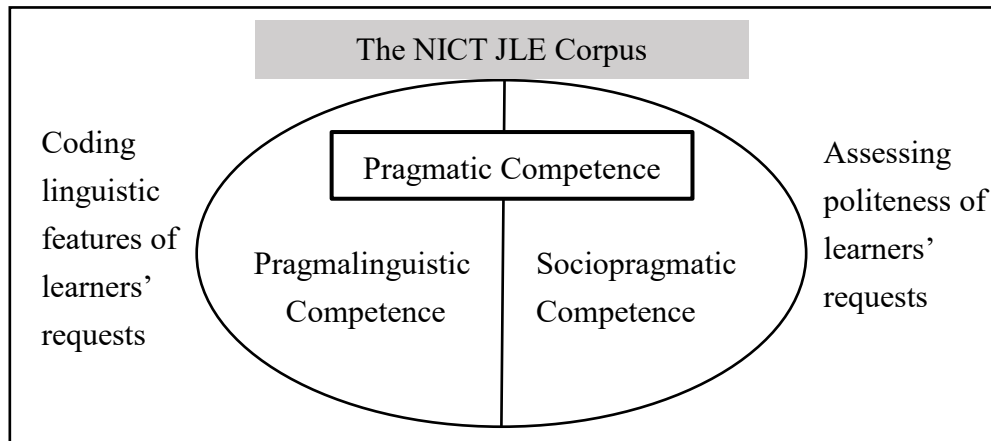


Figure 4.1. Framework of the author’s series of previous research on learners’ requests.

4.3.2 Effects of Task Differences on the Choice of Requestive Strategies at Different Proficiency Levels

As mentioned in section 3.4.2.3, the identification of the functions of all of the utterances of learners indicated that it should be better to avoid a statistic comparison between a group constituting learners at A1 and A2 levels who were given Beginner and Intermediate tasks of the SST (i.e., general transactions) and that of B1 learners who were given Advanced tasks (i.e., negotiations) (Miura, 2016a; 2017). The linguistic realization of requestive strategies seemed affected by task differences to some degree according to the distributions of linguistic patterns produced by learners at different proficiencies. Therefore, *criterial* pragmalinguistic features, which could be used to distinguish between the A1 and A2 learners who were given the same type of task, should only be statistically retrieved. The tendencies of opting for particular types of requestive strategies can be compared among three different proficiencies from A1 to B1, but cannot be solely

attributed to the developmental aspects; task effects must also be considered.

In the past studies that examined the requests produced by learners of English, the way through which the researchers determined learners' proficiency levels varied. Trosborg (1995) and Rose (2000; 2009) divided groups according to the participants' age, Hill (1997) made his original cloze test, Flores Salgado (2011) and Takahashi and DuFon (1989) referred to TOEFL scores, and Al-Gahtani and Alkahtani (2012) used TOEFL and IELTS scores. According to the proficiency information based on official tests such as TOEFL and IELTS scores (see section 2.6.3), the majority of learners belonged to the B2 level and above (Educational Testing Service, 2017). However, the majority of learners in the current study belonged to the A1 or A2 levels,ⁱⁱ as Tono (2013) mentioned that about 80% of Japanese learners of English are assessed as A-level learners in Japan. Therefore, it was expected that the majority of the target learners in the current study, due to their limited proficiency, may not necessarily be homogenous to the lower learners in the aforementioned past studies conducted by various researchers. The current study is notable in terms of its focus on the so-called "beginning-level learners," as Bardovi-Harlig (1999) claimed that these learners should be included to expand learner populations (p. 706; see section 2.6.1). In addition, although the current study did not analyze the sociopragmatic appropriateness of learners' production, it should be noted that, according to Leech (2014), lower learners' tendency of preferring *direct strategies* may indicate a *deviation from the norms* of native speakers of English. From cross-cultural perspectives, Leech (2014) noted that the "avoidance of direct imposition on the hearer in directives [...] shows especially elaborate development in English" (p. 15).

Finally, Blum-Kulka (1991)'s insights into learners' pragmatic development in her own CCSARP should be noted. Blum-Kulka (1991, pp. 270-271) stated that we can distinguish three stages of development in the emergence of ILP, as regards

pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competences, as the following quotes show (bold fonts and words in brackets and highlights have been added by the author for emphasis):

(1) Message oriented, unsystematic [stage]

At the beginning levels, the learner will use any linguistic and nonlinguistic means at his or her disposal to *achieve a communicative end*. [...] The necessity to communicate *overrides all considerations of grammaticality, acceptability* and personal inhibitions in the reliance on mime and context.

(2) Interlanguage oriented, potentially systematic [stage]

Characterised by both *grammatical* and *pragmalinguistic unacceptability*. [...] the stage where interlanguages develop and manifest both grammatical and non-grammatical usages; likewise, the learners' *speech acts* will be *pragmatically and socially acceptable in part and in part unacceptable*. It is expected that both *a general pragmatic knowledge as well as specific positive and negative transfer from the mother tongue and level of pragmalinguistic proficiency will play a role in shaping speech act performance* at this stage.

(3) Intermutually oriented, potentially systematic [stage]

Characterised by *grammaticality combined with socio-cultural and possibly pragmalinguistic unacceptability*. With progress in level of linguistic proficiency, the sentences used for conveying communicative acts can become *grammatically correct* and still be *pragmalinguistically deviant*.

4.4 Overview of the Annotation Structure of the Current Research

In this section, an overview of the structure of the multi-layered annotation schemes in the current study is briefly offered. Figure 4.2 shows the architecture of the schemes: (i) the annotation scheme for extracting *requestive speech acts* (i.e., Annotation 1), (ii) the scheme for identifying the *functions* of all of the utterances of learners (i.e., Annotation 2), and (iii), the scheme for classifying all of the utterances of learners in terms of *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* (i.e., Annotation 3).

Basically, three annotation schemes have already been developed in the past studies such as those of Miura (2014; 2015b, 2015c; 2016a; 2016b; 2018). The first annotation was based on the CCSARP coding scheme, and how the original scheme was revised and modified to fit into the learner shopping data has already been described in section 3.4.2.1. The second scheme was constructed in a bottom-up fashion to identify the function of each utterance, as Garcia (2015) did, and is described in section 3.4.2.3. In the third scheme, the term *naturalness* was used to explore grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in the beginning stage (see Miura, 2016a), as described in section 3.4.2.4. However, it should be noted that the author made a great deal of revision to this annotation scheme in the current study. The architecture of these multi-layered schemes allowed the author to extract cross-schematically the target features, for example, to examine the function of requestive speech acts, or to investigate whether the produced requestive speech acts were grammatically accurate and acceptable in a given discourse (or contexts).ⁱⁱⁱ

As the final product of the author's research, the current doctoral study analyzed the data retrieved from the latest version of the revised and refined annotation schemes. The revision and refinement of the schemes and the second check of annotations were thoroughly done by the author and an additional annotation checker, and the process

and amount of revisions are described in the methodology section. The detailed coding manuals for the annotation schemes with examples are available in the appendices.

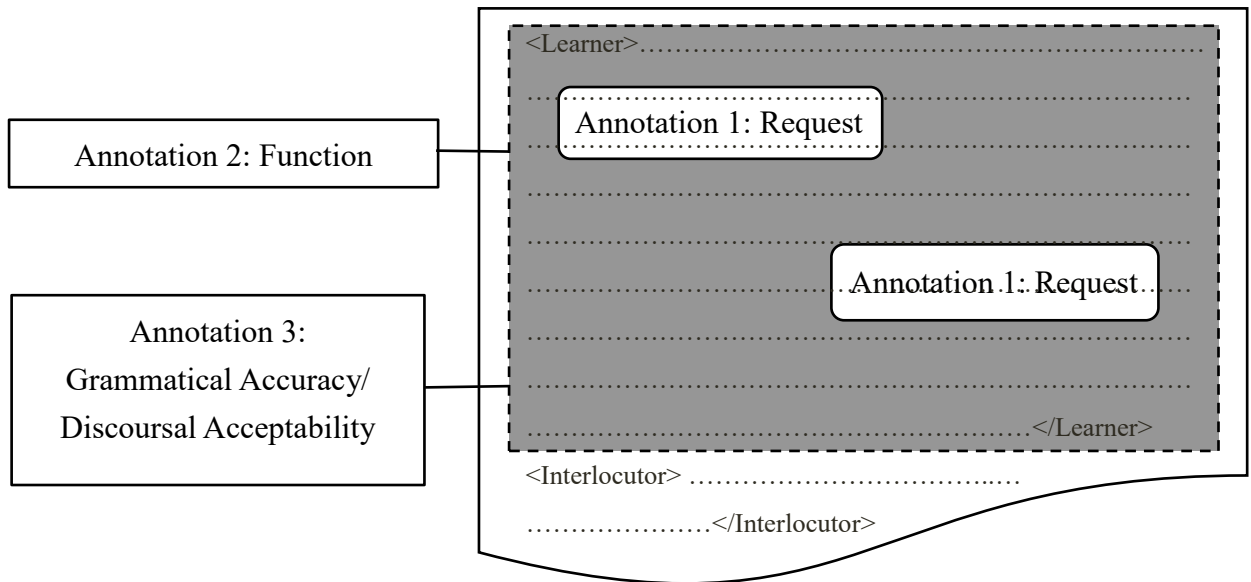


Figure 4.2. Multi-layered annotation schemes to extract learners’ requestive speech acts from the NICT JLE Corpus.

4.5 Rationale for Using Shopping Role-Play Interactions in the NICT JLE Corpus

Some of the biggest limitations and hurdles within the current corpus-based pragmatic study include the following two facts: (i) sociopragmatic features in ILP cannot be analyzed due to the difficulties in judging the appropriateness or politeness, and (ii) criterial features distinguishing A2 and B1 learners cannot be extracted due to the task differences. Despite these limitations, the rationale for adopting OPI-formatted shopping role-play interactions in the NICT JLE Corpus in the current study is explained below, with some limitations pointed out.

First, role play mimics “real-life spoken interaction” (Leech, 2014, p. 254),

including “actual wording used in real situations” as well as “avoidance,” which the DCTs do not elicit, as Beebe and Cummings^{iv} (1997, p. 80) highlighted. However, a possible *disadvantage* of role plays, according to Rintell and Mitchell (1989), is that “since the subjects are role playing and not naturalistically engaged in the interactions under investigation, we do not know what extent their responses are representative of what the subject would say if he or she encountered the situation in real life” (p. 251).

Second, whereas the DCTs tend to elicit only a single form of requests without showing “the number of turns” and “the number of repetitions and elaborations” (Beebe & Cummings, 1997, p. 80), role-play data include *interactional* features and provide learners’ *repair* in a sequential organization of interactions with interlocutors (Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2011). This may highlight the proficiency differences, as Tanimura (2013) observed in her study, in which she investigated *initiated* and *prompted* repair in 47 interactions from the NICT JLE Corpus. Nevertheless, although role-play data from a learner corpus provide so-called larger-scale *semi-naturally* occurring data, it is unlikely to exclude the influence of the interlocutors’ management of the learner production in the SST. The interlocutors’ aim is to rate the proficiency of the learners. As Kasper and Ross (2007) noted, “in the OPI context, the nonreciprocal Q-A sequence is the most expedient exchange structure because it enables the interviewer to elicit ratable speech samples on the topics mandated by the interview schedule in a timely fashion” (p. 2048). Of course, the subjects’ responses “might be accommodated accordingly to a test-taking situation” (Rintell & Mitchell, 1989, p. 251).

Third, the manual annotations of the pragmalinguistic features of requests based on the CCSARP allow the combination of pragmatic “horizontal-reading” analyses with a “vertical-reading” approach in corpus linguistics, so that *functions* of the surface *forms* of requests can be realized, although this methodology is quite time-consuming.

Finally, the use of *learner corpora* may produce more generalizable and statistically reliable results. Competing results such as those of Takahashi and Dufon (1989)^v and Hill (1997),^{vi} the gap between which is described in the review section on ILP (see section 2.6), are hard to generalize. Learner corpora may overcome the issues of a limited number of subjects in their studies (Granger, 2002). However, as the NICT JLE Corpus is comprised of written transcripts of SST, whose primary aim is to test learners' oral proficiency levels but not to construct a corpus of requestive speech acts, it does not allow the control of social variables such as given contexts and the power relations between interlocutors and interviewees.

4.6 Research Questions

Based on the literature and the author's series of past studies, the current study addressed the following three research questions (RQs). All RQs regard the learner tendencies in the NICT JLE Corpus across different proficiency levels and among the different tasks given, from the perspectives of (i) the *functions* of the utterances in shopping role plays in the OPI (RQ1), (ii) assessing the *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* of learners' utterances (RQ2), and (iii) examining the *pragmalinguistic features and strategies* of requests, respectively (RQ3). Thus, RQ3 is divided into four subquestions, by exploring (i) the *interactional* features accompanying the core of requestive speech acts, (ii) the *functions* of requests across different proficiency levels, (iii) the *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* of requestive speech acts, and (iv) *criterial* pragmalinguistic features distinguishing A1 and A2 learners.

RQ1. What kinds of *functions* do the learners' utterances in shopping role plays have, and

what are the distributions of the functions across different proficiency levels as well as among the different tasks given?

RQ2. How much are the learners' utterances *grammatically accurate and discursively acceptable*, and are there any different tendencies according to different proficiency groups?

RQ3-1. What kinds of *interactional* features accompany the core of requestive speech acts? Are there any interruptions by the interlocutors, and any strategies for the negotiation of meaning such as corrections, repetitions, and elaborations of the requests, and the confirmation of what the interlocutor uttered?

RQ3-2. What kinds of *functions* do the learners' requestive speech acts have, and what are the distributions of each function across different proficiency levels? Are there any typical pragmalinguistic features of requests pertaining to each function?

RQ3-3. What degree of *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* is observed in the learners' requests, and are there any particular functions where the learners had difficulties in producing the requests properly (i.e., grammatically accurate and discursively acceptable)?

RQ3-4. What are the *criterial* pragmalinguistic features that can be used to distinguish significantly between A1 and A2 learners' requestive speech acts? Do each annotation scheme and its categorization give valid classifications of the linguistic phenomena of the requestive speech acts produced by learners at different proficiencies?

-
- ⁱ Aksan and Mersilini (2015) also investigated pragmalinguistic competence of Turkish learners of English, but excluded sociopragmatic competence (see section 2.5.2.2 for the study).
- ⁱⁱ The distribution of learners at different proficiency levels in the current study is described in the methodology section (see section 5.1).
- ⁱⁱⁱ It should be noted that this scheme did not include the assessment or judgment of the appropriateness or politeness of requestive speech acts, as mentioned in section 3.5.2.
- ^{iv} See section 2.6.2.3.2.
- ^v See section 2.6.3.6.
- ^{vi} See section 2.6.3.2.

Chapter 5. Method

Chapter 5 describes the methods adopted in this study and details the target subjects and built-in tags in the NICT JLE Corpus as well as the annotation tool. It describes the multi-layered annotation schemes for Request, Function, and Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability, which is preceded by a discussion on this study's approach to the segmentation of utterances. In addition, this chapter reports the results of the revision and replication of annotations on the basis of obtained agreement measures, such as average agreement rate and Krippendorff's *alpha*, for the author and annotation checker.

5.1 Target Subjects (i.e., Files) in the Current Study

In the current study, there were 67 learners at the CEFR A1 level, among which 11 learners were given Beginner tasks and 56 learners were given Intermediate tasks. There were 114 learners at the A2 level, all of which were given Intermediate tasks. There were 68 learners at the B1 level who were given Advanced tasks. The details of the target files for analyses are shown in the appendices (see Appendix A).

Table 5.1

Statistical information of each proficiency level

CEFR Levels	A1	A2	B1
Files	68	114	66
Tokens (including interlocutors')	48,421	105,909	115,206
Average tokens per file	712.07	929.03	1745.55

5.2 Tags Originally Annotated in the NICT JLE Corpus

The current study used the TXT files of the NICT JLE Corpus, which are provided free of charge from the website offered by the National Institute of Information and Communication Technology (2012).

According to the National Institute of Information and Communication Technology (2012), the data in the corpus are already annotated with 30 tags, which consist of four types based on the type of information that the tag denotes: interview structure (e.g., <stage1></stage1>), the interviewee's profile (e.g., <age></age>), speaker turns (e.g., <A>), or utterance phenomena such as fillers, repetitions, self-corrections, and overlapping (see Table 5.2 for more details).

Table 5.2

Tags representing utterance phenomena

Original Tag in the NICT JLE Corpus	Modified Ill-formed Tag by Miura and Sano (2014)	Meaning
<F></F>	N/A	Filler / Filled Pause
<R></R>	<R unclearness="none"></R>	Repetition
<R?></R?>	<R unclearness="partly"></R>	Repetition (which the transcriber is not confident transcribing)
<SC></SC>	<SC unclearness="none"></SC>	Self-correction
<SC?></SC?>	<SC unclearness="partly"></SC>	Self-correction (which the transcriber is not confident transcribing)
<CO></CO>	N/A	Utterances which are cut off
<?></?>	<scripting unclearness="partly"></scripting>	Utterances which the transcriber is not confident transcribing

<??></??>	<scripting unclearness="all"></scripting>	Utterances which are impossible to transcribe
<H pn="X"></H>	N/A	Hidden personal information or discriminatory term
<JP></JP>	N/A	Japanese
<.></.>	<pause duration="long"></pause>	Pause which lasts 2 to 3 seconds
<..></..>	<pause duration="short"></pause>	Pause which lasts more than 3 seconds
	N/A	Overlapping utterances of Speaker A and Speaker B
<nvs></nvs>	N/A	Non-verbal sounds such as a sniff, laughter, cough, or sigh
<laughter></laughter>	N/A	The speaker produces the utterance while laughing.
<ctxt></ctxt>	N/A	Non-linguistic events or information to be described

Figure 5.1 shows the tags that represent speaker turns. The utterance of the interlocutor (i.e., the interviewer of the SST) is segmented by *open* and *closed* A tags, and that of the learner (i.e., the interviewee or subject) is segmented by B tags. Table 5.2 shows the tags that represent utterance phenomena. Because some of these original tags are not well-formed XML (e.g., the use of question marks and full stops), Miura and Sano (2014) modified the ill-formed ones to be processed automatically with Perl; they were converted to XML-formatted tags with the use of attribute values; for example, <pause duration="long"> and <pause duration="short"> were used to distinguish the length of a

pause. In the current study, only learners' productions (i.e., tagged by) from shopping role plays (i.e., <stage3></stage3>, <task></task>) of the modified version were annotated for analyses.

```
<A>How are you?</A>  
<B>Fine. Thanks. How are you?</B>  
<A>I'm fine, too. Thank you.</A>
```

Figure 5.1. Tags representing speaker turns.

5.3 Annotation Tool: The UAM CorpusTool (UAMCT)

The UAMCT was developed by O'Donnell (2012; 2013). In the current study, version 3.2 was used for the analyses of the pragmalinguistic features of requests in the NICT JLE Corpus. The UAMCT is a downloadable, free annotation software containing a stand-off (i.e., external) markup that allows users to build a multi-layered annotation scheme. The details of how the UAMCT was used to develop the annotation schemes for requestive speech acts have also been described in Miura (2015b; 2016b).

This section briefly describes the basic procedure for the construction of annotation schemes. First, a new *project* is started with the naming of the project (see Figure 5.2). Next, the target TXT data are uploaded to the UAMCT. Each TXT file is called a *document*. Before annotating each document, a *layer* (i.e., annotation scheme) should be constructed (see Figure 5.3). Annotation can be either automatically or manually done (see Figure 5.4). Automatic parsing and part-of-speech (POS) tagging are also possible with the UAMCT; however, the current study did not use any of these automatic annotation processes. All of the annotation processes were done manually. The

document itself can be *labeled* (i.e., annotated), or a particular segment within a document can be *labeled* (i.e., annotated) (see Figure 5.5). For example, in the current study, the level of proficiency was annotated in the document itself (see Figure 5.6), and the various linguistic patterns of requestive strategies were annotated in segments within each document (see Figure 5.7).

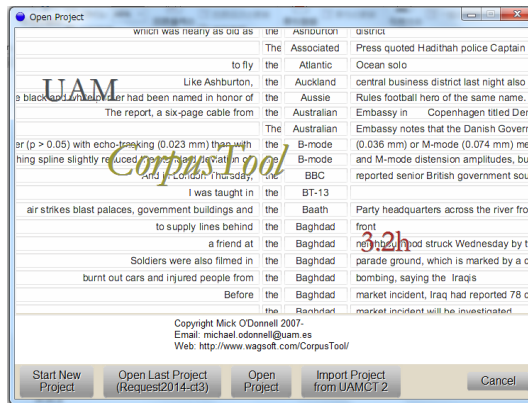


Figure 5.2. Start window of the UAMCT.

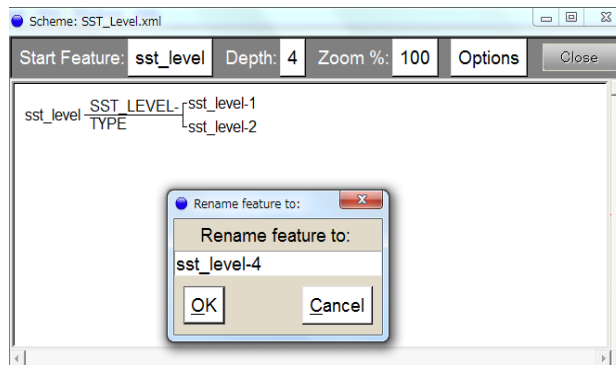


Figure 5.3. Constructing a layer (i.e., annotation scheme).

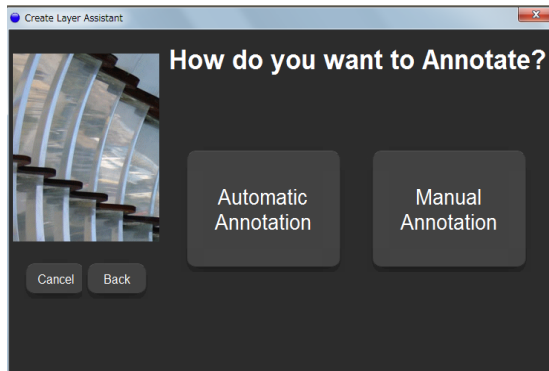


Figure 5.4. Selecting automatic or manual annotation.

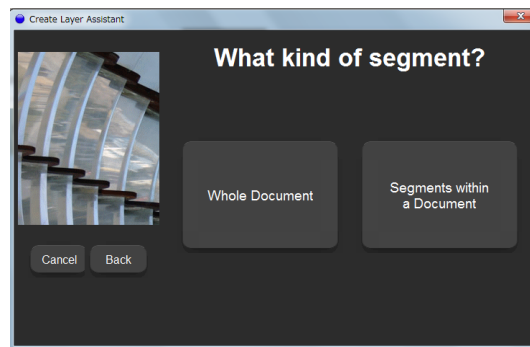


Figure 5.5 Determining the domain of annotations.

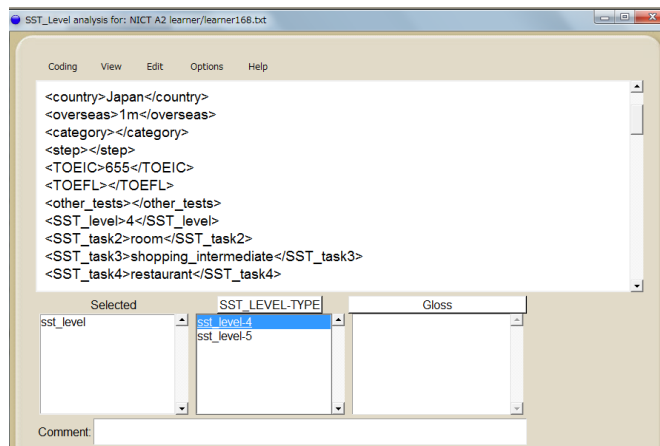


Figure 5.6. Annotating the level of proficiency.

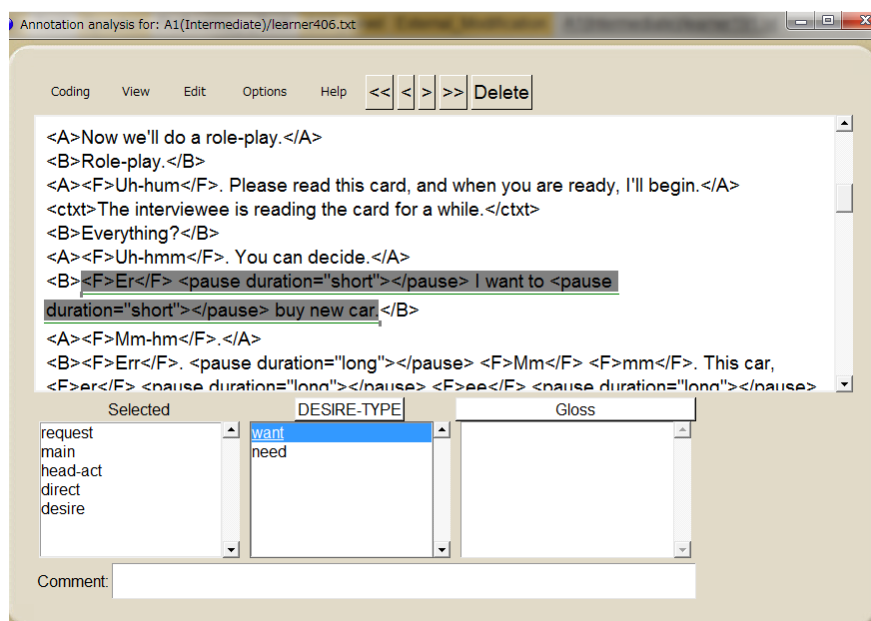


Figure 5.7. Annotating a requestive head act.

The details of each annotation scheme are illustrated in the following section, and the coding manuals are provided in the appendices with definitions and examples.

Results were retrieved from the *Statistics* tab. Figure 5.8 shows the numbers and ratios of the annotated segments of head acts and their subcategories for three different proficiency groups. If the number of occurrence of particular segments is clicked, a concordance line appears and all of the examples can be downloaded from the UAMCT (see Figure 5.9). If a retrieved feature is clicked, the original file automatically appears so that its surrounding contextual information can be checked.

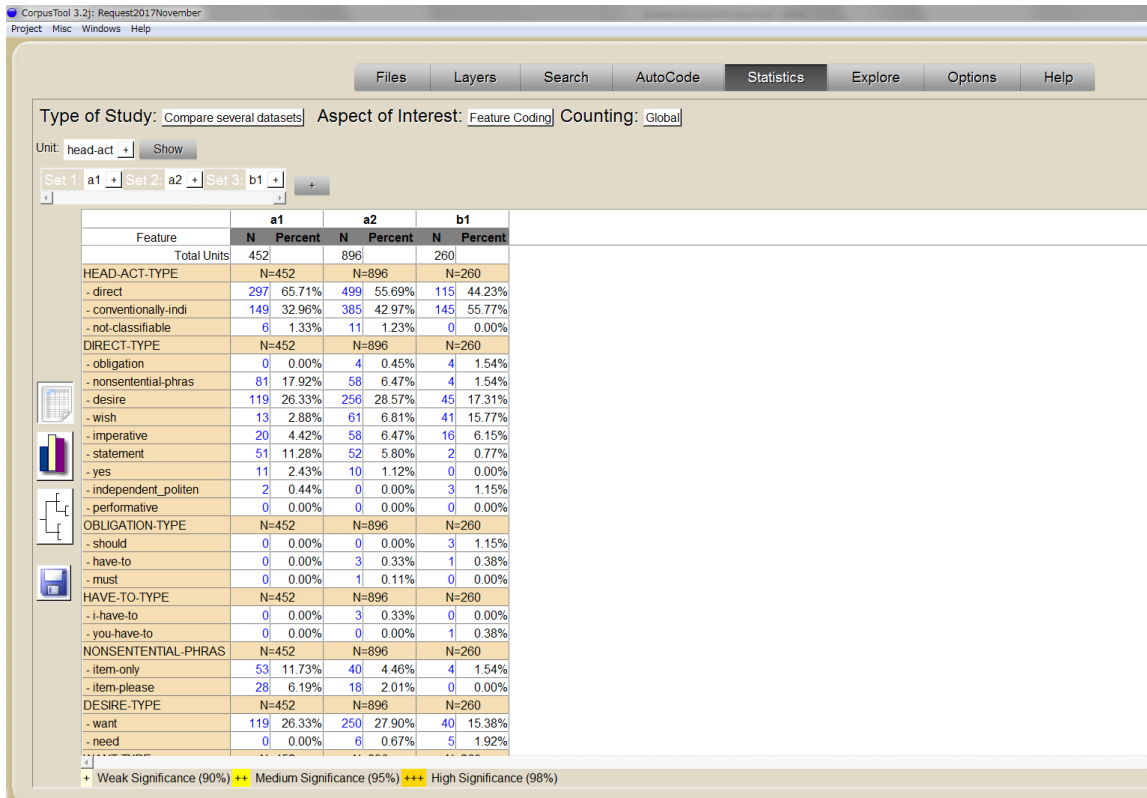


Figure 5.8 Statistical results retrieved from the UAMCT.

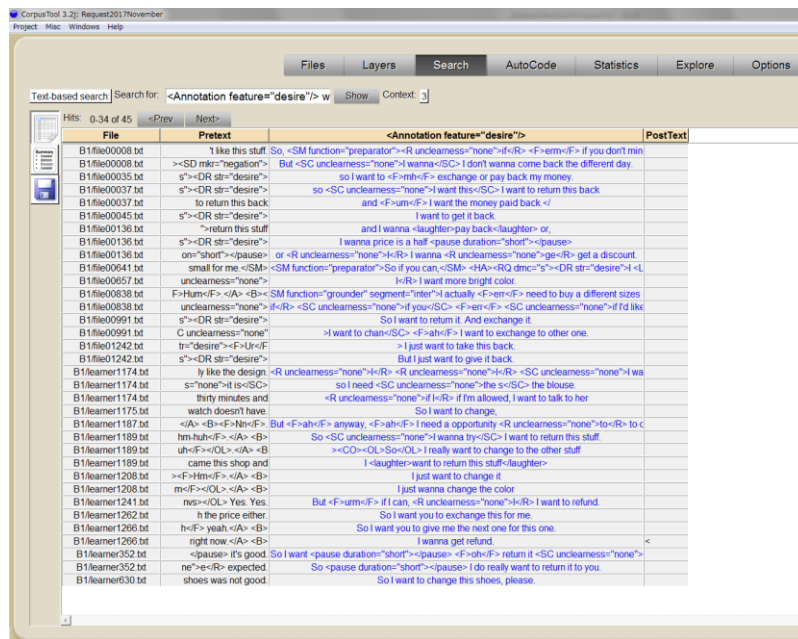


Figure 5.9. Concordance lines of the features of *desire* within the B1 level.

5.4 Annotation Schemes

The present study aimed to extract the linguistic features of requestive speech acts from the NICT JLE Corpus, based on a detailed manual examination of contexts. It is easy to automatically retrieve linguistic forms such as *want* and *please*, which appear at the surface level, using a concordancer, and the retrieved features can be analyzed through *vertical reading* (see sections 2.5.1 and 3.1). However, in order to examine what kind of pragmalinguistic features of requests are produced by learners at different proficiency levels, it is necessary to take into account the contextual and interactional features of head acts through *horizontal reading* (see sections 2.5.1 and 3.1).

There were mainly three annotation schemes in the current study: (i) *Request*, (ii) *Function*, and (iii) *Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability*. The current section briefly introduces the structure of each annotation scheme. The manuals of annotation schemes are available in the appendices, along with the definitions, functions, and examples of each category.

5.4.2 Segmentation and Boundaries of Utterances

The most important issue in corpus annotation is *segmentation*. According to Archer et al. (2008), “segmentation is an essential first stage in preparing data for corpus analysis...it involves dividing a stretch of continuous discourse into its meaningful constituent parts... so that interpretative tags relating to those parts may then be applied” (p. 632). About ten years ago, Archer et al. (2008) noted that “the CCSARP framework has not, as far as we are aware, been applied to corpus data” (p. 634) as “in the field of Pragmatics, fully annotated segmentation and tagging has [*sic*] not yet been achieved” (p. 633). On the other hand, they referred to the potential of the CCSARP coding scheme, which provides “well-established” (p. 634) “manual segmentation of speech act

phenomena” (pp. 633-634).

Geertzen, Petukhova, and Bunt (2007) noted some problems with “dialogue segmentation into utterances” (p. 141). The following table summarizes the problems that they pointed out, especially from the perspective of machine learning techniques on the automatic classification of multiple communicative functions of utterances. They stated that “segmentation into turns is often unsatisfactory because a turn may contain several smaller meaningful parts” (p. 140). Thus, utterances are defined as “linguistically defined stretches of communicative behaviour that have one or multiple communicative functions” (p. 140).

Table 5.3

Problems with dialogue segmentation into utterances (Taken from Geertzen et al., 2007, p. 141)

Problem	Example	Explanation
Utterances may be discontinuous. Spontaneous speech in dialogue usually includes filled and unfilled pauses, self-corrections and restarts.	<i>About half ... about a quar- ... th- ...third of the way down I have some hills</i>	The speaker corrects himself two times.
Dialogue utterances may be interrupted by even more substantial segments than repairs and stallings.	<i>Because twenty five Euros for a remote... how much is that locally in pounds? is too much money to buy an extra remote or a replacement remote</i>	The speaker interrupts himself with a WH-Question.
A dialogue act may be performed by an utterance formed parts of more than one turn.	<i>A: Well we can chat away for ... um... for five minutes or so I think at... B: Mm-hmm ... at most</i>	Participants interrupt each other or talk simultaneously.

<p>A dialogue act spreads over multiple turns when the speaker provides complex information that is divided up into parts, in order not to overload the addressee.</p>	<p>U: <i>Could you tell me what time there are flights to Kuala Lumpur on Monday?</i> S: <i>There are two early KLM flights, at 7:30 and at 8:25,...</i> U: <i>Yes,...</i> S: <i>... and a midday flight by Garuda at 12:10 ...</i> U: <i>Yes,...</i> S: <i>And there's late afternoon flight by Malaysian Airways at 17:55.</i></p>	<p>The first part of the discontinuous segment that expresses S's answer also has a feedback function (making clear to U what S understood).</p>
<p>Different functional segments overlap. Two functional segments start at the same position but end at different positions; in other words, no single segmentation of this turn exists that gives us all the relevant functional segments.</p>	<p>U: <i>What time is the first train to the airport on Sunday?</i> S: <i>The first train to the airport on Sunday is at ...ehm... 6:17.</i></p>	<p>The turn as a whole minus the part <i>...ehm...</i> has the communicative function of a WH-Answer, and that part has a stalling function. So the segments corresponding to the WH-Answer and the feedback function share the part <i>The first train to the airport on Sunday.</i></p>

The current study drew on the CCSARP framework, to which Archer et al. (2008) positively referred, to investigate requestive speech acts; however, the author confronted the same types of problems regarding interactional features that Geertzen et al. (2007) had pointed out. The author identified and determined each unit for analysis (i.e., segmentation), considering the phenomena of discontinuity, interruption, and speech

acts spreading over multiple turns.

In order to solve the problems of how learners' productions should be segmented into one unit for analysis (i.e., utterance), the author categorized the productions into a *main* segment, and optionally into a *supporting* one. In role plays, learners' productions were often interrupted by the interlocutor so that one single unit of utterance was divided into two non-adjacent parts. For example, as the following excerpt shows, the A1 learner's utterance was interrupted by the interlocutor. Therefore, the learner's first utterance was annotated as a *main* segment, and the second as a *supporting* one.

Learner: *Then do you have I want black, na urr soft*

Interlocutor: *OK.*

Learner: *soft jacket.*

The *supporting* segment was part of the *main* segment, although interrupted by the interlocutor. Therefore, when counting the learners' utterances, only the *main* segments were targeted and the *supporting* segments were excluded, in order to avoid multiple counts of the units of utterances. Segmentation is detailed in the following sections on each annotation scheme below (see sections 5.4.3, 5.4.4, and 5.4.5).

5.4.3 Request

In order to annotate learner spoken data including the unsuitable features, the author constructed the following scheme. Linguistic features of requests were categorized into one of three segments: (i) *main*, (ii) *supporting*, and (iii) *combined repair feature* (see Figure 5.10). Classification of the main segments was largely based on the CCSARP coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), and the main segments constituted the core parts of requestive speech acts. The author basically segmented one unit for analysis (i.e.,

utterance) according to a full stop (i.e., period) made by the transcribers originally transcribing the interview data for the NICT JLE Corpus. Utterances were segmented if they belonged to different categories of syntactic or lexical patterns in the coding scheme.

The remaining segments *supporting* and *combined repair feature* were developed by the author in order to solve problems with segmentation (see section 5.1.2), and they functioned as optional segments and belonged to the main ones.

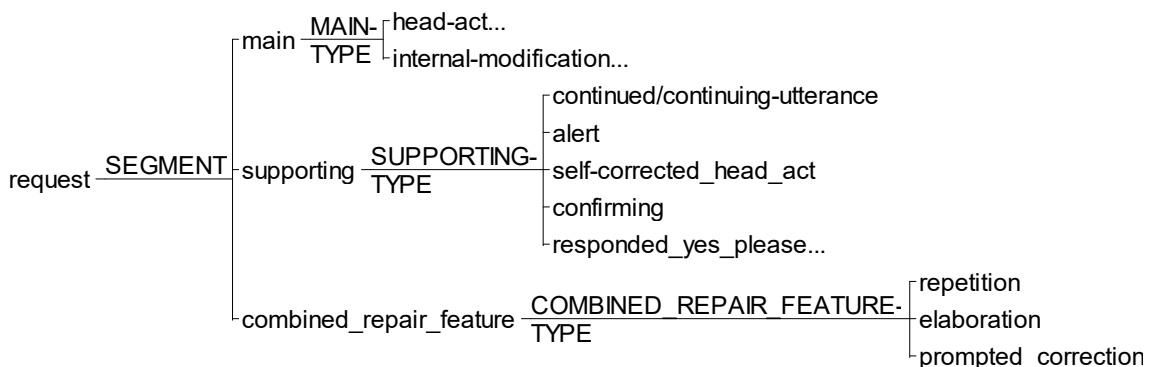


Figure 5.10. The annotation scheme for the requests showing higher levels.

5.4.3.1 Main segments

Main segments were divided into either a *head act* or an *internal modification* (see Figure 5.10). Further, a head act of requestive speech act was divided into *direct* strategy, *conventionally indirect* strategy, or *not-classifiable*, depending on the choice of linguistic features in making a request (see Figure 5.11). *Internal modification* can be found within a head act as it modifies the head act internally. Internal modification was divided into one of the following three: (i) *politeness marker please*, (ii) *discourse marker*, and (iii) *if clause* (see Figure 5.12). As mentioned in section 3.4.2, the current study did not analyze *non-conventionally indirect* strategies.

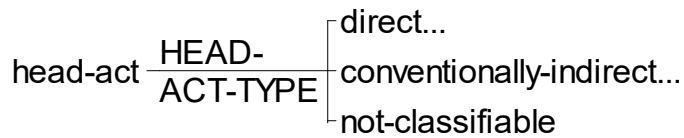


Figure 5.11. The annotation scheme for requests.



Figure 5.12. The annotation scheme for internal modification.

A direct strategy was classified into one of nine linguistic patterns: (i) *obligation*, (ii) *non-sentential phrase*, (iii) *desire*, (iv) *wish*, (v) *imperative*, (vi) *statement*, (vii) *yes*, (viii) *independent politeness marker please*, and (ix) *performative*¹ (see Figure 5.12). A conventionally indirect strategy was grouped into one of seven linguistic patterns: (i) *ability*, (ii) *willingness*, (iii) *suggestory*, (iv) *possibility*, (v) *subjectivizer*, (vi) *existences*, and (vii) *intention* (see Figure 5.13). The subordinate layers of annotation schemes are further detailed with examples in the appendices.

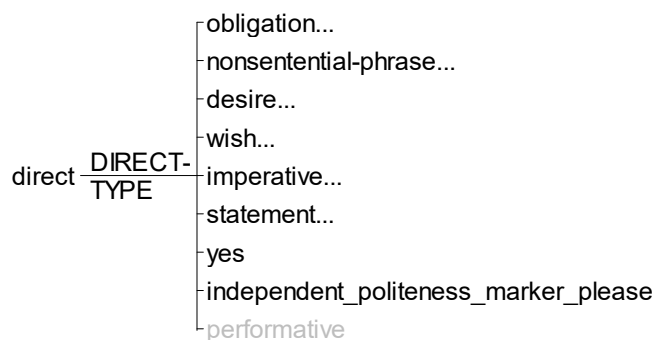


Figure 5.12. The annotation scheme for direct strategy.

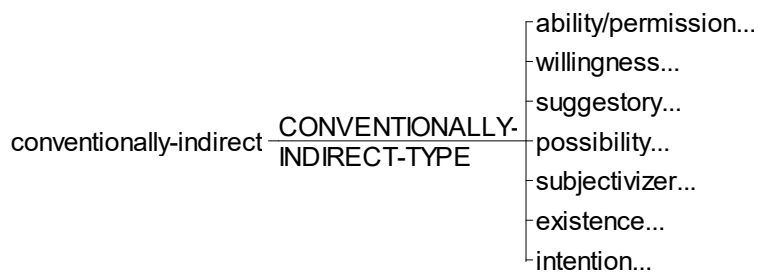


Figure 5.13. The annotation scheme for conventionally indirect strategy.

5.4.3.2 Supporting segments and combined repair feature

In this study, there were five main categories in the *supporting* segments: (i) *continued/continuing utterance*, (ii) *alert*, (iii) *self-corrected head act*, (iv) *confirming*, and (v) *responded yes-please* (see Figure 5.10). *Combined repair feature* was developed as an optional segment belonging to the main segments, in which a learner rephrased the head acts of requests. There were three types: (i) *repetition*, (ii) *elaboration*, and (iii) *prompted correction* (see Figure 5.10).

The current section describes the features especially characteristic to spoken data regarding interactional features such as *repetitions* and *rephrases*, contrasting the *self-corrected head act* of *supporting segments* with *combined repair feature*. Learners tended to repeat and rephrase more frequently for the negotiation of meaning than native speakers due to their lack of language proficiency.

These features were developed particularly for the purpose of avoiding counting *rephrased* and *repeated* head acts. As mentioned before, annotating these interactional features was only possible by taking into account the contextual and interactional features of the head acts in *horizontal reading*. Eliminating redundant features was essential for identifying the singular, main requestive head act and avoiding duplication or multiple counts. Automatic extraction of particular linguistic items in traditional corpus linguistics does not allow the elimination of redundant features unless

cleansing the data is done beforehand.

Self-corrected head act was annotated in a segment in which a part of the head act was rephrased. For example, in “<SC unclainerss=”none”>can you</SC> <F>ah</F> do you recommend some shirts?,” a learner self-corrected “can you” and uttered “do you recommend some shirts?” Self-correction tags (i.e., <SC unclainerss=”none”></SC>) were originally annotated in the corpus. On the other hand, in the category of *combined repair feature*, the domain of annotated segments included more than two head acts. For example, in “So this time, I try it. Can I try this on?,” two main head acts were identified: “So this time, I try it.” and “And Can I try this on?” These categories are further detailed in the appendices (see sections 2.3 and 3 in Appendix B for self-corrected head act and combined-repair feature, respectively).

5.4.4 Function

The *function* annotation scheme aimed to identify the function of every utterance produced by learners. With the careful manual examination of interactions between the learner (i.e., customer) and the interlocutor (i.e., shop assistant), the author identified two groups of utterances in the shopping role plays: (i) *dealing with transaction* and (ii) *communication for transaction*, as Figure 5.14 shows.

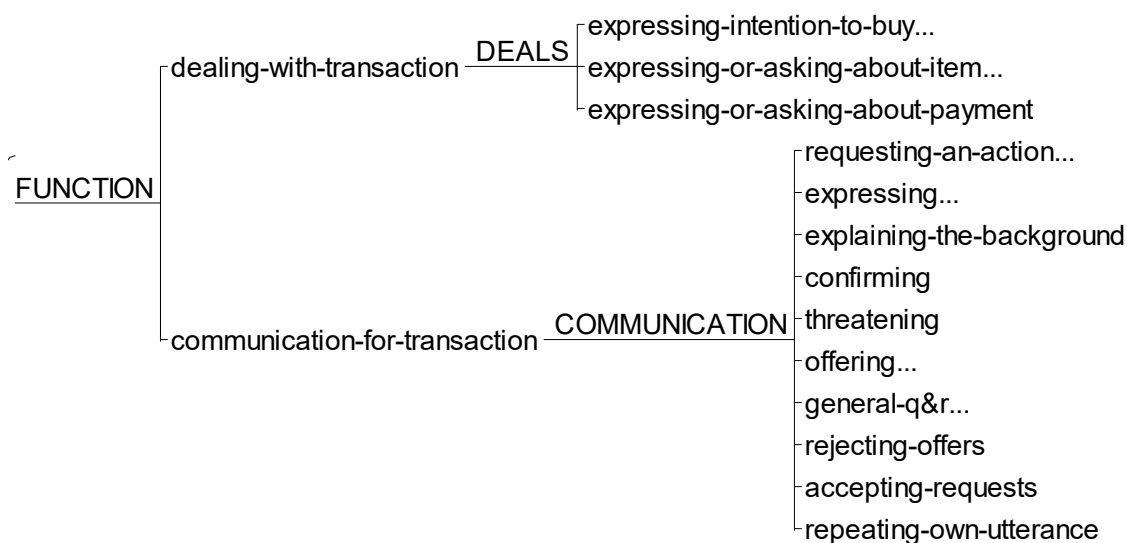


Figure 5.14. The annotation scheme for functions.

The basic principles of the current annotation scheme were to (i) *identify* a unit of the functions of the utterances that were produced by learners and conversed with the interlocutors (i.e., segmentation), and (ii) *label* a unit according to the contextual information. The functions of almost all of the utterances produced by the learners were annotated.ⁱⁱ Regarding segmentation, if a series of linguistic chunks had a function, it was recognized as a single unit. In most cases, one sentence usually had a single function.

There are two reasons why the function annotation scheme was additionally built to identify requestive speech acts. The first reason is that the request annotation scheme is only involved with the surface forms of the linguistic and syntactic features of requestive speech acts (i.e., pragmalinguistic features), but does not take into account the function of each requestive speech act. The second reason is that the author intended to clarify how the learners' productions were affected by the types of tasks given to them; the functions of the utterances would be varied according to the kinds of tasks. A1 and A2 learners were given a task of general purchase (i.e., Beginner and Intermediate tasks),

but B1 learners were given a task of negotiation (Advanced tasks). The function annotation would help the author to examine whether the learners' requestive speech acts can be statistically compared across different proficiency levels.

The first category, *dealing with transaction*, included (i) *expressing intention to buy*, (ii) *expressing or asking about item*, and (iii) *expressing or asking about payment*, which contained the basic and simple functions that were the most necessary for purchasing an item at a shop. They were directly related to purchasing acts, for example, showing an intention to buy a particular item, asking what kind of items are available at a shop, and asking for the method of payment.

The second category, *communication for transaction*, basically contained the utterances that were not necessarily prerequisites for the basic purchase of a particular item at a shop, but rather functioned as helping the communications or interactions to progress more smoothly. They were not directly related to the actual purchasing acts like in the first group, but had communicative functions so as to obtain a speaker's goal, such as purchasing an item with which he or she was satisfied, negotiating for a refund or a return of the purchased item, and sorting out problems during the transaction. Typical examples in this annotation scheme were *requesting an action*, *expressing* (an opinion and thoughts), *explaining the background*, *confirming* (the listener's understanding of what the speaker has said), and so on.

In order to develop the Function annotation scheme, the author referred to the CEFR illustrative scale for "transactions to obtain goods and services" in the domain of "spoken interaction" to develop an original annotation scheme, as previously reviewed in section 3.2 (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 89; 2017, p. 87). Basic can-do statements of "transactions to obtain goods and services" are mainly found in the descriptions for A1 and A2 learners,ⁱⁱⁱ such as "can ask people for things and give people things" (for A1),

“can handle numbers, quantities, cost, and time” (for A1), “can deal with common aspects of everyday living such as travel, lodgings, eating and shopping” (for A2), “can interact in predictable everyday station (e.g. a post office, a station, a shop), using a wide range of simple words and expressions” (for A2), “can ask for and provide everyday goods and services” (for A2), “can ask about things and make simple transactions in shops, post offices or banks” (for A2), “can give and receive information about quantities, numbers, prices, etc.” (for A2), and “can make simple purchases by stating what is wanted and asking the price” (for A2). For those who had B1 and higher proficiency levels, descriptors included statements such as “can ask in a shop for an explanation of the difference between two or more products serving the same purpose, in order to make a decision, posing follow up questions as necessary,” “can cope with less routine situations in shops, post offices, banks, e.g. returning an unsatisfactory purchase,” “can make a complaint,” and so on. Although B2 learners^{iv} were not subjects of the target proficiency level in the current study, their statements were also useful in considering the ultimate level described in the CEFR: “can outline a case for compensation, using persuasive language to demand satisfaction and state clearly the limits to any concession he/she is prepared to make” and “can explain a problem which has arisen and make it clear that the provider of the service/customer must make a concession.” In the current study, most of the functions identified as *dealing with transaction* were described in the CEFR descriptions for A1 and A2 learners. In contrast, the functions in the *communication for transaction* category were mainly included in the can-do statements described for B1 and higher learners.

5.4.5 Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability

Most learner data lacked not only grammatical correctness but also logic and

coherence in the given interactions. The degree of *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* was annotated in each segment that was identified in the annotation scheme for *function* (see 4.4.3). As Figure 5.15 shows, all utterances were classified into either *high* or *low*. The *high* utterance was highly grammatical and acceptable in terms of discourse (i.e., coherently responding to the interlocutor). Basically, there were not many repetitions and repairs that might have affected the intelligibility of the utterance. This type was further divided into either *well-formed topic comment* or *non-topic comment*.

The *low* utterance contained some unsuitable grammatical/discoursal features, and was further divided into one of four patterns such as (i) *coherent*, (ii) *slightly incoherent*, (iii) *incoherent*, and (iv) *Japanese*.

The division of whether the utterance had a topic-comment structure or not was given in the *high*, *low but coherent*, and *low and slightly incoherent* categories, so as to highlight the unsuitable topic-comment structures especially categorized in a *low* group. Topic-comment is a syntactic structure consisting of a subject followed by a copula verb. This structure is very typical in Japanese, the learners' first language. The issue of topic maintenance, prominence, and continuity has been discussed in terms of the Japanese language and interlanguage by Givón (1983), Hinds (1984), Fuller and Gundel (1987), and Sasaki (1990; 1997). Details of the annotation scheme are given with definitions and examples in Appendix D.

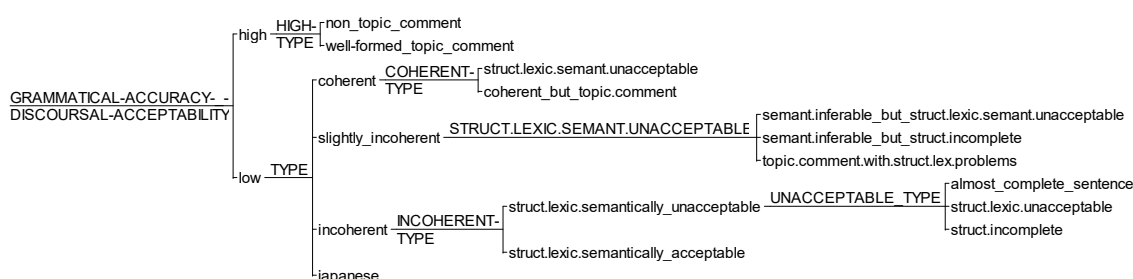


Figure 5.15. The annotation scheme for grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability.

5.5 Reliability of Annotations: How Annotation Schemes were Revised and Annotations were Refined

All of the annotations were made solely by the author. In the current study, the author revised and refined the annotations of her own past studies conducted since Miura (2011). In order to make the annotations as reliable as possible, the author asked an annotation checker to check the data as described below.

The checker was a PhD holder in the area of ELT and SLA as well as an extensively experienced ELT teacher of tertiary education in Japan. She was familiar with corpus linguistics and pragmatics. A total of 9.5 hours of 13 meetings were held, and the checker spent 39.83 hours on data checking. In addition, she replicated the annotations of some of the data, spending 7.22 hours. Table 5.4 shows the stages of the revision of annotation schemes and annotated segments.

Table 5.4

Stages of the revision of annotation schemes and the refinement of annotations by the annotation checker

Stage	Details
Stage 1	Receiving trainings regarding annotation schemes
Stage 2	Checking the manuals
Stage 3	Random-checking the annotations
Stage 4	Replicating the annotations

Basically, the checker was given manuals detailing the annotation schemes of Request, Function, and Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability, with the data saved in the UAMCT. She checked the data randomly, and if there were any ambiguously or incorrectly annotated segments, they were discussed in the following meetings with

the author. The discussion continued until a consensus was reached between the author and the checker. A new category was added to the annotation schemes if necessary, and incorrectly annotated segments were corrected later by the author.

The annotation schemes for Request and Function were not largely modified from the versions in the author's latest study (Miura, 2017), as the author and the checker mostly agreed on them. Only minor corrections were made to the category, and the data (i.e., files) were randomly checked and the incorrectly annotated segments were corrected (see Tables 5.5 and 5.6). However, the annotation scheme for Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability, which originated in the studies conducted by Miura (2015c; 2016a), was greatly modified.

5.5.1 Random-check of the annotations

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 show the number and ratio of checked and corrected annotations for Request and Function, except for that annotations for Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability, whose annotation scheme was completely modified. Both the checker and the author checked the files randomly and separately. For example, while the checker randomly checked 14 files of A1 learners, 20 files of A2 learners, and 41 files of B2 learners for the Request annotations, the author checked 33 files of A1 learners, 55 files of A2 learners, and 28 files of B1 learners for the Request annotations. Approximately 39.91% of the total files were checked. The checker suggested that 12 annotated segments of A2 and eight of B1 should be corrected, but after the discussion between the checker and the author, four segments of A2 and three of B1 were corrected. The author randomly checked the files and corrected 77 incorrect annotations (including 22 segments of A1, 39 of A2, and 16 of B1), which constituted 3.52% of the total annotated segments. The total proportion of corrected segments by the author and checker

was 3.84%. For the Function annotations, 4.14% were corrected. For more details, see Table 5.6.

Table 5.5

Checked and corrected annotated segments for Request

CEFR Levels	A1		A2		B1	
Total files	68		114		66	
Total annotated segments	597		1,170		412	
Average annotated segments per file	8.76		10.26		6.24	
	Checker	Author	Checker	Author	Checker	Author
Randomly checked files (proportion to the total files)	14 (20.6%)	33 (48.53%)	20 (17.54%)	55 (48.25%)	41 (62.12%)	28 (42.42%)
Annotated segments commented on by the checker	0	N/A	12	N/A	8	N/A
Corrected segments (proportion to the total annotations)	0 (3.69%)	22	4 (3.68%)	39	3 (4.61%)	16

Table 5.6

Checked and corrected annotated segments for Function

CEFR Levels	A1		A2		B1	
Total files	68		114		66	
Total annotated segments	893		1,911		1,159	
Average annotated segments per file	13.13		16.76		17.56	
	Checker	Author	Checker	Author	Checker	Author
Randomly checked files (proportion to the total files)	6 (8.82%)	33 (48.53%)	9 (7.89%)	58 (50.88%)	9 (13.64%)	40 (60.61%)
Annotated segments commented on by the checker	0	N/A	2	N/A	2	N/A
Corrected segments (proportion to the total annotations)	0 (4.48%)	40	0 (2.88%)	55	0 (5.95%)	69

As mentioned before, the annotation scheme for Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability was totally revised. This type of annotation was made to the same segments of the Function annotations. Therefore, there were 893 annotated segments of A1, 1,911 of A2, and 1,159 of B1. The checker spent about 11.92 hours on checking a total of 208 annotations (including 88 annotations of A1, 102 annotations of A2, and 18 annotations of B1) in this category, which constituted 5.25% of the total segments. Initially, it was found that the rate of agreement on annotations was not high between the checker and the author. Therefore, the author revised the whole annotation scheme. Then, the same 208 segments were newly annotated, and given to the checker for a second check. The author and checker spent 2.5 hours of discussions on some of the

ambiguous cases and reached an agreement to determine the annotation category for them.

5.5.2 Replication of the annotations

Finally, the replicability of annotations was explored by asking the checker to annotate the segments in some of the files. First, approximately 0.5 hour was spent to explain the annotation of data using the UAMCT to the checker. The checker was provided with a basic manual of the UAMCT and manuals for three annotation schemes in the appendices. The target UAMCT files were given to the checker, with all the units already segmented. As the classificatory information for each segment had not yet been annotated, the checker was asked to choose the category of annotations for each unit. Basically, the main segments were the only targets in the replication of annotations, so most of the supporting segments were excluded from the annotation replication.

A total of 12 files (including four of A1 learners, four of A2 learners, and four of B1 learners) were chosen to determine the replicability of the annotations for Request, Function, and Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability. The details of the files are given in Appendix E.

Table 5.7 summarizes the obtained agreement measures, including the average agreement rate and Krippendorff's *alpha*, for the Request annotations. According to Artstein and Poesio (2008), Krippendorff's *alpha* is appropriate for "semantic and pragmatic features" with "different magnitudes of disagreement" (p. 564). Note that the subsidiary categories of *want*, *would like*, and *have to*, which include certain erroneous features, are excluded from this replication.

There were two processes: Trial 1 and Trial 2 (see Table E-1 in Appendix E for the explanation). Trial 1 contained six files, which the checker had checked for the revision and refinement of the Request annotation (see 5.5.1), while Trial 2 contained

another six files, which the checker had not checked previously. Table 5.7 summarizes the agreement rates of the annotations for Trials 1 and 2 between the author and checker. The average agreement rate was 92.38% and *alpha* was 0.912, which seems to be a satisfactory result (see the agreement rate for each file in Appendix E). One of the examples in which there was a disagreement concerning the annotations is as follows: an A1 learner (file00404.txt) produced the utterance of “No brown, mm gray gray one” (Segment 8 in Table E-1.1.1), which was tagged as *item only* as *non-sentential phrase* of *direct* strategy by the author, but tagged as *explanation* of *declarative statement* of *direct* strategy by the checker. According to the manual (see 1.1.6 in Appendix B), a *statement* category is defined as having “patterns [that] are either declarative or interrogative in the present tense with no use of modal verbs such as *can* or *could*,” so it should contain a subject and a predicate in the utterance. However, it seems that the checker did not pay attention to the sentence structure since the utterance did not have a predicate. Rather, she was concerned with the function of the utterance since this utterance followed “Do you have another one?” Although the author intended and expected the checker to annotate the requestive speech acts based on only the syntactic and lexical patterns, the name and definition of the *statement* categories that the author developed might have been confusing to the checker.

Table 5.7

Agreement rates for the Request annotations between the author and checker

CEFR level	The total number of files	The total number of segments	Agreement rate (Krippendorff's <i>alpha</i>)
A1	4	37	82.15% (0.794)
A2	4	26	95% (0.942)
B1	4	12	100% (1)
Average agreement rate			92.38% (0.912)

Table 5.8 shows the results for the Function annotations, and Table 5.9 shows the results for the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations. Both sets of annotations were tagged in the same unit of utterances segmented. Therefore, the replication of both annotations was done at the same time. In the replication of the Function annotations, the subcategories of *expressing intention to buy* (i.e., *first intention*, *mid-intention*, and *final intention*), features (e.g., *kind*, *design*, etc.), quality (e.g., *popularity*, *subjective*, etc.), expressing an opinion (e.g., *positive*, *negative*, etc.), expressing thoughts (e.g., *decision*, *complaints*, etc.), offering (i.e., *paying extra*, *offering a deal*, and *promising another purchase*), and general q&r (i.e., *responding to questions* and *making questions*) were excluded. On the other hand, no subordinate categories were excluded from the replication of the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations.

Table 5.8

Agreement rates for the Function annotations between the author and checker

CEFR level	The total number of files	The total number of segments	Agreement rate (Krippendorff's <i>alpha</i>)
A1	4	50	90.74% (0.81)
A2	4	52	71.84% (0.656)
B1	4	56	81.94% (0.70)
Average agreement rate			81.51% (0.72)

Table 5.9

Agreement rates for the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations between the author and checker

CEFR level	The total number of files	The total number of segments	Agreement rate (Krippendorff's <i>alpha</i>)
A1	4	50	76.72% (0.547)
A2	4	52	66.98% (0.331)
B1	4	56	62.59% (0.249)
Average agreement rate			68.76% (0.375)

The checker first replicated the annotations of six files for Trial 1 using the manuals provided (see Table E-2 in Appendix E). Trial 1 contained three files that had already been checked by the checker for the revision and refinement of the annotation schemes, as well as another three that had not yet been checked. In Trial 2, the checker replicated the annotations of the files that she had not checked before. In both Trials 1 and 2, the checker replicated exactly the same files that were replicated for the Request annotations (see Tables E-1 and E-2 in Appendix E).

The average agreement rate and Krippendorff's *alpha* for the Function annotations were 81.51% and 0.72, while those for the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations were 68.76% and 0.375. Both agreement rates were lower than those for the Request annotations.

The lowest agreement measures between the author and checker for Trial 1 of the Function annotations (i.e., referring to the manual provided) were obtained in the replication of the file provided by an A2 learner (i.e., learner1012.txt). The rate was 54.55%. The details are shown in Tables E-2.1 and E-2.1.2 in Appendix E. For example, the author categorized the second utterance, "Ummm do you umm I I want to buy the umm nandaro the umm most umm best-seller book" (i.e., Segment 2 in Table E-2.1.2), as

expressing intention to buy of *dealing with transaction*, whereas the checker categorized it as *quality of expressing or asking about item* of *dealing with transaction*. The disagreement between the author and checker can be attributed to unclear definitions given in the manual. The author intended and expected at least one unit of segment to be annotated as *expressing intention to buy* in the data provided by A1 and A2 learners, who were given a general purchasing task. The manual defines *expressing intention to buy* as follows: “if a segment indicating the learner’s intention of buying a particular item appears for the first time, this should be categorized as *first intention* regardless of whether the learner specifies the features of the item” (see section 3.1.1.1 in Appendix C) and “Basically, every learner has at least *first intention*, but does not necessarily have *mid intention* and *final intention*” (see 3.1.1 in Appendix C). However, the checker did not categorize any segments as *expressing intention to buy* (see Table E-2.1.2 in Appendix E).

Regarding the replicability for Trial 2 of the Function annotations (i.e., without referring to the manual), the file that obtained the lowest agreement measures (i.e., 72.73% and 0.685) was file00057.txt of a B1 learner (see Table E-2.2 in Appendix E). Out of 11 segments, a series of three segments were differently annotated by the author and checker. First, “I’d like to ask the other that person the or your boss were here?” (see Segment 8 in Table E-2.2.3) was annotated as *requesting an action* by the author, but annotated as *confirming* by the checker. According to the manual, the function of *confirming* is “to confirm what the interlocutor has said previously by repeating a part of what the interlocutor said” (see section 3.2.4 in Appendix C). It seems that the checker did not understand this definition correctly. The second segment that was differently annotated was “Why your common er idea with the customers are different from different depends on person?” (i.e., Segment 9). This was annotated as *expressing thoughts* by the author, but annotated as *general q&r* by the checker. The author further subcategorized

this as *complaints*, which is defined as “the one in which the learner expresses his or her thoughts of complaint according to the contextual information exchanged between the learner and interlocutor” (see section 3.2.2.2.2 in Appendix C). On the other hand, *general q&r* is defined as “questions and responses, which are general and do not belong to any other categories” (see section 3.2.7). It seems that there was a gap between the author’s and checker’s perceptions of the learner’s utterance in that the author regarded it as a complaint in a wh-interrogative form, but the checker treated it as a simple question. To interpret the learners’ thoughts based on the surface forms of the linguistic patterns should be dependent on a hearer, which was similar to assessing the politeness of the utterances.

Regarding the replicability of the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations, the file that obtained the lowest agreement measures (i.e., 53.33% and 0.094) for Trial 2 (i.e., without referring to the manual) was learner1084.txt of an A2 learner (see Tables E-3.2 and E-3.2.1 in Appendix E). There were six segments that were differently annotated by the author and checker as follows:

Segment 2: *Uu could you recommend me eh good one?*

Segment 3: *And eh it I think ah I thinking I am thinking about using for business.*

Segment 4: *and n mm one-day eh business trip for one-day business trip.*

Segment 5: *My budget is nn below ah one ten ten ten thousand yen below.*

Segment 9: *Ee. Ee it is it is u maybe I think this is useful for me, but uu I’d like to
ah are you I already have leather one.*

Segment 15: *Ah I’d like to pay cash here.*

Segments 2, 3, 4, 9, and 15 (i.e., except for Segment 5) were categorized by the author as *low* segments, which were *coherent* but *structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable* (see section 2.1.1 in Appendix D). According to Appendix D, “structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable” segments in the *low* but *coherent* category have

“no problems in terms of discourse, but there are some slight problems with choice of lexical items and sentence structures.” However, the same segments were categorized as *high* segments, which were *non-topic comment* (see section 1.2 in Appendix D) by the checker. There were some differences between the author and checker in judging the grammatical accuracy. For example, the author regarded Segment 2 as a *low* segment since the learner did not say the article “a” before “good one.” The author also regarded Segments 3, 4, and 9 as *low* since the utterances had too many repetitions and rephrases, which might interfere with the understanding of a hearer. Regarding Segment 15, the author treated “pay cash here” as an inaccurate phrase as it dropped the preposition “by” before “cash.” On the other hand, the checker was not as strict as the author in her judgment, following the definition of *non-topic comment* segments in the *high* category given in the manual: “The pattern has no problems in terms of grammar and discourse, and does not have any topic-comment structures” (see section 1.1 in Appendix D). It seems that it was difficult to achieve a consensus between the author and checker on judging the grammatical accuracy. The author tended to be stricter than the checker. Therefore, the boundary between *high* and *low but coherent* segments should not be made rigidly for future studies.

Segment 5 was categorized by the author as a *low* segment, which was *coherent but topic comment* (see 2.1.2 in Appendix D). The checker, however, categorized this as a *low segment*, but *slightly incoherent*, having *topic comment with structural and lexical problems* (see section 2.2.2 in Appendix D). The author regarded this utterance as interpretable, supposing that the learner wanted to express how much he or she wanted to spend, following the definition of *coherent but topic comment* segments as having “no problems in terms of discourse with a slight unsuitable structure or lexical choice ... [and] a topic-comment structure” (see 2.1.2 in Appendix D). As Segment 5 does not seem to

have a structure heavily influenced by the Japanese sentence structure, the author expected the checker to categorize this utterance as *coherent*, but the checker did not. In fact, the checker's chosen category *slightly incoherent* segments that are *topic comment with structural and lexical problems* are defined as "the utterance [having the appearance of being] literally and directly translated from the Japanese language" (see 2.2.2 in Appendix D). An example pertains to the utterance of "I'm white color wants," which was assumed to be translated from *Watashi wa shiroi iro ga hoshii* (I topic-particle-wa white color particle-ga want). The structure was assumed to be influenced by the use of Japanese topic particle *wa*.

To summarize the checker's replication of annotations, a high agreement between the author and checker on the Request annotations was likely, as the agreement rate was 92.38% and Krippendorff's *alpha* was 0.912. The segments that were differently annotated by the author and checker suggested ambiguity in the categories, the definitions of which in the manual should be revised to improve clarification. Contrary to the average agreement rate and *alpha* for the Request annotations, which were satisfactorily high, those for the Function annotations were 81.51% and 0.72 and those for the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations were 68.76% and 0.375. Regarding the Function annotations, the definitions in the manual should also be improved, as more instructions on the annotations and more annotation practice opportunities should have been made available to the checker because she did not clearly understand the definitions and did not annotate the segments as the author expected. However, in the replicability of Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability, there should be some categories, the boundaries of which should be revised and refined, for example, the boundaries between *high* and *low* but *coherent* categories, and between *coherent* and *slightly coherent* categories. In addition, the definitions and classifications of the topic-comment structure

in each superordinate category such as *high*, *coherent*, and *slightly coherent* should be more clearly distinguished for future studies. As described in section 2.5.2.2, De Felice et al. (2013) pointed out that “a very complex classification scheme may prove problematic for the annotators. It would increase both time needed for training and for the annotation task (and therefore project costs), while also increasing the potential for errors and confusion” (p. 79). As a whole, a greater number of files should be rechecked and replicated for robust annotations.

ⁱ There was no occurrence of “performative” produced by the target learners in the current study. See section 6.3.1 for more details.

ⁱⁱ It should be noted that some of the responses such as *Thank you* or *OK* were not identified as the author regarded them as unimportant segments in terms of identifying speech act realizations.

ⁱⁱⁱ According to the latest version (Council of Europe, 2017), pre-A1 level learners “can make simple purchases and/or order food or drink when pointing or other gesture can support the verbal reference.”

^{iv} There are no descriptors available for the C2 level, and C1 learners “can negotiate complex or sensitive transactions in public, professional or academic life.”

Chapter 6. Results and Discussion

Chapter 6 provides the results and a discussion, answering the research questions posed at the outset of this study. Chi-square tests were administered to extract the pragmalinguistic criterial features distinguishing three proficiency groups. The chapter describes both statistically confirmed significant differences and those non-statistically confirmed but characteristic in terms of the distributions and frequencies of the functions of whole utterances (Research Question 1), the degree of the grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of learners' utterances (Research Question 2), and the ratios of requestive strategies detailing the linguistic patterns of requestive head acts and internal modification as well as the interactional features of the head acts (Research Question 3). Further addressing Research Question 3, the chapter concludes with a report on pragmalinguistic criterial features that distinguish A1 from A2 learners and were derived from the cross-schematic analyses combining the schemes for Request and Function.

6.1 Research Question 1: Exploring the Functions of the Utterances in Shopping Role Plays in the OPI

RQ1. What kinds of *functions* do the learners' utterances in shopping role plays have, and what are the distributions of the functions across different proficiency levels as well as among the different tasks given?

As the section on methodology and Appendix C show, in the Function scheme, each segment was either categorized into a *main* segment or a *supporting* one. The supporting segment was part of the main segment, which preceded or followed the main

part, due to, for example, the interlocutor's interruptions. Table 6.1 shows the total numbers of the main and supporting segments. According to the chi-square test, no significant difference was found between the A1 and A2 levels ($\chi^2 = 4.978$, $df = 1$, $p = .0257$, n.s.), but there was a significant difference between the A2 and B1 levels ($\chi^2 = 9.822$, $df = 1$, $p = .0017$, Cramer's $V = .0566$).

Table 6.1

Total numbers and ratios of the main and supporting segments

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Main segments	870	(97.42)	1,828	(95.71)	1,079	(93.1)
Supporting segments	23	(2.58)	82	(4.29)	80	(6.9)
Total segments	893		1,910		1,159	

The main segments were further divided into *dealing with interaction* and *communication for transaction*. Figure 6.1 shows the ratio of segments in these two categories. It is obvious that B1 learners, who were given the Advanced tasks, produced utterances that functioned completely differently from those of A1 and A2 learners. There was no significant difference between A1 and A2 learners at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 4.153$, $df = 1$, $p = .0416$, n.s.).

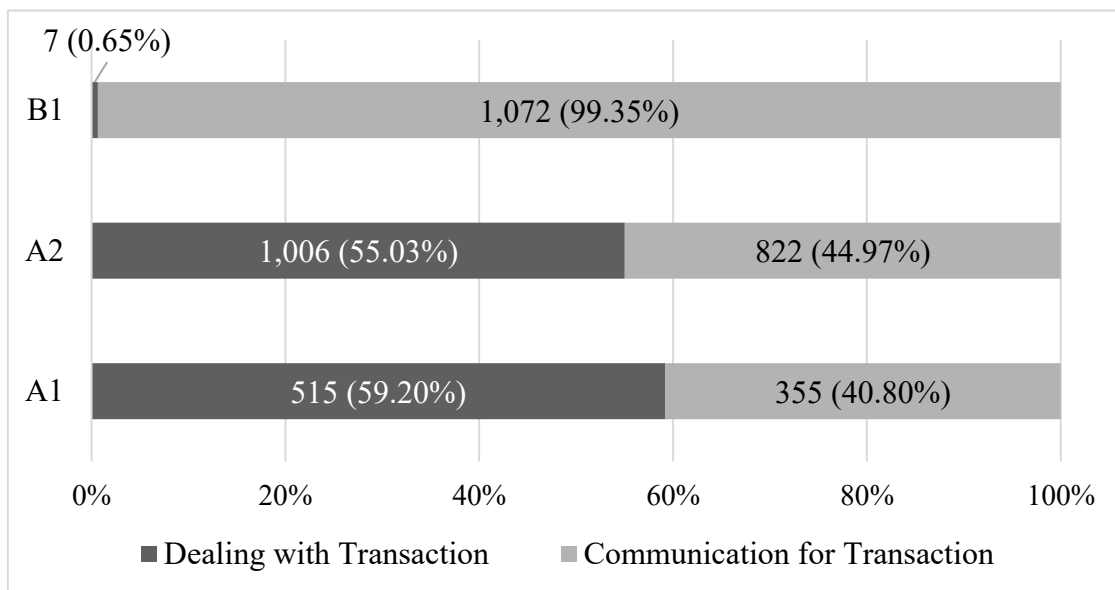


Figure 6.1. The ratio of segments of *dealing with transaction* and *communication for transaction*.

The current section describes and discusses the statistical results of segments annotated in the Function scheme derived from the chi-square test, in order to examine whether there were any significant differences among the different proficiency levels, as well as how the distributions of functions were different across the three proficiency groups of A1, A2, and B1.

6.1.1 Statistical Results of *Dealing with Transaction*

Figure 6.2 shows the annotation scheme for *dealing with transaction*. The definitions and examples of each category can be found in Appendix E.

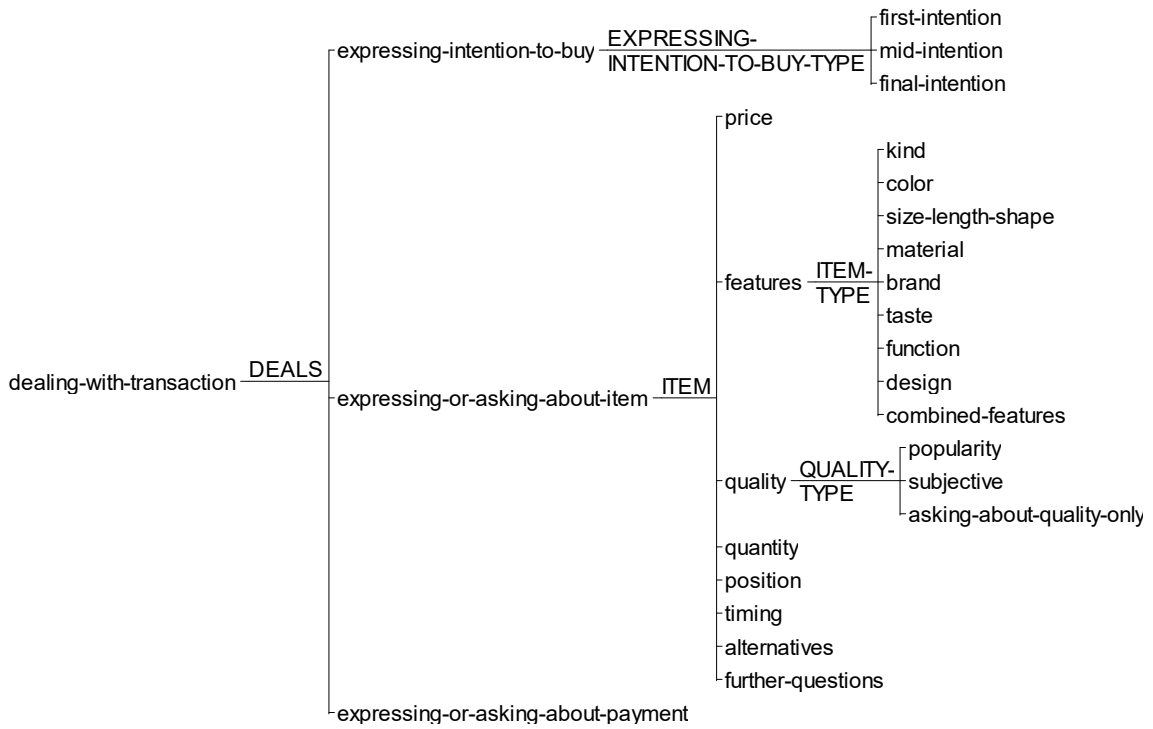


Figure 6.2. Category of dealing with transaction.

The numbers of annotated segments and the ratios of the major three categories of A1 and A2 learners are shown in Figure 6.3. There was no significant difference between these two levels at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 2.8806$, $df = 2$, $p = .237$, n.s.).

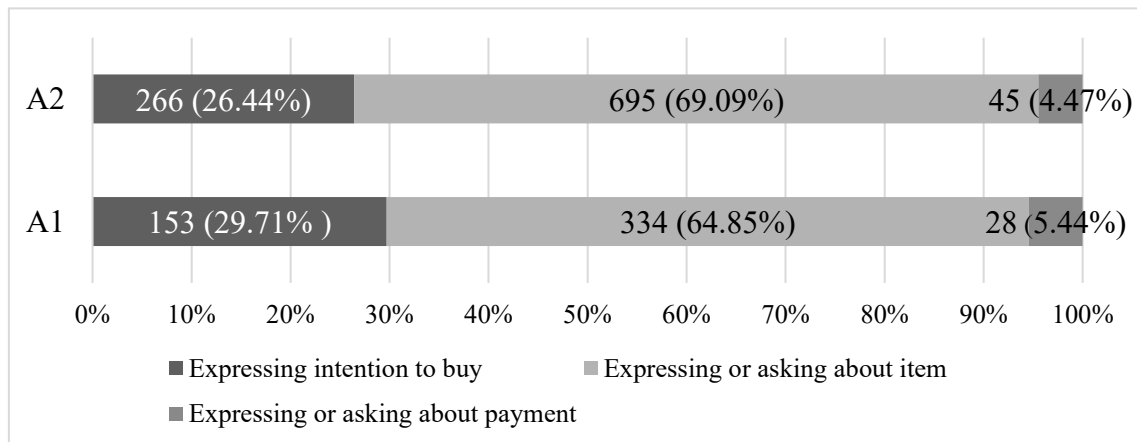


Figure 6.3. The ratio of segments in dealing with transaction.

6.1.1.2 Expressing or asking about item

Table 6.2 shows the statistical results of the subcategories of *expressing or asking about item*, such as the *price*, *features*, *quality*, and *quantity* of the item that the learners intended to buy during shopping role plays. The category of *further questions* was annotated when a learner posed a further question in order to respond to the interlocutor. For example, an A1 learner (i.e., learner314.txt) asked, “And what kind of leather?” in response to the interlocutor’s utterance, “Oh this is made of leather.” The *alternatives* category was annotated when a learner asked for another item since he or she was not satisfied with the item that the interlocutor had presented. For example, an A1 learner (i.e., learner634.txt) asked, “Anything else?” after the interlocutor uttered, “This is four thousand dollars.” The *combined features* segment was the utterance containing more than one item in the *features* category: an A2 learner (i.e., file00575.txt) referred to *color* and *design*, saying “I’m looking for a gray gray color (interrupted by the interlocutor) and traditional style suits.”

The chi-square test was conducted except for the *alternatives*, *quantity*, and *timing* categories, the expected values of which were smaller than five. No significant difference was found between the A1 and A2 levels at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 8.6908$, $df = 4$, $p = .0693$, n.s.).

Table 6.2

Total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of expressing or asking about item

	A1		A2	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Features	205	(61.38)	397	(57.12)
Price	71	(21.26)	140	(20.14)
Quality	17	(5.09)	47	(6.76)
Further questions	21	(6.29)	81	(11.65)
Position	5	(1.50)	14	(2.01)
Alternatives	10	(2.99)	4	(0.58)
Quantity	3	(0.90)	9	(1.29)
Timing	2	(0.60)	3	(0.43)
Total segments	334		695	

As the proportion of the *Features* category was the highest in both A1 (i.e., 61.38%) and A2 learners (i.e., 57.12%), the statistical results of the subcategories of *Features* are shown in Table 6.3. The chi-square test was conducted to determine the difference between A1 and A2 learners except for the subcategories of *design*, *taste*, and *function*, the expected values of which were smaller than five. The result was significant at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 33.1263$, $df = 5$, $p = .00000355$, Cramer's $V = .1687$). It can be assumed that A2 learners produced more varied utterances regarding the item features. Thus, Table 6.4 shows that 88.2% of A1 learners and 94.74% of A2 learners produced segments annotated as *features*, and that the average number produced per file (i.e., subject) of A2 learners was bigger than that of A1 learners. It can also be assumed that A2 learners produced the *features* segments with more varieties more frequently than A1 learners did.

Table 6.3

Total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of features

	A1		A2	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Kind	59	(28.78)	129	(32.49)
Color	70	(34.15)	106	(26.70)
Size/Length/Shape	54	(26.34)	89	(22.42)
Brand	14	(6.83)	6	(1.51)
Material	3	(1.46)	25	(6.30)
Design	4	(1.95)	9	(2.27)
Combined features	1	(0.49)	26	(6.55)
Taste	0	(0)	4	(1.01)
Function	0	(0)	3	(0.76)
Total segments	205		397	

Table 6.4

Statistical descriptions of the segments of features in each file (i.e., learner)

	A1	A2
The number of learners producing the <i>features</i> segments	60	108
(The proportion to the total learners)	(88.2%)	(94.74%)
The average number per subject	3.42	3.68
The median	3	3
The mode	3	2
The maximum number	9	10
The minimum number	0	0

Table 6.5 shows the subcategories of the *quality* segments: (i) *popularity*, in which the learner posed a question regarding the popularity of the item as in “What’s the most popular type?” (A2 – file00077.txt); (ii) *subjective*, in which the learner asked for the interlocutor’s subjective judgment on the item as in “Ur is it uhm strong strong one?” (A2 – learner1034.txt); and (iii) *asking about quality*, in which the learner asked only about the quality as in “Ahh how about the quality?” (A1 – learner1023.txt). As the

expected values of *popularity* and *subjective* were smaller than five, the chi-square test was not conducted.

Table 6.5

Total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of quality

	A1		A2	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Popularity	2	(11.76%)	8	(17.02%)
Subjective	13	(76.47%)	39	(82.98%)
Asking about quality only	2	(11.76%)	0	(0%)
Total segments	17		47	

6.1.2 Statistical Results of *Communication for Transaction*

Figure 6.4 shows the annotation scheme for *communication for transaction*. The detailed definitions and examples of each category can be found in section 3.2 in Appendix C. According to Figure 6.1, 99.35% of B1 learners' utterances, 44.97% of A2 learners' utterances, and 40.8% of A1 learners' utterances belong to this category. This section describes the results of the chi-square test conducted to determine the statistical differences among A1, A2, and B1 learners.

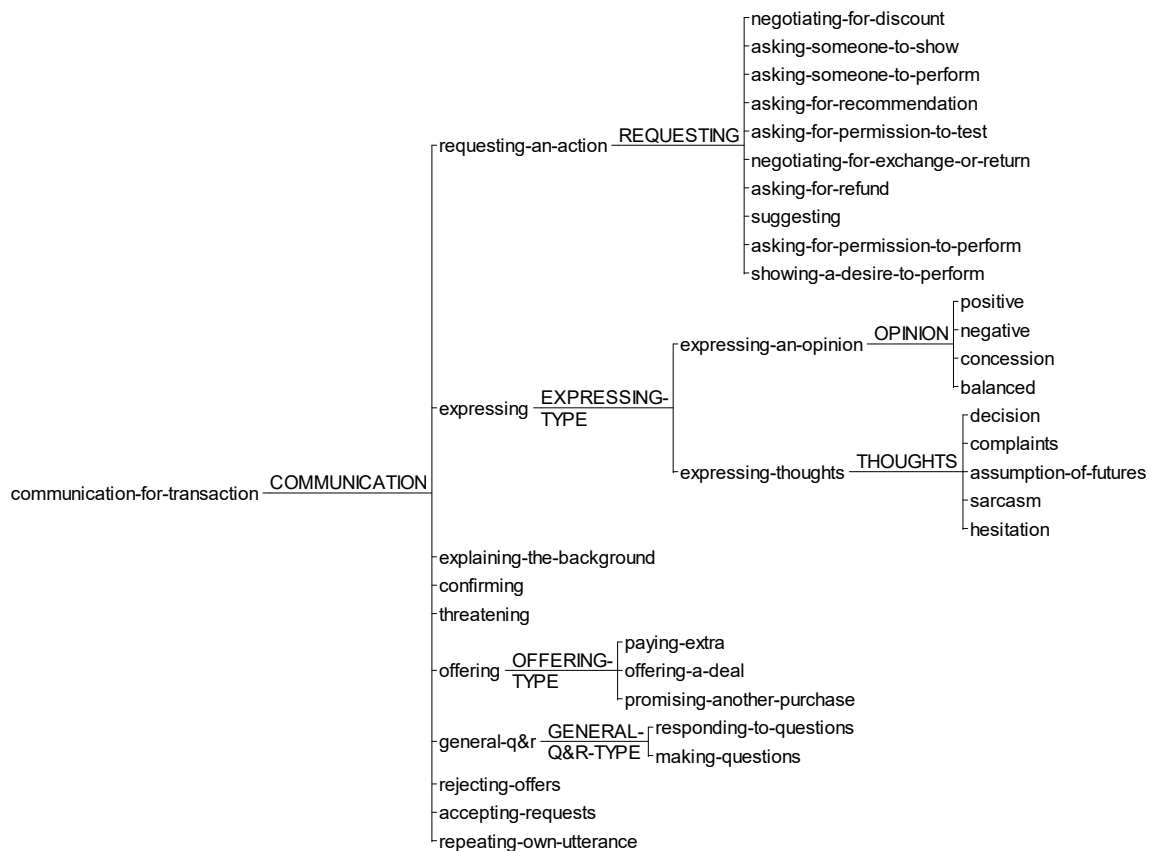


Figure 6.4. Category of communication for transaction.

There were 10 subcategories in the category of *communication for transaction*: (i) *requesting an action*, (ii) *expressing*, (iii) *explaining the background*, (iv) *confirming*, (v) *threatening*, (vi) *offering*, (vii) *general question and response (q&r)*, (viii) *rejecting offers*, (ix) *accepting requests*, and (x) *repeating own utterance*. Table 6.6 shows the numbers and ratios of each of the three proficiency group categories.

Table 6.6

Total numbers and ratios of the categories of communication for transaction

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Confirming	150	(42.25)	302	(36.74)	123	(11.47)
Expressing	94	(26.48)	186	(22.63)	102	(9.51)
Requesting an action	64	(18.03)	168	(20.44)	287	(26.77)
Explaining the background	45	(12.68)	151	(18.37)	459	(42.82)
General question & response	1	(0.28)	7	(0.85)	66	(6.16)
Accepting requests	1	(0.28)	0	(0)	16	(1.49)
Rejecting offers	0	(0)	4	(0.49)	0	(0)
Repeating own utterance	0	(0)	3	(0.36)	0	(0)
Threatening	0	(0)	0	(0)	5	(0.47)
Offering	0	(0)	1	(0.12)	14	(1.31)
Total segments	355		822		1,072	

The chi-square test was conducted to determine the difference between A1 and A2 learners except for the categories including *general question and response*, *accepting requests*, *rejecting offers*, *repeating own utterance*, *threatening*, and *offering*, the expected values of which were smaller than five. No significant difference was found at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 8.980$, $df = 3$, $p = .0296$, n.s.). However, a significant difference was found between A2 and B1 learners at $p < .01$, according to the chi-square test except for, *rejecting offers*, *repeating own utterance*, and *threatening*, the expected values of which were smaller than five ($x^2 = 333.721$, $df = 6$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .2932$).

6.1.2.1 Explaining the background

The *explaining the background* category accounted for 42.82% of the total segments of *communication for transaction* in B1 learners. The segments in this category functioned as giving background information. For example, a B1 learner (i.e.,

file00873.txt) produced a series of segments such as “I bought this clothes er the other day. But erm it didn’t really fit to my size,” followed by a requestive head act asking for an exchange of the item: “So, would it be possible for me to exchange it to the other size?” Compared to those of A1 (12.68%) and A2 learners (18.37%), the high ratio of this category in B1 learners suggests that in order to persuade the interlocutor to accept the learner’s requests of an exchange or a return of the purchased items, B1 learners produced more *supportive moves* that externally modified the requestive head acts (i.e., *external modification*) than A1 and A2 learners did. The “relative power” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 15) in the negotiation task given to B1 learners between the interlocutor (i.e., shop assistant) and the learner (i.e., customer) is likely to differ from the power in the purchasing task given to A1 and A2 learners. B1 learners may have been more concerned with the “risk of face loss” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 60) since the imposition of the request can be assumed to be higher in a negotiation than in a general purchase. In the latter case, customers do not usually have to persuade the shop assistants because they pay money to the assistants, who will benefit more. Therefore, “cost-benefit variables” (Leech, 2014, p. 253) among different tasks may have been present.

6.1.2.2 Confirming

The proportion of *confirming* to the total segments of *communication for transaction* was the biggest in A1 (i.e., 42.25%) and A2 learners (i.e., 36.74%), while B1 learners’ proportion was only 11.47%. The function of *confirming* was to confirm what the interlocutor had said previously by repeating a part of what the interlocutor said. For example, an A1 learner (i.e., learner406.txt) said, “Oh. Ten percent discount” after the interlocutor uttered, “Well oh maybe we can give you ten percent discount.” The *confirming* segments were produced when the learner was prompted by the interlocutor,

but the learner did not voluntarily initiate the utterance. The *confirming* segments can also be treated as redundant features as the learner repeated a part of the interlocutor's utterance. Therefore, it can be said that the higher ratio of *confirming* suggests that A1 and A2 learners were more likely to be uncertain of their understanding of the interlocutors' utterances; in contrast, this tendency was not highly evident in B1 learner data. Although there was not a significant difference between A1 and A2 learners, the ratio of *confirming* segments of A2 learners was lower than that of A1 learners, which may indicate a decrease of redundant features with an increasing proficiency.

6.1.2.3 General question and response

The segments such as *general question and response* were mostly produced by B1 learners. *General question and response* was divided into *responding to questions* and *making questions*. For example, a B1 learner (i.e., file00838.txt) responded, "Yes. Ah-huh" to the interlocutor's utterance, "Did you open the bag?" Another B1 learner (i.e., file00037.txt) posed the question, "When will he come back?" to the interlocutor's utterance, "Uh I need to talk with the manager, but the manager is out right now for lunch."

6.1.2.4 Threatening and offering

Threatening and *offering* can be characteristic of a negotiation task. B1 learners produced *threatening* segments to persuade the interlocutor (i.e., shop assistant): "If you don't accept my offer, you surely lose your customer, one customer" (file00035.txt), "So it's not good for your shop as well" (file00071.txt), "and er I think er er you know, cooling-off for that kind" (file00087.txt), "If you don't exchange it, I'll mm next time I'll buy in I'm gonna buy in ano another store" (file01229.txt), and "I'm not saying you know, I'm not saying paying me back the money" (learner788.txt).

Table 6.7

Examples of offering

Category	Examples
Paying extra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>So if you if you change this these two bag and I'll pay more, for that, I think it doesn't make big problem for you. (learner656.txt)</i> · <i>If it costs little bit higher, I can pay for that. (learner902.txt)</i> · <i>Of course I can pay some the some money the difference from this one to that one. (learner965.txt)</i> · <i>And er yeah, erm would you would you o or maybe er I can pay extra money to to to buy one. (learner989.txt)</i>
Offering a deal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Maybe I will err I can choo I can chose I can choose the another one err that err which is same price as as this. (learner1119.txt)</i> · <i>...and I will choose exactly the same style and the same price skirt. (learner1208.txt)</i> · <i>I can give you er tip instead. (learner788.txt)</i> · <i>How much do you how much do er are you paid for this, I mean, I'll pay it. I'll pay more than. (learner788.txt)</i> · <i>How about how about I work here for one day instead so you can take off one day? So uh I think it's a big deal good deal. (learner902.txt)</i>
Promising another purchase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>...and er I'm going to buy er some new clothes anna after after after this um problem. (file00059.txt)</i> · <i>I promise that I I'll buy next other other shirt next time. (learner1020.txt)</i> · <i>..ah I and I would buy another things. (learner317.txt)</i>

Offering was divided into *paying extra*, *offering a deal*, and *promising another purchase*. An A1 learner (i.e., learner1081.txt) produced the segment of *offering a deal* by saying, “So I play the guitar for you” as the supportive move to the requestive head act of “mm could you discount a little bit?” in the situation of purchasing a guitar. Table 6.7 shows some examples of B1 learners’ productions in each category.

As a supportive move that externally modified the requests asking for an exchange or a return of the item in negotiations, the *offering* segment seems to have

reduced the impositive force of the request more than *threatening* did. Although assessing politeness is out of the scope of this study (see section 4.3.1), the *threatening* segment may not have been as effective as the *offering* segment in terms of politeness. Ideally, the prosody of the utterances should also be assessed to determine the degree of politeness.

6.1.2.5 Rejecting offers and accepting requests

These two types of segments functioned as a response to the interlocutor's offers or requests. These types of utterances were produced by learners only when the interlocutor deliberately made an offer or a request. Out of all of the segments, the *rejecting offers* segment was only produced by A2 learners, for example, "No, no. That's all" (learner1035.txt) to the interlocutor's offer, "Ah OK. Would you like to have another one? We have a lot." The *accepting requests* segment was mainly produced by B1 learners; for example, a B1 learner responded, "Uum. I'll come back" (interrupted by the interlocutor's "Sure") "in a hour or something" to the interlocutor's request, "Sure. Can you wait for next one one hour or so?"

6.1.2.6 Requesting an action

The segments of *requesting an action* were divided into subcategories such as (i) *asking someone to show*, (ii) *asking for permission to test*, (iii) *negotiating for discount*, (iv) *asking for recommendation*, (v) *asking someone to perform*, (vi) *suggesting*, (vii) *showing a desire to perform*, (viii) *asking for permission to perform*, (ix) *asking for refund*, and (x) *negotiating for exchange or return*. As Table 6.8 shows, the distribution of the subcategories of *requesting* seems to have been heavily influenced by the kinds of tasks given to the learners. According to the chi-square test, no significant difference was found between learners at the A1 and A2 levels at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 8.7179$, $df = 4$, $p = .06856$,

n.s.), except for the five subcategories, the expected values of which were smaller than five, including *negotiating for exchange or return*, *asking for refund*, *suggesting*, *asking for permission to perform*, and *showing a desire to perform*. However, there was a significant difference between learners at the A2 and B1 levels at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 318.4916$, $df = 7$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .6057$), except for *suggesting* and *showing a desire to perform*, the expected values of which were smaller than five. The statistical results show that it is not plausible to extract criterial features distinguishing different proficiency levels based on the distributions of the functions of requests. The syntactic and lexical patterns of the frequent subcategories are discussed in section 6.3, which describes the patterns of requestive speech acts in the Request annotation scheme.

Table 6.8

Total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of requesting an action

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Asking someone to show	15	(23.44)	47	(27.98)	0	(0)
Asking for permission to test	23	(35.94)	37	(22.02)	2	(0.70)
Negotiating for discount	12	(18.75)	21	(12.50)	8	(2.79)
Asking for recommendation	7	(10.94)	40	(23.81)	7	(2.44)
Asking someone to perform	7	(10.95)	17	(10.12)	47	(16.38)
Suggesting	0	(0)	4	(2.38)	7	(2.44)
Showing a desire to perform	0	(0)	1	(0.60)	9	(3.14)
Asking for permission to perform	0	(0)	1	(0.60)	22	(7.67)
Asking for refund	0	(0)	0	(0)	25	(8.71)
Negotiating for exchange or return	0	(0)	0	(0)	160	(55.75)
Total segments	64		168		287	

Although there was no significant difference between A1 and A2 learners, the

ratio of *asking for permission to test* of A1 learners (i.e., 35.94%) was higher than that of A2 learners (i.e., 22.02%), while the ratio of *asking for recommendation* of A1 learners (i.e., 10.94%) was lower than that of A2 learners (i.e., 23.81%). However, it is difficult to claim whether the production of these segments was caused by the prompt of the role-play tasks or not.

Regarding the B1 learners, the most frequently observed segments were *negotiating for exchange or return*, constituting more than 50%, followed by *asking someone to perform* (i.e., 16.38%), *asking for refund* (i.e., 8.71%), *asking for permission to perform* (i.e., 7.67%), and others. As Figure 6.1 shows, 99.35% of the whole utterances of B1 learners belonged to the category of *communication for transaction*. Therefore, the majority of requests produced by B1 learners had the function of *negotiating for exchange or return*. The segment of *asking someone to perform* can be illustrated by examples produced by B1 learners such as “Could you can you ask him when he is come back?” (file00037.txt), “Then ur can you call the manager?” (file00657.txt), and “Will you take a look around and ask the manager?” (file01242.txt). It should be noted that segments such as *asking someone to show* including the utterance, “Please show me” produced by an A2 learner (i.e., learner1109.txt) did not appear in B1 learners. The examples of *asking for permission to perform* included “So can I er leave urr this bag here today?” (file00171.txt), “Actually, can I talk to your boss?” (learner1020.txt), “Ur so can I talk to the shop keeper?” (learner1254.txt), and “Could I make an appointment to see him?” (file00301.txt), most of which were produced when the B1 learners were asked by the interlocutors (i.e., shop assistants) to contact the store manager.

6.1.2.7 Expressing

The *expressing* segments were the second most frequent category in A1 and

A2 learners. Although B1 learners' ratio was not as high as those of A1 and A2 learners, there were 102 raw frequencies. Table 6.9 shows the subcategories of expressing: *expressing an opinion* and *expressing thoughts*. *Expressing an opinion* was further categorized into (i) *positive*, (ii) *negative*, (iii) *concession*, and (iv) *balanced*, and *expressing thoughts* was divided into (i) *decision*, (ii) *complaints*, (iii) *assumption of futures*, (iv) *sarcasm*, and (v) *hesitation*.

Table 6.9

Total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of expressing

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Expressing an opinion	93	(98.94)	177	(95.16)	26	(25.49)
Positive	57	(60.64)	96	(51.61)	3	(2.94)
Negative	27	(28.72)	59	(31.72)	23	(22.55)
Concession	9	(9.57)	20	(10.75)	0	(0)
Balanced	0	(0)	2	(1.08)	0	(0)
Expressing thoughts	1	(1.06)	9	(4.84)	76	(74.51)
Decision	1	(1.06)	5	(2.69)	40	(39.22)
Complaints	0	(0)	3	(1.61)	22	(21.57)
Assumption of futures	0	(0)	0	(0)	3	(2.94)
Sarcasm	0	(0)	1	(0.54)	4	(3.92)
Hesitation	0	(0)	0	(0)	7	(6.86)
Total segments	94		186		102	

According to the chi-square test conducted for the category of *expressing an opinion*, no significant difference was found between A1 and A2 learners at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 1.0272$, $df = 2$, $p = .5983$, n.s.) except for the *balanced* category, but a significant difference was found between A2 and B1 learners at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 22.8215$, $df = 1$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .3551$) except for *concession* and *balanced*. A1 and A2 learners tended to produce more *positive* opinions, whereas B1 learners showed a higher ratio of

negative opinions, as Tables 6.9 and 6.10 show.

Table 6.10

Examples of positive and negative opinions

Category	A1 Examples	A2 Examples	B1 Examples
Positive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Nice.</i> (file00404.txt) · <i>Yes. O K.</i> (learner191.txt) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Oh that's great.</i> (learner1109.txt) · <i>Oh I like it.</i> (learner1111.txt) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Oh. That's very kind of you. Very.</i> (file00991.txt) · <i>It's very easy.</i> (learner1119.txt)
Negative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Not so good.</i> (file00608.txt) · <i>Hum. It's very expensive.</i> (learner1168.txt) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Err too expensive.</i> (learner140.txt) · <i>No reason, but I don't like it very much.</i> (learner713.txt) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Well it might be difficult.</i> (learner1275.txt) · <i>No, no, no, no. It it doesn't sound great.</i> (learner649.txt)

Due to the small expected values of the subcategories of *expressing thoughts*, the chi-square test was not conducted to determine the difference between A2 and B1 learners. Examples of *decision* included “So I’d rather pay the gap” (file00873.txt), “O K. So I’ll come here in one hour” (learner1187.txt), and “I can wait” (learner649.txt); *complaints* included “Why do I need to er have a new dress with a hole? I don’t like it” (learner1266.txt), “Oh but ur what’s the problem?” (file01242.txt), “But it also your fault er that you recommended this tape recorder to me” (learner649.txt), and “But erm I know some kind of rude” (file00008.txt), a series of “But I uh I hesitate to do to that” and “This situation is not polite to go this departments” (learner623.txt), and “And er I know it’s against the your policy” (file00059.txt); *sarcasm* included “I mean they always welcome to I exchange this clothes” (learner788.txt) and “I think I choose the wrong erm shop”

(learner1175.txt); and *assumption of futures* included “So erm I’m not sure I’ll be able to come here tomorrow” (file00654.txt) and “So maybe you can get a get another good tape recorders in. I believe so” (learner649.txt). To summarize, it seems that B1 learners tactfully expressed not only their feelings but also their opinions during their negotiations, but A1 and A2 learners rarely did so; rather, they expressed either positive or negative opinions on the items that had been offered to them by the interlocutor. Perhaps this tendency may have been greatly affected by the nature of each task, but B1 learners seems to have acquired more fluency in expressing their thoughts (i.e., *decision, complaints, assumption of future, sarcasm and hesitation*) for their successful negotiations.

6.2 Research Question 2: Assessing the Grammatical Accuracy/Discoursal Acceptability of Learners’ Utterances

RQ2. How much are the learners’ utterances *grammatically accurate and discursively acceptable*, and are there any different tendencies according to different proficiency groups?

The *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* of learners’ utterances was annotated in the same segmented utterances of the Function scheme. The numbers and ratios of the main and supporting segments are shown in Table 6.1. Figure 6.5 shows the annotation scheme. The definitions and examples of each category are given in the appendices.

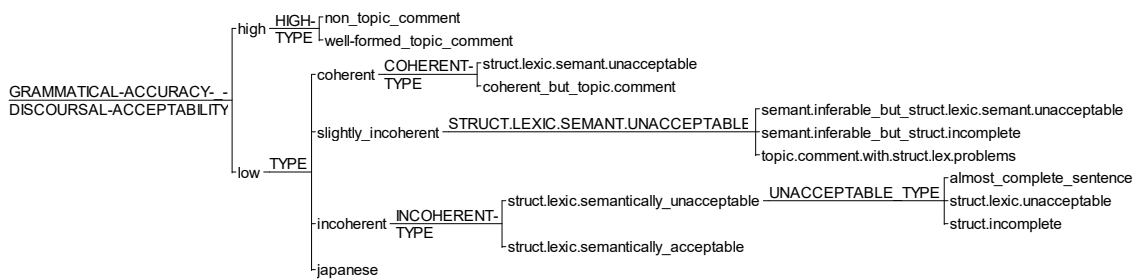


Figure 6.5. Category of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability.

Figure 6.6 shows the total numbers of the high and low segments. According to the chi-square test, there was not a significant difference in terms of the occurrences of *high* and *low* main segments between A1 and A2 learners at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 1.8532$, $df = 1$, $p = .1734$, n.s.), but a significant difference was found between A2 and B1 learners at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 39.4527$, $df = 1$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .1165$).

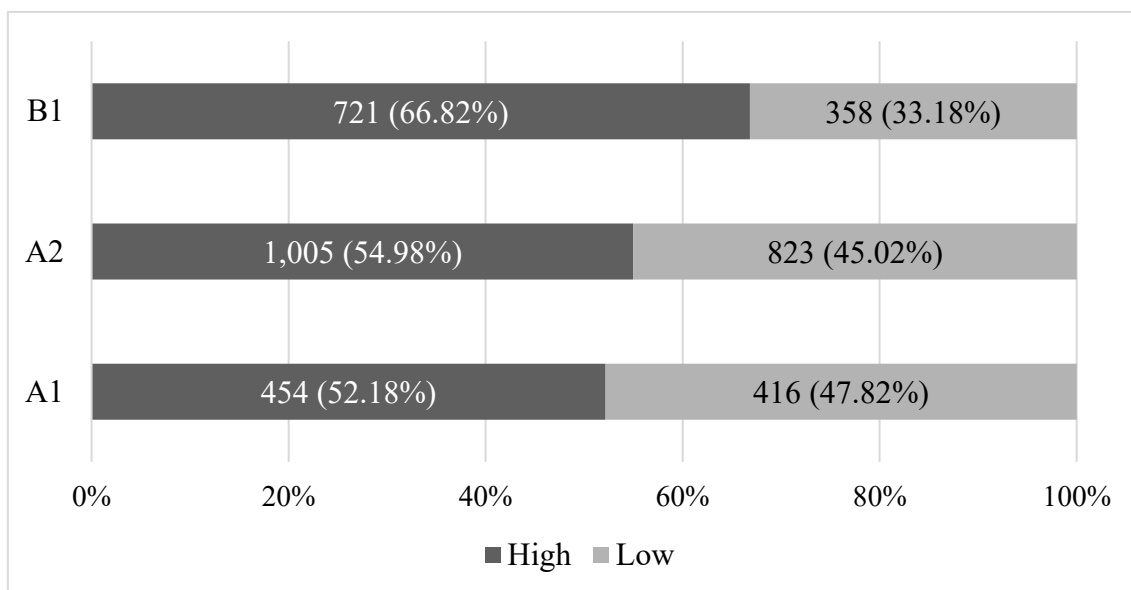


Figure 6.6. The ratio of main segments of *high* and *low*.

According to Table 6.11, 93.9% of A1 learners' segments, 96.72% of A2 learners', and 98.7% of B1 learners belonged to either *high* or *coherent* categories, which

suggests that the majority of the utterances were unproblematic in terms of discourse. As the proficiency improved, *high* and *coherent* segments increased. The chi-square test was conducted in terms of the occurrences of *high*, *coherent*, *slightly incoherent*, and *incoherent utterances*, except for segments of *Japanese*, the expected value of which was smaller than five. A significant difference was not found between learners at the A1 and A2 levels at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 11.044$, $df = 3$, $p = .01149$, n.s.), but was found between learners at the A2 and B1 levels at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 44.7756$, $df = 3$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .0878$), except for *Japanese* segments.

Table 6.11

Total numbers and ratios of the high segments and subcategories of low segments

		A1		A2		B1	
		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
High		454	(52.18)	1005	(54.98)	721	(66.82)
	Coherent	363	(41.72)	763	(41.74)	344	(31.88)
Low	Slightly incoherent	32	(3.68)	39	(2.13)	12	(1.11)
	Incoherent	19	(2.18)	20	(1.09)	2	(0.19)
	Japanese	2	(0.23)	1	(0.05)	0	(0)
Total segments		870		1,828		1,079	

6.2.1 Statistical Results of High Segments

As Table 6.12 shows, segments annotated as *expressing or asking about item* were the most frequent in A1 learners (334 occurrences accounting for 38.39% of the whole *main* segments) and A2 learners (695 accounting for 38.0%). *Explaining the background* was the most frequent in B1 learners, showing 459 segments (see also Table 6.6), accounting for 42.54% of the whole *main* segments.

Although Table 6.6 shows that the *confirming* segments constituted the

highest ratio in the category of *communication for transaction* in A1 (42.25%) and A2 learners (36.74%), these segments only constituted 17.24% in A1 learners and 16.52% in A2 learners of the whole *main* segments, as Tables 6.1 and 6.12 show. Nevertheless, Table 6.12 shows that *confirming* in the *high* category in A1 and A2 learners was the function with the highest ratio, exceeding the ratio of *expressing or asking about item*. While 88.67% of A1 learners' *confirming* segments (i.e., 133 out of 150 occurrences) and 95.36%ⁱ of A2 learners' (i.e., 288 out of 302 occurrences) were categorized as *high*, 30.54% of A1 learners' *expressing or asking about item* segments (i.e., 102 out of 334 occurrences) were annotated as *high* and 39.14% of A2 learners' (i.e., 272 out of 695 occurrences) were categorized as *high*. It should be noted that the *confirming* segments were almost the same as the part of the interlocutor's utterance that the learners repeated or rephrased to confirm their understanding, as explained in section 6.1.2.2 in the current chapter and section 3.2.4 in Appendix C. Therefore, the *confirming* segments were not voluntarily produced by the learners, compared to the segments annotated as *expressing or asking about item*. Although the proportion of *high* segments to the total *main* segments of utterances was 52.18% in A1 learners and 54.98% in A2 learners (see Table 6.11), these utterances were mostly prompted by the interlocutors.

On the other hand, as shown in Table 6.12, B1 learners' segments annotated as *explaining the background* had the highest ratio in the *high* category, accounting for 36.34% (i.e., 262 occurrences). The *explaining the background* function constituted the highest ratio of the whole *main* segments. This category gave background information, especially functioning as a supportive move to the requestive head act, most of the segments of which were usually initiated by the learners, but not the interlocutors.

Table 6.12

Total numbers and ratios of the main and high segments with frequent functions

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Total numbers of <i>main</i> segments	870	(100)	1,828	(100)	1,079	(100)
Expressing or asking about item	334	(38.39)	695	(38.02)	7	(0.65)
Confirming	150	(17.24)	302	(16.52)	123	(11.40)
Explaining the background	45	(5.17)	151	(8.26)	459	(42.54)
Others	341	(39.20)	680	(37.2)	490	(45.41)
Total numbers of <i>high</i> segments	454	(100)	1,005	(100)	721	(100)
Expressing or asking about Item	102	(22.47)	272	(27.06)	5	(0.69)
Confirming	133	(29.30)	288	(28.66)	116	(16.09)
Explaining the background	16	(3.52)	52	(5.17)	262	(36.34)
Others	203	(44.71)	395	(39.1)	338	(46.88)

6.2.2 Statistical Results of *Topic-Comment Structure*

As explained in the sections on methodology and the appendices, a topic-comment structure is characteristic of utterances, especially those produced by lower learners. This is a syntactic structure consisting of a subject followed by a copula verb, and this structure is very typical in the Japanese language, which was the first language of the learners. In the annotation scheme for *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability*, the topic-comment structure was identified in the categories of *high* (i.e., *well-formed_topic.comment* as a well-formed topic-comment structure), *low* but *coherent* (i.e., *coherent_but_topic.comment* as coherent but consisting of a topic-comment structure), and *low* and *slightly incoherent* (i.e., *topic.comment.with.struct.lex.problems*

as consisting of a topic-comment structure with structural and lexical problems). Figure 6.7 shows the raw frequency and ratio of the topic-comment segments in each category across three different proficiency levels. Although the chi-square test was not conducted due to the small number of occurrences, the ratios of the *slightly incoherent* and *coherent* segments with a topic-comment structure decreased as the learners' proficiency improved. In B1 learners, the highest ratio of topic-comment segments belonged to the *high* category, but most of the segments produced by A1 and A2 learners were identified as belonging to the *low* category.

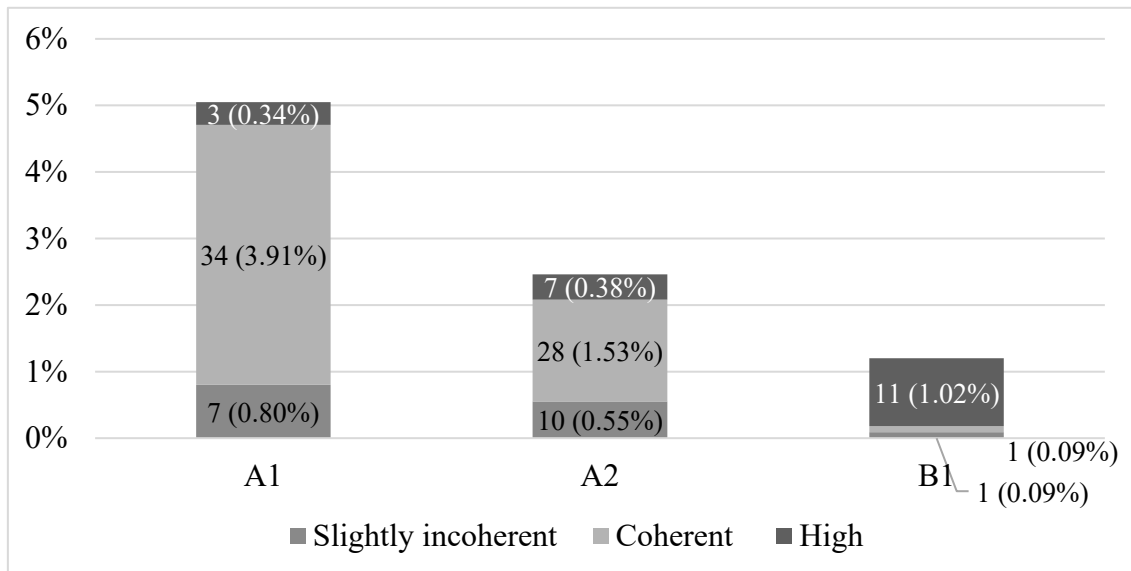


Figure 6.7. The ratio of segments with a *topic-comment structure*.

Tables 6.13, 6.14, and 6.15 show samples of interactions that included segments annotated as *topic-comment structure*, which are shown in bold. In the following samples, segments tagged by <A> indicate the utterances of interlocutors, and those tagged by represent the learners' utterances. Extralinguistic tags originally annotated in the corpus data such as fillers, repetitions, and overlaps were deliberately eliminated by

the author for a clearer presentation of the data. Except for B1 learners' examples in Tables 6.13 and 6.15, all of them were requestive speech acts.

Examples in Table 6.13 show non-problematic utterances with a topic-comment structure. They were grammatically accurate and discoursally acceptable.

Table 6.13

Examples of well-formed topic-comment structure in the high category

CEFR Level	Example
A1 (learner1048.txt)	Er mm I is there a walking shoes? <A>Of course. Er my my foot size is twenty-six centimeter.
A2 (learner1057.txt)	So my favorite color is pink. <A>Mm. Very beautiful pink is my favorite color.
B1 (file00171.txt)	So can I er leave urr this bag here today and er can I er talk to your manager in two weeks? <A>Sure. But. O K. So here is the bag I bought yesterday.

However, Table 6.14 shows examples in which the learners tried to express the color or price of the items that they intended to purchase by abruptly saying, “Color is blue” (A1), “...the color is not so dark but uum a little bit bright brown” (A2), and “...price is about the same” (B1). They were all coherent in terms of discourse and easy to understand in terms of interpreting what the learners had intended to express; nevertheless, these utterances may not be completely suitable English requests. These utterances seem to have been influenced by Japanese, in which topic prominence can be emphasized by the topic-particle, “*wa*.” The A1 learner’s “Color is blue” may have been directly and literally translated from “*Iro-wa ao desu*,” which means “I would like to have a blue one.” The A2 learner meant to express, “I prefer dark color, like a little bit bright

brown” while the B1 learner wanted to say, “if possible, I would like to buy another one whose price is about the same as this one.”

Table 6.14

Examples of coherent segments with a topic-comment structure in the low category

CEFR Level	Example
A1 (learner426.txt)	<p>I want um T-shrts. <A>All right. We have many T-shirts here. Uum. Color is blue.</p>
A2 (learner1179.txt)	<p>So er I like er small <A>Um but a little bit feminine. <A>I see. And the color is not so dark but uum a little bit bright brown.</p>
B1 (learner328.txt)	<p>But I also am ah we’d like to try that skirt, and, if if possible, the the cost is price is about the same. So, if you if I can change, I I could I can buy the skirt I can exchange this ah exchange the skirt.</p>

Examples in Table 6.15 show that although it might have been possible to infer the learners’ intentions, the utterances were slightly incoherent in terms of discourse. The A1 learner’s utterance, “Er I’m white color wants,” was not structurally and lexically accurate, as the utterance seems to have been heavily influenced by the order of the Japanese language (see a detailed description of this example in section 1.1.3.1.8.3 in Appendix B and section 2.2.2 in Appendix D). This can be interpreted as “I want white earphones.” By uttering “Ur maybe it’s cheap,” the A2 learner may have intended to purchase a cheaper T-shirt that looked expensive. The interlocutor had to confirm the learner’s utterance by asking, “cheap one?” since the learner’s intention seemed unclear. Regarding the B1 learner’s example of “this situation is not polite to go this departments,”

it is likely that he or she wanted to admit that it was not polite to ask for a return of the item as he or she did not check the condition of the item under sunlight before he or she purchased it.

Table 6.15

Examples of slightly incoherent segments with a topic-comment structure with structurally lexical problems

CEFR Level	Example
A1 (learner1129.txt)	<p>And er ear phone, please? <A>Ahh O K. Is this one O K? Er I'm white color wants.</p>
A2 (file00114.txt)	<p>Ur yes. Er mm I cannot how unto how much is it? <A>Ah it depends on T-shirt. Ur maybe it's cheap. <A>cheap one? Mm but looking expensive.</p>
B1 (learner623.txt)	<p><A>You checked at the store, right? Yeah, but, the time yeah, I thought um I think it was better for me to check also this er down light for this clothes lamp, and also, this brought to the the window side to check the under the sunlight, but uh there it was my fault. But uh I hesitate to do that. This situation is not polite to go this departments.</p>

6.2.3 Statistical Results of *Slightly Incoherent* and *Incoherent* Segments in the Low Category

Tables 6.16 and 6.17 show the total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of *slightly incoherent* and *incoherent* segments. The results show that only 5.85% of A1 learners' utterances, 3.23% of A2 learners' utterances, and 1.3% of B1 learners' utterances constituted either *slightly incoherent* or *incoherent* segments of the whole utterances.

Slightly incoherent segments were divided into (i) semantically inferable but

structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable (i.e., *semant.inferable_but_struct.lexic.semant.unacceptable*), (ii) semantically inferable but structurally incomplete (i.e., *semant.inferable_but_struct.incomplete*), and (iii) topic-comment with structural and lexical problems (i.e., *topic.comment.with_struct.lex.problems*). The first subcategory can be illustrated by an A1 learner's example such as "Ee cashing" (learner451.txt) as a response to the interlocutor's question, "Er how would you like to pay?" It is easy to infer that the learner wanted to say "cash" in this context. On the other hand, an A2 learner, who wanted to explain what a "matsuri" (i.e., summer festival in Japanese) was, did not complete the utterance, "Uhm Japanese so ano ehh Japanese o old" (learner1156.txt). Without waiting for the learner to finish his or her sentence, the interlocutor started his utterance, "Mm OK. Then I recommend this book" and ended the conversation. In this case, it is difficult to infer what the learner intended to say. Another example was produced by a B1 learner, when he or she made the following complaintⁱⁱ: "Just hide it from your." It is clear that this utterance was not completed, as extralinguistic information, such as <scripting unclerness="all"></scripting>, was tagged at the end of the utterance. These tags show that the utterance was not possible to transcribe (see section 5.2).

Incoherent segments in the *low* category can be the most unsuitable utterances since they are all incoherent in terms of discourse. In this study, these were mainly classified into (i) *structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable* (i.e., *struct.lexic.semantically_unacceptable*) and (ii) *structurally, lexically, and semantically acceptable* (i.e., *struct.lexic.semantically_acceptable*). The first category was further divided into three types: (i) *almost complete sentence* (i.e., *almost_complete_sentence*), (ii) *structurally and lexically unacceptable* (i.e., *struct.lexic.unacceptable*), and (iii) *structurally incomplete* (i.e., *struct.incomplete*). Table 6.16 shows the total numbers and

ratios of the subcategories of *incoherent* segments.

Table 6.16

Total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of slightly incoherent segments

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Semantically inferable but structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable	25	(2.87)	27	(1.48)	9	(0.83)
Semantically inferable but structurally incomplete	0	(0)	2	(0.11)	2	(0.19)
Topic-comment with structural and lexical problems	7	(0.80)	10	(0.55)	1	(0.09)
Total segments	32	(3.67)	39	(2.14)	12	(1.11)

Table 6.17

Total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of incoherent segments

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable	6	(0.69)	16	(0.87)	0	(0)
Almost complete sentence	0	(0)	5	(0.27)	0	(0)
Structurally and lexically unacceptable	3	(0.34)	7	(0.38)	0	(0)
Structurally incomplete	3	(0.34)	4	(0.22)	0	(0)
Structurally, lexically, and semantically acceptable	13	(1.49)	4	(0.22)	2	(0.19)
Total segments	19	(2.18)	20	(1.09)	2	(0.19)

In Table 6.18, the first example indicates that the learner did not coherently

respond to the interlocutor's question regarding the method of payment. The interlocutor had to repeat the same question in the end, and the learner admitted his or her misunderstanding. Although the learner's utterance was almost complete, he or she should have said, "I want to buy the same one" or "I want to buy what you have told me" with some small lexical and grammatical corrections. The learner in the second example should have said something like "Please give one of them" instead of "Please take it." The third example shows an incomplete segment, which does not seem to have responded to the interlocutor's question properly.

Table 6.18

Examples of structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable incoherent segments

Subcategories (CEFR Level)	Example
Almost complete (A2 - learner168.txt)	<p><A>Oh O.K. And how would you like to pay for this?</p> <p>Urm I I want to buy er the the same. Urr what you're you told me.</p> <p><A>O K. O K. So how would you like to pay? By cash or charge?</p> <p>Ah yes. I'm sorry. Yes. Er by cash.</p>
Structurally and lexically unacceptable (A1 - learner1171.txt)	<p>Hum. O K. Um do you have uum else color sweater?</p> <p><A>Uh. O K. Here are different colors.</p> <p>Oh that's good. O K. Please take it.</p>
Structurally incomplete (A1 - file0633.txt)	<p><A>Mh-hmm. Which size?</p> <p>Eh. The size size. Er eh er.</p> <p><A>Er O K. I think this fits you. Would you like to try? Maybe this is your size. Maybe.</p>

Table 6.19 shows examples that were all structurally, lexically, and semantically acceptable but incoherent in terms of discourse. Although it is possible to

infer that the A1 learner’s intention was to pay by card, the utterance was not coherent, but also did not contain any unsuitable grammatical or lexical features. “Can I check the card?” can become a suitable utterance if taken out of context. The interlocutor had to confirm that the learner meant “a credit card” when he or she said, “card.” Regarding the A2 learner’s example, it is difficult to interpret why the learner uttered, “I have uh this ten-dollars shirt,” which does not coherently seem to have been related to either the preceding or following utterances. Finally, this B1 learner may have asked the interlocutor to talk to the manager by saying, “Yes, please.” However, as this response was incoherent, the interlocutor had to say, “So you need to talk with my manager,” in order to correct the learner’s interpretation. Therefore, the learner repaired the interaction by saying, “I will talk with the manager.”

Table 6.19

Examples of structurally, lexically, and semantically acceptable incoherent segments

CEFR Level	Example
A1 (learner1059.txt)	<p><A><i>I hope you like the dress.</i> Can I check the card? <A><i>Of course. Of course. O K. Is that a credit card?</i> <i>Yes. Credit card.</i></p>
A2 (file00005.txt)	<p><A><i>Er. Yes. We have smaller size.</i> <i>Mm a ah. I have uh this ten-dollars shirt. Mm. I want to this one.</i> <A><i>O K.</i></p>
B1 (learner1158.txt)	<p><A><i>well I can't make these decisions. My manager does.</i> Yes, please. <A><i>Uhu. So you need to talk with my manager.</i> <i>Yes. I I will talk with with the manager.</i></p>

6.3 Research Question 3: Examining the Pragmalinguistic Features and Strategies of Requests

The current section answers to RQ3 in terms of what kinds of different pragmalinguistic features (i.e., linguistic patterns of head acts and internal modification) and strategies of requests are observed in the NICT JLE Corpus, and whether there are any different tendencies across different proficiency levels and among the different tasks given.

Figure 6.8 shows the annotation scheme of requestive speech acts.ⁱⁱⁱ The definitions and examples are detailed in Appendix B. Requestive speech acts were divided into one of the following three segments: (i) *main*, (ii) *supporting*, and (iii) *combined repair feature*. The main segments were also classified into (i) *head act* and (iii) *internal modification*. The head acts were further divided into one of three subcategories depending on the choice of linguistic patterns: (i) *direct strategy*, (ii) *conventionally indirect strategy*, and (iii) *not-classifiable*. Internal modification was an optional element that internally modified the head act, and there were three sub-types: (i) *politeness marker please*, (ii) *discourse marker*, and (iii) *if clause*.

Supporting segments were optional segments that belonged to the *main* segments: (i) *continued/continuing utterance*, which was an utterance interrupted by the interlocutor, (ii) *alert* such as “Excuse me” as an attention getter, (ii) *self-corrected head act*, which indicated the part of the head act that was voluntarily corrected by a learner, (iii) *confirming*^{iv} such as “OK?,” functioning as confirming the understanding of the interlocutor, and (iv) *responded yes please*, which was a learner’s response of “yes please” initiated by the interlocutor’s offer. The *combined repair feature* signified a series of more than two head acts, which occurred due to (i) *repetition*, (ii) *elaboration*, and (iii)

prompted correction. *Repetition* and *elaboration* indicated the repeated head acts or elaborated ones, which were voluntarily produced by learners. *Prompted correction* was annotated in a correction or rephrasing of a head act, produced by the learner only when prompted by the interlocutor. The details can be referred to in section 2 in Appendix B.

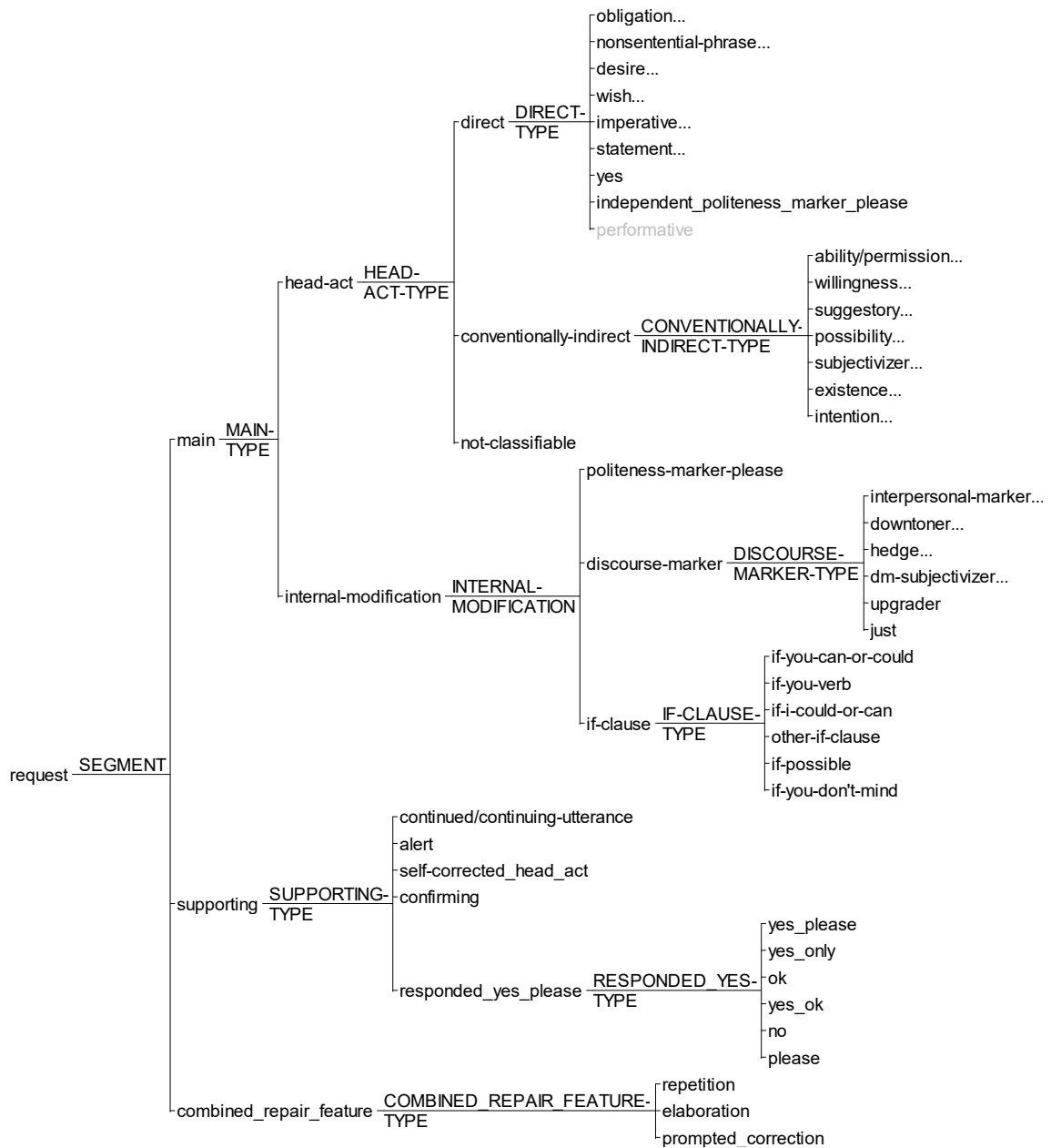


Figure 6.8. Category of request.

Table 6.20 shows the total numbers and ratios of the segments of *main*,

supporting, and *combined repair features*. There were no significant differences observed between the learners at three proficiency levels at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 11.6655$, $df = 4$, $p = .02002$, n.s.).

Table 6.20

Total numbers and ratios of the segments of main, supporting, and combined repair feature in the Request scheme

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Main segments	517	(86.60)	1,002	(85.79)	373	(90.53)
Supporting segments	53	(8.88)	126	(10.79)	34	(8.25)
Segments of combined repair feature	27	(4.52)	40	(3.42)	5	(1.21)
Total segments	597		1,168		412	

Table 6.21

Total numbers and ratios of the head acts and internal modification of requests

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Segments of head act	452	(87.43)	895	(89.32)	263	(70.51)
Segments of internal modification	65	(12.57)	107	(10.68)	110	(29.49)
Total segments	517		1,002		373	

Table 6.21 shows the total numbers and ratios of the *head acts* and *internal modifications* of requests. B1 learners' ratio of *internal modification* was approximately 2.5 times higher than those of A1 and A2 learners. The results of the chi-square test showed that a significant difference was not found between A1 and A2 learners at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 1.2182$, $df = 1$, $p = .2697$, n.s.), but was found between A2 and B1 learners at $p < .01$

($x^2 = 72.3735$, $df = 1$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .2294$). The statistical results of *head acts* and *internal modification* are more detailed in sections 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.1.2.

6.3.1 Statistical Results of *Head Acts*

Figure 6.9 shows the ratios of *direct*, *conventionally indirect* strategies, and *not-classifiable* of requestive *head acts*. As the level of proficiency increased, the ratio of *direct* strategy decreased, but the ratio of *conventionally indirect* strategy increased. The *not-classifiable* head acts were only produced by A1 and A2 learners, constituting only 1.33% and 1.23%, respectively, of the total head acts. First, the chi-square test was conducted to determine the difference between A1 and A2 learners at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 12.4394$, $df = 2$, $p = .00199$, Cramer's $V = .068$). As for the difference between A2 and B1 learners, the test was conducted for all categories except for the *not-classifiable* category, the expected value of which was smaller than five ($x^2 = 13.4266$, $df = 1$, $p = .000248$, Cramer's $V = .10819$). *Not-classifiable* segments were illustrated by requests that were not classified as either direct or conventionally indirect patterns: "Pay cards" (A1 – learner1129.txt), "A collar we choice er something else?" (A1 – learner406.txt), "That design is so uum er I didn't like er I didn't hope so uum characteristic or very strange type" (A2 – learner704.txt), and "It this err type watch err do you have err such a type watch ee but I didn't like that color" (A2 – learner704.txt). In fact, six occurrences of A1 learners' not-classifiable segments were produced by four learners (i.e., learner1129.txt, learner1135.txt, learner406.txt, and learner745.txt), and 11 occurrences of A2 learners' were produced by four learners (i.e., learner1035.txt, file00114.txt, learner576.txt, and learner704.txt), so that only 4.4% of A1 and A2 learners produced not-classifiable head acts.

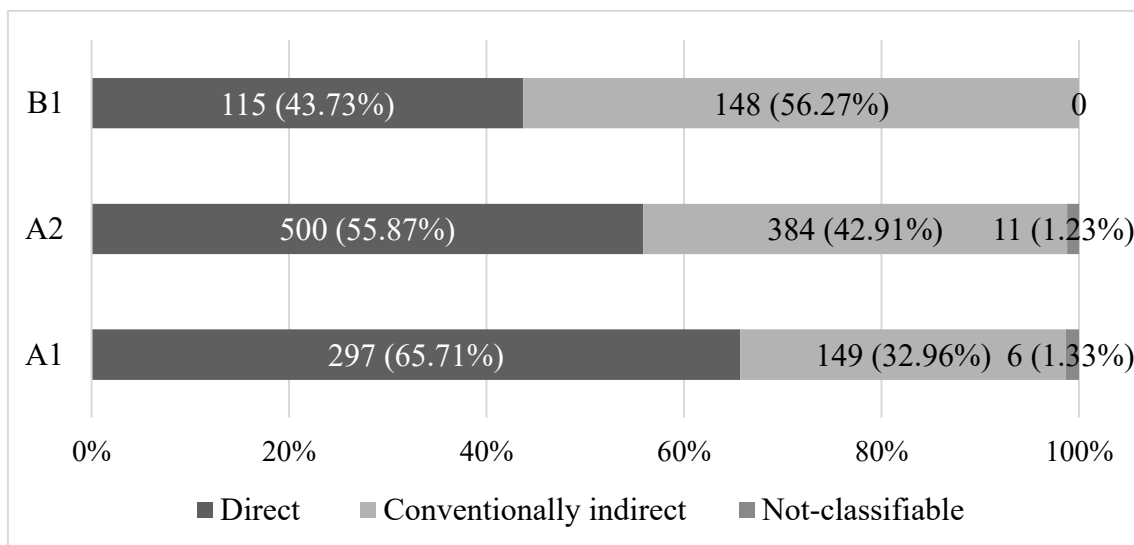


Figure 6.9. Ratios of request strategies.

Table 6.22 shows the total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of *direct* and *conventionally indirect* strategies. The *performative* subcategory was developed according to the definition of Flores Salgado (2011), who included performative verbs, such as *ask* and *require*, based on the classical speech act theories proposed by Austin (1966) and Searle (1969).^v However, in the current study, no learners from all three groups produced any features belonging to this category.^{vi}

According to the chi-square test, there was a significant difference between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of *direct* strategies except for *obligation*, *independent politeness marker please*, and *performative*, the expected values of which were smaller than five, at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 57.0477$, $df = 5$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .1899$), and between A2 and B1 learners except for *yes*, *independent politeness marker please*, *obligation*, and *performative* at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 49.4215$, $df = 4$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .2019$).

On the other hand, no significant difference was found between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of *conventionally indirect* strategies except for

willingness, suggestory, possibility, and subjectivizer at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 0.5905$, $df = 2$, $p = .7444$, n.s.). However, the frequencies of A2 and B1 learners were significantly different at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 174.3735$, $df = 3$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .0422$) for all *conventionally indirect* strategies except for *suggestory*, *possibility*, and *subjectivizer*.

Table 6.22

Total numbers and ratios of the subcategories of direct and conventionally indirect strategies

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Direct strategies	297 (65.71)		500 (55.87)		115 (43.73)	
Desire	119	(26.33)	256	(28.6)	45	(17.11)
Non-sentential phrase	81	(17.92)	58	(6.48)	4	(1.52)
Statement	51	(11.28)	52	(5.81)	2	(0.76)
Imperative	20	(4.42)	58	(6.48)	16	(6.08)
Wish	13	(2.88)	62	(6.93)	41	(15.59)
Yes	11	(2.43)	10	(1.12)	0	(0)
Independent politeness marker <i>please</i>	2	(0.44)	0	(0)	3	(1.14)
Obligation	0	(0)	4	(0.45)	4	(1.52)
Performative	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Conventionally indirect strategies	149 (32.96)		384 (42.91)		148 (56.27)	
Existence	69	(15.27)	160	(17.88)	0	(0)
Intention	42	(9.29)	113	(12.63)	3	(1.14)
Ability/Permission	34	(7.52)	92	(10.28)	99	(37.64)
Willingness	2	(0.44)	11	(1.23)	12	(4.56)
Suggestory	0	(0)	4	(0.45)	8	(3.04)
Subjectivizer	1	(0.22)	3	(0.34)	13	(4.94)
Possibility	1	(0.22)	1	(0.11)	13	(4.94)
Total segments of head acts (including not-classifiable segments)	452	(100)	895	(100)	263	(100)

6.3.1.1 Linguistic patterns of direct strategies

Table 6.23 shows the total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of the most frequent subcategories of *direct* strategies, such as *desire*, *non-sentential phrase*, *statement*, *imperative*, and *wish*. The chi-square test was only conducted to determine the differences between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of linguistic features (i.e., *item only* and *item please*), whose expected values were bigger than five, in the *non-sentential phrase* category. As a result, there was no significant difference at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = .1906$, $df = 1$, $p = .6624$, n.s.).

B1 learners produced 45 segments of *desire* and 41 of *wish*. The proportion of these segments to the total number of head acts was almost the same. In the *desire* category, there were 40 occurrences of *want* and 5 of *need*. In the *wish* category, there were 40 occurrences of *would like* and 1 of *would rather*.

The most frequent linguistic feature of A1 and A2 learners was *want*: A1 learners produced 119 (i.e., 26.33%) occurrences and A2 learners produced 250 occurrences (i.e., 27.93%). However, the proportion of *wish* to the total number of head acts was only 2.88% in A1 learners and 6.93% in A2 learners. Features such as *need* and *would rather* were not produced by A1 learners, but produced by A2 learners.

The second most frequent feature of A1 and A2 learners was *non-sentential phrase*. However, A1 learners' proportion of this feature to the total number of head acts (i.e., 17.92%) was approximately three times higher than that of A2 learners (i.e., 6.48%), although more than 65% of A1 and A2 learners' requests were produced without the politeness marker *please*. Thus, out of the total occurrences of *non-sentential phrases*, the proportion of A1 learners' *item please* was 34.57%, and that of A2 learners' was 31.03%. On the other hand, approximately 95% of *imperative* requests were produced with *please* by learners at both proficiency levels. Therefore, it can be assumed that A1 and A2

learners tended to be concerned with the FTAs of their imperative requestive speech acts.

Table 6.23

Total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of the most frequent subcategories of direct strategies

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Desire	119	(26.33)	256	(28.60)	45	(17.11)
Want	119	(26.33)	250	(27.93)	40	(15.21)
Need	0	(0)	6	(0.67)	5	(1.90)
Non-sentential phrase	81	(17.92)	58	(6.48)	4	(1.52)
Item only	53	(11.73)	40	(4.47)	4	(1.52)
Item <i>please</i>	28	(6.19)	18	(2.01)	0	(0)
Statement	51	(11.28)	52	(5.81)	2	(0.76)
Declarative						
Explanation	26	(5.75)	28	(3.13)	1	(0.38)
Purchase	17	(3.76)	16	(1.79)	0	(0)
Trial	5	(1.11)	2	(0.22)	1	(0.38)
Interrogative						
Recommendation	3	(0.66)	2	(0.22)	0	(0)
Acceptance	0	(0)	3	(0.34)	0	(0)
Discount	0	(0)	1	(0.11)	0	(0)
Imperative	20	(4.42)	58	(6.48)	16	(6.08)
Imperative only	1	(0.22)	3	(0.34)	2	(0.76)
Imperative <i>please</i>	19	(4.20)	55	(6.15)	14	(5.32)
Wish	13	(2.88)	62	(6.93)	41	(15.59)
Would like	13	(2.88)	61	(6.82)	40	(15.21)
Would rather	0	(0)	1	(0.11)	1	(0.38)
Total segments of head acts (including not-classifiable segments)	452	(100)	895	(100)	263	(100)

Examples of *declarative* and *interrogative* in the statement category are

shown in Tables 6.24 and 6.25. The *statement* category consisted of features that do not indicate any use of modal verbs or tense inflections, so that *declarative* statements can be regarded as unsuitable features (see section 1.1.6 in Appendix B for the definition).^{vii} Table 6.24 shows subcategories such as *explanation* (i.e., stating what items the learners want to buy), *purchase* (i.e., expressing their intention of purchase), and *trial* (i.e., asking for a trial). Table 6.25 shows subcategories such as *recommendation* (i.e., asking for a recommendation), *acceptance* (i.e., asking for an acceptance of credit card as a method of payment), and *discount* (i.e., asking for a discount).

Table 6.24

Examples of declarative in the statement category

Subcategory	Examples (CEFR Level)
Explanation	· <i>Er color is brown.</i> (A1 – file0404.txt)
	· <i>And clothes is er m more erm cute more cute mm clothes.</i> (A2 – learner1143.txt)
Purchase	· <i>Uhm today I I I buy my suits.</i> (A2 – file00589.txt)
	· <i>Uhh I take it.</i> (A2 – learner1014.txt)
Trial	· <i>I try it.</i> (A1 – learner170.txt)
	· <i>So this time, I try it.</i> (A2 – learner660.txt)

Table 6.25

Examples of interrogative in the statement category

Subcategory	Examples (CEFR Level)
Recommendation	· <i>So, mm do you have some recommend?</i> (A1 – learner865.txt)
	· <i>So, do you recommend one C D?</i> (A2 – learner732.txt)
Acceptance	· <i>Uh eh do you accept credit card?</i> (A2 – learner892.txt)
	· <i>Urrr yeah, in that case, uhm uhmm do you do you accept uhm credit card?</i> (A2 – learner298.txt)
Discount	· <i>Is that er discount?</i> (A2 – learner429.txt)

6.3.1.2 Linguistic patterns of conventionally indirect strategies

Table 6.26 shows the total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of the most frequent subcategories of *conventionally indirect* strategies, including *ability*, *willingness*, *existence*, and *intention*. The chi-square test was conducted to determine the difference between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of the subcategories of *existence* (i.e., *do you have item*, *is there item*, and *I look for them*), the expected values of which were higher than five. No significant difference was found between the learners at these two proficiency levels at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 2.9721$, $df = 2$, $p = .2263$, n.s.). Regarding the frequencies of the linguistic features of *ability/permission* (i.e., *can*, *could*, and *may*), the results of the chi-square test showed that a significant difference was found between A1 and A2 learners at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 9.3974$, $df = 2$, $p = .009107$, Cramer's $V = 0.9131$), but not between A2 and B1 learners at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 5.3613$, $df = 2$, $p = .06852$, n.s.). The results should be notable since the chi-square tests on the other features (e.g., the ratios of *head acts* and *internal modification* in Table 6.2.1; the ratios of features totaling linguistic patterns including *existence*, *intention*, and *ability/permission* in the *conventionally indirect* strategy in Table 6.22; the distribution of the three linguistic patterns of *existence* in the *conventionally indirect* strategy in Table 6.26) showed the opposite results indicating that A2 learners tended to perform similarly to A1 learners (i.e., without any significant differences), but differently from B1 learners (i.e., with significant differences between A2 and B1 learners; and almost no occurrences observed from B1 learners). A1 and A2 learners' third most frequent subcategory in the *conventionally indirect* strategy was *ability/permission*. On the other hand, among all *head act* patterns, this was the most frequent subcategory produced by B1 learners. The use of *can*, *could*, and *may* is further discussed in section 6.3.4, which clarifies the functions that the requests contained.

A1 and A2 learners' second most frequent subcategory in the conventionally indirect strategy was *existence*. B1 learners did not produce any of these patterns since they were given a negotiation task asking for a refund, return, or exchange of the item, so that it was likely that they did not encounter any situations in which they felt the need to ask whether particular items that they would like to buy were available in the shop. Table 6.27 shows some examples of this category.

Table 6.26

Total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of the most frequent subcategories of conventionally indirect strategies

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Existence	69	(15.27)	160	(17.88)	0	(0)
Do you have item	42	(9.29)	88	(9.83)	0	(0)
Is there item	7	(1.55)	31	(3.46)	0	(0)
I look for item	20	(4.42)	41	(4.58)	0	(0)
Intention	42	(9.29)	113	(12.63)	3	(1.14)
I will	15	(3.32)	62	(6.93)	2	(0.76)
I like	25	(5.53)	41	(4.58)	1	(0.38)
I decided to	1	(0.22)	7	(0.78)	0	(0)
I come/am here	0	(0)	2	(0.22)	0	(0)
I am verb-ing	1	(0.22)	1	(0.11)	0	(0)
I am going to	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Ability/Permission	34	(7.52)	92	(10.28)	99	(37.64)
can	20	(4.42)	52	(5.81)	50	(19.01)
could	4	(0.88)	30	(3.35)	45	(17.11)
may	10	(2.21)	10	(1.12)	4	(1.52)
Total Segments of Head Acts (including non- classifiable segments)	452	(100)	895	(100)	263	(100)

Table 6.27

Examples of existence

Subcategory	Examples (CEFR Level)
Do you have item	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Do you have small one?</i> (A1 – learner675.txt) · <i>Do you have the size of this shoes?</i> (A2 – learner1109.txt)
Is there item	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Is there another color?</i> (A1 – learner835.txt) · <i>And is there any rock music?</i> (A2 – learner732.txt)
I look for item	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Mm I'm looking for ur some shirts.</i> (A1 – learner675.txt) · <i>I'm finding er some bag.</i> (A2 – learner1068.txt)

The tendency of A1 and A2 learners to produce the head acts of *existence* while B1 learners did not was also observed in the production of *intention*. With the linguistic features of *intention*, the learners attempted to express their requests. There were six linguistic patterns that were identified as conventionalized requestive speech acts, and the examples are shown in Table 6.28.^{viii} The linguistic pattern of *I will* was later contrasted with the linguistic patterns of *purchase* under *declarative* in the statement category of *direct* strategy in section 6.3.4.1.

Table 6.28

Examples of intention

Subcategory	Examples (CEFR Level)
I will	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>I'll buy this.</i> (A1 – file00919.txt) · <i>I'll pay.</i> (A1 – learner922.txt) · <i>I'll take this one.</i> (A2 – learner1111.txt) · <i>I'll get it.</i> (A2 – learner786.txt) · <i>I'll take another sweater.</i> (B1 – file00042.txt)
I like	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Mm And ur I prefer this color blue.</i> (A1 – learner675.txt) · <i>Er I like black color.</i> (A1 – learner425.txt) · <i>And I like there is many pockets.</i> (A2 – learner1179.txt) · <i>So I prefer like uh three centi heel, uh-uhu and black and soft eh leather.</i> (A2 – learner904.txt) · <i>Then er I prefer this design, but the size is not fit to my body.</i> (B1 – learner870.txt)
I decided to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>II decided it.</i> (A1 – learner922.txt) · <i>I decided to buy this one.</i> (A2 – learner920.txt)
I come/am here	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Today II come to here to to see some personal computers.</i> (A2 – learner801.txt)
I am verb-ing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Oh I'm buying.</i> (A1 – learner451.txt) · <i>So Uh I'm thinking um at home, after that, I I'm coming. (Is it is that is that O K?)</i> (A2 – learner903.txt)

Table 6.29 shows the examples and raw frequencies of the linguistic features of *willingness*, *subjectivizer*, *possibility*, and *suggestory*. None of these features were produced by learners at any level for more than 10 occurrences except for *is it possible* in the *possibility* subcategory. All of the *is it possible* occurrences were produced by B1 learners.

First, it should be noted that an A2 learner (i.e., learner704.txt)'s example of “So would you recommend me such a watch?” was categorized as *would you* of the *willingness* subcategory, but not as *recommendation* of the *interrogative statement* of

direct strategy, as this utterance had the linguistic feature of “would you,” but not “do you.” In this scheme, requestive head acts were categorized according to the choice of linguistic patterns, rather than the function.^{ix}

Observing all examples of A2 learners’ *willingness* head acts showed that their production was not perfectly suitable English. As Table 6.29 shows, two A2 learners produced more than one head act due to their corrections: “can you er coul could would you mind” (learner1183.txt); “can I ur will you” (file00205.txt). They were also annotated as features of *self-corrected head act*, which are discussed in section 6.3.3. Further, another A2 learner (i.e., learner198.txt) intended to ask for a special wrapping by uttering, “So uh would you like to wrap specially?,” although the utterance literally functioned as asking whether the hearer wanted a special wrapping or not. In another scheme for *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability*, this utterance was actually categorized as an *incoherent* segment, which was *structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable* (see section 6.2 in this chapter and section 2.3.1 in Appendix D). If this utterance had been taken from the context independently, it would have contained only a minor grammatical or lexical error. However, the utterance was regarded as *incoherent* in terms of discourse, especially since the learner, and not the interlocutor, was the one who wanted to have a gift wrapped, as described in section 2.3.1.1 in Appendix D. Instead, “Would/will/could you wrap it specially?” should have been the acceptable utterance in terms of discourse.

Table 6.29

Examples of willingness, subjectivizer, possibility, and suggestory

Subcategory	Raw Freq.			Examples (CEFR Level)
	A1	A2	B1	
Willingness				
Would you	2	8	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Would you show me another one?</i> (A1 – learner747.txt) · <i>So would you recommend me such a watch?</i> (A2 – learner704.txt) · <i>Would you please change the blouse?</i> (B1 – learner1174.txt)
Do/Would you mind	0	1	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Can you er coul could would you mind if I try this together?</i> (A2 - learner1183.txt) · <i>Do you mind changing this swe sweater more smaller one?</i> (B1 – file00057.txt)
Will you	0	1	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Ur can I ur will you err make it umm tight?</i> (A2 – file00205.txt) · <i>Will you take a look around and ask the manager?</i> (B1 – file01241.txt)
Would you like to verb	0	1	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>So uh would you like to wrap specially?</i> (A2 – learner198.txt)
Subjectivizer				
Wonder if	0	0	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>I was wondering if I can get another color or if you don't have one.</i> (B1 – file00255.txt)
Appreciate	0	0	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>I really appreciate that if you can change this one to that one because I bought this one today, (so, maybe you can you can change.)</i> (B1 – learner 965.txt)
Hope	1	3	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Please tell me ee uum now I hope ee uum I hope twenty ee two thousand yen.</i> (A1 – learner1197.txt) · <i>My I hope the price er under thirty thousand yen is acceptable for me.</i> (A2 – learner892.txt) · <i>So I hope you can exchange other bigger one.</i> (B1 – learner788.txt)
Thought	0	0	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>I thought I could exchange this into the other color.</i> (B1 – fie00657.txt)
Possibility				

Is it possible	1	1	11	· <i>Is it possible to take back this notebook computer today?</i> (A1 – learner1023.txt) · <i>Is it possible to discount?</i> (A2 – learner403.txt) · <i>Err will it be possible for you?</i> (B1 – learner1119.txt)
I am OK	0	0	2	· <i>So I'm O K if you um if you give me a red sweater with no no extra money.</i> (B2 – file00022.txt)
<hr/>				
Suggestory				
Why not	0	0	5	· <i>I see, but why don't you go to outside and look at the color with with me?</i> (B1 – file00027.txt) · <i>So why can't you exchange it?</i> (B1 – file01229.txt)
How/what about	0	4	3	· <i>So, how about er ten percent off?</i> (A2 – learner842.txt) · <i>So what about just refund?</i> (B1 – learner1020.txt)
<hr/>				

There were four occurrences of *will you* produced by an A2 learner (i.e., file00205.txt) and B1 (i.e., file00057.txt) learner. In fact, three of this feature were produced by the B1 learner, as in “will you exchange it into ur is it into money?” and “will you exchange it?,” in addition to the example given in Table 6.29.

Regarding the *subjectivizer* subcategory, head acts categorized as *wonder if*, *appreciate*, and *thought* were all produced by B1 learners, except for *hope*. Three different linguistic patterns were identified in the *possibility* subcategory: *is it possible*, *I am OK*, and *subjunctive*. No learners produced *subjunctive* patterns, which can be illustrated only by native-speaking subjects' utterances such as “If I could exchange it for a better size, that would work out perfectly” and “So if you could give me the highest card, that'd be great.”

As shown in section 1.2.3 in Appendix B, the *suggestory* patterns are hearer-dominant, and the impositive force of request may be stronger than other patterns in the conventional indirect strategy. Thus, a B1 learner's utterance of “*So why can't you exchange it?*” (file01229.txt), as shown in Table 6.29, may have sounded stronger than

another B1 learner's "why don't you" (file00028.txt). It is likely that the learner did not notice that his or her choice of *can* in this *suggestory* request might have indicated a strong impositive force without "redressive action" for avoiding an FTA (Brown & Levison, 1987, p. 60). It can be said that this utterance was impolite and strongly offensive. According to Miura (2017), which investigated how 20 teachers of English in tertiary education (10 Japanese and 10 native-speaking subjects) evaluated the appropriateness and politeness of the requestive speech acts extracted from the NICT JLE Corpus, this utterance was unanimously evaluated as the least appropriate among 10 requestive head acts.

6.3.2 Statistical Results of *Internal Modification*

Table 6.30 shows the total numbers and ratios of the categories of internal modification. Figure 6.10 shows the ratios of *politeness marker please*, *discourse marker*, and *if clause* in the *internal modification* category to the total *main* segments including *head acts* and *internal modification*. B1 learners showed the highest ratio of internal modification, constituting approximately 30% in total. On the other hand, the ratios of the internal modifications of A1 and A2 learners were 12.57% and 11.95%, respectively, and the majority of the internal modifiers (i.e., 76.92% of A1 learners and 87.85% of A2 learners) were *politeness marker please*. According to the chi-square test, no significant difference was found between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of *politeness marker please* and *discourse marker* at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 4.9205$, $df = 1$, $p = .0265$, n.s.); however, a significant difference was observed between A2 and B1 learners in terms of the frequencies of the three types at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 69.6236$, $df = 2$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .4005$). In addition, the linguistic patterns belonging to the *if clause* subcategory were rarely produced by A1 and A2 learners, but 26 occurrences by B1 learners.

Table 6.30

Total numbers and ratios of the categories of internal modification

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Politeness Marker <i>Please</i>	50	(76.92)	94	(87.85)	36	(32.73)
Discourse Marker	15	(23.08)	11	(10.28)	48	(43.64)
Interpersonal Marker	11	(16.92)	6	(5.61)	6	(5.45)
<i>Just</i>	3	(4.62)	0	(0)	15	(13.64)
DM Subjectivizer	1	(1.54)	3	(2.80)	2	(1.82)
Downtoner	0	(0)	1	(0.93)	11	(10.00)
Hedge	0	(0)	1	(0.93)	1	(0.91)
Upgrader	0	(0)	0	(0)	13	(11.82)
If-clause	0	(0)	2	(1.87)	26	(23.64)
Other if clause	0	(0)	0	(0)	8	(7.27)
If possible	0	(0)	2	(1.87)	6	(5.45)
If you can or could	0	(0)	0	(0)	5	(4.55)
If I could or can	0	(0)	0	(0)	3	(2.73)
If you don't mind	0	(0)	0	(0)	3	(2.73)
If you verb	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(0.91)
Total Segments of Internal Modification	65		107		110	

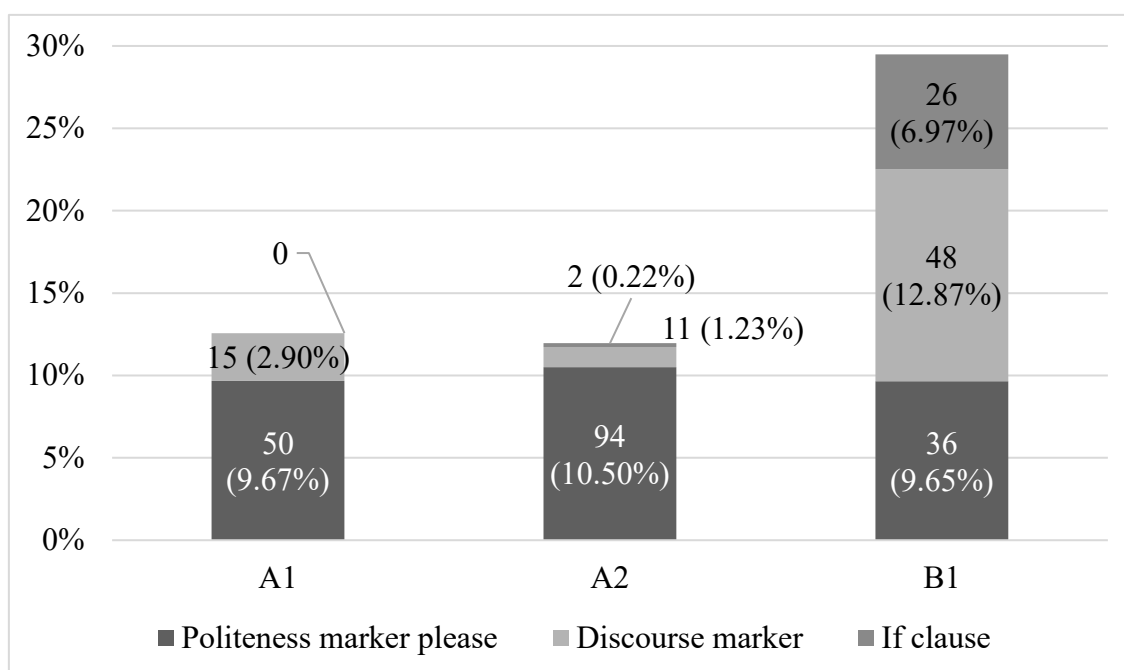


Figure 6.10. Ratios of internal modification.

6.3.2.1 Politeness marker please

According to Table 6.23, 28 and 18, the occurrences of *item please* in the direct strategy were produced by A1 and A2 learners, respectively. On the other hand, 19, 55, and 14 occurrences of *imperative please* were produced by A1, A2, and B1 learners, respectively. The linguistic features of *please* in these categories were annotated as *politeness marker please*. Therefore, according to the total numbers of *politeness markers* in Table 6.30, 94% of A1 learners' markers (i.e., 47 out of 50) and 77.66% of A2 learners' markers (i.e., 73 out of 94) belonged to either *item please* or *imperative please* as in "Please more more count down price down." (A1 – learner4223.txt) and "Please let me see er black watches." (A2 – learner1108.txt). B1 learners only produced 14 occurrences of *imperative please*, which accounted for only 38.89% of the total (14 out of 36). B1 learners used *politeness marker please* in combination with *ability/permission* such as "So can I refund, please?" (learner1241.txt) and "So err so please could er could you

possibly err exch err replace it with err with larger one?” (learner1158.txt), willingness such as “Would you *please* change the blouse?” (learner1174.txt), and *desire* such as “I want to get it back. *Please*” (file00045.txt).

6.3.2.2 Discourse markers

Discourse markers were categorized into the following subcategories: (i) *interpersonal marker*, (ii) *just*, (iii) *discourse marker (DM) subjectivizer*, (iv) *downtoner*, (v) *hedge*, and (vi) *upgrader*. As described in section 1.4.2.6 in Appendix B, *just* can be either a downtoner or upgrader depending on the given context (McCarthy, 2006b), so that this lexical item was independently annotated in the current study.

Table 6.31 shows the raw frequencies and examples of the subcategories of discourse markers. As described in the chapter on the review of the literature and in Appendix B, discourse markers have been researched and defined by many researchers as one of the most recent and major areas of corpus-based ILP to date (see Aijmer, 2004; Buysse, 2012; 2014; Fung & Carter, 2007; Gilquin, 2008; Lam, 2009; Müller, 2004; 2005; Polat, 2011; Romero-Trillo, 2002; Shimada, 2014). As reviewed in chapter 2, Miura (2011; 2014) also investigated the use of discourse markers in the NICT JLE Corpus, by pre-determining lexical chunks and investigating the pre-determined target features that were automatically extracted via a concordancer, as a “form-to-function” methodology. Aijmer (1996) studied the features of the “conversational routines and ritualization” of speech acts (p. 9), including discourse markers.^{xi}

In the current study, discourse markers were identified and annotated mainly based on the definitions made by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Flores Salgado (2010). They defined these as lexical and phrasal downgraders that internally modify the requestive head acts. Applying a “function-to-form” approach, the current study observed

that the number of extracted discourse markers functioning as internal modifiers of the requests was relatively small, compared to results derived from the author's previous studies (Miura, 2011; 2014), as shown in Tables 6.30 and 6.31.

According to Table 6.30, *discourse markers* were the most frequent *internal modifiers* produced by B1 learners, accounting for 43.64% of the total. On the other hand, the majority of internal modifiers produced by A1 and A2 learners were *politeness marker please*, and the proportion of discourse markers to the total number of internal modification was only 23.08% in A1 learners and 10.28% in A2 learners. Due to the low frequencies of each subordinate category in the category of discourse markers produced by A1 and A2 learners, the chi-square test was not conducted to assess the difference between the learners at three proficiency levels.

Interpersonal markers were further categorized into (i) *I mean*, (ii) *you know*, and (iii) *well*. As shown in Table 6.31, the A1 learner's utterance of "what to say" (learner904.txt) was categorized as *I mean*, since it can be substituted by "I mean." There were 10 occurrences of *well* produced by A1 learners, but 9 of them were produced by the same learner (i.e., learner1096.txt), as in "*Well* I want a new jacket," "*Well* do you have any jackets, oh *well* to ur can which I can use in office or in in official, casual bo both we can use?," "*Well* do you have any black jackets?," "Mm *well* do you have do you have jackets M size jackets?," "Oh *well* mhm *well* I prefer this old one old style style one," "Oh *well* urr can I buy it?," and "Ur *well* cash card, please." The learner's extremely repeated use of *well* might not make him or her sound fluent.

One of the *DM Subjectivizers*, *I hope*, should be distinguished from *hope* in the *subjectivizer* subcategory of *conventionally indirect* strategy (see section 6.3.1.2 in this chapter and section 1.2.5.3 in Appendix B). The former type was placed after the head act, as in the two examples of utterances by A2 learners (i.e., learner1168.txt and

learner704.txt) shown in Table 6.31. On the other hand, the latter type functioned as a head act. Further, the utterance of “I believe” by a B1 learner (i.e., learner649.txt) was identified and categorized as *I think*.

It was observed that some of the discourse markers simultaneously occurred with other markers such as “well” and “I think” (by learner264.txt) and “maybe” and “I believe” (by learner649.txt), which are underlined in Table 6.31.

As section 1.4.2 in Appendix B describes, *downtoners* were used in order to “modulate the impact his or her request is likely to have on the hearer” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1981, p. 284), which means to redress the impositive force of requests. Meanwhile, *upgraders* were used “to increase the impact of the request” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1981, p. 285). In this study, examples of *downgraders* included *maybe*, *possibly*, *a little bit*, and *I don’t mind*, while *upgraders* were illustrated by *really*, *do*, *or not*, and *definitely*, as Table 6.31 shows. *Downtoners* and *upgraders* were all produced by B1 learners, except for *a little bit*, which was produced by an A2 learner. It seems that B1 learners had already acquired tactics for modifying the impositive force of requests with the use of linguistic features, but the same could not be said for A1 and A2 learners. However, it should be noted that these tactics were mainly required in the negotiation task, in which the shop assistant (i.e., interlocutor) seemed to have a stronger social power than the customer (i.e., learner) did; in contrast, in the general purchasing task, the customer may have had greater social power than the shop assistant did, as the assistant would have benefitted from the customer’s purchase. Due to the small number of occurrences of these features, it was difficult to conduct a statistical test to examine whether there were significant differences between the learners at each proficiency level.

Table 6.31

Examples of interpersonal marker, just, DM subjectivizer, downtoner, hedge, and upgrader

Subcategory	Raw Freq.			Examples (CEFR Level)
	A1	A2	B1	
Interpersonal Marker				
I mean	1	2	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>And and ur do you have ur any uh what to say, uh cushion inside? (A2 – learner904.txt)</i> · <i>I mean I can I'm OK if you don't get me one thousand yen and a red sweater if you get me a red sweater. (B1 – file00022.txt)</i>
you know	0	1	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>I was wondering, you know, if I can get refund or change to something else. (B1 – file00255.txt)</i>
well	10	0	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Well I want a new jacket. (A2 – learner1096.txt)</i> · <i>So, well I think erm you you should ur take it back. (B1 – learner264.txt)</i>
Just	3	0	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Just a moment, please. (A1 – file00757.txt)</i> · <i>Just I I I I want to buy this. (A1 – learner973.txt)</i> · <i>I'm just wondering if I can exchange it. (B1 – file00554.txt)</i> · <i>I just want to change it. (B1 – learner1208.txt)</i>
DM Subjectivizer				
I think	0	2	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Mm so I think er I'd like to mm present er mm new mm shoes or new clothes for her children m for her baby. (A2 – learner1143.txt)</i> · <i>So <u>maybe</u> you can get a get another good tape recorders in. I believe so. (B1 – learner649.txt)</i>
I hope	1	1	0	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Uum um m more s small T-shrits um I I hope so. (A1 – learner1168.txt)</i> · <i>So uum uum casual watch uum prai that price is almost ten er sorry, doregurai two er one hundred er sorry uum hun mm one thousand uum one thousand uum er soory er one hundred thousand yen, I hope. (A1 – learner704.txt)</i>
Downtoner				

maybe	0	0	7	· <i>Maybe, some other person can you introduce me to some other persons?</i> (B1 – learner620.txt)
possibly	0	0	3	· <i>So I err I wonder if you could possibly er replace this shirt.</i> (B1 – learner1158.txt)
a little bit	0	1	0	· <i>So I play the guitar for you, mm could you discount a little bit?</i> (A2 – learner1081.txt)
I don't mind	0	0	1	· <i>Or or other other other products like um scarf or um T-shirt. I don't mind.</i> (B1 – learner328.txt)
<hr/>				
Hedge				
like	0	0	1	· <i>So um I'd like to change this coat to new one like if possible.</i> (B1 – file01216. Txt)
or something	0	1	0	· <i>And uhh now, uhh could you could you umm discount more? Or something?</i> (A1 – learner1019.txt)
<hr/>				
Upgrader	0	0	13	· <i>So if you can, I really want you to change exchange.</i> (B1 – file00641.txt) · <i>If you I do appreciate that if you could talk to your manager or the one who is actually supervise this section.</i> (B1 – file01207.txt) · <i>Can I change or not?</i> (B1 – learner630.txt) · <i>So I definitely want the money back.</i> (B1 – learner966.txt)

6.3.3 Research Question 3-1: Exploring the interactional features accompanying the core of requestive speech acts

What kinds of *interactional* features accompany the core of requestive speech acts? Are there any interruptions by the interlocutors, and any strategies for the negotiation of meaning such as corrections, repetitions, and elaborations of requests, and the confirmation of what the interlocutor uttered?

As previously described in section 6.3 in the current chapter (see also section 3 in Appendix B), *combined repair feature* is one of the categories into which requestive

speech acts were divided, along with *main* segments and *supporting* segments. Table 6.32 shows the total numbers and ratios of the following three subcategories: *elaboration*, *repetition*, and *prompted correction*. As shown in Table 6.20, the proportions of *combined repair feature* produced by A1, A2, and B1 learners to the total segments annotated in the Request scheme were 4.52%, 3.42%, and 1.21%, respectively. Due to the low frequencies of three types in three proficiency groups, the chi-square test was not conducted.

As described in section 3.3 in Appendix B, “in this category, the first head act is elaborated by the second head act” and “usually, linguistic features of both head acts have different linguistic patterns.” Table 6.33 shows the examples annotated as *elaboration*. There were two types: one was “found cross-segmentally over the learner’s and interlocutor’s utterances,” and the other was “found within a single utterance of the learner” (see section 3 of Appendix B). The former type was illustrated in examples of utterances by an A1 learner (i.e., learner426.txt) and a B1 learner (i.e., learner1208.txt), while the latter was illustrated in examples of utterances by A1 and A2 learners (i.e., learner737.txt, learner783.txt, and learner925.txt).

Table 6.32

Total numbers and ratios of elaboration, repetition, and prompted correction

	A1	A2	B1
	Raw Freq. (%)	Raw Freq. (%)	Raw Freq. (%)
Elaboration	25 (92.59)	32 (80.0)	1 (20.0)
Repetition	2 (7.41)	7 (17.5)	4 (80.0)
Prompted correction	0 (0)	1 (2.50)	0 (0)
Segments of combined repair feature	27	40	5

In learner426.txt, a *desire want* head act, “I want um T-shirts,” was followed

by an *explanation* head act of the *declarative statement*, “Color is blue.” The learner tried to elaborate the first requestive head act with the second one. This combination of the head acts of *desire want* and *declarative statement* was more common in A1 learners than in A2 learners, as A1 learners showed 12 occurrences (out of 25 occurrences) of this type of elaboration, whereas there was only one occurrence (out of 32 occurrences) produced by an A2 learner (i.e., learner783.txt). This type can be especially contrasted with the following example of a *desire want* head act produced by an A2 learner (i.e., learner925.txt): “And uh I want a suit which co whose color is uh gray.” The utterances of learner426.txt, learner737.txt, and learner783.txt may have sounded more fluent if they had had been combined with the use of a relative clause as in the utterances of learner925.txt: “I want a T-shirt whose color is blue” and “I wanna a sneaker whose size is twenty-nine centimeter.” In addition, the second head acts of learner426.txt and learner783.txt were annotated as *low* but *coherent* segments (as a subtype of *coherent but topic comment*) in the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability scheme (see section 6.2).^{xii} Thus, the only *elaboration* example derived from B1 learners (i.e., learner1208.txt), as shown in Table 6.33, sounded more fluent than the other examples produced by A1 and A2 learners.

Table 6.33

Examples of elaboration

CEFR Level	Example
A1 (learner426.txt)	<p><i>I want um T-shirts.</i> <A>All right. We have many T-shirts here. <i>Uum. Color is blue.</i> <A>Uhu. O K, many blue T-shirts here.</p>
A1 (learner737.txt)	<p><i>Uum. I want a hmm I want a basketball shoes. And its color is black. And err size er is Japanese size is err twenty-four size.</i> <A>Uhu.</p>
A2 (learner783.txt)	<p><i>Uh uhm uh I wanna sneaker and uh uh the size is twenty-nine centimeter.</i> Uh. Which do you recommend? <A>O K. Good. Uh may I help you? Uh yes. <i>Um I'm looking for uh I'm looking for suit. And uh I want a suit which co whose color is uh gray. Uh I have uh black suit so I have uh I have I want to have another color. Uh uh are there anything uh uh are there any gray suit?</i> <A>Yes. How about this?</p>
B1 (learner1208.txt)	<p><i>I just wanna change the color and I didn't use it at all.</i> <A><F>Hmm</F>. <i>So I think I can change it to another color.</i></p>

The occurrences of *repetition* were relatively scarce compared to those of elaboration, as shown in Table 6.32. Table 6.34 shows the examples of repetition. As described in section 3.1 in Appendix B, the learners produced more than one head act, usually repeating the first head act. For example, “Uum um m more s small T-shirts um I I hope so” as a *non-sentential phrase* head act was followed by “I want to buy it” annotated as a *desire want* head act (A1 - learner1168.txt).

Table 6.34

Examples of repetition

CEFR Level	Example
A1 (leraner1168.txt)	<p><A>But we might have more smaller T-shirts of this kind soon.</p> <p>Uum um m more s small T-shirts um I I hope so.</p> <p><A>Um.</p> <p>Um. I want to buy it.</p>
A2 (file00165.txt)	<p>Oh O K. <i>Urr so, uhmm I want to take a two-buttons-suit and the urr soune urr the color is, I think I want a dark dark colors, not white and not the errr yes, not white. Er I want get the black suit and two buttons.</i></p>
B1 (learner1174.txt)	<p><A>So I can't make these changes.</p> <p>Uhu. <i>If it could you just uum tell your supervisor that if it's allowed for my case? Um could could you talk to your su supervisor?</i></p> <p><A>Um yeah. I could talk to her. But you have to have a really good reason.</p>

As described in section 6.3 in the current chapter (see also section 2 in Appendix B), supporting segments, which optionally belonged to the main segments, were divided into *continued/continuing utterance*, *self-corrected head act*, *responded yes please*, *confirming*, and *alert*. Table 6.35 shows the distribution of these subcategories. No significant differences were found among A1, A2, and B1 learners across all features except for *confirming* and *alert*, the expected values of which were smaller than five, at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 5.338$, $df = 4$, $p = .25434$, n.s.). The segments annotated as *continued/continuing utterance* were the part of the utterances belonging to the main segments due to the interruption made by the interlocutors (see section 2.1 in Appendix B). The ones annotated as *responded yes please* were the learners' responses to the interlocutors' offers, including *yes please* and *Yes, OK* (see section 2.5 in Appendix B).

Confirming^{xiii} segments were the ones that elicited “a hearer signal,” occurring “in a syntactically final position, and may signal turn-availability” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 285) (see section 2.4 in Appendix).

To answer RQ3-1, only the occurrences of *self-corrected head act* were investigated in the current section, as they indicated how the learners attempted to correct their head acts. For details on the other categories, see sections 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 in Appendix B. There was only one segment annotated as *prompted correction*, in which the learner corrected his or her produced head act, after being prompted by the interlocutor. Section 3.3 in Appendix B illustrates an A2 learner’s utterance (i.e., learner712.txt), in which “more big size” was corrected to “bigger size,” after being prompted by the interlocutor.

According to Table 6.21, which shows the total numbers and ratios of *head act*, and Table 6.35, which shows those of *self-corrected head act*, the ratios of self-corrected head acts to the total number of head acts in A1, A2, and B1 learners were 3.76% (17 out of 452 total head acts), 4.25% (38 out of 895), and 2.66% (7 out of 263), respectively. It should be noted that *elaboration* and *repetition* in the *combined repair feature* category (see Table 6.32) contained more than one independent *head act*. However, a *self-corrected head act* was regarded as one of the subtypes in the *supporting* category, which belonged to the *main* segment, especially the head act. Therefore, the *head acts* included in *elaboration* and *repetition* were separately considered as part of the total numbers of head acts, as shown in Table 6.21, while the *supporting* segments annotated as *self-corrected head act* were not.

Table 6.35

Total numbers and ratios of continued/continuing utterance, self-corrected head act, responded yes please, confirming, and alert

	A1		A2		B1	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Continued/Continuing utterance	18	(33.96)	52	(41.27)	14	(41.18)
Self-corrected head act	17	(32.08)	38	(30.16)	7	(20.59)
Responded yes please	15	(28.30)	18	(14.29)	8	(23.53)
Confirming	2	(3.77)	11	(8.73)	5	(14.71)
Alert	1	(1.89)	7	(5.56)	0	(0)
Total supporting segments	53		126		34	

Table 6.36 shows the examples of *self-corrected head act*. For example, an A1 learner (i.e., learner832.txt) corrected “do you” as part of an *interrogative statement* head act to “I want” as a *desire want* head act.

There were two notable tendencies that were characteristic of A1 and A2 learners. First, as Table 6.36 shows, a *speaker-dominant desire want* head act of *direct* strategy was corrected by learner1019.txt to a *hearer-dominant ability/permission of conventionally indirect* strategy. The shift from *I want* to other linguistic patterns was observed in 11 learners, including 2 A1 learners and 9 A2 learners, as Table 6.37 shows. One A2 learner (i.e., learner1108.txt) actually produced four occurrences of a pattern in which *I want* was shifted to *I would like*. This shift accounted for 23.1% of the total occurrences of self-corrected head act produced by A2 learners (12 out of 52 occurrences). Although the politeness of the requests is out of the scope of the current study, some A2 learners seem to have been concerned with the impositive force of the desire head act *want*, and tried to redress the FTA by correcting it to other linguistic patterns.

A shift from a head act with a heavier impositive force such as *want* into more

likely suitable linguistic patterns was not frequently observed in the target data. However, a *self-corrected head act* may indicate one of the progressive stages of development of lower learners.

Table 6.36

Examples of self-corrected head act

CEFR Level	Example
A1 (learner832.txt)	<p>Uhhh? Ummm do you umm I I want to buy the umm nandaro the ummm umm most umm best-seller book <A>Uh-huh. for TOEIC. Hmmm.</p>
A1 (learner914.txt)	<p><F>Uh. Thank you. Uhm um I like this. I uum take a uum I take a I want to buy I want to buy this jacket this black jacket. </p>
A2 (learner1019.txt)	<p><A>Ahh I could give you a little bit discount. Ahhh. O K. Now, so I want to uhhh um um could you show me ahh some um wire key?</p>
B1 (file00045.txt)	<p>Yeah. Actually, er cough I'm now er I bought this one right right now. But I have mhmm on second thought, I didn't like it, so maybe I could can I can I get this back?</p>

Table 6.37

Patterns of self-corrected head acts: A shift from I want to other linguistic patterns

Corrected Strategy and Pattern		Occurrences	Files
Direct	Wish – <i>would like</i>	7	A2/learner786.txt
			A2/learner1156.txt
			A2/learner1035.txt
			A2/learner1108.txt
Conventionally Indirect	Intention – <i>I like</i>	2	A2/learner704.txt
			A2/learner860.txt
	Existence – <i>I look for item</i>	3	A1/learner473.txt
			A1/learner1009.txt
			A2/learner722.txt
Ability/permission – <i>can (I)</i>	1	A2/learner925.txt	
		Ability/permission – <i>could (you)</i>	1
Totals		14 occurrences	11 files

The second characteristic was a shift from *declarative statement* into *desire want*, which was only produced by two learners. An A1 learner (i.e., learner914.txt in Table 6.36) corrected a *declarative statement* head act to the *desire* verb *want* as in “I uum take a uum I take a I want to buy I want to buy this jacket this black jacket.” An A2 learner (i.e., file00165.txt in Table 6.34) corrected “*the urr soune urr the color is*” to “I think I want a dark dark colors, not white and not the yes, not white.” As mentioned in section 6.3.1, requestive speech acts annotated as the *statement* category in the direct strategy did not indicate any use of modal verbs or tense inflection, so that some of them may have been unsuitable (see also section 1.1.6 in Appendix B).

6.3.4 Research Question 3-2: Exploring the functions of requests across different proficiency levels

What kinds of *functions* do the learners’ requestive speech acts have, and what are the

distributions of each function across different proficiency levels? Are there any typical pragmalinguistic features of requests pertaining to each function?

6.3.4.1 Linguistic features of requests with the function of dealing with transaction

As described in Figure 6.1, out of the total utterances, 59.2% of A1 learners' utterances (i.e., 515 occurrences) and 55.03% of A2 learners' utterances (i.e., 1,006 occurrences) had the function of *dealing with transaction* (see section 3.1 in Appendix C). B1 learners showed seven occurrences, accounting for only 0.65%. Thus, this function was further categorized into *expressing intention to buy* (abbreviated as *intention-buy*), *expressing or asking about item* (abbreviated as *item*), and *expressing or asking about payment* (abbreviated as *ask-payment*). A1 and A2 learners' most frequent function was *item*, accounting for 67.65% of the total utterances, while the function of *intention-buy* accounted for 27.55%, and *ask-payment* accounted for 4.8% (see Figure 6.3).

The results in Table 6.38 in section 6.3.4.1.1 were derived from the UAMCT utilizing the setting for specified search queries called, "containing segment," which "allows search across layers," "[returning] all units tagged with the first feature which contain [*sic*] segments at another layer tagged with the second feature" (O'Donnell, 2013, p. 28). For instance, the number of segments annotated in the Request annotation scheme as *head acts* as well as tagged as *dealing with transaction* in the Function annotation scheme, was returned as the results. However, as one of the biggest limitations in the current study, the retrieved frequencies based on this search across layers were not exactly correspondent with the total raw frequencies retrieved in a single layer. For instance, Table 6.21 shows that the raw frequencies retrieved in the Request annotation scheme were 452 in A1 learners, 895 in A2 learners, and 263 in B1 learners. However, the UAMCT returned the following numbers of the head acts that contained any of the

function segments: 308 in A1 learners, 689 in A2 learners, and 183 in B1 learners. After a close and manual examination of a few segments in the files of the Request scheme and those of the Function scheme, the author assumed that the UAMCT possibly did not return some of the occurrences of the head acts that had smaller domains in the Function annotations than in the Request annotations, in addition to the head acts that were contained in the supporting segments in the Function annotation scheme.^{xiv} Therefore, it should be noted that approximately 70% of the total head acts in the Request annotation scheme (i.e., 68.14%, 76.98%, and 69.58% of A1, A2, and B1 learners' head acts, respectively) were investigated in the current analysis of the head acts with particular functions. This also applied to the results in the following section, 6.3.5, which discusses the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in the learners' requestive speech acts.

6.3.4.1.1 Linguistic features of requests with the function of *expressing or asking about item* (i.e., *item*)

Table 6.38 shows the retrieved frequencies of subcategories of *item*. According to the chi-square test, no significant difference between A1 and A2 learners was found in terms of the frequencies of subcategories of *item* except for linguistic patterns such as *wish*, *imperative*, *ability/permission*, *suggestory*, *subjectivizer*, and *willingness*, the expected values of which were smaller than five, at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 7.6271$, $df = 4$, $p = .1062$, n.s.). The most frequent linguistic pattern was *existence* in A1 learners (i.e., 29.58%) and A2 learners (i.e., 31.05%), followed by *desire* in A1 learners (i.e., 25.35%) and A2 learners (i.e., 30.39%). Thus, Table 6.39 shows the distribution of the subcategories and examples of *existence*. Regarding the *desire* head acts, three occurrences produced by A2 learners were *need*, and the rest of them were *want*.

Table 6.38

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the function of expressing or asking about item (i.e., item)

	A1		A2	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Direct strategy				
Desire	36	(25.35)	93	(30.39)
Non-sentential phrase	22	(15.49)	25	(8.17)
Statement	19	(13.38)	26	(8.50)
Wish	2	(1.41)	10	(3.27)
Imperative	1	(0.70)	11	(3.59)
Conventionally indirect strategy				
Existence	42	(29.58)	95	(31.05)
Intention	15	(10.56)	28	(9.15)
Ability/permission	2	(0)	9	(2.94)
Suggestory	0	(0)	2	(0.65)
Subjectivizer	0	(0)	2	(0.65)
Willingness	0	(0)	1	(0.33)
Total head acts	142		306	

Although A1 and A2 learners had no statistically significant differences between them, they still had different tendencies, observable in the following linguistic patterns: *non-sentential phrase* and *statement*. Regarding *non-sentential phrase*, 6 out of 22 requests and 5 out of 25 requests were produced with the politeness marker *please* in A1 and A2 learners, respectively.^{xv} As shown in Table 6.38, the ratio of *statement* in A1 learners (i.e., 13.38%) was higher than that in A2 learners (i.e., 8.5%). Statement requests were further categorized into *explanation*, *purchase*, or *trial* (see section 6.3.1 in this chapter and section 1.1.6 in Appendix B), and all of A1 and A2 learners' requests belonged to *explanation*, except for two occurrences produced by A2 learners that were categorized as *purchase* and *trial*. Therefore, most of the *statement* requests had the function of

requesting a size, color, or price as in “And its color is black” (A1 - learner737.txt) and “Thousand yen is my budget” (A2 - file00575.txt).

Table 6.39

Total numbers, ratios, and examples of the subcategories of existence

Subcategory	A1	A2
	Raw Freq. (%) Example	Raw Freq. (%) Example
Do you have item	29 (20.42) <i>Do you have small one?</i> (learner1059.txt)	65 (21.24) <i>Do you have the size of this shoes?</i> (learner1109.txt)
Is there item	6 (4.23) <i>Is there another color?</i> (learner835.txt)	24 (7.84) <i>And is there any rock music?</i> (learner732.txt)
I look for item	7 (4.93) <i>I like I ur I’m looking for mm suits mm shirts for suits.</i> (learner675.txt)	6 (1.96) <i>I’m looking for uhmm wool coat.</i> (learner588.txt)
Total occurrences	42	95

6.3.4.1.2 Linguistic features of requests with the function of *expressing intention to buy* (i.e., *intention-buy*)

Table 6.40 shows the distribution of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the function of *intention-buy*. The distribution of the linguistic patterns of requestive head acts between the functions of *item* (see Table 6.38) and *intention-buy* seems to have been different. For example, in both A1 and A2 learners, no occurrences of *imperative* were found and the frequency of *non-sentential phrase* was low, as shown in Table 6.40. Further, there was not much variety in the choices of the linguistic patterns of *conventionally indirect strategy* made by A2 learners.

Table 6.40

Total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the function of expressing intention to buy (i.e., intention-buy)

	A1		A2	
	Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
Direct strategy				
Desire	42	(44.21)	62	(32.63)
Statement	12	(12.63)	10	(5.26)
Wish	6	(6.32)	30	(15.79)
Non-sentential phrase	4	(4.21)	3	(1.58)
Yes	1	(1.05)	3	(1.58)
Independent politeness marker please	1	(1.05)	0	(0.00)
Conventionally indirect strategy				
Intention	13	(13.68)	48	(25.26)
Existence	10	(10.53)	33	(17.37)
Ability/permission	4	(4.21)	1	(0.53)
Total head acts	95		190	

Interestingly, there was a significant difference between A1 and A2 learners across all features except for linguistic patterns such as *non-sentential phrase*, *yes*, *independent politeness marker please*, and *ability/permission* at $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 17.2573$, $df = 4$, $p = .00172$, Cramer's $V = .1801$). As mentioned before, requestive head acts annotated as *statement* were unsuitable since they had no use of modal verbs and verb inflections. The ratio of *statement* was 12.63% in A1 learners, but 5.26% in A2 learners. Thus, examples such as “Err I buy this one” (A1 – learner747.txt) and “Hm? I take it” (A1 – learner1135.txt) were produced to express learners’ intention to buy a particular item. In fact, this statement pattern in the present tense indicates a *habitual activity* of the speakers (as in *I buy some bread in a bakery every Thursday*), which was not actually meant by these learners. However, A2 learners showed higher ratios of *wish* (i.e., 15.79%), *intention* (i.e., 25.26%), and *existence* (i.e., 17.37%) than A1 learners did. It is likely that

A2 learners became able to produce requests with more suitable linguistic patterns, reducing the ratio of *statement* patterns. Table 6.41 shows the total numbers, ratios, and examples of *statement*, *wish*, *intention*, and *existence*. Only *purchase*, one of the three subcategories in the *statement* category, was observed. In the *existence* category, all three subcategories, *do you have item*, *is there item*, and *I look for item*, were found. There were five types observed in the *intention* category (i.e., *I will*, *I am verb-ing*, *I like*, *I decided to*, and *I come/am here*).

Table 6.41

Total numbers, ratios, and examples of statement, wish, intention, and existence

Category	Subcategory	A1	A2
		Raw Freq. (%) Example	Raw Freq. (%) Example
Statement	Purchase	12 (12.63) <i>Err I buy this one.</i> (learner747.txt)	10 (5.26) <i>So hm I buy it.</i> (learner655.txt)
		6 (6.32) <i>I'm ah I'd like to er buy er this wear.</i> (learner994.txt)	30 (15.79) <i>Um I'd like to buy this expensive one.</i> (learner1019.txt)
Wish	would like	1 (1.05) <i>Do you have it?</i> (learner737.txt)	3 (1.58) <i>Do you have er do you have some sweets?</i> (learner813.txt)
		1 (1.05) <i>Er so uum there is there uum that CDs ee at this store?</i> (learner744.txt)	2 (1.05) <i>Uum ee uum Are um are there any clothes er in the shop?</i> (learner555.txt)
Existence	Is there item	8 (8.42) <i>I'm looking for umm jacket.</i> (learner425.txt)	28 (14.74) <i>I'm looking for some clothes.</i> (learner1068.txt)

		11 (11.58)	39 (20.53)
Intention	I will	<i>I'll have it.</i> (learner675.txt)	<i>I'll buy it.</i> (learner842.txt) <i>I'll get it.</i> (learner786.txt)
		1 (1.05)	0
	I am verb -ing	<i>Oh I'm buying.</i> (learner451.txt)	N/A
		0	2 (1.05)
	I like	N/A	<i>I like it.</i> (learner1094.txt)
		1 (1.05)	6 (3.16)
	I decided to	N/A	<i>I I decided to buy this one.</i> (learer920.txt)
	0	1 (0.53)	
I come/am here	N/A	<i>I'm here to to lo look for oh my winter suits.</i> (file00575.txt)	

6.3.4.1.3 Linguistic features of requests with the function of *expressing or asking about payment* (i.e., *ask-payment*)

Table 6.42 shows the total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the function of *expressing or asking about payment* (abbreviated as *ask-payment*). Since A1 and A2 learners produced a total of only 41 occurrences of head acts with this function, the chi-square test was not conducted to determine the differences between the learners at two proficiency levels. A1 learners showed the highest ratio of non-sentential phrase (i.e., 63.16%) such as “Ah er card please?” (learner994.txt), “Err cash” (learner749.txt), “Ee cashing” (learner451.txt),^{xvi} and “Ah VISA card?” (learner120.txt). Four out of 12 requests of this pattern were produced with the politeness marker *please*. The second most frequent pattern produced by A2 learners was *ability/permission*, as in “Can I use credit card?” (learner1111.txt), “Can I take card?” (learner455.txt), and “May I use a credit card?” (learner1017.txt).

Compared to the ratios of the two previously described functions in Tables

6.38 and 6.40, the ratio of *desire* was low; only two A2 learners uttered, “I want to pay, one time” (learner1111.txt) and “I want to pay the with the card” (file00165.txt). Actually, the *wish* pattern, as in “Could you could you um could you. Um. I’d like to buy it erm credit card” (learner1057.txt) and “Urr I’d like to buy it err by this card” (learner409.txt), had a slightly higher ratio (i.e., 13.64%) than that of *desire* (i.e., 9.09%).

Table 6.42

Total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the function of expressing or asking about payment

	A1		A2	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Direct Strategy				
Non-sentential phrase	12	(63.16)	8	(36.36)
Wish	1	(5.26)	3	(13.64)
Statement	1	(5.26)	2	(9.09)
Desire	0	(0)	2	(9.09)
Obligation	0	(0)	1	(4.55)
Conventionally indirect strategy				
Ability/permission	3	(15.79)	6	(27.27)
Intention	1	(5.26)	0	(0)
Total head acts	19		22	

6.3.4.2 Linguistic features of requests with the function of communication for transaction

As Figure 6.1 shows, A1, A2, and B1 learners showed 40.8%, 44.97%, and 99.35% of segments annotated as *communication for transaction*, respectively.

According to Table 6.6, the most frequent subcategories in the category of communication for transaction among three proficiency levels were *explaining the background*, *confirming*, and *requesting an action*. However, the learners rarely produced

the *requestive head acts* with the first two functions. For example, A1 learners only produced 4 head acts functioning as *explaining the background* (accounting for 8.89% of the total segments of *explaining the background*), A2 learners produced 34 (accounting for 22.52%), and B1 learners produced 6 (accounting for 1.31%). Thus, there was only one head act with the function of *confirming* produced by A1 learners (accounting for 0.67%) and seven produced by A2 learners (accounting for 2.32%). Therefore, the current section focuses only on the description of the distribution and tendencies of head acts with the function of *requesting an action*.

As Table 6.8 shows, no significant differences were found between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of subcategories in the *requesting an action* function. The functions such as *asking someone to show*, *asking for permission to test*, *negotiating for discount*, *asking for recommendation*, and *asking someone to perform* accounted for more than 10% of the total segments in A1 and A2 learners. In contrast, a significant difference between A2 and B1 learners was observed: B1 learners' distribution of the subcategories in this function was totally different from those of A1 and A2 learners. For B1 learners, the segments annotated as *negotiating for exchange or return* constituted 55.75%, while the segments annotated as *asking someone to perform* constituted 16.38%. Thus, the ratios of the other functions such as *asking for permission to test*, *negotiating for discount*, *asking for recommendation*, *suggesting*, *showing a desire to perform*, *asking for permission to perform*, and *asking for refund* did not reach 10%.

Based on the results shown in Table 6.8, the current section first describes B1 learners' choices of request strategies in *negotiating for exchange or return*, then compares the choices made by A2 and B1 learners in *asking someone to perform*, and finally contrasts A1 and A2 learners' results of the request strategies chosen for the functions including *asking someone to show*, *asking for permission to test*, *negotiating*

for discount, and asking for recommendation.

Figure 6.11 shows the ratios of the request strategies of head acts with the function of *requesting an action*. In terms of the ratios of the request strategies to the total number of head acts, there was a significant difference between A1 and A2 learners as well as between A2 and B1 learners (see Figure 6.9). On the other hand, there was no significant difference between A1 and A2 learners across all features except for *not-classifiable* patterns at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 5.5346$, $df = 1$, $p = .01864$, n.s.), as well as between A2 and B1 learners at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 0.1361$, $df = 1$, $p = .07122$, n.s.).

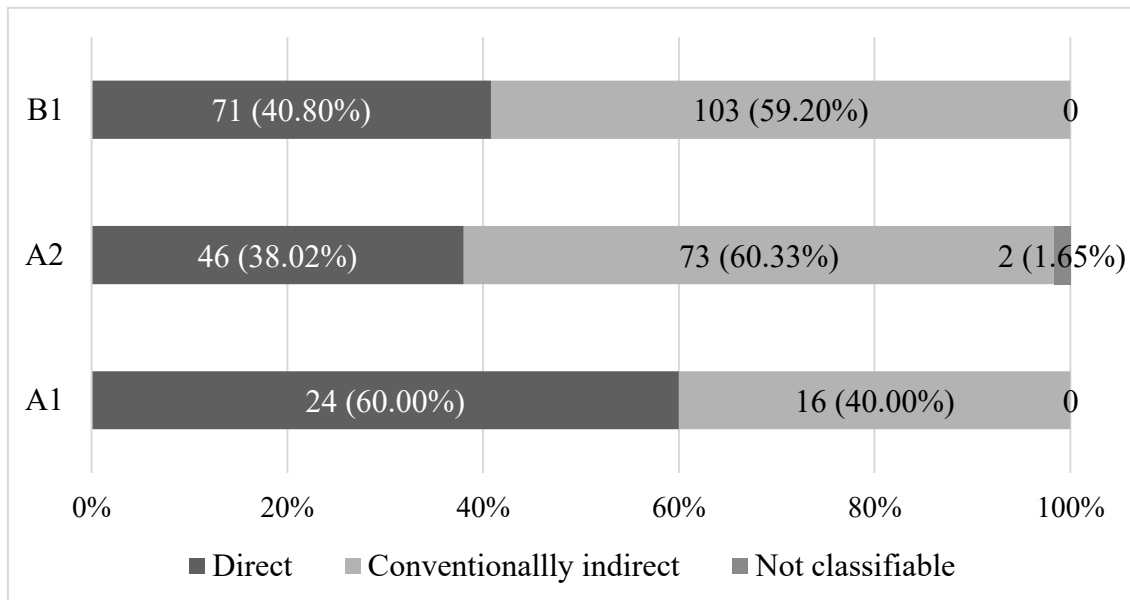


Figure 6.11. Ratios of the request strategies of head acts with the function of *requesting an action*

6.3.4.2.1 B1 learners' linguistic features of requests with the function of *negotiating for exchange or return*

Table 6.43 shows the distribution of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the function of *negotiating for exchange or return*. The most frequent pattern was

ability/permission, followed by *wish* and *desire*. Table 6.44 shows the examples of linguistic patterns that had more than five raw frequencies. In the *ability/permission* category, there were 19 occurrences of *could*, 13 of *can*, and 1 of *may*. As shown in the table, in the example utterance of learner965.txt (i.e., “So maybe you can you can change”), there were two occurrences of *can*, which were produced in a declarative form with a speaker-dominant perspective. Thus, file00022.txt produced *may* with the performative verb *ask*.^{xvii} Subjectivizers were followed by the production of *ability/permission* modal verbs such as *can* and *could*. The head acts categorized as conventionally indirect strategies were mostly produced with internal modifiers such as *if-clause* (e.g., learner902.txt), *politeness marker please* (e.g., learner965.txt), and *discourse marker* such as *you know* (e.g., file00255.txt). Regarding the *suggestory* patterns, four out of five occurrences were combined with *can't* as in “So why can't you exchange it? (i.e., file01229.txt). The author (Miura, 2017) surveyed how the respondents assessed several requestive speech acts with different linguistic patterns; file01229.txt was presented as an example, and all 10 respondents regarded this example as the least appropriate in negotiating for an exchange or a return.

Table 6.43

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the function of negotiating for exchange or return

		B1 Raw Freq. (%)
Direct Strategy	46	(45.54)
Wish	21	(20.79)
Desire	19	(18.81)
Obligation	3	(2.97)
Imperative	2	(1.98)
Independent politeness marker please	1	(0.99)
Conventionally indirect strategy	55	(54.46)
Ability/permission	33	(32.67)
Willingness	7	(6.93)
Subjectivizer	7	(6.93)
Suggestory	5	(4.95)
Possibility	3	(2.97)
Total	101	

Table 6.44

Examples of head acts with the function of negotiating for exchange or return

Linguistic patterns	Example
Wish	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>So I would like you to exchange another one.</i> (file00301.txt) · <i>And I'd like to change.</i> (file01216.txt)
Desire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>I want to get it back.</i> (file00045.txt) · <i>So I want to change this shoes, please.</i> (learner630.txt)
Ability/Permission	
Can	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>Can I return this stuff?</i> (file00136.txt) · <i>So maybe you can you can change.</i> (learner965.txt)
Could	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · <i>So could you change it or?</i> (learner677.txt) · <i>So if I can find any kinds of dress that fits just fit me, so please could you uh exchange the dress to another one?</i> (learner902.txt)

May	· <i>So may I ask you to change uh this one to the another color?</i> (file00022.txt)
Willingness	
Will you	· <i>Will you exchange it?</i> (file01242)
Do/would you mind	· <i>Do you mind changing this swe sweater more smaller one?</i> (file00057.txt)
Would you	· <i>Would you please change the blouse?</i> (learner1174.txt)
Subjectivizer	
Wonder if	· <i>I was wondering, you know, if I can get refund or change to something else.</i> (file00255.txt)
Appreciate	· <i>Am I appreciate it if you could change eh with change it with other ones.</i> (learner317.txt)
Hope	· <i>So I hope you can exchange other bigger one.</i> (learner788.txt)
Thought	· <i>I thought I could exchange this into the other color.</i>
	· <i>So why can't you exchange it?</i> (file01229.txt)
Suggestory	· <i>But ah why why can't I ahh change my skirt to other other ones?</i> (learner317.txt)

6.3.4.2.2 A2 and B1 learners' linguistic features of requests with the function of *asking permission to perform*

As Table 6.45 shows, due to the small number of occurrences of the requestive head acts with the function of *asking permission to perform*, no statistical test was conducted to determine the difference between learners at different proficiency levels. A2 learners produced higher frequencies of direct strategies than they did conventionally indirect strategies, but the opposite occurred in B1 learners. The most frequent linguistic pattern in B1 learners was the ability/permission modal *could*, as in “Could you ask to the boss your boss?” (learner677.txt) and “Could you call somebody who can decide the things?” (file00071.txt). The *imperative* pattern was the most frequently produced by A2 learners, and the second most frequently produced by B1 learners. All of the *imperative* head acts, produced 15 times in total by A2 and B1 learners, were produced with

politeness marker please as in “So ah please explain a something about” (A2 – learner918.txt) and “So, please check him phone number” (B1 – learner630.txt).

Table 6.45

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the function of asking permission to perform

	A2		B1	
	Raw Freq.	(%)	Raw Freq.	(%)
Direct Strategy				
Imperative	8	(57.14)	7	(21.88)
Independent politeness marker please	0	(0)	2	(6.25)
Conventionally indirect strategy				
Ability/permission	4	(28.57)	18	(56.25)
Willingness	2	(14.29)	3	(9.38)
Subjectivizer	0	(0)	1	(3.12)
Suggestory	0	(0)	1	(3.12)
Total	14		32	

6.3.4.2.3 A1 and A2 learners’ linguistic features of requests with the functions of *asking someone to show, asking for permission to test, negotiating for discount, and asking for recommendation*.

According to Figure 6.9, the proportions of direct strategies produced by A1 and A2 learners to the total number of requestive head acts were 65.71% (i.e., 297 occurrences) and 55.87% (i.e., 500 occurrences), respectively. Although the retrieved occurrences of head acts with functions such as *asking someone to show, asking for permission to test, negotiating for discount, and asking for recommendation* were relatively low compared to the total occurrences of head acts, it seems that the tendencies to opt for particular requestive patterns varied with the functions, as Table 6.46 shows.

The head acts with the function of *asking someone to show* had more direct patterns than they did conventionally indirect ones in both A1 and A2 learners. The most frequent pattern was *imperative please*, as in “Please show me” (A2 – learner655.txt) and “Please show me other color?” (A1 – learner994.txt), among all learners except for one A1 learner (i.e., learner1060.txt), who produced an imperative without the *politeness marker please*: “Then, let me show show me the eh ivory color and er.” In addition to imperative forms, A2 learners produced some *ability/permission* modal verbs, including seven occurrences of *could*, and four of *can*.

On the other hand, approximately 80% of the head acts *asking for permission to test* were produced with the conventionally indirect patterns by both A1 and A2 learners, as shown in Table 6.46. Among the total occurrences, 76.92% (i.e., 10 occurrences) and 81.48% (i.e., 22 occurrences) were *ability/permission* head acts produced by A1 and A2 learners, respectively. A1 learners produced 10 occurrences (6 *cans* and 4 *mays*), as in “Can can you try it can I try it on?” (learner798.txt) and “May I take ah eh shichaku^{xviii}?” (learner191.txt), and A2 learners produced 22 occurrences (16 *cans* and 6 *mays*)^{xix}, as in “Can I try it on?” (learner1111.txt) and “May I try it on?” (file00600.txt). There were no uses of *could*. The examples of direct patterns included “Err I I try it, too?” as a *declarative statement* (A1 - file00826.txt) and “I want to try it” featuring desire through the use of *want* (A2 – learner1109.txt). It seems that both A1 and A2 learners were able to produce *ability/permission* modal verbs in their requests only when it came to the testing situation in which they asked for permission to test the items that they wanted to purchase. *Can/May I try it on?* was probably an easily acquired formulaic expression even to the learners at low proficiency, although some A1 learners produced unsuitable patterns as shown in the aforementioned examples.

Regarding the head acts with the functions of *negotiating for discount* and

asking for recommendation, A2 learners showed higher frequencies of conventionally indirect strategies than direct strategies, but A1 learners rarely showed conventionally indirect patterns. In both functions, the *ability/permission* patterns were commonly produced by A2 learners, such as “Can you discount?” (A2 – learner1112.txt) and “Could you recommend?” (A2 – learner1084.txt). In fact, a total of 8 ability/permission head acts with the function of *asking for recommendation* were all produced with *could*, while 8 *cans* and 5 *coulds* were observed in the total of 13 ability/permission head acts with the function of *negotiating for discount*. On the other hand, only one conventionally indirect pattern in A1 learners was produced, as in “Do you have any discount for me?” (A1 – file0040.txt), as the *existence* pattern of *do you have item*. Ninety percent of the head acts with the function of *negotiating for discount* had direct linguistic patterns such as *non-sentential phrase*, *imperative*, and *independent politeness marker please*. Thus, A1 learners produced the following head acts: “Urr urr low low, please” (learner140.txt), “erm eeto unto mm uunto ur more cheap hm please more cheap” (learner314.txt), “More discount?” (learner406.txt), “No no charge” (learner406.txt), “Please more more count down price down” (learner423.txt), “Discount, please,” followed by “Please” (learner425.txt), “Please discount, please” (file00589.txt), and “Ah so just lit please price down, just little” (learner1053.txt). It can be assumed that A2 learners had acquired more fluency in expressing their requests with conventionally indirect patterns, such as *can* and *could*, but A1 learners seem to have had difficulties with constructing their requests in grammatically and lexically proper ways, even in the direct forms.

Table 6.46

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of the linguistic patterns of head acts with the functions of asking someone to show, asking for permission to test, negotiating for discount, and asking for recommendation

Function	A1 Raw Freq. (%)		A2 Raw Freq. (%)		
	Direct	Conven. indirect	Direct	Conven. indirect	Not- classifiable
Asking for permission to test	3 (32.08)	10 (76.92)	3 (11.11)	23 (85.19)	1 (3.7)
Negotiating for discount	9 (90)	1 (10)	3 (15)	17 (85)	0 (0)
Asking for recommendation	3 (100)	0	6 (30)	13 (65)	1 (5)
Asking someone to show	6 (60)	4 (40)	25 (65.79)	13 (34.21)	0 (0)

6.3.5 Research Question 3-3: The grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of requestive speech acts

What degree of *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* is observed in the learners' requests, and are there any particular functions where the learners had difficulties with producing the requests properly (i.e., grammatically accurate and discoursally acceptable)?

First, the current section describes the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in the requestive head acts. Figure 6.6 shows that the proportions of *high* segments were 52.18% (i.e., 454 occurrences) in A1 learners, 54.98% (i.e., 1,005 occurrences) in A2 learners, and 66.82% (i.e., 721 occurrences) in B1 learners.

The total numbers and ratios of the *high* segments and the subcategories of *low* segments such as *coherent*, *slightly incoherent*, *incoherent*, and *Japanese* are shown in Table 6.11. The ratio of *high* segments and that of *low* but *coherent* ones increased as the learners' proficiency improved, although a significant difference was only found between A2 and B1 learners, and not between A1 and A2 learners.

Table 6.47 shows the distribution of the *high* and *low* segments in the learners' requestive head acts.^{xx} The degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in B1 learners' requestive head acts, as shown in Table 6.47, was almost the same as its distribution in the total utterances, as shown in Table 6.11. Approximately 65% of the segments were categorized as *high* segments, and more than 30% were categorized as *coherent* ones. However, regarding A1 and A2 learners, the ratios of *high* segments were higher than those of *coherent* segments in Table 6.11, whereas the *coherent* requestive head acts were more frequent than the *high* segments in Table 6.47. These results indicate that the author regarded more than 50% of the requests produced by A1 and A2 learners as not being grammatically and lexically perfect, despite having no problems in terms of discourse.^{xxi} According to the chi-square tests, a significant difference was not found between A1 and A2 learners across all features except for *incoherent* and *Japanese*, the expected values of which were smaller than five, at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 3.1595$, $df = 2$, $p < .206$, n.s.), but was found between A2 and B1 learners across all features except for *slightly incoherent*, *incoherent*, and *Japanese* at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 25.4178$, $df = 1$, $p < .00001$, Cramer's $V = .17$). B1 learners showed tendencies different from those of A1 and A2 learners, in that the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in the total utterances produced during role plays was correspondent with that in the total number of requestive head acts.

Table 6.47

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of the high segments and the subcategories of low segments in the requestive head acts

		A1		A2		B1	
		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)		Raw Freq. (%)	
High		125	(40.32)	297	(43.23)	118	(64.48)
Low	Coherent	167	(53.87)	372	(54.15)	62	(33.88)
	Slightly incoherent	12	(3.87)	14	(2.04)	3	(1.64)
	Incoherent	5	(1.61)	4	(0.58)	0	(0)
	Japanese	1	(0.32)	0	(0)	0	(0)
Total Segments		310		687		183	

6.3.5.1 The degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of the requests with different functions

The current section discusses the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of the requestive head acts by comparing A1 and A2 learners' requests *expressing or asking about item* (i.e., *item*) and *expressing intention to buy* (i.e., *intention-buy*), describing B1 learners' *negotiating for exchange*, and comparing A1, A2, and B1 learners' *requesting an action*. These functions were frequently evident in the target learner data as discussed in sections 6.3.4.1 and 6.3.4.2.

6.3.5.1.1 The degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of A1 and A2 learners' requests with the functions of *item* and *intention-buy*

First, A1 and A2 learners' head acts with the functions of *item* and *intention-buy* are discussed. Table 6.48 shows the results of the head acts of *item*,^{xxii} and Table 6.49 shows those of *intention-buy*. First, according to the chi-square tests, there were no significant differences between A1 and A2 learners across all features, except for

incoherent segments, the expected value of which was smaller than five, at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 5.6263$, $df = 2$, $p = .06$, n.s.), as shown in Table 6.48, and *slightly incoherent* and *incoherent* segments at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = .051$, $df = 1$, $p = .8214$, n.s.), as shown in Table 6.49.

The proportion of *high* segments in A1 and A2 learners' *item* requests was approximately 30%, and that of *coherent* segments was about 60%. The ratio of *high* segments in the *intention-buy* requests accounted for approximately 55%, and the *coherent* segments accounted for less than 45%. The total of *high* and *coherent* segments produced by A1 and A2 learners accounted for nearly 100%, except for A1 learners' *item* segments, accounting for 93.88%. The ratios of *slightly incoherent* and *incoherent* segments were higher in the *item* than in the *intention-buy* requests. These statistical results indicate that both A1 and A2 learners had more difficulties with producing grammatically and discoursally successful requestive head acts with the *item* function than they did producing those with the *intention-buy* function.

The *intention-buy* requests contained linguistic patterns annotated as *high* segments: "I want to buy it" (A1 - learner1168.txt) as direct strategy (i.e., *want of desire*), "I'm looking for ur pants, too" (A2 - learner1094.txt) as conventionally indirect strategy (i.e., *I look for item of existence*), and "I'll buy it" (A2 - learner842.txt) as conventionally indirect strategy (i.e., *I will of intention*). These requests were composed of rather prefabricated patterns that seem to have been more easily acquired by the learners than the *item* requests, as described below.

The *item* requests were probably more difficult to be constructed since the learners had to express their requests regarding various aspects of *items* as described in section 3.1.2 in Appendix C. For instance, the *item* function was further categorized into eight different subcategories including *price*, *features*, *quality*, *quantity*, *position*, *timing*, *alternatives*, and *further questions*. Even the *features* subcategory had nine subordinate

categories such as *kind*, *color*, *material*, etc. The *quality* subcategory was also further divided into *popularity*, *subjective*, and *asking about quality only*.

In terms of the *item* function, there were 18 occurrences of *slightly incoherent* requests and 5 *incoherent* ones produced by A1 and A2 learners. *Slightly incoherent direct* requests were illustrated as “Er I’m white color wants,” which requested the *color* (A1 - learner1129.txt), and “So uum uum casual watch uum prai the price is almost ten er sorry, doregurai two er one hundred er sorry uum hun mm one thousand uum one thousand uum er sorry er one hundred thousand uum yen, I hope,” which requested the *price* (A2 - learner704.txt). *Slightly incoherent indirect* requests included “And urm urmm want uhm fit fit my ur I’m looking for the shirt uhm for fit fit my body,” which requested the *size/length/shape* (A1 – learner944.txt), and “So err would you would have a string?,” which requested the *kind* of tennis racket (A2 – learner1112.txt). *Not-classifiable* patterns were “So and er the uum price is uum I bought the price is um clothes and pants and shoes, everything uum under um um er ten thousand yen,” which requested the *price* (A1 – learner745.txt), and “That design is so uum er I didn’t like er I didn’t hope so uum characteristic or very strange type,” which requested the *design* (A1 – learner704.txt). As discussed in section 6.2.3 in the current chapter and as described in section 2.3 in Appendix D, *incoherent* segments were “totally unacceptable in terms of discourse,” “not coherently respond[ing] to the interlocutor’s previous utterance.” For example, an A1 learner (i.e., learner1129.txt), who also produced the aforementioned request “Er I’m white color wants,” requested “And e ear phone, please” in response to the interlocutor’s question, “Do you think so?” (meaning “Do you think it is expensive?”). An A2 learner (i.e., file00001.txt) uttered “mm it it costs me mm around fifty thousand yen,” abruptly informing the interlocutor of his or her budget, instead of requesting the *price* that he or she would like to pay, even before he or she had paid.

Regarding the types of request strategies in the *item* function (see Table 6.48), A1 and A2 learners showed 249 *direct* strategies (i.e., 55.21%), 195 *conventionally indirect* strategies (i.e., 43.24%), and 7 *not-classifiable* requests (i.e., 1.55%). Thus, 37.44% of A1 and A2 learners' *conventionally indirect* requests were regarded as *high*, and 61.54% were regarded as *coherent*. The same tendency was found in the *direct* requests, containing 29.32% of *high* segments and 63.83% of *coherent* ones, which was confirmed by a chi-square test, in which no significant difference was found between direct and conventionally indirect patterns at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 1.8887$, $df = 1$, $p = .1693$, n.s.).

Table 6.48

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of the high segments and the subcategories of low segments in the requestive head acts with the function of item

	A1				A2			
	Direct	Conv. Ind.	Not class.	Total	Direct	Conv. Ind.	Not class.	Total
High	21 (25.61)	20 (33.9)	0 (0)	41 (28.47)	52 (31.14)	53 (38.97)	0 (0)	105 (34.2)
Low								
Coherent	51 (62.2)	38 (64.41)	0 (0)	89 (61.81)	108 (64.67)	82 (60.29)	3 (75)	193 (62.87)
Slightly incoherent	7 (8.54)	1 (1.69)	2 (66.67)	10 (6.94)	6 (3.59)	1 (0.74)	1 (25)	8 (2.61)
Incoherent	3 (3.66)	0 (0)	1 (0)	4 (2.78)	1 (0.6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.33)
Total	82	59	3	144	167	136	4	307

Table 6.49

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of the high segments and the subcategories of low segments in the requestive head acts with the function of intention-buy

	A1				A2			
	Direct	Conv. Ind.	Not class.	Total	Direct	Conv. Ind.	Not class.	Total
High	32 (48.48)	20 (74.07)	0 (0)	52 (54.74)	47 (43.52)	58 (70.73)	0 (0)	105 (55.26)
Low								
Coherent	34 (51.52)	7 (25.93)	2 (100)	43 (45.26)	60 (55.56)	22 (26.83)	0 (0)	82 (43.16)
Slightly incoherent	0 (9)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.93)	2 (2.44)	0 (0)	3 (1.58)
Incoherent	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total	66	27	2	95	108	82	0	190

On the other hand, a totally different tendency was derived from the results of the *intention-buy* function. First, as shown in Table 6.49, it should be noted that the total number of *direct* strategies produced by A1 and A2 learners was 174 (i.e., 61.05%), and that of *conventionally indirect* strategies was 109 (38.25%). The proportion of *high* segments in the *conventionally indirect* requests was 71.56%, and that of *coherent* ones was 26.61%, while only 45.4% of *direct* requests were annotated as *high*, and 54.02% were annotated as *coherent*. Therefore, it can be assumed that when the learners produced *conventionally indirect requests* with the *intention-buy* function, all of which actually belonged to either *existence* or *intention* in the target data, they were successful in producing grammatically and discoursally perfect requests most of the time (i.e., 71.56%). However, a majority of the requests made by the learners (i.e., 61.05%) were presented in direct forms, and the learners managed to produce only half of the requests (i.e., 45.4%)

without any problems in terms of both grammar and discourse.

6.3.5.1.2 The degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of B1 learners' requests with the functions of *negotiating for exchange or return*

According to Table 6.43, B1 learners produced 46 direct requests (i.e., 45.54%) and 55 conventionally indirect requests (i.e., 54.46%) with the function of *negotiating for exchange or return*. As Table 6.50 shows, 65.45% of *conventionally indirect* requests and 63.04% of *direct* requests were regarded as *high* segments. The ratios of *coherent* segments were 32.73% in *conventionally indirect* requests and 32.61% in *direct* requests. The examples of *high* requests can be illustrated by “Could you please please change change this one to the newest one?” (learner965.txt) in the *conventionally indirect* strategy and “So, if possible, I'd like to ur return it return it” (learner263.txt) in the *direct* strategy. A B1 learner (i.e., learner1187.txt) produced a *slightly coherent direct* request, as in “Therefore, I would like to exchange for the nn the ve works for every every time works one, OK?,” when he or she actually meant “I would like to exchange this broken tape recorder with one that works properly all the time.” An example of *conventionally indirect* strategy was “So, if you if I can change, I I could I can buy the skirt I can exchange this ah exchange the skirt” (learner328.txt), in which the speaker's intention was not clear. This utterance was actually preceded by his or her own utterance of “No refund? Yeah. But anm I also am ah we'd like to try that skirt, and, if if possible, the the cost is price is about the same.” No *incoherent* requests were observed. B1 learners' ratio of *high* requests *negotiating for exchange or return* was definitely higher than A1 and A2 learners' ratios of *item* and *intention-buy* requests.

Table 6.50

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of the high segments and the subcategories of low segments in the requestive head acts with the function of negotiating for exchange or return

	B1			
	Total Freq. (%)			
	Direct	Conv. Ind.	Not class.	Total
High	29 (63.04)	36 (65.45)	0 (0)	65 (64.36)
Low				
Coherent	15 (32.61)	18 (32.73)	0 (0)	33 (32.67)
Slightly incoherent	2 (4.35)	1 (1.82)	0 (0)	3 (2.97)
Incoherent	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total	46	55	0	101

6.3.5.1.3 The degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of A1, A2 and B1 learners' requests with the functions of *requesting an action*

Finally, the degree of *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* in the head acts with the function of *requesting an action* is discussed, with reference to the results shown in Tables 6.51 and 6.52. Due to the small number of requests especially made by A1 learners, this section describes the results of the requests with the functions derived from 10 different sub-types of *requesting an action*: *negotiating for discount, asking someone to show, asking someone to perform, asking for recommendation, asking for permission to test, negotiating for exchange or return, asking for refund, suggesting, asking for permission to perform, and showing a desire to perform.*

First, the distributions of *high, coherent, slightly incoherent, and incoherent* requests across three different proficiency levels, as shown in Tables 6.51 and 6.52, suggest that different tendencies can be found between a group of A1 and A2 learners and a group of A2 and B1 learners. Thus, the chi-square tests confirmed that no significant

difference was found between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of *high* and *coherent* requests at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 4.3343$, $df = 1$, $p = .03735$, n.s.), but a significant difference was found between A2 and B1 learners at $p < .01$ ($x^2 = 12.5917$, $df = 1$, $p = .00039$, Cramer's $V = .208$). The proportions of *high* requests produced by A1, A2, and B1 learners accounted for 25.64%, 44.63%, and 65.14%, respectively, while those of *coherent* ones produced by A1, A2, and B1 learners accounted for 71.79%, 53.72%, and 33.14%, respectively. The ratio of *high* requests increased with the improvement of proficiency, while that of *coherent* ones decreased.

Second, according to Table 6.52, B1 learners' ratios of *high* segments in the *direct* requests (i.e., 60.56%) and those in the *conventionally indirect* ones (i.e., 68.27%) were close to their ratios of high segments in the *direct* and *conventionally indirect* requests *negotiating for exchange or return* (both over 60%), as shown in Table 6.50; three *slightly incoherent requests* had the function of *negotiating for exchange or return*, as previously described. According to Table 6.51, there were 7 out of 15 *conventionally indirect* requests and 3 out of 24 *direct* ones that were regarded as *high* in A1 learners. In contrast, about half of both types of request strategies was regarded as *high* (i.e., 45.38%) and the rest was regarded as *coherent* (i.e., 53.78%) in A2 learners. A1 and A2 learners produced only one occurrence of a *direct* request and one *conventionally indirect one*, which was regarded as *slightly incoherent*. Thus, an A1 learner (i.e., learner832.txt) uttered a direct request, as in "Ah do you ah I would like to introduce hum other shop," the intention of which was not clear. The learner was most likely being sarcastic and meant "I would like you to introduce me other shop," as he or she was not satisfied with the service received at the shop. An A2 learner (i.e., learner576.txt) asked "So er how recommend er to a (the interlocutor's interruption) accessory?," after requesting "So er actually, er I want to see a er ring." The learner was likely asking "What kind of

accessories do you recommend (for my wife)?” There was only one *incoherent* request, which was not-classifiable, produced by an A2 learner (i.e., learner198.txt), as in “So would you like to wrap specially?,” which is also described in section 6.3.1 in the current chapter, and section 2.3.1.1 in Appendix D.

Table 6.51

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of A1 and A2 learners’ high segments and subcategories of low segments in the requestive head acts with the function of requesting an action

	A1				A2			
	Direct	Conv. Ind.	Not class.	Total	Direct	Conv. Ind.	Not class.	Total
High	3 (12.5)	7 (46.67)	0 (0)	10 (25.64)	25 (53.19)	29 (40.28)	0 (0)	54 (44.63)
Low								
Coherent	20 (83.33)	8 (53.33)	0 (0)	28 (71.79)	21 (44.68)	43 (59.72)	1 (50)	65 (53.72)
Slightly incoherent	1 (4.17)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (2.56)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50)	1 (0.83)
Incoherent	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (2.13)	0 (0)	0	1 (0.83)
Total	24	15	0	39	47	72	2	121

Table 6.52

Retrieved total numbers and ratios of B1 learners' high segments and subcategories of low segments in the requestive head acts with the function of requesting an action

	B1 Total Freq. (%)			
	Direct	Conv. Ind.	Not class.	Total
High	43 (60.56)	71 (68.27)	0 (0)	114 (65.14)
Low				
Coherent	25 (36.62)	32 (30.77)	0 (0)	58 (33.14)
Slightly incoherent	2 (2.82)	1 (0.96)	0 (0)	3 (1.71)
Incoherent	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total	71	104	0	175

6.3.2 Summary of the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of the requests with different functions

First, similar tendencies of the distributions of *high* and *coherent* requests in B1 learners were observed in various kinds of functions such as *negotiating for exchange or return* and *requesting an action*, regardless of whether the requestive strategies were presented in the *direct* or *conventionally indirect* form. The ratio of *high* requests accounted for more than 60% and that of *coherent* ones accounted for more than 30% in both functions.

Between A1 and A2 learners, there were no significant differences in the degrees of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in terms of the occurrences of the requests with various functions investigated. Further, the requests with the functions of *item* and *requesting an action* were not as successfully produced as those with the function of *intention-buy*. Only approximately 30% of the former requests were regarded as *high*, probably because more grammatical skills were required of the learners to construct the requestive head acts in order to describe the various aspects of the items and

to ask the interlocutors for help with their purchases. In comparison, more than 50% of the requests with *intention-buy* were regarded as high, probably because the formulaic expressions for this type of requests were available on hand. Thus, the *conventionally indirect* patterns in these requests tended to be more grammatically and discursively acceptable than the *direct* patterns were. Although the current study did not follow the tendencies of the individual learners, it can be assumed that once the learners had acquired and managed to produce conventionally indirect strategies, they tended to display more grammatically accurate utterances. In A1 and A2 learners, however, the more common request form was direct rather than conventionally indirect for most functions, except for A1 learners' *requesting an action*, the raw frequencies of which were extremely low.

To conclude the current section, the division of requests with the different functions in terms of the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability seems to highlight the following findings: the developmental tendencies of learners at different proficiency levels, and the requestive functions that A1 and A2 learners found particularly easier or more difficult to produce. Finally, it should be noted that for most of the functions, a majority of the requests produced by learners at the three levels were either *high* or *coherent* segments accounting for nearly 100%, and the ratios of *slightly incoherent* and *incoherent* segments were extremely low. Therefore, learners at any level in the target corpus data generally tended to produce requests that were basically interpretable by the author in terms of discourse. This can be attributable to the nature of the interview test, in which the interlocutor probably implicitly attempted to control the interviewees' utterances in order to elicit sufficient data for evaluating their proficiencies as Kasper and Ross (2007) noted (see section 4.5). As there were no publicly available manuals or rubrics for the evaluations of the SST since it is an official interview test provided by ALC Press Inc., the author only had access to the learner data as written

transcripts. No such information regarding how the target learner data were evaluated and what scores the learners obtained was available. It should also be noted that the results derived from the current study indicate the learner characteristics in particular shopping role plays but not in naturally exchanged conversations.

6.3.6 Research Question 3-4: Criterial pragmalinguistic features distinguishing A1 and A2 learners

What are the *criterial* pragmalinguistic features that can be used to distinguish significantly between A1 and A2 learners' requestive speech acts? Do each annotation scheme and its categorization give valid classifications of the linguistic phenomena of the requestive speech acts produced by learners at different proficiencies?

The current study adopted the chi-square tests to determine a significant difference among A1, A2, and B1 learners, with a view to extracting the pragmalinguistic criterial features used to distinguish among the requestive speech acts of learners at different proficiency levels.

Regarding the differences between learners, A2 and B1 learners significantly differed in terms of their choices of the linguistic patterns of request strategies with different functions and in terms of the degrees of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in their requestive speech acts. The differences in terms of their pragmalinguistic choices may have been due to the effects of the tasks given (i.e., A2 learners were given a task of general purchase, while B1 learners were given a negotiation task). B1 learners' general tendency to opt for conventionally indirect strategies in their requestive speech acts is assumed to have largely been influenced by the given situations in which they were required to perform more tactfully than A2 learners were, especially

in terms of redressing the impositive force of their requests so as to succeed in the negotiation for an exchange or a return of the purchased items. Therefore, the current section does not compare the frequencies of the pragmalinguistic patterns of the requests made by A1 and A2 learners with those made by B1 learners, each of whom were concerned with the FTA in their speech acts presumably in different ways. In fact, the implications of the results described here were already given in the past studies conducted by the author (Miura, 2016a; 2017), as described in section 3.4.2.3.^{xxiii} However, the finding that B1 learners exhibited higher degrees of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in their requests with various functions than A1 and A2 learners did confirm that B1 learners produced more grammatically and discoursally suitable requestive speech acts.

The current section mainly summarizes the criterial pragmalinguistic features used to distinguish between A1 and A2 learners' requests, which were confirmed to be statistically significant. The current section also discusses the different tendencies observed between the learners at these two proficiency levels, which were non-statistically confirmed.

First of all, Figure 6.9 in section 6.3.1 shows that there was a significant difference in terms of the ratios of the *direct* strategies, *conventionally indirect* strategies, and *not-classifiable* patterns of requestive *head acts*. The ratio of direct patterns produced by A2 learners (accounting for 55.87%) was lower than that of A1 learners (65.71%), and the ratio of conventionally indirect patterns increased with the improvement of the proficiency level: A2 learners produced 42.91% and A1 learners produced 32.96%. The ratio of not-classifiable patterns was slightly lower in A2 learners (i.e., 1.23%) than in A1 learners (i.e., 1.33%).

However, a closer examination of the choices of linguistic patterns in each

requestive strategy suggested that significant differences were determined only in the total use of *direct* strategies, but not in the total use of *conventionally indirect* ones. According to Table 6.22 in section 6.3.1, A1 and A2 learners performed differently in terms of the frequencies of *desire*, *non-sentential phrase*, *statement*, *imperative*, *wish*, and *yes*. Among the total frequencies of *direct* strategies (excluding *conventionally indirect* strategies), the most frequently produced patterns were *desire* in A1 learners (accounting for 40.07%: 119 raw frequencies out of 297) and A2 learners (accounting for 51.2%: 256 out of 500). Thus, A2 learners produced more *imperative* and *wish* requests than A1 learners did, while A1 learners produced more *non-sentential phrase* and *statement*.

The different tendencies between A1 and A2 learners were specifically observed in terms of the production of the *non-sentential phrase* request and *statement* request with the function of *expressing or asking about item* (i.e., *item*). Although there was no significant difference determined between A1 and A2 learners, Table 6.38 in section 6.3.4.1.1 shows that, to the total frequencies of the *item* requests, the ratios of *non-sentential phrase* were 15.49% and 8.17% in A1 and A2 learners, respectively; and the ratios of *statement* were 13.38% and 8.5% in A1 and A2 learners, respectively. In other words, A1 learners produced the requests with the two aforementioned linguistic patterns nearly twice more than A2 learners did. The decrease of these patterns in A2 learners indicated their proficiency improvement from the A1 level.

In the requests with the function of *expressing intention to buy* (i.e., *intention-buy*), a significant difference was observed between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of *direct* linguistic patterns such as *desire*, *statement*, and *wish*, as well as of *conventionally indirect* patterns including the subcategories such as *intention* (e.g., *I will*, *I like*, and *I decided to*) and *existence* (e.g., *do you have item*, *is there item*, and *I look for item*) (see Table 6.40). Again, the decrease of *statement* with the improvement of

proficiency was likely the determining factor of the difference between A1 and A2 learners. A1 learners showed 12.63% (12 occurrences out of 95, the total requests with the function of *intention-buy* produced by A1 learners) and A2 learners showed 5.26% (10 occurrence out of 190). A slight decrease was also observed in the use of *desire*.^{xxiv} Further, A2 learners exhibited an increase in the use of *wish* in the direct strategy and *intention* and *existence* in the conventionally indirect strategy.

Regarding the choice of linguistic patterns in the *conventionally indirect* strategies, a significant difference was only determined in the total raw frequencies of *ability/permission* between A1 and A2 learners, as described in section 6.3.1.2. Table 6.26 indicates an increase of *could* in learners at the A2 level: A2 learners produced 30 out of 92 occurrences, whereas A1 learners produced 4 out of 34 occurrences.

Although it was not possible to statistically contrast the use of *could* with the use of other types such as *may* and *can* due to sparse data, the examination of the use of *ability/permission* in the requests with different functions revealed the following results. In the *dealing the transaction* category, A1 and A2 learners produced 11 *ability/permission* requests with the *item* function, accounting for 2.46% of the total raw frequencies of the requests with this function (see Table 6.38 in section 6.3.4.1.1); the learners at both proficiency levels produced 5 with the *intention-buy* function, accounting for 1.75% (see Table 6.40), and 9 with the function of *expressing or asking about payment* (i.e., *ask-payment*), accounting for 21.95% (see Table 6.42). In the *communication for transaction* category, 80% of the requests with the function of *asking for permission to test* (abbreviated as *test*) were in the form of *ability/permission* (i.e., 32 out of 40) (see Table 6.46). The requests with the functions of *ask-payment* and *test*, which had the highest proportions, seem to have been produced with rather formulaic expressions, in comparison with the requests with other functions. As previously illustrated in section

6.3.4.1, in the *ask-payment* request, “Can I use credit card?” (A2 - learner1111.txt) and “May I use a credit card?” (A2 - learner1017.txt) were extracted as examples from the corpus. In the *test* request (see section 6.3.4.2.3), “Can I try it on?” (learner1111.txt) and “May I try it on?” (file00500.txt) were observed.

The use of ability/permission was also evident in A2 learners’ requests with the functions of *asking for recommendation* (abbreviated as *recommendation*) (e.g., “Could you recommend?” produced by learner1084.txt) and *negotiating for discount* (abbreviated as *discount*) (e.g., “Can you discount?” produced by learner1112.txt), which contributed to higher ratios of *conventionally indirect* strategies than of *direct* strategies, as Table 6.46 in section 6.4.2.3 shows. Thus, in the *recommendation* and *discount* requests, the ratio of *could* was higher than that of *can*. For instance, *could* accounted for 100% of ability/permission (i.e., 8 out of 8 occurrences) in the former type of requests, but accounted for 61.54% (i.e., 8 out of 13) in the latter type. These *coulds* were all produced by A2 learners, which might have partly led to the significant difference between A1 and A2 learners. In contrast, A1 learners showed 9 direct strategies out of 10 requestive head acts with the latter function (i.e., *discount*) including the patterns such as *non-sentential phrase*, *imperative*, and *independent politeness marker please*. Section 6.3.4.2.3 illustrates the examples of these direct patterns produced by A1 learners, who tended to display some grammatically and lexically unsuitable uses even in the choice of direct forms as in “Urr urr low low, please” (learner314.txt).

To summarize the production of the *ability/permission* requests, although the chi-square tests were not administered due to the small number of occurrences, A2 learners tended to show more uses of the requests with this linguistic pattern than A1 learners did. Further, A1 learners showed some requests that indicated a developmental transition into a more proficient stage, as the following examples in the *test* request show:

learner798.txt repaired his or her utterance with a *self-corrected head act* in “Can can you try it can I try it on?”; while learner191.txt did the same with the use of Japanese in “May I take ah eh shichaku?”

In conclusion, in answering the last part of the current research question, “Do each annotation scheme and its categorization give valid classifications of the linguistic phenomena of the requestive speech acts produced by learners at different proficiencies?,” it is likely that the present study succeeded in highlighting the different tendencies between A1 and A2 learners to choose particular linguistic patterns of request strategies, which might have contributed to the statistically significant differences derived from the chi-square tests.

First, the Request annotation scheme allowed the author to broadly extract different request strategies from the corpus, which led to the finding that the frequencies of linguistic patterns chosen for direct strategies were significantly different between A1 and A2 learners. It was not possible to determine statistically significant differences in terms of the choices of various linguistic patterns in the direct strategies. It was observed that A1 learners tended to produce higher ratios of *statement* requests with the functions of *expressing or asking about item* (i.e., *item*) and *expressing intention to buy* (i.e., *intention-buy*) than A2 learners did. A2 learners, in fact, decreased the production of *statement* requests, but increased the use of more varieties of linguistic patterns. A shift in A1 and A2 learners from the production of unsuitable patterns such as *statement* into more suitable patterns was also observed in the use of *ability/permission* requests. *Ability/permission* was the only linguistic pattern in the conventionally indirect strategy that led to a statistically significant difference between A1 and A2 learners. The increase of the production of *ability/permission*, especially the increase of *could*, was observed in A2 learners. Despite the extremely low frequency, a couple of A1 learners attempted to

produce ability/permission requests, but failed grammatically and lexically, compared to A2 learners. Therefore, it can be concluded that cross-schematic analyses combining the annotation schemes for Request and Function allowed the author to explore the linguistic phenomena of requestive speech acts that can distinguish A1 learners from A2 learners. The finer classification and analyses of the requestive speech acts based on the functions seem to have confirmed that the kinds of linguistic patterns chosen by the learners at each level determined the statistically significant differences derived from the chi-square tests, which actually required a greater number of occurrences of the target items to determine the results.

ⁱ This ratio was actually higher than B1 learners' ratio, which was 94.31% (i.e., 116 out of 123 occurrences).

ⁱⁱ This example followed the utterance, "You know, then you know, the other shop I went, they they always welcome this kind of complaining. I mean they are always welcome to I exchange this clothes."

ⁱⁱⁱ Figure 6.8 shows a part of the whole annotation scheme. The superordinate categories of *direct* strategy, *conventionally indirect* strategy, and *discourse marker* are shown in this figure. An ellipsis indicates that there are more subcategories not being shown, as in "obligation..." in the direct category. For details on the subordinate levels of these categories, see Figures B-1.1, B-2.1, and B-3.1 in Appendix B.

^{iv} This category should be distinguished from the *confirming* category in the Function scheme.

^v See section 2.2 for the definitions of performatives provided by Austin (1966) and Searle (1969).

^{vi} However, as described in section 1.1.9 of Appendix B, one native-speaking subject who was given an Advanced task produced the following segment of a *performative*: "I'm asking you if we could ur if we could ur exchange or refund it." Flores Salgado (2011, p.81) reported that there were only one occurrence (i.e., 0.8%) of performatives produced in Advanced group, and only four occurrences (i.e., 2.5%) were produced by Mexican subjects. See also section 2.5.2.2 as it introduces Koester (2002) who stated "in unequal encounters, performatives were used only in critical situations when dominant speakers wished to assert their authority" (p. 172) and "the inappropriate use of [them] can result in cross-cultural 'pragmatic failure'" (p. 177).

^{vii} *Declarative* requests in the statement category were contrasted with those categorized as *wish* of direct strategy, and *intention* and *existence* of *conventionally indirect* strategies in Table 6.41.

^{viii} It should be noted that *I am going to* was not produced by learners at any level, but only produced

by two native-speaking subjects: “Then erm I’m just gonna go easy on over there and get those oats” and “I’m gonna I’m gonna try these on.”

^{ix} However, “would you recommend” and “do you recommend” should function in the same way, and these differences should not be rigidly maintained in future categorization. As described in section 1.1.6 in Appendix B, the names and definitions of the *statement* subcategories were developed based on the functions of linguistic features such as *explanation*, *purchase*, and *trial* in the *declarative* subcategory and *recommendation*, *acceptance*, and *discount* in the *interrogative* category. As shown in section 5.5.2, in the replication of annotations, due to the confusing naming of the subcategories based on these functions, the checker paid attention to the function itself, rather than to the syntactic and lexical patterns at the surface level. Thus, she annotated the target segment as *explanation*, although the segment did not contain any predicates; in fact, it should have been annotated as *non-sentential phrase*.

^x This example should be distinguished from *independent politeness marker please* in the *direct strategy*. *Independent politeness marker* is a head act, which means that there was no obvious head act to be internally modified by *please*. See section 1.1.8 in Appendix B for more details. On the other hand, “please” in this utterance internally modified the head act previously uttered in “I want to get it back.” As Table 6.22 shows, there were only five occurrences of *independent politeness marker* produced by the whole target learners at three proficiency levels in total.

^{xi} Aijmer (1996) listed discourse markers as conversational routines such as “yes” and “look” (p. 221) and “I mean” (p. 222), and so on. She also investigated how “please” (pp. 166-168) and “just” (pp. 169-170) functioned in requests and offers.

^{xii} The following utterance of learner737.txt, as shown in Table 6.33, is also given as an example in section 2.1.2 in Appendix D: “And its color is black. And err size er is Japanese size is err twenty-four size.”

^{xiii} This should be distinguished from the *confirming* segments in the function scheme (see section 3.2.4 in Appendix C).

^{xiv} I personally talked to Dr. O’Donnell, developer of the UAMCT, regarding the issue of non-correspondent numbers derived from the retrieval across layers and from the retrieval in a single layer (in October 2017). He was actually familiar with this issue, but no improvements to the UAMCT were planned at the moment, due to the presence of other bugs in the tool that required immediate fixing. A manual check and correction of the domains of the functions, which reached more than 440 head acts, would be time-consuming. Since the checker’s replicability of the *function* and *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* annotations was not as high as that of the *request* annotations, as section 5.5.2 shows, it would be necessary to revise the entirety of the *function* and *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability* annotation schemes in future studies.

^{xv} In contrast, the ratio of using the politeness marker *please* with an imperative was higher than that of non-sentential phrase in both A1 (1 occurrence) and A2 learners (10 out of 11 occurrences).

^{xvi} See also section 6.2.3 in the current chapter and section 2.2.1 in Appendix D for this feature's grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability.

^{xvii} The linguistic pattern of the *performative* verb in the direct strategy is discussed in section 6.3.1. There were no uses of performative verbs as in "I'm asking you..." in the entire target learner data.

^{xviii} "Shichaku" means trial fitting or trying something on in Japanese.

^{xix} Of the 23 conventionally indirect patterns, *would you mind* was observed as a pattern.

^{xx} The retrieved total numbers of the segments of A1 and A2 learners were slightly different from those retrieved to investigate the functions of requestive head acts in section 6.3.4.1. In section 6.3.4.1, A1 learners' total number was 308, and A2 learners' was 689.

^{xxi} It should be noted that the average agreement rate between the author's annotations and the checker's replications for the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations was 78.1%, which was the lowest rate among the three annotation schemes. See section 5.5.2 for more details.

^{xxii} The retrieved total numbers of the segments of A1 and A2 learners were slightly different from those retrieved to investigate the functions of requestive head acts with the function of *item* in section 6.3.8. In section 6.3.8, A1 learners' total number was 142, and A2 learners' was 306.

^{xxiii} In section 3.4.2.3, the author states, "it was unclear whether the higher frequency of conventionally indirect strategies was caused by B1 learners' increasing proficiency, or affected by the nature of the Advanced negotiating task, in which the imposition of the hearer was higher than in the general purchasing task of the Beginner and Intermediate levels given to A1 and A2 learners."

^{xxiv} A slight decrease was also found in the use of *non-sentential phrase, yes, independent politeness marker please* of direct strategies, and *ability/permission* of conventionally indirect strategies; however, their expected values were all smaller than five so that they were not included in the chi-square test to determine a significant difference among them.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions derived from the current study; a discussion of the findings on the basis of the results in Chapter 6, and the limitations of the study in terms of data, research methodology, and analyses. The chapter highlights the possible contributions of learner corpora to re-examining and supplementing past studies based on the intuitive and small-scaled observations of learners' pragmatic development (Blum-Kulka, 1991; Kasper and Rose, 2002). In addition, it presents the methodological and pedagogical implications: application to NLP, improvement in CEFR descriptors, and classroom instruction.

7.1 The Findings to Answer the Research Questions

7.1.1 RQ1. Exploring the Functions of the Utterances in Shopping Role Plays in the OPI

RQ1 was addressed to clarify the distributions of the functions of the utterances in shopping role plays across different proficiency levels as well as among the different tasks given. A1 and A2 learners produced more utterances with the function of *dealing with transaction* (i.e., more than 55%) than those with the function of *communication for transaction* (i.e., less than 45%), as they were given a general purchasing task. In contrast, since B1 learners were given a negotiation task, more than 99% of their utterances had the functions of *communication for transaction*.

In terms of the frequencies of the subcategories in the *dealing with transaction* function, no statistically significant differences between A1 and A2 learners were observed. The *expressing or asking about item* function (i.e., *item*), containing subcategories such as *price, features, quality, and quantity*, constituted approximately

67%. The functions such as *expressing intention to buy* (i.e., *intention-buy*) and *expressing or asking about payment* (i.e., *ask-payment*) accounted for 28% and 5%, respectively. Regarding the *features* subcategory in the function of *item*, A2 learners showed significantly greater varieties, such as *kind, color, size/length/shape, brand, material*, and so on, than A1 learners did.

Regarding the frequencies of the subcategories in the *communication for transaction* function, B1 learners showed the highest ratio of *explaining the background*, while A1 and A2 learners showed the *confirming* utterances the most. The chi-square test confirmed a significant difference between A2 and B1 learners, but not between A1 and A2 learners.

B1 learners might have been placed in a situation where they had to redress the impositive force of requests, where they were required to be more concerned with the FTA than A1 and A2 learners were, since B1 learners produced more *supportive moves*, or external modifiers of the requestive head acts, to effectively negotiate for an exchange or a return of the purchased item with the interlocutors. However, whether this tendency was caused by developmental factors, the nature of the tasks, or both was not determined.

The functions with the highest ratio in both A1 and A2 learners were the *confirming* segments, reaching approximately three times higher than the ratio of the same functions in B1 learners. This finding suggested that A1 and A2 learners had less successful interactions with the interlocutor due to a lack of comprehension and thus the necessity of repeating a part of the interlocutors' utterances to confirm their understanding. This may have been caused by their low proficiency, and can be a reflection of "verbosity," Faerch and Kasper (1989) pointed out (p. 245) (see section 2.4.4.2). They noted that "repeating (part of) their interlocutors' initiating act" is a "universal trend" in which "intermediate learners tend to be aware of their restricted competence in comparison to a

very advanced or native speakers, and therefore invest linguistic activity in ensuring that they are making themselves understood” (p. 245). Edmondston and House (1990) also characterized this trend as “the waffle phenomenon” (pp. 273) (see section 3.3.1).

Regarding the utterances with the function of *requesting an action* in the *communication for transaction* category, it was observed that the distributions of these subcategories were heavily influenced by the tasks given to the learners. The functions such as *asking someone to show*, *asking for permission to test*, and *negotiating for discount* were mostly produced by A1 and A2 learners, while B1 learners’ frequently produced requestive functions were *negotiating for exchange or return*, followed by *asking someone to perform*.

Finally, A1 and A2 learners also tended to perform significantly differently from B1 learners in terms of the distributions of the subcategories of *expressing*. A1 and A2 learners mainly expressed their opinions in terms of either *positive* or *negative* reactions toward the items offered by the interlocutors, saying “Er too expensive” or “Oh that’s great.” In contrast, B1 learners produced more varied patterns including *decisions* (e.g., “So I’d pay the gap”), *complaints* (e.g., “Oh but ur what’s the problem?”), and *sarcasm* (e.g., “I think I choose the wrong erm shop”), which indicated that B1 learners seem to have acquired more fluency than A1 and A2 learners in expressing their feelings and thoughts. Despite the issue of whether these utterances were sociopragmatically appropriate and polite or not, this improvement can be observed in B1 learners’ utterances with other functions such as *general question and response* (e.g., “When will he come back?”), *threatening* (e.g., “If you don’t accept my offer, you surely lose your customer, one customer”), *offering* (e.g., “If it costs little bit higher, I can pay for that,” “I can give you er tip instead,” and “I promise that I I’ll buy next other other shirt next time”), and *accepting requests* (e.g., “Uum. I’ll come back in a hour or something”). In fact, the

segments with these functions were rarely produced by A1 and A2 learners, presumably due to not only the nature of the task but also the learners' underdeveloped proficiency.

7.1.2 RQ2. Assessing the Grammatical Accuracy/Discoursal Acceptability of Learners' Utterances

First of all, it should be noted that the reliability and replicability of the grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations were not as high as the author expected. As such, the whole annotation scheme should be revised in future studies.

The overall tendency of learners in the three different proficiency groups in terms of the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability was as follows: the majority of the utterances produced by the learners across the three levels were unproblematic in terms of discourse since more than 90% belonged to either *high* or *low* but *coherent* segments. The ratios of *high* segments increased as the proficiency level improved, while the ratios of the subcategories of *low* segments, which were composed of *coherent*, *slightly incoherent*, *incoherent*, and *Japanese*, decreased, although the low segment ratios accounted for less than 10% of the total segments.

In fact, A1 and A2 learners were mostly successful (approximately more than 90%) in producing grammatically accurate and discoursally acceptable utterances with the function of *confirming*, when they repeated a part of the interlocutors' utterances for confirmation, without constructing the utterances on their own. The confirming segments accounted for nearly 30% in A1 and A2 learners; thus, if the *confirming* segments were excluded from the *high* category, the proportion of high segments to the total segments would drop from approximately 54% to 25%. On the other hand, as B1 learners' *confirming* segments constituted only 16.09% in the *high* category, the proportion of high segments reached more than 50%. Therefore, it can be concluded that B1 learners

outperformed A1 and A2 learners in terms of the production of high segments, which were statistically twice more grammatically accurate and discursively acceptable. The segments with the *topic-comment structure*, influenced by the Japanese language, were relatively infrequent among the three proficiency levels, accounting for less than 5%.

7.1.3 RQ3. Examining the Pragmalinguistic Features and Strategies of Requests

The current section briefly summarizes the overall tendencies in the requestive speech acts of learners across three proficiency levels, since the findings to RQ3-1, RQ3-2, and RQ3-3 below should highlight the criterial features of requests in terms of the different functions, presumably more precisely reflecting the effects of the tasks.

First, the ratios of direct strategy of A1, A2, and B1 learners were approximately 66%, 56%, and 44%, respectively, while those of conventionally indirect strategy were 33%, 43%, and 56%, respectively. This result was mostly correspondent with Miura (2016a). A1 and A2 learners produced *not-classifiable* requests, which only accounted for about 1% of the total requests. The finding that the ratio of *direct strategy* of head acts decreased and that of *conventionally indirect strategy* increased as the proficiency level improved was also correspondent with those of past studies conducted by researchers who cross-sectionally examined the requestive speech acts produced by learners of English at different proficiencies such as Trosborg (1995), Hill (1997), Rose (2000, 2009), Flores Salgado (2011), Kaneko (2004), as already discussed in section 3.4.2.2.

The chi-square test confirmed that there were a significant differences between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the frequencies of the following linguistic patterns: *desire, non-sentential phrase, statement, imperative, wish*, and *yes* in the direct

category, but no significant differences in terms of the frequencies of the patterns such as *existence*, *intention*, and *ability/permission* in the conventionally indirect category. B1 learners differed significantly from A1 and A2 learners; for example, B1 learners produced *ability/permission* about three times and *wish* about twice more frequently, but produced *desire* 1.5 times less frequently than A1 and A2 learners did. Further, B1 learners rarely produced the requests categorized as *statement* of direct strategy (e.g., “Er color is brown,” “Uhh I take it,” “So, mm do you have some recommend?,” “Uh eh do you accept credit card?,” and “Is that er discount?”), and the following conventionally indirect patterns such as *existence* (e.g., “Do you have small one?,” “Is there another color?,” and “Mm I’m looking for ur some shirts”), and *intention* (e.g., “I’ll buy this,” “Er I like black color,” and “I I decided it”). In particular, declarative *statement* features of A1 and A2 learners displayed unsuitable patterns of English, such as when the topic-comment structure was influenced by the Japanese language (e.g., “Er color is brown”) and when a sentence pattern denoted a habitual activity rather than a request due to the lack of modal verbs and tense inflections (e.g., “Uhh I take it”). The infrequent use of these conventionally patterns such as *existence* and *intention* by B1 learners is assumed to have influenced by the nature of the task.

Interestingly, the following linguistic patterns, which were highly conventionalized and likely taught as polite requests to EFL learners, constituted less than 5% of the total requests among the learners at three levels: *willingness* (e.g., “Would you please change the blouse?”), *subjectivizer* (e.g., “I was wondering if I can get another color or if you don’t have one”), *possibility* (e.g., “Is it possible to discount?”), and *suggestory* (“So, how about er ten percent off?”). Thus, there were no occurrences of a *performative* verb such as *ask* or *require*, which has been identified as one of the typical requestive head acts in classical speech act theories (Austin, 1966; Searle, 1969) and was

also adopted in the recent study by Flores Salgado (2011). In fact, the production of performatives was also extremely infrequent in her learner groups, as only one occurrence (i.e., 0.8%) was produced by Advanced group (Flores Salgado, 2011, p. 81). Koester (2002), who investigated how speech acts can be realized in a corpus with a pedagogical purpose, confirmed Thomas (1984)'s claim that "in unequal encounters, performatives were used only in critical situations when dominant speakers wished to assert their authority" (Koester, 2002, p. 172) (see section 2.5.2.2). Therefore, it can be concluded that the classification of performatives in the classical theories does not seem to fit the learners' actual speech act performance.

The chi-square test also confirmed that there was a significant difference between A2 and B1 learners, but not between A1 and A2 learners, in terms of *internal modification*. B1 learners produced internal modifiers three times more than A1 and A2 learners did. *Politeness marker please* constituted approximately 80% of the entire internal modifiers produced by A1 and A2 learners. Most of these politeness markers please accompanied the *imperative* and *non-sentential phrase* head acts (i.e., 94% in A1 learners and 77.66% in A2 learners). In contrast, not only the ratio but also the varieties of internal modifiers increased in B1 learners, showing various discourse markers such as *interpersonal markers* (e.g., I mean, you know, and well), *just*, *downtoners* (e.g., maybe, possibly), and *upgraders* (e.g., really, definitely), in addition to *if-clauses*.

7.1.3.1 RQ3-1. Exploring the interactional features accompanying the core of requestive speech acts

In the current study, interactional features accompanying the core of requestive speech acts were identified in the Request annotation scheme. Table 7.1 summarizes the interactional features that manifested the learners' strategies for the

negotiation of meaning, characterizing a developmental transition from A1 to A2.

First, the *elaboration* annotation in the *combined repair feature* category identified that some A1 learners attempted to elaborate the details of the item that they wanted to buy by uttering a combination of *desire want* and *statement* (e.g., “Uum. I want a hmm I want a basketball shoes. And its color is black. And err size er is Japanese size is err twenty-four size”). However, A2 learners started to produce requests with the same intention by using a relative clause (e.g., “And uh I want a suit which co whose color is uh gray”).

Second, the identification of *self-corrected head act of supporting* segments highlighted patterns with a shift from a *desire want* to other linguistic patterns such as *wish*, *intention*, *existence*, and *ability/permission* (e.g., “Now, so I want to uh hh um um could you show me ahh some um wire key?”). A2 learners tried to redress the impositive force accompanying *want* by correcting a part of the head act with patterns that had less impositive force.

Table 7.1

Interactional features characterizing a developmental transition from A1 to A2 learners

Category	Subtype	Interactional Feature	Proficiency difference
			A1 > A2 (n.s.)
Combined repair feature	Elaboration	The first head act, <i>desire want</i> , was elaborated by the second head act, <i>declarative statement</i> .	A1: 12 out of 25 occurrences (48%) A2: 1 out of 32 occurrences (3.13%)
			A1 < A2 (n.s.)
Supporting segment	Self-corrected head act	<i>Desire want</i> was self-corrected into another linguistic pattern.	A1: 2 out of 18 (11.1%) A2: 12 out of 52 occurrences (23.1%)

7.1.3.2 The functions, grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability, and criterial pragmalinguistic features of requestive speech acts across different proficiency levels (RQ3-2, RQ3-3, and RQ3-4).

The current section broadly summarizes the findings derived from the analyses attempting to answer RQ3-2, RQ3-3, and RQ3-4.

As previously discussed in various sections, the chi-square tests confirmed that there were significant differences between A2 and B1 learners in terms of the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability and of the frequencies of the linguistic patterns of requests with different functions. The features distinguishing A1 and A2 learners were limited, but a developmental transition from A1 and A2 was evident in some features, which may have contributed to the statistically significant difference derived from the chi-square tests.

First, B1 learners should be independently described from A1 and A2 learners

due to the task difference. B1 learners produced the requests with the function of *negotiating for exchange or return* the most frequently. The requests categorized as *ability/permission* of conventionally indirect strategy and *wish* and *desire* of direct strategy were the most frequent linguistic patterns, with a higher ratio of *conventionally indirect* strategy (i.e., 54%) than of *direct* strategy (i.e., 46%). Regardless of whether the requests were direct or conventionally indirect, B1 learners produced 60% of *high* requests, and 30% of *low* but *coherent* requests. This tendency was also found in relation to the requests with other functions such as *requesting an action*. B1 learners were basically concerned with the FTA of their chosen pragmalinguistic features in the requestive speech acts so that they could increase their chances of succeeding in their negotiations, as shown in their preference of their use of internal modifiers such as *if-clause*. However, in the *suggestory* pattern, four out of six requests were composed of a set of *why* and *can't* such as “So why can't you exchange it?,” which was assumed to be unsuitable since they sounded rather demanding and impolite, as suggested in the assessment survey conducted by the author (Miura, 2017). In his criticism of the CCSARP categorization, Leech (2014) also noted that a suggestory formula such as “What/How about X,” “Why don't you/we X,” “Why not X” and “Let's X” “can hardly be classified as polite” since it “appears to lower the imposition” on the hearer, but “in practice it probably does not, as in “Let's go home in your car” (p. 138) (see section 2.4.5.1). Leech (2014) also noted that “in English the negative question *Can't* is distinctly face-threatening compared with the oblique hypothetical question with *Could*” (p. 268) (see also section 2.4.5.1).

Second, A1 and A2 learners mainly produced the requests with the functions of *item* (i.e., about 67%) and *intention-buy* (i.e., about 28%). It was easy to ascertain that the *item* requests were more challenging to the learners as the *item* requests were further

divided into various subcategories. During the role play, the learners were required to express or ask about the various aspects of the items that they wanted to buy, for example, price, size, color, and so on; thus, they had to construct the utterances on their own. Further, identification of the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability also confirmed that the proportion of the *high* segments was higher in the *intention* requests (55%) than in the *item* requests (30%), which indicated that A1 and A2 learners were less successful in producing the *item* requests than in producing the *intention-buy* requests.

In the *item* requests, the *desire* of direct strategies and *existence* of conventionally indirect strategies were the most frequent patterns. The different tendencies between A1 and A2 learners, although they were not significantly different, were observed in terms of the production of *non-sentential phrase* (e.g., “More little please”) and *statement* (mostly with the *explanation* type such as “Thousand yen is my budget,” with a *topic-comment structure*): A1 learners produced these linguistic patterns nearly twice more than A2 learners did.

In contrast, there was a significant difference between A1 and A2 learners in terms of the linguistic patterns in the *intention-buy* requests. The higher ratio of requests produced by A2 learners (i.e., 58.42%), compared to that produced by A1 learners (i.e., 30.53%), was observed in the production of linguistic patterns such as *desire* and *wish* of direct strategies (e.g., “Um I’d like to buy this expensive one”) and *intention* (e.g., “I’ll buy it”) and *existence* (e.g., “Do you have er do you have some sweets?”) of conventionally indirect strategies. However, the ratio of *statement* patterns (mostly with the *purchase* type such as “Err I buy this one” and “Hm? I take it,” without tense inflections or modal verbs) was lower in A2 learners (5.26%) than in A1 learners (12.63%). It can be assumed that A2 learners became able to produce requests with more suitable linguistic patterns, reducing the ratio of *statement* patterns.

Another significant difference determined between A1 and A2 learners was the choice of linguistic patterns such as *can*, *could*, and *may* of the *ability/permission* category in the *conventionally indirect* strategies. The difference between the proportions of *could* and *may* was especially striking: 11.76% (i.e., 4 out of 34 occurrences) and 29.41% (i.e., 10 out of 34) in A1 learners, 32.61% (i.e., 30 out of 92) and 10.87% (i.e., 10 out of 92) in A2 learners, respectively. However, it should be noted that only the small number of subjects produced these features. Thus, one A1 learner produced three requests with *may*.

The use of *ability/permission* should be discussed in terms of the requests with the function of *requesting an action* in the *communication for transaction* category. The function of *requesting an action* included subcategories such as *asking for recommendation*, *asking for permission to test*, *asking someone to show*, and *negotiating for discount*. A2 learners tended to produce *conventionally indirect* strategies more frequently than they produced *direct* strategies in the requests with the functions of *asking for permission to test* (e.g., “Can/May I try it on?”) (i.e., accounting for 85%), *negotiating for discount* (e.g., “Can you discount?”) (i.e., 85%), and *asking for recommendation* (e.g., “Could you recommend?”) (i.e., 65%). Only in the requests with the function of *asking someone to show*, A2 learners showed more *direct* patterns such as “Please show me” (i.e., 66%) than they did *conventionally indirect* patterns such as “Could you show me ahh some um wire key?” (i.e., 34%). Thus, the higher ratio of *could* than that of *can* was observed in the requests with the functions of *asking for recommendation*, *negotiating for discount*, and *asking someone to show*. In contrast, A1 learners rarely showed the use of *conventionally indirect* strategies in requests across all functions, except for *asking for permission to test*.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the *ability/permission* pattern was the

easiest to produce in the request *asking for permission test* even by learners at the lowest proficiency level. In fact, in the requests with the function of *ask-payment* in the *dealing with transaction category*, A1 and A2 learners produced 3 and 6 *ability/permission* patterns out of 41 occurrences, respectively. The requests with these functions seem to have contained rather formulaic or prefabricated expressions, which should have been available at the learners' disposal, in comparison with the requests with other functions. Thus, some A1 learners tried to produce *ability/permission* patterns, such as "Can can you try it can I try it on?" (with a self-corrected head act) and "May I take ah eh shichaku?" (with the use of Japanese), which indicated a developmental transition.

Finally, identification of the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of the requests with the function of *requesting an action* showed that the ratio of *high* requests increased with the improvement of proficiency, but that of *coherent* ones decreased; A1 learners produced 25.64% of *high* and 75.79% of *low* but *coherent* requests, while A2 learners produced 44.63% and 53.72%, respectively. Although there was no significant difference between A1 and A2 learners, A2 learners outperformed A1 learners in terms of producing more conventionally indirect strategies as well as more grammatically accurate requests. A2 learners indicated that the degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of the conventionally indirect strategies was even higher than that of direct strategies. In contrast, A1 learners tended to produce conventionally indirect strategies less frequently than direct strategies, and the A1 learners' higher degree of *low* but *coherent* requests indicated that they had difficulties in producing grammatically and lexically suitable requests even with the direct patterns. They only managed to produce conventionally indirect patterns when they produced prefabricated or formulaic requests, which were limited to the requests with the functions of *intention-buy* and *asking for permission to test*.

7.2 Overall Discussion and Conclusion

7.2.1 Re-Examining Past Studies Using Corpus Evidence Extracted from the Current Study

The main objective of the current study is to explore the criterial pragmalinguistic features of the requests produced by Japanese learners of English. Criterial features are “the properties of learner English at each of the levels and that distinguish higher levels from lower levels” (Hawkins & Filipović, 2012, p. 11; see Chapter 1). In the current study, pragmalinguistic competence was investigated by examining the speech act realizations of the requests produced by learners who were given shopping role-play tasks in the NICT JLE Corpus. The current study adopted the function-to-form methodology (see Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015) and identified the requestive speech acts according to the linguistic patterns identified in the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), which were partially revised to fit into the target learner data. The present doctoral study did not investigate sociopragmatic competence concerning the degree of politeness or appropriateness of the requestive speech acts in a given social setting (see Leech, 2014), since the sufficient agreement rate between the evaluators was not confirmed in the assessment survey on the appropriateness and politeness of the requests extracted from the NICT JLE Corpus (Miura, 2017).

In order to achieve the objective, three annotation schemes were constructed: exploration of the functions of learners’ whole utterances in role-play data, assessment of the grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability of the whole utterances, and examination of the pragmalinguistic features and requestive strategies. The pragmalinguistic features of requests were extracted cross-schematically, specifying the functions and the grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability. A series of research questions were addressed to highlight the features that distinguish and characterize the

requestive speech acts produced by learners at different proficiency levels (statistically and non-statistically).

First, the current section broadly reviews the developmental stages of pragmalinguistic competence derived from the results in the present study, referring to Kasper and Rose (2002) and Blum-Kulka (1991) (see sections 2.6.4.1 and 4.3.2, respectively). Kasper and Rose (2002) identified five stages of requests, summarizing the results of the longitudinal studies conducted by Achiba (2002) and Ellis (1992). In her study as part of the CCSARP, Blum-Kulka (1991) distinguished three stages of development in the emergence of ILP, examining pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competences. As reviewed in Chapter 2, corpus pragmatic scholars such as Stubbs (1983), Adolphs (2008), Clancy and O’Keeffe (2015), Vyatkina and Cunningham (2015), and De Felice et al. (2013) noted the role of corpora in pragmatics. Corpora allow us to re-examine the intuitive aspects of traditional pragmatics based on invented examples, especially from native speakers’ utterances. Corpora can provide evidence to supplement and re-evaluate the introspective research findings. Although Kasper and Rose (2002) and Blum-Kulka (1991) presented the developmental stages of ILP based on the learner data collected, neither of them used corpus-based methods. Their pioneering insights were gathered from either the longitudinal observations of a small number of subjects or the large-scale experimental learner data strictly controlled and collected via DCTs. Their presented developmental stages are re-examined here with the corpus evidence extracted from the present study.

The five stages presented by Kasper and Rose (2002, p. 140) (see Table 2.7 in Chapter 2) are revisited with the corpus evidence derived from the current study. First, the “pre-basic” stage with “highly context-dependent, no syntax, no relational goals” (p. 140) can be characterized by the following findings. How often A1 and A2 learners

successfully performed their requestive speech acts was dependent on the functions of the requests that they produced. For example, the ratio of the requests annotated as *high* segments with the *intention-buy* function, in which the learners tended to produce formulaic requests with *ability/permission* more frequently, was 55%; however, the *high* requests with the *item* function only accounted for 30%. Thus, A1 learners tended to exhibit the requests with “no syntax” more frequently, as shown in their use of *non-sentential phrase* and *statement* (elaborating their previously uttered requestive head act, *desire want*, by producing another head act in order to specify the item that they wanted to buy with a *topic-comment* sentence) with the *item* function, in addition to the use of *statement* (without tense inflections or modal verbs) with the *intention* function. In contrast, A2 learners decreased these unsuitable patterns. Instead of uttering the topic-comment statement after a desire verb, some of the learners displayed the use of a relative clause in the head act to specify the item that they wanted to buy. The *statement* patterns of requestive head acts can be *negative* criterial features of A1 and A2 learners, but the use of relative clause appears at A2 level as a *transitional* feature (Hawkins & Filipović, 2012) (see Chapter 1).

Second, the “formulaic” stage, relying on “unanalyzed formulas and imperatives” (p. 140) was also supplemented by the data of A1 and A2 learners. A1 learners managed to produce *ability/permission* of *conventionally indirect* strategy only in the requests with the functions of *asking for permission to test* and *expressing or asking about payment*, in which common formulaic expressions for shopping were available at their disposal. Thus, a developmental transition from A1 to A2 was observed as some A1 learners failed to produce these formulaic requests with suitable patterns, for example, they used Japanese or a self-corrected the head act, which can be treated as *negative transitional* criterial features at A1 level. Thus, A2 learners expanded their repertoire of

ability/permission to include the requests with other functions such as *negotiating for discount* and *asking for recommendation*, which should be one of the indications of a progression to the next stage, or *positive transitional* criterial features. However, the ratios of the *imperative* was relatively low in the present study, for example A1 learners produced only 20 out of 452 head acts (see Table 6.22), although Kasper and Rose (2002) indicated that “imperatives” is one of characteristics of this stage.

Third, the “updating stage,” where “formulas [are] incorporated into productive language use [,] [and] shift[ed] to conventional indirectness” (p. 140) can be supplemented with the following tendency. As a whole, the ratio of *direct* strategies decreased and that of *conventionally indirect* strategies increased as the proficiency level improved. In particular, the ratio of conventionally indirect strategy in A2 learners was evidently high in the head acts *requesting an action* such as *asking for permission to test*, *negotiating for discount*, and *asking for recommendation*, as previously mentioned.

Fourth, the stage of “pragmatic expansion” with the “addition of new forms to pragmalinguistic repertoire, increased use of mitigation, more complex syntax” (p. 140) should be highlighted with B1 learners’ production of *internal modifiers* such as *if-clause* and *discourse markers*, in comparison with A1 and A2 learners’ rare production of modifiers except for *politeness marker please*. Further, the *Function* annotation scheme allowed the author to extract the segments such as *explaining the background*, which may have functioned as external modifiers of (or supportive moves to) the head acts. Most of these features should have facilitated B1 learners’ negotiations as “mitigation,” in addition to the requestive head acts. Internal and external modifiers can be *transitional positive* criterial features at B1.

However, it is doubtful whether B1 learners reached the final stage with a “fine-tuning of requestive force to participants, goals and contexts” (p. 140). Although

the current study does not focus on assessing the politeness of the requestive speech acts identified in the target corpus, B1 learners still produced some linguistic patterns that seem likely to have had high impositive requestive force, which might not have been suitable in the given contexts. For example, in the requests with the function of *negotiating for exchange or return*, the production of *desire* (i.e., “I want to get it back”) was almost as frequent as that of *wish* (e.g., “And I’d like to change”), apart from the result that *ability/permission* (e.g., “So could you change it or?” and “Can I return this stuff?”) was 1.5 times more frequently produced than *desire* and *wish*. *Desire* requests can be *negative* criterial features which persist through B1 level from A1 and A2 levels. Thus, examples such as “So maybe you can you can change,” a hearer-dominant declarative request with *can*, and “So why can’t you exchange it?,” a suggestory with *can’t*, were not suitable. The utterances with the function of *threatening*, which occurred only five times, were only observed in B1 learners. Therefore, although they had acquired a command of the language, B1 learners were not all FTA-sensitive while performing the role-play tasks. In fact, this result was consistent with that of Flores Salgado (2011), who concluded that even advanced learners were not pragmatically successful although they had acquired higher grammatical skills. These unsuitable features could be *transitional negative* criterial features of pragmatic competence at B1 level.

Blum-Kulka (1991, pp. 270-271) (see section 4.3.2 in Chapter 4) divided the developmental transition of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic competences into three stages: the “message oriented, unsystematic” stage, the “interlanguage oriented, potentially systematic” stage, and the “intermutually oriented, potentially systematic” stage. It is possible to align A1 learners with the first stage, A2 learners with the second stage, and B1 learners with the third stage, according to the results obtained in the current study.

First, in the “message oriented, unsystematic” stage, “the use of linguistic and nonlinguistic means at his or her disposal to achieve a communicative end” (p. 270) can be characterized by A1 and A2 learners’ use of *ability/permission* as formulaic requests, as previously mentioned. “The necessity to communicate overrid[ing] all considerations of grammaticality and acceptability” (p. 270) can be found in the lower degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability in their requests (including the higher proportion of *confirming* segments to the total utterances annotated as *high*, the higher ratio of *low* but *coherent* requestive head acts, and the production of *not-classifiable* head acts), in comparison to that in the requests of B1 learners.

A lower degree of grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability still remains as “grammatical and pragmalinguistic unacceptability” in the following “interlanguage oriented, potentially systematic” stage, “where interlanguages develop and manifest both grammatical and non-grammatical usages” (p. 270). The current study does not address the question of whether “the learners’ speech acts will be pragmatically and socially acceptable in part and in part unacceptable” (p. 270). The second stage can be characterized by the finding that the ratio of *high* requests increased and that of *low* but *coherent* ones decreased with the improvement of proficiency from A1 to A2 (notably in the requests with the function of *requesting an action*). A transition into a higher “level of pragmalinguistic proficiency will play a role in shaping speech act performance” (p. 270). However, the “negative transfer from the mother tongue” (p. 270) which Blum-Kulka (1991) mentioned, was only infrequently evident in A1 and A2 learners. Moreover, A2 learners actually decreased their use of the *statement* patterns (produced in the topic-comment structure) in the *item* requests; this decrease is assumed to have been influenced by Japanese.

Finally, in the “intermutually oriented, potentially systematic” stage, “the

sentences used for conveying communicative acts can be grammatically correct” (p. 270). B1 learners showed 60% of *high* requests and 30% of *low* but *coherent* requests with the functions of *negotiating for exchange or return* and *requesting an action* in the current study. Thus, B1 learners rarely produced the *statement* requests. Nevertheless, the claim that requestive speech acts should “still be pragmatically deviant” (p. 270) can be confirmed with some unsuitable patterns such as the requests with *why can't you...* and *you can...* as well as the *threatening* utterances, which are also described in Kasper and Rose (2002)'s discussion on the developmental stages of ILP.

To summarize, the investigation of a learner corpus sufficiently provided the evidence to re-examine the developmental stages of ILP presented in the research conducted in the early 1990s and 2000s before the advent of corpora. Although sociopragmatic analysis is outside of the scope of the current study, the underdeveloped sociopragmatic competence of B1 learners was nevertheless ascertainable from their choices of pragmalinguistic patterns extracted from the corpus.

7.2.2 Contribution of the Present Corpus-Based Study to Interlanguage Pragmatics

The current section summarizes and discusses how the outcomes of the current study can contribute to ILP. As reviewed in Chapter 2, researches on ILP have been mainly based on DCTs (written or oral). This methodology is advantageous in eliciting the data that researchers expect to examine since various social parameters can be more easily controlled. However, as mentioned in section 2.4.4.1, it should be noted that Blum-Kulka and House (1989), the pioneering researchers of ILP who conducted the CCSARP based on DCTs, addressed the need for “naturally occurring situated talk” (p. 152) and concluded that “it would be premature to offer a general model that would account for all the intricate ways in which cultural, context external and context internal

factors interact to determine choices of requestive behavior” (p. 151). Other members of the CCSARP, such as Rintell and Mitchell (1989), also recognized the gap between the elicited data and “what they [the subjects] actually say in spontaneous conversations” (p. 250). The recent corpus-based researchers, needless to say, pointed out the importance of acquiring data from real situations, in terms of reliability, validity, generalizability, authenticity, and replicability (see Archer et al., 2012; Leech, 2014; Callies, 2013).

In the current corpus-based study, the author employed the methodology of analyzing the data based on the CCSARP coding scheme for the extraction of requestive speech acts. The author encountered some difficulty with (or the impossibility of) controlling the variables since the already compiled data were all set and could not be changed. The author especially had difficulties with comparing the learner data at different proficiency levels; for example, B1 learners were given different tasks from those given to A1 and A2 learners, which affected the distributions of the speech act realizations in a significant way. Therefore, the author revised the CCSARP to fit into the target data by carefully and thoroughly conducting a manual observation of the contents and structure of the data by trial and error. The addition of newly developed annotation schemes for identifying the function and grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability to the Request annotation scheme allowed the author to extract the criterial pragmalinguistic features. Thus, as described in the previous section, the outcomes of the current study allowed the author to re-examine the developmental stages presented by Kasper and Rose (2002) and Blum-Kulka (1991) by supplementing each stage with corpus evidence that characterized and distinguished between learners at different proficiency levels, fulfilling the role of the corpus in pragmatic studies.

Researchers, who pointed out the importance of naturally occurring data in comparison with the elicited data derived from DCTs, such as O’Keefe et al. (2011),

Leech (2014), and Archer et al. (2012), actually acknowledged the usefulness of the elicited data, as previously reviewed in Chapter 2. The elicited data “can provide the starting point for [the] systematic study of naturally occurring data” (Archer et al., 2012, p.15) by achieving “significant results” with “a number of relevant variables (such as respondents’ age, gender, and L1 background; power, distance, and cost-benefit variables in the DCT items)” (Leech, 2014, p. 253). Archer et al. (2008) noted the potential of applying the CCSARP coding scheme to corpus studies as it provides “well-established” (p. 634) “manual segmentation of speech act phenomena” (pp. 633-634). Despite some necessary amendments to fit it into the target data, the CCSARP coding scheme has proven to be the most valid and systematic framework that can classify the direct forms and conventionalized indirect forms of requestive speech acts. Non-conventionalized forms cannot be identified easily in corpus data, but at least the dichotomy of direct and conventionally indirect strategies helps to overcome pragmatic issues regarding the matching forms and functions in corpus-based studies. The future researchers of ILP can apply the CCSARP coding scheme to their own data analyses, and can even replicate the methods of past studies and compare their outcomes with those of their own study.

7.2.3 Methodological Implications of the Present Study for Corpus Pragmatics

The current section summarizes the methodological implications of the present study for corpus pragmatics. As previously reviewed, there are mainly two approaches in corpus pragmatics: the form-to-function analysis and the function-to-form analysis. If the form-to-function approach is taken, extracting predetermined features as surface forms from corpora can be automatically done, although appropriately mapping surface forms to the actual speaker’s implied meaning can sometimes be difficult. The present study, however, adopted the function-to-form methodology with full manual

annotation, so that several challenges, which any researcher of corpus pragmatics would encounter, especially when using spoken learner language, were encountered: segmentation (e.g., how interactional features such as interruptions, repetitions, repairs, stalling, and dysfluency should be treated; how a unit for analysis is systematically determined), mismatch between forms and functions (e.g., how non-conventionalized indirect forms [i.e., hints] and the utterances with sarcastic intention, which are not realized as surface forms, should be treated), and interlanguage features (e.g., how learner-specific features, including the lower-level learners' unsuitable and unexpected patterns, which do not fit into the framework constructed for native speakers' data, should be treated). The author conducted a series of exploratory analyses for a few years and confronted these difficulties. However, the author later realized that many past researchers had already addressed, discussed, and attempted to resolve some of the difficulties such as segmentation and the mismatch between forms and functions (for the issue of segmentation, see Archer et al., 2008; Geertzen et al., 2007; for the issue of the importance of interpreting the function of speech act realizations on surface forms in the pragmatic annotations of corpora, see Archer et al., 2008; Adolphs, 2008; Romero-Trillo, 2008; Rühlemann & Aijmer, 2015).

Since only a few corpus-based pragmatic studies on learner data have been conducted to date (for the recent studies, see Aijmer & Wichmann, 2015; Gilquin and Meunier, 2015), the current study can provide future researchers with the recurrent and frequent pragmalinguistic features derived from the NICT JLE Corpus as the predetermined search patterns for future form-to-function analyses. The systematically extracted pragmalinguistic features would also help to develop the framework and provide the training data for the semi-automated annotation of speech acts in the area of NLP.

7.3 Limitations of the Present Study

This section addresses the limitations of the present study in terms of data, research methodology, and analyses.

First, the biggest limitation regarding the data relates to the impossibility of extracting the criterial pragmalinguistic features among learners at three proficiency levels, due to the fact that B1 learners were given a negotiation task while A1 and A2 learners were given a general purchasing task. The identification of the functions of the whole utterances produced by learners suggested that A1 and A2 learners showed significantly different distributions and occurrences of the functions from those of B1 learners. Second, as previously mentioned, the alignment of the SST and CEFR was done according to Tschirner and Bärenfänger (2012)'s study, which was based on the German language, and Kaneko and Izumi (2012)'s study, which addressed the difficulties in the alignment of SST and CEFR-J, as well as Tono (2013), who described the CEFR and CEFR-J alignment (see Chapter 3). It should be noted that further research should be conducted to clarify whether the alignment of SST levels with CEFR ratings is valid or not. Thus, it should be noted that as the current study only investigated the role-play data, the target data do not necessarily represent the assigned CEFR since the SST evaluators holistically assessed the learners' performance in other stages of the SST. Finally, the learner data investigated in the present study were neither naturally occurring data nor role-play data. Rather, the target data were pseudo-role-play data controlled by the interlocutor (or interviewer) whose primary aim was to elicit ratable sufficient speech samples, and the learners' responses in a test-taking situation would also differ from those in a naturally occurring situation, due to, for example, their efforts to perform as well as they can on a test (see Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2011; Kasper & Ross, 2007; Rintell & Mitchel, 1989; Tanimura, 2013).

Regarding the research methodology, there are two limitations in the current study. First, as discussed in Chapter 5, the reliability and replicability of the annotation schemes should be mentioned. The annotation checker randomly checked the correctness of the annotations and replicated some of the annotations. However, the agreement and replicability rates were lower for the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability scheme than for the Function and Request schemes. Thus, the accuracy of the return of specified annotations (i.e., the number of hit occurrences) cross-schematically via the UMACT was not as high as the author expected, as discussed in Chapter 6. Therefore, the annotation schemes should be revised in order to achieve a higher agreement rate between the author and checker and higher replicability of the annotations. As De Felice et al. (2013) pointed out that “a very detailed classification scheme can lead to data sparseness,” unnecessarily fine-grained classification with infrequent learner productions should be eliminated.

Finally, regarding the analyses of the data, the current corpus-based study excluded two aspects that were not manifest in the surface forms: politeness or appropriateness of the requestive speech acts and non-conventionalized indirect speech acts (i.e., hints). In the future, the assessment survey conducted by Miura (2017) can be revised by using a more homogenous group of subjects in terms of age, nationality, and teaching experience, which might be effective variables on the outcome, in order to achieve a higher agreement rate. It might also be possible to investigate the non-conventionality of speech acts as Garcia (2015) did if the target learner data are limited to learners with higher proficiency or if robust and systematic frameworks are constructed to extract indirect requests.

7.4 Implications for Future Studies on Interlanguage Pragmatics and Pedagogy

Finally, the present study offers pedagogical implications as well as methodological implications as follows.

As it was observed that it is difficult to identify the degree of politeness and assign information regarding appropriateness to particular speech act realizations in the NICT JLE Corpus (see Miura, 2017), it would also be difficult to assess the politeness of the learners' productions collected and observed in other settings, for example, in a classroom. However, the systematic classification of the various linguistic patterns of requests in the current study would allow teachers to collect a sufficient amount of learner examples to be compared and contrasted. It would be helpful for students to have opportunities to gain access to a great number of requests extracted from a learner corpus, in order to ascertain how a hearer would react to a speaker's particular choice of the linguistic patterns of requests depending on the given contexts as well as to become aware of the concept of politeness or appropriateness in particular social settings. Rather than solely giving students a list of requests with various linguistic patterns, teachers should inform students of the fact that a particular linguistic form can entail a heavier impositive force than others (e.g., "I want..." vs. "I would like..."). Thus, the investigation of requests derived from spoken learner corpora would highlight the differences of language styles between written and spoken modes. The studies conducted by Koester (2002), Campoy-Cubillo (2008), and Maynard and Leicher (2008) should be notable as corpus-based researches on speech acts with pedagogical implications (see section 2.5.2.2).

Thus, as this study was based on the CEFR descriptors (Council of Europe, 2001; 2017), it would help to improve, for example, the CEFR illustrative scale for "obtaining goods and services," especially regarding Pre-A1, A1, A2, and B1 learners, by providing criterial features: not only the actual examples of linguistic patterns but also

the interactional features such as the elaboration or self-correction produced by learners, which might facilitate their negotiation of meaning.

Finally, as many corpus pragmatic studies are based on the written transcripts of spoken data, the current study suggests that multi-modal corpora of learner data should be compiled so that visual and audio data can offer essential information regarding extralinguistic features such as gestures, eye contact, and voice inflections conversed between the learner and interlocutor. It would also help researchers to identify what a speaker actually intended to utter, when the gap between forms and functions is big. Non-conventionalized indirect speech acts, which are not realized as surface forms, are examples that might invite confusion during analyses. The multi-modal corpora should resolve difficulties in improving the reliability of pragmatic analyses in a significant way, although even more time-consuming and laborious manual work might be required.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Learner Data Investigated in the Study

Appendix A-1

Subjects at CEFR A1 Learners Given Beginner Tasks

A1 (Beginner)					
1	file00404.txt	5	file00688.txt	9	file00919.txt
2	file00589.txt	6	file00757.txt	10	learner675.txt
3	file00633.txt	7	file00784.txt	11	learner994.txt
4	file00680.txt	8	file00826.txt		

Appendix A-2

Subjects at CEFR A1 Learners Given Intermediate Tasks

A1 (Intermediate)					
1	learner1009.txt	21	learner399.txt	41	learner752.txt
2	learner1023.txt	22	learner406.txt	42	learner754.txt
3	learner1048.txt	23	learner409.txt	43	learner798.txt
4	learner1053.txt	24	learner423.txt	44	learner829.txt
5	learner1059.txt	25	learner425.txt	45	learner832.txt
6	learner1096.txt	26	learner426.txt	46	learner835.txt
7	learner1125.txt	27	learner451.txt	47	learner865.txt
8	learner1129.txt	28	learner454.txt	48	learner914.txt
9	learner1135.txt	29	learner473.txt	49	learner921.txt
10	learner1138.txt	30	learner634.txt	50	learner922.txt
11	learner1168.txt	31	learner659.txt	51	learner940.txt
12	learner1171.txt	32	learner711.txt	52	learner944.txt
13	learner1197.txt	33	learner714.txt	53	learner957.txt
14	learner1198.txt	34	learner715.txt	54	learner960.txt
15	learner120.txt	35	learner718.txt	55	learner973.txt
16	learner140.txt	36	learner737.txt	56	learner976.txt
17	learner170.txt	37	learner744.txt	57	learner998.txt
18	learner191.txt	38	learner745.txt		
19	learner222.txt	39	learner747.txt		
20	learner314.txt	40	learner749.txt		

Appendix A-3

Subjects at CEFR A2 Learners Given Intermediate Tasks

A2 (Intermediate)					
1	learner1012.txt	34	learner786.txt	67	file00794.txt
2	learner1014.txt	35	learner801.txt	68	learner1003.txt
3	learner1019.txt	36	learner813.txt	69	learner1017.txt
4	learner1034.txt	37	learner820.txt	70	learner1061.txt
5	learner1035.txt	38	learner842.txt	71	learner1074.txt
6	learner1057.txt	39	learner860.txt	72	learner152.txt
7	learner1060.txt	40	learner892.txt	73	learner168.txt
8	learner1068.txt	41	learner903.txt	74	learner169.txt
9	learner1081.txt	42	learner920.txt	75	learner198.txt
10	learner1084.txt	43	learner928.txt	76	learner226.txt
11	learner1094.txt	44	learner934.txt	77	learner258.txt
12	learner1108.txt	45	learner942.txt	78	learner298.txt
13	learner1109.txt	46	learner964.txt	79	learner359.txt
14	learner1111.txt	47	learner995.txt	80	learner372.txt
15	learner1112.txt	48	file00001.txt	81	learner384.txt
16	learner1143.txt	49	file00005.txt	82	learner403.txt
17	learner1149.txt	50	file00028.txt	83	learner407.txt
18	learner1151.txt	51	file00036.txt	84	learner429.txt
19	learner1155.txt	52	file00053.txt	85	learner445.txt
20	learner1156.txt	53	file00077.txt	86	learner455.txt
21	learner1161.txt	54	file00097.txt	87	learner465.txt
22	learner1170.txt	55	file00100.txt	88	learner507.txt
23	learner1179.txt	56	file00103.txt	89	learner515.txt
24	learner1183.txt	57	file00114.txt	90	learner526.txt
25	learner1193.txt	58	file00128.txt	91	learner529.txt
26	learner1201.txt	59	file00149.txt	92	learner549.txt
27	learner713.txt	60	file00165.txt	93	learner555.txt
28	learner722.txt	61	file00205.txt	94	learner560.txt
29	learner732.txt	62	file00575.txt	95	learner561.txt
30	learner764.txt	63	file00600.txt	96	learner576.txt
31	learner778.txt	64	file00653.txt	97	learner583.txt
32	learner779.txt	65	file00696.txt	98	learner587.txt
33	learner783.txt	66	file00701.txt	99	learner588.txt

Appendix A-3 (continued)

A2 (Intermediate)					
100	learner604.txt	105	learner693.txt	110	learner840.txt
101	learner606.txt	106	learner698.txt	111	learner904.txt
102	learner639.txt	107	learner704.txt	112	learner918.txt
103	learner655.txt	108	learner712.txt	113	learner925.txt
104	learner660.txt	109	learner795.txt	114	learner936.txt

Appendix A-4*Subjects at CEFR B1 Learners Given Intermediate Tasks*

B1 (Advanced)					
1	file00008.txt	21	file00802.txt	41	learner1254.txt
2	file00022.txt	22	file00838.txt	42	learner1262.txt
3	file00027.txt	23	file00873.txt	43	learner1266.txt
4	file00035.txt	24	file00991.txt	44	learner1275.txt
5	file00037.txt	25	file01207.txt	45	learner1276.txt
6	file00042.txt	26	file01216.txt	46	learner227.txt
7	file00045.txt	27	file01228.txt	47	learner263.txt
8	file00057.txt	28	file01229.txt	48	learner317.txt
9	file00059.txt	29	file01235.txt	49	learner328.txt
10	file00071.txt	30	file01242.txt	50	learner352.txt
11	file00087.txt	31	learner1020.txt	51	learner521.txt
12	file00136.txt	32	learner1119.txt	52	learner620.txt
13	file00171.txt	33	learner1158.txt	53	learner632.txt
14	file00255.txt	34	learner1174.txt	54	learner630.txt
15	file00301.txt	35	learner1175.txt	55	learner649.txt
16	file00327.txt	36	learner1187.txt	56	learner656.txt
17	file00554.txt	37	learner1189.txt	57	learner677.txt
18	file00641.txt	38	learner1208.txt	58	learner788.txt
19	file00654.txt	39	learner1241.txt	59	learner807.txt
20	file00657.txt	40	learner1247.txt	60	learner839.txt

Appendix A-4 (continued)

B1 (Advanced)					
61	learner870.txt	63	learner902.txt	65	learner966.txt
62	learner895.txt	64	learner965.txt	66	learner989.txt

Appendix B: Manuals of Annotation Scheme for Request

1. Requestive Head Act and Internal Modification

1.1 Direct Strategy

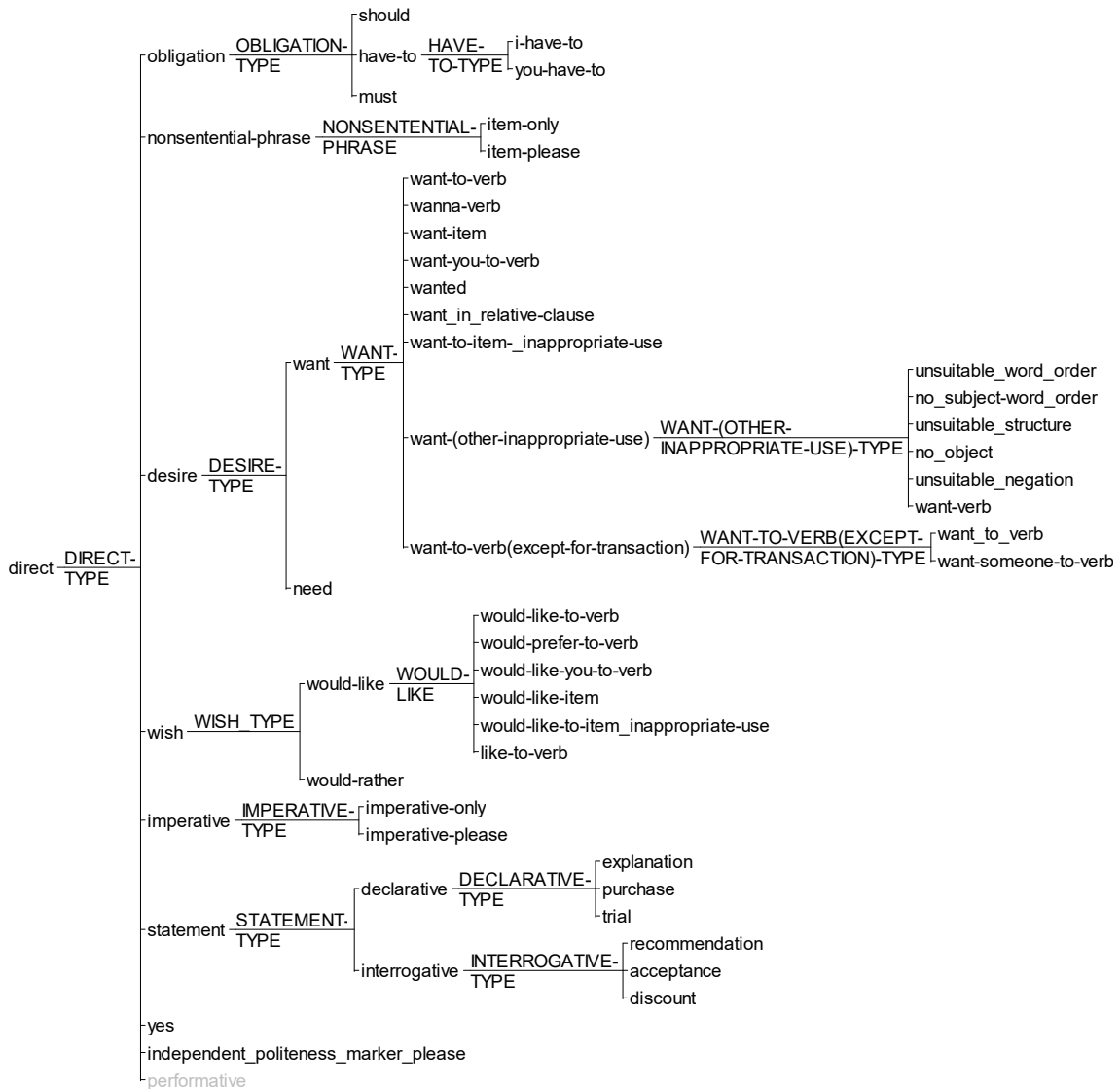


Figure B-1.1. The overall annotation scheme for *direct strategy*.

1.1.1 Obligation

As Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) explained, the CCSARP determines whether the dominant perspective of the request is from the hearer, the speaker, both participants, or

impersonal (none of these) (p. 278). Patterns of *obligation* are realized by syntactic features with the use of *modal verbs* such as “must,” “have to,” “should,” and “ought to” (Flores Salgado, 2011, p. 248), as shown in Figure B-1.2. In the current study, only a modest number of obligation patterns are observed from the whole corpus.

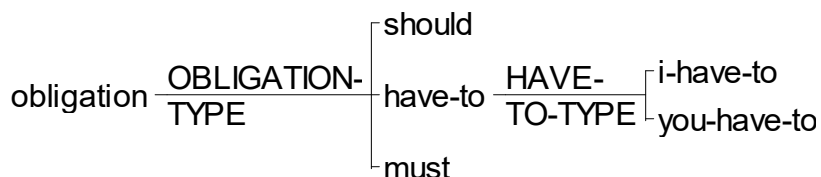


Figure B-1.2. Category of *obligation*.

1.1.1.1 Should

Should is used only by three B1 learners, who are supposed to negotiate for a refund or an exchange at a shop. All of the utterances are produced from speakers’ “request perspective” (Blum-Kulka, et al., 1989, p. 278). Examples of target features are shown in bold and italics, and the head acts are underlined.

Example 1: B1/learner263.txt

<A>I’m sorry, ma’am. But <F>er</F> this is against our policy.
 I see. <R unclarity=”none”>But</R> <F>Um</F> but I have a receipt here. And I just bought it <laughter>yesterday</laughter>. And I never <R unclarity=”none”>wor</R> worn it. So, <pause duration=”short”></pause> <F>well</F> I think <F>erm</F> <R unclarity=”none”>you</R> you ***should*** <F>ur</F> take it back and <R unclarity=”none”>I</R> I can <pause duration=”short”></pause> change it to <F>er</F> another smaller one.
 <F>Er</F>.

1.1.1.2 Have to

Have to is divided into two patterns with different perspectives; (i) speaker's perspective: *I have to* and (ii) hearer's perspective *you have to*.

1.1.1.2.1 Type 1: I have to

I have to is a speaker-dominant perspective as the following examples shows.

Example 1: A2/learner1201.txt

<A>How about this one? This is white and blue strip shirt./A>

<F>Um</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> but I ***have to*** now

<A><F>Um</F>.

buy this color shirts.

1.1.1.2.2 Type 2: You have to

You have to has a speaker-dominant perspective. The following excerpt has a structure of relative clause. This may sound stronger than other patterns.

Example 2: B1/file00567.txt

<F>Well</F> there is <F>well</F> other blue notebooks. And there are a lot, and see they're just <F>ur</F> same price. <SC

unclearness="none">It's</SC>all ***you have to*** do is just exchange.

<nvs>laughter</nvs></SM>

1.1.1.3 Must

Must was only uttered by one learner from A2 level in the current study.

Example 1: A2/file00205.txt

<F>Ah</F>. Then <pause duration="short"></pause>

<A>Yeah. <nvs>laughter</nvs>

<R unclarity="none">I *must* pay</R> I *must* pay

<A>O K .

for it.

1.1.2 Non-sentential phrase

According to Blum-Kulka et al (1989), “elliptical sentence structures express the same directness level” as the imperative and so on (p. 279), evident in the example, “The menu please.” This type of pattern should be typical in shopping situations, especially when uttered by lower-level learners. In this study, the pattern is named as a *non-sentential phrase* and can be categorized into either *item please* or *item only*.

nonsentential-phrase $\frac{\text{NONSENTENTIAL-}}{\text{PHRASE}}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{item-only} \\ \text{item-please} \end{array} \right.$

Figure B-1.3. Category of *non-sentential phrase*

1.1.2.1 Type 1: Item only

Another type of non-sentential phrases is *item only*. *More large size* in the following excerpt is one of examples.

Example 1: A1 (Intermediate)/learner406.txt

<R unclarity="none">Ano</R> <SC unclarity="none">another type of car</SC> <F>er</F> do you have another type of car?

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.

<F>Er</F>. More large size.

1.1.2.2 Type 2: Item please

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) noted that “please” is a politeness marker, which is “an optional element added to a request to bid for cooperative behavior” (p. 282), belonging to the category of lexical downgrader. A typical combination pattern is *please* following an *elliptical sentence* as the example below shows.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner994.txt

<A>O K. So how would you like to pay?

<F>Ah</F> <F>er</F> card please?

1.1.3 Desire

The *desire* category basically has two types of lexical items: *want* and *need*. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), the “want statement” is defined as “the utterance [that] expresses the speaker’s desire that the event denoted in the proposition come about” (p. 279). They illustrated this category with an example, “I’d like to borrow your notes for a little while” (p. 279), but in the present study, *would like to* is categorized as *wishes*, following the coding scheme presented by Flores Salgado (2011, p. 248). Flores Salgado (2011) defined this category as “Desires/needs” with an example, “I *want/need* to borrow your notes” (p. 248).

It should be noted that Trosborg (1995) defined “speaker’s wishes and desires” as *conventionally indirect* requests (p. 201). She presented request strategies with varying levels of directness, and “wishes” (e.g., I would like to borrow your car) and “desires/needs” (e.g., I want/need to borrow your car) are categorized as speaker-based

conventionally indirect strategies (p. 205). The dichotomy that she adopted for her classification primarily depends on the level of directness, and is heavily concerned with whether a request is “hearer-oriented” or “speaker-oriented.” Thus, the “performatives” of direct requests include a hedged example, “I would like to ask you to lend me your car.”

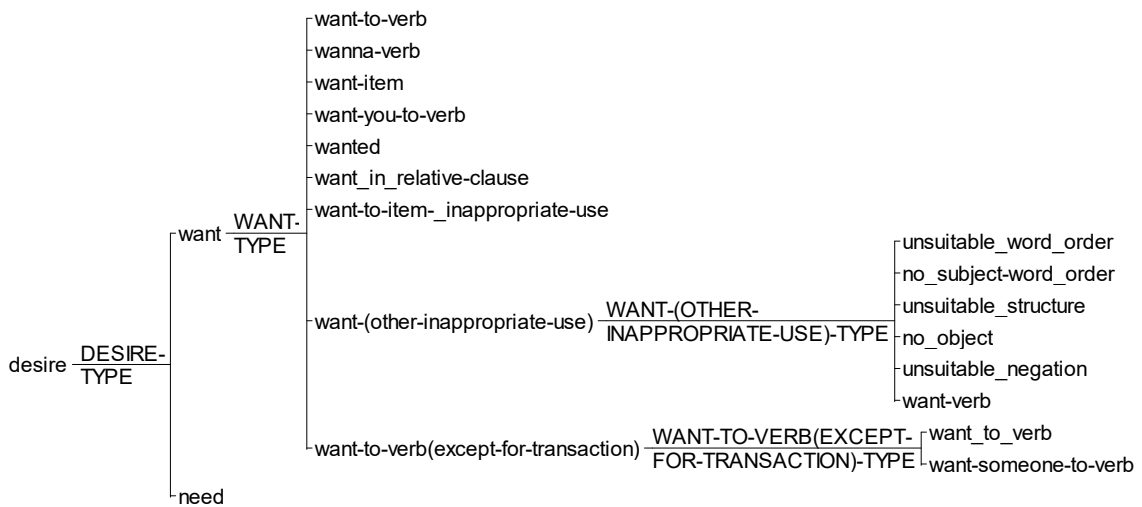


Figure B-1.4. Category of *desire*.

1.1.3.1 Want

In order to identify learners’ unsuitable patterns, the various forms of a verb *want* are categorized into several types. Syntactically suitable structures are (i) *want to verb*, (ii) *wanna verb*, (iii) *want item*, (iv) *want you to verb*, (v) *wanted*, and (vi) *want in relative clause*. On the other hand, (vii) *want to item* and (viii) *want (other inappropriate use)* are syntactically unsuitable forms.

1.1.3.1.1 Type 1: Want to verb

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1168.txt

<F>Uum</F> <pause duration=”short”></pause> <F>um</F> <R

unclearness="none">m</R> more <R unclearness="none">s</R> small T-shirts

<F>um</F> <R unclearness="none">I</R> I hope so.

<A><F>Um</F>

<F>Um</F> I want to buy it

1.1.3.1.2 Type 2: Wanna verb

Example 1: B1/learner.txt

<A><F>Ah</F> O K. But unfortunately this was the last dress. And we don't have exactly the same one in the store right now.

I wanna get refund.

1.1.3.1.3 Type 3: Want item

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00680.txt

<A><F>Oh</F> We have many many colors

<nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Ehhh</F> <F>uh</F>

<nvs>cough</nvs> I want <F>mm</F> charcoal gray

1.1.3.1.4 Type 4: Want you to verb

Want you to verb is a speaker-perspective.

Example 1: B1/learner.txt

But then I found a little hole here. You see?

<A><F>Oh</F> yeah.

So I want you to give me the next one for this one.

<A><F>Oh</F> but didn't you try it on?

1.1.3.1.5 Type 5: Wanted

As the final example of suitable patterns, two patterns in past tense are present in the NICT JLE Corpus. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), “tense” is one of the request strategies as “past tense forms are coded as downgrading only if they are used with present time reference, i.e., if they can be substituted by present tense forms without changing the semantic meaning of utterance (cf. I want to ask you to present your paper a week earlier)” (p. 283).

Example 1: A2learner1143.txt

<A>O K. Hi. How may I help you, ma'am?

Yeah. <R unclarity="none">I</R> I *wanted* to get a baby's present to my friend.

1.1.3.1.6 Type 6: Want in relative clause

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner634.txt

<A>O K. We have a wide range of coats.

<F>Hm</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause> <SC
unclearness="none">The I</SC> the coat I want is <F>uhm</F> <pause
duration="short"></pause> <R unclarity="partly">suit</R> <SC
unclearness="none"><scripting unclarity="partly">suit</scripting> for</SC>
<scripting unclarity="partly">by</scripting> <R unclarity="none">suit</R>
<R unclarity="partly">suit</R> <R unclarity="partly">suit</R> <R
unclearness="partly">suit</R> <R unclarity="partly">suit</R> <scripting
unclearness="partly">suit</scripting> for <F>eh</F> suits.

Example 2: B1/learner870.txt

<A><F>Umm</F>. So we can not refund any kinds of sale goods.

<F>Erm</F>. But <F>ur</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> I don't need this shirt anymore because the size is not fitting to me. <F>Er</F> that's ***why I want to refund.***

This learner actually produces “that’s why” three times in order to express what he or she does or does not need/want a particular item.

1.1.3.1.7 Type 7: Want to item (inappropriate use)

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)learner778.txt

How much is it?

<A>It's <F>uh</F> ten thousand yen.

<F>Oh</F>. <F>Well</F> <F>er</F> I have <pause duration="short"></pause> five thousand yen.

<A>O K.

So <F>er</F> ***I want to cheaper one.***

<A>All right. Then, how about this one? This is last year's model.

1.1.3.1.8 Type 8: Want (other inappropriate use)

There are only 21 occurrences of head acts categorized into this group. It is further divided into one of the following six subcategories: (i) *unsuitable word order*, (ii) *no subject word order*, (iii) *unsuitable structure*, (iv) *no object*, (v) *unsuitable negation*, and (vi) *want verb*.

1.1.3.1.8.1 Subtype 1: Unsuitable word order

There are totally 5 occurrences of this pattern in the whole data.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00784.txt

<F>Uh</F>. I want to buy a <pause duration="short"></pause> some new snowboard. <F>Uh</F>. **So <SC unclarity="none">the</SC> and a little <R unclarity="none">longer</R> longer snowboard I want to buy.**

1.1.3.1.8.2 Subtype 2: No subject word order

There is only one occurrences of this pattern in the whole data.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1129.txt

<A><F>Ah</F> sorry, twenty thousand yen. I'm sorry. Twenty thousand yen.

<F>Er</F> buy it.

<A><F>Ah</F> O K. But we have this one or this one.

<F>Ur</F> **and black color wants.**

<A><F>Hm</F>. <F>Ur</F> then how about this one?

<F>Oh</F> it's nice.

1.1.3.1.8.3 Subtype 3: Unsuitable structure

There are four occurrences of this pattern in the whole data.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1129.txt

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs> Do you think so?

<F>er</F> ear phone, please.

<A><F>Ahh</F> O K. Is this one O K?

<F>Er</F> I'm white color wants.

<A><F>Ahh</F>. Sorry, we have no white color.

<F>Hm</F>.

Example 2: B1/file00136.txt

<A><F>Mhm</F>.

<SC unclarity="none">And</SC> but <SC unclarity="none">I</SC>

<SC unclarity="none">the other price</SC> I wanna price is a half <pause

duration="short"></pause> or <R unclarity="none">I</R> I wanna <R

unclarity="none">ge</R> get a discount.

<A>O K.

1.1.3.1.8.4 Subtype 4: No object

There are three occurrences of this pattern in the whole data.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1168.txt

<F>Oh</F>. <pause duration="long"></pause> <F>Uum</F> next week

<JP>raisyyu</JP>? <F>Err</F> I want soon.

<nvs>laughter</nvs>

1.1.3.1.8.5 Subtype 5: Unsuitable negation

There are two occurrences of this pattern in the whole data.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner451.txt

<R unclerness="none">I</R> <SC unclerness="none">I am</SC> <SC unclerness="none">I want</SC> <SC unclerness="none">I wanted</SC> <SC unclerness="none">I want the</SC> <pause duration="long"></pause> <F>um</F> I wanted not <pause duration="long"></pause> many buying shoes. Minor shoes.

1.1.3.1.8.6 Subtype 6: Want verb

This pattern does not include a to-infinitive. There are five occurrences of this pattern in the whole data.

Example 1: A2/learner1014.txt

Yeah. And <R unclerness="none">I</R> <F>umm</F> <SC unclerness="none">I want have</SC> <F>um</F> *I want buy* <F>err</F> the computer less than <F>umm</F> <F>ahhh</F> two hundred thousand yen.

1.1.3.1.9 Type 9: Want to verb (except for transaction)

This pattern is not identified as head act of requests for shopping transaction. Only eight occurrences were observed. Although a desire verb *want* is used, it functions as external modification. There are two types identified: *want to verb* and *want someone to verb*.

1.1.3.1.9.1 Subtype 1: Want to verb

In the following excerpt, *I want to make Christmas cake* externally modifies the head act *I have to buy some food to cook it*, which directly expresses the learner's

intention or desire to buy a particular item. Thus, *is there something good fruits in this shop?* is the head act, preceded by an external modifier and *I want to use many many fruits*. The head acts are shown in boxes.

Example 1: A2/file00779.txt

<F>Oh</F> <F>uhm</F>. <pause duration="long"></pause> <R
unclearness="none">I want to</R> <F>uhm</F> <pause
duration="long"></pause> I want to make Christmas cake and <SC
unclearness="none">I have to buy something</SC> I have to buy some food to
cook it. <SC unclearness="none">And I want to</SC> <F>uhm</F> <pause
duration="long"></pause> <F>uhm</F> <pause duration="long"></pause>
<F>uhm</F> and <F>um</F> <R unclearness="none">in</R> in my house there
is nothing look like cake plate and big dish <laughter>and</laughter>
<F>um</F> oven plate so <F>uhm</F> <pause duration="long"></pause>
<F>um</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> <F>um</F> and I want to use
<R unclearness="none">many</R> <pause duration="short"></pause> many
fruits and <pause duration="short"></pause> is there something good fruits
in this shop?

1.1.3.1.9.2 Subtype 2: Want someone to verb

There is only one occurrence of this pattern observed in the NICT JLE Corpus. As the following excerpt shows, the learner corrects and rephrases his or her utterance, and becomes eventually able to produce this syntactic pattern. As shown in Subtype 1, *I want some people to watch me very <F>er</F> stylish* does not function as the head act of request in a transaction.

Example 1: A2/learner1061.txt

Yes. And <F>er</F> <F>um</F> I want my body so stylish, of course. And
<F>er</F> so <F>um</F> <R unclerness="none">tight</R> tightly, that mean,
<F>um</F> I'm sorry about my <pause duration="short"></pause> hips and legs.
So <F>mm</F> <R unclerness="none">I want</R> <R unclerness="none">I
want</R> <SC unclerness="none">I want</SC> <F>um</F> <R
unclerness="none">I</R> I'm sorry <R unclerness="none">I</R> <F>um</F>
<SC unclerness="none">I want to</SC> ***I want some people to watch me very***
<F>er</F> stylish. So <R unclerness="none">what</R> what's kind of skirt do
you recommend?

1.1.3.2 Need

Need is illustrated as the excerpt below. There are eleven occurrences.

Example 1: A2/learner820.txt

Yes, <F>er</F> please. I'm looking for the coat. Yeah, because <SC
unclerness="none">I</SC> in January, <R unclerness="none">I</R> I will go
to my friend's wedding party. But I have never invited that kind of party, so I need
to buy some coat.

1.1.4 Wish

Flores Salgado (2011) listed “wishes” as one of direct request types, giving examples such as “I *would like to* borrow your notes for a little while,” “I *would rather* you gave up tennis,” and “I *wish* you could help me” (p. 248).

In this study, *wish* is divided into *would like* and *would rather*. *Would like* has

six subcategories.

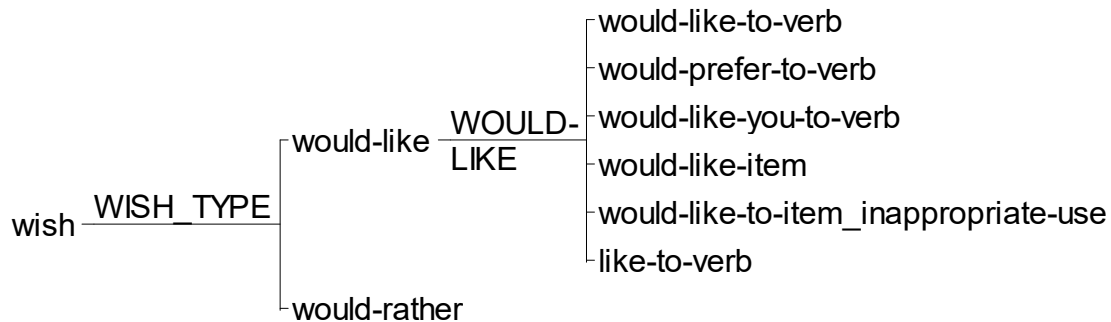


Figure B-1.5. Category of *wish*.

1.1.4.1 Would like

The first four types are suitable patterns such as (i) *would like to verb*, (ii) *would prefer to verb*, (iii) *would like someone to verb*, and (iv) *would like item*. On the other hand, (v) *would like to item* and (vi) *like to verb* are unsuitable.

1.1.4.1.1 Type 1: Would like to verb

This type includes a contraction form *I'd like to* as follows.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner409.txt

<A>Black.

<pause duration="short"></pause> <F>Urr</F> I'd like to buy it <F>err</F> by this card.

Example 2: A2/learner1084.txt

<A>Would you like that?

<F>Oh</F> yeah. I would like to <F>uu</F> buy it.

<A>O K. So I will wrap it for you.

1.1.4.1.2 Type 2: Would prefer to verb

The use of *prefer* instead of *like* is only observed in a single learner in the corpus.

Example 1: A2/learner840.txt

<A>We have so many.

<nvs>laughter</nvs> And <F>erm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> also, <R unclarity="none">I</R> I **would prefer to** have <F>erm</F> wooled one.

1.1.4.1.3 Type 3: Would like you to verb

Would like you to verb is a speaker-dominant like *want you to verb*. There is only one occurrence in the corpus.

Example 1: B1/learner902.txt

<A>O K? May I help you ma'am?

<F>Urm</F> <F>well</F> actually, yesterday I bought a dress at this shop, and I tried it on at my house. And it was little bit tight for me so <F>um</F> if you can, I **would like you to** give me another size of the same kinds of dress.

<A>I'm sorry we don't do exchanges.

1.1.4.1.4 Type 4: Would like item

Would like item is similar to *want item* in that both of verbs are immediately followed by a particular item, which is suitable. There are eight occurrences.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1198.txt

<A><F>Uhu</F>.

I would like <F>uuu</F> <F>erm</F> small size.

<A>Sure.

1.1.4.1.5 Type 5: Would like to item

The *would like to item* is an unsuitable pattern, as a to-infinitive is incorrectly added after the verb. The following excerpt shows that this learner produces two occurrences of this pattern, although he or she previously produces the correct pattern of *would like to verb*. There are only five occurrences produced by four learners.

Example 1: A2/learner786.txt

<A>All right. Yes, sir. How may I help you?

<F>Uum</F> <SC unclarity="none">I want</SC> I would like to get

<F>uum</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> a <R unclarity="none">book
about English</R> book about English.

<A><F>Oh</F>. This floor is about English. Entire section.

<F>Err</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>err</F>. <SC

unclarity="none">Science fiction such as "X-files" <SC

unclarity="none">and</SC> <R unclarity="none">I</R> I like it and</SC>

<pause duration="short"></pause> <R unclarity="none">I would like to</R> I

would like to such a book like "X-files" and science fiction and so on. <R

unclearness="none">Maybe</R> maybe not politics. <R

unclearness="none">That is</R> that is difficult for me. I'd like to two

books.

<A>O K. <F>Well</F> it's along this aisle.

1.1.4.1.6 Type 6: Like to verb

The *like to verb* is an unsuitable pattern as it omits the modal verb *would*. The pattern is easily recognizable from the context in which *would like to verb* should have been produced. This should be distinguished from *I like* in the *intention* category of conventionally indirect strategies. There are only four patterns produced by only two learners. The first learner shows three patterns. The second learner actually repairs *I'd like to* with *I really like to* exchange this.

Example 1: B1/learner807.txt

<A>O K. Hi. May I help you, sir?

Yeah. <SC unclearness="none">The</SC> I bought <SC

unclearness="none">the</SC> <F>err</F> this stuff <F>err</F> at this store

today. But <F>err</F> so <SC unclearness="none">the</SC> I didn't like this.

So <R unclearness="none">I like to change</R> <F>err</F> I like to change

and <F>err</F> if it's possible, so I like to get the money back to me.

<A><F>Well</F> sorry, we can't.

Example 2: B1/learner839.txt

<A><F>Hu-huh</F>.

<SC unclerness="none">I'd like to</SC> I really like to exchange this.

1.1.4.2 Would rather

There are only two occurrences of this pattern.

Example 1: B1/file00873.txt

<laughter>Yes</laughter>. Because I don't like this <pause duration="short"></pause> type. And <F>erm</F> even though I keep it, I will not wear it. So I'd rather pay the gap.

<A><F>Oh</F> really?

1.1.5 Imperative

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), the imperative is “the prototypical form” as a “Request,” along with infinitive forms and elliptical structures, which express the same directness level (p. 278). There are two types: *imperative only* and *imperative*.

imperative $\frac{\text{IMPERATIVE-}}{\text{TYPE}}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{imperative-only} \\ \text{imperative-please} \end{array} \right.$

Figure B-1.6. Category of *imperative*.

1.1.5.1 Type 1: Imperative only

There are only six occurrences of this pattern. Among them, four occurrences have a lexical phrase such as *let me know* or *let me see* (see Example 2), which should sound less direct than another pattern such as *choose* (see Example 1).

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1135.txt

<A>And this one is the cheapest.

<F>Hmm</F>. <F>Mmm</F> <SC unclarity="none">which is</SC>
 <pause duration="short"></pause> **choose my best.** <F>Mm</F> <SC
 unclarity="none">I like</SC> <F>mm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause>
 <R unclarity="none">not</R> <SC unclarity="none">not</SC> a
 <F>mm</F> strength smell is I don't like. <F>Mm</F>.

Example 2: A2/learner1060.txt

<A>and <F>er</F> this one is size S.
 <F>Ah</F>. <F>A</F> <F>a</F> <F>a</F> **let me see** <F>er</F> for a few
minutes.
 <A>Sure.

1.1.5.2 Type 2: Imperative Please

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner994.txt

<F>Erm</F> <F>er</F> <F>mm</F> I like <F>mmm</F> green.
 <A><F>Mh-hmm</F>.
 So please show me green color.
 <A>O K. All right. This one.

1.1.6 Statement

This category was originally developed by the author. Some of the patterns in this category are unsuitable for and characteristic of learner production. The patterns are either *declarative* or *interrogative* in the present tense with no use of modal verbs such as *can* or *could*. There are only two types with different syntactic patterns: declarative or interrogative. The difference between these two is that the former is speaker-dominant,

and the latter is hearer-dominant. *Declarative* is divided into three types: (i) *explanation*, (ii) *purchase*, and (iii) *trial*. *Interrogative* is classified into two types: (iv) *recommendation* and (v) *allowance*. Each pattern is categorized according to its function in a shopping transaction. Although the surface forms of these linguistic patterns do not literally seem to match with the requestive functions due to the learners' lack of proficiency, they are categorized as direct requestive forms, referring to the contextual information.

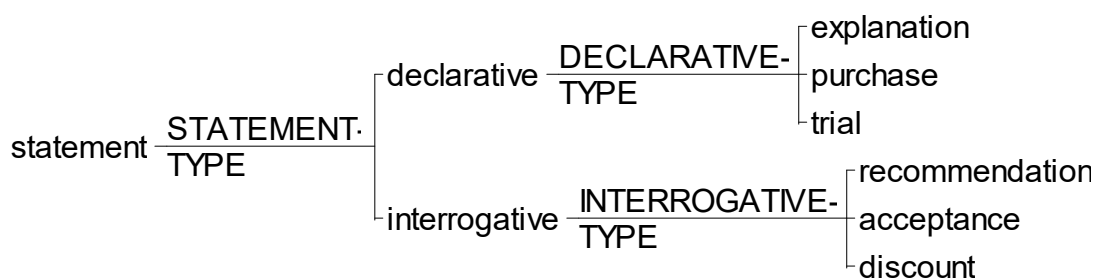


Figure B-1.7. Category of *statement*.

1.1.6.1 Declarative

1.1.6.1.1 Type 1: Explanation

As the following examples show, most of the declarative types are combined with other head acts. The pattern in this category has the function of explaining what kind of items the learner would like to buy by adding more details. Therefore, the pattern is usually combined with other head acts. Most of the patterns are produced with the use of copulas, having a topic-comment structure.

In Example 1, *Er color is mm brown* is followed by *Do you have?*. The appropriate version of this pattern should be *Do you have a brown jacket?*.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00404.txt

<A>Yeah, we have many kinds of jackets.

<F>Er</F> **color is <F>mm</F> brown.** Do you have?

<A>Sure, how about this one?

The second example shows two occurrences of this pattern, preceded by the head act *want* and followed by *do you have*. However, *I want twenty-four size black basketball shoes* should be the suitable utterance.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner747.txt

<A>O K. Hello, ma'am. How may I help you?

<F>Uum</F>. <R unclerness="none">I want a</R> <F>hmm</F> I want a

basketball shoes. ***And its color is black. And <F>err</F> <SC***

unclearness="none">size <F>er</F> is</SC> Japanese size is <F>err</F>

twenty-four size.

<A><F>Uhu</F>.

Do you have it?

1.1.6.1.2 Type 2: Purchase

This type has the function of expressing an intention of buying a particular item. Compared to the *explanation* type, this pattern usually appears independently, not in combination with other head acts.

This pattern should be distinguished from the category, *intention of conventionally indirect strategy*, which has the same function. For example, the excerpt, *today I I I buy my suits*, is not suitable, and the modal verb *will* should be used.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00589.txt

<A><pretask>O K.</pretask> Hi, may I help you, sir?

<F>Uhm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> today <R
unclearness="none">I</R> <R unclearness="none">I</R> I buy my
suits.

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner1135.txr

<A><F>Mh-hm</F>. O K. So how about <F>ur</F> this expensive
one and <F>ur</F> this one?

<F>Mhm</F> this one. <F>Hmm</F>. **I take it.**

1.1.6.1.3 Type 3: Trial

This type has the function of asking to test a particular item. Rather than uttering “I try to this one” with an unsuitable structure, learners should produce utterances with a conventional indirect pattern such as *Can I try on this one?* and *I will try this on this one* and direct patterns including *I want to try on this one* and *I would like to try on this one*.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00633.txt

<A><F>Er</F> O K. I think this fits you. Would you like to try? <pause
duration="short"></pause> Maybe this is your size. Maybe.

<F>Ah</F>. <F>Oh</F> O K. **<F>Oh</F> I try to <F>uu</F> <R
unclearness="none">this one</R>**

<A><F>Mh-hmm</F>.

this one.

<A>O K.

<F>Er</F> <R unclerness="none">I <R unclerness="none">take</R> take
on</R> I take on this one.

1.1.6.2 Interrogative

1.1.6.2.1 Type 1: Recommendation

Five occurrences of this pattern are observed in the corpus, and all of them are *asking for recommendation*.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner865.txt

<A><F>Well</F>. In our gift shop, <F>well</F> there're many kind of nice
gift for your boss.

<nvs>laughter</nvs> Yeah. So, <F>mm</F> do you have some
recommend?

<A><F>Ahm</F>. How about this pen stand?

1.1.6.2.2 Type 2: Acceptance

There are three occurrences of this pattern, and in all of them, the learner asks whether the shop assistant accepts a credit card or not. Compared to other types in the *statement* category, the interrogative form in the present form is suitable because the learner is asking about the shop assistant's habitual activity.

Example 1: A2/learner892.txt

<A>O K.

so I want to buy. <F>Uh</F> <F>eh</F> do you accept credit card?

<A>Yes, sure. O K.

1.1.6.2.3 Type 3: Discount

The following excerpt shows that *Is that er discount* should be categorized as a requestive head act as the shop assistant seems to regard this as a request and turns it down with *I'm sorry, sir. But I can't give you discount*. In fact, this is the only example taken from the corpus.

Example 1: A2/learner429.txt

<A>It's two thousand five hundred dollars.

<F>Oh</F> <F>well</F> is that <F>er</F> <F>er</F> <R
unclearness="none">new</R> <SC unclearness="none">new one</SC> <R
unclearness="none">new</R> new model? O K. <pause
duration="short"></pause> Is that <F>er</F> discount?

<A><F>Oh</F> I'm sorry, sir. But I can't give you discount.

1.1.7 Yes

The *yes* pattern can be characteristic of learner language as the only utterance of *yes* functions as a request. This pattern should be distinguished from *responded yes* from the *supporting* category. The pattern of *yes* functions only as a head act, without having any other lexical head acts produced by learners.

In this pattern, the learner responds to the interlocutor's offer, which is shown in the box below. Most of the occurrences of this pattern can be found in lower learners'

production especially when the interlocutor tries to elicit the learners' response because the learners are not producing enough utterances during the interactions. As Examples 1 and 2 show, the learners' requests are initiated by the interlocutors' questions using *desire* verbs.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00680.txt

<A>That's why it's most expensive.

<F>Mhm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause>

<A>O K. Would you like to try?

Yes.

<A>Sure. O K. And after you try, will you let me know which one you want to buy?

<F>Mm</F>

<A>O K?

Yes.

Example 2: A2/learner429.txt

<A><F>Oh</F> I'm sorry, sir. But I can't give you discount.

<F>Oh</F> O K. <F>Er</F> <F>er</F> <R

unclearness="none">which</R> which cheaper than that one watch?

<F>Er</F>.

<A>Do you want to have cheaper one?

Yeah.

<A>O K.

1.1.8 Independent Politeness Marker Please

The pattern of *independent politeness marker please* functions similarly to the previous pattern of *yes*. This functions as an independent head act without having any lexical head acts. This should be distinguished from the pattern of *politeness marker please* in the *internal modification* category, and *yes please* and *please* of *responded yes please* as supporting segments. The former is found inside the head act, and *please* in the latter cases is produced with *yes*. In the following examples, each of the *please* is a response to the interlocutors' utterances, *Well let me ask my manager* and *I have to talk to him*.

Example 1: B1/learner521

<A><F>Um</F> you mean, our fault?

I mean, <F>er</F> the changing room was full. And <R

unclearness="none">if</R> if there was enough space, <F>mm</F>

<F>well</F> <SC unclearness="none">I got</SC> I tried it on. But I couldn't

wait for the people who were <F>er</F> shopping. <CO>So</CO>.

I mean, <F>er</F> the changing room was full. And <R

unclearness="none">if</R> if there was enough space, <F>mm</F>

<F>well</F> <SC unclearness="none">I got</SC> I tried it on. But I couldn't

wait for the people who were <F>er</F> shopping. <CO>So</CO>.

<A>O K. <F>Well</F> let me ask my manager.

<F>Oh</F> **Please**

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner425.txt

<F>Hm</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause> Discount,
 <laughter>please</laughter>.
 <A>O K. <F>Er</F> I have to check with my manager.
 <pause duration="short"></pause> <scripting
 unclarity="partly">Check</scripting>?
 <A>I have to talk to him.
 <F>Er</F>. <scripting unclarity="all"></scripting>. <F>Er</F>.
Please.

1.1.9 Performative

According to Flores Salgado (2011), *ask* and *require* are performatives in which “the speaker’s intention is explicitly named by using a relevant performative verb,” an example being “I *ask/require* you to move your car” (p. 248). Trosborg (1995) stated that “the speaker can convey a request simply by using a verb which explicitly signals the illocutionary force” (p. 190). See the section on speech act theory for the definitions of performative verbs by Austin (1966) and Searle (1969).

However, in the corpus, there is only one request using a *performative* made by one native-speaking subject, who is given an Advanced task.

Example 1: Native/native12.txt

<A>And in eight years, you don't know <SC unclarity="none">what he
 likes</SC> and what he dislikes.
 <F>Ur</F> that's not the issue we should be discussing currently. I'm asking
you <R unclarity="none">if we could</R><F>ur</F> if we could <F>ur</F>

exchange or refund it. But no, <SC unclerness="none">he doesn't</SC> often with little boys, you don't know what they like.
 <A><CO>I s</CO>.

Please also refer to the *conventionally indirect* request strategy category as there is an example where the learner produced a *performative* with the modal verb, *may*.

1.2 Conventionally Indirect Strategy

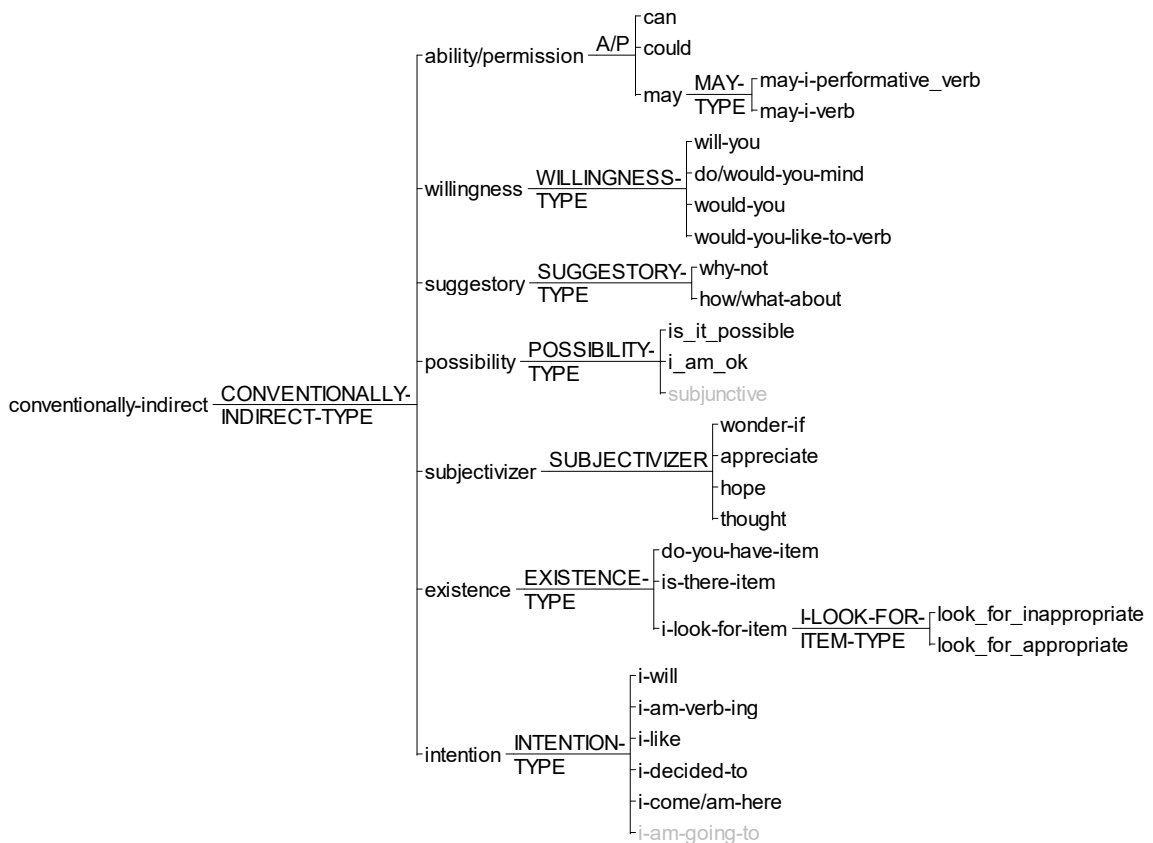


Figure B-2.1. The overall annotation scheme for *conventionally indirect* strategy.

1.2.1 Ability/Permission

According to Trosborg (1995), the hearer-based condition ability is a “heavily

routinized request form” (p. 197); Trosborg illustrated this type by giving examples such as “Can you pass me the butter, please?” and “Could you open the window for me, please?” (p. 199). The hearer can usually regard these example sentences as requests rather than literal questions regarding physical and mental abilities based on the circumstances. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) introduced examples such as “Can I borrow your notes?” and “Could you possibly get your assignment done this week?” as examples of “ability,” which refers to “a preparatory condition for the feasibility of the Request” (p. 280).

Therefore, as the modal ability verbs are conventionally used as requests asking for permission, the author named this category *ability/permission*. There are three modal verbs used in this category: (i) *can*, (ii) *could*, and (iii) *may*, as Figure B-2.2 shows.

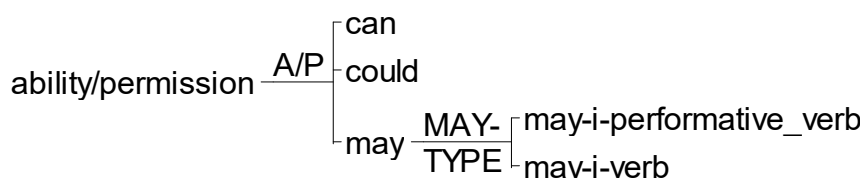


Figure B-2.2. Category of *ability/permission*.

1.2.1.1 Can

As previously mentioned in the section on *direct strategy*, there are two types of perspectives: speaker-dominant or hearer-dominant (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 278). The first example below is speaker-dominant, and is produced in a typical situation where the learner asks to test an item at a shop. On the other hand, Example 2 shows a hearer-dominant perspective. It should also be noted that the request in the third example is hearer-dominant, but *you* should have been produced as *I*, referring to the contextual information. The interlocutor, in fact, seems to regard *Can you see other shirts?* and *Can you try it on?* as “Can I see other shirts?” and “Can I try it on?” from his or her responses

following them.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00404.txt

<F>Er</F> color is <F>mm</F> brown. Do you have?

<A>Sure, how about this one?

Yeah. <F>Urm</F> <R unclerness="none">can I</R> can I try it?

<A>Sure, go ahead.

Example 2: B1/learner895.txt

So <R unclerness="none">I</R> <R unclerness="none">I'd like to</R>

<F>um</F> I'd like to change this one to the other one.

<A><F>Oh</F>. I'm very sorry, but it's against our store policy.

<F>Uum</F>. But <F>well</F> or <R unclerness="none">can I</R> can I get this back, and <R unclerness="none">can</R> can you back the money for me?

<A><F>Uum</F>. I'm sorry I can't.

Example 3: A1(Intermediate)/learner798.txt

<F>Oh</F>. <pause duration="long"></pause> Can you see other shirts?

<A><F>Err</F>. Sure. You can see it from here.

<F>Ee</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> <JP>ja</JP>. This one. Can you try it on?

<A><F>Err</F>. Sure. <F>Er</F>. But we don't have the size for you.

1.2.1.2 Could

The modal verb *could* is also produced in speaker- or hearer-dominant perspectives. Example 1 shows a speaker-dominant perspective, while Example 2 shows a hearer-dominant perspective.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner120.txt

<pause duration="short"></pause> <R unclarity="none">Could I</R>
could I use credit card?

<A><F>Ah</F> what kind of card do you have?

J C B card.

Example 2: B1/learner620.txt

<CO>And reason it doesn't work well</CO>. <F>Urr</F>. I have done all the things on <SC unclarity="none">the</SC> <F>err</F> what is said on the papers. So it should be working <pause duration="short"></pause> well, but it doesn't work well. So, could you change to another new products?

<A>I am sorry. We don't have any exchange policy.

1.2.1.3 May

The modal verb *may* can be classified into two types: *may I verb* and *may I performative verb*. Both of them are in a speaker-dominant perspective.

1.2.1.3.1 Type 1: May I verb

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner922.txt

<A>You can try it, if you like.

O K. Thank you. <F>Huum</F>. May I try it on?

<A>Sure.

1.2.1.3.2 Type 2: May performative verb

There is only one occurrence of *may I performative verb*. In the example below, *ask* is a performative, which can be categorized as *performative* in the *direct* category; however, as the modal verb *may* is produced, it is annotated as one of the *conventionally indirect* strategies.

Example 1: B1/file00022.txt

But when I went back <R unclerness="none">to my</R> <F>uh</F> to my
<F>er</F> house and I tried on that sweater, <R unclerness="none">I don't</R>
I don't like the color. So may I ask you to change <F>uh</F> this one to <SC
unclerness="none">the</SC> another color?

<A><F>Um</F> I'm sorry. This is against our policy.

1.2.2 Willingness

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) gave the following as an example of “willingness” in the “preparatory” category: “I was wondering if you *would* give me a lift” (p. 280). According to Trosborg (1995), “willingness” is a type of requests “concerning the hearer’s willingness to carry out the desired act” but “the requester does not take compliance for granted” (p. 199). She illustrated this concept by giving such examples as “Will you do the shopping today?,” “Won’t you give me a hand?,” and “Would you lend me a copy of your book?” Therefore, in this study, hearer-dominant patterns with lexical features such as “will you,” “do/would you mind,” “would you,” and “would you like to verb” are annotated in the “willingness” category.

On the other hand, Trosborg (1995) also provided example sentences such as “I’d be grateful if you’d send me a parts list,” “I’d appreciate it if you’d help me just this once,” “It would be a big help if you passed me the keys,” and “I hope you wouldn’t mind giving me a hand.” She noted that these examples are requests that may be “embedded in expressions of appreciation, hope, etc. on behalf of the requester” (p. 199).

In the present study, when modal verbs denoting willingness such as *will* or *would* are contained in the embedded clauses such as *I hope* and *I appreciate*, these patterns are classified as belonging to the *subjectivizer* category in the *conventionally indirect* patterns. See more details in the section describing *subjectivizer* (see 1.2.5). There are four patterns in this category: (i) *will you*, (ii) *do/would you mind*, (iii) *would you*, and (iv) *would you like to verb*.

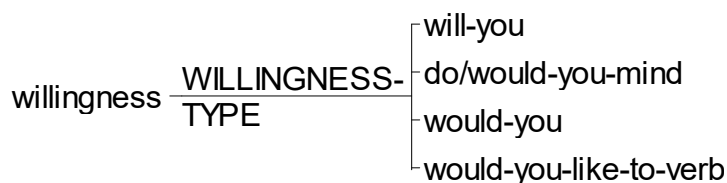


Figure B-2.3. Category of *willingness*.

1.2.2.1 Will you

Example 1: B1/file01242.txt

<A><pretask>O K?</pretask> May I help you?

<F>Ur</F> I just want to take this back. <nvs>laughter</nvs> But <R
 unclarity="none">I</R> <R unclarity="none">I</R> I went to home, and I
 open it. But actually I don't like it so will you exchange it into, <F>ur</F> is it
 into money?

<A>Whichever.

1.2.2.2 Do/would you mind

Example 1: B1/file00057.txt

<A>O K? Good morning, Ma'am. How can I help you?

Yes. <F>Erm</F> I bought this sweater this Sunday, but it's not fit to me. **Do you mind changing this <R unclarity="none">swe</R> sweater more smaller one?**

Example 2: B1/learner1254.txt

last Saturday. But it was actually too small for me. **So <SC unclarity="none">would you mind if I have a</SC> would you mind if I exchange with a larger <scripting unclarity="partly">one</scripting>?**

<A><F>Oh</F>. <F>Ur</F> I'm sorry, but as it says here, <F>urm</F> it's against our policy to exchange or refund any items.

1.2.2.3 Would you

Example 1: B1/file00027.txt

<A>Hello, may I help you?

<F>Mm</F>. I bought <F>urm</F> sweater yesterday but <SC unclarity="none">it</SC> the size is not good for me, **so would you change a sweater?**

<A><F>Oh</F>. I'm very sorry but it's against our policy to give you refund or make exchanges.

1.2.2.4 Would you like to verb

Only one occurrence of this type is observed, and as the following excerpt shows, this should be an unsuitable request, and the learner should have said “could you wrap it specially?” instead.

Example 1: A2/learner198.txt

<A>O K. <F>Mm</F> and <F>ah</F> how can I wrap?
<pause duration="short"></pause> <F>A</F> <F>uuh</F>.
<A><CO>Do you use</CO>.
<F>Ah</F> <R unclarity="none">I</R> <R
unclarity="none">I</R> <F>uh</F> <F>a</F> I want to <F>uh</F>
<pause duration="short"></pause> <F>uh</F> present my friends this one. So
<F>uh</F> would you like to wrap specially?
<A>O K, sure.

1.2.3 Suggestory

Trosborg (1995) stated that “a request can be made by means of various ‘suggestory formulae,’” and is hearer-dominant. She provided examples such as “How about lending me some of your records?” and “Why don’t you come with me?” (p. 201). The same patterns such as (i) *why not* and (ii) *how/what about* are observed in the corpus as follows.

1.2.3.1 Why not

Example 1: B1/file00027.txt

<A>Yes, of course, if the <F>er</F> item is faulty. Yes, of course we will change it for the customer. But I don't think anything <SC unclerness="none">wrong</SC> is wrong with the sweater. It's nicely knit, and no problem, and I think it suits you very well.

<F>Urm</F>. I see, <F>mm</F> but <F>mm</F> *why don't you go to outside and look at the color <R unclerness="none">with</R> with me?*

<A><F>Uhu</F>. O K. O K. Since you're a good customer, I'll see what I can do. I'll see the manager. O K? <F>Oh</F> yes. And O K. He says we will make an exchange for you.

1.2.3.2 How/what about

Example 1: A2/learner842.txt

<A>I can give you three percent off.

Three percent off? <F>Err</F> let's see, it's not enough. So, *how about <F>er</F> ten percent off?*

<A>That's way too much. Five?

Example 2: B1/learner1020.txt

<F>Ohh</F>. But could you do that?

<A>I'm afraid I cannot do anything about it.

So.

<A>I was told from my boss that.

So *what about just refund?*

<A>No. There's no refund.

1.2.4 Possibility

This category is original to the present study. The learner makes a request asking for the possibilities of any activities such as offering exchanges of items or discounts. There are three categories: (i) *Is it possible*, (ii) *I am OK*, and (iii) *Subjunctive*.

In the first category, *Is it OK* and *Is it possible* are typical patterns, and the perspectives are not usually clarified by the use of pronouns such as *I* and *you* as the first two examples show. In the third example, however, the perspective is clarified by *for me*.

Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) referred to “possibility” in the “preparatory” category (p. 280), giving an example such as “*Could you possibly get your assignment done this week?,*” but the present study classifies this example as belonging to the *ability/permission* category, with the use of downgraders such as *possibly*.

1.2.4.1 Is it possible

Example 1: B1/file01242.txt

<F>Oh</F> then <F>ur</F> ***it's O K*** to <F>ur</F> exchange into the normal price, not special. But I just want to give it back.</DR></RQ></HA> Is it O K?

<A>O K. <F>Urm</F> I'm a part-timer and I really can't make the decision. My boss is out right now. So.

Example 2: A2/learner403.txt

<A><F>Uh-hm</F>. O K. It's SEIKO's one.

<F>Oh</F>. Yeah. <F>Urr</F>. ***Is it possible to discount?***

<A><F>Well</F>. It's a new one, so we can't.

Example 3: B1/file00873.txt

<F>Erm</F>. I bought this clothes <F>er</F> the other day.

But <F>erm</F> it didn't really fit to my size. So, *would it be possible for me to exchange it to the other size?*

<A><F>Oh</F>. Just a moment. O K. But you tried it on,

<pause duration="short"></pause> <F>Er</F>.

<A>when you buy it. You didn't try it on?

1.2.4.2 I am OK

There are only two occurrences of the second pattern, “I am OK if...”

Example 1: B1/File00022.txt

So *I'm O K* <R unclarity="none">if you</R> <F>um</F> if you give me a red sweater with <R unclarity="none">no</R> no extra money. <F>Ah</F>

I mean <SC unclarity="none">I can</SC> I'm O K if you don't get me one thousand yen and a red sweater if you get me a red sweater.

<A>I see, O K. <F>Uh-huh</F> so I can't give you a margin but it's O K?

1.2.4.3 Subjunctive

The *subjunctive* patterns are only produced by native-speaking subjects. According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), an example of “subjunctive” is “Might be better if you *were to leave* now” (p. 282). This is also categorized as one of the syntactic downgraders in Flores Salgado (2010), in line with “interrogatives,” “negation,” “conditional clause,” “tense,” “modals,” and “tag questions” (p. 249).

Example 1: Native/native14.txt

<F>Oh</F> yeah. That would be great.

<A><scripting unclarity="partly">Different
size</scripting>?

If I could exchange it for a better size, that would work out perfectly.

<A>Same color, same material.

1.2.5 Subjectivizer

Subjectivizer has four patterns such as (i) *wonder if*, (ii) *appreciate*, (iii) *hope*, and (iv) *think/thought*. This segment functions as the head act of a *conventionally indirect* strategy, and should be distinguished from *DM subjectivizers* I think and I hope, which functions as an internal modifier to the head act.

1.2.5.1 Wonder if

Example 1: B1/file00255.txt

<F>Oh</F>. Yes. <pause duration="short"></pause> <R
unclearness="none">You</R> you know, I feel <scripting
unclearness="all"></scripting> ago, <F>erm</F> <pause
duration="short"></pause> I bought this watch <pause
duration="short"></pause> and it seems really nice when I <R
unclearness="none">s</R> <pause duration="short"></pause> saw this <pause
duration="short"></pause> at this shop. But after I got home, I thought, you
know, this is not the <R unclarity="none">exact</R> exact thing I was looking
for.</SM> **So, I was wondering, you know, if I can get <pause**

duration="short"></pause> refund or <pause duration="short"></pause> change to something else.

<A><F>Hmm</F>. What were you expecting?

1.2.5.2 Appreciate

Example 1: B1/file01207.txt

<F>Mm-hm</F>. Yeah, <SC unclerness="none">if you</SC> I do appreciate that if you could talk to your manager or the one who <SC unclerness="none">is</SC> actually supervise this section.

<A>O K. So probably you can talk to my boss.

<F>Mm-hm</F>. Sure. No problem. Thank you for your help.

1.2.5.3 Hope

Example 1: B1/learner788.txt

<F>Uum</F>. No, I didn't. <SC unclerness="none">I just</SC> you know, <R unclerness="none">I</R> I saw it, and I just fall in love in the dress, and then just bought it.

<A><F>Uhu</F>.

So I hope you can exchange other bigger one.

<A><F>Err</F>. <SC unclerness="none">Are you</SC> <nvs>laughter</nvs> you already bought this <SC unclerness="none">in</SC> without trying. Yeah. <CO>And brought this back to home and</CO>.

1.2.5.4 Thought

There are only three occurrences of this pattern produced by B1 learners: two of them are produced in the past tense, and one is in the past progressive. This should be distinguished from *subjunctive* discourse markers such as *I think* in the category of *internal modification*.

Example 1: B1/file00657.txt

<F>Urm</F>. About <F>urm</F> <SC unclarity="none">this</SC>
<F>ur</F> <F>ur</F> <F>um</F> <SC unclarity="none">the</SC>
<nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>ur</F> this notebook I bought yesterday, <F>urm</F> I
thought I could exchange this into the other color. Is that possible?
<A>I'm sorry, mom. It's against our policy.

Example 2: B1/file00873.txt

<A>when you buy it. You didn't try it on?
When I buy? <F>Er</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause> <R
unclarity="none">I</R> <R unclarity="none">I</R> I did. <pause
duration="short"></pause> But <F>erm</F> it really didn't match me after
getting back home when I <SC unclarity="none">try it</SC> tried it again. So
<F>erm</F> <F>er</F> it's only yesterday that I bought. So I was thinking
whether <F>erm</F> it's possible <R unclarity="none">to</R> to change it to
the other type.

1.2.6 Existence

The author originally developed the category of *existence*, with a view to

extracting requestive features that are specific to shopping situations. Trosborg (1995) defined “availability” as one of the hinting strategies, showing examples such as “Is there any coffee left?,” “You don’t happen to have a pen, do you?,” and so on (p. 195). The present study deals with requests asking the existence of particular items as conventionally indirect strategies, referring to Leech’s comment (2014) that “Got a pen?” is a “highly conventionalized” request (p. 143). There are three patterns: (i) *do you have item*, which is hearer-dominant; (ii) *is there item*, whose perspective is not clarified; and (iii) *I look for*, which is speaker-dominant.

1.2.6.1 Do you have item

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00404.txt

<R_unclearness="none">***Do you have do you have any jacket?***

<A>Yeah, we have many kinds of jackets.

1.2.6.2 Is there item

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner835.txt

<pause duration="long"></pause> ***Is there another color?***

<A>Color <F>ah</F> O K. <F>Er</F> we have <F>e</F> red and blue.

1.2.6.3 I look for item

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner675.txt

<A>All right. May I help you, sir?

<F>Mm</F> Yes. ***I'm looking for ur some shirts.***

<A><F>Mm-hm</F>

1.2.7 Intention

The category of *intention* is also original to the present study. There are five types: (i) *I will*, (ii) *I'm verb-ing*, (iii) *I like*, (iv) *I decided to*, and (v) *I come/am here*. All of them are speaker-dominant. These patterns are classified as *conventionally indirect strategies* since the original literal surface meanings of these lexical forms do not have requestive functions, but can be conventionally used as requests in shopping transactions. The author identified the requestive force, referring to the contextual information wherein these patterns occur. For example, the modal verb, *will*, which is originally used when someone is willing or deciding to do something, is used as a request in the first example, *I will*.

1.2.7.1 I will

Example 1: A2/learner555.txt

<A><F>Oh</F> It's twenty-five dollars.

Fine. So I'll take it.

1.2.7.2 I am verb-ing

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner451.txt

<A>O K. Now is on sale, it's just five thousand yen.

Yeah. <F>Oh</F> I'm buying.

1.2.7.3 I like

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner675.txt

<F>Mm</F> And <F>ur</F> I prefer the color blue.

<A>O K. So look at these two shirts. Both are blue, and good for your suits.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner463.txt

<A>O K. How about these three?

<F>Ah</F> <F>umm</F> *I like this one.*

1.2.7.4 I decided to

Example 1: A2/learner1170.txt

<A><F>Err</F> I think <SC unclarity="none">the quality is</SC> this one quality is best but very expensive. And this one <F>uum</F> so-so and price is <F>um</F> <laughter>so-so</laughter> and this one, very cheap. <F>Erm</F> that's maybe the <SC unclarity="none">diffe</SC> price difference.

Yes. <F>Uum</F> *I decided that one.* The middle one.

1.2.7.5 I come/am here

Example 1: A2/learner801.txt

<A>O K. Hi. May I help you, sir?

<F>Err</F> <F>err</F>. Today, <R unclarity="none">I</R> *I come to here* <R unclarity="none">to</R> to see some <pause duration="short"></pause> personal computers.

<A><F>Uhu</F>.

1.2.7.6 I am going to

This pattern is only produced by two native-speaking subjects.

Example 1: Native/native5.txt

<F>Er</F> I'm looking for a sort of a baggier fit. Do you have any ones that fit a little bit more baggy than others?

<A><F>Oh</F> how about this pair?

<F>Hm</F>. These look good. Yeah. <F>Er</F> <R
unclearness="none">I'm gonna</R> I'm gonna try these on.

<A>Sure. O K.

1.3 Not-Classifiable

The patterns in this category are all unsuitable features, which cannot be categorized into any of the other types. There are 17 occurrences extracted from the corpus. It is difficult to assume the intended meanings of some of the utterances.

In Example 1, *Er this buy it* does not contain a subject in the sentence, showing an intention of purchase. This learner actually shows three occurrences of this pattern.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1129.txt

<A><F>Ahh</F>. Sorry, we have no white color.

<F>Hm</F>.

<A><F>Hm</F>.

<F>Er</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> this buy it.

<A>O K. <F>Hmm</F>. How would you like to pay?

It seems that the transcription *collar* in the following example should be misspelled by the transcriber, and it should be changed into *color*. The learner probably asks for a different color from that of the item that costs two hundred dollars.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner406.txt

<A><F>Well</F> this is two hundred thousand dollars.

<F>Ohh</F>. Two hundred thousand dollars. <pause

duration="short"></pause> **A collar we choice <F>er</F> something else?**

<A><F>Uh-hm</F>.

<SC unclarity="none">I want</SC> <F>ur</F> <R

unclarity="none">what</R> <R unclarity="none">what</R> <F>ee</F>

what color do you have?

In Example 3, it can be assumed the learner would like to buy an item which is cheaper than ten thousand yen.

Example 3: A1(Intermediate)/learner745.txt

<A>We have so many.

Yes. <F>Uum</F>. <R unclarity="none">I like</R> I like black color.

<A><F>Uhu</F>.

<SC unclarity="none">So</SC> and <F>er</F> <pause

duration="short"></pause> **<SC unclarity="none">the <F>uum</F> price**

is</SC> <F>uum</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> I bought the price is

<pause duration="short"></pause> <F>um</F> clothes and pants and shoes.

everything <F>uum</F> under <pause duration="short"></pause>

<F>um</F> <F>um</F> <F>er</F> ten thousand yen.

<A><F>Oh</F>. That's very difficult.

<nvs>laughter</nvs>

In Example 4, the learner should have said “I want to give this as a present to my friend.”

Example 4: A2/file00115.txt

<F>Um</F> do you have white T-shirts?

<A>Yes, we have lots of white T-shirts.

<F>Ah</F> I'm present for my friend.

<A><F>Mhm</F>.

In Example 5, it is assumed that the learner wants to ask the shop assistant to give him or her advice on an item that is suitable for the simple gold rings.

Example 5: A2/learner576.txt

So <F>er</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> how recommend

<F>er</F> to a.

<A><F>Hm</F>. O K.

<scripting unclarity="partly">accessory</scripting>?

<A><F>Er</F>. Those simple gold rings,

<F>Mh-hmm</F>.

The same learner produces the excerpt below. This excerpt is interpretable, but is produced in the past tense. It is recognized as the head act since the following *OK?* supports the head act with the function of confirming (see the section on supporting segments).

Example 6: A2/learner576.txt

<A><F>Mh-hmm</F>.

So <R unclarity="none">I</R> <F>erm</F> I came <SC unclarity="none">back here</SC> <F>er</F> right back here. O K?

1.4 Internal Modification

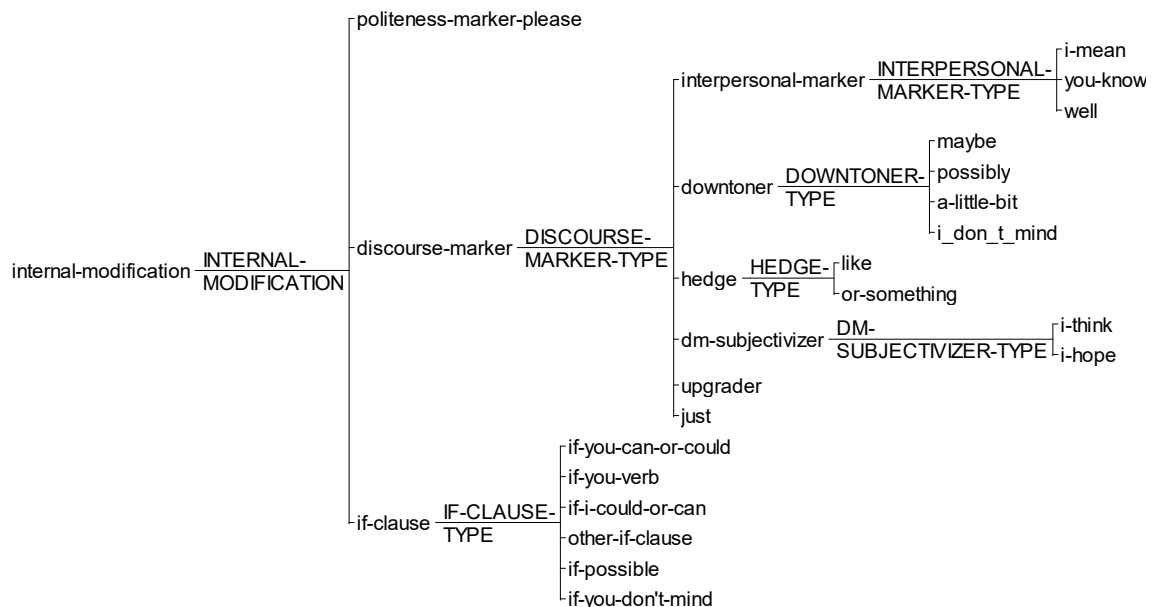


Figure B-3.1. The overall annotation scheme for *internal modification*

1.4.1 Politeness marker please

According to Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), *politeness marker* is one of the “lexical and phrasal down graders,” which are “optional additions to soften the impositive

force of the Request by modifying the Head Act internally through specific lexical and phrasal choices” (p. 283). *Politeness marker* is defined as “an optional element added to a request to bid for cooperative behavior” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 283).

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00404.txt

Nice. <F>Erm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>ee</F> <JP>sone
sonde</JP> <F>mm</F> O K. <R unclarity="none">I</R> <F>mm</F> I can
get brown one. *please.*
<A>O K. <F>Uh-huh</F>.

1.4.2 Discourse marker

To date, discourse markers have been researched and defined by many researchers such as Fung and Carter (2007) and Müller (2004; 2005). In the current study, *discourse markers* are divided into (i) *interpersonal markers*, (ii) *downtoners*, (iii) *hedges*, (iv) *discourse marker (DM) subjectivizers*, (v) *upgraders*, and (vi) *just*. Patterns such as (i), (ii), (iii), and (v) are identified as lexical and phrasal downgraders by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and Flores Salgado (2010).

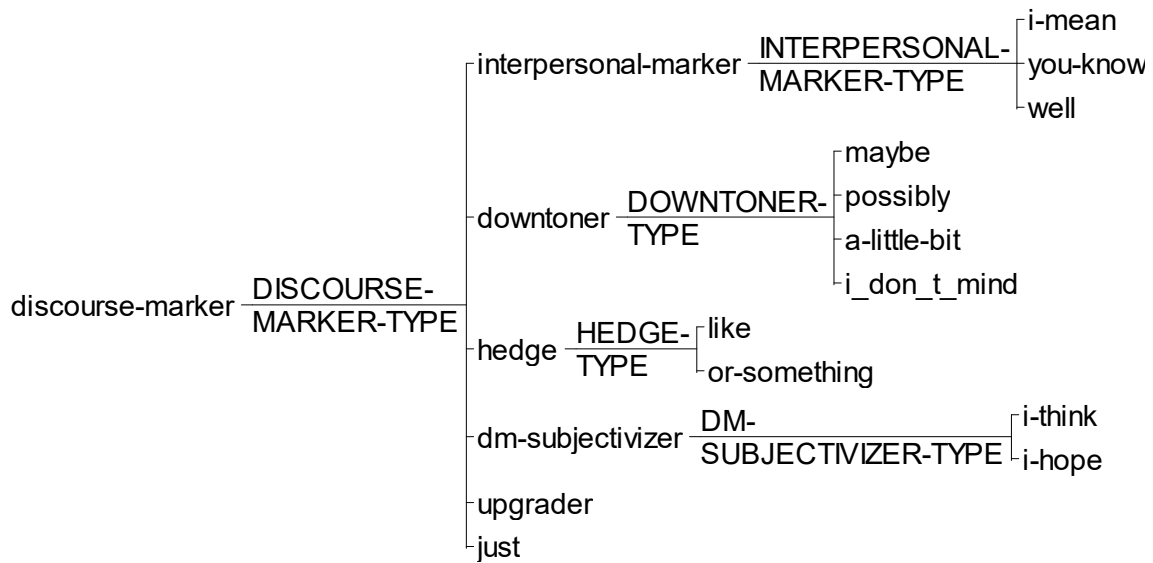


Figure B-3.2. Category of discourse markers

1.4.2.1 Interpersonal marker

Interpersonal markers are illustrated by features such as “I mean,” “right,” “okay,” and “you know” (Flores Salgado, 2010, p. 250). In the present study, there are three patterns identified: (i) *I mean*, (ii) *you know*, and (iii) *well*.

1.4.2.1.1 Type 1: I mean

There are three occurrences of *I mean*. *What to say*, which almost functions the same as *I mean*, is also categorized into this group as the second example shows.

Example 1: B1/file00022.txt

So I'm O K <R unclerness="none">if you</R> <F>um</F> if you give me a red sweater with <R unclerness="none">no</R> no extra money. <F>Ah</F> ***I mean*** <SC unclerness="none">I can</SC> I'm O K if you don't get me one thousand yen and a red sweater if you get me a red sweater.
<A>I see, O K. <F>Uh-huh</F> so I can't give you a margin but it's

O K?

Example 2: A2/learner904.txt

<A>All right. That's on this side.

<F>Hum</F>. <R unclarity="none">And</R> and <F>ur</F> do you have <F>ur</F> any <F>uh</F> **what to say**, <F>uh</F> cushion inside?

<A>Sure.

1.4.2.1.2 Type 2: you know

There are three occurrences of this pattern. The following example shows that *you know* is used three times, but only the last one modifies the requestive head act, not the first two, which are shown in bold letters.

Example 1: B1/file00255.txt

<A>May I help you?

<F>Oh</F>. Yes. <pause duration="short"></pause> <R unclarity="none">You</R> you know, I feel <scripting unclarity="all"></scripting> ago, <F>erm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> I bought this watch <pause duration="short"></pause> and it seems really nice when I <R unclarity="none">s</R> <pause duration="short"></pause> saw this <pause duration="short"></pause> at this shop. But after I got home, I thought, **you know**, this is not the <R unclarity="none">exact</R> exact thing I was looking for. So, I was wondering, you know, if I can get <pause duration="short"></pause> refund or <pause duration="short"></pause> change to something else.

<A><F>Hmm</F>. What were you expecting?

1.4.2.1.3 Type 3: well

There are 13 occurrences of *well*; however, nine of them are produced by one single learner, who is the speaker of the following example.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1096.txt

<A>Hi, how may I help you?

<F>Well</F> I want a new jacket.

<A><F>Mm-hm</F>.

<F>Well</F> do you have any jackets. <F>oh</F> <F>well</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> <SC unclarity="none">to</SC> <F>ur</F> <SC unclarity="none">can</SC> which I can use in office or <R unclarity="none">in</R> in official, casual <R unclarity="none">bo</R> both we can use?

1.4.2.2 Downtoner

Downtoners are defined as “sentential or propositional modifiers that are used by a speaker in order to modulate the impact his or her request is likely to have on the hearer” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 284): “possibly” and “perhaps” are given as examples.

1.4.2.1.1 Type 1: maybe

There are seven occurrences in this category. The first example shows a rather strong request with the pattern of “you can,” which is the only one to be found in the

corpus. *Maybe* does not seem to soften the impositive requestive force much. Compared to the first example, the second example sounds less strong.

Example 1: B1/file00087.txt

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>. That's against <R unclarity="none">our</R> our store policy.

Yes, but <R unclarity="none">I</R> I didn't use this one yet and <F>er</F> I think <F>er</F> <F>er</F> you know, cooling-off for that kind, <R unclarity="none">I</R> I can <F>er</F> return this to you. And <F>er</F> <R unclarity="none">you</R> you can give me <F>er</F> the one I want or maybe <R unclarity="none">you</R> you can <F>er</F> <SC unclarity="none">give me the money</SC> <SC unclarity="none">pay</SC> <nvs>laughter</nvs> or pay me?

<A>But you said that you like the color and design.

Example 2: B1/learner521.txt

<A>O K. Good evening. May I help you, ma'am?

<F>Oh</F> good evening. Yes. <F>Um</F> I bought <F>um</F> this <F>um</F> <F>uum</F> skirt <F>um</F> about <R unclarity="none">two</R> two days ago. And I tried on <F>um</F> in my <R unclarity="none">h</R> home. But <F>well</F> it seems like it's <F>um</F> too small for me. And <F>um</F> <F>well</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> I would like you to <SC unclarity="none">other</SC> <F>um</F> change to <R

unclearness="none">another</R> another skirt, or, *maybe*, <R
unclearness="none">pay back</R> <F>um</F> pay back money. <F>Um</F>.

Could I do that?

1.4.2.1.2 Type 2: possibly

There are only three occurrences of this pattern, and three of them were produced by the following speaker.

Example 2: B1/learner1158.txt

<SC unclearness="none">And this shirts</SC> but <F>um</F> <R
unclearness="none">I</R> <R unclearness="none">I</R> <F>uum</F> I tried
this shirt at home, but I'm sorry, <R unclearness="none">I</R> <F>err</F> <SC
unclearness="none">I'm not</SC> <R unclearness="none">I don't like</R> I
don't like it. So <F>err</F> I wonder if you could *possibly* <F>err</F> replace
this shirt.

<A><F>Uum</F> I'm sorry. It's against our policy.

1.4.2.1.3 Type 3: a little bit

There is only one occurrence of this pattern as follows.

Example 1: A2/learner1081.txt

Thirty thousand. <F>Nn</F>. I have no money. <nvs>laughter</nvs> So,
<F>mm</F> I will take <F>um</F> Japanese one. <F>Nn</F>.
<JP><F>Nn</F></JP>. If possible, <F>nn</F> could you <F>nn</F> discount,
please?

<A><F>Oh</F> I am sorry. I can't.

<F>Nn</F>. So I play the guitar for you, <F>mm</F> could you discount

<scripting unclarity="partly">a little bit</scripting>?

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs> O K. This time, I will talk to my manager.

1.4.2.1.4 Type 4: I don't mind

There is only one occurrence of this pattern as follows.

Example 1: B1/learner328.txt

<A>We have red.

Red? <F>Umm</F>. Not red. <nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Umm</F>. <R

unclearness="none">Or</R> or <R unclarity="none">other</R> <R

unclearness="none">other</R> other products like <F>um</F> scarf or

<F>um</F> T-shirt. ***I don't mind.***

<A>O K, O K, then. Please come this way. And I'll show you.

1.4.2.3 Hedge

Hedges are defined as “adverbials used by a speaker when he or she wishes to avoid a precise propositional specification in order to avoid the potential provocation of such precision,” illustrated, for example, as “somehow” and “kind of” by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989, p. 284).

1.4.2.3.1 Type 1: like

There is only one occurrence of this pattern as follows. In the following example, the pattern of *like*, which functions as an internal modifier of the head act, is in

the second one, while the first one appears within a supportive move, but not in a requestive speech act. The modifier *like* is combined with *if possible*.

Example 1: B1/file01216.txt

<A>O K. May I help you, sir?

Yes, please. <F>Um</F> <SC unclarity="none">I bought</SC> yesterday, I <SC unclarity="none">came to he</SC> I came here and bought <F>um</F> a coat. But the coat has some holes at <F>um</F> the shoulder part and I didn't notice that there was the hole <SC unclarity="none">in the</SC> in this coat yesterday. And *like* when I came back, I noticed that there was a hole. So <F>um</F> I'd like to change this coat to new one

<A><nvs>sigh</nvs>

like if possible.

<A>I'm sorry. It's against the policy. We can't do that.

1.4.2.3.2 Type 2: or something

There is only one occurrence of this pattern as follows.

Example 1: A2/learner1019.txt

<F>Uh-huh</F>. And <F>uhh</F> now, <F>uhh</F> <R unclarity="none">could you</R> could you <F>umm</F> discount more?

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>

<laughter>or something</laughter>?

1.4.2.4 Discourse marker (DM) subjectivizer

Subjectivizers are “elements in which the speaker explicitly expresses his or her subjective opinion vis-à-vis the state of affairs referred to in the position, thus lowering the assertive force of his request,” including “I’m afraid,” “I wonder,” and “I think/believe/suppose” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 284). In this study, in order to distinguish between a subjectivizer functioning as the head act of a conventionally indirect strategy and a subjectivizer functioning as an internal modifier, the latter is named as the *DM subjectivizer*.

1.4.2.4.1 Type 1: I think

There were four occurrence of this patter in the whole data. The following example shows two occurrences of *I think*, and the second one functions as an internal modifier to the requestive head act.

Example 1: A2/learner1143.txt

Yes. And <F>um</F> maybe, ***I think*** <F>er</F> <SC
unclearness="none">she's a</SC> <F>mm</F> she's prepared to many
<F>eeh</F> baby's goods. <F>Mm</F> so ***I think*** <F>er</F> I'd like to
<F>mm</F> present <F>er</F> <F>mm</F> new <F>mm</F> shoes or new
clothes <SC unclearness="none">for <F>m</F> her children</SC> <F>m</F>
for her baby. Yes. <F>Um</F> <F>um</F> <R unclearness="none">please</R>
<F>um</F> please tell me <F>er</F> baby's shoes?
<A><F>Oh</F>. O K. <F>Well</F> how about this gift package? <F>Well</F>
it's all in there. Like shoes and clothes.

1.4.2.4.2 Type 2: I hope

There are two occurrence of this pattern in the whole data.

Example 1: A2/learner704.txt

<F>Err</F>. So <F>uum</F> <F>uum</F> casual watch <F>uum</F> <SC
unclearness="none">prai</SC> that price is almost <SC unclearness="none">ten
<F>er</F> sorry</SC>, <JP>doregurai</JP> <SC
unclearness="none">two</SC> <F>er</F> <SC unclearness="none">one
hundred <F>er</F> sorry</SC> <F>uum</F> <SC
unclearness="none">hun</SC> <F>mm</F> <R unclearness="none">one
thousand</R> <F>uum</F> <SC unclearness="none">one thousand
<F>uum</F> <F>er</F> sorry</SC> <pause duration="long"></pause>
<F>er</F> one hundred thousand <F>uum</F> yen, ***I hope***. So <F>uum</F> and
<JP>nanteiunokana</JP> <F>er</F> <R unclearness="none">I want</R>
<F>uum</F> <JP>nanteiu</JP> <SC unclearness="none">I want <R
unclearness="none">new</R> <F>er</F> new</SC> <pause
duration="short"></pause> <SC unclearness="none">I want</SC> <F>er</F> I
didn't like <F>err</F> so <F>err</F> very <F>err</F> luxury style.
<A><F>Hum</F>.

1.4.2.5 Upgrader

Upgraders function “to increase the impact of the request,” including lexical features such as “I’m sure/certain” and “surely/certainly” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, p. 285). In the present study, *really* (see Examples 1 and 2), *do* (see Example 2), *yeah* (see Example 3), *definitely* (see Example 4), and *or not* (see Example 5) are found as follows.

There are 13 occurrences, and all of them are produced by B1 learners.

Example 1: B1/file00641.txt

But the size was too small for me. So if you can, I *really* want you to <SC unclarity="none">change</SC> exchange.

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.

But is it O K?

The following example shows a combination of *do* and *really*.

Example 2: B1/learner352.txt

<SC unclarity="none">And I</SC> <pause duration="short"></pause>
<F>mm</F> but <SC unclarity="none">it</SC> <pause
duration="short"></pause> it's not so good. I mean <pause
duration="short"></pause> too bad, <pause duration="short"></pause>
<F>mmm</F> worse than I <R unclarity="none">e</R> expected. So <pause
duration="short"></pause> I *do really* want to return it to you.
<A><F>Hmm</F>. I'm sorry to say, but it's <pause duration="short"></pause>
just against our policy.

Example 3: B1/learner623.txt

<A>O K. May I help you, Sir?

Yeah, I bought this goods <F>um</F> today, but, <F>um</F> after I went
back to my home, I opened the package. So, yeah, maybe, <F>um</F> how can I
say, when I saw this <R unclarity="none">go</R> goods at the this

department, is a very nice for me. But, <F>uh</F> in a home, I opened the packages, the, how can I say, colors something different <SC unclerness="none">my</SC> from my image. Maybe, it cause by the, how can I say, decoration light or, department stores <F>uh</F> <F>ee</F> <F>er</F> installed the special lights so make the color more vivid or something. So, <F>uh</F> would you please change <SC unclerness="none">other clothes</SC> other colors, yeah?

<A>You checked at the store, right?

Example 4: B1/learner966.txt

<A>Sorry, you can't. <F>Well</F> it's against our policy because it was on sale.

<F>Mmm</F> I understand it was on sale, but <F>umm</F> <R unclerness="none">even</R> even that, I heard that <R unclerness="none">if</R> if it's not a sale, <F>umm</F> you can have it back, so I *definitely* want the money back.

<A><F>Ohh</F>.

Example 4: B1/learner630.txt

<A>But you want it.

I don't want this.

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>

Can I change *or not*?

<A>Have you ever tried these shoes?

1.4.2.6 Just

Just can be either a downtoner or an upgrader, as McCarthy et al. (2006b) explained by stating, “you can use just to make what you say stronger. It can mean ‘very’ or ‘really’” and “you can also use just to make what you say softer. It can mean ‘only’” in their ELT textbook, so it is independently categorized. There are 18 occurrences: three of them are produced by A2 learners (see Example 1 below), and the remaining ones are produced by B1 learners (see Example 2).

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00757.txt

Just a moment, please.

<A>O K. O K. So I'll wait for you, so see you in five minutes.

Example 1: B1/file00554.txt

<A>All right. Yes, ma'am. How may I help you?

<F>Um</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause> <R

unclearness="none">I</R> <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>um</F>

<nvs>laughter</nvs> <R unclarity="none">I</R> I bought, like a product

<F>um</F> from your place, like yesterday. And <R unclarity="none">I</R>

<F>um</F> I took it to my place, but <R unclarity="none">I</R> I found out

that I didn't like it. And I'm just wondering if I can exchange it.

<A>What did you buy exactly?

1.4.3 If clause

The *if clause* is contrastive to a *subjunctive* of the *conventionally* indirect strategy. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) noted that “only optional subjunctive forms are coded

downgraders” (p. 283). The following *if clauses* function as internal modifiers of head acts such as desire verbs *want* and *would like*, the *imperative*, and the modal verb *could*.

1.4.3.1 Type 1: If you can or could

There are five occurrences of this pattern, all produced by B1 learners as follows.

Example 1: B1/file00554.txt

But the size was too small for me. So *if you can*, I really want you to <SC unclarity="none">change</SC> exchange.
<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.

Example 1: B1/ file01242.txt

Like, no, <F>ur</F> *if you can or if you could*, just exchange it. Why not?
<nvs>laughter</nvs>
<A>Because this was on sale.

1.4.3.2 Type 2: If you verb

There is only one occurrence of this pattern as follows.

Example 1: B1/learner1020.txt

So what about just refund?
<A>No. There's no refund.
<F>Ohh</F>. But <F>ahh</F>.
<A>It's not our policy.

<SC unclarity="none">Because</SC> <F>ahh</F> I usually use this shop
so if you think about that could you do that?
<A><F>Um</F>.

1.4.3.3 Type 3: If I could or can

There are only two occurrences of this pattern produced by two B1 learners.
In fact, the following learner corrects *if I could* with *if I can* within the same head act.

Example 1: B1/learner352.txt

I bought this camera today. But I don't think <pause
duration="short"></pause> it's good. So I want <pause
duration="short"></pause> <F>oh</F> return it <SC unclarity="none">if I
could</SC> <F>uh</F> if I can.
<A><F>Hm</F> <F>ah</F>. I'm sorry. But we don't do that.

1.4.3.4 Type 4: Other if clause

There are eight occurrences of this type, all of which are produced by B1 learners.

Example 1: B1/learner839.txt

<SC unclarity="none">actually</SC> in fact, <F>err</F> I didn't. So I
should have. <R unclarity="none">I</R> I know <laughter>that</laughter>,
but <SC unclarity="partly">I i</SC> this is not so expensive one, so
if
<A><F>Hum</F>.

you are fine. I'd like to exchange this.

Example 2: B1/learner352.txt

<A>Yeah. We don't exchange things.

<F>Erm</F>. <F>Well</F> <F>hmm</F> to tell the truth, <F>erm</F>

<SC unclarity="none">I'm</SC> I was really busy at that moment. So I don't have the <F>er</F> precise judgment about <F>er</F> the thing which I'm going to choose. So <F>erm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <SC

unclarity="none">could you have some</SC> <F>er</F> what should I say, could you think of my <F>erm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause>

<F>er</F> difficult situation? <CO>Could you <F>er</F> consider a little bit about this <F>er</F> <R unclarity="none">ref</R> refund or</CO>?

<F>Well</F> <F>erm</F> there are lot of beautiful <F>erm</F> stuffs <R unclarity="none">in y</R> <R unclarity="none">in your</R> in your store.

So <SC unclarity="none">could</SC> **if I bought <F>er</F> more than this.** could you accept this refund or <R unclarity="none">could you</R> could you accept this <F>er</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> clothes once again

1.4.3.5 Type 5: If possible

Example 1: A2/learner1081.txt

<A><F>Er</F> it's thirty thousand yen.

Thirty thousand. <F>Nn</F>. I have no money. <nvs>laughter</nvs> So, <F>mm</F> I will take <F>um</F> Japanese one. <F>Nn</F>.

<JP><F>Nn</F></JP>. **If possible,** <F>nn</F> could you <F>nn</F> discount, please?

<A><F>Oh</F> I am sorry. I can't.

Example 2: B1/learner807.txt

<A>O K. Hi. May I help you, sir?

Yeah. <SC unclarity="none">The</SC> I bought <SC unclarity="none">the</SC> <F>err</F> this stuff <F>err</F> at this store today. But <F>err</F> so <SC unclarity="none">the</SC> I didn't like this. So <R unclarity="none">I like to change</R> <F>err</F> I like to change and <F>err</F> if it's possible, so I like to get the money back to me.
<A><F>Well</F> sorry, we can't.

1.4.3.6 Type 6: If you don't mind

There are three occurrences of this pattern, all of which are produced by B1 learners. Two of them are produced by the following B1 learner.

B1/file00008.txt

But, actually, I return to my house. <R unclarity="none">I didn't</R> <pause duration="short"></pause> <SC unclarity="none">I <pause duration="short"></pause> didn't feel like</SC> I didn't like this stuff. So, <R unclarity="none">if</R> <F>erm</F> if you don't mind, I wanna return this stuff.

<A><F>Oh</F>. I'm afraid I can't.

2. Supporting Segments

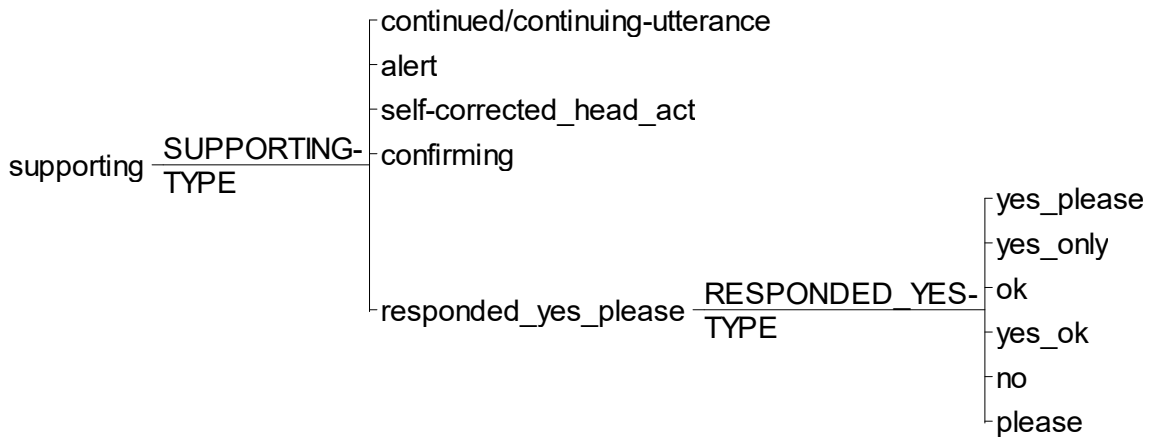


Figure B-4.1. The annotation scheme for *supporting* segments

2.1 Continued/Continuing Utterance

Most of the learners' utterances are interrupted by interlocutors. Therefore, a single unit of the learner's utterance is separated by the interlocutor's utterance. The head act of the request that usually appears first is annotated as the *main* segment. Therefore, the remaining utterance that belongs to the main segment is annotated as *continued/continuing utterance*.

2.1.1 Type 1: Continued utterance

This type is the one that appears after the head act of the request. Most of the examples are annotated as this type.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00633.txt

<F>Oh</F>. <F>Oh</F>. <F>Er</F> <F>uh</F> <F>er</F> <SC
 unclernerss="none">I</SC> <F>er</F> <F>er</F> my favorite maker is
 <A><F>Mh-hmmm</F>.

Edwin.

2.1.2 Type 2: Continuing utterance

Continuing utterance precedes the head act of the request.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner634.txt

<F>Hm</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause> <R
unclearness="none">I</R>

<A><CO>This is</CO>.

<SC unclearness="none">I</SC> <R unclearness="none">long</R> long
coat.

<A><F>Oh</F>. You want a <F>er</F> long coat?

2.2 Alert

Alert was first defined by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), and an “attention getter” such as “Excuse me” is a typical example. This precedes the head act of request. There are three types of alerts observed in the corpus, including *Excuse me*, *I beg your pardon*, and *I’m sorry* as follows.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner998.txt

<A> May I help you?

<F>Ah</F> <F>er</F> yes. *Excuse me.* <F>er<F> <R
unclearnerss="none">I want</R> <F>er</F> I want CD player..

Example 2: A2/learner198.txt

<A>And may I help you?

<F>Ah</F> <F>eh</F> <scripting unclerness="partly">I beg
your</scripting> pardon. <F>a</F> I want to get <F>uh</F> twenty <F>ih</F>
seven <JP>cenchi</JP> shoes. <F>Eh</F> <pause duration="short"></pause>
would you <F>uh</F> look for <F>a</F> that?

Example 3: A2/learner587.txt

<A>Yes. Hi. May I help you?

<I'm sorry <F>um</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> <F>um</F> I want
to buy a cute skirt.

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.

2.3 Self-Corrected Head Act

This is a supporting segment in which a learner corrects and rephrases a requestive head act. Basically, a self-correction tag (i.e., <SC></SC>) is originally annotated in the NICT JLE Corpus, and becomes a clue for identification. In the following example, *can you* is identified as a *self-corrected head act*, and functions as a *supporting segment* to a main head act such as *do you recommend some shirts?*

Example1: A1(Beginner)/file00688.txt

<F>Uhm</F> <F>uhm</F> <F>uhm</F> <SC unclerness="none">can
you</SC> <F>ah</F> do you recommend some shirts?

2.4 Confirming

The category of *confirming* is similar to “Appealer” defined by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989, p. 285). Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) gave examples such as “will you?” and okay?,” which are embedded in the head act as in “Clean up the kitchen, dear, will you?/okay?” This has the function of eliciting a hearer signal, and occurs “in a syntactically final position, and may signal turn-availability” (p. 285). This should be distinguished from *confirming* segments from the function scheme (see 3.2.4).

In addition to *OK?*, linguistic features such as *Yeah?*, *No?*, *Of course?*, *Is that possible?* are observed as follows. All of them are pronounced with a rising tone (transcribed with question marks).

Example 1: A2/learner576.txt

<R unclarity="none">I</R> <F>erm</F> I came <SC unclarity="none">back here</SC> <F>er</F> right back here. **OK?**

Example 2: A1(Beginner)/file00404.txt

<A><F>Oh</F>. O K. <F>Well</F> <F>well</F> maybe I can give you twenty percent discount.

<R unclarity="none">Twenty percent</R> twenty percent? **Yeah?**

Example 3: A2/learner1014.txt

<F>Uhh</F> I want to pay <F>umm</F> card. **Is it OK?** <F>Uhh</F> credit card?

<A>Sure.

Example 4: A2/learner1112.txt

So <F>err</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <R
unclearness="none">would you</R> would you have a string?

<A>Yes.

Yeah?

<A>Of course.

Of course? <F>Um</F>.

<A><F>Um</F>.

<F>Er</F> <F>ehh</F> so <SC unclearness="none">including</SC>

<F>ehh</F> it cost thirty-thousand yen including strings?

<A><F>Err</F> <SC unclearness="none">su</SC> no,

No?

<A><F>err</F> with <scripting unclearness="partly">in</scripting> strings,

<F>err</F> thirty-two thousand.

Example 5: B1/file00657.txt

<A><pretask>O K.</pretask> <F>Ur</F>. Hello, mom. How may I help
you?

<F>Urm</F>. About <F>urm</F> <SC unclearness="none">this</SC>

<F>ur</F> <F>ur</F> <F>um</F> <SC unclearness="none">the</SC>

<nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>ur</F> this notebook I bought yesterday, <F>urm</F> I

thought I could exchange this into the other color. *Is that possible?*

Example 6: Texts/file00165.txt

Yes. <F>Mhmmm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> Can you discount
No?

2.5 Responded Yes Please

Responded yes please is annotated to a response made by a learner to the interlocutor's offer. There are five types: (i) *yes please*, (ii) *yes only*, (iii) *OK*, (iv) *Yes, OK*, and (v) *please*.

In Types (i), (ii), (iii), and (iv), the learners' responses are made to the interlocutors' offers such as *May I help you*, and the responses are followed or sometimes preceded by head acts. It should be distinguished from a type of *yes* in the *direct request* strategy, where *yes* itself functions as a head act. In the following examples, features categorized as *responded yes please* are shown in bold and italic fonts, and the head acts are underlined. The interlocutors' offers are shown in boxes.

On the other hand, in Type (v), there is no offer from an interlocutor, and a lexical item such as *please* is the supporting segment to the underlined head acts.

2.5.1 Type 1: Yes please

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner994.txt

<A><pause duration="short"></pause> O K. Good afternoon, madam. Can I help
you?

Yes, please. <pause duration="short"></pause> I'm looking for a new <pause
duration="short"></pause> shirts.

2.5.2 Type 2: Yes only

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner745.txt

<A><R unclerness="none">May I</R> may I help you. sir?
Yes. <nvs>cough</nvs> <F>Uum</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause>
<R unclerness="none">I want to</R> I want to buy new <SC
unclerness="none">clothes</SC> clotheses.

2.5.3 Type 3: OK

This category has several forms such as *OK*, *Right*, *Umm that's OK* and *Sure* as follows.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner314.txt

<A>O K. This will be nine thousand yen. How about it?
Nine thousand yen? <F>Umm</F> that's O K.
<A><F>Mh-hmm</F>. O K.
Please.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner1135.txt

<F>Hm</F>? I take it.
<A><F>Oh</F> eight thousand?
Right. <F>Mm</F>. Eight thousand.

Example 3: A1(Intermediate)/learner1059.txt

<A>Would you like to buy it?
<F>Er</F> <laughter>O K</laughter>.

<A>Great.

O K. <R unclarity="none">I</R> I <pause duration="short"></pause>
take it.

Example 4: B1/file01216.txt

<F>Uh</F> <SC unclarity="none">that's</SC> it's O K. It doesn't matter.
I'll just wait. Yeah.

<A>O K. So let me check if we have stock there and I'll contact you later. Is that
O K?

Sure. Please. Thank you very much.

2.5.4 Type 4: Yes OK

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner921.txt

<nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Uhm</F>. <CO>So</CO>.

<F>Uum</F>. <R unclarity="none">O</R> O K. <R
unclarity="none">I</R> I want to buy <R unclarity="none">this</R> this
skirt.

<A>O K. It's gonna be two hundred and fifty dollars.

<F>Oh</F> it's expensive. **But yeah, O K.**

<A><F>Urr</F> <F>urrr</F> O K. If you can take that one on the display

2.5.5 Type 5: Please

Example 1: A2(2015)/learner778.txt

Yeah. <F>Uhm</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause> **Can I pay on this**
card?

<A>Sure.

Yeah.

<A>Yes.

Please. <F>Um</F>. Please. <R unclarity="none">So</R> so
please.

<A>O K. All right.

3. Combined Repair Features



Figure B-5.1. The annotation scheme for *combined repair features*.

There are two types of situations where a segment of this type occurs: (i) a segment is found within a single utterance of the learner and (ii) a single segment is found cross-segmentally over the learner’s and interlocutor’s utterances.

Elaboration and *repetition* segments are similar to the “upgraders” defined by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) as “elements whose function is to increase the impact of the request” (p. 285). “Get lost! Leave me alone!” is a given example, categorized as “Repetition of request. (Literally or by paraphrase)” among eleven categories of “upgraders,” and seems to have a similar function to *elaboration* and *repetition* in this study. *Prompted correction* is a segment in which a learner corrects his or her utterance while prompted or encouraged by the interlocutor.

3.1 Repetition

In this category, there are more than one head act, each of which mostly

belongs to different categories of linguistic features in the annotation for requests. In the example below, the first head act, (i) *so this time, I try it* (underlined), is categorized as a declarative statement of *direct strategy*, and the second head act, (ii) *Can I try this on?* (dotted-underlined), is categorized as the *ability/permission* modal verb *can* of *conventionally indirect strategy*. Therefore, segments shown in bold are annotated as *repetition*.

Example 1: A2/learner660.text

<F>Oh</F>. Great. It's really good. **So this time, I try it. Can I try this on?**

However, the second example shows that the domain of repetition annotation includes the interlocutor's interruption as follows.

Example 2: A2/learner704.txt

<F>Um</F> <F>uum</F> <SC unclarity="none">It</SC> <SC unclarity="none">this <F>err</F> type watch</SC> <F> err </F> <SC unclarity="none">do you have <F>err</F> such a type of watch</SC> <F>ee</F> but I didn't like that color. **So do you have <F>er</F> another colors**
 <A>Sure.
 <u>watch? <F>Err</F>. So please show me <F>er</F> another colors watch, please.</u>

This segment includes three head acts: (i) *It this err type watch err do you have err such*

a type of watch ee I didn't like that color (underlined), (ii) So do you have er another colors (dotted-underlined), and (iii) So please show me er another colors watch, please (double-underlined).

It should be noted that *repetition* in this category should be distinguished from segments that are already tagged as <R></R> in the corpus. In the example given below, head acts of the same linguistic category in the scheme for *request* appear twice because of repetition, but only one unit of the head act annotation (i.e., obligation *must* of *direct strategy*) is given to this pattern.

Example 3: A2/file00205.txt

<F>Ah</F>. Then <pause duration="short"></pause>
 <A>Yeah. <nvs>laughter</nvs><A>
 <R unclearness="none">I must pay</R> I must pay

3.2 Elaboration

In this category, the first head act is elaborated by the second head act. Usually, linguistic features of both head acts have different linguistic patterns. In the following example, the first head act, (i) I I am I want I wanted I want the um I wanted not many buying shoes (underlined), is elaborated by the second head act, (ii) Minor shoes (dotted-underlined).

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner451.txt

<SC unclearness="none">I</SC> <SC unclearness="none">I am</SC>
<SC unclearness="none">I want</SC> <SC unclearness="none">I
wanted</SC> <SC unclearness="none">I want the </SC> <pause

duration="long"></pause> <F>um</F> I wanted not <pause
duration="long"></pause> many buying shoes. Minor shoes.

3.3 Prompted Correction

Prompted correction is a segment in which a learner corrects or rephrases a head act, prompted by the interlocutor as follows. Thus, the first head act, (i) *I want more more big size* (underlined), is rephrased and followed by the second and third head acts, (ii) *Bigger size* and (iii) *Bigger size, please* (dotted-underlined), which are prompted by the interlocutor's (iv) *Bigger size* (shown in a box).

Example 1: A2/learner712.txt

<F>Uum</F>. I want <R unclarity="none">more</R> more big
size.

<A><F>Er</F>. Bigger size.

Bigger size.

<A> O K.

Bigger size, please.

Appendix C: Manuals of Annotation Scheme for Function

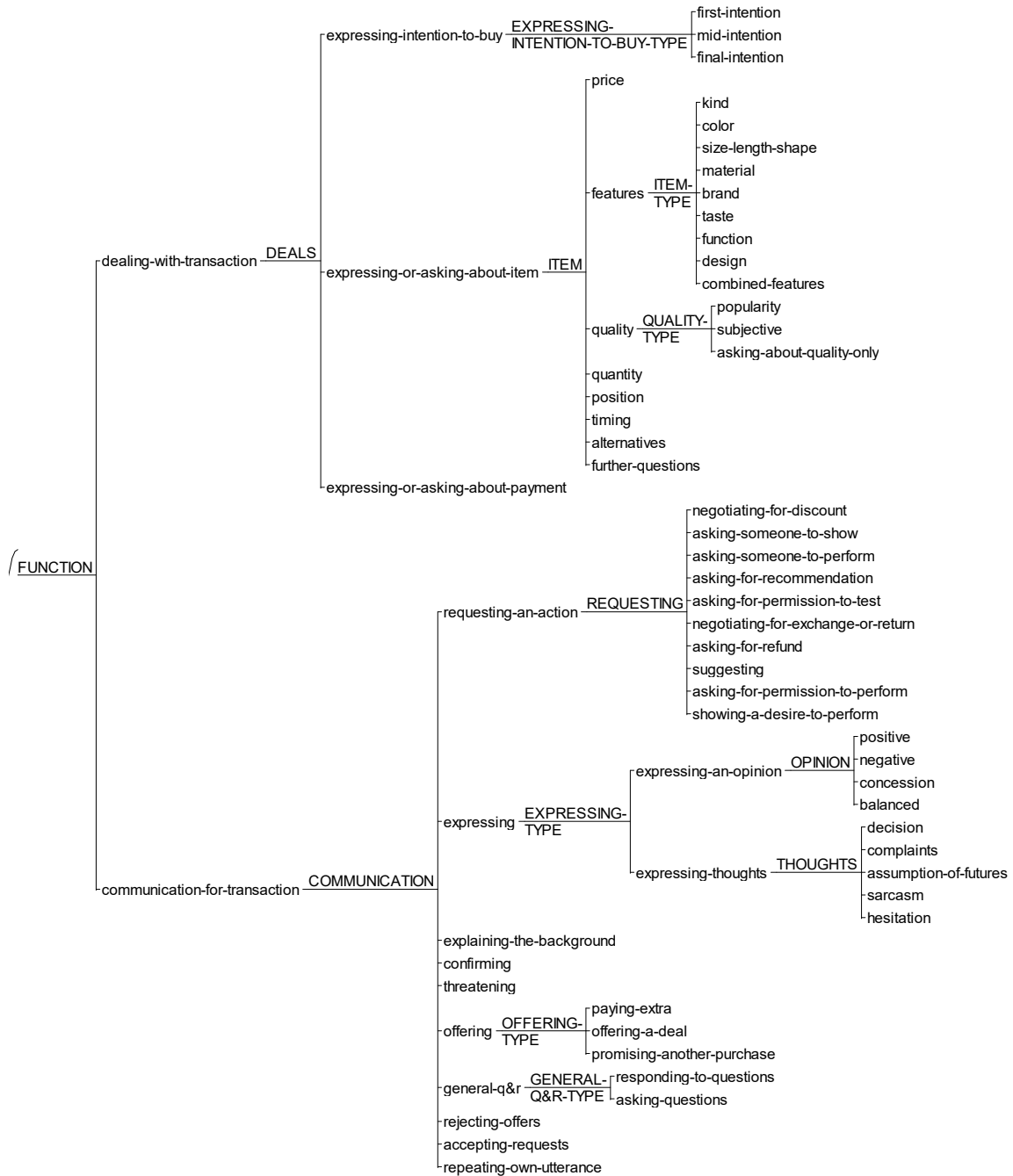


Figure C-1.1. The overall annotation scheme for *function*.

1. The Test for Determining the Function

First of all, a series of simple standard questions should be made to determine the functions of utterances: Q1. *Does it have a function of showing an intention of purchase?* tests whether the observed segment can be identified in the annotation scheme, *dealing with transaction* or *communication for transaction*; Q2. *Does the learner express or ask about a particular item?* is used for further categorization. Figure C-1.1 shows the annotation scheme for *dealing with transaction*.

The process of classifying the function of *dealing with transaction* is described using the following four examples:

- (a) *Do you have any blue T-shirts?*
- (b) *Please show me a blue T-shirt.*
- (c) *Do you have another one?*
- (d) *(But this shirt is little big.) Do you have a smaller one?*

1.1 Classifying the Function of Example (a)

The following utterance can be either categorized into (i) *first intention* or (ii) *color of features*.

- (a) *Do you have any blue T-shirts?*

Q1. Does it have a function of showing an intention of purchase?	
Yes	No
<i>Layer 2: Dealing with transaction</i>	Go on to the second question.
↓	Q2: Does the learner express or ask about a particular item?
<i>Layer 3: Expressing intention to buy</i>	Yes
↓	<i>Layer 2: Dealing with transaction</i>
<i>Layer 4: First intention</i>	

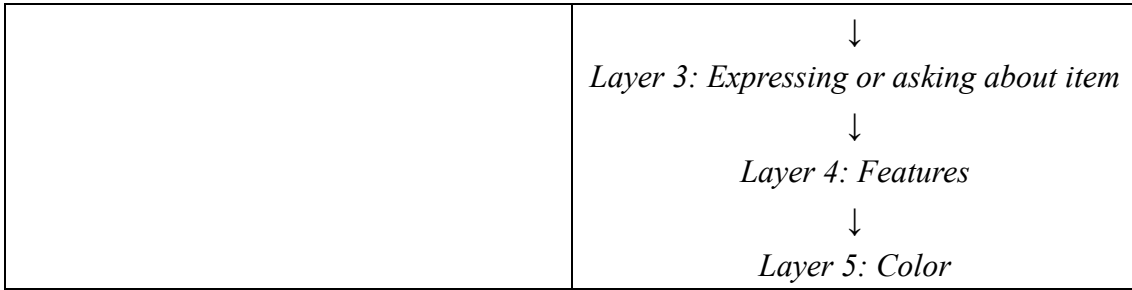


Figure C-2.1. The process of classifying Example (a).

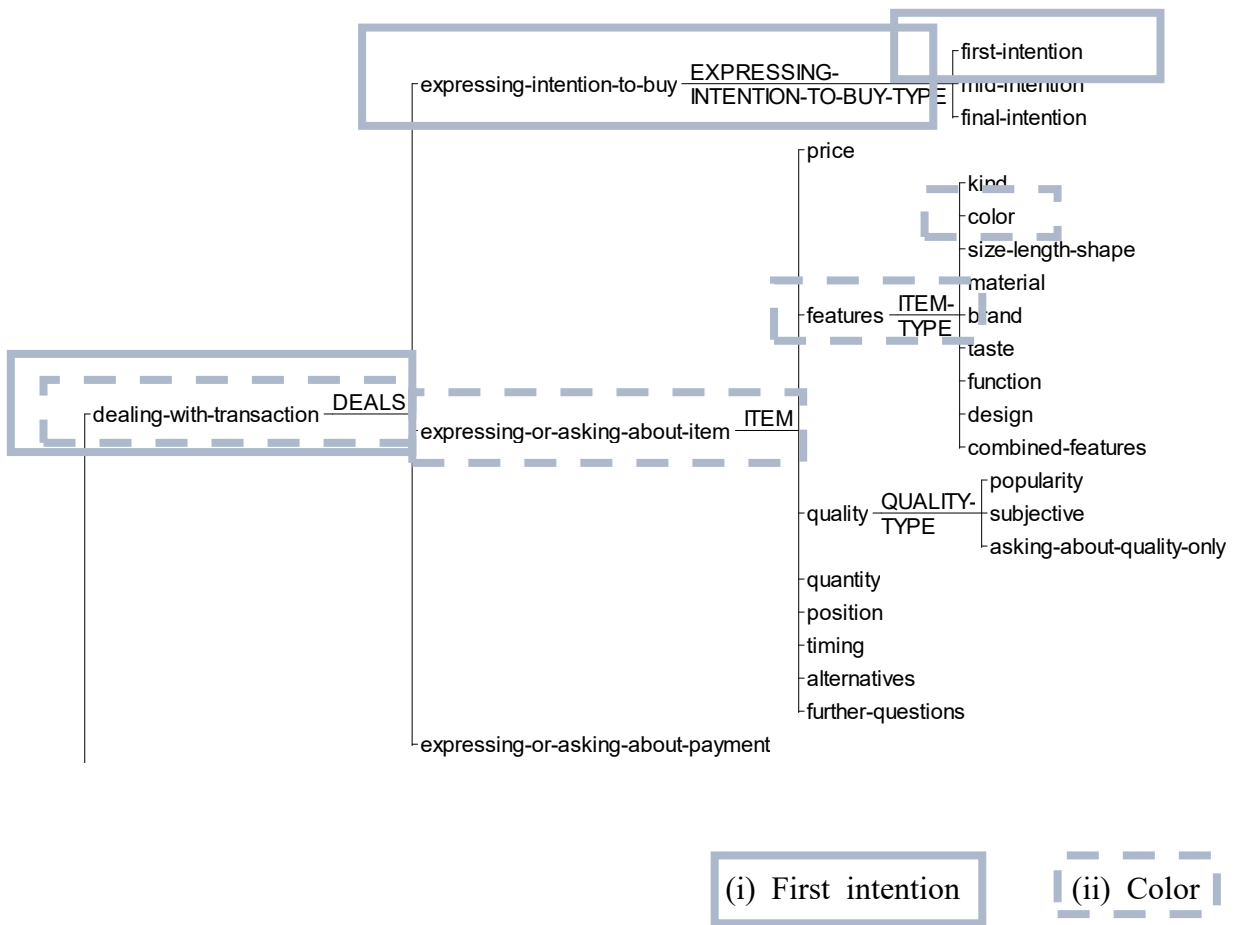


Figure C-2.2. The annotation procedure of classifying Example (a).

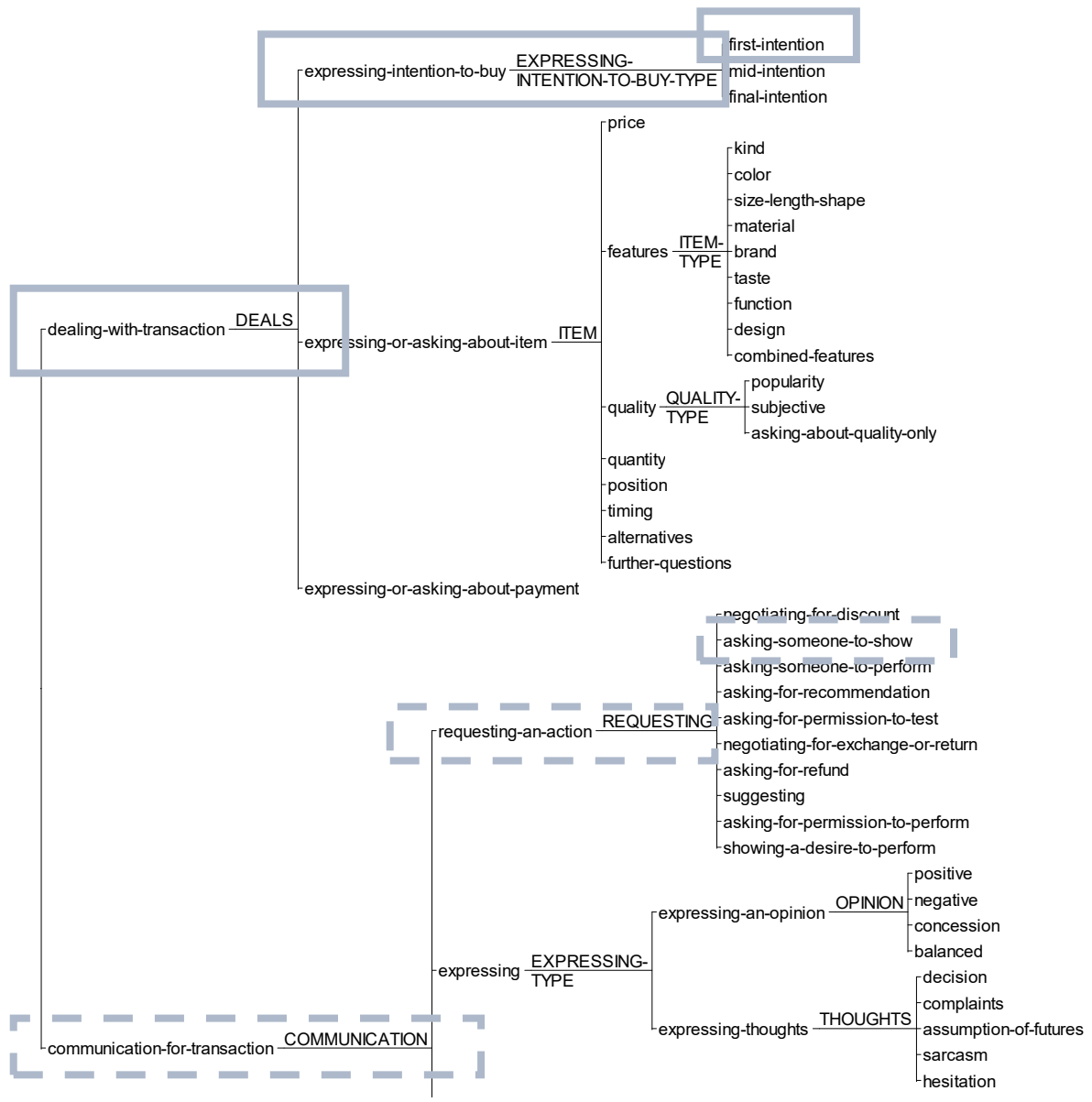
1.2 Classifying the Function of Example (b)

(b) *Please show me a blue T-shirt.*

This utterance can be either categorized into (i) *first intention* or (ii) *asking someone to show of requesting an action*.

Q1. Does it have a function of showing an intention of purchase?	
Yes	No
<i>Layer 2: Dealing with transaction</i>	Go on to the second question.
↓	Q2: Does the learner express or ask about a particular item?
<i>Layer 3: Expressing intention to buy</i>	No
↓	<i>Layer 2: Communication for transaction</i>
<i>Layer 4: First intention</i>	↓
	<i>Layer 3: Requesting an action</i>
	↓
	<i>Layer 4: Asking someone to show</i>

Figure C-3.1. The process of classifying Example (b)



(i) First intention

(ii) Asking someone to show

Figure C-3.2. The annotation procedure of classifying Example (b).

1.3 Classifying the Function of Example (c)

(c) *Do you have another one?*

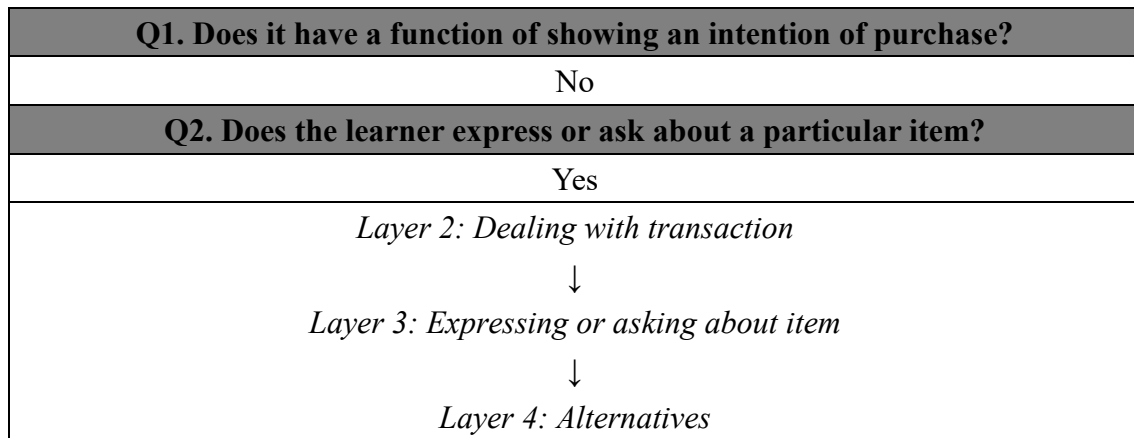


Figure C-4.1. The process of classifying Example (c).

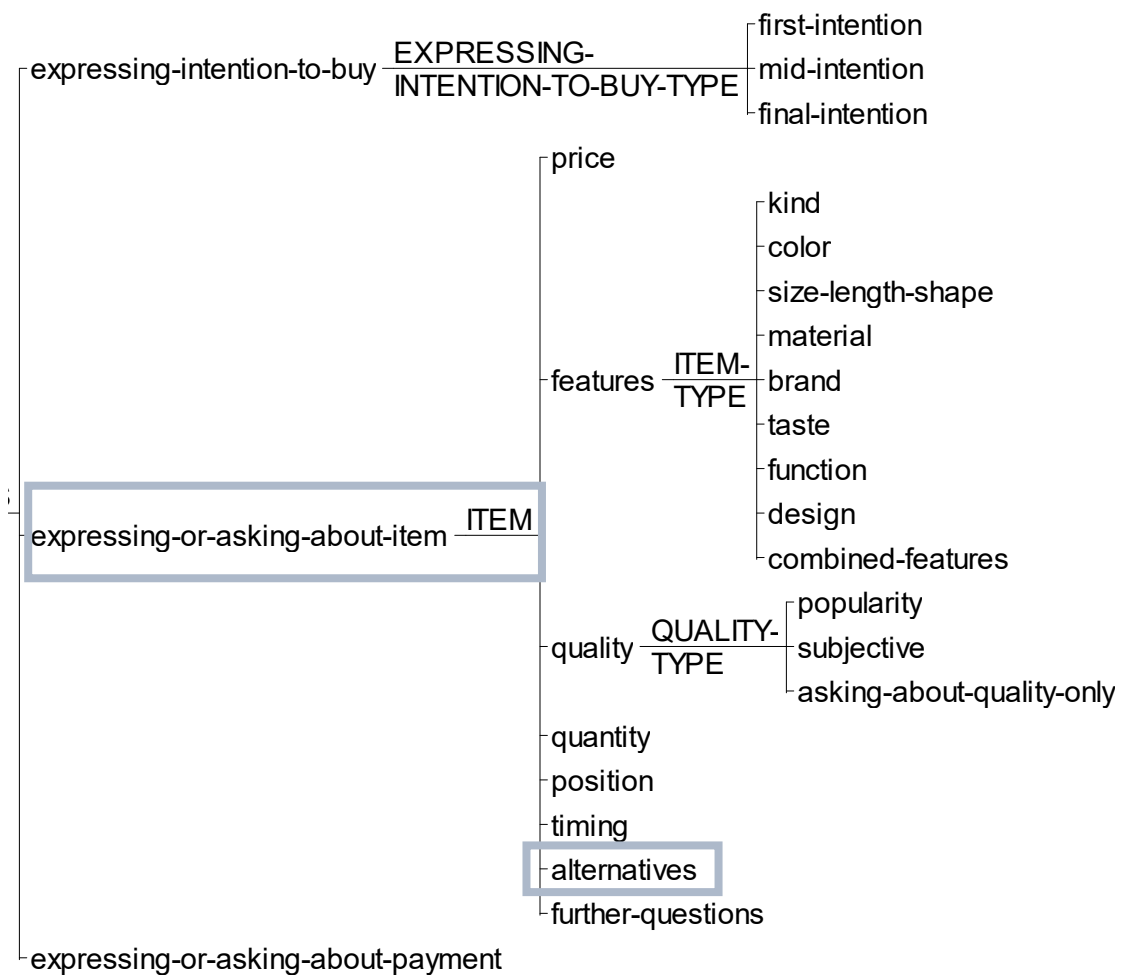


Figure C-4.2. The annotation procedure of classifying Example (c).

1.4 Classifying the Function of Example (d)

(d) *(But this shirt is little big.) Do you have a smaller one?*

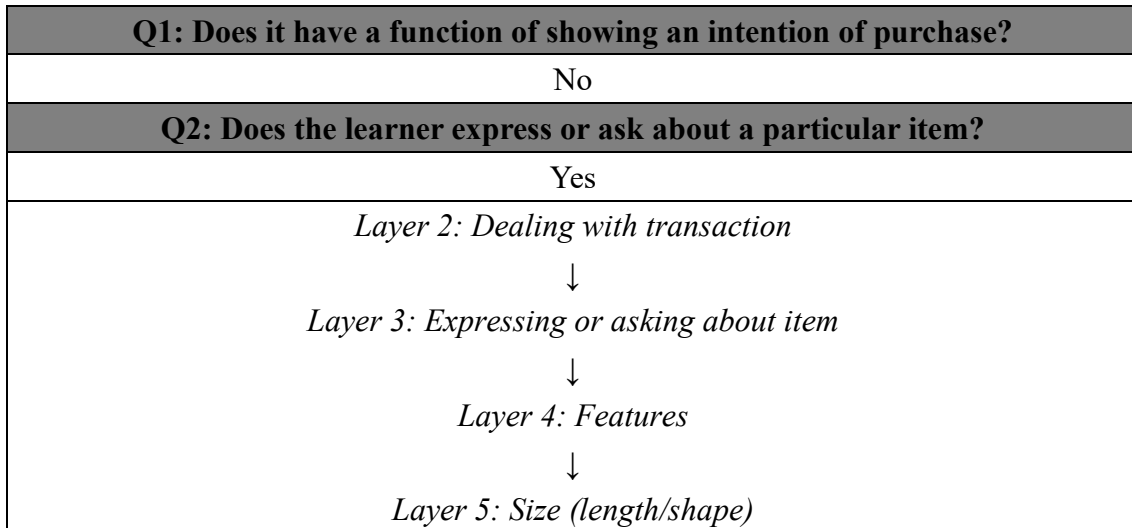


Figure C-5.1. The process of classifying Example (d).

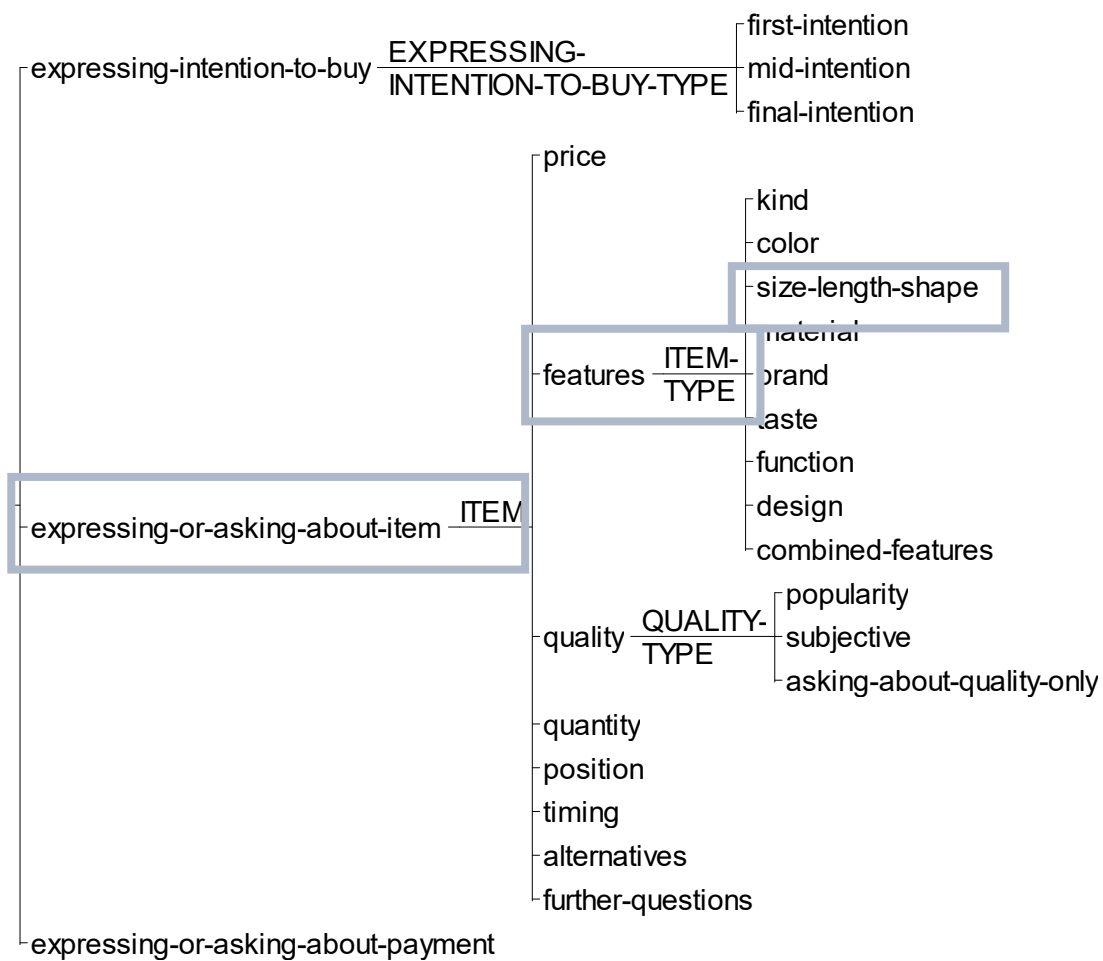


Figure C-5.2. The annotation procedure of classifying Example (d).

2. Examples of the Whole Interactions

The following three extracts show the whole interaction between a learner and an interlocutor during a shopping role play. The first two extracts are taken from the data of A1 and A2 learners, respectively, while the third example shows the interactions of a B1 learner. As explained in the method section, the SST interviewees are given shopping role-play tasks with varying difficulties depending on the proficiency levels. A1 and A2 learners are given either Beginner or Intermediate tasks, and B1 learners are all given Advanced tasks. In the former two tasks, the interviewee is given a task where he or she purchases a particular item at a shop, while in the latter task, the interviewee comes

back to the shop and negotiates for a refund or an exchange he or she has already purchased.

In the following tables, each utterance is shown in a box, numbered, and its function is shown in one of two columns: (1) Com. (i.e., *communication for transaction*) and (2) Deal. (i.e., *dealing with transaction*). Functions of responses such as *Thank you* and *OK* are not identified. They are only underlined.

Table C-1

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner404.txt

Corpus Extract – Given an Intermediate task	Function	
	(1) Com.	(2) Deal.
<p><A>May I help you, sir? Yeah. (1)<F>Urr</F> I'd like to</R> <R unclarity="none">I'd like to find</R> I'd like to find a suit. <A><F>Uh-huh</F>. (2)Jacket. <A>O K. (3)<R unclarity="none">Do you have</R> do you have any jacket? <A>Yeah, we have many kinds of jackets. (4)<F>Er</F> color is <F>mm</F> brown. Do you have? <A>Sure, how about this one? Yeah. (5)<F>Urm</F> <R unclarity="none">can I</R> can I try it? <A>Sure, go ahead. <JP>De</JP>? <nvs>laughter</nvs> <A><nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Oh</F> looks nice on you.</p>	<p>(5) Request. – asking for permission to test</p>	<p>(1) Intention.– first intention (2) About item. – features – kind (3) About item. – features – kind (4) About item. – features – color</p>

<p><F>Oh</F>. (6)Do you have another one?</p> <p><F>Urm</F>. (7)No brown, <F>mm</F> <R unclarity="none">gray</R> gray one.</p> <p><A>O K, <F>mm</F> how about this one?</p> <p>Yeah. <pause duration="short"></pause></p> <p><nvs>laughter</nvs></p> <p><A><nvs>laughter</nvs> Nice.</p> <p>(8)Nice. <F>Erm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>ee</F></p> <p>(9)<JP>sone sonde</JP> <F>mm</F> O K. <R unclarity="none">I</R> <F>mm</F> I can get brown one, please.</p> <p><A>O K. <F>Uh-huh</F>.</p> <p>(10)How much this?</p> <p><A>O K, this is <SC unclarity="none">five</SC> <F>er</F> fifty thousand yen.</p> <p>(11)Yeah, fifty thousand.</p> <p><JP><F>Eh</F></JP>? (12)<laughter>Too expensive</laughter>.</p> <p><A>Really?</p> <p>(13)Do you have any discount for me?</p> <p><A><F>Well</F> it's a new one.</p> <p><nvs>laughter</nvs></p> <p><A>And fashionable and trendy.</p> <p>(14)Yeah.<laughter>No</laughter>?</p> <p><A><F>Oh</F>. O K. <F>Well</F> <F>well</F> maybe I can give you twenty percent discount.</p> <p>(15)<R unclarity="none">Twenty percent</R> twenty percent? Yeah?</p> <p><A><F>Uh-hum</F>.</p> <p><F>Uhm</F>. (16)O K, <R unclarity="none">now</R> now, <pause duration="short"></pause> please this one.</p> <p><A><F>Er</F>. O K. So forty thousand yen.</p>	<p>(8) Expressing – opinion. – positive</p> <p>(11) Confirming</p> <p>(12) Expressing – opinion. - negative</p> <p>(13) Request. – negotiating for discount</p> <p>(14) Request. – negotiating for discount</p> <p>(15) Confirming</p>	<p>(6) About item. Alternatives.</p> <p>(7) About item. – features – color</p> <p>(9) Intention. – mid-intention</p> <p>(10) About item. – price</p> <p>(16) Intention. – final intention</p>
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<p>Yeah. <A>O K. Here you go. <nvs>laughter</nvs> Thank you very much. Yeah. <A>Enjoy it. Thank you very much.</p>		
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Table C-2

Example 2: A1 (Intermediate)/learner406.txt

Corpus Extract – Given an Intermediate task	Function	
	(1) Com.	(2) Deal.
<p><F>Er</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> (1)I want to <pause duration="short"></pause> buy new car. <A><F>Mm-hm</F>. <F>Err</F>. <pause duration="long"></pause> <F>Mm</F> <F>mm</F>. (2)This car, <F>er</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> <F>ee</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> how much? <A><F>Well</F> this is two hundred thousand dollars. <F>Ohh</F>. (3)Two hundred thousand dollars. (4)<pause duration="short"></pause> A collar we choice <F>er</F> something else? <A><F>Uh-hm</F>. (5)<SC unclarity="none">I want</SC> <F>ur</F> <R unclarity="none">what</R> <R unclarity="none">what</R> <F>ee</F> what color do you have? <A>We have five colors. (6)Five colors. <A><F>Uh-hm</F>. Blue, white, metallic silver and black and red. (7)I want metallic silver.</p>	<p>(3) Confirming</p> <p>(6) Confirming</p>	<p>(1) Expressing intention to buy – first intention</p> <p>(2) Expressing or asking about item – price</p> <p>(4) Expressing or asking about item – features - color</p> <p>(5) Expressing or asking about item – features - color</p> <p>(7) Expressing</p>

<p><A><F>Uh-huh</F>. <F>Oh</F>. O K. <F>Well</F> here. You can have that one. <F>Ohh</F>. O K. <A>Metallic. <F>Urr</F>. <pause duration="long"></pause> (8)<R unclearness="none">This car</R> <F>err</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> this car has three doors. (9)<SC unclearness="none">I want to</SC> <F>ur</F> <R unclearness="none">I</R> I want five-door car. <A>Five door? (10)Five-door car. <A><F>Er</F>. O K. <F>Well</F> there is no five car door type <SC unclearness="none">about</SC> of this car. Sorry. <F>Er</F>. (11)Only type. <F>Err</F>. <A>Only this one. (12)Only this one. <F>Err</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>ee</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause> (13)Another one. <A><F>Mm-hm</F>. (14)<R unclearness="none">Ano</R> <SC unclearness="none">another type of car</SC> <F>er</F> do you have another type of car? <A><F>Uh-huh</F>. <F>Er</F>. (15)More large size. <A><F>Er</F>. O K, we have a mini van. <F>Oh</F>. (16)Mini van. <F>Urr</F>. (17)How much mini van? <A><F>Er</F>. That's three hundred thousand dollars.</p>	<p>(8) Explaining the background (9) (10) Confirming (11) Confirming (12) Confirming (13) (14) (15) (16) Confirming</p>	<p>or asking about item – features - color (9) Expressing or asking about item – features - kind alternatives (14) About item. – alternatives (15) Expressing or asking about item – features - size (17) -price</p>
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<p><F>Er</F>. <F>Oh</F> <F>o</F> <F>o</F> <F>o</F> <F>urr</F> (18)more discount? <A><F>Hum</F>. O K. <F>Well</F> <F>oh</F> maybe we can give you ten percent discount. <F>Oh</F>. (19)Ten percent discount. <F>Urr</F>. (20)And <SC> unclearness="none">I want to</SC> <F>er</F> I want <R unclearness="none">new car</R> <F>err</F> new car with <SC> unclearness="none">new <pause> duration="short"></pause> floor</SC> new carpet floor, I want. <F>Err</F>. (21)<R unclearness="none">No</R> <R unclearness="none">no</R> no charge. <F>Ee</F>. <A>Sure, yeah. We can give you those carpet for free. (22)O K, O K? <F>Uh</F>. O K. (23)And <R unclearness="none">once</R> once more question, <F>err</F> <SC> unclearness="none">this car</SC> <F>ur</F> <R unclearness="none">when</R> <F>ee</F> when this car move to me? <A><F>Well</F> in one week. (24)One week? <A><F>Uh-hm</F>. (25)Very <F>er</F> soon. <A>Yes. O K, so, <F>well</F> I'll give you this catalog and I'll get back to you. <F>Er</F>. O K. <A>O K, thank you very much. <F>Er</F>. Thank you.</p>	<p>(18) Requesting an action – negotiating for discount (19) Confirming (21) Requesting an action – asking someone to perform (22) Confirming (24) Confirming (25) Expressing – expressing an opinion</p>	<p>(20) Expressing or asking about item – detailed information (23) Expressing or asking about item – question</p>
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Table C-3

Example 3: B1/file00035.txt

Corpus Extract- Given an Advanced Task	Function	
	(1) Com.	(2) Deal.
<p><A><pretask>O K.</pretask> May I help you?</p> <p>(1)<F>Ah</F> actually, though <SC> I bought this clothes before, but I come to dislike it, (2)so I want to <F>mh</F> exchange or pay back my money.</p> <p><A>O K. <SC unclarity="none">Can I have</SC> <F>uh</F> do you have the receipt?</p> <p>(3)Yes.</p> <p><A>Yes? Can I see the receipt?</p> <p>(4)Yes. <F>Ah</F> yes.</p> <p><A><F>Oh</F> O K, let me see.<F>Er</F> <F>er</F> I cannot see the date here.</p> <p>(5)You cannot see the date here?</p> <p><A>Yeah.</p> <p>(6)But <SC unclarity="none">receipt have</SC> receipt should have the date.</p> <p><A>Yeah, but the ink is faded.</p> <p>(7)The ink is faded? (8)But actually, this clothes is surely bought by me here. (9)So in spite of that, you don't know the date, it is true that I bought it here.</p> <p><A>Yeah.</p> <p>(10)It's really your store.</p> <p><A>That's right. <SC unclarity="none">E</SC> I understand that it's our store,</p> <p>Yes.</p>	<p>(1) Explaining the background</p> <p>(2) Requesting an action – negotiating for exchange or return</p> <p>(3) general q&r – responding to q</p> <p>(4) responding to request</p> <p>(5) Confirming</p> <p>(6) Expressing – thoughts - complaints</p> <p>(7) Confirming</p> <p>(8) Explaining the background</p> <p>(9) Explaining the background</p> <p>(10) Explaining the background</p>	

<p><A>But <R unclearness="none">you</R> you see the sign here. It says that we can exchange only for ten days.</p> <p>(11)Only for ten days.<R unclearness="none">But</R></p> <p><A>And I can not see the date here.</p> <p>(12)but actually I bought it yesterday.</p> <p>(13)And <pause duration="short"></pause></p> <p><SC unclearness="none">I'm very</SC> I often visit here. Quite often. (14)So please trust me.</p> <p>(15)If you <pause duration="short"></pause> don't accept my offer, you surely lose your customer, one customer.</p> <p><A>O K. <F>Well</F> <F>erm</F> O K, <R unclearness="none">I</R> I will trust you this time.</p> <p>Thank you.</p> <p><A>O K? So <F>ah</F> you can <F>ah</F> exchange for some other clothes.</p> <p><F>Mm-huh</F>. Yes.</p> <p><A>O K? This is just for today.</p> <p><F>Mm-huh</F>.</p> <p><A>All right. O K. So you can go around and check the clothes.</p> <p><F>Mm-huh</F>.</p> <p><A>And, all right.</p> <p>Thank you.</p>	<p>(11) Confirming</p> <p>(12) Explaining the background</p> <p>(13) Explaining the background</p> <p>(14) Requesting an action – asking someone to perform</p> <p>(15) Threatening</p>	
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3. Definitions and Examples of Each Function

3.1 Dealing with Transaction

The *dealing with transaction* annotation is divided into three more sub-categories: (i) *expressing intention to buy*, (ii) *expressing or asking about item*, and (iii) *expressing or asking about payment*.

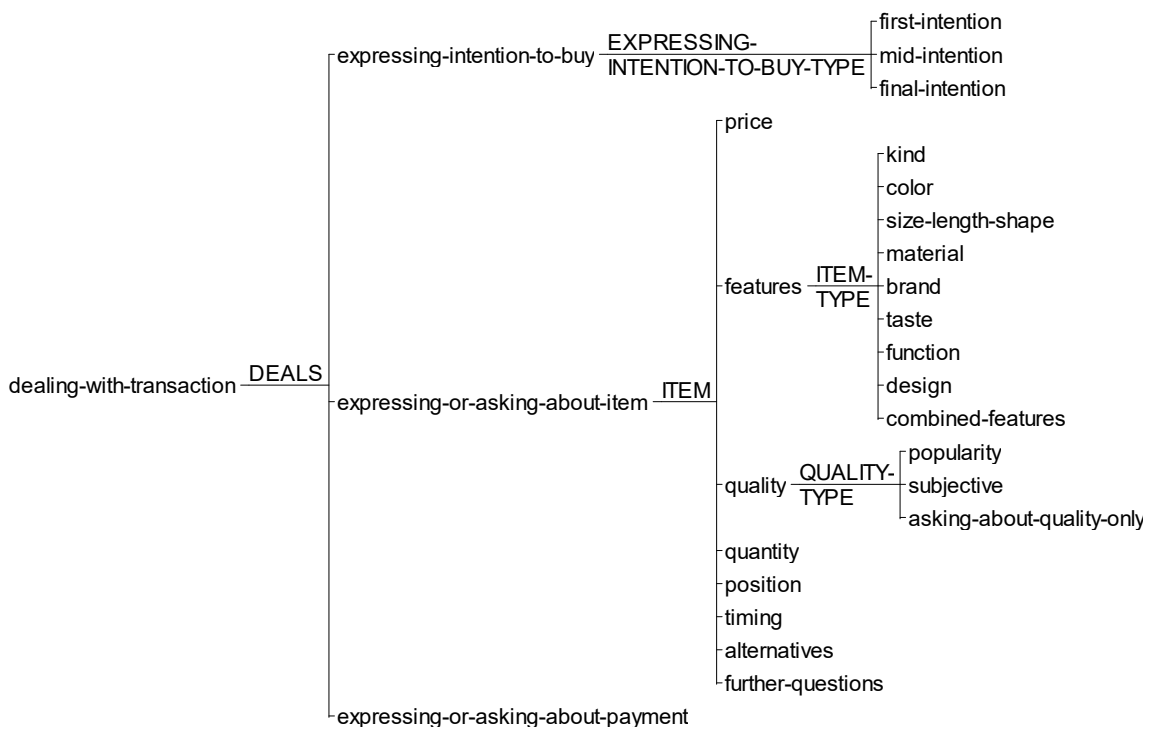


Figure C-6.1. Category of *dealing with transaction*.

3.1.1 Expressing intention to buy



Figure C-6.2. Category of *expressing intention to buy*.

The segments that are annotated as *expressing intention to buy* can be divided into (i) *first intention*, (ii) *mid intention*, and (iii) *final intention*. The classification depends on where each segment appears in the interaction and how many are produced. This type is particularly apparent in A1 and A2 learners, and the number of segments varies depending on the learners. There are some learners who only show a segment of the first type, while others show more than three types. Basically, every learner has at least *first intention*, but does not necessarily have *mid intention* and *final intention*.

3.1.1.1 Type 1: First intention

In the following example, *a new jacket* shows the *kind* of item that the learner would like to purchase. However, if a segment indicating the learner's intention of buying a particular item appears for the first time, this should be categorized as *first intention* regardless of whether the learner specifies the *features* of the item.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1096.txt

<A>Hi, how may I help you?

<F>Well</F> **I want a new jacket.**

3.1.1.2 Type 2: Mid intention

If the learner produces two segments of *expressing intention to buy*, the second one is annotated as *mid intention* (which are underlined and shown in bold). The following example shows the *first* (dotted-underlined) and *second intentions*, but does not contain the *final intention*.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1168.txt

<A>All right. May I help you, ma'am?

<F>Hum</F> <R unclarity="none">I</R> <R unclarity="none">I want to buy <F>ee</F> T-shirts.

<A><F>Uhu</F>.

<F>Um</F> is there blue T-shirts?

<A>Yes. We have many blue T-shirts.

.....(The interactions in-between are omitted.)

<A>But we might have more smaller T-shirts of this kind soon.

<F>Uum</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>um</F> <R unclarity="none">m</R> more <R unclarity="none">s</R> small T-shirts <F>um</F> <R unclarity="none">I</R> I hope so.

<A><F>Um</F>.

<F>Um</F>. I want to buy it.

<A>O K.

3.1.1.3 Type 3: Final intention

This segment shows the learner's final decision to buy a particular item. It is usually produced toward the end of the interaction (see the underlined segment). The following example contains the *first intention* (dotted-underlined) and *final intention* (double-underlined).

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner675.txt

<F>Mm</F> Yes. <F>Mm</F> I'm looking for <F>ur</F> some
shirts.

<A><F>Mm-hm</F>

<CO>Do you</CO>. <F>um</F>.

<A>Yes, we have many shirts.

....

<A>Yes, you look very nice.

<F>Mm</F> <SC unclarity="none">I prefer</SC> <F>ur</F> I like
this.

<A><F>Mm-hm</F>

<u>I will have it.</u>

3.1.2 Expressing or asking about item



Figure C-6.3. Category of *expressing or asking about item*.

The segment is annotated as *expressing or asking about item* when the learner

expresses his or her intentions of purchasing or asks about things regarding (i) *price*, (ii) *features*, (iii) *quality*, (iv) *quantity*, (v) *position*, (vi) *timing*, and (vii) *alternatives*. *Features* are further divided into (i) *kind*, (ii) *color*, (iii) *size/length/shape*, (iv) *material*, and so on. *Further questions* are when the learner poses further questions following the interlocutor's responses.

3.1.2.1 Price

This segment shows the function of asking for the price. It should be noted that the *price* segment should be distinguished from *negotiating for discount* from *requesting an action* in the *communication for transaction* category. The learner simply asks for the amount of the item (see Example 2 below) or asks for the cheaper one (see Example 1 below). Example 1 can be possibly categorized as *alternatives*; however, it is grouped into *price* as the contextual information preceding this utterance indicates that the learner expresses his or her intention of buying the cheaper one.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner715.txt

<A>It's sixty thousand yen.

<F>Oh</F> <nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Um</F>. **More little cheap.**

<A>Whitish one is forty thousand yen.

Yes. I will buy it.

Example 2: A2/learner1081.txt

<F>Um</F> **how much um is it?**

<A>It's <F>ah</F> twenty thousand yen.

Twenty thousand?

<A><F>Um</F>.

<laughter>Really</laughter>? <nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Um</F>.

<F>Um</F>. **How about another one?**

<A><F>Ah</F> a <SC unclarity="none">important one</SC> imported
one?

3.1.2.2 Features

Features has nine subcategories such as (i) *kind*, (ii) *color*, (iii) *size/length/shape*, (iv) *material*, (v) *brand*, (vi) *taste*, (vii) *function*, (viii) *design*, and (ix) *combined features*.

3.1.2.2.1 Type 1: Kind

As the following experts show, the learner expresses or asks about *kind* of particular items.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1125.txt

<A>type. This is the newest model.

<laughter>New</laughter>. **I want a new type.**

<nvs>laughter</nvs>

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs> O K. Then here, one is O K?

<scripting unclarity="partly">Yap</scripting>.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner1059.txt

So I'm searching <F>um</F> <F>um</F> very comfortable dress.

<A>O K, <F>well</F> we are dress shop. We have many different types of dresses.

<F>Mm</F>. <F>Mm</F>. I like black color and <F>er</F> <nvs>sniff</nvs> <F>mm</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> **I like casual type dress.**

Example 3: A2/learner1019.txt

<F>Mm</F>. Now I have <F>ahh</F> mountain bike already. So <F>unn</F> <F>umm</F> <R unclarity="none">I</R> <R unclarity="none">I have</R> <F>mm</F> I have no speed meter in it, so it's difficult to time keep or <F>um</F> know <R unclarity="none">about the</R> <F>umm</F> about the <F>umm</F> distance.

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.

And <SC unclarity="none">to the</SC> to where I want to go there. **So <F>um</F> do you have any speed meter in your shop?**

3.1.2.2.2 Type 2: Color

This segment shows the function of expressing or asking about the *color* of the item.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1059.txt

<A>O K, <F>well</F> we are dress shop. We have many different types of dresses.

<F>Mm</F>. <F>Mm</F>. **I like black color** and <F>er</F>
 <nvs>sniff</nvs> <F>mm</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> I like casual
type dress.
 <A>Casual?
 Casual.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner314.txt

<A>Yeah. We have this type in brown and red.
 Brown and red. **And <F>umm</F> do you have yellow?**
 <A>Yellow? <F>Hm</F> no. <nvs>laughter</nvs>

3.1.2.2.3 Type 3: Size/Length/Shape

This segment shows the function of expressing or asking about the *size*, *length*, or *shape* of the item. Example 4 shows two segments of this pattern in neighboring contexts: (i) *The coat is is knee-length urr black coat* and (ii) *Ur it has some kind of hood and it's it has zipper.*

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner994.txt

<F>Erm</F> <F>er</F> <F>mm</F> I like <F>mmm</F> green.
 <A><F>Mh-hmm</F>.
 So please show me green color.
 <A>O K. All right. This one.
 <F>Oh</F>. Thank you. **<F>Er</F>. My size is <F>mmm</F> M.**

Example 2: A2/learner152.txt

<F>Ah</F> yes. <F>Ah</F> I'm looking for <F>er</F> <R
unclearness="none">my s</R> my <R unclearness="none">s</R> sneaker.
<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.
<F>Er</F>. **But, I don't know my size.**
<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.

Example 3: A2/learner639.txt

<A>O K. Can I help you, Miss?
<F>Erm</F>. I want to buy a skirt. And <pause duration="short"></pause> I
want a red skirt. **And <pause duration="short"></pause> not so long but so not
short.** And <pause duration="short"></pause> I like a red skirt with frill.
<A>O K.

Example 4: A2/file00103.txt

<A>O K. Hello. May I help you, sir?
Yes. <F>Err</F> I want to buy new coat. **The coat <R
unclearness="none">is</R> is knee-length <F>urr</F> black coat.
<F>Ur</F> it has some kind of hood and <pause duration="short"></pause>
<SC unclearness="none">it's</SC> it has zipper.**

3.1.2.2.4 Type 4: Material

The *material* segment is the one that has the function of expressing or asking about the material of the item.

Example 1: A2/file00205.txt

Excuse me, I like to buy some nice jacket to go to office.

<A>O K.

<F>Uhhum</F>. <F>Err</F> do you have a black one or what kind of
<F>err</F> textile do you have?

<A><F>Oh</F> we have many kinds of jackets and they are all nice.

3.1.2.2.5 Type 5: Brand

If the name of brand is mentioned, it is annotated as *brand*.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner120.txt

<A>O K. Basketball shoes are here.

<F>Urr</F> do you have a Nike shoes?

<A>Of course.

<F>Oh</F>.

3.1.2.2.6 Type 6: Taste

The segment annotated as *taste* has the function of asking or expressing about the taste of the particular item.

Example 1: A2/learner1003.txt

<A>All right. <F>Ah</F> how about this <F>er</F> <JP>Kaminari Okoshi</JP>
from Tokyo?

<F>Ah</F> I see. <F>Mmm</F> <F>er</F> <R
unclearness="none">ho</R> <SC unclearness="none">how does it tei</SC>
does it <scripting unclearness="all"></scripting>?

<A>Taste?

Taste.

3.1.2.2.7 Type 7: Function

The *function* segment is to express or ask about the function of the particular item such as a computer.

Example 1: A2/learner1014.txt

<F>Uh-huh</F>. Yeah. <F>Uhh</F> <R unclarity="none">what's the</R> what's the difference between the two computer?

<A><F>Umm</F> both are almost the same. It's just the manufacturer's different.

<F>Oh</F> manufacturer.

<A><F>Hmm</F>.

<F>Ahh</F> the function is the same?

<A>Yes.

Example 2: A2/learner515.txt

<F>Uum</F>. <F>Uh</F> <F>uh</F> I don't want to <F>er</F> <F>mm</F> <R unclarity="none">p</R> process <F>er</F> graphics or <R unclarity="none">s</R> <R unclarity="none">s</R> some <F>er</F> special tasks on P C.

<A><F>Hm</F> O K. <F>M</F>.

3.1.2.2.8 Type 8: Design

The *design* segment is the one in which the learner expresses or asks about the design of the item. In the first example, the learner tries to express that he or she wants a double-breasted coat. In contrast, the learner in the second example expresses his or her negative feelings about the design that is previously presented by the interlocutor.

Example 1: A2/learner588.txt

All so? O K. And <F>urr</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> I want <F>urr</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> double.

<A>O K.

Yeah.

<A><F>Uhm</F> but we don't have any <SC unclarity="none">double-breast coat</SC> light double-breast coat.

Example 2: A2/learner704.txt

<SC unclarity="none">That design is so</SC> <F>uum</F>
<F>er</F> <SC unclarity="none">I didn't like</SC> <F>er</F> I didn't
hope so <F>uum</F> characteristic or very strange type.

<A><F>Er</F>. I see. All right. Then I recommend you these three types.

3.1.2.2.9 Type 9: Combined features

The *combined features* segment is the one that contains more than one *feature*, which overlaps with the *feature* category. This only applies to the ones that are too short to be segmented into more than one function. In most cases, both features appear in one noun phrase or sentence as the following examples show. The first example can be divided into *size/length/shape* and *design*, and the second example into *color* and *design*.

Example 1: A2/learner1179.txt

<A>We have many.

<u><laughter>Many</laughter>. So <F>er</F> I like <F>er</F> small

<A><F>Um</F>.

<u>but a little bit feminine.

<A>I see.

Example 2: A2/learner639.txt

<A>O K. Can I help you, Miss?

<F>Erm</F>. I want to buy a skirt. And <pause duration="short"></pause> I want a red skirt. And <pause duration="short"></pause> not so long but so not short. And <pause duration="short"></pause> I like a red skirt with frill.

3.1.2.3 Quality

There are three subtypes in the *quality* segment: (i) *popularity*, (ii) *subjective*, and (iii) *asking about quality only*.

3.1.2.3.1 Type 1: Popularity

The *popularity* segment is the one that has the function of asking or expressing about the popularity of the item.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner659.txt

<F>Mm</F>. So is this shirt popular?

<A><F>Oh</F>. Yes. It's very popular now among the young people.

Example 2: A2/learner465.txt

<F>Um</F> What computer is <pause duration="short"></pause> the
cheapest?

<A><F>Oh</F> cheapest? O K. So look at this one.

<F>Uhu</F>.

<F>Hm</F>. <pause duration="long"></pause> What
computer is most popular?

<A>Most popular? <F>Oh</F> all three are very popular.

3.1.2.3.2 Type 2: Subjective

The *subjective* segment is the one that has the function of expressing or asking about the quality, especially when the learner asks for the interlocutor's subjective judgment on a particular item.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner634.txt

<A><F>Oh</F>. This cost only <F>er</F> one thousand dollars. <pause
duration="short"></pause> Would you like this?

<F>Hm</F>. *Is it <R unclarity="none">war</R> warm?*

<A><F>Oh</F> yes. It's very warm. Yes.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner711.txt

<F>Er</F> <F>er</F> <SC unclarity="none">I</SC> <pause
duration="short"></pause> <F>ee</F> desk top <F>er</F> or <R

unclarity="none">note</R> note book <JP>pasokon</JP>.

<A><F>Um</F>.

<F>Mm</F>. Which is the better?

<A>It's up to you.

3.1.2.3.3 Type 3: Asking about quality only

Distinguished from the previous type, which is *subjective*, this segment is the one in which the learner only *asks about the quality itself*.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1023.txt

<A><F>Oh</F> sorry. <F>Ah</F> hundred thousand yen.

Hundred thousand yen. <F>Oh</F> it's so cheap.

<A>Right.

<F>Ahh</F> how about the quality?

3.1.2.4 Quantity

The *quantity* segment has the function of expressing or asking about the quantity of the item.

Example 1: A2/learner560.txt

<A>That's three-thousand yen.

<F>Oh</F> <F>uh</F> I see. Yes. So, <F>er</F> I want two. So,

<nvs>cough</nvs> one on <R unclarity="none">my <JP>po</JP></R>

<F>mm</F> my pockette and another one is <SC unclarity="none">my
roo</SC> for my room.

Example 2: A2/learner786.txt

<A><F>Oh</F>. This floor is about English. Entire section.
 <F>Err</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>err</F>. <SC
 unclarity="none">Science fiction such as "X-files" <SC
 unclarity="none">and</SC> <R unclarity="none">I</R> I like it and</SC>
 <pause duration="short"></pause> <R unclarity="none">I would like to</R> I
 would like to such a book like "X-files" and science fiction and so on. <R
 unclarity="none">Maybe</R> maybe not politics. <R
 unclarity="none">That is</R> that is difficult for me. *I'd like to two*
books.
 <A>O K. <F>Well</F> it's along this aisle.

3.1.2.5 Position

The *position* segment has the function of asking where the particular item is situated.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner957.txt

<A>O K? May I help you?
 <F>Ummm</F> <pause duration="long"></pause> I'm looking for apple.
 <pause duration="short"></pause> *Where is apple?*
 <A><nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Urm</F> the fruit section is over there.

3.1.2.6 Timing

The *timing* segment is the one related to the timing or the frequency or amount of time; for example, when the learner asks about the timing in terms of when he or she can receive a particular item, or asks how long the item lasts and so on.

Example 1: A2/learner152.txt

<F>Ah</F> <R unclarity="none">can I</R> can I order it?

<A>Yes, sure.

<u><R unclarity="none">So</R> <F>er</F> so, <R unclarity="none">when</R> when can I <R unclarity="none">take</R> take the shoes?

<A><F>Oh</F> we'll take about two weeks.

Two weeks.

3.1.2.7 Alternatives

The segment annotated as *alternatives* is the utterance in which the learner asks for another item when he or she is not satisfied with the item that the interlocutor has presented. This segment should be distinguished from the following categories: *expressing or asking about item* from the *dealing with transaction*, and *asking someone to show* and *negotiating for exchange or return* from the category *communication for transaction*.

Example 1: A1 (Beginner)/file00404.txt

Yeah. <F>Urm</F> can I</R> can I try it?

<A>Sure, go ahead.

<JP>De</JP>? <nvs>laughter</nvs>

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Oh</F> looks nice on you.

<F>Oh</F>. Do you have another one? <F>Urm</F>. No brown,

<F>mm</F> <R unclarity="none">gray</R> gray one.

<A>O K, <F>mm</F> how about this one?

3.1.2.7 Further questions

The segment annotated as *further questions* is the one in which the learner poses a further question in response to the interlocutor's utterance. This segment only applies to the learner's immediate response. For example, *Why Taiwan banana is cheap?* is a response to the interlocutor's *Ah Taiwanese banana is cheaper* (shown in bold) in the first example. In the second example, the learner asks *What is the difference this one?* as he or she wants to know the difference between the two items presented by the interlocutor. In the third example, the learner asks for the interlocutor's opinion regarding the offer.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner976.txt

<A><F>Well</F> this is from Philippine and this is from Taiwan.

<SC unclarity="none">Which is the <nvs>sniff</nvs> <F>mm</F> very</SC> <F>er</F> which is cheaper?

<A><F>Ah</F> **Taiwanese banana is cheaper.**

Why Taiwan banana is cheap?

<A><F>Well</F> I don't know.

<CO>Is this</CO>. <F>Uum</F>.

<A><F>Well</F> it's almost the same but it's a little bit cheaper.

Example 2: A2/learner1019.txt

<A><CO>We have</CO>.

<F>Uh-huh</F>.

<A>I would say two of them.

<F>Uh-huh</F>.

<A>This one.

<F>Uh-huh</F>.

<A>And this one.

<F>Umm</F>.

<A>**These are the cheap ones.**

<F>Ohh</F>. Really? <F>Um</F>. **What is the difference this one?**

<A>O K.

<F>Uh-huh</F>.

Example 3: A2/learner1183.txt

which ring do you recommend?

<A><F>Hum</F> for you maybe this one, on the right side.

<F>Err</F>.

<A><F>Hum</F>.

Why do you think that?

<A><F>Hum</F>. It's a lighter blue.

3.1.3 Expressing or asking about payment

The segment *expressing or asking about payment* is the one that has the function of expressing or asking about the method of payment.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner120.txt

<pause duration="short"></pause> **<R unclarity="none">Could I</R>
could I use credit card?**

<A><F>Ah</F> what kind of card do you have?

J C B card.

<A><F>Ah</F> sorry, we can't accept J C B.

<F>Ah</F> VISA card?

<A>Sure.

3.2 Communication for Transaction

The *communication for transaction category* are further divided into ten subcategories such as (i) *requesting an action*, (ii) *expressing*, (iii) *explaining the background*, (iv) *confirming*, (v) *threatening*, (vi) *offering*, (vii) *general question and response (g&r)*, (ix) *accepting requests*, and (x) *repeating own utterance*.

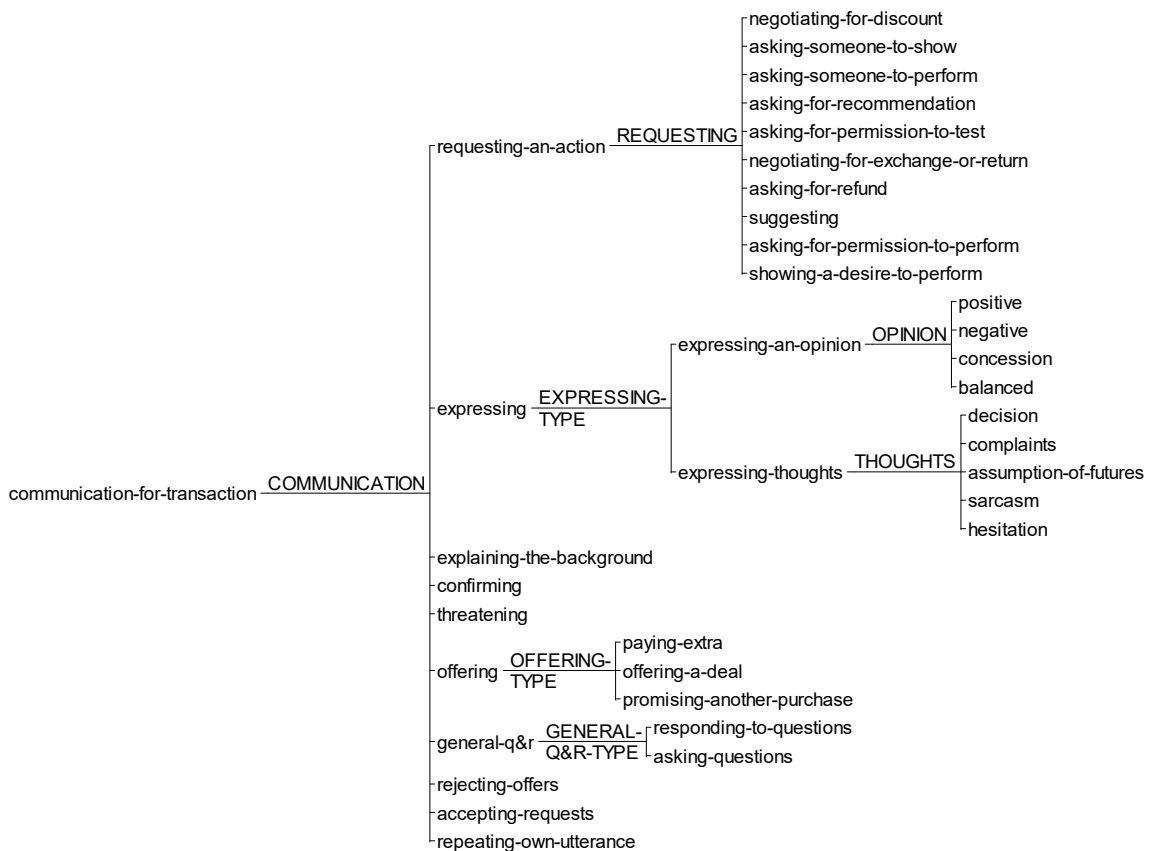


Figure C-7.1. Category of communication for transaction.

3.2.1 Requesting an action

There are 10 subcategories of requesting an action as Figure C-7.2 shows.

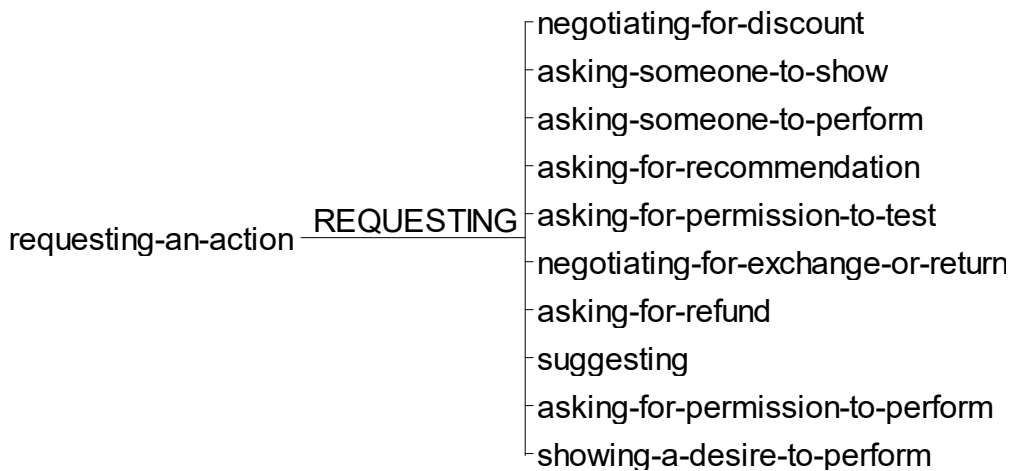


Figure C-7.2. Category of *requesting an action*.

3.2.1.1 Negotiating for discount

In this segment, the learner negotiates with the interlocutor for a discount. As the following examples show, the segments annotated as this function can be found in both the Intermediate and Advanced tasks. However, it should be distinguished from the “price” category of “expressing or asking about item” in “dealing with transaction.”

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner718.txt

<F>Oh</F> great. <F>Mmm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause>
<F>eh</F> <F>hm</F> <F>mm</F> <F>hm</F> five thousand. <F>Mm</F>
<F>er</F> do you have <pause duration="short"></pause> another color?
<A><F>Mm</F> only this color. Only this color. Sorry.
<F>Oh</F>. <F>Er</F> discount?
<A><F>Ah</F> it's really difficult.

Example 2: B1/file00136.txt

<SC unclarity="none">And</SC> but <SC unclarity="none">I</SC> <SC unclarity="none">the other price</SC> I wanna price is a half <pause duration="short"></pause> or <SC unclarity="none">I</SC> I wanna <SC unclarity="none">ge</SC> get a discount
<A>O K.
<CO>Or the</CO>.
<A>I will ask
Yeah.
<A>our manager.

3.2.1.2 Asking someone to show

The segment annotated as *asking someone to show* has the function of asking the interlocutor to show the particular item.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00680.txt

<nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Erm</F> <pre><SC unclarity="none">You have more chi</SC></pre> <pause duration="long"></pause> do you have more cheap suit?
<A>Cheaper one? <F>Urm</F> We have eight thousand yen suit.
Eight thousand yen. <F>Mm</F> Which one?
<A><F>Oh</F>, Right next to it.
Right next, yes. <F>Mm</F> But <F>ur</F> the design is bad.
<nvs>laughter</nvs>

Example 2: A2/learner1109.txt

Do you have the size of this shoes?

<A><F>Err</F> maybe some of them have

<F>Hum</F>.

<A>your size. <F>Um</F>.

Please show me.

<A><F>Hum</F>.

I want to try it.

3.2.1.3 Asking someone to perform

The segment annotated as asking someone to perform is asking the interlocutor to do something for the learner. This does not include the previous segment, *asking someone to show*.

Example 1: B1/learner649.txt

But <F>er</F> when I <pause duration="short"></pause> <R

unclearness="none">came back</R> <F>uh</F> came back home and I tried,

<F>er</F> the sound <R unclerness="none">was</R> was not really good. <R

unclearness="none">So</R> <pause duration="short"></pause> so maybe <R

unclearness="none">par</R> partly, <R unclerness="none">it i</R> it is my

fault. But it also your fault <F>er</F> that you recommended this tape recorder to me. Because I really wanted to buy a good tape recorder.

<A><pause duration="short"></pause> But this one does sound good.

I don't think so. <F>Er</F>. **Could you try it?**

<A>Sure.

3.2.1.4 Asking for recommendation

The segment annotated as *asking for recommendation* has the function of asking the interlocutor to recommend an item to help the learner decide which item he or she should buy.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1135.txt

<F>Mmm</F> I want perfume. <F>Mmm</F>. Today's <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>mm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> feel like <SC unclarity="none">relax</SC> <F>mm</F> relaxing perfume.

<A>O K. These are <SC unclarity="none">relax</SC> all relaxing perfume.

<F>Mmm</F>. **Which one is best?**

<A><F>Er</F> I think <F>er</F> this one is best. But this is a little expensive.

Example 2: A2/learner1084.txt

<F>Oh</F> yes, <F>ah</F> I'd like to buy <F>um</F> good briefcase.

<A><F>Mhm-huh</F>.

<F>**Uu**</F> **could you recommend me** <F>eh</F> **good one?** And

<F>eh</F> <SC unclarity="none">it</SC> <SC unclarity="none">I think</SC> <F>ah</F> <SC unclarity="none">I thinking</SC> I am thinking about using for business

Example 3: A2/learner842.txt

Yeah. Could you tell me <R unclarity="none">wha</R> what kind of beef would be suitable for <SC unclarity="none">to cook</SC>

<A>O K.

cooking curry?

<A>O K. <F>Well</F> in that case, we have three different types.

<F>Hu-huh</F>.

3.2.1.5 Asking for permission to test

The segment annotated as *asking for permission to test* has the function of asking whether the learner is allowed to test a particular item.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner675.txt

<A>O K. So look at these two shirts. Both are blue, and good for your suits.

<F>Mm-hm</F> <F>Mhm</F> I prefer <F>um</F> <SC unclarity="none">stripe</SC>

<A><F>Mm-hm</F>

stripes shirts.

<A>O K. Here you are.

<F>Mm</F> Good. <F>uum</F> Can I try it on?

<A>Sure. O K. There is a fitting room over there.

<F>Mm</F>

<A>O K.

3.2.1.6 Negotiating for exchange or return

The segment annotated as *negotiating for exchange or return* has the function of negotiating for an exchange or a return of the item that the learner has already bought. This segment is frequently evident in B1 learners who are given Advanced tasks.

Example 1: B1/file00027.txt

<A>Hello, may I help you?

<F>Mm</F>. I bought <F>urm</F> sweater yesterday but <SC unclerness="none">it</SC> the size is not good for me, so would you change a sweater?

<A><F>Oh</F>. I'm very sorry but it's against our policy to give you refund or make exchanges.

<F>Mm</F> <SC unclerness="none">why <F>mm</F> did you</SC> why <SC unclerness="none">it's</SC> <F>er</F> is it against a policy?

3.2.1.7 Asking for refund

The segment annotated as *asking for refund* has the function of asking for refund as the learner is not satisfied with the purchased item. This is also frequently evident in B1 learners.

Example 1: B1/file00037.txt

<A>May I help you?

<F>Um</F> excuse me <F>um</F> last <pause duration="short"></pause> week <F>um</F> I bought a shirt at <pause duration="short"></pause> your shop. And first, I really liked it, I wanted it, but when I went back home and I saw

it, and <SC unclarity="none">I</SC> the color was <pause
duration="short"></pause> not just like what I have thought. And <F>um</F> I
don't like this. <laughter>I'm sorry</laughter>, so <SC unclarity="none">I
want this</SC> I want to return this back and <F>um</F> **I want the money paid
back.** Is it O K?

<A><F>Uh</F> <F>well</F> first of all, can I have the receipt?

<F>Oh</F>.

<A>Do you have the receipt?

O K.

3.2.1.8 Suggesting

The segment is annotated as *suggesting* when the learner makes a request by suggesting something to the interlocutor.

Example 1: A2/learner842.txt

<laughter>O K</laughter>. <F>Err</F> could you discount the price?

<A><F>Erm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> if you buy

<F>Hu-huh</F>.

<A>more than one kilogram.

More than one kilogram? It's too much.

<A>How about seven hundred grams?

<F>**Hum**</F> **how about five hundred grams?**

<nvs>laughter</nvs>.

<A>O K.

Example 2: B1/learner788.txt

<A><F>Uum</F>. But This shop is very very <F>err</F> strict about return policy. And actually I'm new here. And <F>err</F> yeah, I can not exchange.

You can do that.

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>

Just hide it from your <scripting unclerness="all"></scripting>.

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>

I can give you <F>er</F> tip instead.

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs> <laughter>No, I can not take that, ma'am</laughter>.

Really?

3.2.1.9 Asking for permission to perform

The segment *asking for allowance to perform* is produced when the learner asks for the interlocutor's permission to do something.

Example 1: B1/file00657.txt

<A><F>Ur</F>. No, he's out for lunch.

<F>Oh-ohh</F>. **Then can I wait for him or her?** When does he come back?

<A>Within thirty minutes, I guess.

O K. Then I'll <F>ur</F> just <F>ur</F> hung around here for <laughter>thirty minutes, and I'll talk to him</laughter>.

3.2.1.10 Showing a desire to perform

The segment annotated as *showing a desire to perform* is to show the learner's desire to do something to the interlocutor. This should be distinguished from the segment *expressing intention to buy* in the *dealing with transaction* category. This does not apply to any desires or wishes of purchase.

Example 1: B1/learner630.txt

<A><F>Oh</F>. He's out of town.

<F>Oh</F> my gosh. So, <F>uh</F> please check him phone number. *I'd like to phone again later.*

<A>O K. All right. So I'll ask my senior people.

3.2.2 Expressing

The second category *expressing* are divided into two main categories: (i) *expressing an opinion* and (ii) *expressing thoughts*.

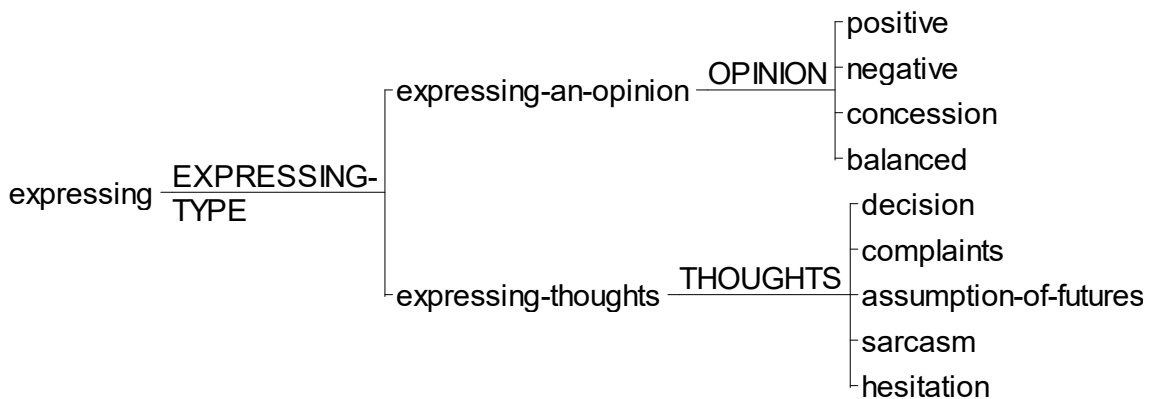


Figure C-7.3. Category of *expressing*.

3.2.2.1 Expressing an opinion

The segment *expressing an opinion* is further divided into (i) *positive*, (ii)

negative, (iii) *concession* and (iii) *balanced*.

3.2.2.1.1 Type 1: Positive

The *positive* segment is the learner's positive response to the interlocutor or what the interlocutor has offered.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner675.txt

<F>Mm-hm</F> <F>Mhm</F> I prefer <F>um</F> <SC
unclearness="none">stripe</SC>
<A><F>Mm-hm</F>
stripes shirts.
<A>O K. Here you are.
<F>**Mm**</F> **Good.** <F>uum</F> Can I try it on?
<A>Sure. O K. There is a fitting room over there.
<F>Mm</F>

3.2.2.1.2 Type 2: Negative

The *negative* segment is the learner's negative response to the interlocutor or what the interlocutor has offered.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00404.txt

<A>O K, this is <SC unclearness="none">five</SC> <F>er</F> fifty thousand
yen.
Yeah, fifty thousand. <JP><F>Eh</F></JP>? **<laughter>Too**
expensive</laughter>

<A>Really?

3.2.2.1.3 Type 3: Concession

In the segment annotated as *concession*, the learner tries to say no to the interlocutor but shows a concessive opinion, by showing both negative and positive reactions at the same time.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner675.txt

<F>Mm</F> Good. <F>Mm</F> But <SC
unclearness="none">the</SC> this shirt is little big. Do you have small
one?
<A>Sure. O K. So I think this one is a little smaller than that.

3.2.2.1.4 Type 4: Balanced

The *balanced* segment shows that the learner has a balanced reaction to the interlocutor, which is neither positive nor negative.

Example 1: A1(2015)/learner1060.txt

How much is it?
<A><F>Ah</F>. It's twenty thousand yen.
<F>Ah</F>. How about <SC unclearness="none">this</SC> <SC
unclearness="none">s</SC> this <R unclearness="none">k</R> <SC
unclearness="none">k</SC> one?
<A>O K. This one is <F>er</F> five thousand yen.

<F>Ah</F>. <F>Mh-hmm</F>. **Not so much difference.**

<nvs>laughter</nvs>

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>

But <F>mm</F> this time, I'll buy <F>un</F> <F>er</F> the cheap one.

3.2.2.2 Expressing thoughts

Expressing thoughts can be further divided into (i) *decision*, (ii) *complaints*, (iii) *assumption of futures*, (iv) *sarcasm*, and (v) *hesitation*.

3.2.2.2.1 Type 1: Decision

The decision segment in the expressing thoughts category has the function of telling the learner's decision. This should be distinguished from *expressing an intention to buy* in the *dealing with transaction* category. The learner's decision except for purchase is expressed, such as an intention of coming back to the shop and so on.

Example 1: B1/file00873.txt

<F>**Oh**</F> **then. I'll pay the gap.**

<A><F>Oh</F> really? <nvs>laughter</nvs>

<laughter>Yes</laughter>. Because I don't like this <pause duration=short></pause> type. And <F>erm</F> even though I keep it, I will not wear it. **So I'd rather pay the gap.**

Example 2: A2/learner903.txt

<F>Oh</F> <F>um</F> <F>hum</F> <F>hum</F>. So

<F>um</F> <SC unclarity=none>we can't</SC> <F>uh</F> <R
 unclarity=none>I can't <F>um</F> ta</R> <F>um</F> <F>um</F> I can't
 <F>um</F> <F>um</F> <SC unclarity=none>tasting wi</SC> tasting?
 <A>No.
 No. <F>Oh</F>. <nvs>laughter</nvs> So <F>uh</F> I'm
 thinking <nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>um</F> at home, and <laughter>after
 that</laughter>, <SC unclarity=none>I</SC> I'm <F>um</F> coming.
 <F>Uh</F>. <SC unclarity=none>Is it</SC> <R unclarity=none>is
 that</R> is that O K?

3.2.2.2.2 Type 2: Complaints

The *complaints* segment is the one in which the learner expresses his or her thoughts of complaint according to the contextual information exchanged between the learner and interlocutor. In the following example, *But it's new* (shown in bold), which is categorized as *negative* from the *expressing an opinion* category, can be a positive opinion if it is taken independently from the context, but the context shows that the learner makes a complaint, insisting that he or she does not want to have a new dress with a hole.

Example 1: B1/learner1266.txt

<A><F>Oh</F> but it's very small, so nobody will notice it even if you wear
 it.
 But it's new.
 <A><F>Uh-huh</F>.
 Brand new. ***Why do I need to <F>er</F> have a new dress with a hole? I
 don't like it.***

3.2.2.2.3 Type 3: Assumption of futures

The segment *assumption of futures* is annotated in the utterance when the learner assumes that something is happening in the near future, as the following example shows.

Example 1: B1/learner649.txt

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>. But <F>er</F> we have no plans of restocking.
Restocking. So <nvs>cough</nvs> but this is a big store.
<A><F>Mh-hmm</F>.
So maybe you can <SC unclarity=none>get a</SC> get another good tape recorders in. I believe so. So <F>er</F> <pause duration=short></pause> I'm going to buy that one. So <pause duration=short></pause> I want you to keep it. <SC unclarity=none>And <F>er</F> <SC unclarity=none>when I</SC> <SC unclarity=none>it</SC> <SC unclarity=none>i</SC></SC> <F>eh</F> and when <SC unclarity=none>I</SC> <SC unclarity=none>it was</SC> it is delivered, maybe I will buy it. So could you give you this one <pause duration=short></pause> back to you?
<A><F>Well</F>, I'll talk to my manager about that. O K?

3.2.2.2.4 Type 4: Sarcasm

The segment annotated as *sarcasm* has the function of showing a sarcastic attitude toward the interlocutor.

Example 1: B1/learner1262.txt

<A>I see. But I'm sorry, but in this store, we can't exchange the things if you opened it.

<R unclarity=none>I</R> I'm sure that the other stores would
<R unclarity=none>change</R> change it for me.

<A>Yeah, that's right. <CO>But</CO>.

So <R unclarity=none>I</R> <R unclarity=none>I</R>
**I think that <F>ur</F> <SC unclarity=none>s</SC> other stores are better
than this.**

<A>O K. But <F>urm</F> <R unclarity=none>I can't</R> I can't tell you if I
can exchange or not. I'm a part-timer here.

3.2.2.2.5 Type 5: Hesitation

The segment annotated as *hesitation* shows the learner's hesitation toward the interlocutor's utterance or attitude. This should be distinguished from the *negative* segment of *expressing thoughts*, which shows a totally negative response. In this case, the learner approves of the interlocutor's utterance but shows hesitation as a way of persuading the interlocutor. However, this should be distinguished from *threatening*, which sounds more offensive.

Example 1: B1/file00991.txt

<F>Mmm</F>. <pause duration=long></pause> But <R
unclarity=none>I</R> I always use this store.

<A><F>Ah</F> really?

I really like to shop <SC unclarity=none>this</SC> at this
**store. <CO><SC unclarity=none>Because</SC> so. I'm sorry but <R
unclarity=none>I</R> I have to say that if</CO>.** <F>Erm</F>.

<nvs>laughter</nvs>

<A>Only this time, O K, you can exchange to another one.

3.2.3 Explaining the background

A great number of segments belong to the category of explaining the *background*, which are in A1, A2, and B1 learners. This segment has the function of giving background information during the interaction. This can be supportive to any kind of utterances.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00757.txt

<A>Actually, we do have black one, too.

<R unclerness=none>Which</R> <JP><F>etto</F></JP> which pattern is the black dress?

<A><F>Erm</F>. There is no sleeves.

No sleeve? *I don't wear <laughter>no sleeve</laughter>*.

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>

Example 2: A2/learner1149.txt

<A>O K. Hello. May I help you, miss?

<F>Oh</F> <F>um</F> <F>eh</F> I want to have a <F>er</F> ring for my daughter. *And she is <F>er</F> twenty years old.* <F>Er</F> please show me the good one.

<A><F>Hm</F>. We have a lot of rings. What kind of,

<F>Oh</F> <F>er</F>.

<A>rings would you like?

Example 3: B1/file00008.txt

<A><pretask>O K.</pretask> Hi. May I help you?

Yes. <F>Er</F>. **Just a couple of minutes ago, I came to this store and bought this stuff.**

<A><F>Ah-huh</F>.

3.2.4 Confirming

The segment annotated as *confirming* is also frequently produced. The function is to confirm what the interlocutor has said previously by repeating a part of what the interlocutor said. This should be distinguished from supporting segments of *confirming* in the scheme for Request (see 2.4).

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00589.txt

<A>You look great.

Great? O K. <R>I</R> I buy this suits.

<A>O K. <SC unclerness=none>How would you pay</SC> how would you like to pay for it?

Example 2: B1/file01242.txt

<A>So <F>er</F> you can't <F>ur</F> refund or exchange the

product.

<F>Ahh</F>. But <F>ur</F> if it was not on holidays,

<A><F>Mm-hm</F>.

will you exchange it?

<A>No, because it was for special price.

<F>Oh</F> then <F>ur</F> it's O K to <F>ur</F> exchange into the normal price, not special. But I just want to give it back. **Is it O K?**

<A>O K. <F>Urm</F> I'm a part-timer and I really can't make the decision. My boss is out right now. So.

3.2.5 Threatening

The segment annotated as *threatening* has the function of threatening the interlocutor, as the learner is not satisfied with the interlocutor's utterance or attitude.

Example 1: B1/file00071.txt

<A>I'm sorry, we can't. It's against our policy.

<SC unclarity=none>But, it's</SC> <F>uhm</F> but, <R unclarity=none>I</R> <SC unclarity=none>I didn't</SC> I don't like it, and I never wear it. **So, it's not good for your shop as well.**

<A><F>Uhhh</F>. But, you know, I'm a part-time worker, so

<F>Uh-huh</F>.

<A>I cannot decide.

3.2.6 Offering

The *offering* category is further divided into (i) *paying extra*, (ii) *offering a deal*, and (iii) *promising another purchase*. Different from negative responses such as *negative* (see 3.2.2.1.2), *complaints* (see 3.2.2.2.2), *sarcasm* (see 3.2.2.2.4), and *threatening* (see 3.3.5), the learner tries to justify what he or she emphasizes by offering something to the interlocutor.

3.2.6.1 Paying extra

The segment *paying extra* is annotated when the learner offers to pay extra money in order to insist on his or her wishes.

Example 1: B1/learner656.txt

Yeah. But <F>hmm</F> <pause duration=short></pause> O K. This is smaller one. And you have that bigger one.

<A><F>Mh-hmm</F>.

Yeah. And I didn't use this bag at all. So <R unclarity=none>if you</R> if you change <SC unclarity=none>this</SC> these two bag and I'll pay more.

<A><F>Mh-hmm</F>.

for that, I think it doesn't make big problem for you.

3.2.6.2 Offering a deal

The segment *offering a deal* is annotated when the learner offers to do something for the interlocutor in order to obtain his or her goal.

Example 1: A2/learner1081.txt

Thirty thousand. <F>Nn</F>. I have no money. <nvs>laughter</nvs> So, <F>mm</F> I will take <F>um</F> Japanese one. <F>Nn</F>.

<JP><F>Nn</F></JP>. If possible, <F>nn</F> could you <F>nn</F> discount, please?

<A><F>Oh</F> I am sorry. I can't.

<F>Nn</F>. So I play the guitar for you. <F>mm</F> could you discount <scripting unclarity=partly>a little bit</scripting>?

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs> O K. This time, I will talk to my manager.

3.2.6.3 Promising another purchase

The segment *promising another purchase* is annotated when the learner promises another purchase in order to achieve his or her negotiation.

Example 1: B1/learner1020.txt

<SC unclarity=none>Because</SC> <F>ahh</F> I usually use this shop so if you think about that could you do that?

<A><F>Um</F>.

I promise that <SC unclarity=none>I</SC> I'll buy <SC unclarity=none>next</SC> <R unclarity=none>other</R> other shirt next time.

<A>O K. <F>Well</F> I really wish I could something for you.

3.2.7 General q&r (question & response)

The *general q&r* segment is annotated in any segments of questions and responses, which are general and do not belong to any other categories. There are two types: (i) *responding to questions* and (ii) *making questions*.

3.2.7.1 Responding to questions

General responses are annotated as *responding to questions*.

Example 1: B1/file00654.txt

<R unclarity=none>Could I</R> could I call you once
again <scripting unclarity=all></scripting>?

<A>O K, O K, sure, sure.

Thanks a lot.

<A>All right. So you'll call back?

Yeah.

<A>All right.

Example 2: B1/learner1187.txt

<A><F>Ahm</F> when did you buy it, sir?

Today, two hours ago. So I have a receipt here.

3.2.7.2 Making questions

General questions are annotated as *making questions*.

Example 1: B1/file00554.txt

<A><F>Oh</F>. He is at the lunch now.

O K. Is he coming back?

3.2.8 Rejecting offers

The segment annotated as *rejecting offers* has the function of rejecting the interlocutor's offer.

Example 1: A2/file00149.txt

<A><F>Oh</F> <F>ah</F> do you want to try to wear this?

<F>Oh</F> try, no, no, no. <F>Eh</F> <F>eh</F> <F>mm</F>

<F>mm</F> <R unclarity=none>I</R> I want to <SC

unclarity=none>bring</SC> buy and

bring.<nvs>laughter</nvs>

3.2.9 Accepting requests

The segment annotated as *accepting requests* has the function of accepting any requests made by the interlocutor.

Example 1: B1/file00327.txt

<A><scripting unclarity=all></scripting>. And, please <F>ah</F> bring your receipt, too.

OK

<A>O K?

Thank you.

3.2.10 Repeating own utterance

The category *repeating own utterance* is the segment that is annotated in a repeated phrase made by the learner.

Example 1: A2/learner995.txt

<F>Mmm</F> <F>er</F> is it <F>mmm</F> good performance for oil?

<A><F>Well</F> I don't know. The style is good, but it's not really fast.

<F>Er</F> do you have anything else?

<A><F>Mmm</F>.

<u>Do you have anything else</u>??

<A>Any

<R unclarity="none">E</R> Anything?

<A><F>Ah</F> another car?

Appendix D: Manuals of Annotation Scheme of Grammatical Accuracy/Discoursal

Acceptability

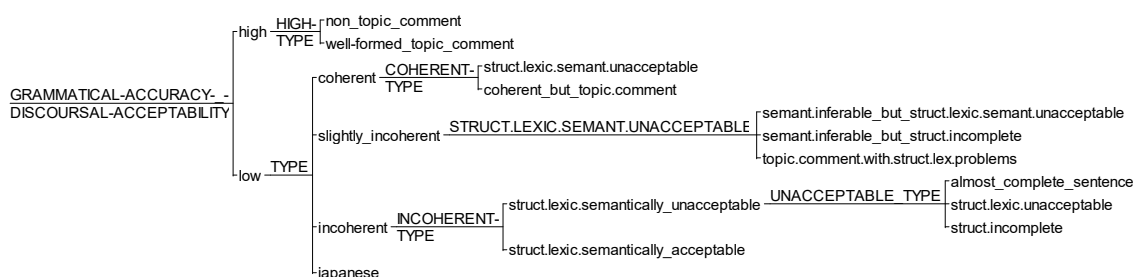


Figure D-1. The annotation scheme for *grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability*.

1. High

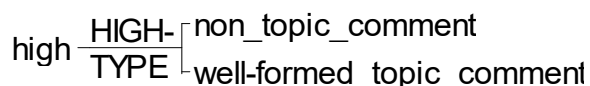


Figure D-2.1. Category of *high* segments.

1.1 Non-Topic Comment

The pattern has no problems in terms of grammar and discourse, and does not have any topic-comment structures. The first example below shows a pattern of *item please* of *non-sentential phrase* in *direct* strategy, and the second one shows a pattern of *ability/permission could* of *conventionally indirect* strategy.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner994.txt

O K. Thank you. <F>Er</F> <F>mmm</F> this please?

<A>O K. So how would you like to pay?

<F>Ah</F> <F>er</F> card please?

<A><R unclarity="none">O K</R> O K. Signature, please.

Thank you.

Example 2: B1/learner1020.txt

<F>Ah</F> I tried that but <F>ah</F> I didn't notice the <F>um</F> color is dark. Probably, <SC unclarity="none">it's be</SC> it's due to the light.

<A><F>Um</F> <F>ah</F> once you buy it, we normally don't exchange.

<F>Ohh</F>. ***But could you do that?***

<A>I'm afraid I cannot do anything about it.

1.2 Well-Formed Topic Comment

The pattern has no problems in terms of grammar and discourse, but has a topic-comment structure, which is suitable.

Example 1: A1/file00575.txt

<F>Uh-huh</F>. <F>Oh</F>. <R unclarity="none">I</R> I am looking

<SC unclarity="none">for the</SC> <F>er</F> for about <F>er</F>

<F>er</F> fifty thousand yen.

<A>Fifty thousand yen.

Thousand yen ***is my budget.***

<A><F>Oh</F>. O K. Those suits are over sixty thousand yen.

Example 2: B1/file00171.txt

<A><F>Oh</F>. O K. He'll be back in two weeks.

In two weeks? O K. So can I <F>er</F> leave <F>urr</F> this bag here today and <F>er</F> can I <F>er</F> talk to your manager in two weeks?

<A>Sure. <CO>But</CO>.

O K. So here is the bag I bought <F>er</F> yesterday. And this is my name card.

<A>O K.

2. Low

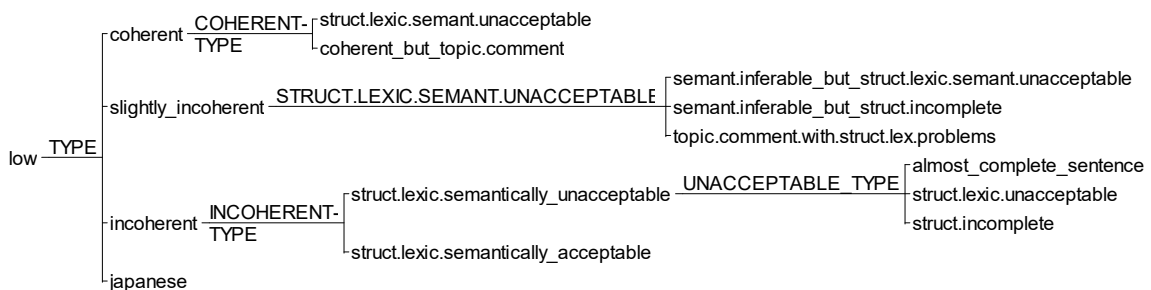


Figure D-2.2. Category of *low* segments.

2.1 Coherent

There are two subordinate types in a *coherent* category as Figure D-3 shows.

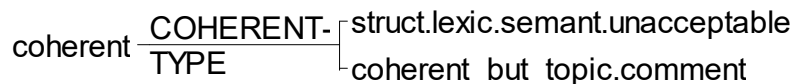


Figure D-3. Category of *coherent* segments.

2.1.1 Structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable

The first category in *coherent* segments has no problems in terms of discourse, but there are some slight problems with the choice of lexical items and sentence structures.

The following example shows a pattern of *imperative please* in *direct strategy*. A slight

lexical problem with this is that *other color* should have been uttered as *another color*.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/learner994.txt

<F>Mmm</F>. <SC unclarity="none">And</SC> but <R
unclarity="none">I</R> <pause duration="short"></pause> <R
unclarity="none">I</R> I don't like this color.

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>.

<F>Uh-huh</F>. <F>Er</F>. Please show me other
color?

<A><F>Oh</F> O K. We have many different colors.

2.1.2 Coherent but topic comment

The second category has no problems in terms of discourse with a slight unsuitable structure or lexical choice, but the sentence has a topic-comment structure. The following example below is categorized as an *explanation* type of *declarative statement* of *direct* strategy in the annotation scheme for request.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner737.txt

<A>O K. Hello, ma'am. How may I help you?

<F>Uum</F>. <R unclarity="none">I want a</R> <F>hmm</F> I want a
basketball shoes. And its color is black. And <F>err</F> <SC
unclarity="none">size <F>er</F> is</SC> Japanese size is <F>err</F>
twenty-four size.

<A><F>Uhu</F>.

2.2 Slightly Incoherent

There are three subordinate types in a *slightly coherent* category as Figure D-4 shows. They are less coherent than *coherent* patterns but more coherent than *incoherent* ones. There are three types: (i) the intention of a learner's utterance is *semantically inferable, but structurally inaccurate and lexically unacceptable*, (ii) the utterance is *semantically inferable but structurally incomplete*, and (iii) the utterance has a *topic-comment structure with some structural and lexical problems*.

slightly_incoherent STRUCT.LEXIC.SEMANT.UNACCEPTABLE | semant.inferable_but_struct.lexic.semant.unacceptable
| semant.inferable_but_struct.incomplete
| topic.comment.with.struct.lex.problems

Figure D-4. Category of *slightly incoherent* segments.

2.2.1 Semantically inferable but structurally inaccurate and lexically unacceptable

The first example shows that it is inferable that the learner intends to pay by cash, but there is a problem with the structure and choice of the lexical item. The second one shows that the learner intends to buy a long coat, but this does not constitute a suitable structure.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner451.txt

<A><F>Hm</F> good. O K. So do you wanna buy it?

Yes. How about price, this?

<A>O K. Now is on sale, it's just five thousand yen.

Yeah. <F>Oh</F> I'm buying.

<A>O K. <F>Er</F> how would you like to pay?

<F>Ee</F> **cashing**.

<A>O K. O K. Here is your shoes.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner634.txt

<F>Hm</F>. <pause duration="short"></pause> <R
unclearness="none">I</R>

<A><CO>This is</CO>.

<SC unclearness="none">I</SC> <R unclearness="none">long</R>
long coat.

<A><F>Oh</F>. You want a <F>er</F> long coat?

Yes.

2.2.3 Semantically inferable but structurally incomplete

The following example shows that the learner tries to negotiate for an exchange of item with the interlocutor. However, this utterance is incomplete so that the intention of the learner is not definitely clear.

Example 1: B1/learner788.txt

You know, <SC unclearness="none">then</SC> you know, the other shop I
went, <R unclearness="none">they</R> they always welcome this kind of
complaining. I mean they always welcome to I exchange this
clothes.

<A><F>Uum</F>. But This shop is very very <F>err</F> strict
about return policy. And actually I'm new here. And <F>err</F> yeah, I can not
exchange.

You can do that.

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>

Just hide it from your <scripting unclearness="all"></scripting>.

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>

I can give you <F>er</F> tip instead.

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs> <laughter>No, I can not take that,
ma'am</laughter>.

2.2.2 Topic comment with structural and lexical problems

The following example shows that the utterance seems literally and directly translated from the Japanese language from *Watashi wa shiroi iro ga hoshii* (I topic-particle-*wa* white color particle-*ga* want), with a topic-particle such as *wa*. According to Okutsu (1993), there is a typical mistake made by Japanese English learners due to the topic-marking system realized by the topic-particle *wa* in Japanese: “I am a fish,” which is meant as “I would like to eat fish” at a restaurant (p. 7). The example below shows a similar pattern to Okutsu (1993)’s example; however, it has as many structural and lexical problems as English.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1129.txt

<A><nvs>laughter</nvs> Do you think so?

And <F>er</F> ear phone, please.

<A><F>Ahh</F> O K. Is this one O K?

&u>*<F>Er</F> I'm white color wants.*

<A><F>Ahh</F>. Sorry, we have no white color.

<F>Hm</F>.

2.3 Incoherent

Incoherent segments are totally unacceptable in terms of discourse. The learner does not coherently respond to the interlocutor’s previous utterance, and the flow of communication is broken down. However, in most cases, the interlocutor repairs the flow in order to continue a role-play session as part of OPI. There are two types: (i) *structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable* and (ii) *structurally, lexically, and semantically acceptable* as Figure D-5 shows.

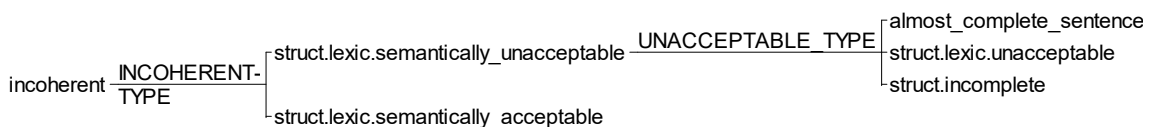


Figure D-5. Category of *incoherent* segments.

2.3.1 Structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable

There are three types of *structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable* category: (i) having an *almost complete sentence* with a slight problem with structure and lexical choice, (ii) *structurally and lexically unacceptable*, and (iii) *structurally incomplete*.

2.3.1.1 Almost complete sentence

In the following example, the segment *would you like to wrap specially* is incoherent because a person who wants to have a gift wrapped is the customer (i.e., the learner), but not the shop assistant (i.e., the interlocutor). It can be rephrased as *would you wrap it specially* without *like to*.

Example 1: A2/learner198.txt

<A>O K. <F>Mm</F> and <F>ah</F> how can I wrap?
<pause duration="short"></pause> <F>A</F> <F>uuh</F>.
<A><CO>Do you use</CO>.
<F>Ah</F> <R unclarity="none">I</R> <R
unclarity="none">I</R> <F>uh</F> <F>a</F> I want to <F>uh</F>
<pause duration="short"></pause> <F>uh</F> present my friends this one. **So**
<F>uh</F> would you like to wrap specially?
<A>O K, sure.

2.3.1.2 Structurally and lexically unacceptable

In the following example, the learner should use verbs such as *give* instead of *take*. Although the conversation flows smoothly, *take* indicates the opposite meaning to *give*. It might be possible that the learner specifies one of the sweaters and asks him to take and show or give it to him, his structural and lexical choice is not still acceptable.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner1171.txt

<scripting unclarity="all"></scripting>. <F>Hum</F> O K.
<F>Um</F> do you have <F>uum</F> else color sweater?
<A><F>Uhu</F>. O K. Here are different colors.
<F>Oh</F> <scripting unclarity="partly">that's good</scripting>. <pause
duration="long"></pause> O K. **Please take it.**
<A><F>Uhu</F>. <F>Er</F> do you want to know the price?
<F>Um</F> good.

2.3.1.3 Structurally incomplete

The example below shows that the utterance is incomplete, so that it is difficult to assume what the learner wants to say at this stage. However, the following segment itself is incoherent until the learner repairs his utterance by saying *I want the uuh the end of the err trousers' is is not ur covered* after the interlocutor rebuilds the flow of conversation, asking *Is there any particular style*. The preceding segment, *Which trousers which where trousers, where?*, is grouped into the category of *structurally and lexically unacceptable*.

Example 1: A2/file00165.txt

O K. So I want to get the black one.

<A>A black one?

Yes.

<A>O K. <F>Urm</F> what kind of style of trousers do you like?

<F>Oh</F> <F>urr</F> <R unclerness="none">style</R> style. <SC

unclearness="none">Which trousers</SC> <SC

unclearness="none">which</SC> where trousers, where?

<A>Pants.

<F>Ah</F> <R unclerness="none">no</R> <R

unclearness="none">no</R> no. Sorry. <F>Ur</F> <SC

unclearness="none">trousers</SC> <R unclerness="none">the</R>

<F>er</F> the end?

<A><F>Mhm</F> <F>oh</F> sorry. Is there any particular

style?

<F>Ahhh</F> O K. I want <R unclerness="none">the</R>
 <F>uuh</F> the end of the <F>err</F> trousers' <R unclerness="none">is</R>
 is not <F>ur</F> covered. Simple one.< Yes. And <R
 unclerness="none">the</R> <F>urr</F> <R unclerness="none">the tack</R>
 <F>uhh</F> I want the two tacks. No tacks trousers</SC> no-tack trousers is <R
 unclerness="none">I don't</R> <F>urr</F> I don't want.

2.3.2 Structurally and lexically acceptable

The following examples show there are basically no problems with the structure and lexical choice, although they are totally incoherent in terms of discourse. The first example shows the incoherent response *How much? Both.* made by the learner toward the interlocutor's question *What kind do you want.* In the second example, the segment, *Yes, please,* is not coherent with the interlocutor's utterance, *well I can't make these decisions. My manager does.* It can be assumed that the learner asks the interlocutor to talk to the manager, but it does not seem enough and appropriate in this context.

Example 1: A1(Intermediate)/learner454.txt

<F>Oh</F> I want D V D recorder.

<A><F>Uh-huh</F>. <F>Erm</F> we have two types of D V D recorder.

<F>Oh</F>.

<A>What kind do you want?

How much? <CO>*Both*</CO>.

<A>O K, this one is, <F>um</F> let's say, sixty thousand yen. And this one is fifty thousand yen.

Example 2: B1/learner1158/txt

<nvs>laughter</nvs> <F>Err</F> yes, actually I try it.
<laughter><R unclerness="none">But I</R></laughter> <SC
unclerness="none">but I'm sorry, <R unclerness="none">I</R> <F>err</F> I
don't</SC> and I'm sorry <R unclerness="none">I</R> <SC
unclerness="none">I</SC> <R unclerness="none">it</R> it doesn't
<F>err</F> <R unclerness="none">fit</R> fit me.
<A><F>Um</F>.
So please could you
<A><nvs>laughter</nvs>
possibly exchange
<A><F>Well</F>
it?
<A><F>well</F> I can't make these decisions. My manager does.
Yes, please.
<A><F>Uhu</F>. So you need to talk with my manager.
Yes. <R unclerness="none">I</R> I will talk <R
unclerness="none">with</R> with the manager.

2.4 Japanese

The following examples show the use of Japanese. Although the interlocutors continue an interaction without being confused by these Japanese words, these utterances should not be acceptable while Japanese speakers are conversing with non-Japanese speakers in English.

Example 1: A1(Beginner)/file00589.txt

<A>O K. You can try it if you like.

Yes.

<A>Looks great on you.

<JP>pittari</JP>. <R unclarity="none">How</R> <CO>how</CO>

<pause duration="short"></pause> <F>uhm</F>

<A>You look great.

Example 2: A1(Intermediate)/learner191.txt

<A><F>Mhn-huh</F>. Yeah. <F>Er</F> these are twenty-seven.

Yes. <F>Ah-n</F> may I <F>ah</F> take <F>ah</F> these? <F>Ah</F>

<F>mm</F> <pause duration="short"></pause> <F>er</F> <F>mm</F> <pause

duration="short"></pause> <scripting unclarity="all"></scripting> <pause

duration="long"></pause> may I take <F>ah</F> <F>eh</F>

<JP>shichaku</JP>? <nvs>laughter</nvs>

<A><F>Ah</F> O K. Yeah. Go ahead.

Appendix E: Replicability of Annotations

Table E-1

Files replicated by the checker for the Request annotation scheme

CEFR Level	Files for Trial 1	Files for Trial 2
A1	file00404.txt	learner675.txt
A1	learner1009.txt	learner1129.txt
A2	learner1012.txt	learner1084.txt
A2	learner1183.txt	learner359.txt
B1	file00057.txt	learner989.txt
B1	file00301.txt	learner521.txt

NB: Trial 1 contained the files that the checker had checked for the revision and refinement of the Request annotations, while Trial 2 contained the files that the checker had not yet examined before the replication.

Table E-1.1

The number of segments annotated and the annotation agreement rate between the author and checker for Trial 1 of the Request annotations

CEFR level	File	The number of segments	Agreement rate (Krippendorff's <i>alpha</i>)
A1	file00404.txt*	14	78.6% (0.758)
A1	learner1009.txt	6	100% (1)
A2	learner1012.txt	5	80% (0.769)
A2	learner1183.txt	9	100% (1)
B1	file00057.txt	2	100% (1)
B1	file00301.txt	2	100% (1)
Average agreement rate			93.1% (0.921)

NB: *file00404.txt is detailed in Table E-2.1.1 and section 5.5.2.

Table E-1.1.1

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for file00404.txt (A1) in Trial

1 of the Request annotations

Segment	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	would like	would like	Yes
2	item only	item only	Yes
3	do you have item	do you have item	Yes
4	explanation	explanation	Yes
5	do you have item	do you have item	Yes
6	can	can	Yes
7	do you have item	do you have item	Yes
8	item only	declarative (explanation)	No
9	can	can	Yes
10	politeness marker please	politeness marker please	Yes
11	do you have item	interrogative (discount)	No
12	item only	interrogative (discount)	No
13	item please	item please	Yes
14	politeness marker please	politeness marker please	Yes

Table E-1.1.2

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for learner1012.txt (A2) in Trial

1 of the Request annotations

Segments	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	do you have item	do you have item	Yes
2	want	want	Yes
3	item only	yes	No
4	declarative purchase	declarative purchase	Yes
5	yes	yes	Yes

Table E-1.2

The number of segments annotated and the annotation agreement rate between the author and checker for Trial 2 of the Request annotations

CEFR level	File	The number of segments	Agreement rate
A1	learner675.txt	9	100% (1)
A1	learner1129.txt	8	50% (0.417)
A2	learner1084.txt	8	100% (1)
A2	learner359.txt	4	100% (1)
B1	learner989.txt	4	100% (1)
B1	learner521.txt	4	100% (1)
Average agreement rate			91.67% (0.903)

Table E-1.2.1

Segments annotated by the author and checker for learner1129.txt (A1) in Trial 2 of the Request annotations

Segment	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	not-classifiable	declarative purchase	No
2	want	want	Yes
3	item please	item please	Yes
4	politeness marker please	politeness marker please	Yes
5	want	want	Yes
6	not-classifiable	declarative purchase	No
7	item only	not-classifiable	No
8	not-classifiable	declarative purchase	No

Table E-2

Files replicated by the checker for the Function and Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations

CEFR Level	Files for Trial 1	Files for Trial 2
A1	file00404.txt	learner675.txt
A1	learner1009.txt	learner1129.txt
A2	learner1012.txt	learner1084.txt
A2	learner1183.txt	learner359.txt
B1	file00057.txt	learner989.txt
B1	file00301.txt	learner521.txt

NB: The checker replicated the annotations of the files for Trial 1 using the manuals provided in the appendices. In Trial 2, however, the replication was done without the use of manuals. In Trial 1, the files including learner1009.txt, learner1012.txt, and learner1183.txt were checked by the checker for the revision and refinement of both annotation schemes, but other files such as file00404.txt, file00057.txt, and file00301 were not.

Table E-2.1

The number of segments annotated and the annotation agreement rate between the author and checker for Trial 1 of the Function annotations

CEFR level	File	The number of segments	Agreement rate (Krippendorff's <i>alpha</i>)
A1	file00404.txt	14	92.86% (0.857)
A1	learner1009.txt	9	77.78% (0.473)
A2	learner1012.txt*	11	54.55% (0.42)
A2	Learner1183.txt	17	70.59% (0.658)
B1	learner989.txt	14	78.57% (0.748)
B1	learner521.txt	17	76.47% (0.542)
Average agreement rate			75.14% (0.616)

NB: *learner1012.txt is detailed in Table E-2.1.2 and section 5.5.2.

Table E-2.1.1

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for file00404.txt (A1) in Trial

1 of the Function annotations

Segment	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	expressing intention to buy	expressing intention to buy	Yes
2	features	features	Yes
3	features	features	Yes
4	features	features	Yes
5	asking for permission to test	asking for permission to test	Yes
6	alternatives	alternatives	Yes
7	features	features	Yes
8	expressing an opinion	expressing an opinion	Yes
9	expressing intention to buy	expressing intention to buy	Yes
10	price	price	Yes
11	confirming	confirming	Yes
12	expressing an opinion	expressing an opinion	Yes
13	negotiating for discount	negotiating for discount	Yes
14	negotiating for discount	expressing an opinion	No
15	confirming	confirming	Yes
16	expressing intention to buy	expressing intention to buy	Yes

Table E-2.1.2

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for learner1012.txt (A2) in Trial

1 of the Function annotations

Segment	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	features	features	Yes
2	expressing intention to buy	quality	No
3	confirming	general q&r	No
4	confirming	confirming	Yes
5	confirming	confirming	Yes
6	further questions	general q&r	No
7	confirming	confirming	Yes
8	price	price	Yes
9	confirming	accepting requests	No
10	confirming	confirming	Yes
11	expressing intention to buy	accepting requests	Yes

Table E-2.1.3

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for learner989.txt (B1) in Trial

1 of the Function annotations

Segment	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
2	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
3	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
4	negotiating for exchange or return	negotiating for exchange or return	Yes
5	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
6	explaining the background	expressing an opinion	No
7	offering	offering	Yes
8	negotiating for exchange or return	alternatives	No
9	confirming	confirming	Yes
10	general q&r	general q&r	Yes
11	confirming	confirming	Yes
12	asking for permission to perform	asking for permission to perform	Yes
13	general q&r	general q&r	Yes
14	confirming	accepting requests	No

Table E-2.2

The number of segments annotated and the annotation agreement rate between the author and checker for Trial 2 of the Function annotations

CEFR level	File	The number of segments	Agreement rate (Krippendorff's <i>alpha</i>)
A1	learner675.txt	14	100% (1)
A1	learner1129.txt	13	92.31% (0.91)
A2	learner1084.txt	15	73.33% (0.685)
A2	learner359.txt	9	88.89% (0.86)
B1	file00057.txt*	11	72.73% (0.492)
B1	file00301.txt	14	100% (1)
Average agreement rate			87.88% (0.825)

NB: *file00057.txt is detailed in Table E-2.2.3 and section 5.5.2.

Table E-2.2.1

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for learner1129.txt (A1) in Trial 2 of the Function annotations

Segment	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	expressing or asking about payment	expressing or asking about payment	Yes
2	confirming price	confirming Price	Yes
3	expressing intention to buy	expressing intention to buy	Yes
4	features	Features	Yes
5	expressing an opinion price	expressing an opinion Price	Yes
6	expressing an opinion	expressing an opinion	Yes
7	features	expressing intention to buy	No
8	features	Features	Yes
9	expressing intention to buy	expressing intention to buy	No
10	expressing or asking about payment	expressing or asking about payment	No
11	expressing or asking about payment	expressing or asking about payment	No
12	expressing or asking about payment	expressing or asking about payment	No
13	expressing or asking about payment	expressing or asking about payment	No

Table E-2.2.2

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for learner1084.txt (A2) in Trial

2 of the Function annotations

Segment	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	expressing intention to buy	expressing intention to buy	Yes
2	asking for recommendation	asking for recommendation	Yes
3	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
4	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
5	price	explaining the background	No
6	asking for recommendation	asking for recommendation	Yes
7	features	features	Yes
8	features	features	Yes
9	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
10	asking for recommendation	asking for recommendation	Yes
11	further questions	features	No
12	further questions	features	No
13	further questions	features	No
14	expressing intention to buy	expressing intention to buy	Yes
15	expressing or asking about payment	expressing or asking about payment	Yes

Table E-2.2.3

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for file00057.txt (B1) in Trial 2 of the Function annotations

Segment	Author	Checker	Agreement
1	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
2	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
3	negotiating for exchange or return	negotiating for exchange or return	Yes
4	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
5	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
6	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
7	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes
8	requesting an action	confirming	No
9	expressing thoughts	general q&r	No
10	explaining the background	confirming	No
11	explaining the background	explaining the background	Yes

Table E-3.1

The number of segments annotated and the annotation agreement rate between the author and checker for Trial 1 of the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations

CEFR level	File	The number of segments	Agreement rate (Krippendorff's <i>alpha</i>)
A1	file00404.txt	14	62.5% (0.304)
A1	learner1009.txt	9	75.0%% (0.565)
A2	learner1012.txt	11	72.73% (0.182)
A2	Learner1183.txt	17	52.94% (0.237)
B1	learner989.txt	14	71.43% (0.353)
B1	learner521.txt	17	52.94% (0.18)
Average agreement rate			66.91% (0.304)

Table E-3.1.1

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for file00404.txt (A1) in Trial 1 of the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations

Segment	Author		Checker		Ag.
1	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
2	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
3	low	coherent – unacceptable*	high	non topic comment slightly incoherent –	No
4	low	coherent – TC**	low	inferable***	No
5	low	coherent - unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
6	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
7	low	coherent	low	inferable	No
8	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
9	low	coherent – unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No
10	low	coherent - unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
11	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
12	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
13	low	coherent – unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No
14	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
15	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
16	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	slightly incoherent – inferable	No

NB: **coherent – unacceptable* means “coherent” segment which is “structurally, lexically, and semantically unacceptable” (see 2.1.1 of Appendix D).

***coherent – TC* means “coherent but topic comment” (see 2.1.2 for Appendix D).

****slightly incoherent – inferable* means “semantically inferable but structurally inaccurate and lexically unacceptable” (see 2.2.1 for Appendix D).

Table E-3.1.2

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for learner521.txt (B1) in Trial

1 of the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations

Segment	Author		Checker		Ag.
1	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
2	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
3	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
4	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
5	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
6	high	non topic comment	low	incoherent – unacceptable*	No
7	high	non topic comment	low	coherent – unacceptable	No
8	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
9	high	non topic comment	low	coherent – unacceptable	No
10	high	non topic comment	low	coherent – unacceptable	No
11	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
12	high	non topic comment	high	well formed topic comment	No
13	high	non topic comment	high	well formed topic comment	No
14	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
15	low	coherent – unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No
16	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
17	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes

NB: **incoherent – unacceptable* means “incoherent” and “structurally inaccurate and lexically unacceptable” (see section 2.3.1.2 in Appendix D).

Table E-3.2

The number of segments annotated and the annotation agreement rate between the author and checker for Trial 2 of the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations

CEFR level	File	The number of segments	Agreement rate (Krippendorff's <i>alpha</i>)
A1	learner675.txt	14	78.57% (0.716)
A1	learner1129.txt	13	76.92% (0.602)
A2	learner1084.txt*	15	53.33% (0.094)
A2	learner359.txt	9	88.89% (0.809)
B1	file00057.txt	11	54.55% (0.145)
B1	file00301.txt	14	71.43% (0.317)
Average agreement rate			70.62% (0.48)

NB: *learner1084.txt is detailed in Table E-3.2.1 and section 5.5.2.

Table E-3.2.1

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for learner1084.txt (A2) in Trial

2 of the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations

Segment		Author		Checker	Ag.
1	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent	Yes
2	low	coherent – unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No
3	low	coherent – unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No
4	low	coherent – unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No
5	low	coherent – TC	low	slightly incoherent – TC	No
6	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
7	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
8	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
9	low	coherent – unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No
10	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
11	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
12	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	coherent – unacceptable	Yes
13	low	coherent – unacceptable	low	slightly incoherent	Yes
14	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
15	low	coherent – unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No

Table E-3.2.2

Segments differently annotated by the author and checker for file00057.txt (B1) in Trial

2 of the Grammatical accuracy/discoursal acceptability annotations

Segment	Author		Checker		Ag.
1	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
2	low	coherent - unacceptable	low	slightly incoherent - TC	No
3	low	coherent - unacceptable	low	coherent - unacceptable	Yes
4	low	coherent - unacceptable	low	slightly incoherent – inferable	No
5	low	coherent - unacceptable	low	slightly incoherent – inferable	No
6	low	coherent - unacceptable	high	non topic comment	Yes
7		slightly incoherent – inferable		slightly incoherent – inferable	Yes
8	low	coherent - unacceptable	high	non topic comment	No
9	low	coherent - unacceptable	low	incoherent – acceptable	No
10	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes
11	high	non topic comment	high	non topic comment	Yes