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A cross-cultural and interlanguage study of head-acts in the
realization of requests and refusals by native speakers of
Spanish and English and by university EFL learners

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1. INTRODUCTION

Linguists have become increasingly interested in studying cross-cultural communication for its potential in diverse domains in the present global world. One of the motivations for this interest has to do with the fact that, nowadays, it has become extremely common for people with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds to interact in a common language, for example English. Thus, in this context, cross-cultural pragmatics, or the study of the way different types of pragmatic phenomena are realized across different cultures, emerges as a way to shorten the distance across different cultures by studying the way communication and interactional patterns reflect cultural values. In other words, in order to give a full account of the linguistic and interactional behavior of speakers, it is also necessary to take a closer look to their social and cultural backgrounds (Tannen, 1983).

Some of the findings in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics (e.g., the fact that the conceptualization and verbalization of speech acts vary across cultures) have been extremely important for studies in second and foreign language acquisition. More specifically, they have contributed to better understand the interlanguage pragmatic competence of learners by shedding light on the influence of cultural information from the L1 (or pragmatic transfer) in the development of this pragmatic competence. One of the most important conclusions in interlanguage pragmatics is that second or foreign language learners must have knowledge not only of the linguistic aspects of the target language, but also of the social and cultural factors that regulate interactions in a variety of communicative contexts in the L2 (Lightbown and Spada, 1999; Gass and Selinker, 2001).

The main objective of this research work is to conduct a preliminary description of the way the speech acts of request and refusal are carried out by three groups of speakers:

Spanish native speakers, English native speakers, and learners from first to fourth year studying English as an L2 at Universidad de Chile, in order to articulate a cross-cultural comparison of tendencies between the two groups of native speakers, and an interlanguage comparison of the four groups of learners. Our main goal is to identify the different request and refusal strategies and sub-strategies employed by these groups of speakers in culturally-bound situations. In order to fulfill this objective, we have resorted to samples of the language produced by the native speakers, as well as by the learners. We decided to design a questionnaire in the form of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) in order to gather this data.

Concerning the formal layout, this research dissertation has been organized in ten sections. Following introduction, section 2 presents the research questions that guided the discussion and analysis of the tendencies found. Section 3 presents the general and specific objectives of the study. Section 4 introduces the theoretical framework which constitutes the backbone of the ideas presented in subsequent sections of the study. In section 5, the methodology employed in the research is presented. That is to say, the type of study, the description of the corpus, and the data collection and analysis procedure. Section 6 is devoted to data analysis, in which each speech act is taken in isolation, then moving to each group's particular situation concerning strategies and sub-strategies, while in section 7 the general results of the study are presented and discussed. Section 8 includes the general conclusions from the most important findings made, as well as the limitations and suggestions for further studies. Section 9 lists the references contained throughout the course of the investigation. Finally, section 10 corresponds to the appendix, which contains the charts of the results obtained from the data analysis section.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

2.1. What are the tendencies that characterize the general degree of directness of the head acts used to perform requests and refusals by native speakers of American English and native speakers of Chilean Spanish?

2.2. What are the tendencies that characterize the general degree of directness of the head acts used to perform requests and refusals by four groups of formal learners of English with different levels of English proficiency?

2.3. What are the similarities and differences in the selection, frequency and variety of strategies and of sub-strategies used by each of the six groups participating in this study when making requests and refusals?

2.4. What patterns or tendencies denote the influence of the learners' L1 when they perform requests and refusals in English?

3. OBJECTIVES

3.1. General objectives

3.1.1. To describe the way in which native speakers of English and native speakers of Spanish realize the speech acts of request and refusal in their respective mother tongues.

3.1.2. To determine the extent to which the pragmatic norms of the L1 (Chilean Spanish) influence the strategies and sub-strategies that formal learners of English as a foreign language (EFL) at different proficiency levels use when producing the speech acts of request and refusal in English.

3.2. Specific objectives

3.2.1. To identify, categorize and compare the main configuring strategies and sub-strategies of the head acts used in the realization of requests and refusals by native speakers of American English and native speakers of Chilean Spanish.

3.2.2. To identify, categorize and compare the main configuring strategies and sub-strategies of the head acts used in the realization of requests and refusals in English by formal learners of English as a foreign language (EFL).

3.2.3. To compare the selection, frequency and variety of the strategies and sub-strategies used by formal learners of English as a foreign language (EFL) and by both native American English speakers and native Chilean Spanish speakers when performing the speech acts of refusals and requests.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Pragmatics, pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics

In 1938, Charles Morris distinguished three branches of inquiry within semiotics: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. In this context, pragmatics was defined as the relation between signs and interpreters (Levinson, 1983: 3). Consequently, this subfield takes into account an aspect which is not covered by syntax and semantics: the human perspective. According to Yule (1996:4), allowing humans into the analysis of pragmatic phenomena entails the study of people's intended meanings, their assumptions, their purposes or goals, and the kinds of actions that they are performing when they speak.

Although pragmatics has been defined in many ways by different authors, a widely accepted definition is the one provided by Crystal (1997: 301), who states that "Pragmatics is the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication".

Yule (1996) claims that pragmatics studies involve four areas of inquiry: speaker's meaning, contextual meaning, invisible meaning, and relative distance. This perspective implies that conveying and interpreting pragmatic meaning depends on context (i.e. the nonlinguistic circumstances in which communication takes place) and relative distance (i.e. shared knowledge or assumptions between interlocutors). Therefore, "pragmatics is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker and interpreted by a listener or reader in specific communicative situations" (Yule, 1996:3).

Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983) make a distinction in the study of pragmatic phenomena. They divide general pragmatics, or “the study of the principles governing appropriate conversational moves” (Blackburn, 1994: 199), into two sub-components: pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics. Pragmalinguistics makes reference to the linguistic end of pragmatics and involves the linguistic resources available for speakers to convey pragmatic meaning and perform illocutionary functions successfully and appropriately, in different communicative contexts. Specifically, pragmalinguistics involves the study of linguistic means that convey illocutionary force and politeness values (Leech, 1983). Sociopragmatics, in turn, is related to socially appropriate linguistic behavior in relation to different local, cultural and social conditions (Leech, 1983:10). Furthermore, sociopragmatics focuses on cultural constraints such as the influence of culture on perception and on communicative behavior (Holoch, 2009:12).

Since pragmatic behavior varies in different languages and cultures, pragmaticians have expanded the scope of pragmatics to cross-cultural and interlanguage investigations. The focus of these studies is on the differences and similarities between different cultures, and on the way pragmatic competence is developed by foreign and second language learners. For doing so, they have compared, for example, the realization of speech acts among native speakers of different languages and among second language learners with different L1s.

4.2. Cross-cultural pragmatics

Every pragmatic phenomenon is an extension of a cultural script, in other words, communication mediated by language in different situations reflects cultural patterns of behavior and interaction; therefore, it is rather difficult to provide solid explanations of the linguistic and interactional behavior of speakers without also taking a closer look to the socio-cultural background of the speaker (Tannen, 1983: 21) and to the conventional rules by which they abide.

There have been new orientations in order to study how and why members from different cultural communities convey meaning in social and communicative interactions similarly or differently. This methodological turn is called cross-cultural pragmatics (also known as intercultural pragmatics or comparative pragmatics) and focuses on the way different types of pragmatic phenomena are realized across different cultures. One of the areas of interest is how speech acts are realized similarly or differently in different languages, as the result of different social and cultural perceptions and norms.

Cross-cultural pragmatics was born in part as a reaction to some of the ethnocentric principles proposed by certain pragmaticians (e.g., Grice's theory of conversation, and Brown and Levinson's politeness principles) and, in part, as a practical need in a world where "interaction among people from different cultures" (Wierzbicka 1983: 392) becomes more and more common and is a fast-growing trend. One of the pioneering authors in cross-cultural pragmatics is Anna Wierzbicka (1983). She strongly reacted to the theoretical paradigm in pragmatics put forward by some linguists in the 1970s, by claiming that "the widely accepted paradigms were those of Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory of

politeness, which affirmed ‘pan-cultural interpretability of politeness phenomena’ (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 288), and Grice’s theory of conversation, which posited a number of universal conversational principles.” In her paper: *Different cultures, different languages, different speech acts: Polish vs. English (1983)*, argued that “...the supposedly universal maxims and principles of politeness were in fact rooted in Anglo culture” and proposed a new criterion of analysis to study pragmatic phenomena: culture. This human dimension, according to this author, was taken by various linguists “as a key factor determining ways of speaking.” In the 1980s, several scholars were “trying to link the language-specific ways of speaking with different cultural values” and “were opposing a facile universalism and pioneering intercultural pragmatics” (Mey, 2009: 394).

In relation to the methodology utilized by Wierzbicka to explain cross-cultural pragmatic phenomena, she considers that this discipline works from two aligned fronts: “on the one hand, linguistic pragmatics, based on ‘hard’ linguistic evidence and rigorous linguistic analysis, and, on the other, the growing field of study focused on the ‘soft’ data of personal experience of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic living” (Mey, 1983: 390). This author’s claims spring from her own experience as a Polish immigrant in an Anglo Australian community. She experienced first handedly the lack of an appropriate pragmatic competence in her L2 that resulted from the natural influence of her L1 resources set to manage meaning in interaction. For example, she was constantly being accused of talking too “loudly” on the telephone or abusing the expression “of course” (Wierzbicka, 1997: 119).

In an effort to structure research on cross-cultural pragmatics, Wierzbicka (1983) outlined the most important ideas that guide and inform this new perspective in language studies as follows:

1. “In different societies, and different communities, people speak differently.
2. These differences in ways of speaking are profound and systematic.
3. These differences reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values.
4. Different ways of speaking, different communicative styles, can be explained and made sense of, in terms of independently established cultural values and cultural priorities” (1983: 69).

Another important contribution in cross-cultural pragmatics is expressed in Blum-Kulka et al’s work (1989). She and a group of linguists coordinated a project, whose main aim was to study the degree of directness/indirectness variation in the realization of face-threatening speech acts, such as requests, refusals, and apologies, across different cultures. The large comparative pragmatic effort was named the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns Project (CCSARP). One of the goals of the CCSARP was to find out whether there are universal pragmatic principles in speech act realization, and what those universal principles might be, and what implications this may have for cross-cultural pragmatic studies. In this project, a variety of languages was contrasted, one of the results being that “in the case of requests, (...) the Argentinean Spanish speakers are the most direct, followed by the speakers of Hebrew. The least direct are the Australian English

speakers, while the speakers of Canadian French and German are positioned at the midpoint of the directness/indirectness continuum” (Mey, 2009: 1007).

A concept that becomes relevant in cross-cultural studies is culture. Dash points out that defining culture is a difficult task because some consider “it largely related to ethnicity while sociologists and others (Dash, 2003) consistent to Stern (1992) may see it as inclusive of social groups, some of which may be independent of ethnic consideration” (1989: 151). According to Scollon and Scollon, we should “try to restrict our attention to those aspects of culture which research has shown to be of direct significance in discourse between groups and which impinge directly upon the four elements of a discourse system -- ideology, face systems, forms of discourse, and socialization” (1995: 139).

Jaszczolt (2002) explains that culture “does not make reference to intellectual and artistic achievements but rather to the social organization and practices of a group of people, that is to say anthropological culture” (2002: 331). Within the notion of culture, there are various aspects that are relevant to the comparative approach: “face systems” (e.g. the concept of self or “ingroup-outgroup relationships”), and certain ways of “socialization” (e.g. education, enculturation, and acculturation). However, she also proposes the term “discourse system” as “a more finely grained and relevant unit of analysis than culture for cross-cultural pragmatics” (2002: 331-333). If we take this criterion into account, some of our subjects all belong to one big discourse system as undergraduate students at the moment of the data collection. Apart from this, they simultaneously are members of multiple “discourse systems, through belonging to different groups, networks of relationships”: native Spanish speakers, members of an English language and literature major, etc. (2002: 332).

4.3. Interlanguage pragmatics

Interlanguage pragmatics is a discipline dating from the late 1970s and has two major areas of concern. On the one hand, it studies the use of learners' pragmatic knowledge in the production and comprehension of speech acts, and on the other hand, it studies the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge in a second or foreign language (Bou Franch, 1998). From a general perspective, then, it can be defined as the study of nonnative speaker's use and acquisition of linguistic action patterns in a second language (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993:3).

Taking into account its hybrid and interdisciplinary nature, interlanguage pragmatics can be understood in different but interrelated ways. Considering its relation with SLA, it is one of several specializations within interlanguage studies. As a subset of pragmatics, it is the study of learners' comprehension and production of linguistic action.

Research on interlanguage pragmatics has covered five domains of investigation: pragmatic comprehension, the production of linguistic action, the development of pragmatic competence, pragmatic transfer, and communicative effect. However, in this study, we will concentrate only on production, pragmatic competence, and transfer (leaving aside, therefore, pragmatic comprehension and communicative effect).

Firstly, research on the production of linguistic action has focused on three aspects: learners' restrictions to exploit general pragmalinguistic knowledge; learners' strategies being less responsive to context in their strategy choices; and learners deviating from native forms. Cohen (1996) concluded that, although speech acts appear to be universal, their conceptualization and verbalization vary across cultures (cited in Jung, 2005:2). According

to Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993), learners have access to the same realization strategies for linguistic action as native speakers, and demonstrate sensitivity to contextual constraints in their strategy choice. In spite of this, learners sometimes cannot exploit this 'general pragmatic knowledge' because of their restricted knowledge of their L2 or difficulty on accessing to it. Moreover, this problem is due to other factors such as: lack of pragmalinguistic sophistication, negative transfer, or even loyalty to L1 cultural patterns (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993:9).

Concerning the deviation from native forms, research has documented higher directness on learners in comparison to natives in relation to conflictive acts. Thus, Tanaka (1988) documented higher directness in learner's requests, while Robinson (1992) did it with refusals (cited in Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993:7). Furthermore, there is evidence of learners providing near-literal translations, falling in the waffle phenomenon, and overusing supportive strategies. Thus, non native speakers would be diverging from native speakers even though their speech may be considered as grammatically correct. According to Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1986), waffling is proficiency dependant being strongest at an intermediate level. In relation to the overuse of supportive strategies, these are used to compensate for the lack of automatic discourse routines (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993:9).

Secondly, research has shown that the acquisition of pragmatic competence also includes grammatical knowledge and awareness of sociocultural values. Grammar, by itself, is not sufficient for the development of pragmatic competence, but it is a necessary condition. Furthermore, several studies have claimed that the acquisition of L2 forms precedes the acquisition of L2 sociocultural values. Takashi and Beebe (1987) argue that higher frequencies of direct expressions among lower proficiency learners is not a

consequence of transfer but a developmental stage where simpler and direct expressions are used. For example, Takashi observed (1987) that her Japanese learners of EFL relied heavily on monoclausal structures because they are simpler than biclausals (cited in Jung, 2005:18).

Finally, the domain of pragmatic transfer has been widely documented in contrast to pragmatic competence. According to Bou Franch (1998), researchers in this domain attempt to account for the multiple forms of pragmatic transfer to determine what is transferred and under what conditions. In spite of being an further documented domain, more investigation is needed on the conditions under which pragmatic transfer is, or is not operative. Thus, pragmatic transfer can be predicted for the benefit of the learner's pragmatic competence.

4.4. Learners' pragmatic competence

For many years, success in the language learning process was considered as being proficient mainly in the grammatical aspect, that is to say, if the learner had a high level of grammatical accuracy on his performance, he was said to be a proficient user of the language. Nowadays, however, it is widely recognized that speaking (and learning) a language is not limited to the production of grammatically correct utterances. In this respect, attention is being paid to the pragmatic competence of learners, that is to say, how appropriate a language learner is when actually using the target language in a variety of L2 communicative situations. In other words, the learner must hold knowledge not only of the linguistic aspects of the target language, but also of the social and cultural factors that regulate interactions in a variety of contexts in the L2 (Lightbown and Spada, 1999; Gass

and Selinker, 2001). Pragmatic competence, therefore, comprises the knowledge that the learners have of the formal aspects of the language they are learning and the ability to use these formal aspects in a variety of contexts to perform illocutionary functions effectively and appropriately. One of the implications is that the mastery of the grammar and vocabulary of a language does not ensure that L2 learners will be able to produce socially and culturally appropriate pieces of language.

To sum up, pragmatic competence refers to the ability to use language appropriately to carry out a speech act successfully, and at the same time be able to recognize the cultural background of the uttered sequence (sociopragmatic competence). It also involves the use of linguistic resources, such as strategies, to emphasize or diminish the implications of a message, for example, to soften a request (pragmalinguistic competence).

The importance of pragmatic competence has been demonstrated by numerous researchers whose work reveals that, while native speakers (NS) often forgive the phonological, syntactic, and lexical errors made by L2 speakers, they are less likely to forgive pragmatic errors. NS typically interpret pragmatic errors negatively as arrogance, impatience, rudeness, and so forth. Furthermore, pragmatic errors can lead to a listener's being unable to assign a correct interpretation to a learner's utterance (Nelson et al, 2002).

4.4.1. Pragmatic Transfer

The pragmatic competence of learners can be influenced by many factors. One of these factors of special relevance to our study is transfer. The term 'transfer' is used to refer to the systematic influences of existing knowledge on the acquisition of new knowledge

(Žegarac and Pennigton, 2000: 141). Pragmatic transfer accounts for the way in which the mother tongue affects the acquisition of a second language and influences the learner's performance. Thus, pragmatic transfer may be defined as the carryover of pragmatic knowledge from one language to the acquisition of another.

There are two types of pragmatic transfer: pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic. Sociopragmatic transfer involves the use of sociolinguistic rules belonging to the learner's native linguistic community when interacting in the target community (Charlebois, 2003). On the other hand, pragmalinguistic transfer occurs when speakers use L1 linguistic resources in order to realize certain speech acts in the L2. The reasons for this last type of pragmatic transfer can be at least two: firstly, the learner does not have enough competence to make use of certain structures, utilized in the L2, to carry out different speech acts; or, secondly, the learner is not aware of the pragmalinguistic functions some L2 structure have.

Furthermore, both kinds of pragmatic transfer can be further divided into positive or negative transfer. Positive pragmatic transfer (or facilitation) occurs when L1 pragmatic knowledge aids in the comprehension, production, and acquisition of L2 pragmatic information. Thus, learners may interact effectively in the target language by recognizing common features between their L1 and L2. Positive transfer has been regarded as evidence of universality among languages (Adamson and Robertson, 2007). However, positive transfer does not always enhance the chances of communicative success (Žegarac and Pennigton, 2000:144) because there are elements which are language specific.

Negative pragmatic transfer (or interference) is the influence of L1 pragmatic knowledge which differs from the L2 (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993:10). Learners may

transfer L1 features and norms, which are inappropriate in the L2, to perform a speech act. This often results in pragmatic failure, or being unable to understand the meaning of an utterance (Liu, 1997). For El Samaty (2005), negative transfer might occur when learners identify a language specific element as universal.

The different studies reviewed by Shaozhong (2001) suggest four general conclusions on pragmatic transfer. First, even quite proficient learners tend to have less control over the conventions of forms and means used by native speakers. Secondly, there are differences between learners and native speakers' sociopragmatic perceptions of comparable speech events (that are related to differences in their speech act performance). Thirdly, pragmatic transfer, at the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic levels, persists at higher levels of proficiency. Fourthly, learners produce more speech than natives when the task is less demanding on their control skills.

Finally, following Takahashi (2000: 109), in order to study pragmatic transfer, interlanguage pragmatics researchers have used information coming from three different sources: Firstly, the data gathered from natives speakers of the learners' L1; secondly, data from the learner's interlanguage; and thirdly, the data obtained from natives speakers of the learners' L2. This is the way in which the information for this study has been collected and its focus is on the products that may result from possible transfer, more than on the processes that may cause transfer.

4.5. Speech acts

The pragmatic competence of both native speakers of a language and second and foreign language learners includes, among other abilities, the ability to perform different types of speech acts. In the following sections, we will provide a brief description of speech act theory to continue with a detailed description of the two speech acts which are the focus of the present study, namely, requests and refusals.

4.5.1. Speech Act theory

Speech act theory as such, was brought forth by J. L. Austin in his 1962 publication “*How to do things with words*”, in which he proposes several of the cornerstones that would make up this major theory within the field of pragmatics. The central principle of speech act theory is that when speakers utter sentences, they are not just transmitting information or describing states of affairs, but that, actually, they are carrying out actions within the framework of social institutions and conventions (Austin, 1962). The point of uttering sentences, then, is not just to say things, but also to actively *do things*. In other words, utterances have both a *descriptive* and an *effective* aspect. This is the very essence of speech act theory, often expressed in the words of George Yule: “In attempting to express themselves, people do not only produce utterances containing grammatical structures and words, they perform actions via those utterances” (Yule.: 1996, 47).

In English (and according to several studies in other languages, such as Spanish), speech acts are commonly given more specific labels, such as: apologies, complaints, compliments, invitations, promises, request, refusals, etc.

4.5.2. Speech Act Set

A speech act set can be described as a combination of individual speech acts that, when produced together, comprise a complete speech act (Murphy and Neu, 1996). This claim is supported by the fact that it is often necessary for speakers to develop more than one discrete speech act in order to reach their communicative purpose. This is especially important when dealing with FTAs, i.e. speech acts which threaten the face of any of the interlocutors, such as requests and refusals. For example, when performing a request, speakers usually do not perform it directly, but they follow a number of stages in their way to performing the act. The stages that they follow correspond to the speech act set. It is interesting to notice that the notion of the speech act set is similar to the concept of the speech event in the sense that it takes into account the participation of all interlocutors (Scollon and Scollon, 2001). For instance, the speech event “asking for the time” is comprised by, at least, four different speech acts: excusing, asking, stating (the time), and thanking, each speech act performed by the speakers in each exchange. This prediction is based on the idea that speech acts can be comprised into sets, or semantic formulae.

4.5.2.1 Requests

In defining requests, we will follow Austin’s (1962) and Searle’s (1969) proposals in the area of speech-act theory and [Blum-Kulka et al’s \(1989\) contributions](#) in the fields of interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics.

A request can be defined as a speech act that involves a speaker asking somebody to do something for the speaker's benefit. In this sense, requests belong to the category of directives, in which "the speaker tries to make the hearer do something" (Moore, 2001:3). Depending on what is requested by the speaker, there are different types of requests: requests for action, for information, etc. In the following example, *May I borrow your pen?* The addressee has to perform an action which is to pass the pen to the requester. However, in the example, *Could you tell me where you bought that dress?*, the requester is just asking for information.

4.5.2.1.1. Request segments

A request is structured in a sequence that commonly consists of three units. These units are: Attention Getter/Alerter, Head Act and pre-posed and post-posed Supportive Move(s). The attention getter or alerter is a lexical item that is used to get the attention of the addressee or the recipient of the request, e.g. "*Hi there,...*". The head act is the request itself, it is the part of the sequence that can stand alone and count as a request, e.g. *could you remind me later to bring the book for you on Monday?* Head acts can be internally modified to soften the illocutionary force of the request. According to Blum-Kulka et al's taxonomy (1989), there are two kinds of internal modifiers: lexical-phrasal downgraders and syntactic downgraders. Lexical-phrasal downgraders involve the use of linguistic items such as politeness markers, e.g. *please*; downtoners, e.g. *perhaps*; understaters, e.g. *a bit*; and subjectivizers, e.g. *I'm afraid*. Syntactic downgraders, on the other hand, modify the head act by using syntactic items such as negation of a preparatory condition, e.g. *You wouldn't give me a lift, would you?*, aspect, e.g. *I'm wondering if I could audit the class,*

tense, e.g. *Wanted to ask you to present your paper a week earlier* and conditional clause, e.g. *It would fit in much better if you could give your paper a week earlier than planned.*

Finally, supportive moves are modifications that are external to the head act and that serve to intensify or soften the illocutionary force of the request in order to persuade the hearer to do what is requested. Supportive moves can precede or follow the head act and, consequently, they affect the context of the request. Following the categorization of supportive moves presented by Blum-Kulka et al (1989:287-289) in Wang Jing (2006: 200), there are six kinds of supportive moves. Preparator involves preparing the recipient for the request, e.g. *I'd like to ask you something...Don't you live on the same street as me...* (preceding a request for a lift); getting a precommitment checks a possible refusal before making a request, e.g. *Could you do me a favour?... ;* grounder involves reasons, justifications, or explanations for the request e.g. *I missed class yesterday (could I borrow your notes?);* disarmer means that the requester tries to remove any objection of the recipient, e.g. *I know you don't like lending out your notes...(but could you make an exception this time?);* promise of reward means that a reward will be given if the request is fulfilled, e.g. *(could you give me a lift home) I'll pitch in on some gas;* and imposition minimizer implies that the requester tries to reduce the imposition of the request e.g. *(Would you give me a lift), but only if you're going my way.*

It is important to mention that in this small-scale research project, we will only concentrate on the analysis of the head acts of the requests produced by our subjects.

4.5.2.1.2. Requesting perspectives

When making a request, a speaker can choose one of four kinds of perspectives. The first perspective is hearer-oriented, in which the speaker puts the emphasis on the hearer, e.g. *Could you clean up the kitchen, please?/ Me podrías pasar el lápiz, por favor?* The second perspective is speaker-oriented, which means that the requester makes reference to himself, e.g. *Can I borrow your notes from yesterday?/ Puedo ocupar tu lápiz?* The third perspective is speaker- and hearer-oriented, or inclusive, that is, there is reference to the speaker and the hearer, which in the following example is illustrated by the use of the pronoun “we”, e.g. *So, could we tidy up the kitchen soon?/ Podemos juntarnos mañana?* The last perspective is impersonal and it makes reference to the action involved in the request, e.g. *So it might not be a bad idea to get it cleaned up./ sería bueno ordenar el escritorio.*

4.5.2.1.3. Scale of directness

Directness refers to the degree of transparency present in an utterance. By transparency it is meant how clear the illocutionary force of an utterance is from its grammatical form and semantic content. Therefore, the more direct a request is, the more transparent it is and the recipient does not have to engage in much inferential work to understand the speaker’s intended pragmatic meaning. Indirect requests, on the other hand, are less transparent and more opaque, which means that the addressee has to do more inferential work and retrieve more contextual information to calculate the intended meaning.

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1989:201-202) propose three main levels of directness that characterize the head act of requests: Direct, Conventionally indirect, and Non-conventionally indirect. In turn, each main category includes sub-categories which describe more specifically the way requests are made by speakers.

The direct strategy expresses straightforwardly the meaning and the intention that the requester wants to convey. According to [Blum-Kulka et al \(1989\)](#), the sub-strategies included in the direct strategy are: Mood derivable, explicit performatives, hedged performatives, obligation statements and want statements. The second category, conventionally indirect, refers to those strategies that are conventionalized and whose meaning is interpreted based on contextual elements and linguistic form and content. There are two subcategories: a) Suggestory formulae and, b) Query preparatory. In the first case the requests expresses a suggestion to X, e.g. *How about cleaning up?* In the second case the propositional content of the request makes reference to preparatory conditions, which can be possibility, willingness, availability, ability, permission and prediction. Finally, the third category depends mainly upon contextual factors for their interpretation. It contains two subcategories: Strong hints and Mild hints.

The following table, based on [Blum-Kulka et al \(1989\)](#), summarizes, explains and exemplifies the different general strategies along with their sub-strategies. However, it was necessary for this study to include another strategy, specifically in the direct category. This strategy was named “need statement”, which was found in Chilean native speakers as well as in learners’ responses.

Table 1: request strategies and sub-strategies

Strategy	Definitions	Example
Direct	Its meaning is directly determinable from its linguistic content and form alone.	
1. Mood Derivable	The grammatical mood in the utterance is explicitly named by the speakers	<i>Leave me alone</i> <i>Préstame tu celular para llamar a mi pololo porfa.</i>
2. Explicit performatives	The illocutionary force of the utterance is explicitly named by the speakers	<i>I'm asking you to clean up the kitchen</i> <i>Quisiera que fuera mi professor guía para mi tesis.</i>
3. Hedged performatives	Utterances embedding the naming of the illocutionary force	<i>I'd like to ask you to clean the kitchen</i> <i>Necesito su ayuda por favor</i>
4. Obligation statements	The illocutionary point is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution	<i>You'll have to clean up the kitchen</i>
5. Want statement	The utterance expresses the speaker's intentions, desire or feeling.	<i>I really wish you'd clean up the kitchen</i>
6. Need statement	The utterance expresses the speaker's necessity	<i>Necesito su ayuda por favor</i>
Conventionally indirect	Its meaning is interpreted through its linguistic content in conjunction with contextual cues.	
1. Suggestory formulae	The sentence contains a suggestion to X	<i>How about cleaning up?</i>

2. Query preparatory	The utterance contains reference to preparatory conditions, such as ability or willingness, the possibility of the act being performed, as conventionalized in any specific language.	<p>Possibility:</p> <p><i>Is there any chance you could be my advisor?</i></p> <p>Willingness:</p> <p><i>I was wondering if you would mind being my thesis advisor.</i></p> <p><i>¿Le importaría prestarme su plumón para hacer mi disertación, por favor?</i></p> <p>Availability:</p> <p><i>Do you have a marker that I can borrow?</i></p> <p><i>Quería ver si está disponible este semestre.</i></p> <p>Ability:</p> <p><i>Could you lend me some money?</i></p> <p><i>¿Podrías prestarme dinero?</i></p> <p>Permission:</p> <p><i>Can I use your phone to call AJ?</i></p> <p>Prediction:</p> <p><i>¿Tú me prestarías algo?</i></p>
Non-Conventionally indirect	its illocutionary force is dependent upon contextual inference.	
1. Strong hints	The utterances contain partial reference to objects or to elements needed for the implementation of the act, directly pragmatically implying the act	<i>You have left the kitchen in a right mess</i>
2. Mild hints	Utterances that make no reference to the request proper or any of its	<i>I'm a nun (in response to a persistent</i>

	elements but are interpretable through the context as requests, indirectly pragmatically implying the act	<i>hassler)</i>
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4.5.4.1 Refusals

The speech act of refusal occurs when a speaker directly or indirectly refuses to do as requested or does not accept an invitation. In performing a refusal, according to Austin's (1962) framework, there is an implicit use of a negation verb in the form of a direct refusal ("No", "I will not do X"). According to Searle (1969), refusals belong to the commissive category. These are those kinds of speech acts that the speakers use to commit themselves by expressing their intentions concerning some future course of action.

Refusals are used to respond to requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions; although an acceptance or an agreement is usually preferred over refusals and rejections. Refusals and rejections can mean disapproval of the speaker's suggestion or/and invitation and therefore a direct threat to the speaker's face. The use of strategies in order to mitigate the potential damage to the hearer's face may include explanations, reasons why such refusals are necessary, expressions of regret, give alternatives, promise of future acceptance, etc.

The head act by means of which a refusal is carried out, can be surrounded by a series of adjuncts such as: statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement (*That's a good idea.../I'd love to...*), statement of empathy (*I realize you are in a difficult situation.*), pause fillers (*uhh/well/oh/uhm*), and gratitude or appreciation (Beebe et al., 1990).

As already explained, when actually performed by speakers in communicative situations, refusals can also be seen as a sequence in which the refusal itself (head act) is preceded and followed by a series of other elements (Beebe et al., 1990). Thus, in the sequence, it is possible to find: pre-refusal strategies, whose function consists in preparing the addressee for an upcoming refusal; main refusal, which is the head act itself and that, just like the head act in requests, can stand alone and count as a refusal and; post-refusal strategies, which serve to add emphasis, justify or mitigate the possible effects of the refusal. In general, many refusal strategies function to reassure the recipient of the refusal that he or she is still approved, but that there are compulsory reasons for the refusal, and that the refuser regrets the necessity for the refusal.

The following example illustrates the different components of the refusal sequence:

Boss: *I was wondering if you might be able to stay a bit late this evening, say, until about 9:00 pm or so.*

	Response	Refusal-sequences	Strategy
Employee:	<i>Uh, I'd really like to</i>	[PRE-REFUSAL]	~ <i>Willingness</i>
	<i>but I can't</i>	[HEAD ACT]	~ <i>Direct refusal</i>
	<i>I'm sorry</i>	[POST-REFUSAL]	~ <i>Apology/Regret</i>
	<i>I have plans</i>	[POST-REFUSAL]	~ <i>Reason/Explanation</i>
	<i>I really can't stay</i>	[POST-REFUSAL]	~ <i>Direct refusal</i>

(Example taken from <http://www.carla.umn.edu/speechacts/refusals/structure.html>)

In the present study, we will concentrate on the analysis of the head acts used to perform refusals by our subjects.

Finally, the taxonomy used to analyze the refusals produced by the six groups of participants in this study, is based on Beebe et al's (1990) model. Nevertheless, in spite of the rich variety of strategies it presents to classify refusals, it was necessary for this study to include another sub-strategy, specifically to the direct category. The sub-strategy proposed was called negative possibility, which was found in Chilean native speakers as well as in learners' responses. The expansion of the taxonomy by Beebe et al. (1990) was compulsory in order to take full account of the gathered data. In this taxonomy, the notion of directness becomes relevant again. Directness refers to the degree of transparency present in an utterance. By transparency it is meant how clear the illocutionary force of an utterance is from its grammatical form and semantic content. Therefore, the more direct a refusal is, the more transparent it is and the recipient does not have to engage in much inferential work to understand the speaker's intended pragmatic meaning. Indirect refusals, on the other hand, are less transparent and more opaque, which means that the addressee has to do more inferential work and retrieve more contextual information to calculate the intended meaning.

The following table summarizes, defines and illustrates the strategies and sub-strategies that were considered:

Table 2: refusal strategies and sub-strategies

Strategy	Definition	Formula / Example
<p><i>1) Direct:</i></p> <p>1) Performative verbs 2) Non-performative statement: 2.1) Overtly negative</p>	<p>1) Statement of refusing 2) 2.1) Direct negation 2.2) The negation focuses in the cost to the speaker to do as requested</p>	<p>1) "I refuse." 2) 2.1) "No." 2.2) "I won't" 2.3) "I can't."</p>

<p>2.2) Negative willingness</p> <p>2.3) Negative possibility</p> <p>2.4) Negative ability</p>	<p>2.3) The negation is focused on the impossibility as doing as requested.</p> <p>2.4) The negation is focused on the lack of ability to do as requested</p>	<p>2.4) "I can't."</p>
<p><i>II) Indirect:</i></p> <p>1) Statement of regret</p> <p>2) Wish</p> <p>3) Excuse, reason, explanation</p> <p>4) Statement of alternative:</p> <p>4.1) I can do X instead of Y</p> <p>4.2) Why don't you do X instead of Y</p> <p>5) Set condition for future or past acceptance</p> <p>6) Promise of future acceptance</p> <p>7) Statement of principle</p> <p>8) Statement of philosophy</p> <p>9) Attempt to dissuade interlocutor</p> <p>9.1) Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester</p> <p>9.2) Guilt trip</p> <p>9.3) Criticize the request / requester</p> <p>9.4) Request for help, empathy and assistance by dropping or holding the request</p> <p>9.5) Let interlocutor off the hook</p> <p>9.6) Self-defense</p> <p>10) Acceptance that functions as a refusal</p> <p>10.1) Unspecific or</p>	<p>1) The negation is expressed in terms of regret.</p> <p>2) The negation is reversed in polarity (negative – positive)</p> <p>3) The negation is conveyed by an excuse.</p> <p>4) 4.1) The speaker proposes an alternative according to abilities / possibilities.</p> <p>4.2) The speaker proposes an alternative centered on the addressee of the refusal.</p> <p>5) The speaker establishes the conditions for his inability to do as requested.</p> <p>6) The speaker points out his/her inability to do as requested in the present situation.</p> <p>7) The refusal takes the form of a judgment.</p> <p>8) The refusal takes the form of a moral attitude based on experience.</p> <p>9) 9.1) Negative attitude of the speaker.</p> <p>9.2) Addressee-centered deliver of guilt by the refuser.</p> <p>9.3) Criticism of the requester by the refuser.</p> <p>9.4) The request is made according to the degree of</p>	<p>1) "I'm sorry / I feel terrible."</p> <p>2) "I wish I could help you."</p> <p>3) "I have a headache."</p> <p>4) 4.1) "I'd rather... / I'd prefer..."</p> <p>4.2) "Why don't you ask someone else?"</p> <p>5) "If you had asked me earlier, I would have..."</p> <p>6) "I'll do it next time / I promise I'll.../Next time I'll..."</p> <p>7) "I never do business with friends."</p> <p>8) "One can't be too careful."</p> <p>9) 9.1) "I won't be any fun tonight."</p> <p>9.2) "I can't make a living of people who just order coffee."</p> <p>9.3) "Who do you think you are?"</p> <p>9.4) "I'd like you to be in my shoes"</p> <p>9.5) "Don't worry about it."</p> <p>9.6) "I'm trying my best."</p> <p>10) 10.1) "Are you certain?"</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">indefinite reply</p> <p>10.2) Lack of enthusiasm</p> <p>11) Avoidance</p> <p>11.1) Non-verbal</p> <p>11.2) Verbal</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">empathy between the participants.</p> <p>9.5) The refuser removes the responsibility from the addressee.</p> <p>9.6) The refuser takes on his decision to decline the request.</p> <p>10) 10.1) The refuser wants the requester to reconsider the suggestion.</p> <p>10.2) The refuser realizes the involved cost of the request.</p> <p>11) 11.1) It involves the use of silence, hesitation, and physical departure.</p> <p>11.2) It employs other strategies, such as topic switch, jokes, and postponements.</p>	<p>10.2) <i>“Ok, whatever. I’ll do it.”</i></p> <p>11) 11.2) <i>“I’ll think about it.” (postponement)</i></p>
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4.6. POLITENESS

Brown and Levinson (1978 and revised in 1987) developed their theory of politeness based on the notion of face. Face refers to the public self-image of a person. More specifically, it refers to that emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects everyone else to recognize. Politeness, in this perspective, implies being aware of another person’s face. Politeness can be accomplished in situations of social distance or closeness. The awareness of another person’s face when he/she is socially distant is generally described in terms of respect or deference. On the other hand, when the other is

socially close, politeness is often described in terms of friendliness, camaraderie, or solidarity.

According to this approach, there will be different kinds of politeness (marked linguistically) associated with the assumption of relative social distance or closeness. In most English-speaking contexts, the participants in an interaction have to determine, as they speak, the relative social distance, and hence their 'face wants'. Face wants refer to the expectations people have concerning their public self-image. In everyday social interactions, people behave as if their face wants will be respected by others. In this respect, if a speaker says something that represents a threat to another individual's face wants, it is described as a *face threatening act*. Alternatively the speaker can say something to diminish the threat; this is called a *face saving act*.

Brown and Levinson also make a distinction between positive and negative face. A person's negative face is the need to be independent, to have freedom of action, and not to be imposed on by others. A person's positive face is the need to be accepted, even liked, by others, to be treated as a member of the same group, and to know that his or her face wants are shared by others. A face saving act which is oriented to the person's negative face will tend to show deference, emphasize the importance of the other's concerns, and even include apology for the imposition or interruption. This is also called negative politeness. A face saving act which is concerned with a person's positive face will tend to show solidarity, emphasize that both speakers want the same thing, and that they have a common goal. This is also called positive politeness.

The following chart illustrates the options proposed by Brown and Levinson when performing a face threatening act:

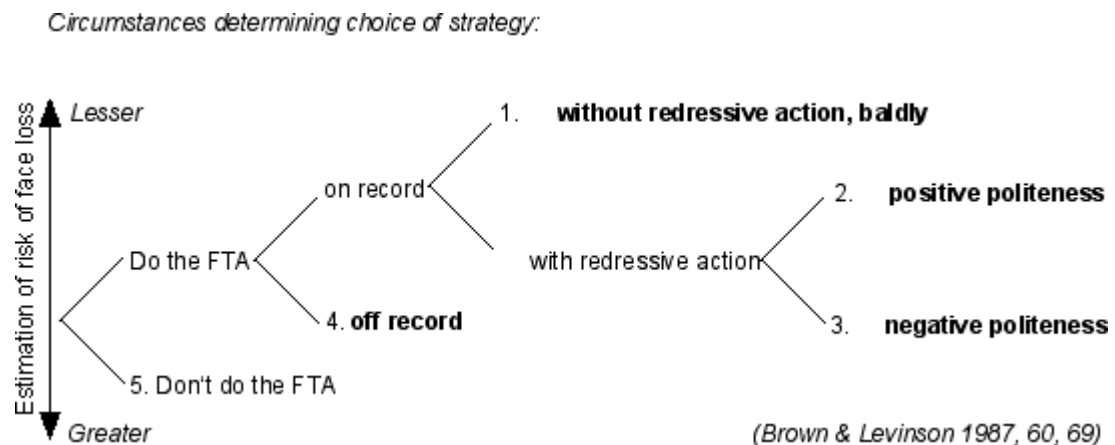


Figure 1: face-threatening acts strategies according to Brown and Levinson (1987)

There are two initial choices. Namely to realize a FTA or not, if the speaker chooses to realize this FTA, there are two more choices to be made: On record and Off record. An example of off record in our study would be a “hint”. If the choice is on record, we have two more possibilities: without redressive action and with redressive action. Without redressive action is to perform the speech head act baldly, such as the case of the imperative. If the speaker chooses to use redressive action we have two more possibilities: positive politeness or negative politeness. Positive politeness implies that the addresser would be appealing to addressee’s positive face: a desire to be liked or approved of. If negative politeness is employed, the addresser would be appealing to the addressee’s negative face, which means to respect the addressee’s face, space, social distance and not appear imposing; hence the addressee would be free to act as s/he chooses. Finally, if the

speaker does not choose to do the FTA at all, we may assume that performing the speech act results too risky for the speaker.

5. METHOD

5.1. Subjects

There are six groups of subjects participating in the present study. They consist of two groups of native speakers (one group of native speakers of Spanish and one group of native speakers of English) and four groups of formal EFL learners at different proficiency levels.

The group of native English speakers consists of 20 exchange undergraduate students from the USA, ages ranging from 20 to 25. The Chilean Spanish speakers group consists of 20 speakers from outside the academic community, as well as speakers from the academic community.

The group of Chilean EFL learners is composed of 64 undergraduate students between the ages of 18 and 25 who are majoring in English Linguistics and Literature at Universidad de Chile. They are divided in four groups according to the year they are in the major. These four groups are: first year learners, second year learners, third year learners and fourth year learners.

5.2. Data

The database of requests and refusals analyzed in the present study consists of a total of 668 responses to a written questionnaire by students of the first, second, third, and fourth year of the major on English Linguistics and Literature at Universidad de Chile and by native speakers of both English and Spanish –American English and Chilean Spanish, respectively. From this number, 339 corresponds to the requests' database, and 329 the database for refusals.

5.3. Instrument and data collection procedure

The instrument used for gathering the data consists of a questionnaire designed as a Discourse Completion Test (DCT), similar to the one developed by Blum-Kulka in the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) and

widely used by researchers in studies of both interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics. The questionnaire contains descriptions of twelve situations that generate a response that reflects what the participants would say in each of them. In each situation, the participants were addressed in the second person singular, which puts them in the position of speakers, i.e. the participant that performs the speech act.

In contrast to the questionnaire design in the CCSARP, the participants in the study were not given any opening or closing utterance. In other words, the scenarios here defined are open-ended, allowing the participants to phrase their reactions more freely. This is an advantage of this design of the DCT, since the participants' responses are not influenced by preceding or subsequent exchanges.

In order to distract the participants' attention from the studied speech acts, it was decided to include four instances of distractors, which consisted of other speech acts (apologies and complaints) not included in the analysis. The description of the situations is provided in Table 3 below.

The printed distribution of the questionnaires was circulated among the students of first, second, third and fourth year in their 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 8th semester, respectively. These copies were filled out in the classroom with a group of researchers. Both groups of native speakers were sent the questionnaires via e-mail and they had two days to respond.

Before applying the questionnaire to the subjects, a pilot version was sent to two native speakers of English and two native speakers of Spanish in order to determine the weaknesses in the design and improve the final version used in the study. Below is an

example of a situation included in the questionnaire. The example is a request to contribute to a professor's project.

“A professor asks you to contribute to his research project by taking a test.

However, you don't have enough time due to your tight schedule. What would you say to him?”

.....

5.3.1. Social parameters

The situations described in the questionnaire are designed in such a way that the participants' roles interact with the parameters of social power, social distance, and ranking of imposition. The combinations of these variables in the described situations are summarized in Table 3 below.

In the following paragraphs, we will introduce each parameter and explain how they combine in the scenarios. It is important to note that the ratings here provided cannot be declared to be free from influence of our own cultural perception.

Taking this point into account, ratings are not to be seen as absolute, but as relative, hypothetical assumptions about how we expect the scenarios to be perceived by the participants. However, since all participants come from Western cultures, in which there exist approximately the same role relationships and values in social life, we consider the ratings to roughly reflect all participants' perceptions of the situations.

5.3.2. Parameter I: Social power

Social power refers to the formal power relationship between the interlocutors which is most of the time determined culturally, socially and institutionally. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), this corresponds to the variable P, which stands for the relative power of the hearer over the speaker. In this respect, situations can be defined as symmetrical (when there is no power of the hearer over the speaker) and asymmetrical (when there is power of the hearer over the speaker). In our study, we maintain this definition by Brown and Levinson on the grounds that social power is acknowledged implicitly in most social relationships, in spite of being usually taken for granted. In Table 3, the formal power relationship between the participants is illustrated by individually-assigned authority (+) or non-authority (-) of the addressee (or hearer) over the speaker (subjects). In each scenario, therefore, the participant is placed in a subordinate or equal position to the addressee/hearer. In other words, the scenarios describe symmetrical and asymmetrical social relationships

5.3.3. Parameter II: Social distance

Social distance relates to Brown and Levinson (1987) variable D which refers to the level of intimacy between the interlocutors. Social distance depends on two factors: on how often speaker and hearer interact with each other, and on how many social attributes they have in common. Social distance can be rated on a scale of three degrees of acquaintance:

1 = intimate relationship between interlocutors (friends, family)

2 = professional relationship between interlocutors (work, university, clubs)

3 = interlocutors do not know each other (strangers)

5.3.4 Parameter III: Ranking of imposition

Ranking of imposition refers to the expected cost to H involved in the request and to the expected offence involved in the refusal. Thus, this parameter can be seen to be equal to Brown and Levinson's variable R, which is the culturally and situationally specified ranking of the imposition entailed by the FTA (face threatening acts). In the questionnaire scenarios, two different types of speech acts are produced: requests and refusals. In some situations the ranking of imposition is low, whereas in others it is high.

In Table 3, the degree of imposition is indicated by (L) for all low ranking of imposition situations and by (H) for all high ranking of imposition situations.

Table 3: Social parameters in questionnaire situation

Scenario	Social power		Social distance	Ranking of imposition
	S	H ¹		
Situation 2: request The participant needs the assistance of a thesis advisor to work for eight months in a project. The advisor is busy, but s/he still needs her help.	-	+	2	(H)
Situation 3: refusal	-	-	1	(L)

¹ S in these contexts means "speaker" and H means "hearer".

The participant is invited by a friend to have dinner at his place. S/he cannot go.				
Situation 5: request The participant asks for a large sum of money to a friend in order to go out of town to attend a conference.	-	-	1	(H)
Situation 6: refusal The participant is asked by a professor to contribute in his research project. S/he cannot due to the tight schedule.	-	+	2	(H)
Situation 7: request The participant needs a marker when giving an oral presentation. S/he approaches the professor to ask her for a marker.	-	+	2	(L)
Situation 9: refusal The participant is asked to help the teacher to carry some books back to his office. S/he cannot go because of a dental appointment.	-	+	2	(H)
Situation 10: request The participant asks his/her best friend to use her cellphone in order to give his/her boyfriend/girlfriend instructions to get to a party.	-	-	1	(H)

Situation 12: refusal The participant is asked by his/her closest friend for help to pass an upcoming test in a class s/he has already taken. S/he cannot because of a paper submission the next day.	-	-	1	(H)
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5.4. Data analysis procedure

In this section we will present and discuss the results gathered by means of the DCT. We will begin with request head acts and then continue with refusal head acts. Since the present study is both a cross-cultural and interlanguage study, we will first describe and analyze the data produced by both the native Spanish speakers and the native English speakers. Then, we will describe and analyze the head acts produced by the four groups of learners. Each description and analysis will be based on the taxonomies presented in section 4 of the theoretical framework.

In relation to the way the head acts were identified from the entire speech act sequence, we followed the notion that considers this part of the sequence as one that can stand alone without needing any peripheral elements (i.e. external modification) and realize the speech act. Having isolated the head act, the next step in the analysis was to classify it according to the type of semantic strategy and sub-strategies employed in it. For doing this we resorted to the taxonomies devised for ‘requests’ (Blum-Kulka *et al*, 1989) and for ‘refusals’ (Beebe *et al*, 1990). Each taxonomy is based on the criterion of directness. The first taxonomy is divided into three levels of directness: Direct, conventionally indirect, and

non-conventionally indirect strategies, while the second taxonomy is composed of two levels of directness: Direct and conventionally indirect strategies. Furthermore, each strategy is composed of different sub-strategies according to the content of the particular speech act.

Let us consider then the following speech act produced by a native English speaker. The situation requires the speaker to ask a college professor a marker for a presentation:

(x)Professor, is there any way I could borrow a marker? I need one for my presentation.

In this case the part of the sequence that is actually realizing the request (i.e. the head act) is “is there any way I could borrow a marker?”, while the rest of the sequence consists of external modification (see Table 1). Taking into account the taxonomy for requests, the above example of a head act would fall into the conventionally indirect strategy and more specifically into query preparatory possibility.

Finally, in the presentation and the discussion of results we will compare both native speaker groups (i.e. native Spanish speakers (NSS) and native English speakers (NES)) on the basis of the differences and similarities in the particular head act data obtained. First, both native groups will be contrasted according to their global tendencies (choice of strategies) and then according to their local tendencies (choice of sub-strategies). These tendencies will be linked to the possible socio-pragmatic meanings, given by each different culture that both groups of native speakers are taken to be members of. Furthermore, the comparison of the head acts produced by each native group will allow us

to build a background against which all four learner groups will be analyzed according to differences and similarities to Spanish as the L1 and English as the L2.

The present study can be characterized as both quantitative and qualitative. It is quantitative because the data is organized according to percentages of frequency, while it is also qualitative, since there is a discussion of the trends found in the data. In an interlanguage perspective, it is also a cross-sectional study that includes the comparison between the groups studied, based in the quantitative and qualitative descriptions presented as starting points.

6. DATA ANALYSIS

6.1. Requests

6.1.1. Native speakers: strategies

Table 4: Request strategies used by native speakers of English and native speakers of Spanish.

GROUPS	NSS		NES	
	n	%	n	%
Direct	10	19%	2	3%

Conventionally Indirect	40	74%	56	92%
Non conventionally Indirect	4	7%	3	5%
TOTAL	54	100%	61	100%

According to the data, native Spanish speakers (NSS) and native English speakers (NES) tend to favor conventionally indirect strategies as their first preference when making requests, although they differ in their frequency (74% vs. 92%). Both groups, however, have a different second preference: Spanish native speakers favor direct strategies (19%), whereas English native speakers prefer non-conventionally indirect strategies (5%)

6.1.2. Native speakers: sub-strategies

Table 5: Request sub-strategies used by native speakers of English and native speakers of Spanish.

GROUPS	NSS		NES	
	TN	%	TN	%
DIRECT				
Mood Derivable	4	8%		
Explicit Performative				
Hedged Performative	3	5%	1	2%
Obligation Statement				
Want Statement			1	2%
Need Statement	3	5%		

CONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT				
Suggestory Formulae				
Query Preparatory (ability)	20	37%	9	15%
Query Preparatory (willingness)	2	4%	6	10%
Query Preparatory (permission)			21	34%
Query Preparatory (availability)	8	15%	12	19%
Query Preparatory (possibility)	1	2%	8	13%
Query Preparatory (prediction)	9	17%		
NON- CONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT				
Strong Hint	1	2%	3	5%
Mild Hint	3	5%		
TOTAL	54	100%	61	100%

Regarding direct sub-strategies, the native Spanish speaker group favored mood derivable as their first option with 8%, and hedge performative as their second option with 5%. On the other hand, the native English speaker group opted equally for hedge and want statement, both with 2%.

In the case of conventionally indirect sub-strategies, the tendencies for each group are the following: native Spanish speakers favor query preparatory ability, with a 37%, as their first choice. This is not so for the English-speaking group, which favors query preparatory permission with 34% as their first choice. The second choice was prediction (17%) for the Spanish group and availability (19%) for the English group. Availability

(15%) is the third choice by the Spanish native group, while in third place the English group chose ability (15%).

For the English speaking group, there were also cases in which non-conventionally indirect strategies were used, specifically in the form of strong hints (5%). Spanish speakers opted for both options, but they favored the use of mild hints (5%) over strong hints (2%).

It is possible to observe, then, that both groups of native speakers, although coinciding in their preference for conventionally indirect strategies as their first choice, differ significantly in terms of the sub-strategies preferred.

6.1.3. Learner groups: strategies

Table 6: request strategies produced by learners

GROUPS	First Year		Second Year		Third Year		Forth Year	
	Students		Students		Students		Students	
STRATEGY	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Direct	16	19%	8	20%	3	5%	5	11%
Conventionally Indirect	63	77 %	33	80%	51	93%	39	85%
Non conventionally Indirect	3	4 %			1	2%	2	4%
TOTAL	82	100 %	41	100%	55	100%	46	100%

The group of first year students exhibits a clear tendency to prefer conventionally indirect strategies when they were required to produce requests. This can be observed from

the 77% of the preferences for this type of strategies, compared to the 19% and 4% of direct and non-conventionally indirect strategies, respectively.

Second year students also showed a clear preference for conventionally indirect strategies (80% of the total). The second preference in this group is direct strategies (20%). Finally, non-conventionally indirect requests were not used by this group.

When studying the results of request strategies used by third year students, it can be seen from the table that the first preference is, again, the conventionally indirect strategy, with a 93% of the preferences. The second preference is the direct strategy (5 %), and the third one being the non-conventionally indirect (2%).

Fourth year students, just like the other three groups of learners, preferred the conventionally indirect strategy as their first choice with a frequency of 85%. As a second option, they chose the direct strategy, with an 11%, and, as a third option, they used non-conventionally indirect strategies with 4%.

Concerning the global tendencies in the selection and frequency of strategies, it is possible to see that, overall, the four groups of learners display the same tendency: their first choice is conventionally indirect strategies, their second choice is direct strategies and their third choice is non-conventionally indirect strategies. However, it is also possible to observe that the frequency with which each strategy is used differs from one group to the other.

6.1.4. Learner groups: sub-strategies

Table 7: requests sub-strategies produced by learners

GROUPS	First Year Students		Second Year Students		Third Year Students		Fourth Year Students	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
STRATEGIES								
DIRECT								
Mood derivable	2	3 %	1	2%	1	2%	2	4%
Explicit performative								
Hedged performative	1	1 %					2	4%
Obligation statement								
Want statement	5	6 %	1	2%	1	2%		
Need statement	8	9 %	6	15%	1	2%	1	2%
CONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT								
Suggestory formulae			1	2%	1	2%		
Query preparatory (ability)	26	31 %	17	42%	14	25%	16	35%
Query preparatory (willingness)	1	1 %			1	2%		
Query preparatory (availability)	8	9 %	2	5%	4	7%	3	7%
Query preparatory (possibility)	2	3 %			4	7%	1	2%
Query preparatory (permission)	13	16 %	3	7%	22	40%	19	42%
Query preparatory (prediction)	13	16 %	10	25%	5	9%		
NON-CONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT								
Strong hint	2	3 %			1	2%	2	4%
Mild hint	1	1 %						
TOTAL	82	100 %	41	100%	55	100%	46	100%

In the use of sub-strategies, the first year group uses the sub-strategy query preparatory ability to a large extent (31%) and becomes their first preference. The second

choice in sub-strategies corresponds to the sub-strategy query preparatory permission and prediction, both with 16% of the responses. In the case of direct sub-strategies, this group opted firstly for need statement (9%), secondly for want statement (6%) and thirdly, for mood derivable (3%). As for non-conventionally indirect sub-strategies, strong hints (3%) are preferred over mild hints (1%).

The most utilized sub-strategy by second year students was query preparatory ability (42%). Within the same type of strategy, the next option was query preparatory prediction (25%). The third most preferred sub-strategies were need statements (15%), which fall within the direct strategy category. The rest of the choices were as follows in descending order: query preparatory permission (7%), query preparatory availability (5%) (conventionally indirect sub-strategies), and finally mood derivable, want statement (direct sub strategies) and suggestory formulae (conventionally indirect sub strategy) with the same number (2%). There were no instances of non-conventionally indirect sub-strategies in this group.

The results show that the third year group prefers the use of mood derivable, want, and need in a rather similar level (2%). Considering the sub-strategies of conventionally indirect the first option is permission with a 40%, the second ability with a 25%, the third prediction with a 9%, the fourth is availability and possibility with a 7 % and, finally, suggestory formulae and willingness that account for only 2% of the preferences. In relation to non-conventionally indirect sub-strategies, this group preferred strong hints only (2%).

Finally, regarding the fourth year students, the most used sub-strategy is query preparatory permission, with a 42% of the total, followed by query preparatory ability, with

a 35%. Other choices made with low preferences were query preparatory availability (7%), and query preparatory possibility (2%). In relation to direct sub-strategies, the most preferred sub-strategies are hedged performative and mood derivable, both with 2% of the total preferences. As for non-conventionally indirect sub-strategies, strong hints were the only ones selected (4%).

It is possible to observe that the four groups of learners coincide in the wide variety of sub-strategies they select when making requests. However, they differ in the frequencies with which each of these sub-strategies is used.

6.2. Discussion of results: refusal

6.2.1. Direct strategies: native speaker groups

The tendency in NSS to use fewer conventionally indirect strategies than the NES, can be explained by the considerable amount of direct strategies (19%) they use, which is in marked contrast with the native English speaker group's low preference for this strategy (3%). This is, we believe, the most important difference concerning the preferences in the use of strategies.

One way to explain the low frequency of direct strategies in the NES group is found in Brown and Levinson's (1987) notions of positive and negative politeness and face. In this sense, in the cultural community to which the English-speaking subjects belong to, the concern shown for people's face (i.e. politeness) includes paying more attention to the addressee's "need not to be imposed upon, the need for relative freedom of thought and action", i.e. this pattern in NES seems to reflect a tendency to express negative politeness (Mey, 2009: 712) when performing a face threatening act such as a request. Consequently,

native English speakers would not use direct strategies (bold on record) as much as native Spanish speakers in order not to coerce the hearer and give them the option of not acting.

The extended use of direct strategies by the NSS group can be explained taking into account Wierzbicka's (1991) concept of 'intimacy'. The author states that the use of "an intimate form [as the T-form] allows the speaker to get psychologically close to the addressee, to penetrate the wall surrounding each individual" (1991:47). In this way, intimacy could be taken as the socio-pragmatic interface of the use of direct strategies in the native Spanish group. Direct strategies, as intimate forms, then, would help the NSSs, as members of the Chilean cultural community, to lessen the psychological distance between them.

Regarding Brown and Levinson's notion of politeness and face, the Spanish-speaking group's use of direct strategies can be taken as an expression of positive politeness. In this sense, this group of speakers would be resorting to these strategies in order to show concern for the addressee's positive face needs, that is to say "the need to be valued, liked, and admired, to maintain a positive self-image" (Mey, 2009: 712), and specially to be treated as a member of the same group, with same rights and obligations. Consequently, NSSs would be using direct strategies in order to claim common ground and in-group membership with the hearer. For the group of native speakers of Spanish, then, directness is not necessarily related to impoliteness, rather, the use of direct strategies in certain contexts seems to point to a tendency to express positive politeness (we are equal, we have the same rights and obligations) by using a bold on-record strategy when performing a face threatening act such as a request.

6.2.2. Direct sub-strategies: native speaker groups

The most important difference between the two groups of native speakers has to do with the use of the sub-strategy mood derivable by the native speakers of Spanish. This sub-strategy as the first option in the Spanish native group does not appear to be related to a form of impoliteness or invasion of the addressee's private territory. Contrary to what Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987) propose, and following the arguments provided above, the use of imperatives seems to be a form of expression of politeness by increasing the intimacy between the interlocutors in given contexts.

The use of hedged performative by both the NESs and NSSs can be understood as form of expressing a clear requesting message, with a hedge, which is used to soften the illocutionary force of the requests. The focus in this case is on the speaker.

Regarding the socio-pragmatic meaning of the sub-strategies need statement and want statement used by the native Spanish group and the native English group, respectively, the tendency of the first group to resort to need statement might reflect a focus on the completion of the request as a necessary condition for the speaker's general well-being. However, if we follow Wierzbicka's (1991) concept of intimacy, it would appear that in the NSSs' culture, the overt expression of necessity when requesting is not considered as imposing but as a way to get closer to the addressee. On the other hand, the NES group opts for want statement which, since it makes reference to achievement of the requested element or action as something desirable but not necessary, might be considered less imposing on the addressee, respecting their possible decision to refuse and their personal territory.

6.2.3. Conventionally indirect strategies: native speaker groups

When making requests, both groups of native speakers give preference to conventionally indirect strategies. At first sight, these results are coherent with Searle's observation that "politeness is the most prominent motivation of indirectness in requests, and certain forms tend to become the conventionally polite ways of making direct requests" (1975: 76). However, the frequency of this strategy in both groups differs: NESs tend to concentrate almost all their requests (92%) in this category, which is not the case for NSSs (74%).

Regarding possible culture-specific socio-pragmatic meanings for the use CI sub-strategies, we can follow Brown and Levinson's (1987) ideas about politeness in relation to face needs. Both native groups' wide use of conventionally indirect strategies seems, in general, to be a strategy to show concern for the addressee's negative face needs. However, our NSSs' data leads us to think that both direct and conventionally indirect strategies could be related to polite pragmatic behavior in this cultural group when making requests. This is in contrast with the authors' claim that direct strategies appear to be inherently impolite

Finally, the tendency in NESs to favor mainly conventionally indirect strategies could be explained by Wierzbicka's (1991) description of the absence in English of an intimate T-form of address (as the Spanish 'tú') as a reflection of the need for 'privacy' in this culture. The lack of a T-form transforms the single English 'you' into an equalizing device that does not keep everybody at a great distance, but does not allow speakers to come closer either (1991: 47). This lack of intimacy, as a leaning for privacy in the NES group, would seem to extend to a constant and invariable psychological distance between the interlocutors reflected also in the low use of direct strategies.

6.2.4. Conventionally indirect sub-strategies: native speaker groups

Although the preference for conventionally indirect strategies, as a general tendency, in both native groups might be related to the expression of negative politeness, their different choice of sub-strategies could be explained in relation to the NSS group's value for intimacy and the NES group's value for privacy. The difference in sub-strategy choices is especially significant in the several forms of the query preparatory sub-strategy (i.e., ability, permission, willingness, availability, possibility, or prediction). In this section, we will refer to the most significant differences between both groups.

The sub-strategy query preparatory 'permission' is the first option in the group of NESs. Since the focus of this sub-strategy is on the speaker, in the NESs' cultural script it seems to be perceived as non-invasive. In this way the speaker does not cross the individual limit and recognizes the addressee's autonomy, personal space, individuality and, most importantly, authority. Their second option, query preparatory availability, can be analyzed by taking into account the relevant stages in the request making process in relation to the distance between the interlocutors. Thus, in this conversational and interactional procedure, we can identify at least two initial stages: first, asking for the availability or actual existence of the element to be requested and then, if existing, the actual request for the element. The focus on the first stage seems to reveal a special concern on the part of the native English-speaking group to avoid invading the addressee's personal space by making sure that they possess the element in question and not to take its existence for granted. Furthermore, the choice of realizing the requesting FTA by means of asking for its availability gives the addressee the option of negating the existence of the element and, thereby, politely refuse to

act as requested. The optionality involved in this type of request seems to lower the level of face threat and increase the level of politeness (Leech, 1983).

In a different way, the socio-pragmatic meaning of the sub-strategy query preparatory prediction as the second option in the Spanish-speaking group might be explained by considering both abovementioned stages present in the requesting speech act. Referring to the future entails the assumption that the element in question actually exists. If it is assumed that the NSSs were trying to consider their addressee's face (i.e., be polite) when realizing this FTA, then it could be said that this sub-strategy might be revealing closeness and solidarity between the speakers and not invasiveness.

Query preparatory ability and availability are the third options in the NES group and the native Spanish group, respectively. NESs move the focus from the speaker onto the addressee, thereby "intruding" into the addressee's personal space only as a third option, after permission and availability. On the other hand, NSSs only start to wonder about the existence of the requested element after having directly asked the addressee about her ability to perform the task and having taken for granted the existence of the requested element.

Finally, the sub-strategy query preparatory possibility is the fourth option in the native English group and the fifth option in the native Spanish group. NESs' choice of possibility tends to orient the focus of the request to be more impersonal. In this way, the addressee is not directly approached and is given the option of refusing due to 'forces' beyond the speaker's and the addressee's control. On the other hand, only 1.8% of the NSSs opt for asking for possibility in the fifth place (in contrast with 13.1% of the NESs'),

which seems to suggest that the Spanish group is not much concerned with the set of impersonal conditions surrounding the potential success of the request.

6.2.5. Non-conventionally indirect strategies: native speaker groups

Concerning non-conventionally indirect strategies, in both groups there is similar preference for these strategies as the third option. This might be caused by the general tendency of the speaker towards indirectness. This non-conventionally indirect strategy never goes beyond the 7.5% probably due to its quality of extreme indirectness which makes it a risky choice.

6.2.6. Non-conventionally indirect sub-strategies: native speaker groups

If we go into detail about this group of strategies, the Spanish speakers opt firstly for mild hints that seem to require a great amount of rhetorical elaboration due to the absence of the naming of the requested elements. On the other hand, the English speakers preferred strong hints as their first and only option, a sub-strategy that appears to require less rhetorical elaboration due to the naming of the requested elements.

6.2.7. Direct strategies: learner groups

In this section, we will discuss the requests produced by the four groups of learners. We will also take into account the cross-cultural findings presented above and the level of

proficiency of the learners as defined by the academic year they belong to. The discussion will follow the same sequence (i.e. direct, conventionally indirect, and non-conventionally indirect strategies and sub-strategies) used for the groups of native speakers.

First and second year students show a considerable use of direct strategies, similar to that of NSS. This tendency seems to show negative transfer from the L1 patterns. These two groups of learners seem to show sociopragmatic perceptions similar to those in Spanish. A possible reason to explain the strong L1 negative transfer in these groups might be the quality of the linguistic instruction in the first and second years. The focus in these two English language courses is on the construction of a basic grammar and not as much as on pragmatic aspects.

Third year learners' frequency in the use of direct strategies resembles that of NESs. At first sight, this seems to indicate that increasing training in the English language leads to pragmatic behavior close to the L2. Surprisingly enough, however, the requesting behavior of fourth year learners seems to point in the opposite direction. Their requests show an increase in the use of direct strategies that positions this group in between the second year and the third year subjects. Three possible complementary explanations for the fourth year phenomenon can be proposed: Firstly, the stage fourth year subjects are going through might be an intermediate one in a bigger 'u-shaped course of development'. Ellis (1997) describes this concept as when 'learners may display a high level of accuracy only to apparently regress later before finally once again performing in accordance with target-language norms. It is clear that this occurs because learners reorganize their existing knowledge in order to accommodate their new knowledge' (1997: 23). In this case, the unexpected rise in the use of direct strategies might be a re-organization of newly-learnt

structures in the interlanguage system. Secondly, this backsliding movement towards the L1 patterns might be explained as a 'waffle phenomenon'. As defined by Edmondson *et al.*, this phenomenon refers to "learner's over-use of 'external-modification' or supportive moves" (1991:274). According to Barron, this phenomenon appears to be related to the level of "proficiency". Put differently, "linguistic constraints may prevent waffle in the early stages of language learning/acquisition" (2002: 54). Although we are not certain about the overuse of supportive moves, because our study focuses on head acts, the fact that the fourth year group is expected to have the highest level of L2-like performance makes us think that their external modification might be at a waffle level; hence they might be paying less attention to the head act itself. Expressed in a different way, the wide range of linguistic options and resources in this interlanguage stage might cause a decrease in the levels of self-monitoring and consequently the faulty production in certain linguistic subsystems (including the pragmalinguistic one). Finally, the use of direct strategies by the fourth year, which disrupts the expected development in the four groups, might be understood by the fact that this group of learners is part of a particular development that has not been accounted for in a longitudinal study. Without this longitudinal study it is not possible to say whether the fourth year group has had a lower proficiency level throughout its entire development in comparison to the other learner groups.

6.2.8. Direct sub-strategies: learner groups

We believe that one of the important aspects of the sub-strategy mood derivable is that, although marginally, the four groups of learners still see it as a valid option when making requests. This perception sets them apart from the group of native speakers of

English and shows the influence of L1 patterns and sociopragmatic norms. After four years of instruction, students still display the influence of their L1.

‘Need statements’ are present in all four learner groups in different degrees. This presence, again, seems to point to L1 transfer since the need statement direct sub strategy was only resorted to by the native Spanish speakers. The pattern for the use of this sub-strategy in the learners is relatively stable in first and second years (average 12.1%), decreases in third year and then slightly increases in fourth year. The overuse of this sub-strategy in the first and second year might also be the result of the syntactic simplicity of this sub-strategy. In the end, the choice of these sub-strategies by the learner group might be taken as invasive of the addressee’s personal territory and as impinging on their freedom of thought and action.

6.2.9. Conventionally indirect strategies: learner groups

Regarding the use of conventionally indirect strategies, all four groups of learners coincide with the native speakers in giving to this strategy the first preference when making requests. It could be said that the reason for this phenomenon might be the very same reasons provided for both groups of native speakers. However, the frequency with which this sub-strategy is used is not the same for all the learner groups. Not against expectations, the first year frequency for this strategy is very similar to the native Spanish one, which seems to indicate a degree of L1 transfer. In the second year group, there is a movement in the native English pattern direction. It is just in the third year group that the frequency in the use of this strategy coincides with that of the native English norm. Again, counter-

expectantly, fourth year presents a backward movement that leaves them in between the second and third year.

6.2.10. Conventionally indirect sub-strategies: learner groups

At the level of sub-strategies, both the first and second year groups give preference to the sub strategy query preparatory ability. This tendency is alike the pattern found in Spanish speakers who also opted for this sub-strategy in first place. Also, first and second year learners might still have some problems mastering some of the resources used in English to make requests. On the other hand, this sub-strategy occupies the third place in the native English group. Third and fourth year learners' first preference for query preparatory permission reflects a movement towards the L2 norm, because this is also the first option for NESs.

The use of query preparatory prediction in first, second, and third year seems to be a product of L1 transfer. The use of this sub-strategy reflects the need to make reference to shared information about requested elements possessed by the addressee. In this sense, the learner is not concerned with asking about the availability of what is requested, but goes on directly to request it taking for granted its existence. In addition, the use of this sub-strategy

might be an attempt to translate the similar Spanish query preparatory prediction form exemplified in *'me prestas el celu'*.

The use of query preparatory possibility by third and fourth year learners seems to reflect a movement towards the L2 norm that might indicate these groups' awareness of the impersonal conditions that might affect the success of the request. The impersonal focus of this option also seems to allow the speaker to respect one of the Anglo-Saxon cultural values of not trespassing the addressee's privacy.

The sub-strategy query preparatory availability is used by all the learning groups in different degrees: the first year with the highest preference and the second year with the lowest one. The general use of this sub-strategy could be explained by its position in the NSSs (third) and NESs (second). However it is also important to mention that none of the learner groups goes beyond the L1 percentage (14.5%) for this sub-strategy.

6.2.11. Non-conventionally indirect strategies: learner groups

Regarding non-conventionally indirect strategies, three groups of learners resort to it in different degrees except for the second year that does not opt for it at all. The low frequencies with which it is used could be explained by the same reasons attributed to the native groups: its requirement of grammatical proficiency and its extreme level of indirectness. The first cause is even stronger for the mild type of this sub-strategy since it requires more elaboration and circumlocution to hint the referents without actually naming them. Therefore, both reasons work together balancing the cost of linguistic creativity and benefit of a type of politeness.

6.2.12. Non-conventionally indirect sub-strategies: learner groups

When we observe the preferences at the level of sub-strategies among the groups that make use of them (i.e., 1st, 3rd, and 4th years), all of them prefer the ‘strong’ sub-strategy as their first option. This might reflect an advance towards the L2 norm. In general terms the fourth year is the learning group with the highest preference for the non-conventionally indirect strategy. This tendency would appear to be related to the level of grammatical proficiency reached by this group as the one with more hours of exposure to the target language. As explained above, linguistic proficiency seems to be an important factor when resorting to this strategy. This behavior is in accordance with the ‘waffle phenomenon’ that would seem to be a feature of the fourth year group.

6.3. Refusals

6.3.1. Native speakers: strategies

Table 5: refusal strategies produced by native Spanish and English speakers

GROUPS	NSS		NES	
	n	%	n	%
Direct	20	38%	15	25%
Conventionally Indirect	32	62%	44	75%
Total	52	100%	59	100%

According to the data, native Spanish speakers tend to prefer conventionally indirect strategies over direct ones when asked to produce refusals. This behavior is similar to that of native English speakers. However, the frequencies with which each strategy is used differ in both groups of native speakers.

6.3.2. Native speakers: sub-strategies

Table 6: refusal sub-strategies produced by Spanish and English native speakers

GROUPS	NSS		NES	
	n	%	n	%
SUB-STRATEGIES				
DIRECT				
Using performative verbs				
Non performative statement (overtly negative)				
Non performative statement (negative willingness)	1	2%		
Non performative statement (negative possibility)	1	2%		
Non performative statement (negative ability)	18	34%	15	25%
CONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT				
Statement of regret				
Wish				
Excuse, reason, explanation	20	38%	44	75%
Statement of alternative (I can do X instead of Y)	3	6%		
Statement of alternative (Why don't you do X instead of Y)	2	4%		
Set condition for future or past acceptance	1	2%		
Promise of future acceptance	4	8%		
Statement of principle				
Statement of philosophy				

Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester)	1	2%		
Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Guilt trip)	1	2%		
Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Criticize the request/requester)				
Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request)				
Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Let interlocutor off the hook)				
Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Self-defense)				
Acceptance that functions as a refusal (Unspecific or indefinite reply)				
Acceptance that functions as a refusal (Lack of enthusiasm)				
Avoidance (verbal)				
Avoidance (non-verbal)				
TOTAL	52	100%	59	100%

In terms of sub-strategies, native Spanish speakers make use, as a first option, of the excuse, reason, explanation sub-strategy. As the second choice, we found the use of the direct sub-strategy non-performative statement negative ability, which almost equals the frequency of the excuse, reason, explanation sub-strategy.

When it comes to analyze English native sub-strategies, it is possible to observe that their choices concentrate on the conventionally indirect sub-strategies of excuse, reason, explanation, which becomes the first choice, and in the direct strategy non-performative statement negative ability, which becomes the second choice.

6.3.3. Learner groups: strategies

Table 7: refusal strategies produced by learners

GROUPS	First Year		Second Year		Third Year		Forth Year	
	Students		Students		Students		Students	
STRATEGY	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Direct	36	46%	17	45%	23	42%	24	52%
Conventionally Indirect	43	54%	21	55%	32	58%	22	48%
Total	79	100%	38	100%	55	100%	46	100%

In the case of refusals, first year students' responses were divided between the use of direct and indirect strategies. Indirect strategies were predominant, being marked by 43 responses out of 79 (54% of the total of responses), which was slightly above the number of direct ones (46% of the total). On the other hand, second year learners opted firstly for conventionally indirect strategies. This percentage was slightly more than a half of the group's responses (55%). The remaining portion of second year learners preferred direct strategies in refusal head act realizations (45%). When analyzing the results of refusal strategies used in third year, it can be seen from the table that the first preference is the conventionally indirect, followed by direct strategies, each one with a percentage of 58 % and 42%, respectively. Fourth year students' results show that, in terms of refusals, they favor the direct strategy with a 52% and use the conventionally indirect as a second option, with a 48 %.

As a consequence, it is important to point out that in terms of general tendencies, native speakers and learners, from first to third year, favor the use of conventionally indirect strategies. However, only fourth year students preferred the use of the direct strategy.

Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Criticize the request/requester)								
Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request)								
Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Let interlocutor off the hook)								
Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (Self-defense)								
Acceptance that functions as a refusal (Unspecific or indefinite reply)	3	4%						
Acceptance that functions as a refusal (Lack of enthusiasm)							1	2%
Avoidance (verbal)								
Avoidance (non-verbal)								
TOTAL	79	100%	38	100%	55	100%	46	100%

In the use of sub-strategies, the first year group of learners chose direct strategies as a second option, in which the sub-strategy of negative ability was the most used by the speakers, represented by 43% of the total preferences. The conventionally indirect group of sub-strategies presents a broader number of sub-strategies, in which more options were gathered. Then, it was found that the excuse, reason, explanation sub-strategy was the preferred choice, with a 29% of the responses, followed by the sub-strategy statement of regret, with a 15% of the total. Moreover, the data exhibits other six strategies which are statistically lower in comparison to the first three preferences.

Second year students have a similar general preference for excuses (45%) and non-performative statements negative ability (40%). The rest of the learners in this group opted consistently for non-performative statements that were overtly negative and statements of alternative with both a focus on the speaker and on the hearer.

Third year students preferred the use of non-performative statements, being in first place the negative ability sub-strategy with the largest percentage (40%), and, secondly, negative willingness that accounts for only 2% of the total of head acts. Considering conventionally indirect sub-strategies, third year students preferred the use of just three options. The first option is excuse, reason or explanation, second is statement of alternative (“why don’t you do X instead of Y”), and third is promise of future acceptance, with 49%, 7%, and 2%, respectively.

Finally, in the case of fourth year students, direct sub-strategies were more employed than conventionally indirect sub-strategies. All the responses in the direct strategy category correspond to the sub-strategy non-performative statement negative ability, which accounts for the 52% of all the group’s responses. As a consequence, conventionally indirect strategies were the second option for these learners. Among the sub-strategies they used, the excuse, reason, explanation gathered together more than a third of the total responses, or 37%, whereas the other three sub-strategies -statement of alternative “I can do X instead of Y”, promise of future acceptance, and acceptance that functions as a refusal (lack of enthusiasm)- collected, respectively, 7%, 2%, and 2% of the total responses.

6.4. Discussion of results

6.4.1. Direct strategy: native speaker groups

In the case of the refusal head acts, some important points emerge when analyzing the ways in which they are realized by both groups of native speakers. When considering

the direct strategy category, the data indicates that this type of strategy is the second favored preference in the English and Spanish native groups; however, NSSs show a higher frequency in the use of direct strategies than NESs. This could be explained by the same factors that caused the same tendencies when requesting. That is to say, the greater frequency in the use of direct strategies by the NSS group is a marker of intimacy between the interlocutors, and, in this sense, it would not be a marker of impoliteness. In other words, the Spanish-speaking subjects would be crossing the addressee's territory in a non-invasive way. Both native groups' preference for direct strategies seems to show concern for the addressee's positive face needs. The direct expression of inability to carry out the request as an intimate form would appear to be a way to show that the speaker and hearer belong to the same group and, therefore, the necessary closeness exists to reveal personal information on record. Also, since this sub-strategy is the least ambiguous, it seems to facilitate the speakers' attempt to express their intentions clearly

6.4.2. Direct sub-strategies: native speaker groups

Both groups of native speakers prefer the non-performative statement negative ability as their first choice. However, the Spanish preference for direct sub-strategies includes more options. Although marginally, they make use of both the non-performative statement negative willingness and negative possibility. This behavior might be explained by the way in which psychological distance is conceptualized in the NSS group's culture. Hence, the preference in Spanish for non-performative statements, be it negative willingness or possibility, seems to reflect more readiness to reveal a larger number of psychological states than the English-speaking subjects. That is to say, these aspects of the

speaker's personality and inner world serve as a way to step into the addressee's territory in a non-invasive way in order to shorten the distance between the interlocutors and clearly indicate their intentions.

6.4.3. Conventionally indirect strategy: native speaker groups

When discussing the use of the conventionally indirect strategy, both groups of native speakers coincide in giving the first preference to this category. However, the frequencies with which they use this type of strategy vary. NESs use it more often than NSSs. The reason for this tendency may be explained in terms of the relation between indirectness and politeness. In other words, for English native speakers there seems to be a greater correlation between politeness and indirectness in the case of refusals than for NSSs. Again, the fact that both groups opted for this strategy as their first option is in agreement with Blum-Kulka's (1989) findings that conventionally indirect strategies are generally preferred by a large number of languages as an option related with politeness.

6.4.4. Conventionally indirect sub-strategies: native speakers

Regarding the distribution of sub-strategies, both groups favor the use of the excuse, reason, explanation strategy. In the English group, this tendency is explained again by their perception of politeness, whereas in the Spanish group it is possible to point out the same explanation and, moreover, the fact that they try to avoid feelings of hostility by means of indirectness.

In addition, in the English-speaking group, this strategy is composed only by the excuse, reason, explanation sub-strategy. On the other hand, the Chilean native group

preferred a more diverse array of conventionally indirect sub-strategies; namely, statement of alternative “I can do X instead of Y” and “why don't you do X instead of Y”; set condition for future or past acceptance; promise of future acceptance (threat and guilt trip). All these sub-strategies could be possibly pointing again to the value given in this culture to intimacy in terms of revealing one's personal aspects to the hearer.

6.4.5. Direct strategies: learners

In the learners' groups this strategy is the second option from first to third year, their frequencies being very similar. Fourth year learners are the only group in which direct strategies were employed as the first option. In the case of fourth year learners, the use of direct strategies increases in almost 14% in comparison to the rest of the learner groups. However, it is important to point out that, in spite of the fact that direct strategies are the second option for learners from first to third year, fourth year's percentages are still higher in comparison to NESs and NSSs. The reason for this finding could be interpreted as transfer from the NSS pattern which seems to result in the overuse of this strategy.

Another important observation concerns the gradual decrease of direct strategy's usage from first to third year towards the English norm, although never going down the NSS level. This high preference for direct strategies, which is even higher than in the NSS group, could be made sense of as an excessive reliance upon the sociopragmatic meaning the Spanish-speaking group might be giving to the use of direct strategies. For the Spanish-speaking group, this choice, as explained above, seems to be a marker of intimacy.

6.4.6. Direct sub-strategies: learners

When analyzing the learners' responses when refusing, it is noticeable that all groups preferred the use of the non-performative statement negative ability as the first option, which is the same sub-strategy used by both groups of natives. However, there is a difference concerning the percentages in this respect, which reflects a relevant aspect of the learners' pragmatic development. This may be explained by the fact that this sub-strategy seems to be the clearest way of realizing a refusal without ambiguity, which explains why it is used so much by learners who are building their L2 grammar in different interlanguage stages. Therefore, they are in need of facilitating and economizing pragmalinguistic structures.

First and fourth year learners show a higher percentage in the use of the non-performative statement negative ability. The reason that we propose is L1 negative pragmatic transfer in the performance of first year students, whereas in fourth year students, this behavior might be explained by a u-shaped course of development, the particular pragmatic performance of this group that differs from the expected development in relation to the previous learner groups, and the waffle phenomenon.

Furthermore, since the learners seem to overuse NSSs' patterns using this strategy as a means to mark intimacy between the interlocutors, the group of non-performative statements is more diverse in sub-type choices than the NESs group. In this way, the larger number of direct sub-strategies used by learners seems to reflect L1 transfer. In other words, this tendency to get closer to the interlocutors by expressing a wider range of the speaker's psychological states resembles native Spanish speakers' behavior.

The other sub-strategies chosen by the four groups of learners, apart from the negative ability sub-strategy, are the following: non-performative making reference to

negative willingness, possibility, and overtly negative. Firstly, the reason behind the use of the negative willingness sub-strategy by the third year group could be interpreted as L1 transfer, because this sub-strategy is present only in the NSSs' realizations of refusal head acts. This explanation can also be extended when giving an account for the use of the negative possibility sub-strategy by first year students. Nevertheless, there is a sub-strategy not present in the NSSs' data, which is used by the second year group, which corresponds to the overtly negative sub-strategy. Its use seems to be a stronger way than negative ability to refuse without ambiguity.

6.4.7. Conventionally indirect strategies: learners

In the learner groups, this strategy is the first option from first to third year, being fourth year the only group where conventionally indirect strategies were employed as the second option. However, it is important to draw attention to the fact that, in spite of the finding that conventionally indirect strategies are the first option for learners from first to third year, their percentages are still lower in comparison to NESs. It could be said that, from first to third year, the preference is the use of conventionally indirect strategies, because they perceive the same relation as English native speakers concerning the relationship between indirectness and politeness, which, as we said above, is in tune with Blum-Kulka's findings (1989).

Concerning the tendency in the frequency of sub-strategies employed by learners, it is possible to observe the steady increase of conventionally indirect strategies from first to third year. Nevertheless, this growth never equates the NESs' percentage. The reason for this regular rise may be the fact that learners are becoming aware of the sociopragmatic

meaning that the English native group attributes to conventional indirectness, i.e. negative politeness and privacy.

After careful examination of the group of learners from first to fourth year, there are some observations to be made. First of all, the four groups made use of indirect strategies and, in terms of percentages, none of the learner groups reached or went beyond the native speakers' levels. Moreover, fourth year students' development suffers a great decrease in the use of this strategy, being the group that remains the furthest from the English native norm. This phenomenon may be clarified due to the U-shaped course of development, which elucidates the poorer performance of fourth year students despite their great deal of linguistic resources, along with the other abovementioned possible causes.

6.4.8. Conventionally indirect sub-strategies: learners

When it comes to selecting conventionally indirect sub-strategies, the learners chose the excuse, reason, explanation sub-strategy as their first option, similarly to both groups of native speakers. Nevertheless, all of the learner groups employ other sub-strategies as alternatives, which shows them in different stages in terms of their interlanguage. Concerning the number of strategies employed, the four groups appear to be influenced by their L1 in the amount of sub-strategies used. This finding is supported by the fact that these groups have used more alternatives, apart from the most frequent option (excuse, reason, explanation), when required to produce refusals.

The sub-strategies chosen by the four groups of learners, apart from the excuse, reason, explanation sub-strategy, are the following: acceptance that functions as a refusal, future acceptance, statement of alternative ("I can do X instead of Y"), statement of

alternative (“why don’t you do X instead of Y”), set condition for future acceptance, and attempt to dissuade interlocutor (threat), statement of regret, and acceptance that functions as a refusal.

All the sub-strategies mentioned above, except for statement of regret and acceptance that functions as a refusal can be explained on the basis of L1 transfer, because they were also found only in the refusals produced by NSSs. First year students are the only group that makes use of statement of regret and acceptance that functions as a refusal sub-strategy, probably due to their lack of L2 linguistic resources.

Another important point in the selection of indirect strategies concerns the orientation, which, in the case of first and second year, differed between the two following options: statement of alternative, with the formulas of “I can do X instead of Y” and “why don’t you do X instead of Y”. It is of relevant consideration that these two options have different orientations: the first option is speaker-oriented, while the second one is hearer-oriented. This point is important to mention, because, despite the similar percentages with the native speakers of English, it enables us to claim that there are still traces of L1 influence in the orientation expressed in the refusal. That is to say, even when the learners are using conventionally indirect strategies, they do not follow the conventional orientation that English native speakers do. In third year, in relation to the alternative preferences, we find instances of statements of alternative of the form “why don’t you do X instead of Y”. Then, in third year, the data points out that it is in this year that the learners’ linguistic output is closer to the responses formulated by the English-native group. Further causes that can account for these results in second and third year are: the amount of input in their English language lessons, on the one hand, and positive transfer, on the other hand.

Finally, in the case of fourth year, the preference is marked by the usage of the speaker-oriented statement of alternative “I can do X instead of Y”, which means that this group tends to acknowledge the threat of not doing as requested and, therefore, producing an alternative of what they can actually do without trespassing the addressee’s personal domain.

7. Conclusions

7.1. General Conclusions

We will begin this section by discussing the most important findings concerning the cross-cultural comparison between the groups of native speakers of American English and native speakers of Chilean Spanish. In relation to the degree of directness in the head acts of requests and refusals produced by the native groups, it is possible to conclude that both groups coincide in the selection of conventionally indirect strategies as their first preference, but they differ in their particular frequencies of use. While the native Spanish speakers opted for conventionally indirect strategies with 74% in request head acts, along with 62% in refusals, the native English speakers did it with 92% and 75%, respectively.

Regarding direct strategies for both refusing and requesting head acts, the Chilean Spanish group selected this type of strategy as their second option with a higher frequency than the American English group. On the one hand, the native Spanish-speaking group chooses this type of strategy as their second preference with 19% in requests, while, on the other hand, the native English-speaking group selects it as their third option with 3%. Although in the case of refusals both groups of native speakers chose this strategy as their

second option, the native Spanish group's frequency for this strategy (38%) is still higher than the native English group's (25%).

In the case of the non-conventionally indirect strategies -only present in request head acts- both native groups chose it with marginal frequencies. The Spanish group selected it as their third option with 7%, whereas the native speakers of English opted for it as their second option with 5%.

One possible explanation regarding the above mentioned tendencies in the selection and frequency of strategies by both groups of native speakers can be attributed to the different cultural values present in each speech community. In other words, the fact that both native groups made a dissimilar use of strategies appears to result from different sociopragmatic meanings given to each strategy by each cultural group.

In this sense, there are two major theoretical proposals that seem to help make sense of the different cultural values in each speech community that seem to be influencing both native groups' particular pragmatic preferences. The first one is Wierzbicka's concepts of 'intimacy' and 'privacy'. That is to say, for the cultural group to which the native Spanish speakers belong, the use of direct strategies as intimate forms represents a way to enter the addressee's territory in a non-invasive way. On the other hand, direct strategies are widely avoided by the native English speakers, probably due to privacy as an important Anglo-Saxon cultural value that orients interaction to the protection of the personal territory and individuality.

The second proposal has to do with Brown and Levinson's (1987) concepts of negative and positive politeness. The significant frequency of use of direct strategies by the Spanish speakers seems to be showing respect for the addressee's positive face needs or

wants, while the avoidance of direct strategies by the native English speakers, along with their high use of conventionally indirect strategies, appears to indicate respect for the addressee's negative face needs. According to these approaches, then, Chilean speakers present a marked leaning towards positive politeness and the respect for the sociopragmatic value of intimacy. In a different way, American English speakers orient their pragmatic attention to negative politeness and show respect for privacy. These sociopragmatic values are reflected in this group's particular use of conventionally indirect strategies and lower use of direct strategies.

At the level of sub-strategies, we can see that the main differences between both groups are in relation to the selection, frequency and diversity of the chosen sub-strategies. As an example of these pragmatic orientations regarding direct sub-strategies in requests, we can name, for the Spanish-speaking group, the use of mood derivable (the most direct sub-strategy) as a form of expression of intimacy. At this point, it is important to remember that this direct sub-strategy mood derivable does not seem to be an appropriate option for native speakers of English. In other words, bold on-record speech acts do not necessarily pose a threat for native speakers of Spanish.

In the case of conventionally indirect sub-strategies in requests, we can mention, as examples, the preference given to query preparatory availability and permission in the native English group and prediction in the native Spanish group. In the first case, this preference is, again, revealing respect for the addressee's personal territory and focuses on negative politeness by asking for the actual existence of the requested element by asking for permission to make the other act as requested. On the contrary, the Spanish group's

selection reveals a non-invasive sharing of personal territory and concern for the addressee's positive face needs by taking for granted the element in question.

In relation to the choice of direct sub-strategies when refusing, we can name the Spanish use of three diverse forms for non-performative statements making reference to ability, willingness, and possibility. This behavior is in contrast with the English group in which only one form of this sub-strategy is actually used, namely, negative ability. This diversity in the native Spanish group seems to be also related to the concept of intimacy according to which the speaker is willing to reveal "some aspects of [her] personality and of [her] inner world" to some particular trustworthy persons (Wierzbicka, 1991:105). On the contrary, the native English group's choice of only one form appears to be caused, again, by the highly valued concept of privacy and by the tendency to respect the personal territory of others in their culture.

Concerning the interlanguage perspective of this study, that is to say, the pragmatic behavior of the four groups of learners, we can say that, when requesting, there is a preference for conventionally indirect strategies as their first option, except for the fourth year students which do not seem to conform to the indirect trend that English natives follow. Hence, fourth year group presents even more negative pragmatic transfer than the first year (48% vs. 54% respectively). Also, it is possible to observe that first year learners' frequency of conventionally indirect strategies resembles native speakers of Spanish, whereas third year learners' frequency is very similar to that of native speakers of English.

Regarding direct strategies in head acts for both speech acts, all learner groups are perceived to present L1 negative transfer in different degrees. Although none of them reached the English native norm completely, it would seem that with both speech acts, the

groups from first to third year decreased their levels of L1 transfer. However, in the fourth year group the level of transfer increases (11%) for requests, leaving this group between the second (20%) and third year (5%) groups in a virtual developmental curve and before first year in the case of refusals.

Regarding fourth year group's break of the interlanguage development towards the L2 norm and its unexpected level of L1 negative transfer, we venture to propose three possible explanations: first, Ellis's (1997) concept of u-shaped course of development; second, Edmondson et al.'s (1991) 'waffle phenomenon'; and third, fourth year's lower pragmatic proficiency in comparison to the rest of the learner groups.

At the level of sub-strategies, we can also see that the main differences between the learner groups and the groups of native speakers are related to the selection, frequency and diversity of the chosen sub-strategies.

Concerning conventionally indirect sub-strategies for requests, we can mention the use and frequency of query preparatory prediction as an instance of L1 negative transfer. Although the learners select this sub-strategy similarly to the Spanish group, they differ in its frequency. This practice seems to be revealing 'intimacy' and might conflict with the value bestowed to 'privacy' in the native English speakers' culture. Regarding refusal head acts, a clear instance of sub-strategies marking L1 negative transfer is the use of a wider variety of sub-strategies that seems to be a way to mark intimacy.

As an example of an L1-driven direct sub-strategy used by the learners groups when realizing requests, we can mention mood derivables that are also selected by learners but with a different frequency from the Spanish-speaking group. Imperatives are present in all learner groups and this use, due to its high presence only in the Spanish group, seems to be

L1 negative pragmatic transfer and might be motivated by the same reasons as in Spanish speakers (i.e. intimacy). In other words, learners still assign L1 cultural values to the strategies they use in the L2. Finally, as an example of learners' approaching the native English norm when requesting, we can mention the use of the sub-strategy query preparatory permission by third and fourth years as their first preference. Regarding refusals, we can mention the general use of the conventionally indirect sub-strategy reason and the direct sub-strategy non-performative statement with reference to negative ability that are used by all the six groups in the same order (first preference) but with different frequencies.

Summing up, the native groups present systematic differences in the degree of directness in the strategies employed for request and refusal head acts that are motivated by systematic cultural differences. The pragmatic differences can be seen, for example, in the dissimilar selection, frequency and variety of strategies and sub-strategies in requests and refusals. In addition, these varying directness choices seem to reflect particular cultural values present in the speech communities the American English speakers and Chilean Spanish speakers belong to. These cross-cultural pragmatic differences can be related to the four groups of English learners in order to make sense of their behavior. In this way, the similarities with the Spanish group seem to be L1 negative pragmatic transfer, while the similarities with the English group seem to reflect an approximation towards the L2 norms. Also, the overuse of some strategies (such as need statement, query preparatory ability, etc.) by some groups of learners can be related to their level of proficiency in the English language: simpler constructions are widely used. Since the learners are 'in the middle' of two cultures, we can say that both sets of cultural values and expectations motivate their

particular directness preferences. For this reason, the selection, frequency and diversity of strategies and sub-strategies represent, in each group of learners, an autonomous and particular interlanguage pragmatic system that is different from the L1 and L2 systems, although containing elements of both.

7.2. Limitations and possibilities of the study

This study was compromised by several limitations that should be addressed if the study were to be replicated. These included, but were not limited to, the areas of the subject pool and the study instrument, the Discourse Completion Test.

In the first place, the study should be replicated with a larger and more diverse group of subjects. Furthermore, the some learner groups may have been familiar with pragmatics, because there is a pragmatics course as part of their curriculum, and, therefore, might have been more sensitive to the task at hand. Therefore, future studies should include students from a variety of academic fields.

Secondly, questionnaires are instruments that make it possible to collect a lot of data relatively quickly and easily. Responses to DCTs can provide valuable information about the type of semantic formula that can be expected when formulating requests and refusals in the situations considered. Since our aim is to expose and describe differences in the formulation of requests and refusals, while in a very limited time frame, it is convenient to use questionnaires as data collection method. However, it is very important to note that

requests written in DCT-responses are not necessarily comparable to requests that occur in natural interaction. Subjects are writing, not speaking, and have the opportunity to contemplate and change their responses, something that is less than possible in a spontaneous setting. Thus, the responses to the situations are probably based on reflections about what the subjects think they would say in any given situation, as opposed to what they would actually say in similar contexts. Consequently, we can expect that the requests elicited by DCTs are more idealized realizations than those we would hear in naturally occurring speech. When naturalistic data collection is not an option, future studies should adopt procedures to better control the amount of time that the subject spends completing the DCT. Another enhancement may be to produce an oral version of the DCT, in which participants respond orally to the prompt and audio recordings are made and transcribed.

Another limitation of the study rises from the fact that, while the responses may give us an impression about the appropriateness of certain request formulations, they cannot account for the actual communicative effect which, particularly in the case of the learners, might carry inappropriate consequences. This is so, because not all potentially inappropriate utterances lead to miscommunication. Native speakers tend to be more lenient towards non-native speakers, on the basis that they acknowledge the process that learners go through when learning an L2. In order to find out about American people's perception of requests and refusals uttered by Chilean students, further research would be necessary.

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9. Appendix

9.1. Comparative tables of strategies and sub-strategies: order of preference for all groups

9.1.1. Requests

	Order	NSS	NES	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
DIRECT	1st option	Mood Derivable 8%	Hedge Performative 2%	Need Statement 9%	Need Statement 15%	Need Statement 2%	Mood Derivable 4%
	2nd option	Hedge Performative 5%	Want Statement 2%	Want Statement 6%	Mood Derivable 2%	Mood Derivable 2%	Hedge Performative 4%
	3rd option	Need Statement 5%			Want Statement 2%	Want Statement 2%	Need Statement 2%
Total		19%	3%	19%	20%	5%	11%
CONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT	1st option	Ability 37%	Permission 34%	Ability 31%	Ability 42%	Permission 40%	Permission 42%
	2nd option	Prediction 17%	Availability 19%	Prediction 16%	Prediction 25%	Ability 25%	Ability 35%
	3rd option	Availability 15%	Ability 15%	Permission 16%	Permission 7%	Prediction 9%	Availability 7%
	4th option	Willingness 4%	Possibility 13%	Availability 9%	Availability 5%	Possibility 7%	Possibility 2%
	5th option	Possibility 2%	Willingness 10%	Possibility 3%	Suggestory Formulae 2%	Availability 7%	
Total		74%	92%	77%	80%	93%	85%
NON-CONVENTIONALLY INDIRECT	1st option	Mild 2%	Strong 5%	Strong 3%		Strong 2%	Strong 4%
	2nd option	Strong 5%		Mild 1%			
Total		7%	5%	4%	0%	2%	4%
TOTAL		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

9.1.2. Refusals

	Order	NSS	NES	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
DIRECT	1st option	Negative Ability 34%	Negative Ability 25%	Negative Ability 43%	Negative Ability 39%	Negative Ability 40%	Negative Ability 52%
	2nd option	Negative Willingness 2%		Negative Possibility 3%	Overtly negative 6%	Negative Willingness 2%	
	3rd option	Negative Possibility 2%					
Total		38%	25%	46%	45%	42%	52%
CONVENTIONAL LY INDIRECT	1st option	Reason 38%	Reason 75%	Reason 29%	Reason 44%	Reason 49%	Reason 37%
	2nd option	Future Acceptance 8%		Function as refusal 4%	Statement (I can do X) 6%	Statement (Why don't you) 7%	Statement (I can do X) 7%
	3rd option	Statement (I can do X) 6%		Statement (Why don't you) 3%	Statement Why don't you) 6%	Future acceptance 2%	Future acceptance 2%
	4th option	Statement (Why don't you) 4%					Functions as Refusal 2%
Total		62%	75%	54%	55%	58%	48%
TOTAL		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

9.2. Pragmalinguistic resources for all groups, except for NSS.

9.2.1. Requests

	Natives	First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth year
Verb + me		2,4% (2)	2,7% (1)	1,8% (1)	4,4% (2)
I + would like + you + to + verb		1,2% (1)			
You + would like + to + verb	2,7% (2)	7,4% (6)	2,7% (1)		6,6% (3)
Would + you + verb	4% (3)	16% (13)	22,2% (8)	9% (5)	6,6% (3)
It + would + to be	1,3% (1)				2,2% (1)
Would + you + like		2,4% (2)	2,7% (1)		
You + would + verb	1,3% (1)			3,6% (2)	
I + want + you	2,7% (2)	1,2% (1)			
Want + to + verb	1,3% (1)	3,7 (3)		3,6% (2)	6,6% (3)
Is + there	20,2% (15)		2,7% (1)		
Is + it			2,7% (1)		
Pronoun + to be + ing				1,8% (1)	2,2% (1)
I + need	10,8% (8)	9,8% (8)			2,2% (1)
I + need + to + verb		1,2% (1)	16,6% (6)	1,8% (1)	4,4% (2)
May + I		9,8% (8)	8,3% (3)	10,9% (6)	2,2% (1)
If + you + modal	2,7% (2)		2,7% (1)	3,6% (2)	2,2% (1)
I + to be + wondering + if	6,7% (5)	2,4% (2)	2,7% (1)	7,2% (4)	2,2% (1)
I + wonder					2,2% (1)
Can + you	14,8% (11)	25,9% (21)	13,8% (5)	27,2% (15)	31,1% (14)
Could + you	20,2% (15)	4,8% (4)	16,6% (6)	20% (11)	15,5% (7)
Do + you + verb	10,8% (8)	8,6% (7)	2,7% (1)	7,2% (4)	8,8% (4)
Have + you + got		1,2% (1)	2,7% (1)	1,8% (1)	
TOTAL	100% (74)	100% (81)	100% (36)	100% (55)	100% (45)

9.2.2. Refusals

	Natives	First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth year
Can + not	22,8% (13)	44% (33)	% (15)	42,8% (22)	52,2% (23)
Will + not + to be	1,7% (1)	1,3% (1)			
Would + it + verb	3,5% (2)			3,9% (2)	
I + would	1,7% (1)				
Will + to be					2,2% (1)
I + will + verb					2,2% (1)
I + to be + sure			2,8% (1)		4,4% (2)
I + to be + really + sorry	1,7% (1)	6,6% (5)			
I + to be + sorry		14,6% (11)			2,2% (1)
I + to be + late			2,8% (1)	1,9% (1)	
I + to be + little + late		1,3% (1)			
I + to be + bussy				3,9% (2)	
I + to be + very + bussy		1,3% (1)			
I + to be + so + bussy		2,6 % (2)			
I + adverb + bussy					4,4% (2)
I + to be + really + bussy					
I + to be + in + rush, hurry	1,7% (1)	1,3% (1)			
Can + you			2,8% (1)		
Can + I					
Could + to be			2,8% (1)		
I + to be + ing	8,7% (5)				4,4% (2)
Do + not	8,7% (5)	4% (3)	2,6% (1)		4,4% (2)
I + have + to	14% (8)	4% (3)	11,4% (4)	27,4% (14)	4,4% (2)
If + you + verb		1,3% (1)		1,9% (1)	2,2% (1)

If + they + verb	1,7% (1)				
I + have	31,5% (18)	13,3% (10)	31,4% (11)	13,7% (7)	6
I + really + need + to					2,2% (1)
I + want	1,7% (1)				
Maybe		4% (3)			
I + verb past tense	1,7% (1)			1,9% (1)	
Total:	100% (57)	100% (75)	100% (35)	100% (51)	100% (44)